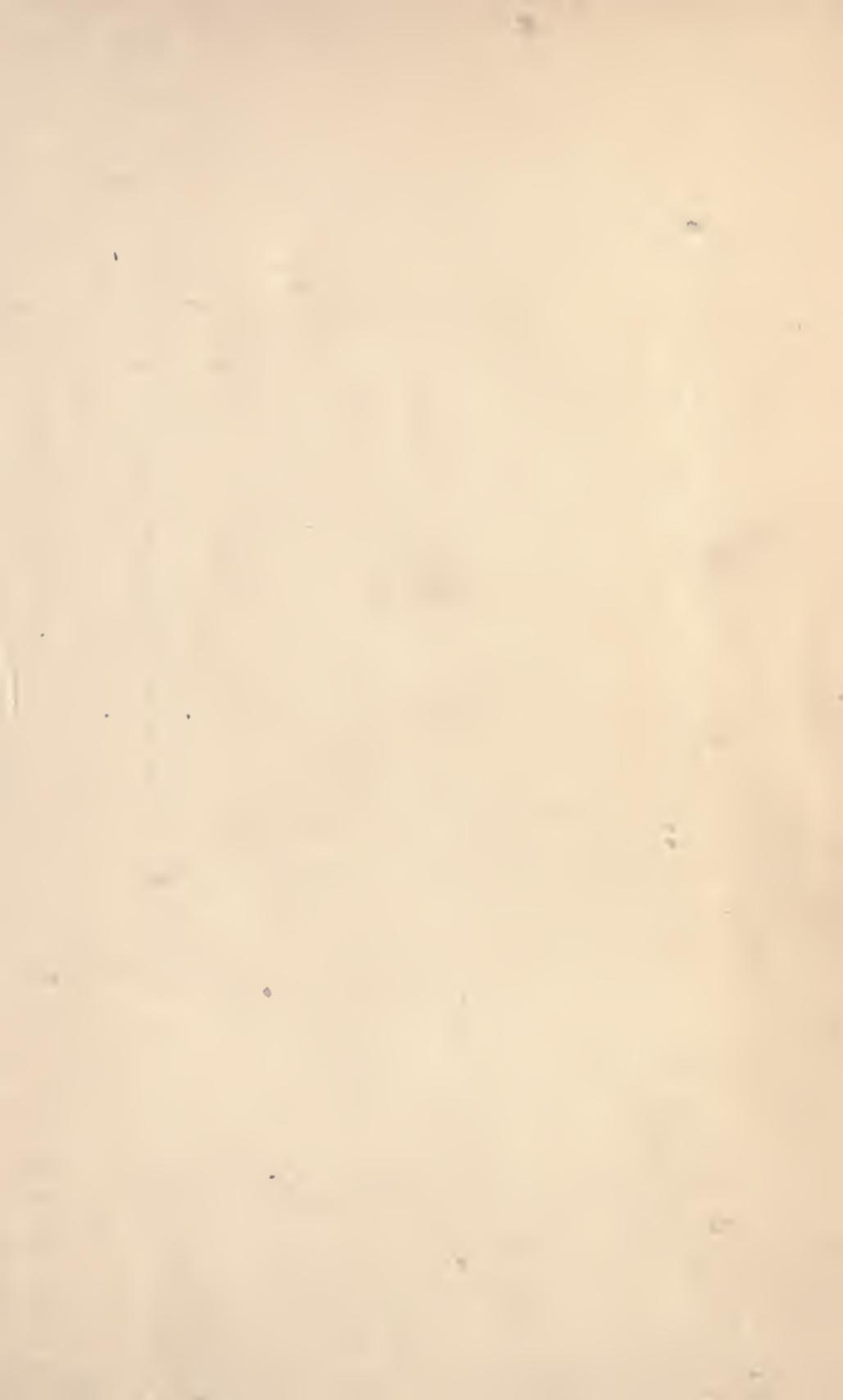
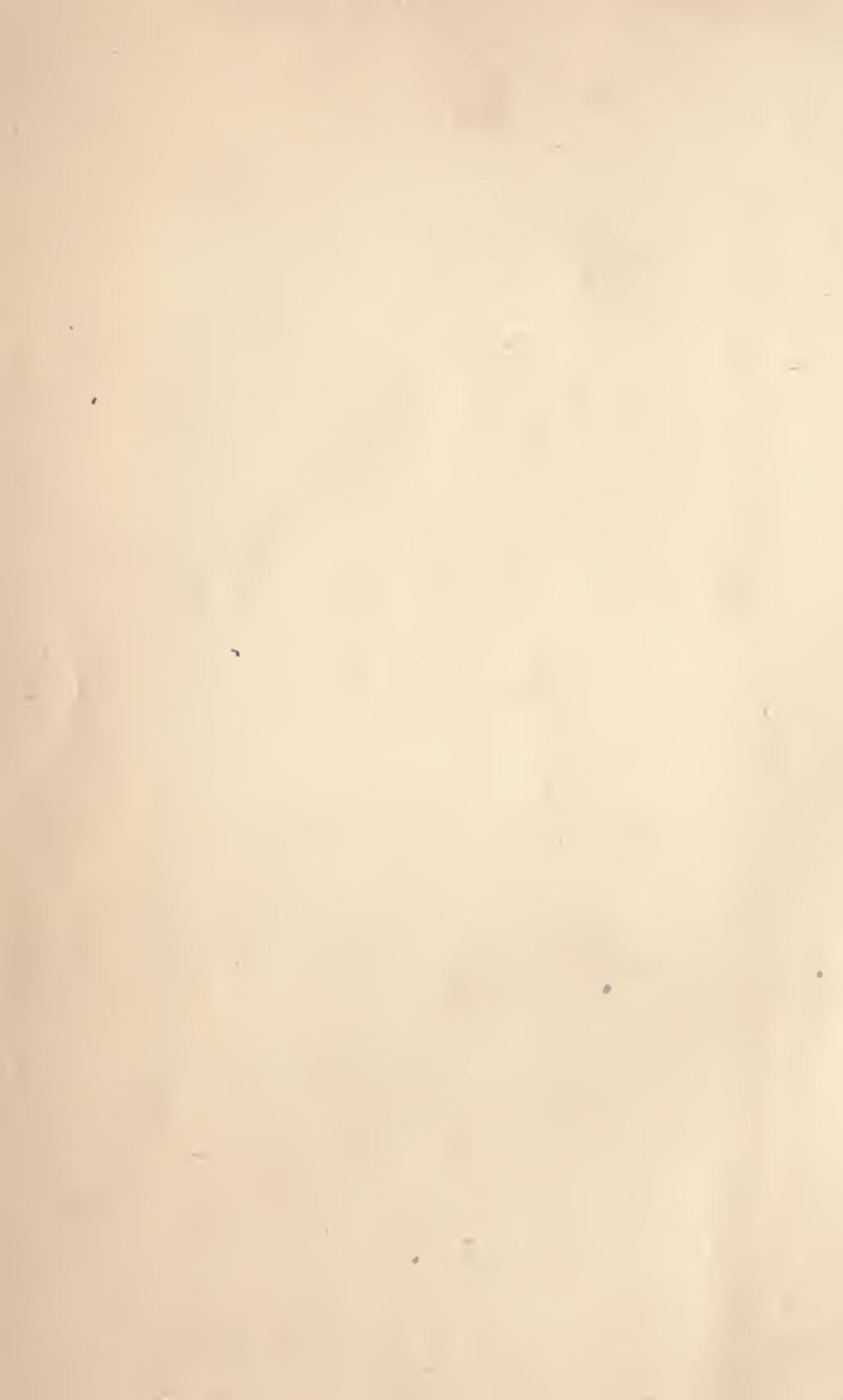


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A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

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AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

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DICKINSON COLLEGE

NEW YORK

YOUNG PEOPLE'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT
OF THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA

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CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY

A GLANCE over the United States to-day reveals a strong and prosperous nation of vast extent, with a citizenship made up of many races and a government quite unlike the governments of the nations from which they came.

A little over four hundred years ago the people of Europe had never heard of America. How did they become aware of its existence? What sort of a place was America before that time? What has become of the native red men who once hunted and made war on the very spots where dwellings, shops, and colleges now stand? How did the United States become a nation; and why is there only one instead of several nations within its extensive area? When our forefathers founded this government why did they make it so unlike all others, and what is

the secret of its phenomenal success? Why do foreigners who come here to live learn so soon to love the country of their adoption better than the land of their birth, and why do their children grow up to be Americans rather than transplanted Germans or Italians? Why do Europeans come here at all? Very few Americans go abroad to live. Is America better than Europe? If it is, what makes it so?

To answer these and many other questions suggested by the obvious facts of the day we must first go back many years into the past, for the discovery of America is in large part the result of ideas and events which stirred the minds of the people of Europe centuries ago.

The Attempt to Find a Short Sea-passage to India.—In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Christian nations were engaged in trying to get possession of the Holy Land, which was held then as it is to-day by Mohammedans. The Crusades failed to accomplish their purpose, but they were followed by great results of an unexpected sort. The Mohammedans were far in advance of the Western Christians in their civilization, and the European soldiers learned from their foes the use of many scientific implements and articles of food and cloth-

ing, which on their return from the wars they introduced into their home communities. After the Crusades ceased a flourishing trade sprang up between Europe and Asia, the metals and woods of the former being exchanged for the pearls, ivory, perfumes, and delicate fabrics of the latter.

In 1299 Marco Polo, an Italian traveller who had spent many years in Cathay at the court of the Great Khan, the ruler of that region, published a book containing an account of the distant countries he had visited. This book was read by almost everybody of intelligence, and greatly quickened the interest which the Crusades had already awakened in the commercial opportunities of the East.*

Gradually the trade with the Orient was monopolized by the Italian commercial cities, Genoa and Venice. There were two ways of reaching the Asiatic markets; one was controlled by Genoa, the other by Venice. The Genoese sent their goods to Constantinople, through the Black Sea, and thence overland by trains of mules and camels to the ports on the Persian

* The term "East" included besides Palestine, Cathay (the early European name for China), India, which was indefinite, and Cipango, the country which we know to-day as Japan.

Gulf; while the merchants of Venice traded by way of Alexandria and the Red Sea. Both routes were slow, expensive, and perilous.

In 1453 the Turks, a fierce, barbarous people who had already overrun a large part of Asia Minor, captured Constantinople. The effect of this calamity was to block the former routes of travel and ruin the trade of the Italian cities. It then became necessary to find a new way to the East. The Portuguese believed that a new route might be found by sailing southward along the coast of Africa. In 1497 the Portuguese Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached India. As Genoa and Venice declined in commercial importance they were superseded by Portugal and Spain, and the Atlantic took the place of the Mediterranean as the highway of commerce.

Columbus.—Among those who studied this problem of a short sea-passage was a young sailor named Christopher Columbus. He was probably born in Genoa about the year 1446, but after 1470 lived in Lisbon, supporting himself by making maps and charts for navigators.

Columbus believed that the Eastern countries could be reached by sailing west. He was one of the few men of his day who knew that the

earth was spherical. Learned men among the ancient Greeks had known it, and the Arabians were also aware of the true form of the earth. But the Europeans of Columbus's day were extremely ignorant, and believed that the earth was flat and circular like a plate. The only parts of the world with which they were at all acquainted were Europe, the British Isles, Iceland, a small portion of Asia, and the northern coast of Africa. The Atlantic Ocean was called the "Sea of Darkness," and was thought to abound with monsters of strange and hideous shape capable of devouring an entire ship and crew at a single swallow.

For seventeen years Columbus tried to interest the people of Europe in his theory, but they only laughed at him, called him crazy, and told him that if he sailed very far into the Sea of Darkness he would fall over the edge of the earth. In vain he tried to convince the kings of Portugal and Spain and the wealthy nobles. They would have nothing to do with a man who was foolish enough to believe he could reach the East by sailing in the opposite direction.

Finally Columbus determined to ask aid of the king of France. He was slowly making his way on foot to the French court when he stopped

at the close of a summer day at a convent in Andalusia for rest and refreshment. The prior of the convent was an intelligent and kind-hearted man. He became interested in Columbus, advised him not to go to France, but to try once more the Spanish court, and gave him a letter to an influential priest, who introduced him to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. The queen was soon persuaded. She was a pious Catholic, and saw in Columbus's scheme an opportunity for missionary work among heathen people. The king was slower to respond. He was also a Catholic, though not so pious as his wife, and the missionary idea did not appeal to him with striking force. But he was ambitious to extend his empire and to find new mines of gold and silver. He knew that whatever discoveries Columbus might make would belong to Spain if Columbus sailed under the Spanish flag. Thus Ferdinand and Isabella, working from quite different motives, gave Columbus men and ships, the queen even pawning some of her jewels to provide necessary funds.

On August 3, 1492, Columbus set sail from the port of Palos, within sight of the convent where he had received his first encouragement. His fleet consisted of three small vessels, the

Santa María, Niña, and Pinta. The largest was not more than sixty feet long by twenty in width. For days and weeks Columbus and his men sailed on into the Sea of Darkness. The world proved very much larger than Columbus had supposed. The sailors became terror-stricken and begged their leader to turn back. At last, on the night of October 11th, they saw a light made by the fires kindled by natives on the land. The next morning the intrepid admiral and his crew stepped ashore, and Columbus, planting the cross and the flag of Spain in the soil, took possession of the New World. The land on which he had disembarked was one of the islands of the Bahama group. Before returning to Spain he touched at Cuba and Hayti.

Upon his arrival in Spain Columbus was received with every mark of honor by sovereigns and people. He made three more voyages, discovering Jamaica, Puerto Rico, the islands of the Caribbean Sea, and the mainland of South America, and exploring the coast of Honduras and the Isthmus of Panama. Columbus was convinced that he had found the short sea-passage to India by way of the West. For this reason he called the islands which he had discovered the West Indies, a name which they have

always retained. But as the fabled riches of the East did not appear, people grew impatient and enthusiasm turned to disappointment. For a time Columbus was imprisoned on a false charge, and finally died in poverty and neglect on May 20, 1506, not knowing the extent and significance of his achievement.

Why the New World was Called America.—At the time of Columbus's discovery Spain and Portugal were the two great maritime nations of Europe. Foreseeing the disputes likely to arise concerning the possession of new territory, these nations agreed to divide in advance all the unknown regions of the earth. The Pope, who by virtue of his exalted spiritual office frequently acted as arbiter for Christendom, drew a meridian three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands, known as the Line of Demarcation. All lands which should be discovered east of that boundary were to belong to Portugal, and all west of it to Spain.

About the year 1501 Portugal sent out a fleet under the command of Americus Vesputius. He sighted the coast of Brazil, and, finding it east of the Line, claimed it for Portugal. A few years later a German professor published a book on geography in which he proposed that

Brazil be called America in honor of Vespuccius. As Columbus was supposed to have discovered merely a new route to India, not a new continent, the idea met with favor, and in course of time the name was applied not only to Brazil, but to all North and South America. Brazil was the only part of the New World acquired by Portugal, because it was the only part that lay east of the Line of Demarcation.

John Cabot and the English Claim.—For nearly a century after the voyages of Columbus, Spain had most of the field to herself. The rest of Europe was too busy with other affairs to quarrel with Spain over a new country. In 1497 England sent out John Cabot “to discover any heathen regions which up to this time have remained unknown to Christians.” He was the first European to set foot on the continent of North America, landing in Labrador. England did not at that time possess sufficient naval strength to enforce her rights of discovery, and made no immediate attempt to take possession, but many years later the English claimed the entire North American continent on the basis of Cabot’s discovery.

Spanish Explorations and Conquests.—Spanish settlements were made in the West Indies, and

many adventurers went far into the mainland searching for El Dorado, the gilded land, where according to current belief mines of gold and silver waited to lavish their bursting treasures.

On Easter Day, 1513, Ponce de Leon, a Spanish nobleman who was looking for the "fountain of youth," landed on the coast of Florida. Intelligent men of that period had faith in many follies of imagination, which even the children of this day know better than to credit. De Leon had heard and believed that somewhere in America there was a magic fountain whose waters would restore youth to aged men. He called the country Florida, after the Spanish synonym for Easter—*Pascua Florida*, "flowery passover."

In the same year Balboa, another Spaniard, crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean.

In 1519 Cortez with a small army invaded Mexico and conquered that country for Spain. By 1592 the Spaniards had explored the Pacific coast from Lower California to Oregon.

In 1541 Ferdinando De Soto, the Spanish governor of Cuba, while on an expedition through the south-west, discovered the Mississippi River.

St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States, was founded by the Spaniards in 1565, to prevent the French from making settlements in Florida.

Why North America did not Remain Spanish.— Despite a full century's undisputed right of way on this continent, there is not to-day in the law, religion, government, or other social institutions of the American people a single elemental fact that can be traced to the authorship or moulding influence of Spain. A few physical landmarks, such as stone houses, walls, and cathedral ruins, scattered through Florida and the south-west, are the melancholy vestiges of an empire long since dissolved in the testing crucible of time. For it was written on the scroll of destiny by immutable decree that o'er Columbia's virgin soil the "pale emblem of Castilian pride" should never wave in token of possession, nor Spanish sovereignty find enduring foothold within her spacious borders.

The trouble was, the Spaniard never came here for a wise purpose. Instead of bringing his family and settling down to clear the wilderness, till the soil, and grow up with the country, he was hunting for a sudden fortune which would enable him to return to Spain and

spend the remainder of his days in idleness and ease. The followers of Cortez, Balboa, and De Soto were adventurers who were looking for gold and silver.

It was not until people came here with the intention of remaining permanently, people who appreciated the value of agriculture, industry, and commerce, that the foundations of the United States were laid. This happened when the English, Dutch, Scotch, and Germans began their settlements on the Atlantic seaboard. Their conception of wealth was broader and their ideal of its uses nobler than the Spaniard's sordid purpose. They realized that true wealth consists not in abundance of gold and silver coinage, but in houses and lands, in farms, shops, ships, and factories, crowned by a moral exaltation that finds its certain measure in the school-house and the home.

It is the nation which produces the commodities which other nations want, and for which they are willing to exchange their money that is truly rich. Neither Spain nor the rest of Europe derived permanent material benefit from the finding of a new world. In many respects they were worse off than before, for the discovery of America excited the spirit of greed,

created jealousies and hatreds between nations, and led to devastating wars. The true gainer was America itself. In the course of time it received some of the best men and women from the best countries of Europe. They came to make their homes, to build schools, to become farmers, merchants, inventors, and finally to influence the entire human race toward loftier manhood and a wider outlook by means of the freest government and the largest opportunities the world has ever known.

NOTE.—It is quite probable that the Northmen, a roving, piratical people from the north of Europe, visited America about the year 1000 A.D. We know that they were acquainted with Greenland. There is evidence that in that year Leif Erikson—"Leif the Lucky"—led an expedition to the mainland. A temporary settlement called Vinland was made by the Northmen somewhere on the New England coast, but its exact situation is not known. The visits of the Northmen were without important results. No one else learned from them of the existence of this continent, and they themselves seem to have forgotten it.

CHAPTER II

THE INDIANS

THE continents of North and South America had been inhabited for many ages before the arrival of Europeans. The origin of this early race is unknown, but there are certain similarities in appearance, language, and tradition which suggest that the American aborigines are kindred to the people of Asia.

That the inhabitants of the New World were known as Indians was due to a mistake of Columbus who, thinking that he had reached India, called the natives Indians. The name has clung to them ever since in spite of the fact that men soon learned that America was not a part of Asia.

Appearance, Character, and Government.—The Indians had strong, lithe bodies, reddish or copper-colored skins, high cheek-bones, and straight, coarse, black hair. They had no beards. Hair does not grow on the face of the American

aborigine. They were swift of foot and keen of vision, and could track an enemy through the deepest forest by the print of his foot on the grass or the twigs bent by the weight of his passing body. They were fond of war and were revengeful, never forgiving an injury but likewise never forgetting an act of kindness.

All Indians who could trace descent from a common female ancestor belonged to one clan. Each clan had its own magistrates and war-chiefs. A group of clans formed a tribe, the members of which spoke the same language. The tribe was loosely governed by a council composed of the chiefs of the clans. Its decisions bound nobody, though public opinion usually supported them.

Mode of Life.—The Indians were wild in their nature and uncivilized in their habits. Though distributed over the entire continent, they were few in numbers compared with the present white population. There were only about two hundred thousand in all the country east of the Mississippi River. There are twice as many people living in Philadelphia to-day as there were Indians in all North America in 1492. The Indians lived in villages, and their

dwellings were called " wigwams " or " tepees." These consisted of small huts made of skin or bark stretched over wooden frames. They were of circular form at the base and either pointed like a cone or rounded like a dome at the top. Sometimes their dwellings were made of logs. The Iroquois Indians of New York had what they called " long-houses," large wooden buildings, a hundred feet in length, divided into twenty compartments, each compartment sheltering an entire family. If the villages were located in places which were easy to attack they were surrounded with high wooden stockades as a protection against the enemy.

The Indians made their living by hunting, fishing, and agriculture. Although uncivilized, they were by no means mere savages. They used dishes made of clay, and knew much more about farming than is generally supposed, raising beans, tobacco, pumpkins, squashes, potatoes, and " maize," or Indian corn. It was from the Indians that the white settlers learned the use of these vegetables, which more than once saved them from starvation. Colored shells, called " wampum," served for money. The dress of the Indians varied according to the season of the year. In summer they went almost

naked, but in winter they clothed themselves in furs and blankets. They were fond of gay colors, of ornaments, and amusements.

The Indian boat was called a "canoe." It was made of birch-bark or skins stretched over a framework of wood, and fastened together by strips of hide and the pitch of the spruce-tree. The red men were good athletes, and enjoyed running races and playing ball. Lacrosse, the favorite game of modern Canadians, is an Indian sport. Hunting, fishing, and war were the only occupations which were considered worthy to engage the attention of the men. Domestic labor was performed by the women, who were called "squaws." They were not abused, but had their rights under the crude Indian law. The women of the Iroquois nation owned land and were permitted to vote.

The natives of Mexico and Peru were superior to the rest of the Indians of North and South America. The Peruvians especially had buildings and roads, possessed rich mines of gold, silver, copper, and lead, and made beautiful ornaments of the precious metals. They pastured vast flocks and herds and had an advanced language. The Mexicans, though less civilized than the Peruvians, were in advance of

the other tribes. Both Mexico and Peru were cruelly despoiled by the Spaniards.

Warfare.—The Indians were never so happy as when on the war-path. They were brave after a fashion, but their method of fighting was hardly honorable, judged by our standards. They preferred to lie in ambush and to shoot their enemies from behind rocks and trees rather than to meet them face to face. Every warrior shaved his head except a place at the top about the size of a half-dollar, on which the long hair was allowed to remain. This single wisp of hair was called the "scalp-lock." When an Indian killed his enemy in battle or in ambush he cut this lock of hair from the dead man's body, together with that part of the scalp to which it was attached. "Scalps" were the greatest trophies of war, and the Indian who had the largest number dangling from his belt was regarded as the best warrior.

Prisoners of war were generally tortured to death by all sorts of inhuman devices, such as sticking splinters of burning wood in the flesh of the victim, or shooting his eyes out, or tying him to a stake and burning him alive. The Indians were probably no more cruel than other races of men, though their lack of refinement

made them appear to be. It was under the ordeal of torture that the Indian appeared at his best, for he usually died without a cry or a murmur, it being esteemed great heroism to suffer physical pain in silence.

The weapons of the Indian were the hatchet, the knife, the club, the lance, and the bow and arrow. Stone and flint were used in making some of these instruments until the white man introduced better weapons of steel.

Religion.—The Indians worshipped many gods. Trees, rocks, plants, animals, and the forces of nature all had their ruling spirits whom the simple minds of the barbarians were ever fearful of offending and perpetually sought to placate by sacrifices and gifts. The priests and doctors were called “medicine-men,” and were believed to have great power with spirits. When an Indian died he was supposed to go to the “Happy Hunting-ground.” In order to protect and feed him on his journey into the unseen country, his relatives placed the weapons of the dead warrior on his grave, together with dried meat, the immaterial counterparts of which, according to aboriginal philosophy, furnished defence and refreshment to the travelling ghost.

The Modern Indian.—The American Indian of to-day, in his barbarian state, is about what he was four hundred years ago. Wherever he has come into touch with white men it has generally been with the worst sort of white men, and the Indian has absorbed the vices but not the virtues of his conqueror.

According to the census of 1900, there were 266,760 Indians in the United States. Nearly half of them live on Government reservations, and are fed and clothed at public expense. These "reservation Indians" are not progressing and do not care for education. Though the Indian does not seek civilization, many have yielded after it was forced upon them, and some have achieved marked success in professional and literary life.

Many children are taken from the reservations each year by the Government and placed in Indian industrial schools, the most celebrated of which is at Carlisle, Pa.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUTHERN COLONIES, 1607-1733

WE have seen that the Spaniards were the first to visit and explore the Western world. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the French began their work of exploration and settlement in Canada. The first successful French colony was planted in Acadia, now Nova Scotia, in 1605. The city of Quebec was founded three years later.

The voyage of Cabot in 1497 resulted in England's claiming the entire North American continent on the ground that Cabot was the first European to reach the mainland. This claim had never been abandoned, although no attempt was made at colonization for nearly a hundred years. When at the beginning of the seventeenth century English enterprise turned seriously to America it found the southern part held by Spain and the northern by France. But in spite of her tardiness in entering the race for colonial possessions England had the best of it,

for the portion that fell to her lot was the choicest of all. It lay along the Atlantic seaboard between Florida and Nova Scotia, and had every advantage of climate, fertility, and natural wealth. The thirteen English colonies planted in this vast central region developed later into the United States. They naturally fall into three groups, the Southern, Middle, and New England.

Virginia (1607).—This name was given in 1584 to all the English territory in America in honor of Elizabeth, called the "Virgin Queen" because she was unmarried. From 1584 to 1587 Sir Walter Raleigh made several attempts to found a colony at Roanoke, within the limits of the present State of North Carolina. His efforts failed for the reason that he had no financial backing.

In 1606 a group of English capitalists, believing that a successful colony could be founded, provided there was plenty of money behind it, organized the London Company and obtained from King James I a charter which gave them authority to make settlements in the southern half of what is now the United States. The London Company at once sent out a hundred or more colonists under the command of Captain

John Smith, an English adventurer of extraordinary abilities. They reached America in the spring of 1607, and settled at Jamestown, Va., which they named in honor of the reigning king. This was the first permanent English colony in America.

The settlers were not well fitted for so serious an undertaking as the establishment of a colony. Most of them were "gentlemen," which in that day signified persons of the male sex who never worked. There were only about a dozen in the whole number who had ever done any manual labor. The colonists quarrelled among themselves and with the Indians, and many died of sickness. Had it not been for the wisdom of Captain John Smith, and a timely reënforcement from England, they would have abandoned the enterprise. But with the arrival of other settlers, who knew more about practical affairs than the first, the colony took courage and soon grew prosperous. The London Company authorized the popular election of a House of Burgesses to make laws for the community. Virginia raised large quantities of tobacco which were exported to England. The habit of smoking had been introduced into that country by Sir Walter Raleigh, who had learned it from the

Indians. It became so popular that Virginia was kept busy supplying the English demand for tobacco.

The Beginning of Slavery.—Toiling all day in the tobaccofields under a blazing sun was too irksome for white men. In 1619 the *Treasurer*, an English privateer, called in the slang phrase of the day a “Dutch man-o’-war,” appeared in Jamestown harbor with a cargo of twenty negroes, which the captain offered to dispose of in exchange for provisions. The negroes proved to be just the kind of laborers needed for heavy out-of-door work. This was the origin of African slavery in the United States. For many years a horrible trade in human beings was carried on between the American colonies and dealers who made a business of stealing black men and women from Africa to supply the demand for negro laborers. At first slavery existed in nearly all the colonies, but later it became confined to the South.

The negroes introduced by the *Treasurer* were not strictly slaves but servants. They were not owned by individuals, but were employed by the public, and were paid wages. In the course of a very few years, however, this form of servitude passed into slavery. It is noteworthy that

colonial Virginia was the first community in the civilized world to legislate against the slave-trade. Her opposition, expressed in thirty-three acts of assembly passed prior to 1772, proved futile because the traffic was profitable to England, which continued it in spite of protest.

Virginia was governed by the London Company until 1624, when it became a royal colony governed by the king through officials whom he appointed, although to a great extent the people continued to manage their own affairs. They had a strong spirit of independence which led them to expel a governor because they were dissatisfied with his rule.

When the English Puritans executed Charles I in 1648, many of the "Cavaliers," as the king's followers were called, took refuge in Virginia. Their coming greatly improved the character of the colony, for they were men of education and wealth. They built magnificent houses and devoted themselves to politics. But the great mass of people were ignorant and without influence in public affairs. Said Governor Berkeley in 1671: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing-presses in Virginia." The sons of rich planters were sent abroad to be educated, but the sons of poor men were not educated at all. In

1693 the colonial legislature of Virginia established the College of William and Mary for the education of the scions of wealthy families.

Maryland (1634).—As Virginia was a royal colony, the king could do with it as he pleased. Charles I was pleased to cut off a portion, which he gave to his friend Cecil Calvert, Lord Baltimore, who named it Maryland in honor of Queen Henrietta Maria. In those days people of different religions hated and persecuted each other with a bitterness incomprehensible in this age. England was a Protestant country, and the government passed severe proscriptive laws against Roman Catholics. Lord Baltimore was a Catholic and desired to found a colony where his co-religionists could worship in their own way. But he was liberal-minded and allowed Protestants also to settle in Maryland. In fact, he could not have done otherwise, being the subject of a Protestant king. Until Pennsylvania was founded Maryland was the only place in the civilized world where Catholics and Protestants dwelt together in harmony. Later the Protestants found themselves in the majority, and then they legislated against the Catholics.

In government Maryland was a proprietary colony; that is, the proprietor or owner was

given authority by the crown to rule the colony as though it were a kingdom under his own administration. He could make any laws he might desire, with the consent of the people, provided they were not contrary to the laws of England.

The Carolinas (1663) were cut from the original territory of Virginia and given to favorites of Charles II. At first there was but one colony of that name, including the present States of North and South Carolina and a large part of Georgia, but in 1729 the proprietors sold it to King George II, who divided it into two royal provinces, North and South Carolina. The people were of mixed nationality, English, Scotch-Irish, French, and Dutch, very thrifty and prosperous. It was a fine agricultural region with a mild climate and a rich soil.

Georgia (1733) was founded by General James Oglethorpe, a member of the British Parliament and a very brave and honorable man. Under the severe English laws of that day people who owed money which they could not pay were thrown into jail. Not less than four thousand impecunious debtors were imprisoned every year in England. The jails were wretched places, unfit for any human being. General

Oglethorpe desired to carry the most deserving of these unfortunate debtors to America, where they might have a new start in life. In 1732 the king gave a portion of South Carolina to General Oglethorpe and a few other persons under a charter which vested them with proprietary rights, although they were not to hold the colony for themselves, but "in trust for the poor." It was called Georgia in honor of the king, George II, and the first settlement was made at Savannah in 1733. The early colonists were not all poor English debtors. Many well-to-do Scotch, Germans, and Italians also went there to live.

Georgia remained under the government of the trustees until 1752, when it became a royal colony with a governor appointed by the king. It was the last of the thirteen colonies planted by England within the present limits of the United States, and the only one where slavery and the importation of intoxicating liquors were originally prohibited. A few years later in obedience to popular demand both prohibitions were removed.

CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES, 1620-91

THERE were many people in England who did not approve of the Established Church, as the Episcopal Church was called. They thought it resembled too much the Roman Catholic Church, of which it had once been a part. Some wished to leave it and to form a new sect; these persons were called "Separatists." Others desired simply to "purify" it, as they said; they were known as "Puritans."

As the Church and the Government supported each other the reformers brought upon themselves the enmity of both. In order to escape persecution a party of Separatists in 1608 fled to Holland, at that time the most enlightened country in Europe. But they were English at heart, who loved their home, even though they could not live there. Fearing that their children would grow up to speak the Dutch

language, to follow the Dutch customs, and to love Holland better than England they determined to go to America and found a new state, where they could worship as they pleased and where their children could mature into Englishmen.

Massachusetts (1620). — In September, 1620, a small vessel named the *Mayflower*, having on board one hundred and two Separatists under the leadership of William Bradford, William Brewster, and Miles Standish, sailed for America. On December 21st, after a stormy voyage of more than two months, they disembarked on the ice-fringed coast of Massachusetts, and made a settlement at Plymouth. Before landing, the men, forty-one in number, drew up and signed the famous "Mayflower Compact," by which they bound themselves to make and obey their own laws. It was not a declaration of independence from England, for in the same document they acknowledged the king as their sovereign, but it meant that they were determined to have a larger measure of self-government than they had ever enjoyed in England. The colony founded by the Separatists received the name of "Plymouth Plantation." Its founders are generally known as the "Pilgrim Fathers." The

first winter was marked by terrible suffering. Half the colony perished. At one time there were but six or seven persons able to be up and doing. But in spite of their distress not one thought of returning to England or to Holland.

Not only the Separatists, but the Puritans as well, were persecuted by the Government and the Church of England. In 1628 a company of them settled at Salem. Two years later a large number of wealthy and prominent Puritans founded the city of Boston. Others followed, and by 1634 there were four thousand Puritans in America. Their settlements collectively received the name of Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1691 the Plymouth Colony and the Massachusetts Bay Colony united. As the Puritan community was the larger and more important of the two it retained its own name, and both were henceforth known as the single colony of Massachusetts Bay.

Although the Puritans and Pilgrims came to America to find civil and religious liberty they refused to extend to others the rights which they demanded for themselves. Instead of allowing freedom to all men they passed severe laws against Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, and Quakers. They established a state church, and

no one was allowed to vote in a civil election who did not belong to this church. The cut and fashion of men's and women's garments were fixed by law. Non-attendance at religious service was punished by fine, imprisonment, or public whipping. The result was that while public order was good and morality high, Massachusetts was the most intolerant colony in all America.

Yet the Puritans were men of honor, conscientious, brave, and upright. They were firm believers in education. The oldest and greatest university in America is Harvard, founded by the Puritans in 1636 for the training of the clergy before the wilderness had been cleared or the red man driven West.

Rhode Island (1636).—Among those who differed from the Puritans in point of view was a young minister, Roger Williams. He believed in tolerating other sects and in keeping state and church separate, for he had seen the mischief that had resulted from their union both in Europe and in Massachusetts. For these theories he was banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Such treatment seems harsh to the modern mind, but it was the habit of a severe and

orthodox age when men took their religion on faith and with desperate seriousness. Had Roger Williams lived in Europe he might have fared worse. For a while he took refuge with the Indians of Narragansett Bay, where he founded the city of Providence in 1636. Williams's colony in course of time developed into the State of Rhode Island.

Connecticut (1636).—At about the same time that Roger Williams settled Providence several other citizens of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who thought it unjust to debar a man from voting or holding office simply because he was not a member of a particular church, moved into Connecticut and founded the towns of Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford. In 1639 these three towns united and formed a miniature republic under a written constitution called the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, which remained in force one hundred and eighty years.

Connecticut was the first republic in the history of the world to be founded by a written constitution. The influence of the Fundamental Orders is apparent in the Constitution of the United States to a degree unparalleled by any other colonial instrument.

In 1643 New Haven and three neighboring towns united in a similar republic and took the name of the New Haven Colony. It remained independent until 1662, when it was annexed to Connecticut by order of King Charles II.

New Hampshire (1691) at first included what is now the State of New Hampshire and a part of Maine. This whole territory was granted by King James I in 1622 to two English gentlemen. Maine later became a part of Massachusetts. New Hampshire was twice united with Massachusetts, but finally became a separate royal province in 1691.

King Philip's War.—The New England colonies had almost continuous trouble with the Indians. In 1675 King Philip, the war-chief of the Wampanoags, united all the tribes from Maine to New York for the purpose of driving out the white men who were steadily pushing the Indians away from the haunts of their fathers. The war lasted two years, until the death of Philip, who was shot as he was trying to escape from a force which had surrounded his dwelling at Mount Hope, near Bristol, R. I. His followers were killed or sold into slavery, and the power of the New England

tribes was forever destroyed. About six hundred white men were killed in battle during King Philip's War, besides a vast number of men, women, and children who were massacred or died of starvation.

CHAPTER V

THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1664-81

IT will be remembered that the discovery of the Cape route conferred a monopoly of the Oriental trade upon Portugal and Spain. For many years it was the dream of commercial Europe to obviate the dangers of the voyage around the Cape of Good Hope by the discovery of a shorter sea-passage to India. By the beginning of the seventeenth century the Eastern trade had passed from Spain and Portugal to Holland. It was now for the interest of the Dutch to find that quicker route which had eluded earlier efforts.

New York (1664).—In 1609 the Dutch East India Company sent out Captain Henry Hudson in the ship *Half Moon* to search for a new water-way to the East, which it was believed would be found to cut through the northern part of North America. Of course Hudson did not reach India, but he discovered the beautiful river which bears his name. He also discovered that a fur trade carried on between the

Dutch and the Indians would be quite as profitable to Holland as the silk trade in the East. With this object in view the Dutch West India Company was organized by the merchants of Amsterdam. This company claimed in the name of Holland all the country between the Connecticut and Delaware rivers, to which it gave the name New Netherland. The principal Dutch settlement was New Amsterdam, founded on Manhattan Island in 1626. The Dutch colonists were governed by "patroons," wealthy landowners, resembling in their powers the proprietors of Maryland and the Carolinas, only instead of being ruled by one, the territory was divided among many patroons. This system was not favorable to the growth of democratic sentiment and habits. Fortunately it did not last long, though traces of it lingered until after the Revolution. The first free public schools in America were founded by the Dutch of New York.

In 1664 England acquired New Netherland by a treaty with Holland, and thus became possessed of the Atlantic coast from Maine to Georgia. The former Dutch territory was given to the king's brother, James, Duke of York. Both the province of New Netherland and the city of New Amsterdam were renamed New

York in honor of their royal proprietor. The English abolished the patroon system and introduced the principle of self-government by means of town meetings and popular elections. When the Duke of York succeeded to the English throne as James II, New York became a crown province.

New Jersey (1664).—The Duke of York gave a part of his new province to his two friends, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. Although a proprietary colony until 1702, when it passed to the crown, New Jersey enjoyed a large measure of self-government. Its early history is uninteresting and of small importance. The northern portion was first settled by the Dutch. Germans and Swedes were scattered here and there, but the history of the colony properly begins with its occupation by the English, who mainly comprised the population.

Farming was the sole occupation of the people of New Jersey. There was no commerce, the people depending upon New York and Virginia to supply its miscellaneous needs.

Pennsylvania (1681).—The colonial history of Pennsylvania, like that of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Maryland, is inseparably linked with religious associations. About

the middle of the seventeenth century the sect of Quakers, or Society of Friends, sprang up in England. Its members believed that God made known His will to every man's heart without the aid of popes, bishops, priests, or pastors; therefore every man should be free to choose his own religion without interference from church or state. They believed in the equality of mankind, and expressed this belief by adopting simplicity in dress, language, and manners, and in treating all human beings with equal politeness; not making an exception of the king, in whose presence other men removed their hats. They disapproved of war under any and all circumstances and of many other practices which, though sanctioned by authority, appeared to them opposed to the spirit of Christianity.

But the essential point of difference between the Quakers and most religious organizations of their time is that while the others invariably attempted, as soon as they became strong enough, to force their doctrines and practices upon the rest of the community, the Quakers showed no desire to interfere with the rights of those who differed from them in belief. The Quaker spirit of independence was resented by the Established Church, which persecuted

the Friends, as it had the Puritans and the Separatists, with great severity.

Among the converts to Quakerism was William Penn, a young man twenty years of age, the son of an admiral in the British Navy. He was wealthy, educated, refined, and intelligent, far above his spiritual mentors in social rank. The University of Oxford promptly expelled him from its roll of students for refusing to attend the services of the Church of England. His father sent him abroad in the hope that the gay life of Paris would cure his son of his Quaker ideas. But the young man returned more than ever convinced of their truth, and wrote many pamphlets in defence of Quaker beliefs, for which he suffered imprisonment four times.

In 1670 Admiral Penn died. During his lifetime he had loaned the king, Charles II, a great deal of money, which his Majesty had never taken the trouble to repay. William Penn, having in mind the purpose of founding in America a colony where all Christians might dwell together on the basis of the Golden Rule, signified his willingness, as the heir, to receive instead of cash a tract of land in full discharge of the debt due the paternal creditor. The king was glad to get off so easily, for he had extravagant habits

and required all his money for personal pleasures.

In 1681 a charter was given to William Penn conveying to him a vast estate in America and making him the "true and absolute proprietary of the country," with power to enact laws, create courts, and appoint judges.

Penn at once sent out several hundred emigrants to Pennsylvania, and the next year he himself followed with nearly a hundred Quakers.

Although Penn had received his province in legal form from the king he chose to consider the rights of the red men. Shortly after his arrival he met the Indians in council under a large elm-tree, and there bought the land from them on their own terms. A treaty of friendship was made between the Indians and the proprietor, which remained unbroken as long as the Quakers held control of Pennsylvania.

William Penn was not ambitious for personal power or distinction. His sole design was to found a commonwealth where all Christians of whatever sect could dwell together in peace. In order to insure the largest measure of freedom for the people of Pennsylvania he drew up the "Frame of Government," by which he voluntarily limited forever both his own power and

that of the proprietors who should succeed him. "I propose," said he, "to leave myself and my successors no power of doing mischief; so that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country." It granted liberty of conscience to all who believed in one Almighty God, but limited the right to vote and to hold office to those who professed some form of Protestant Christianity. The influence of the Frame of Government may be seen in the four subsequent constitutions of the State of Pennsylvania, in the constitutions of other States, and to some extent in the Federal Constitution itself.

Philadelphia was founded in 1682. The name is of Greek derivation, signifying "brotherly love," and well illustrates the liberal principles which inspired the acts of William Penn and his Quaker followers. Pennsylvania was the freest, the most democratic, the most prosperous colony in America. Philadelphia grew rapidly, and until after the Revolution was the largest and most important city in the colonies.

The People.—A colony possessing such extraordinary advantages could not fail to attract universal attention. The soil was fertile, the government free, and religious liberty prevailed. From many lands men and women came to en-

joy the benefits of Penn's commonwealth. Voltaire thought seriously of migrating thither, declaring that it was "the only place on earth where peace had fled, banished as she was from every other region."

The first people to settle in Pennsylvania after the Quakers were the Germans. They made very desirable colonists, being honest, intelligent, thrifty, and peaceable. They were excellent farmers and business men. Some of them owned printing establishments and published books and periodicals. The first Bible printed in the United States in a civilized language was a German Bible issued by a Germantown publisher in 1743, thirty-nine years before the first English Bible was printed in any British colony.

The Scotch-Irish were people of Scotch descent living in the north of Ireland. They were Presbyterian in faith, and came to America soon after the Quakers to escape the intolerant treatment of the Church of England. Being of aggressive temperament, fond of danger and excitement, they settled on the frontier. They believed that the best way to deal with the Indians was to fight them, not to adopt the friendly fashion of the Quakers. At least seven presidents

of the United States have been of Scotch-Irish descent.

Besides the English, Germans, and Scotch-Irish there were Dutch, French Huguenots, and Welshman, and in the Wyoming Valley a considerable number of New Englanders. As the years passed foreign immigration continued to increase. At the outbreak of the Revolutionary War Pennsylvania had a larger variety of nationalities than was to be found in any other colony. Notwithstanding the diversity of race, language, and religion the people lived together in harmony and good-will. The very fact that there were so many nationalities and religious sects made it impossible for any one of them to frame or administer laws in its own behalf or to tyrannize over the others.

It is worthy of note that the first organized protest against slavery was uttered in a paper drawn up by the Mennonites of Germantown in 1688. At a later date (1776) the Pennsylvania Quakers ordered all members of their society to free their slaves. It was largely due to the determined stand of the Quakers that the first emancipation act in the history of the world—so far as African slavery is concerned—was passed by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1780.

Pennsylvania remained under the proprietary government of the Penn family until the Revolutionary War, when the State purchased the interests of the heirs.

Delaware—the “Territories of Pennsylvania” (1682).—In 1638 the Swedes, desiring to get a foothold in North America, made a settlement on the site of the present city of Wilmington, Del., and claimed an extensive area which they called New Sweden. In 1655 the Dutch conquered New Sweden, which then became a part of New Netherland. When New Netherland was annexed by the English, Delaware became a part of New York.

In 1682 William Penn, desiring to obtain for his province a frontage on the Atlantic, purchased the “Three Counties,” as Delaware was then called, and annexed them to Pennsylvania under the name of the “Territories of Pennsylvania.” The people were granted a liberal charter similar to the Frame of Government, but acknowledged the same executive head. The “Territories” continued to be a part of the province of Pennsylvania until 1776, when they declared their independence and entered into a separate political existence as the State of Delaware.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

THE French and Indian War was simply a phase of the great Seven Years' War, which involved most of the nations of Europe from 1756 to 1763 and in which France and England played leading parts on opposite sides. As between these two nations, the field of strife included not only Europe, but America and distant India. That part of the struggle which took place in America we call the French and Indian War, because the Indians as a general rule allied themselves with the French. But the Indians played a secondary part. It was a conflict for the control of North America between two great empires representing opposite principles of social organization, of government, and of religion.

England and France had been enemies for many centuries. Before the Seven Years' War they had fought for the possession of American territory. From 1689 to 1748 there were three

European wars between these nations, and each had its counterpart in America. In 1713 France surrendered Acadia (Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and Hudson Bay to England.

These colonial wars are known as King William's, Queen Anne's, and King George's wars, deriving their names from the sovereigns of England during whose reigns they took place. They were merely forerunners of the great decisive struggle which was to determine whether the future civilization of America would be English or French.

It was after the close of King George's War that the tragic expulsion of the Acadians occurred. When Great Britain acquired Nova Scotia in 1713 the French inhabitants refused to take the oath of allegiance to their conquerors. They were a peaceful and contented people who lived quite apart from the rest of the world. After forty years of British rule they still retained their French language and customs. Although taking no part in the wars they were accused by the British of fostering hostility to the Government. In 1755 by a merciless decree of the King of England the Acadians were torn from their homes and forcibly deported to distant parts, while their lands were confiscated by

the Government. Many escaped, but more than six thousand were scattered throughout the English colonies. Some made their way to Louisiana, where their descendants are still to be found. Longfellow has immortalized the memory of the Acadians in "Evangeline," a poem based upon a romantic episode of the expulsion.

Differences in French and English Character.—From every point of view the French and English colonists of America differed widely from each other. The English came here to cultivate farms, to develop the country, and to enjoy civil and religious liberty. They were independent and self-reliant. For a long time the mother-country exercised but slight control over her colonists, allowing them to work out their destiny in their own way.

France, on the contrary, never permitted her colonial subjects to manage their own affairs. Self-government never developed among the French in America, nor did they strike their roots deep in the soil as did the English. The French colonists were for the most part fur-traders, soldiers looking for military laurels, and missionaries trying to convert the Indians, and adopting many of the Indian modes of life in order to succeed.

France had many forts, but few settlements; England many settlements, but few forts. France stood for absolute monarchy, Roman Catholicism, and military ideals; England for limited monarchy, Protestantism, self-government, commerce, and agriculture. Whether America should develop along French or English lines could be determined only on the field of battle.

The French and English also differed in their treatment of the Indians. The English looked upon the red men as natural enemies who had no rights to life or property. The generous and humane treatment of the Indians by the Pennsylvania Quakers is in striking contrast to the cruel policy pursued by the majority of English colonists.

The French, who were just and merciful, pursued the opposite course. French trappers and hunters adopted Indian dress and married Indian wives. French priests converted the red men to the Catholic religion. When the struggle broke out between the English and the French the Indians naturally took the side of their friends, not knowing or caring about the deeper issues at stake. Only the Iroquois federation of New York, known as the "Six Na-

tions," favored the English. Their sympathetic attitude is chiefly to be accounted for on the basis of their traditionary and inveterate hatred for the Algonquin division of their race, which had allied itself with the French.

The Growth of French Dominion.—We have already seen that the French gained their first American foothold in Canada. Among the most serviceable of the French explorers were the Jesuit missionaries, self-sacrificing, courageous priests who were sent out by the Church of Rome to Christianize the Indians. The names of Joliet and Marquette, who risked death and torture to carry the gospel to the savages, are honored alike in the history of America, of France, and of the Christian Church.

In 1682 Robert Cavalier, *Sieur de la Salle*, floated down the Mississippi River and claimed the immense valley between the Alleghany and the Rocky Mountains in the name of the King of France. Throughout this region the French established forts and trading stations. Many of the great cities of the South and of the Middle West started in this way. Detroit was founded in 1701, Mobile in 1706, and New Orleans in 1718 as military and trading posts. These forts were of great advantage, because in case of war

with England they would enable the French to control the Mississippi Valley.

For many years there were no contentions between the English and French settlers. The French confined their efforts to the West and North-west, while the English remained on the seaboard.

It was inevitable that the French should desire to bring Canada and Louisiana, the northern and southern extremities of their possessions, as near together as possible. This they attempted to do by making a chain of about sixty forts between the St. Lawrence River and New Orleans. At the same time the English, feeling cramped in their narrow strip of territory east of the Alleghanies, turned their eyes to the West and realized for the first time the dangerous proximity of the French.

The Final Conflict.—In 1754 the French, resolute in their purpose to keep the English from crossing the mountains, built Fort Duquesne on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh. This was the signal for war. The next year the British Government sent over a small army under the command of General Braddock to drive the French out of the West. General Braddock was a brave officer, but unused to Indian meth-

ods of warfare. He had had plenty of experience on European battle-fields, where armies fought in full view of each other on open plains. But the Indians hid behind rocks and trees. They were sure marksmen, and while they brought down their foe at every shot they themselves could not be seen.

General Braddock marched against Fort Duquesne, but was attacked near the Monongahela River by the French and their Indian allies. The British were routed and General Braddock was slain. Had it not been for the cool heroism of George Washington, then twenty-three years old and a member of Braddock's staff, hardly a man in the British Army would have been left alive.

Comparison of Military Strength.—At the outbreak of the war the French colonists numbered about sixty thousand. The English colonial population was nearly a million and a half. But if the French were inferior in point of numbers, they possessed certain advantages over their opponents. Canada, the French stronghold, was well adapted by nature for defence. It could be reached only by way of Lake Champlain or the St. Lawrence River, both of which were controlled by the French. Canada was governed

as a single great colony directly by the King of France, who provided men and money to carry on the war. This enabled the French to make rapid military movements without having to wait for the slow discussions and tardy support of legislatures.

The English, who were largely self-governing, to a great extent provided for their own needs. They were obliged to wait until their colonial assemblies would vote men and supplies, which was seldom promptly done, the jealousies of colonial governments preventing swift and united action.

The French had abler generals at first than the English and vast numbers of Indian allies. For three years the French were victorious. But when in 1757 William Pitt was placed at the head of affairs in England the fortune of war turned in favor of British arms. Incompetent generals were replaced by good ones, and one after another the French forts fell into English hands. Fort Duquesne was taken in 1758, and renamed Pittsburgh in honor of William Pitt. The expulsion of the French from Pennsylvania threw open to English settlement the region beyond the Alleghanies.

The Fall of Louisburg and Quebec.—After Queen Anne's War, when the French lost so much territory in the north, they determined to guard the St. Lawrence Valley against the future by constructing the fortress of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island. It was twenty years in building, its walls were two miles and a half in circumference, and it was regarded as impregnable. Nevertheless Louisburg was taken by New England troops in 1745, after a six weeks' siege, though it was ceded back to France in 1748. Ten years later it again succumbed to English prowess at the hands of General Amherst and General James Wolfe—the latter perhaps the most brilliant soldier in the military history of England, and but thirty-one years of age.

On the morning of September 13, 1759, eight thousand French-Canadian soldiers in the fortress of Quebec awoke and saw confronting them, on the Plains of Abraham outside the city walls, an English army of about four thousand. It was commanded by this same General James Wolfe. In the darkness of the night the English troops had climbed a precipice three hundred feet high, dragging their artillery after them. The Marquis de Montcalm, the French

commander, was a skilful general and a gallant man, but he could not save Quebec. In the battle which followed both Wolfe and Montcalm were killed. As General Wolfe was dying some one told him that the victory was won. He replied: "Now God be praised! I die in peace."

Montcalm paid his conqueror the tribute of a brave man. "Since it is my misfortune to be discomfited and mortally wounded," said he, "it is a great consolation to me to have been vanquished by so brave an enemy. If I could survive, I would engage to beat three times the number of such forces as mine were with one-third the number of British troops." When told that he must die, he answered: "It is well: I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." The inferiority of Montcalm's army was due to the large percentage of Indians and untrained Canadians.

The fall of Montreal in 1760 practically ended the war in America, although the European struggle continued three years longer.

Results of the English Conquest.—By the treaty of peace signed at Paris in 1763 France surrendered to England all of Canada and the country east of the Mississippi River. All the French

territory west of the Mississippi, together with New Orleans, was ceded to Spain, which had been an ally of France in the European war. France retained some of the West Indies and two small islands in the St. Lawrence. The French inhabitants of Canada were allowed to retain the Catholic religion.

The victory over France was the triumph of a strong, sturdy, self-reliant people. It determined that Anglo-Saxon institutions and Anglo-Saxon ideas of self-government should henceforth prevail in America instead of the French idea of submission to the will of an absolute king.

English settlers could now push their way across the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, build towns and engage in commerce and agriculture in comparative safety.

Another important result of the war was to loosen the tie that bound the colonies to the mother-country. British successes throughout the entire series of four international struggles had been mainly due to colonial money and to the efficiency of colonial troops. The knowledge of this fact gave the colonists a feeling of increased strength and independence. They had come into close contact with each other and they

began to feel like Americans rather than Englishmen. The French and Indian War was the practical training school of many of the generals who a few years later were to fight to victorious issue the battles of the Revolution.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac.—No sooner was peace concluded between England and France than the former Indian allies of the French created trouble for their new masters.

The English made no effort to gain the goodwill of the red men, but treated them with undisguised contempt. The proud-spirited Indians resented this, and secretly encouraged by the French plotted to overthrow the English power. A conspiracy was formed among many tribes to massacre all the English garrisons and settlers of the Great Lakes region and the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The head of the conspiracy was Pontiac, probably the greatest of all the Indian chiefs in point of talent and native virtues. The plot was managed with great adroitness. So well-timed was it that every English garrison was attacked on the same day, and all but three were taken. The war continued with interruptions for three years, but in the end the Indians yielded. The failure of the con-

spiracy of Pontiac broke the backbone of Indian resistance forever. There have been many Indian wars since then, but none ever again seriously threatened the supremacy of the white race.

CHAPTER VII

THE COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ONE very important consequence of the French and Indian War, as we have already noted, was to diminish the colonial sense of dependence upon Great Britain. The colonists for the first time realized their own strength and began to regard themselves as Americans, not merely as transplanted Britons. The growth of this sentiment was aided by the physical distance separating England and America, and by the fact that the real interests of the colonists centred on this side of the ocean.

But the term American did not have the large meaning then that it possesses to-day. To be an American in this age means to be a citizen of the United States, irrespective of State or section. In the eighteenth century an American was simply a Pennsylvanian, a Virginian, a New Englander, or some other provincial, nothing more. The various sections differed from each

other in climate, in occupation, in social customs and ideals. The fact that there were no railroads or other facilities for communication tended to perpetuate some of these differences. It was not until long after the great Civil War that the United States became a truly compact and fraternal nation.

Although the colonies were dissimilar in minor respects, in serious and fundamental things they had much in common. They were inspired by the same spirit of progress, and in particular they cherished the principle of representative government in contrast to the aristocratic and monarchical ideas of the Old World. The people of England had more of the spirit and institutions of democracy than the people of continental Europe, but far less than the Americans.

The total population of the thirteen colonies in 1760 was something over a million and a half, about equally divided by Mason and Dixon's line.*

* The charter of William Penn fixed the fortieth degree north latitude as the southern boundary of Pennsylvania, thus excluding Philadelphia and shutting the colony entirely off from the Delaware Bay. As this was evidently not the intent of the charter Penn claimed a portion of Maryland as his rightful property. After a long dispute

The Southern Colonies.—Agriculture was the chief employment of the people of the South; consequently country life greatly predominated over town life, and social interests centred in the plantations. Baltimore and Charleston were the only Southern cities of size and importance. Maryland and Virginia raised large quantities of tobacco, which they exported to London, while South Carolina was devoted to the cultivation of rice and indigo.

The population of the Southern colonies comprised three elements: the planters, the negroes, and the "poor whites." The planters dominated both the social and the political life of their section. Many of them were descended from the Cavaliers, who fled to America in the previous century when the Stuart line of kings was expelled and the Puritans ruled England. The planters were a rich, intelligent, and honorable class who gave to our country some of its best and wisest men. They lived in large, square frame or brick mansions, surrounded by

the heirs of Penn and those of Lord Baltimore agreed to make a new boundary. The line was drawn by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, two English surveyors, and has ever since been known as Mason and Dixon's line. It is the conventional line of division between the North and the South.

well-kept acres, and dispensed a generous hospitality both to their neighbors and to the stranger who passed their way.

The negroes dwelt at some distance from the mansion in small cabins, which were known as the "servants' quarters." As a rule they were well cared for and their condition was a happy one, except in the rice-swamps of the far South, where their labor was especially arduous and their treatment severe. The ownership of slaves, together with his superior importance in the community, made the planter haughty and imperious to those who were his inferiors in rank and condition. But it also gave him a feeling of responsibility for the welfare of those who were dependent upon him, and developed some worthy moral qualities in his nature.

A species of white slavery also existed in some of the colonies. A favorite policy of the British Government was to transport large numbers of convicts to America, where they were bound out to service for long periods of time. Most of them were sent to Maryland and Virginia, whose people protested strongly against receiving them.

Many of the voluntary immigrants were too poor to pay for their passage. Such persons

were met on their arrival by individual colonists who paid the master of the ship his transportation charges. In return the immigrants bound themselves to work for their benefactors without pay, generally for a period of two years, at the expiration of which they were given their freedom. They were known as "redemptioners." This sort of white servitude existed principally in the South, but to some extent in Pennsylvania. The redemptioners in course of time found their way into the substantial and prosperous middle class. Many married into families with which they lived. One signed the Declaration of Independence.

The Church of England was established by law in Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. In Maryland the Roman Catholics had been driven out by the Protestants, and all tax-payers were compelled to contribute to the support of the Episcopal clergy, who were more noted for their horse-racing and gambling than for their piety. After the Revolution other denominations multiplied rapidly throughout the South. At the outbreak of the Revolution the College of William and Mary was the only institution of higher learning from Maryland to Georgia, and that was patronized only by the rich. Law-

yers were an influential element of Southern society. They were usually the younger sons of wealthy planters.

New England. — New England offered a marked contrast in some respects to the Southern colonies. Instead of living far apart on great plantations the New England people dwelt in towns, which were many and prosperous. The poor quality of the soil made agriculture less productive than in the more fertile regions of the West and South. Many persons were therefore compelled to engage in trade, fishing, and mechanical pursuits for support. Thus the nature of their employment made it necessary for the people to live in communities. Then, too, the constant peril of Indian attacks in earlier times, together with the fact that religious association was a prime duty with the Puritans, gave town life an inevitable ascendancy over country life.

Massachusetts and Rhode Island manufactured considerable quantities of coarse cloth for home use. The many swift streams furnished abundant water-power for mills and factories. There was a great deal of ship-building and a large miscellaneous commerce with the West Indies and Southern Europe. The foundation

of the present varied industrial life of New England was laid back in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Slavery existed to a limited extent. There was no opposition to it on moral grounds, such as arose a century later. New England ship-owners who were deacons in the church thought it no sin to engage in the African slave-trade. The failure of slavery to take root in New England was due partly to the rigor of the climate, but chiefly to the fact that slave-labor was not adapted to the pursuits of that section.

Class distinctions were not so sharply drawn as in the South, and extremes of wealth and poverty were not so marked. But it would be a mistake to suppose that there was no aristocracy. There is an aristocracy in every community, a class of citizens whose superiority is commonly conceded. In New England this aristocratic element consisted of the clergy, the merchants, the magistrates, and the school-teachers. Unlike the Southern planters, however, they did not have a monopoly in government. Political power in New England was shared by the people.

The Congregational Church was established by law in every colony, except Rhode Island, in about the same degree that the Church of Eng-

land was established in the South. It continued to be supported by public taxes in Massachusetts and Connecticut as late as the nineteenth century. Education went hand in hand with religion. Harvard, Yale, and Brown were flourishing institutions when the Revolution broke out.

The Middle Colonies.—The population of New England and the South was mainly of English stock, but that of the Middle colonies included many nationalities. Democratic sentiment was wide-spread and deeply rooted, especially in Pennsylvania, which had a more nearly equal distribution of wealth than any other colony North or South. The Quakers came the nearest to constituting an aristocratic class in Pennsylvania. New York had a very real aristocracy in the Dutch Knickerbocker families who were descended from the early patroons. Slavery existed to a greater extent in the Middle colonies than in New England, but it was not a vital part of the industrial system except in Delaware.

The people derived their support mainly from agriculture. The farms of eastern Pennsylvania were the richest to be found in the entire country. In this colony manufacturing had also

begun, giving promise of that vast development which it was to attain in the future. The iron mines of Pennsylvania were opened in 1720. By the middle of the century large quantities of this ore were exported to England. New York and Philadelphia were the centres of a large export trade in grain, flour, and furs with Europe and the West Indies.

The Church of England was established in all the Middle colonies save Pennsylvania, where religious freedom was permitted every one, even Roman Catholics who were proscribed and penalized elsewhere. Popular education was generally neglected in the Middle colonies owing to the unwillingness of the Church of England authorities to intrust it to those who were not of their faith. The Quakers, Germans, and Moravians had a few excellent private schools in the larger towns of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and there were several institutions of higher grade that have since become widely celebrated. The University of Pennsylvania was founded in 1740, and soon took equal rank with the older colleges of New England. Unlike them its purpose was not to train the clergy, but to provide a liberal education for all the youth of the province who might choose to attend. It was the

first collegiate institution in America which was not sectarian in its origin, and the first to offer courses of study in law, medicine, and science. King's College, now Columbia University, and the College of New Jersey, at Princeton, were founded a few years later.

The Crudity of Colonial Life.—The most noticeable feature of American life in the eighteenth century as compared with our own times is the entire absence one hundred and fifty years ago of many things which we of to-day regard as indispensable to safety, convenience, and prosperity. The great inventions, the amazing increase of scientific knowledge, the general utilization of natural forces to do the physical work of the world, these are in the main the contributions of the nineteenth century to the comfort and advancement of mankind.

The American of the eighteenth century travelled as the world had travelled for thousands of years, the only difference being a greater inconvenience incidental to the crude and unsettled condition of America. Land travel was either by horseback or by stage-coach. Frequently a wife rode behind her husband on the same steed. Stage-coaches were uncomfortable affairs, having no springs and frequently no backs to the

seats. Roads were usually bad; some towns had none, but used the old Indian trails. The best roads were to be found in Pennsylvania. There were few bridges; rivers had to be forded or crossed on improvised and dangerous rafts. To go from New York to Philadelphia by stage-coach required two or three days, and from New York to Boston six. Travel by slow sailing-vessel on river, lake, and coast was safe and agreeable compared to the vicissitudes of the stage-coach. The majority of people obviated the inconvenience and expense of travel by remaining at home all their lives.

Mails were few and irregular. In 1775 there were only thirty-seven weekly newspapers in the whole country and no dailies. These journals were poorly printed and contained very meagre and aged news accounts, being chiefly filled with miscellaneous matter, such as poetry, sermons, political essays, and local advertisements.

Physicians were persons of dignity and importance, but of very limited professional knowledge. They administered remedies made of bitter herbs and curious compounds which would astonish the practitioner of to-day. No matter what the disease might be, their usual practice

was to bleed the patient. Sometimes a quart or more of blood was drawn from a sick person on the supposition that such treatment was beneficial. Washington died from loss of blood drawn by his physician to cure laryngitis. Philadelphia was far in advance of all other colonial towns and cities in medical learning—a distinction which to a less degree it may still be said to retain. The University of Pennsylvania was the pioneer in the systematic study of medicine. Lectures in this subject were given as early as 1762, and in 1765 a special department was organized. Young doctors in other parts of the country equipped themselves for general practice by serving a brief apprenticeship in the offices of older physicians, and then went out with drugs and scalpel to prey upon the community.

Government.—The most striking fact in the political history of the colonies up to the middle of the eighteenth century is their unusual degree of freedom from British control. The self-government of the thirteen British dependencies offers a sharp contrast to the minute and strict supervision which France exercised over Canada and to the general colonial policy of the nations of that day.

One reason for this extraordinary liberality was the necessity which the British Government early realized of insuring the good-will of the colonists as a guarantee of protection against the French. Another reason perhaps was the feeling of relief experienced by the home authorities at getting rid of the Puritans, the Quakers, and the Roman Catholics so easily and so cheaply. Connecticut and Rhode Island in particular had a larger measure of independence than is enjoyed by any colony in the British Empire at the present day. They elected their own governors and had all the powers of sovereignty except the right to make treaties with foreign nations. So liberal were their charters that these instruments continued in use as State constitutions until 1818 and 1842 respectively.

In the case of the other eleven colonies the governors were appointed by the king or, as in Pennsylvania and Maryland, by the proprietors. These governors had extensive military and civil powers, but no control over the public treasury, that being completely in the hands of the assemblies, which were everywhere elected by the people. The governors and the colonial legislatures engaged in frequent quarrels,

but as the assemblies held the public purse the people through their representatives usually won.

Although the governors had the power of veto they seldom dared use it, for if they did the assemblies were almost certain to retaliate by withholding their salaries. The same measure of coercion was also applied to the judges, who like the governors were appointed by the king or the proprietor. A New York judge who gave a decision against a member of the legislature was promptly punished by having his salary reduced. The fact that all colonial officials, whether elected or appointed, depended for their salaries upon the legislatures constituted a most effective weapon in the hands of the people, who were thus practically independent of external control.

The franchise was restricted in every colony by property qualifications and religious tests, even in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, which were noted above the rest for their liberality.

Town and County.—In New England, where the people were grouped in communities, the town naturally became the political unit. All local questions were decided in "town-meeting," which met several times each year and where

discussion was open to any voter. The town-meeting proved an excellent political training school. Here the people learned the art of debate and acquired an experience in public affairs which has contributed largely to the success of the democratic principle of government in America.

In the South, where towns were few, the county was the unit. As a general rule county officers were not elected, but were appointed by the governors from the class of planters and lawyers. From this practice it resulted that only a few became proficient in the science of government.

The Middle colonies contained numerous trading towns and large agricultural regions. Hence we find a mixed type bearing resemblances to both the town and county systems. In Pennsylvania county officers were elected by the people, while in New York the affairs of the county were managed by a board of supervisors who were chosen by the towns.

These local systems have been extended westward by migration along parallels of latitude. Kentucky was settled by Virginians, who established in their new homes the county system. In northern Ohio, which was peopled chiefly by

New Englanders, the town became the political unit; while southern Ohio, settled by Pennsylvanians, adopted that variety of the mixed type which prevailed in the locality whence the immigrants came.

CHAPTER VIII

CAUSES OF THE REVOLUTION

THE French and Indian War by removing the only rival that threatened British dominion in America enabled England to turn her undivided attention to the internal affairs of her colonies, which had so long enjoyed immunity from interference. From 1763 until the outbreak of the Revolution the British Government tried by a continuous abridgment of their political and commercial privileges to gain a firmer hold of its American possessions.

At that time all nations held the theory that colonies existed for the sole benefit of the parent state. That they had rights which the mother-country was bound to respect was not recognized by the governments of Europe. While England held this view in common with other nations, unlike them she had never acted upon it, but had, as we have already seen, allowed her colonies to develop about as they pleased. The unfortu-

nate change in her colonial policy was chiefly the work of the king, George III, who was determined to exercise a larger measure of royal authority than the Constitution of England sanctioned or than his talents fitted him for. He was seconded by incapable advisers and by Parliament, which was singularly blind to true British interests.

The Navigation Acts.—The first step in the Government's new policy was to enlarge and strictly enforce the Navigation Acts, a series of laws which had been passed from time to time during the previous hundred years to give England a monopoly of colonial trade by limiting manufactures and forbidding commerce with other countries.

The way in which the mother-country expected to derive benefit from this measure was by having all colonial products which were intended for European countries shipped to England first, to be resold to foreign dealers by English merchants, who would thus make a profit.

As the Navigation Acts had been practically ignored by the British authorities themselves for more than a century, the attempt to revive them and to impose new commercial re-

restrictions upon the colonies at the very moment of their most prosperous development was indignantly resented in America. To evade the laws the colonists resorted to smuggling.

The Sending of British Troops.—It was also determined by the Government to establish a permanent standing army of ten thousand British troops in America. The reason alleged was that they were necessary for protection against the Indians. The colonists, however, believed that the real object was to destroy colonial liberties.

Taxation Without Representation.—The third feature of the Government's programme was its purpose to make the colonies partially defray the expense of maintaining these garrisons by a tax amounting to one-third of their support. It was not the amount of the tax, but the principle that the colonists resented. They thought it unjust that the British Parliament in which they were given no representation should force them to contribute to the maintenance of a foreign army sent to their country with hostile intent in execution of a law which they themselves had no part in framing.

The Stamp Act and the Quartering Act.—In 1764 Parliament enacted that all bills, notes,

marriage certificates, and other legal instruments must be written on paper bearing the Government stamp. The revenue derived from the sale of stamps was to be employed in colonial defence. The purpose of the law was not unusual or tyrannical, but the colonists objected because it was inconsistent with their own practices and conception of liberty.

The Quartering Act required the colonists to furnish the British troops stationed among them with quarters and provisions. This law was directly opposed to a well-known principle of the British Constitution which the colonists claimed existed for their benefit as well as for that of native-born Englishmen.

The Colonies Remonstrate.—These acts of Parliament called out strong expressions of dissent from some of the colonial legislatures. The Virginia Assembly passed resolutions asserting that it alone had the right to tax the people of Virginia, which right could only be lawfully exercised by the people themselves or by their chosen representatives.

Massachusetts invited her sister colonies to send delegates to New York to address a remonstrance to the king and Parliament. Nine accepted, and the convention met in October,

1765. In a "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America" it denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies without representation. There was no threat of resistance, but the action of the delegates showed that they were supported by public sentiment.

Benjamin Franklin was sent to England to argue the American cause before a committee of Parliament. William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, made a powerful speech against the Stamp Act. The objectionable measure was repealed, but the victory was fruitless, for Parliament still insisted upon the right to tax the colonies without their consent.

The Townshend Act.—In 1767 Parliament passed a new revenue law which imposed a tax upon many articles of common use, including tea. The proceeds of the tax were to pay the salaries of the royal governors and the judges with the object of releasing these officials from the control of colonial legislatures which had long been accustomed to carry their points by the simple expedient of withholding salaries from those who opposed their will.

The Townshend Act was received with a storm of protest. John Dickinson wrote a series

of articles under the caption "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer," which were published in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle* and circulated throughout the colonies, and even translated into French and published in Paris. They attacked the position of Parliament, and had a powerful influence in preparing the popular mind for armed resistance. Led by Massachusetts and Virginia, the colonies joined in an agreement not to purchase any of the articles which were subject to the Townshend duties. This policy proved effectual, and in 1770 all the duties were repealed except the tax on tea. It was an insubstantial triumph, for Parliament refused to concede the principle for which the colonies contended, but insisted as before upon its unlimited right to tax them with or without their consent.

Opposition Becomes Violent.—The British ministry continued to issue orders sure to irritate a people accustomed to self-government. Numerous quarrels in the nature of riots occurred between the British troops and the people. On March 5, 1770, a crowd of citizens in Boston got into an affray with a British guard. The soldiers fired, killing four and wounding several of the mob. This affair became celebrated as the "Boston Massacre." The royal governor

of North Carolina at the head of fifteen hundred troops fired upon an assemblage of people who were meeting for an orderly purpose. These incidents created a sensation throughout the country because they showed the peril to popular liberties which was certain to result whenever civil authority was replaced by military power.

Late in 1773 ship-loads of tea were sent to various American ports from New Hampshire to South Carolina. Philadelphia ordered the Delaware River pilots not to bring any tea-ships up the river. A vessel that reached Chester was sent back to England. New York, Charleston, and other cities took similar action. The tea designed for Massachusetts met with a more spectacular fate. Some of the citizens of Boston, disguised as Indians, boarded British ships one night and threw the tea with which they were laden into the harbor. Such persistent opposition enraged the Government and made it more than ever determined to establish British sovereignty in America.

The "Intolerable Acts."—Massachusetts was particularly violent in resistance to British measures of repression. It had borne the brunt of the French and Indian War, and on that ac-

count deemed itself entitled to consideration from the home Government; moreover, it had lost many of the powers of sovereignty which had once placed it in the class with Connecticut and Rhode Island, and resentment still rankled in the hearts of Massachusetts patriots.

Early in 1774 Parliament passed a series of drastic laws directed mainly against Massachusetts. The first closed the port of Boston to commerce until the town should pay the amount of damage caused by the riots.

A second greatly extended the power of the crown over the colony by declaring void certain popular provisions of the charter.

A third provided that officers and soldiers who in resisting riots might render themselves liable to the charge of homicide should be sent to England for trial instead of being tried in the colonial courts. The Americans believed that this would encourage soldiers to shoot citizens.

A fourth act provided for the quartering of British troops on the people, and was intended to establish military despotism in Massachusetts.

Finally certain political and religious privileges were given to the French Catholics of

Canada, and territory claimed by Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia was annexed to the province of Quebec. The purpose of the Government was to satisfy the French Canadians, so that they would feel no inclination to unite with the disaffected colonies. The latter believed that this law imperilled both Protestantism and Anglo-Saxon ideals and institutions.

General Gage was appointed by the king Governor of Massachusetts. When he attempted to enforce the "Intolerable Acts" the other colonies rallied to the defence of Massachusetts, feeling that her cause was now their own, as similar legislation might at any time be enacted against them.

The First Continental Congress.—On September 5, 1774, a convention met in Philadelphia which was attended by delegates from every colony except Georgia. Some of the most distinguished men in America were present; among them George Washington, Edmund Randolph, and Patrick Henry from Virginia; John and Samuel Adams from Massachusetts; John Jay from New York, and John Dickinson from Pennsylvania.

A declaration of rights was issued denying the authority of Parliament over the colonies,

and asserting that the colonial assemblies should legislate for America. Addresses were prepared to the king disclaiming any desire for separation from the crown, and to the people of England. The people of Canada were invited to join in a protest to Great Britain. It was further agreed to neither import nor export goods from or to the mother-country or her possessions in the West Indies. Finally the colonies pledged themselves to support Massachusetts in case her opposition to the acts of Parliament involved her in war with Great Britain.

The First Blood of the Revolution.—The high-handed proceedings of General Gage soon impelled the people of Massachusetts to prepare for armed resistance. A quantity of military stores was secretly deposited at Concord, a small village about twenty miles from Boston. General Gage, being apprised of it, sent a detachment of troops to seize the stores. As they passed through Lexington in the early morning of April 19, 1775, they encountered one hundred Massachusetts militiamen, who during the night had been informed of the British movement. When ordered to disperse, the "embattled farmers" refused, whereupon the British opened fire, killing seven and wounding others.

The troops then proceeded to Concord and destroyed the few remaining stores which the citizens had not been able to remove.

Meanwhile the militia swarmed in from the adjacent country, and when the British were ready to return to Boston they found an enemy behind every rock, tree, and fence along the road. Exposed to a hidden and continuous fire the British presented an easy target for the skilled provincial marksmen. Their retreat became a rout, and when they reached Boston that night they had lost nearly three hundred of their number.

Thus began the memorable war which was to divide the British Empire and create a new nation.

The Meaning of the Coming Struggle.—Neither the arbitrary British policy of taxation without representation, the quartering of foreign troops on the inhabitants in time of peace, the objectionable system of commercial restriction, nor any other factor taken singly or together will fully explain the revolt of the united American colonies. Back of it all lay the unconquerable spirit of freedom, inherent and overwhelming in the American people, which not only resented the abuse of power, but which was intolerant

of control or interference in any form, however legitimate, when exercised by an authority external to themselves. They had grown into a distinct people, broader minded, more energetic, more intelligent than their kindred across the sea, and submission to foreign rule was no longer compatible with ambition and self-respect.

Nowhere was there a large majority in favor of war. In New York, South Carolina, and Georgia the war-party was in a minority; but it was everywhere better organized and made effective use of its strength, very often by treating its opponents to coats of tar and feathers and employing other forms of violent persuasion.

After hostilities commenced many Loyalists, or "Tories," as the Americans who sympathized with the British Government were called, took up their residence in Quebec, Nova Scotia, and other colonies of the crown. About fifty thousand enlisted at different periods of the war in the British Army. The Loyalists were nearly all persons of wealth and social standing, and the disappearance of so conservative and profitable an element was felt to the detriment of America for many years.

The English people were by no means unanimous in approval of their Government's attitude toward America. The City of London, which had previously never failed to give enthusiastic support to foreign wars, opposed from first to last the attempt to coerce America. Some of the best officers in the army refused to serve against the colonists. The Whig Party championed the colonial cause, believing it to be in reality the cause of all British subjects, but the king's ministers and Parliament were controlled by the Tory Party, which was determined to crush the liberties of America.

CHAPTER IX

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

WHEN the skirmish at Lexington announced the advent of war the colonists were not contending avowedly for independence, but only for the recognition of certain rights which they claimed as British subjects. At the same time the struggle was bound to become a war for complete independence, for the conviction was growing that in no other way could these rights be secured. This feeling was voiced by Patrick Henry, when in the course of an impassioned speech in the Virginia House of Delegates he exclaimed: "We must fight! An appeal to the God of Hosts is all that is left us."

Early in May a few provincials led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured the British fortresses of Crown Point and Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain.

The Second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia on May 10, 1775. It was composed of

about the same men as the first with the notable addition of a tall, red-haired young Radical from Virginia, Thomas Jefferson, who was destined to have a larger ultimate influence upon the development of the nation whose birth was near at hand than any other man of his time.

This congress became by common consent the central government for the colonists, and remained so for six years.

George Washington was chosen commander-in-chief of the Continental Army then gathering at Cambridge. Henceforward the burden of war rested mainly upon his shoulders. The difficulties of his position were enormous, and increased as the war dragged on. To the skill, the patience, the wisdom, the tact, the unselfishness of Washington was due in predominating measure the ultimate triumph of the American cause. He served through the entire war without pay, even devoting his private fortune to feeding and clothing his destitute soldiers when Congress failed to provide for them.

The Combatants Compared.—The war began in New England, its decisive part was enacted in the Middle States, and it ended in the South. At no given time were there more than forty thousand British or thirty thousand Americans

under arms, and it frequently happened that there was no fighting at all for long periods.

Great Britain had immense wealth and could borrow money in any quarter. The Americans found it impossible to meet their financial needs. Congress had no authority to levy general taxes, and the colonial legislatures would not impose local taxes for a general purpose because of mutual jealousies.

Great Britain had the largest navy in the world, while the Americans could muster only seventeen vessels. The British troops were thoroughly disciplined and well equipped. As the war proceeded England hired thirty thousand auxiliaries from Germany and enlisted the Indians.*

* The Indians who allied themselves with the British made war in true Indian fashion, killing and scalping, respecting neither age, infancy, nor womanhood. The British made little attempt to restrain them. A horde of Tories and Indians swept into the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania in 1778 and massacred hundreds of the inhabitants. The Americans also tried to enlist the Indians, but without much success. Those who did fight on the American side were kept within approximate bounds of civilized warfare.

Most of the German hired soldiers were Hessians. Congress offered them grants of land if they would desert. Many of them accepted and settled in the Middle States. They were honest, well-meaning men who were inhumanly sold by their ruler for a price.

The American soldiers were undisciplined, poorly clothed, underpaid, and inexperienced. Portraits of revolutionary heroes represent them as handsomely arrayed in uniforms of blue and buff. An official uniform of that description was adopted by Congress, but as each man had to furnish his own outfit, and the majority of the soldiers were poor, there were few uniforms worn except by officers of higher rank. The privates and non-commissioned officers generally wore home-spun dyed with the juice of the butternut.

The flags showed a great variety. At first the most common one was the "rattlesnake flag," bearing above the figure of a coiled serpent the motto, "Don't tread on me."

The first official American flag was unfurled January 1, 1776. It had thirteen red and white stripes with the British Union Jack in the corner, signifying that the colonies were still a part of the British Empire. The raising of the "Union flag," as it was called, over the camp at Cambridge was at the moment regarded by the British commander-in-chief as a token of submission to the king and Parliament, because it displayed so prominently the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew.

The present national emblem was adopted by a resolution of Congress June 14, 1777. The British Jack was replaced by thirteen stars, representing the thirteen States, arranged in the form of a circle on a field of blue.

The American officers, although deficient in military training, were natural commanders and rapidly developed technical knowledge with the opportunities of actual warfare.

The most serious drawbacks to the American cause were the short terms for which the men enlisted in the army, and the prevalence of the spirit of jealousy which prevented true union of effort, and often imperilled success. Colonial governments, members of Congress, army officers, and the soldiers and people of the different sections shared this latter fault to a greater or less extent. Only a few great-souled, far-sighted patriots like Washington, Franklin, and some others seemed to be entirely free from personal envy and ambition.

Battle of Bunker Hill.—Soon after the affair at Lexington and Concord, General Gage received reënforcements from England. The British held Boston, while the Americans occupied the hills above the town.

On June 17 the British ships in the harbor

and the land forces made a combined attack. Twice the British troops attempted to drive the Americans from their position, but were repulsed with heavy losses. Their brilliant red coats and white breeches offered a splendid target for the sure marksmanship of the Americans, whose short-range muskets loaded with slugs and missiles of various sorts did terrible damage. The third time the Americans, owing to the exhaustion of their ammunition, were obliged to retreat. Each side lost about one-third of its numbers, the British more than a thousand, the Americans over four hundred. The battle accomplished nothing of military advantage for either side, but the Americans were greatly encouraged.

The Attempt to Take Quebec.—The revolutionists hoped that the French inhabitants of Canada might be persuaded to join them in the struggle against Great Britain. While the main army was engaged around Boston two small expeditions were secretly despatched to Canada. One, under the command of General Richard Montgomery, moved by the Lake Champlain route and captured Montreal. The other, commanded by Colonel Benedict Arnold, was sent through the Maine woods to Quebec, which was

reached only after weeks of heroic effort and incredible suffering from cold and hunger. Men boiled their shoes and leather breeches for food, and hundreds fell exhausted along the line of march.

On the night of December 31, 1775, the two armies joined in a fierce though futile attack on the walled city of Quebec. Montgomery was killed and Arnold badly wounded and taken prisoner. The Canadian project was the most daring enterprise of the war, but it failed to accomplish its purpose. Canada, which had no desire for additional liberties, remained loyal to the empire.

The British Evacuate Boston.—General Washington took command of the Continental Army July 3, 1775. On account of the poor equipment of his troops, the lack of discipline, and the short terms for which most of the men had enlisted, he was unable to commence active operations against the enemy at once.

In March, 1776, Washington seized and fortified Dorchester Heights, an eminence overlooking Boston. General Sir William Howe, who had succeeded Gage as commander-in-chief of the British forces, finding the town no longer tenable, embarked his troops on transports and

sailed to Halifax. Strange to say, he left a large quantity of cannon, muskets, powder, and bullets, practically making the Americans a present of his military stores.

The Declaration of Independence.—Until the spring of 1776 the colonists were not avowedly contending for separation from the empire of Great Britain, but only for a larger measure of self-government. They wished to be free from the control of Parliament, but were willing to recognize the king, since his power alone was not great enough to interfere seriously with their liberties. But when Congress again petitioned for a redress of grievances, and as before the petition was ignored, all hope of reconciliation was abandoned and Congress determined to renounce British authority completely.

The growing sentiment for independence was in no small degree the work of the Englishman, Thomas Paine, who in a newspaper series of effective articles under the pen-name of "Common Sense" had converted a great number of his new compatriots to radical ideals.

Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced a resolution "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." The resolution was passed, though

not unanimously. Thomas Jefferson drew up a Declaration of Independence, which was adopted on the evening of July 4, 1776, and signed August 2d. This instrument proclaimed officially the birth of the United States. Every man who affixed his name to the Declaration of Independence was guilty of treason under British law and liable to the penalty of death. The former colonies assumed the title of "States," and reorganized their governments on more popular lines.

The Declaration of Independence is perhaps the most remarkable state-paper in history. Its language, vehement, earnest, eloquent, is admirably suited to its purposes. It is impossible to read its familiar phrases or to scan its immortal signatures without an answering thrill of sympathy across the sweep of years. It not only contains a clear statement of the issues between Great Britain and America, but it gives explicit and emphatic utterance to what was in 1776 a novel political theory; namely, that the true object of government is to serve the people, and that when their government fails to do this the people have a right to change or overthrow it. This idea had been advanced by a few writers in England, France, Holland, and

Italy, but the Revolutionary patriots were the first to invoke the principle of popular sovereignty in a practical experiment of empire-building.

Philosophically the document abounds with loose assumptions having no basis in fact nor promise of fulfilment in the possibilities of the human race. Indeed the academic simplicity with which some of its announcements are habitually received and quoted has perverted great truths vital to all human interest and social progress. In the mouth of the ranting demagogue or the brain of the ignoramus the catch-phrases of this celebrated charter become pregnant with potentialities of mischief and crime. Clothed in the flamboyant rhetoric of the agitator and hurled in frenzied appeal at incarnate discontent, the dogma of equality breeds anarchy and ruin.

But the Declaration of Independence is not to be indiscriminately condemned as a mere philosophical vagary any more than it is to be blindly venerated as a repository of political truth or an infallible assertion of eternal and axiomatic principles. Rather is it to be judged by what it accomplished in firing the national heart and in developing the policy of a critical

and heroic time. It suggests the birthday of a great nation whose achievements are the admiration of history.

American Reverses.—Declarations and manifestoes, however powerful from the standpoint of agitation, are impotent to work out the liberties of a free people. Revolutions are an appeal to force. Declarations are sealed with blood, and ratified, if at all, by the triumph of arms.

The crucial stage of the struggle for independence now began. The British, unable to make headway in New England, transferred their operations to the Middle States, which offered a better point of attack, and whose people included many loyalists.

General Howe's plan was to take New York and to run a line of defence northward along the Hudson River and Lake Champlain to Canada, thus separating New England from the rest of the country. Anticipating Howe's purpose, Washington moved his forces from Boston to the protection of New York. The British outnumbered the Americans two to one. At the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) Washington was defeated, and again at White Plains in October. Two forts on the Hudson fell into British hands.

Had Howe followed up his victories he might have crushed the patriot cause then and there. American enthusiasm began to wane under disaster, the army dwindled, and Congress was confronted with bankruptcy. Had it not been for the splendid services of Robert Morris, a wealthy merchant of Philadelphia, the Revolution might have failed at this critical juncture for lack of financial support. Pledging his personal credit he raised a loan for the Government sufficient to tide over the emergency. For a time the private fortunes of Washington and Morris were the only thing that kept an army in the field.

Trenton and Princeton.—At this crisis occurred one of the brilliant exploits of the war. The town of Trenton, N. J., was a British outpost defended by one thousand Hessians. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington crossed the Delaware River from the Pennsylvania side, and, taking the Hessians by surprise, captured nearly the entire force. The British General, Cornwallis, at once started in pursuit, but Washington by a clever manœuvre outwitted him, and the British were defeated in a sharp encounter at Princeton.

These victories partly retrieved the misfort-

unes of the previous summer and autumn, and revived the courage of the despondent Americans. Frederick the Great, King of Prussia and foremost general in Europe, declared that Washington's success at Trenton and Princeton would compare with the achievements of the most famous soldiers in the world's history.

The British in Philadelphia.—In July, 1777, General Howe with eighteen thousand British troops embarked at New York and landed at Elkton, Md., with the intention of taking Philadelphia. Washington hastened from New Jersey to defend the city, but was defeated at the battle of Brandywine. Quickly recovering, he again engaged the British at Germantown, but was compelled to retire by reason of a heavy fog which made the Americans mistake each other for the enemy. Congress fled to Lancaster, and afterward to York, where it remained for nine months. In October the British captured two forts on the Delaware River and took Philadelphia, where they went into winter quarters, pleasantly entertained by the loyalists of the city.

The Surrender of Burgoyne.—While Washington was encountering reverses in Pennsylvania another division of the American Army

was winning laurels in New York. At the same time that Howe was preparing to take Philadelphia General Burgoyne with ten thousand British, Tories, and Indians moved down from Canada toward New York with the object of cutting off New England from the Middle States. Had Howe gone north to coöperate with Burgoyne instead of going south to take Philadelphia the plan would have succeeded. It was the intention of the British Ministry that both generals should coöperate, and peremptory orders to this effect were addressed to Howe and Burgoyne. But Lord George Germain, in the pleasurable excitement of a holiday trip, forgot to despatch the instructions of the ministry until too late. His negligence proved the salvation of the American cause.

At first Burgoyne met with little opposition, but when the Americans concentrated upon him his disasters began. Several detachments of the British Army were defeated in separate encounters. The main army of six thousand, finding itself vanquished in battle, out of provisions, and hemmed in by the Americans, surrendered at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, to General Gates, the American commander.

Gates was wholly inefficient. He had been

appointed by Congress for purely political reasons. The success of the campaign was chiefly due to the skill and heroism of Benedict Arnold. Nevertheless Gates received all the credit, while the real victor was ignored.

The Conway Cabal.—One result of Gates's undeserved prominence was a conspiracy known as the Conway Cabal, from the name of its author, General Thomas Conway, to remove Washington from the command of the Continental Army and install Gates in his place. Several officers and members of Congress were implicated in the affair. The intrigue aroused great popular indignation, and was promptly crushed by Washington.

The Winter at Valley Forge.—When General Howe took Philadelphia the Americans went into quarters at Valley Forge. The winter of 1777-78 was unusually severe. The soldiers were half-naked and starving; many froze to death. In March the army was reduced by death, desertion, and the expiration of terms of enlistment to four thousand men. Howe with his twenty thousand British troops in the near-by city of Philadelphia could easily have destroyed the depleted American Army.

Terrible as were these experiences, the win-

ter was fruitful of one great benefit. Baron Von Steuben, a distinguished Prussian general who had joined the patriots as a volunteer, devoted himself to drilling the raw, undisciplined recruits in European tactics. When the winter passed and the army was ready to take the field its efficiency was vastly increased. The good results of Steuben's training were seen throughout the remainder of the war.

Several other eminent foreigners freely gave their aid to the American cause—Pulaski, Kosciusko, De Kalb, and most famous of all, the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman, who became a member of the military family of Washington in 1777 and rendered valuable assistance as soldier and counsellor.

Revolutionary Finance.—The reason why the soldiers were so destitute, not only at Valley Forge, but throughout the entire war, was not because food and clothing were scarce, but because Congress had no money with which to buy them. When the colonies created the Continental Congress they withheld from it the power to levy taxes, so necessary to carrying on successful war, fearing that such power would put the central government beyond their control. When Congress later requested the States to pay their

proportionate shares of the general expense they refused.

In order to provide funds Congress issued paper money, which consists of written promises to pay certain sums in cash on demand. Paper as a commodity, unlike the precious metals, has no exchange value. Its circulating power is conferred upon it by law. Paper money is purely promissory and representative, and is good only so long as people have confidence in the ability of the government to redeem its pledges. Should that confidence be destroyed, the money which is founded upon it becomes worthless. The danger which inheres in the use of paper money is liability to over-issue, which inevitably leads to depreciation.

At first people accepted the "continental" money, as it was called. But so much more of it was issued than could ever be redeemed that the notes became valueless. Before long it took \$600 in this currency to buy a pair of boots, and a bushel of oats cost \$200. By 1781 one silver dollar was worth a thousand in paper.

While Congress was flooding the country with worthless paper money, the individual States were doing the same thing within their borders. The financial evils of the Revolution-

ary period were felt for many years after the war closed.

France to the Rescue.—After the Declaration of Independence Congress commissioned Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee to visit the court of France and negotiate a treaty of alliance with that country, and also with Spain, which was ruled by the same royal family. The French Government desired the humiliation of England, but knowing the weak condition of the United States hesitated to form an alliance, fearing that it would have to bear the brunt of the struggle. The surrender of Burgoyne convinced France that the United States had a chance to win, and a treaty of commerce and alliance was signed early in 1778, by which the United States was recognized as an independent nation and French military and financial aid promised.

The recognition of the United States by France was an obvious breach of neutrality. International law prescribes but two alternative conditions under which neutral nations may recognize the independence of a community in revolt against its parent state—either separation must be actually and unqualifiedly achieved, or else ultimate success must be morally certain.

Now the outlook for the United States, despite the victory at Saratoga, was never less promising than in 1778. Not only had independence not been achieved, but the probabilities were that it never would be. The credit of the Continental Congress was hopelessly impaired, the army dwindling, and public support half-hearted and uncertain.

Great Britain promptly declared war against France and offered the Americans all that they had ever demanded and more if they would return to the British fold. But it was too late for conciliation. The United States would accept nothing short of absolute independence, which the French alliance now seemed to insure.

The Government of France was despotic in type, and not at all in sympathy with the republican ideals of England's disaffected subjects. Its motive in coming to the assistance of the United States was to square accounts for the loss of Canada, and other grievances of long standing.

The highly intelligent and responsive French middle classes, on the contrary, were enthusiastic for the American cause *per se*, since to them it represented that spirit of liberalism which was within a few years to achieve their own emanci-

pation from an oppressive form of government and an outgrown social regime.

But whatever the motive of her Government, or the legal quality of its action, the timely aid of France saved the American cause when failure seemed probable. The successful negotiation of the French alliance was due not so much to the efficiency of the commissioners as it was to the wisdom and diplomacy of Colonel John Laurens, a member of Washington's military staff, who had been despatched as special envoy to France.

Naval Exploits.—The American Navy consisted mainly of "privateers," vessels owned by private parties and commissioned by Congress to destroy British commerce. After the French alliance was consummated Benjamin Franklin purchased five old ships which had been discarded by the French Government because practically worthless, armed and manned them, and placed the fleet under the command of John Paul Jones of the United States Navy—as brilliant a commander as ever appeared in the history of naval warfare. On September 25, 1779, with a single ship he challenged two superior English frigates off the coast of Scotland. After one of the most desperate sea-fights in history, Jones

sank one of the English vessels and captured the other. His own ship, the *Bonhomme Richard*, was so badly damaged that she sank within a few hours after the victory.

Jones received scant recognition from the Continental Congress. After the war he served as admiral in the Russian Navy, and died in Paris in 1799. His burial-place was recently discovered by General Horace Porter, American Ambassador to France, who had the body brought to this country, where it was interred with ceremony at the United States Naval Academy in June, 1905.

The Battle of Monmouth.—When Sir Henry Clinton, who had been appointed to the command of the British Army in place of General Howe, learned of the French alliance, he abandoned Philadelphia to concentrate all the British forces around New York before the French Army could arrive. Washington immediately started in pursuit and overtook the British rearguard at Monmouth Court-house in the village of Freehold, N. J. After a sharp but indecisive battle (June 28, 1778) the British withdrew to New York, which they held until the end of the war. Washington took position in the highlands of the Hudson, where he could best

operate against Sir Henry Clinton in case the British commander should attempt a hostile movement.

Monmouth was the last important battle in the Middle States; after 1778 the South was the seat of war.

Stony Point.—One of the most heroic and spectacular exploits of the Revolution was the capture by General Anthony Wayne of Stony Point, a strong British fortress on the Hudson. On the night of July 15, 1779, Wayne with twelve hundred light infantry made a rapid and stealthy assault upon the works. To guard against betrayal, which a random shot would cause, the men were not permitted to load their muskets. Charging up the steep ascent at dead of night, the garrison was overpowered and the fortifications carried at the point of the bayonet. Stony Point proved to be of slight strategic value, and was soon abandoned. It is the audacity and heroism of its capture that makes the incident memorable.

Before tracing the closing campaigns there remains to be noted an event which nearly proved the ruin of the American cause.

The Treason of Arnold.—The most important fortress in the United States was West Point on

the Hudson, commanded by Benedict Arnold. Embittered and disheartened by the injustice of his critics and the ingratitude of Congress in failing to recognize his splendid services and in promoting less deserving officers over him, Arnold concocted a plot to sell West Point to the enemy in exchange for \$30,000 and a brigadier-general's commission in the British Army. Major André, a young British officer, was made the medium of negotiation. As André was passing through the American lines he was captured by three American soldiers, and the plans of West Point were found concealed in his stockings. The plot was discovered and West Point saved. Arnold narrowly escaped, but André, in accordance with the rules of war, was hung as a spy.

The tragic fate of the captive was regretted by friend and foe alike. He was brave, magnetic, and accomplished. No American soldier would act as his executioner. The man who did blackened his face, and his identity was never discovered.

The War in the South.—As early as 1776 the British had attempted to gain a foothold in the South. A fleet attacked Charleston, but was repulsed by the American fire from Fort Moultrie

in the harbor. Late in the year 1778 the British, having failed in New England and the Middle States, once more turned their attention to the South. Savannah and Charleston were taken, and by 1780 the British were masters of Georgia and South Carolina.

Congress, thinking to match the British commander, Cornwallis, with a greater general sent Gates to the South. But he who had falsely won the credit for Burgoyne's surrender and had conspired to overthrow Washington proved utterly unable to meet the situation. After a crushing defeat at Camden he was recalled, and the command of the Southern Army intrusted to Nathanael Greene. In a series of brilliant campaigns Greene won back all that had been lost. Cornwallis, completely outgeneralled, retired into Virginia.

The war in the Carolinas and Georgia was of a peculiarly bitter nature. There were many loyalists in those States, and the hatred between them and the patriots constantly expressed itself in acts of wanton cruelty.

The Southern campaigns developed some remarkable cavalry leaders. Colonel Henry Lee—"Light-horse Harry"—with his celebrated Legion was the right arm of Greene's army.

Marion and Sumter with their independent bands of rangers rendered indispensable service in surprising British detachments, destroying wagon-trains, and capturing supplies. They frequently lay concealed all day in the swamps, dashing out at night to surprise the British.

Yorktown.—The summer of 1781 arrived and found Washington a few miles north of New York planning an attack upon the city, which was held by Sir Henry Clinton. Greene was in South Carolina. Cornwallis was in Virginia engaged in a vain attempt to catch the youthful Lafayette, who with a small body of Americans had been sent to Virginia to stop the depredations of the traitor Arnold.

In August Washington learned that a French fleet and army would soon arrive in Chesapeake Bay. Leaving New York, he hastened to Virginia to coöperate with the French against Cornwallis, who had established himself at Yorktown. The allied forces formed a half-circle about the town, and after a siege of three weeks, marked by much hard fighting, Cornwallis surrendered on October 19, 1781. This put an end to military operations, although articles of peace were not signed until September 3, 1783.

The Treaty of Peace.—Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States, whose boundaries were determined as follows: Canada on the north; the Mississippi River on the west; Florida, including the lower part of the present States of Mississippi and Louisiana, became the southern boundary.

Owing to a lack of exact knowledge of American geography on the part of the peace commissioners some of these boundaries were indefinite at several points, which gave rise to many disputes in after years between Great Britain and the United States.

The last place to be evacuated by the British was New York. On November 25 the remnant of their forces embarked on transports and the American troops entered the city amid the huzzas of the rejoicing multitude. The flag of England, which the retiring British had left flying over the town in token of their unwilling departure, was torn away and the stars and stripes nailed to the staff. After an affectionate farewell to his officers, companions throughout eight distressing but heroic years, Washington went to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, and resigned his commission as commander-in-chief. The army was disbanded, and the

American people were free to begin that perilous experiment in republican government which all the world was intently awaiting.

Revolutionary Doctrine and Modern Practice.— So far as concerns the establishment and recognition of the theories of government for which the war was ostensibly undertaken, the Revolutionary struggle was barren of result. Great Britain has never admitted the correctness of the principles for which the Americans contended. Her colonies to-day, though enjoying practical immunity, are theoretically subject to whatever measure of control the British Parliament in its wisdom or its whim may see fit to exercise over them. Nor have the United States in their individual or collective practice adhered closely to Revolutionary doctrine.

The national Government has steadfastly denied home rule to its territories and dependencies, which are under far greater political limitations to-day than were the colonies in 1775. The latter were and the former are taxed by an external sovereign power upon whose irresponsible will their rights and liberties depend, and without any substantial semblance to a "right" of representation in the national councils. True, the territories may, and most of

them have become States, but there is no constitutional or other guarantee that they shall. It was the plain intention of the framers of the Constitution that the Republic should, if it wanted to, hold dependencies indefinitely and never allow them to become anything else.

Colonial liberties in prerevolutionary days possessed one highly effective safeguard which constituted an immense popular advantage over the territorial and colonial system of the United States. In the former case, governors and judges, though appointed by the crown, were dependent for their salaries upon the colonial assemblies, which could and often did use the power which that fact gave them to defeat the monarchical bias of royal officials.

It is a fundamental principle of Anglo-American jurisprudence that the judiciary shall be irremovable by the executive power. This guarantee has always been withheld from the territories, and there is no territorial judge who is not liable to removal at any time and for any cause by the President of the United States—which suggests the question, What becomes of the inviolability of the courts?

The United States Government has repeatedly acquired by purchase and conquest alien

peoples, over whom it has ruled without the "consent of the governed."

Nor has the nation recognized in its domestic policy the *right of revolution*, expressly affirmed by the Declaration of Independence to be inherent in all communities, and upon which the colonies justified their separation from the mother-country in 1776. For when eighty-five years later the seceding States of the South, which were "communities" in the full acceptation of the term as employed in the Declaration of Independence, resorted to the same "right," the United States Government invaded their territory, destroyed the property of their citizens, and put to violent death as many as possible of those inhabitants who dared to resist. And when the United States Government had finally completed the subjugation of the seceding communities, it deprived them of statehood, denied them home rule and Constitutional protection, substituted Federal military jurisdiction for local government, and forced upon them the obnoxious alternative of either accepting certain illegal limitations upon their subsequent political freedom or remaining permanently in the status of conquered territory.

It would seem, then, that governments do not,

as the Déclaration of Independence broadly asserts, "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Governments have no just powers in the accurate and philosophical meaning of the term. They have *necessary* powers, since the constant presence of recognized authority is essential to the integrity and safety of the social structure, but these powers are usurped and in no sense delegated.

Nor does there seem to be outside the sovereign power any such thing as an "inalienable right," but all rights inhere in the *State* by which they are, justly or unjustly, bestowed, withheld, or withdrawn at will.

CHAPTER X

FORMATION OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

AT the close of the Revolution the outlook for the United States was in some respects more discouraging than it had been at any time during the war. The country was prosperous, trade was increasing, and education advancing; but Congress had lost the respect of the people, the States engaged in frequent quarrels with each other, and finances were more disordered than ever. The war had driven the States into a temporary union, but now that they had achieved their independence the tendency was toward separation. Had this tendency been followed the United States would probably have fallen an early prey to some European power or coalition.

The Confederation.—In 1777 the Continental Congress, realizing its own weakness, had proposed a plan of union called the Articles of Confederation. Twelve States accepted, but

Maryland refused. As unanimous consent was required the plan failed of immediate adoption. In 1781, when the war was practically ended, Maryland gave her consent to the Articles, and all the States then went into the Confederation.

The new Government, while an improvement on the Continental Congress, exhibited the same serious defect—a lack of adequate authority to deal with matters of public concern. There were no national courts of law. Congress had a very limited power of taxation, and no control whatever over foreign or interstate commerce. No important legislation could be enacted without the consent of nine States, which was often impossible to obtain on account of jealousies and clashing interests. The individual States not only trespassed upon each other, but they violated international law and the treaties with France and Holland, which infractions the general Government was powerless to prevent.

The North-west Territory and the Ordinance of 1787.—The Confederation accomplished one undeniable benefit. The North-west Territory, lying between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and the Great Lakes, was claimed in portions by New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and

Virginia. For the sake of the public good these States agreed to surrender their several claims to the Confederation, and place the entire region under the control of Congress. In 1787 Congress passed an ordinance for the government of the North-west Territory, providing for its future division into States and forever excluding slavery. The region rapidly filled with settlers, and in time produced the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

The Constitutional Convention. — Conditions steadily grew worse under the Confederation until at last Congress reluctantly issued a call for a general convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

In May, 1787, fifty-five delegates from twelve States met in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Rhode Island alone refused to participate. Her Government was determined to continue the use of paper money, and feared that this policy would be forbidden by the Convention.

An abler body than the Constitutional Convention never assembled. Most of its members had been prominent in the Revolution, and some are among the best and wisest statesmen in our national history. George Washington

was unanimously chosen to preside. Among the specially distinguished and useful representatives were Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, John Dickinson, and Gouverneur Morris.

The Convention decided that the Articles of Confederation were not worth amending, that the only way to cure the evils of which every one was complaining was to organize an entirely new government. The delegates represented extremes of opinion on all the vital subjects of debate, and final action was reached only by mutual concession.

State or National Sovereignty?—The crucial point in the deliberations of the Convention was the question whether the new nation should be superior to the individual States or whether each State should retain its supremacy, and delegate only a few of its powers to the central Government.

Alexander Hamilton and several others favored a highly centralized and aristocratic government. They knew that the American people would never tolerate a monarchy, but they wanted to adopt the essential features of monarchy under the guise of republican forms.

Their opponents insisted that each State should surrender only minor powers to the national Government, reserving its most important ones.

Slavery.—The Southern people held vast numbers of slaves. The people of the North had also owned slaves in earlier days, but as slavery had never been profitable in the North it had almost disappeared. Agriculture was the great mainstay of the South, and negro labor was best adapted to the requirements of the large plantations. In the North, where the climate was cooler and occupations diversified, white men were almost universally employed.

Some of the Northern members of the Constitutional Convention proposed to forbid slavery altogether, but many of the Southern delegates declared that they would not come into the Union unless slavery should be both recognized and protected. The South also wanted slaves to be counted in making up the basis of representation in Congress. The North opposed this demand, contending that since slaves were property and had no vote they should not be counted at all. At that time negroes were still being brought over from Africa. Most of the Southern States desired to stop the slave-trade at once—Maryland and Virginia had al-

ready done so—but South Carolina, backed by the slave-trading interests of the North, objected.

Finally all the States agreed to three provisions: First, every slave should be counted as three-fifths of a white man in estimating population; second, the African slave-trade could continue until 1808, when it must stop forever; third, runaway slaves must be arrested in any State where they might be found and returned to their owners.

The Constitution.—The scheme of government adopted by the Convention was modelled largely after Anglo-Saxon precedent and the State constitutions. It was drafted by Gouverneur Morris, and provided for three coördinate branches—the legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

The legislative power was vested in Congress, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives. In order to guard the interests of small States against the encroachments of large ones, and at the same time to insure to the latter the preëminence which their superior importance warranted, senatorial representation was made equal, while representation in the Lower House was fixed on the basis of population. Senators

were to be chosen by the State legislatures to serve for terms of six years and to represent their States as units. Members of the House were to be elected by popular vote for terms of two years.

Congress was empowered to make laws within the limits of the Constitution, to levy taxes, coin and borrow money, raise and support armies, regulate commerce with foreign countries and between the States, and in brief to do the necessary business of a national government.

The authority of Congress has been greatly extended by the doctrine of "implied powers," which is that when the Constitution gave certain express powers to Congress it *implied* all incidental and instrumental powers which might be necessary to carry them out. This interpretation originated with Hamilton, and was adopted by the Supreme Court, finding its strongest judicial exponent in John Marshall.

Power to execute the laws was lodged in a President to be elected for a term of four years by electors chosen by the people of the States. Bills passed by Congress must be submitted to the President for his signature before they could become laws. Should the President veto a bill

it might still become a law, provided Congress could pass it a second time with a two-thirds affirmative vote. Should the bill be neither signed nor vetoed it would become law at the expiration of ten days. It was to be the President's duty to appoint Federal officers, such as ministers to foreign countries, judges of the Federal courts and postmasters, and to make foreign treaties.

Associated with the President was a Vice-president, whose duty was to preside over the Senate, and in case the President should die, resign, or be removed, to succeed to that office.

The judicial branch, or power to interpret the Federal laws, was represented by one Supreme Court and by several undefined courts, which Congress was given authority to establish as it should see fit.

Ratification of the Constitution.—The important question now was whether the States would accept the plan of government which the Convention had devised. Fortunately it required the consent of only nine States. There was considerable opposition, chiefly in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, based upon the fear that the powers with which it was proposed to endow the Federal Government would be used

to destroy the liberties of the people and the independence of the States.

Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay wrote a series of able essays under the title of "The Federalist," which were printed in a New York newspaper and scattered broadcast, explaining the plan and showing its advantages. John Dickinson rendered a similar service through a number of public letters over the signature of "Fabius."

One by one the States swung into line, Delaware and Pennsylvania leading, until the consent of the necessary nine had been secured, and by June, 1788, the Constitution was an assured thing. New York came in eleventh by a majority of one vote. Rhode Island held off until 1789, and North Carolina until 1790.

New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia ratified the Constitution with the express understanding that they could leave the Union whenever they desired. This fact had an important bearing on the question of succession in 1860.

Amendments.—In order to remove the popular objection that the Constitution did not assure the liberties of the people and the rights of the States, ten amendments were added in

1791 at the suggestion of Jefferson, who was not present at the deliberations of the Convention, having succeeded Benjamin Franklin as Minister to France. They guarantee among other things freedom of religion, of speech, and of the press, trial by jury, and forbid the establishment of any national church.

These ten amendments are called the "Bill of Rights." They are restrictions upon the power of the Federal Government only, and do not apply to the States. The Bill of Rights was copied from similar provisions in such State constitutions as had borrowed them from the famous Bill of Rights passed by Parliament to protect the rights of Englishmen in 1688.

The tenth amendment contains the rule for determining all questions of respective authority which may arise between a State and the Federal Government. The latter can exercise only those powers which the Constitution expressly confers, while the State governments possess all the powers which the Constitution does not expressly take from them.

A Monarchical Type of Executive.—The Constitution of the United States was not the spontaneous invention of its celebrated framers, but the ripened fruit of centuries of political devel-

opment. It rests upon governmental principles tried and proved in the history of England and by the experience of her American colonies in the days of British sovereignty.

It may be observed, however, as a singular fact—in view of the American antipathy to monarchy engendered by colonial experiences with George III—that the President should have been given independent executive powers of so dictatorial a type—powers far greater than those of the King of England, against whose personal misrule the patriots rebelled. There is no ruler in Europe, with the exceptions of the Czar, the Sultan, and the Kaiser, to whom the title of *Imperator* may be so aptly applied as to the President of the United States. He cannot legislate, but he can annul legislation by not executing the laws, while his general veto power constitutes a real and vital superiority. The right of appointment and removal is in itself a prerogative of magnitude. The President is commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the United States with every protection to secrecy of intent and action, and in time of war is censor of the press. In short, the possibilities for the exercise of personal tyranny inherent in this office are

immeasurable. And not only do the elastic powers of the American Executive in many respects approximate dictatorship, but they are invading the legislative sphere of Congress.

The First Presidential Election.—That George Washington would be the first President of the United States was certain. The electors met early in February, 1789, and cast their votes unanimously for Washington. John Adams, one of the most prominent of the civil leaders of the Revolution, who had served his country as Minister to France, Holland, and Great Britain, was chosen Vice-president. They were inaugurated on April 30th in the city of New York, which was the temporary capital of the nation.

Washington was socially and by temperament an aristocrat, fond of titles and ceremony, which he believed properly belonged to the dignity of office. He rode in a coach drawn by six white horses with uniformed footmen. At public receptions he wore a dress-sword and stood on a dais. On such occasions he never shook hands, but bowed to his guests. Washington and Adams were reëlected in 1792.

During these eight years some notable events occurred, and certain tendencies appeared which

gave direction to political development for many years.

The Cabinet.—One of the first acts of Congress was to create four executive departments, which have since been increased to nine. They were the departments of State, Treasury, War, and the office of Attorney-general.

Washington appointed Thomas Jefferson Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton Secretary of the Treasury; Henry Knox, who had been chief of artillery during the Revolution, was made Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph Attorney-general.

There is nothing to indicate that these officials met together until 1791. Afterward they assembled occasionally, but not at regular times, as is the case now. The term "Cabinet" did not come into vogue until 1800.

Financial Reform.—The most imperative duty of the new Government was to correct the financial evils inherited from the Revolutionary period. When Hamilton took office the public debt amounted to \$54,000,000, representing the money borrowed from France and Holland and from our own people by the Continental Congress during the Revolution with accrued interest. The State governments had also borrowed

large amounts, of which over \$21,000,000 still remained unpaid.

Hamilton proposed that the Federal Government assume the total debt of \$75,000,000. There was strong objection to having the Federal Government pay the State debts, partly because some States had already discharged the greater portion of their own obligations and did not want to be burdened with the debts of the rest, but chiefly because the transaction implied the sovereignty of the Federal Government, which the State Rights men were unwilling to admit. The bulk of opposition came from the South. Finally, through a compact between Hamilton and Jefferson, the Southern States agreed to support Hamilton's plan on condition that the national capital should be located in Southern territory. To satisfy Pennsylvania the capital was taken away from New York and given to Philadelphia for ten years, after which it was to go to the District of Columbia.*

Hamilton persuaded Congress to lay a light

* The city of Washington is situated on a tract covering a territory of a little less than ten square miles which Maryland ceded to the Federal Government for the site of the national capital. The District of Columbia is governed by Congress.

import tax on tea and coffee and a heavier tax on such imported articles as wines, brandies, broadcloths, and velvets, which were purchased only by the well-to-do. In this way the Government could get sufficient revenue without overtaxing the people.

Another of Hamilton's financial achievements was the establishment of a United States Bank in Philadelphia, with branches in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and Charleston. The bank was chartered for twenty years, and was to act as financial agent for the Government.

The Rise of Political Parties.—During the public discussions of the Constitution those who had favored its adoption were known as Federalists, while those who had opposed it because they believed in the supremacy of the States were called Anti-Federalists.

When the Constitution was ratified the Anti-Federalists of course accepted it, but retained their principles unchanged, adopting the party name of Democratic-Republican, and continuing to be the champions of the States, intent upon seeing that the Federal Government did not overstep the limitations which the Constitution had placed upon it. They were called Democrats or Republicans, and were led by Thomas

Jefferson, not so practical a statesman as Hamilton, but sincere, liberal, learned, and patriotic. Associated with Jefferson in party leadership were Aaron Burr and George Clinton, of New York, and Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania.

The Democratic - Republican Party was strongest in New York, Pennsylvania, and the South. It was composed of the agricultural class, ambitious young men, and the restless and progressive element generally. They believed in the reign of the common people, hated monarchy and class rule, and thought that the Government ought to help France against England and the other royal and aristocratic countries which were trying to crush the efforts of the French people to establish a republic in place of the monarchy they had overthrown.

The Democrats, to show their sympathy for the French, wore cockades, the official emblem of the French Revolutionists, and formed political clubs to which they gave French names. But when the French minister, Genet, came over to enlist the aid of the United States in a war against England his purpose was opposed by Jefferson, who believed with Washington that

it was best to avoid foreign entanglements. Genet behaved so discourteously that Washington demanded his recall. The French Revolution was rapidly degenerating into anarchy, and that fact, together with the undiplomatic conduct of Genet, alienated American sympathy from the French cause.

It may at first sight appear remarkable that a party whose avowed aim was to level social inequalities, should have taken root and flourished in a section of the country which has from colonial days been associated with the aristocratic ideal and principle of government. The strength of the Jeffersonian Party, however, did not lie with the wealthy planters who occupied the choice lands along the lower river courses and the coasts, but with the far more numerous small farmers of the interior. Within a few years the Southern aristocrats were impelled by their peculiar interests generally to affiliate with the Democratic Party, but at the start there were more Federalists among them than Democrats.

The Federalist Party was led by Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, and James Madison, who later became a Democrat. Its greatest strength was

in New England, where it was composed of the wealthy and cultured—the lawyers, ministers, doctors, teachers, and merchants. It was also liberally represented among the patricians of the South.

The Federalists had little confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the masses. They believed that the National Government ought to have strong powers, and that only citizens who owned property and were educated should be allowed to vote.

Trouble with the Indians.—The coming of white settlers from the Eastern States into the North-west Territory was followed by Indian wars. Two armies which were sent against the Indians of the North-west were almost annihilated. In 1793 Washington intrusted an expedition to General Anthony Wayne, who had been one of the most brilliant and successful generals of the Revolution, and next to Washington the most popular man in the army. General Wayne defeated the Indians so completely that they surrendered all claims to southern and eastern Ohio.

The American People in 1800.—The census of 1800 announced a population of nearly five and a half millions. Farmers were the most

numerous class. They were prosperous and economically independent, producing on their farms everything required for their own subsistence, even clothing, which was made from domestic wool, spun and cut into garments by their wives and daughters.

Merchants were a wealthy and influential portion of the community. Manufactures had not yet developed to any great extent.

Ship-building was a prominent industry and commerce was rapidly increasing. All Europe was engaged in war, and the carrying trade, which formerly belonged to England, France, and Holland, had fallen to American vessels.

The invention of the cotton-gin in 1794 by Eli Whitney, of Connecticut, had made cotton-raising a most profitable form of agriculture, and the South was growing rich.

The interior of the country was still a wilderness, but in swift and steady process of reclamation by the hardy pioneer. The rough and ready character of the West made it a nursery of democracy. There every man stood upon his own merit, or fell because of his lack of it. The new Western and South-western States that were admitted to the Union hedged the suffrage with no property or religious tests.

Horseback, stage-coach, and sailing packet were still the only modes of travel, but roads were multiplying and canals began to make their appearance, built by private capital or by State direction.

CHAPTER XI

EARLY ACHIEVEMENT AND NATIONAL EXPANSION

WASHINGTON could have been unanimously reëlected for a third term, and was not in principle opposed to it, but being weary of public life, in which he had engaged for forty years, he preferred to return to his estate and resume the life of a Southern planter. His few remaining years were spent in tranquil retirement at Mount Vernon, where he died in 1799, mourned by his country and venerated by the civilized world.

The election of 1796 resulted in the choice of John Adams for President and Thomas Jefferson for Vice-president. Adams was a man of highest honor, but cold in manner, austere, and aristocratic, hence unpopular, on which account he was not reëlected.

John Adams was the first and last strictly Federalist President. Washington had never been a partisan. Though sympathizing with

the general aims and policies of the Federalists, he had selected his advisers from both parties.

The Adams administration is memorable for the decline of the Federalist Party, which resulted to some extent from its foreign policy, though principally from stubborn resistance to the growing spirit of the age.

The Jay Treaty.—In 1796 the Federalist Senate had ratified a treaty with Great Britain which was not advantageous to the United States, although it was then the best attainable, and which humiliated the national pride. The treaty also angered France, which was then at war with Great Britain, because it gave privileges to the latter country which were withheld from France. The French Government retaliated by ordering its cruisers to seize American vessels, justifying its course by declaring that the United States was assisting Great Britain, which was not true. The American Navy made two captures of French war-ships. For a time war between the United States and its old Revolutionary ally was imminent, but it was averted by the diplomacy of President Adams and of Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France.

The Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798.—In the meantime the Federalist Congress, thinking that

it would be well to strengthen the Government in case of war, passed the Alien Act, empowering the President to expel from the country without trial any foreigners (meaning Frenchmen) whose presence he might regard as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

The Sedition Act made it a crime for any one to speak or write against the Government, and was directed against the Democratic Party, which by its criticisms had exasperated the Federalists.

These laws aroused great opposition, especially in the South, where the Democrats were strong.

The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.—The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky at once passed resolutions declaring the Alien and Sedition Acts unconstitutional and calling upon the other States to resist them. The Virginia resolutions were written by James Madison, those of Kentucky by Jefferson.

These resolutions are important because they contain the first official assertion of the doctrine of "nullification"; that is, the doctrine that a State may declare null and void a national law of which it disapproves.

The rest of the States declined to follow the lead of Virginia and Kentucky, asserting that only the United States Supreme Court had the right to pass upon the constitutionality of Federal laws.

The Alien and Sedition Acts gave the Federalist Party its death-blow, though it lingered in a struggling condition for several years, and its principles continued to be applied by Chief-justice Marshall in the judiciary department.

The Election of Jefferson.—With the inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States in 1801 the Democratic Party came into full control of national affairs, which it was to hold with but two brief interruptions for sixty years. The transfer of political power from the aristocratic to the popular party was accompanied by a greater simplicity in official habit and ceremony, for Jefferson, although wealthy, was a man of plain tastes.

The Barbary War.—The United States enjoyed a flourishing trade with the countries bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. On the southern shore lay the Barbary States, a group comprising Algiers, Tunis, Morocco, and Tripoli.

The people of the Barbary States were Mohammedans in religion and pirates by occupation.

It was their practice to lie in wait in their harbors for foreign merchantmen, and then suddenly dart out, rob the vessels, and sell the crews into slavery. All Europe paid tribute to insure the protection of its commerce. Our Government did likewise for a time, but soon grew tired of it and determined to fight. War began in 1801, when an American fleet bombarded Tripoli. Other nations followed the American example, and the Barbary terror was forever destroyed.

This achievement greatly increased the prestige of the United States abroad. It was the first triumph of our national navy, and it notified Europe that there was a new and vigorous power this side of the Atlantic. Pope Pius VII said: "The Americans have done more for Christendom against the pirates of Africa than all the powers of Europe united."

The Louisiana Purchase and the Expedition of Lewis and Clark.—President Jefferson and other far-sighted men realized that the political and commercial interests of the United States demanded full American control of the Mississippi River and the city of New Orleans, as the produce of nearly half the country must reach the market by the Mississippi route. In 1800 Spain

ceded to France the territory known as Louisiana.*

Jefferson at once planned to purchase New Orleans. Fortunately Napoleon Bonaparte needed money to prosecute his mammoth wars against Europe. He was willing to sell not only New Orleans, but all Louisiana, because of the impossibility of defending it against Great Britain, with which nation he was about to go to war. He also knew that by selling Louisiana to the United States he would gain the good-will of this country, and at the same time raise up a powerful future rival for his enemy, Great Britain. The north-western boundary of this immense tract had never been clearly defined, and Napoleon believed that the United States would sooner or later come into collision with Great Britain, whose Canadian possessions touched the Louisiana territory. This is precisely what happened, although not so soon as Napoleon expected. The two nations al-

* Louisiana was the name given to the French possessions west of the Mississippi River. At the close of the French and Indian War it was ceded to Spain, which kept it until 1800, when it again became the property of France. It comprised most of the territory now included in the States of Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado, Indian Territory, and Oklahoma.

most went to war over the boundary of Oregon in 1846.

The United States paid Napoleon \$15,000,000, and in 1803 Louisiana became a territory of the United States. This transaction is one of the most momentous events in American history. It doubled our national area, and gave us control of the Gulf of Mexico. It also prevented those disputes or wars which would probably have arisen had Spain or France continued to own neighboring territory, and led in course of time to the extension of our boundary to the Pacific.

The new country attracted large numbers of immigrants from the States. The invention of the steamboat and locomotive a few years later was followed by a great increase in the wealth and commercial importance of the Far West.

In the spring of 1804 President Jefferson sent out Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to explore the Louisiana territory and the country beyond as far as the Pacific Ocean. They were gone two and a half years. In consequence of their discoveries the United States laid claim to the Oregon country, a fine territory including the present States of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, but it was many years before the Ameri-

can claim was conceded by Great Britain, and then only after a compromise.

The Hamilton-Burr Duel, 1804.—The Vice-president of the United States was Aaron Burr, one of the most gifted men in American history, but extremely ambitious; a man who never spoke ill of his most embittered and inveterate foe; who never denied the malodorous practices with which he was constantly charged, nor retaliated in kind against his accusers. Burr was the shrewdest politician of his day, and was hated and feared by Hamilton and Jefferson alike, for neither of them could match his skill, and both distrusted his patriotism.

In the election of 1800 Jefferson and Burr had polled the same number of votes for President. The Constitution provided that in case of a tie the decision should lie with the House of Representatives. The House was made up largely of Federalists, whom Hamilton induced to oppose Burr, with the result that Jefferson was declared President.*

* Under the original method of election there was no balloting for Vice-president. The electors voted for two candidates for President, and the one who received next to the highest number of votes was declared Vice-president. This method had worked well at first, but its vital defect appeared in the election of Adams and

In 1804 Burr was nominated for Governor of New York, but owing to the hostile influence of Hamilton he was defeated. On account of this and other grievances Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel and killed him. He was indicted for murder, but escaped arrest by flight. The man whose life he had taken was one of the greatest statesmen in the history of the world. Guizot, the French statesman and historian, says of Hamilton: "He must ever be classed among the men who have best understood the vital principles and elemental conditions of government; there is not in the Constitution of the United States an element of order or force or duration which he did not powerfully contribute to secure."

As for Aaron Burr, he stands a discredited figure in the galaxy of patriots. No man in American history was ever more bitterly assailed, and none ever preserved in the face of

Jefferson. As they were members of hostile parties it necessarily meant a lack of harmony in the executive branch of the Government, and a political change in the event of succession. To remove these disadvantages as well as to avoid a repetition of the Jefferson-Burr incident, a Constitutional amendment was passed in 1804 adopting the present method. The electors now vote for President and Vice-president separately, and the same political party gets both offices.

persecution and abuse a demeanor more serene or a self-control more perfect. That he was a model of moral excellence in his private conduct or a type of the loftiest statesmanship is not to be affirmed. But if he wore not with virtuous pride the "white flower of a blameless life," he was at least a brave, defiant soul, who bore with philosophic calm the life-long storm of scurrilous attack and begged no quarter of his legion foes.

Fulton's Steamboat.—The civilized world was beginning to realize the possibilities of steam as a motive power. Several attempts had been made both in Europe and America to adapt it to navigation. In 1786 John Fitch experimented successfully with a steamboat on the Delaware, and James Rumsey in the same year put a similar craft on the Potomac. These attempts, however, failed to take hold of the popular imagination; it remained for Robert Fulton to awaken the interest of the general public in steam navigation. In 1807 Fulton ran the *Clermont* from New York to Albany against a heavy current, attaining a speed of four miles an hour.

The invention of the steamboat was one of the great achievements of the nineteenth cen-

ture. It became a powerful factor in opening up the West, distributing population and increasing commerce by making transportation both easier and cheaper.

CHAPTER XII

THE WAR OF 1812

DURING Jefferson's second administration the United States suffered great annoyance from England and France, which were then at war with each other. In order to destroy England's commerce Napoleon proclaimed a blockade of British ports. Great Britain retaliated with the Orders in Council, forbidding all trade not only with France, but with those countries which were under French control. As every country in continental Europe except Russia was ruled by France the Orders in Council practically closed commerce between the United States and Europe. This was a heavy blow to American interests, for the United States had acquired the greater part of the carrying trade of the civilized world.

England needed more sailors to man her ships and to enforce her blockades. In order to get them she resorted to "impressment."

Her courts declared, "once an Englishman always an Englishman," and they refused to recognize American naturalization laws or to admit that the United States could by any process make an American citizen out of a native-born Briton. The American Navy and merchant marine contained many Englishmen; some had deserted from the British Navy, and others had been naturalized under United States laws. The officers of Great Britain boarded American vessels, seized these men and "impressed" them into the British service. Very often, since it was not always easy to distinguish between an American and an Englishman, they took American sailors and made them fight in British ships.

The Embargo.—In June, 1807, the British frigate *Leopard* stopped the American frigate *Chesapeake* and demanded the delivery of alleged deserters. The captain of the *Chesapeake* refused to give them up, whereupon the *Leopard* opened fire. The *Chesapeake* being quite unprepared for action was compelled to surrender.

This outrage upon an armed vessel of the United States should have been followed by an immediate declaration of hostilities, but Jefferson was a man of peace, and hoped to bring Great Britain to terms by breaking off trade re-

lations instead of resorting to force. When Congress met in December, 1807, it passed an embargo act forbidding American vessels to sail to European ports and European vessels to land cargoes in American ports. The object was to injure French, and especially British, trade. But Europe did not need American trade nearly so much as the United States needed the trade of Europe.

The immediate effect of the Embargo was to produce general discontent at home. Prices dropped because there was no market for goods. American vessels rotted at the wharves, sailors lost employment, farmers could not sell their produce, merchants became bankrupt, and grass grew in the streets of the seaport towns.

But the Embargo had one beneficial result. The restrictions imposed upon commerce forced the American people to make for themselves many articles for which they had hitherto depended upon Europe. In this way mills and factories sprang up in New England.

The Presidency of James Madison, 1809-17.— Like Washington, Jefferson could have had a third term, but declined, although for a different reason; because he believed that for one man to serve longer than eight years would set a

precedent which might have a monarchical tendency.

Notwithstanding the unpopularity of the Embargo, which had been passed by a Democratic Congress, that party carried the election of 1808, and James Madison was chosen President. He had been a Federalist, and is sometimes called the "Father of the Constitution," because of his prominent part in framing that instrument and in securing its adoption, but later he joined the party of Jefferson.

In the spring of 1809 the Embargo was repealed, and the Non-Intercourse Act passed in its stead, which permitted trade with the rest of Europe, but forbade it with Great Britain.

Three years passed, during which Great Britain continued to seize American vessels and impress American sailors. Since 1803 more than nine hundred American vessels had been seized and several thousand American seamen forced into the British naval service. The Democratic-Republican Party demanded war. Led by such men as Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, and Henry Clay, of Kentucky, it began to see the necessity for a stronger national Government than it had at first approved.

The Battle of Tippecanoe.—While the United

States was on the verge of war with England another decisive victory was won over the Indians in the West.

The white settlers were steadily pushing the red men toward the setting sun. In 1809 General William Henry Harrison, Governor of the Territory of Indiana, purchased land from the Indians for the United States Government. Two chiefs, Tecumseh and his brother the "Prophet," believed the purchase had been unfairly made and organized the tribes for a concerted effort to expel the whites.

Tecumseh, although a barbarian, was a reformer and a man of high principle. He wanted to suppress the sale of the white man's liquor, which was making a race of drunkards out of his people.

In the autumn of 1811 General Harrison marched into the Indian country. Tecumseh was in the South, working up an alliance with the Creek Indians of Alabama. The Prophet attempted to surprise the Americans by a sudden attack, but Harrison was on his guard, and the Indians were defeated with great loss at the battle of Tippecanoe.

War Declared.—On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain. In his mes-

sage to Congress the President specified the following principal causes of grievance: First, the seizure of American vessels and the impressment of American citizens into the British Navy; second, the destructive effect upon American commerce of British blockades; third, the common belief that the British fur-traders and garrisons on the Canadian frontier had incited the recent Indian outbreak under Tecumseh—which is now known to be an error.

The War of 1812 is often called the Second War for Independence. The Revolution had made us free on land, the War of 1812 was to make us free on the ocean; the Revolution had given us political independence, the War of 1812 was to give us commercial independence.

Military Disaster.—The first military event of the war proved disastrous to American arms. General Hull was commander of the forces in the West. He started to invade Canada, but becoming alarmed turned back to Detroit. Soon a British force appeared, and without even attempting a defence General Hull surrendered, thus permitting all Michigan to fall into the hands of the enemy. He was tried by a court-martial for cowardice and sentenced to be shot, but the President interfered to save his

life on account of his age and his honorable record in the Revolution.

Naval Victories.—If failure followed the commencement of hostilities on land, on sea the war opened with brilliant success. The American Navy numbered but twenty ships and a few gun-boats, while the British Navy comprised a thousand vessels. On August 19, 1812, a few days after General Hull surrendered Detroit, his nephew, Captain Isaac Hull, commanding the *Constitution*, fought the British frigate *Guerrière*, and captured her in less than thirty minutes. It was the first victory of the war, and the people gave the *Constitution* the affectionate name of "Old Ironsides." In the same year the Americans won three other memorable sea - victories. The *Constitution* added the *Java* to her prize record, the *Wasp* captured the *Frolic*, and the *United States* took the *Macedonian*. Before the war ended the American Navy had captured twenty-five hundred British prizes.

The reason for this astonishing success against the greatest navy in the world is to be found in the superiority of American gunners and sailors, which more than compensated for the lack of ships.

A large part of the northern frontier was occupied by the Great Lakes, of which it was highly desirable to get control. Captain Oliver Hazard Perry built a fleet on Lake Erie to operate against the British. On the morning of September 13, 1813, he saw the British ships approaching. Captain Perry advanced to meet them, and in less than two hours, after one of the hardest fought naval battles in history, gained a complete victory. He then sent to General Harrison, who had succeeded General Hull in the command of the army of the West, this famous despatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

A similar victory was gained on Lake Champlain, September 11, 1814, when a small American squadron under Captain McDonough prevented the invasion of New York State by a British army of twelve thousand, backed by a large fleet.

The War of 1812 produced some able generals as well as sea-fighters. In Canada Generals Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott won the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, brilliant achievements, although resulting in no permanent military advantage.

The Enemy in Washington.—Late in the sum-

mer of 1814 a British naval and military force under Admiral Cockburn and General Ross sailed up the Chesapeake Bay, landed in Maryland, and marched to Washington. They burned the Capitol, the White House, and some other Government buildings, destroying both public and private property. On their return the British attacked Baltimore, but failing to take the city, which was valiantly defended by citizens and militia, they embarked on their transports and sailed away to Halifax.

It was during the bombardment of Fort McHenry that "The Star-spangled Banner" was written by Francis Scott Key, who was detained under a flag of truce aboard a British ship.

Jackson and the Indians.—The land fighting was not confined to the North. Tecumseh had persuaded the Creek Indians of Alabama to join the British against the Americans. At Fort Mims they massacred seven hundred Americans—soldiers, women, and children. General Andrew Jackson, commanding the Tennessee militia, took a prompt revenge upon the Indians in a series of brilliant engagements. He proved to be such a hard and tireless fighter that his soldiers gave him the nickname of "Old Hickory," by which he became known all over

the country. In 1814 Jackson was placed in command of the entire southern department of the army.

New Orleans.—On January 8, 1815, the British Army, outnumbering their foemen two to one and composed of veterans who had fought against Napoleon, made a grand assault upon New Orleans.

The defenders of the city were commanded by General Andrew Jackson. They consisted of militiamen, negroes, and boys, intrenched behind barricades of mud and cotton-bales. The British moved to the attack early in the morning. From the top of the crude parapet twelve cannon poured their murderous fire into the advancing enemy. One cannon, loaded to the muzzle with musket-balls, brought down two hundred British soldiers at its first discharge. In twenty-five minutes it was all over.

The battle of New Orleans, though the most celebrated American victory of the war, was wholly unnecessary because a treaty of peace had been signed between Great Britain and the United States two weeks before in the city of Ghent, Belgium. Owing to the slow mode of transmitting news this fact was unknown to either army.

The Hartford Convention.—The Federalists were violently opposed to the war with England. The New England members of the party, anxious to embarrass the Democratic administration and to force peace, met in convention at Hartford, Conn., in December, 1814. After a secret session of three weeks the convention issued a report, which was a reproduction of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, and threatened the withdrawal of the New England States from the Union unless peace were speedily made. Before the purpose of the convention could be carried out peace was declared.

The country never forgave the unpatriotic conduct of the New England Federalists, who sought to cripple the national Government in the hour of its distress to force a partisan advantage. The Hartford convention proved a finishing blow to the Federalist Party. Years afterward the memory of this episode was revived by the South to furnish a Northern precedent for the doctrine of secession.

Results of the War.—Not a word did the treaty contain regarding impressment or the other grievances on account of which the United States had gone to war. But if the original causes of dispute were left unsettled, the United

States had gained much. Great Britain never again impressed American sailors. The American victories on sea and land raised the United States to the rank of a first-class power. European respect for this country dates from the War of 1812.

More than all this the war awakened a consciousness of nationality which imparted a moral strength to the Union as nothing else could have done.

CHAPTER XIII

THE GROWTH OF NATIONALITY AND THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF POLITI- CAL PARTIES

THE years immediately following the War of 1812 were not characterized by startling events. James Monroe, of Virginia, became President in 1816 and served two terms. He was the last President to wear the cocked hat and to dress in the fashion of the Revolution. During his administration the country entered upon a period of great prosperity. Commerce flourished, manufactures sprang up in the North, and the rich agricultural lands of the West came under cultivation. Then began that mighty stream of foreign immigration that has poured steadily into this land ever since, drawn by the superior opportunities offered in a new and free country.

The feeling of nationality that had been awakened by the war was strengthened by the growth of commerce, and by the canals, the steamboat lines, and a little later the railroads,

which drew the different sections nearer together and facilitated the settlement of the great West.

The Purchase of Florida.—Ever since Florida became the property of Spain by the treaty of 1783 it had been a constant source of annoyance to the United States. The Spanish officials were indifferent to their duties, and made no serious effort to enforce order. They violated international law by receiving fugitives from American justice, smugglers, hostile Indians, and other disorderly persons who took an unfair advantage of the fact that Florida was Spanish territory to use it as a base for their lawless operations against the people of Alabama and Georgia, and as a means to escape from punishment.

The United States, thinking it desirable to bring this troublesome region under its control, and also wishing to diminish as far as possible Spanish sovereignty in the New World, purchased Florida in 1819. It was given a territorial government, under which it remained until 1845, when it became a State.

The Monroe Doctrine.—During the Napoleonic wars, in which all Europe was for many years engaged, the Spanish colonies in South America, inspired by the earlier example of the United

States, took advantage of the mother-country's weakness to declare their independence and to set up republican forms of government. At the same time Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France formed the "Holy Alliance," the object of which was to prevent the spread of republican ideas, then making great headway in Europe, and to assist Spain to recover possession of the South American countries which had revolted. Great Britain was invited to join but refused. The British Government then proposed to the United States that the two nations unite to prevent the Holy Alliance from interfering in South America. The coöperation of Great Britain, with her superior navy, enabled the United States to take a stand that would have been impossible without British support.

President Monroe, in his message to Congress (December, 1823), announced the following principles: That the United States would not interfere with European rights on this hemisphere as they existed prior to that date; but that in future no European nation would be allowed to colonize any portion of North or South America, or to extend hither their systems of monarchy, or to oppress the independent nations of either continent; and that the violation of any of these

rules would be considered an act of hostility to the United States.

Although named for President Monroe, these principles had been previously and strongly advocated by Jefferson, Madison, Henry Clay, and John Quincy Adams.

The popular approval which greeted this message offered convincing proof of the growing spirit of nationality.

The Monroe Doctrine has been greatly expanded in the course of years. Although the causes which produced it have long since disappeared, it is to-day more than ever the primary and determined rule in the foreign policy of the United States.

That American antipathy to European colonization of South America is at the present time based upon fear of contamination to republican institutions from monarchical influence is preposterous. France is republican, and England is politically a democracy, but the intrusion of either nation would no more be tolerated than that of imperial Germany.

Nor can the idea be seriously entertained that it is the benevolent intention of the United States to hold South America in trust until the present Latinized agglomeration of discordant, bellig-

erent and venal governments reach such a stage of civic intelligence and strength that they can protect themselves from European aggressions.

South America must some day be predominantly Teutonic, for the Latin race, its present possessor, is doomed. The great Teutonic nations are England, Germany, and the United States. Germany, with its excess of population, would long ago have sought a "sphere of influence" by political colonization and military establishment but for the Monroe Doctrine. The United States, not yet ready for so tremendous a step as the confiscation of a continent, is fully determined that its rivals shall not acquire a foothold within an area which for nearly a century it has been accustomed to regard as its own preserve. This is the probable intent of the Monroe Doctrine as evidenced in the acts and policies of state.

New Political Divisions.—The period covered by the two administrations of Monroe is frequently spoken of as the "Era of Good Feeling," because there was but one political party, the Democratic-Republican Party of Jefferson, or Democratic Party, as it was commonly called. The Alien and Sedition laws, the unsympathetic and distrustful attitude of the Federalists toward

popular government, and the unsavory episode of the Hartford convention proved the ruin of the Federalist Party. After the election of 1816 it completely disappeared as an organization, although other parties have descended from it which have kept alive in modified form the best of its principles.

But although there was only one political party in existence the period was anything but an era of good feeling in politics. There were many differences of opinion on political questions, many bitter enmities between public men, and these factors were leading toward the formation of a new party.

The Democratic Party, following the ideas of Jefferson, believed in as little government and as few laws as possible, consistent with the public welfare; whatever government was necessary it believed should be exercised by the individual States rather than by Federal authority, since the States were nearer to the people and centralized power was apt to beget tyranny. It favored a strict construction of the Constitution as the surest way to curb the aggressive tendencies of the Federal Government and to guard the rights of the States and the liberties of the people.

The acts of the Democratic Party, though

not always consistent with its professions, have been on the whole in line with these principles.

But the Democratic Party contained many men who believed that in order to reach the fullest national development the Federal Government should be given a larger measure of power; that there were some things that could be better handled by Congress than by State legislatures; in short, they believed in the old Federalist principle of a strong central government, which, according to their view, was not necessarily dangerous either to State rights or individual liberties.

The creed of these Democrats contained two prominent features: *internal improvements*, such as building roads and canals, at national expense; and a *protective tariff*, that is, a tax on certain goods of foreign manufacture great enough to keep them out of the country, so that the people would be compelled to buy only American goods.

The principle of internal improvements was in harmony with the interests of the farmers of the West, who desired roads and canals in order to connect them with the East and to lessen the expense of transporting their agricultural products to Eastern markets. The prin-

ciple of protection was heartily approved by the manufacturers of New England, who were striving to establish great and permanent industries, and would in this manner escape foreign competition.

This faction of the Democratic Party was led by Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams. It absorbed the Federalist remnants and grew rapidly, assuming the distinctive name of the National Republican Party. In 1824 the National Republicans elected John Quincy Adams President.*

The administration of Adams, like that of his predecessor, Monroe, was uneventful. But beneath the quiet surface powerful movements were taking definite direction. It was during the presidential terms of Monroe and Adams that the questions of slavery and the tariff, two of the greatest issues of the nineteenth century in

* The election of 1824 was the second in our history to be decided by the House of Representatives, as none of the candidates had a majority of the electoral votes.

John Quincy Adams was the son of John Adams and had formerly been a Federalist. Like his father, he was a man of very great ability, unselfish, incorruptible, and devoted to the public welfare. Like the elder Adams, too, he was considered cold and aristocratic and largely for this reason failed to be reelected. After his term expired he served with distinction for seventeen years as a member of Congress from Massachusetts.

American politics, first came squarely before the people.

The Slavery Question and the Missouri Compromise.—It will be remembered that slavery formerly existed in the North as well as in the South, although never to so great an extent. The fact that it was not suited to Northern manufactures made it unprofitable, and led to its disappearance. Even in agriculture it had never paid, for the small farms of the North were very different from the plantation system of the South. Only in Pennsylvania, by the efforts of the Quakers and some of the German religious bodies, was slavery abolished on strictly moral grounds.

The Ordinance of 1787 had forever excluded slavery from the States which might in the future be carved out of the vast territory that stretched from the Ohio River to the Mississippi and northward to the Great Lakes.

The Constitution, while guaranteeing protection to slavery as it existed, forbade the importation of slaves after 1808.

Many Southern people and some of the greatest Southern statesmen, including Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, had desired the end of slavery.

These facts indicated that slavery might ultimately die, or at least that it would never increase to a great extent or spread beyond the region where it then existed. But this expectation was destroyed by the invention of the cotton-gin, which, by enabling one slave to do the work that previously required three hundred, increased the value of every negro, and made cotton the chief staple of the South. The result was that slavery became more firmly fixed than ever as the basis of the industrial life of the South.

Now, had slavery been confined to the limits within which it then existed all might have been well. It was the question of its extension into new territory that created trouble. The South realized that unless its ranks were recruited by the addition of new slave States it would soon be outnumbered in Congress by the North, whose population was increasing at a rapid rate. The only way for the South to retain its political power was by the admission of new States from the South-west and from that part of the upper West which lay beyond the reach of the Ordinance of 1787. Thus it could balance its losses in the House, where representation was based on population, by its gains in

the Senate, where representation was based on territory.

The first skirmish in the conflict between freedom and slavery occurred when Missouri applied for admission to the Union. Hitherto new States had been admitted in pairs, one slave State for one free State. Thus Kentucky and Vermont came in together; Tennessee and Ohio, Louisiana and Indiana, Mississippi and Illinois offset each other.

In 1820 Maine, which had been a part of Massachusetts in colonial days, was admitted as a separate State. The North wanted Missouri to come in as a free State, the South as a slave State. Henry Clay, then a member of Congress from Kentucky, came forward with a compromise. He proposed to admit Missouri as a slave State, but to exclude slavery forever from all that portion of the Louisiana Purchase which lay to the north of the southern boundary of Missouri.

Clay's compromise became law in 1821, and undoubtedly saved the Union. Had Missouri been refused admission as a slave State the South would probably have seceded. There was neither sufficient military power nor a strong enough national sentiment in the North at that

time to have prevented it. It is not likely that the Northern people would have rallied to the defence of the Union then, as they did forty years later. The aged but still clear-visioned Jefferson, living in peaceful retirement at Monticello, heard the sharp, discordant note that issued from the halls of Congress and knew that the Missouri Compromise portended a coming struggle. It sounded to him, he said, "like a fire-bell in the night."

The dispute over Missouri involved no moral principle. The motive on both sides was political power. The North and South wanted the votes of Missouri Senators and Congressmen to support sectional legislation. If slavery won, then the Northern free laborer would be shut out, for free labor could not compete with slave-labor, and white men would not go where they were put on a social level with the negroes. If the North triumphed, then the Southern slaveholder would be excluded.

Close on the Missouri Compromise came the tariff war, which was also sectional.

The Tariff Question.—Before the Revolution the colonies had depended almost wholly upon Great Britain for their manufactured goods. The two wars with the mother-country, the Em-

bargo and Non-Intercourse Acts, the exorbitant freight rates, and the insecurity of ocean commerce at that stormy period had compelled the American people to make their own goods. In obedience to this necessity cotton and woollen manufactures sprang up in some of the Northern States, chiefly in New England.

At the close of the War of 1812 the English merchants endeavored to recapture the American markets by underselling their competitors. The American manufacturers were in danger of being ruined, and applied to Congress for protection. In 1816 Congress passed a tariff act which imposed a duty of about twenty-five per cent on cotton and woollen imports. The tariff of 1824 increased the duty to thirty-seven per cent. The higher duties, by removing foreign competition, gave to the Northern manufacturer the whole American market. But it caused dissatisfaction in the South, which had no manufactures of its own, and was thus compelled to pay to the Northern manufacturers very high prices for necessaries which it could get nowhere else.

Thus on the two great questions of slavery and the tariff the North and South took opposite sides.

CHAPTER XIV

ANDREW JACKSON AND THE REIGN OF THE PEOPLE

THE year 1828 is a remarkable one in American politics. Forces that had been slowly gathering for a long time past had now assumed definite form and direction.

The Election of Jackson.—Andrew Jackson was the first President of the United States who really sprang from and belonged to the “common people.” Washington, the two Adamses, Monroe, and even Thomas Jefferson, whose heart and sympathies were with the masses, were all members of the rich and socially prominent class of Americans. Jackson was a representative of the growing South-west, a soldier and popular hero whose defeat of the British at New Orleans was still fresh in the minds of his countrymen. The triumph of Jackson in the presidential election of 1828 over Adams, who had the solid support of the wealthy, educated, and

conservative elements, meant that the great body of the voters had awakened to a realization of their power, and from this time on were to be the real rulers of the nation.

Jackson was a great man, and in some respects a great President. But he had had no previous training or experience in statesmanship such as his predecessors had enjoyed, and inevitably made mistakes which they would have avoided. He was first of all a soldier, not a statesman. He himself realized this. Parton, in his standard biography of Jackson, says that when the hero learned that a New York newspaper had mentioned him as a presidential possibility he exclaimed: "Do they think I am such a damned fool as to think myself fit for the presidency? No, sir; I know what I am good for. I can command a body of men in a rough way, but I am not fit for President." Although thoroughly honest and devoted to the public good, he lacked many qualities which are highly necessary in a chief executive. He possessed an extraordinary will to which obstacles and opponents almost invariably yielded, and remarkable intuitive powers. But he was susceptible to flattery and was easily imposed upon by unscrupulous politicians, who gained his con-

confidence and friendship by artful appeals to his weaknesses.

The administrations of Jackson covered eight years. They were full of stirring events which were productive of far-reaching results. He was the first presidential candidate nominated by a national convention, and the first to stand upon a platform of principles put forth by such a convention.

The Spoils System.—The thing for which President Jackson has been most severely criticised is the change which he introduced into the civil service. Under the earlier presidents Federal office-holders, such as postmasters, clerks, and customs officials, had held their positions as a general rule for life or during good behavior. To turn a man out of the employ of the Federal Government simply because he belonged to a different party was rarely done, although it was a common practice in the State politics of New York and Pennsylvania.

When Jackson became President, one of his first acts was to order a wholesale removal of Federal office-holders, putting in their places his own friends and followers. This practice of distributing public offices among the members of the victorious party as a reward for political services

has always been regarded by most thoughtful men as a great evil. It is called the "Spoils System" from the motto which the party in power so often quoted: "To the victors belong the spoils."

But the Spoils System meant something far higher than mere greed for office, although that was doubtless the prime reason why it met with such enthusiastic favor. It was a direct and tangible evidence of the growing spirit of *democracy*, a demand on the part of the great rank and file of voters that they be allowed to enjoy some of the positions of dignity which they had instituted and the salaries of which were paid out of their taxes.

The Spoils System rendered one substantial benefit to the country by preventing what might have developed into a bureaucracy of permanent office-holders. It had its evils, and great ones, but they have been reduced in recent years by legislative and executive action.

Nullification.—This word as it is used in American history means that a State has the right to declare null and void and to resist any act of the Federal Government which it disapproves. It was first asserted in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, and was a logical conse-

quence of the principle of State sovereignty, which had always been the basis of the Democratic Party.

The question of nullification arose in this way: For a long time the North and the South had been steadily drifting apart. Both felt that their interests were different. The North was largely industrial, the South altogether agricultural. The North had free labor, the South slave. The North wanted a high protective tariff for its manufactures, the Southern planters wanted a low tariff or none at all. Congress passed several tariff laws between 1789 and 1828, each one higher than the last. These laws benefited the Northern manufacturer, but proved a burden to the South, especially to the people of South Carolina.

In 1830 a great tariff debate, involving the nature and purport of the Federal Constitution, was held in the Senate between Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, and Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.

Mr. Hayne asserted the doctrine of State sovereignty; that the Constitution was a compact between independent sovereign States and could be dissolved by any State at any time. He declared that the tariff of 1828 was unfair

to the people of South Carolina, who therefore had a perfect right to resist its enforcement.

Senator Hayne was answered by Mr. Webster, who took the position that the Constitution was not a compact between sovereign States as States, but between the sovereign people of all the States; that no State could interpret the Constitution to suit itself or resist the laws of Congress. Such acts, said Mr. Webster, would result in anarchy.

The speech of Webster made a deep impression upon the people of the North, giving a strong and permanent impulse to the growing spirit of nationality.

In 1832 Congress passed another tariff law, which was more distasteful to the people of South Carolina than that of 1828. A State convention met and proceeded to carry out the threat made by Senator Hayne. The convention passed an ordinance declaring null and void the tariffs of 1828 and 1832. All State officers were made to swear that they would support the ordinance. The convention further declared that South Carolina would secede from the Union if the Federal Government attempted to enforce the tariff laws.

President Jackson, although a Southern man,

was an intense lover of the Union. He issued a proclamation in which he declared that resistance to Federal laws was treason, and warned the people of South Carolina against taking such a step. Congress passed an act called the "force bill," which gave the President power to enforce the law.

Henry Clay came forward with a compromise. Through his efforts the objectionable tariff of 1832 was repealed, and a lower rate fixed as a concession to South Carolina. The Ordinance of Nullification was repealed, and further difficulty was for the time avoided.

The Democracy of Jefferson and of Jackson Compared.—We may see right at this point the difference between the earlier democracy of Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party, and that of Andrew Jackson, who was now its chief.

Both men believed in the rule of the people. But Jefferson thought that this end could best be effected by independent local governments, that is, *State sovereignty*; while Jackson believed that the reign of the people could only be secured through the Federal Government, that is, *by the whole people acting through the Nation*. Jackson's view was also the view of

such leaders as Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Chief-justice Marshall, and it was fast becoming the settled conviction of the people of the North and West. The doctrine of State sovereignty continued to be firmly held by the people of the South, where it found its ablest champion in John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina.

The national ideal of Jackson was destined to triumph in the end, but not without a fierce and terrible war between the South, defending the ancient theory of State sovereignty, and the North, committed to the principle of nationality.

Like Jefferson, Jackson believed that government to be the best, whether local or national, which governed least, even when the people were their own rulers. He was watchful to see that the other branches of the Federal Government did not overstep their Constitutional powers, but he did not hesitate to magnify the prerogatives of his own office.

Jackson and the Bank.—In 1816 Congress had chartered for a period of twenty years a Bank of the United States, similar to the earlier institution founded by Hamilton, which was now defunct, and had deposited in its keeping the

revenues of the Government. In 1832, four years before its charter expired, Congress granted a new charter. The President promptly vetoed the bill, claiming that the Constitution gave Congress no such power. He also alleged that the existence of a private moneyed institution in alliance with the Government was dangerous to the public welfare, and that the bank had used its power for political purposes.

There was some truth in these charges. A bitter controversy between the bank and the President ensued. In the election of 1832 the bank question was submitted to the people, who reelected Jackson by an immense vote. The President felt encouraged, and continued his war against the bank with renewed vehemence. The next year he removed the Government deposits from its custody, and in 1836, having failed to secure a new charter, the Bank of the United States came to an end.*

It was undoubtedly best that there should be no such institution, since a partnership of that sort between a private enterprise and the Gov-

* After the expiration of its national charter the Bank of the United States was incorporated by the State of Pennsylvania.

ernment was liable to grave abuses, and was certain to be the object of popular suspicion and attack.

The Administration of Martin Van Buren.— Jackson greatly desired to be followed in the presidency by his friend and associate, Martin Van Buren, who had been Vice-president since 1832. The Democratic Party, obeying the wishes of its chief, made Van Buren its candidate in the campaign of 1836, with the result that he was elected. Van Buren was an able and experienced statesman and a remarkably adroit politician, but he was given only one term in the White House.

In 1837 the country passed through a period of "hard times." A great financial panic ruined business and brought disaster to many people. It was due principally to the frenzy for speculation which had seized the public mind, and found expression in delusive schemes of money-making. The panic was precipitated, however, by the bank policy of Jackson, which caused temporary derangement in the financial world. The destruction of the wheat crop of 1836 in many States by the Hessian fly aggravated the suffering produced by the rise in the price of money.

The Rise and First Success of the Whig Party.— Andrew Jackson had been a self-willed and arbitrary President. His warfare against the bank displeased a large number of Democrats. For the purpose of opposing Jackson more effectively his enemies joined forces with the National Republicans, whose leader and idol was Henry Clay, the most eloquent and magnetic orator in the country. Under the magic influence of Clay a new and effective party was organized which offered a united opposition to the Jackson Democrats.

The Whig Party,* for so it was named, held to the Federalist doctrine of large powers for the national Government, and to the National Republican policies of internal improvements at national expense and a protective tariff. Another of its leaders was Daniel Webster. In 1832 the Whigs ran Henry Clay for the presidency against Jackson with the result already noted.

The panic of 1837 proved a fortunate event for the Whigs, for it furnished ammunition for

* "Whig" was the name adopted in 1680 by a political party in England which opposed the tyranny of the king. Jackson's enemies denounced him as a tyrant and tried to establish an historical parallel between themselves and the English party which stood for liberty.

the guns of campaign oratory. The Whigs heaped reproach upon the Democrats and fanned the flame of popular discontent.

In 1840 the Whigs nominated General William Henry Harrison for President. The candidate was an old soldier with an heroic record in the Indian war of 1811. He had never been very active in politics, and hence had made no enemies. He was now living as a farmer in Ohio. John Tyler, of Virginia, was named for Vice-president in order to draw votes in the South.

The Whigs had no platform, and did not declare for a single principle. They simply attacked Van Buren's administration, laying upon it all the blame for the hard times. General Harrison's war record made him a popular candidate. People remembered his defeat of the Indians, and affectionately called him "Old Tippecanoe." They also remembered the panic of 1837. Van Buren was renominated by the Democrats, but Harrison was elected by an immense majority.

The Whigs Fail to Make a Record.—Notwithstanding their success at the polls, the Whigs accomplished nothing of importance during their four years of supremacy in the councils of the

nation. General Harrison was sixty-eight years old and physically infirm. The labors of his office proved too great for his strength, and he died exactly one month after his inauguration.

Then trouble began for the Whigs. John Tyler became President. He had formerly been a Democrat, but had left his party because he disliked Jackson. He was still a Democrat at heart. The Whig Congress passed two bills to reestablish a national bank. President Tyler vetoed them both, at which the whole Whig Party became enraged. The members of the Cabinet resigned, and the President showed his true colors by appointing Democrats to fill their places.

With Congress and the President at variance with each other the Whigs could accomplish but little.

CHAPTER XV.

INVENTION, LITERATURE, MORAL PROGRESS, AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

THE population of the United States in 1830, east of the Mississippi River, was thirteen millions. The country was remarkably prosperous. There were few very rich men, and none who were very poor.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad was begun in 1827. From that time on railroads increased rapidly in the East, though the stage-coach continued to be for many years a common mode of travel.

The canals, which were constructed after the War of 1812, proved a great benefit to the farmers by reducing freight charges, thus enabling them to sell their produce in distant markets at a greater profit.

Invention was busy devising means to lessen human toil and increase the product of industry by making use of machinery. The McCormick reaper was placed in the market in 1831,

and proved a great boon to agriculture. The invention of the sewing-machine by Elias Howe in 1846 came as a blessing to women in their homes and to the thousands who toiled in busy factories. But the crowning achievement of inventive genius was the Morse electric telegraph, over which the first message was despatched in 1844.

The use of anthracite coal for smelting iron, together with other improvements in the process of mining, soon placed the iron and coal mines of Pennsylvania in the front rank of American industries. New England was steadily developing as a manufacturing centre.

Newspapers were numerous and exerted a powerful influence upon the minds of the people concerning the prominent questions of the day.

Many of the celebrated authors who have contributed so largely to the glory of their country were now beginning to write. "The Sketch Book" had already made the name of Washington Irving familiar in Europe as well as in America. James Fenimore Cooper's sea-tales and stories of pioneer life had given him an international fame. The histories of Bancroft and Prescott, the weird imagination of Edgar

Allan Poe, the mystery of Hawthorne, the practical essays of Emerson, the poems of Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant, Holmes, and Lowell all proclaimed that this country, though half its area was still unbroken wilderness, was the home of a very real culture and a high degree of intellectual life.

Why the South did not Develop.—In this industrial and literary progress the South had little part. The reason for its backwardness in development was the existence of slavery. The Southern people were as able, as intelligent, as ambitious as the people of the North, but as long as slavery was the basis of their industrial system they could not develop in the same direction or to as high a degree. Slavery prevented immigration because free labor could not compete with slave labor, and because white men would not perform the work which had been associated for centuries with slavery. There could be no manufactures because the slave was incapable of anything but agriculture, and even in that he was slow, stupid, and wasteful.

If slavery was a burden, why did not the South get rid of it? One reason was that the South did not realize how great a burden it really was. Slavery had always existed; the

South had never known any other system. To change its industrial basis would have been a tremendous undertaking, involving huge financial risk, perhaps temporary ruin. If the slave should be emancipated, what would become of him, and who would take his place? The South would have to pay him wages and would get no better work.

Slave Life.—If slavery was on the whole a bad thing for the white man, it conferred unquestionable benefits upon the black man. It found the negro a savage of the lowest type in Africa, and in less than two centuries transformed him into a civilized being, trained and Christianized.

But the lot of the slave differed according to locality and according to the kind of service he performed. In the Border States the evils of slavery were less and its benefits to the negro greater than in the Far South. Again, house-servants were better cared for than field-hands. Between the house-servant and the family of the master there often existed a deep and sincere personal attachment. He was frequently educated in a rudimentary way and always well cared for. The field-hands were less fortunate. Their hours were long, their food and cloth-

ing coarse, and their treatment sometimes cruel.

It is a fact of marked significance that serious crime among negroes was almost unknown in the days of slavery.

The Abolitionists.—With the exception of the Pennsylvania Quakers and some of the German sects, who had raised an early protest against slavery, there was very little hostility to the institution on moral grounds anywhere in the North until 1830. Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois enacted stringent legislation against negroes, either forbidding their presence in the State or prescribing conditions and duration of residence. In Boston a merchant or a mechanic who took a negro apprentice incurred the bane of ostracism.

On the first day of January, 1831, a newspaper appeared in that city called the *Liberator*. It was edited by William Lloyd Garrison and championed the cause of emancipation. Within ten years there were hundreds of anti-slavery societies in the Northern States advocating the immediate abolition of slavery. Prominent among the abolitionists were Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, of Boston, both leading

citizens and eloquent orators; Gerrit Smith, Lucretia Mott, Thaddeus Stevens, John Greenleaf Whittier, and later James Russell Lowell and Henry Ward Beecher.

Public opinion in the North was intensely hostile to the abolitionists. The commercial interests opposed them because their doctrines jeopardized trade relations with the South. The abolitionists were denounced as enemies of the Union, and with reason, for their slogan was, "Extinguish slavery or dissolve the Union." Wendell Phillips, who was graduated a lawyer, refused to support the Constitution because it recognized slavery. Garrison called the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Abolition newspapers were destroyed and the leaders themselves frequently mobbed. George Thompson, a British orator in the cause of abolition, was ejected from a hotel in New York at the demand of a Southern guest, and the lecturer was publicly warned by the press not to speak in the city. In New England he fared much worse.

But the movement gathered strength despite opposition, and the conviction that slavery was morally wrong rapidly took root in the Northern mind.

The South was naturally incensed at the men who called slave-holding a sin and advocated with such fiery and persistent zeal the destruction of millions of dollars worth of private property guaranteed by the Constitution. The Southern people resented being held up as the arch-sinners of the nation merely because they adhered to a system of labor inherited from their fathers, for which they were no more responsible than the people of the North. If the abolitionist regarded the slave-holder as a monster, the slave-holder looked upon the abolitionist as an anarchist.

Great Statesmen.—The first half of the nineteenth century was an age of great statesmen. In the Senate and House of Representatives were some of the most gifted men in the history of the nation: John C. Calhoun, the able defender of State sovereignty; Henry Clay and Daniel Webster, the zealous champions of nationality, and others scarcely less distinguished.

Here, at least, the South was not behind the North. The Southerner had a natural aptitude for political leadership, which had always been recognized ever since the days of the Revolution. The institution of slavery bred in him the habit of authority and gave him leisure for the

mastery of politics, which became his most serious occupation.

Another reason why there were so many men of extraordinary ability in political life, North as well as South, is because at that time there was but one profession which offered opportunity for both wealth and fame. That profession was the law. It is not far from the truth to say that all lawyers were politicians and all politicians were lawyers. The practice of law brought wealth, while politics brought popularity and distinction. To-day there are many occupations where the opportunities for wealth and fame are as great as in the law. For this reason law and politics no longer attract all the best talent of the land.

Growth of Democracy.—In its *structure* the Government was developing along the lines of federalism and nationality marked out by Alexander Hamilton. But in its *spirit* it was steadily realizing the democratic ideals of Thomas Jefferson. The people had vastly more influence and political power than they possessed when the Constitution was adopted in 1789. At that time nearly every State refused to allow a man to vote unless he owned a certain amount of property or belonged to a certain church.

Out of a total population of five millions, only one hundred and fifty thousand in the United States were voters. Gradually the leaven of democracy spread. Older States removed some of their restrictions upon the suffrage, while the new States in their constitutions prescribed broader qualifications. By 1830 the suffrage was almost as free as it is to-day.

The growing spirit of fraternity found expression in various reforms and humanitarian movements, such as the establishment of public hospitals, asylums, libraries, and the improvement of prisons. The Eastern Penitentiary at Philadelphia, built in 1830, first provided separate cells for criminals. New York and Pennsylvania were the pioneers in the establishment of rural schools, which placed the rudiments of education within easy reach of the country boys and girls. In 1833 Oberlin College in Ohio opened its doors to women.

We cannot emphasize too strongly the importance of this democratic spirit which was becoming more and more the keynote of American life. It is a part of the American creed that every man deserves and ought to have a fair chance to succeed in life; that a man must be judged not by his family descent, not by his

wealth, not by his education, but by what he *is* and what he *accomplishes*; by the use which he makes of the opportunities which America affords him.

NOTE.—THE MORMONS. In 1830 Joseph Smith, an ignorant but shrewd adventurer, proclaimed that he had received a divine commission to found a new religion. He claimed to have discovered, through an angel, some golden tablets containing a revelation from heaven which he published as the Book of Mormon. Smith gained converts and established successive settlements in Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. His followers took the name of Mormons or Latter-day Saints.

After the death of Smith in Nauvoo, Ill., at the hands of a mob, Brigham Young led the "Saints" to Utah, where they built Salt Lake City. Polygamy was enjoined upon the Mormons by their early leaders as a religious and political duty. When Utah was admitted as a State in 1896 it was on condition that the practice of plural marriage should be abandoned—a pledge which has been persistently and flagrantly disregarded.

The extraordinary thing about Mormonism is its superb organization. The Church is ruled by twelve Apostles whose word is law and who practically own the State. The Mormons number about three hundred thousand. They are exceedingly prosperous.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SLAVERY QUESTION IN POLITICS

JOHN TYLER was an accidental President, whose elevation to that office was due to the death of his chief. He was anxious to be elected President on his own strength and merits.

Texas and the Election of 1844.—As he could not hope to be nominated by the Whigs, Tyler determined to gain the favor of the Democrats by advocating the annexation of Texas, a measure greatly desired by the dominant Southern wing of the Democratic Party. Neither the Northern Democrats nor the Whigs wanted Texas, but as the main strength of the Democratic Party was in the South it was to President Tyler's advantage to cultivate the favor of the Southern Democrats. Besides, being a Southern man, he naturally favored his own section.

Texas had long been a province of Mexico, but its population was largely composed of

American settlers from the Southern States. In 1836 Texas revolted from Mexico and established an independent republic under the presidency of Sam Houston, formerly Governor of Tennessee, and the next year applied for admission to the Union.

The Southern politicians favored its admission because it would give the South two more members in the Senate, where all the States were equal in representation, and thus make up for their weakness in the House of Representatives, where the North had a steadily growing majority.

The North was opposed to the admission of Texas because it meant an extension of slave territory and of Southern political power.

In the hope of gaining the Democratic nomination President Tyler did his best to bring about the annexation of Texas during his term of office. He did not succeed in either of his purposes, but he made the Texas question the main issue in the election of 1844.

The Democrats Again in Power.—The Whigs nominated Henry Clay and declared against annexation. The Democrats nominated James K. Polk, of Tennessee, and George M. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, and declared for annexation. The

abolitionists, whose strength was increasing, organized the Liberty Party and took the field on the issue of slavery with James G. Birney as its presidential candidate.

The election turned upon New York, where the Liberty Party drew so many votes from the Whigs that the Democrats carried the State.

The Democratic Party was again in full control of the national Government. Congress passed a resolution of annexation, and Texas became a State of the Union in 1845.

Henceforth the question of the extension of slavery was the one absorbing issue in all minds.

The War with Mexico, 1846-48.—The South did not long remain content with the single addition of Texas to the strength and number of the slave States. The rapid growth of Northern population meant an increasing Northern majority in Congress. The only way for the South to preserve its influence in the national Government was to increase its representation in the Senate. This could be done only by creating new States, which required the addition of more south-western territory. But there was no more available; everything west of Texas belonged to Mexico.

The United States Government, finding itself

unable to acquire justly the additional territory demanded by the South, thereupon resorted to an extraordinary measure. It decided to take by force a portion of Mexico and annex it for the benefit of the Southern slave-holders.

Between the Rio Grande and the Nueces rivers lay a strip of territory about three hundred miles long by fifty to one hundred wide. Both the United States and Mexico claimed this land, but it really belonged to Mexico.

President Polk sent a fleet to the Gulf of Mexico and ordered General Zachary Taylor to take possession of the disputed territory. On May 8th, at Palo Alto, General Taylor encountered a Mexican army three times as large as his own and won a complete victory. The next day he defeated the Mexicans at the battle of Resaca de la Palma, and in September took the city of Monterey. The capture of Monterey was followed a few months later by the victory of Buena Vista, where General Taylor and General Wool, with only five thousand Americans, defeated twenty thousand Mexicans under Santa Anna.

The battle of Buena Vista ended General Taylor's military career. The Whigs were beginning to mention his name as a candidate for

the presidency. The Democratic administration feared that if he were allowed to win any more victories he would become such a popular hero that nothing could prevent his nomination and election. General Taylor was therefore ordered home, and General Winfield Scott took his place.

General Scott proved fully as successful as Taylor. With the aid of a fleet the coast city of Vera Cruz was taken (March 27, 1847). From that point General Scott began his march to the capital of Mexico, a city of two hundred thousand inhabitants, situated two hundred miles in the interior on a high plateau, ascent to which was difficult and dangerous. A succession of brilliant victories marked his progress. On September 14th six thousand American troops entered in triumph the City of Mexico and raised the stars and stripes over the palace.

The war was over. It had been an unbroken series of victories for the Americans against vastly superior numbers. The Mexicans were brave soldiers, but they were badly organized, poorly officered, and the Mexican Government was in a state of anarchy. The Americans were thoroughly disciplined, and their generals and regimental officers were unusually able men.

Just as the French and Indian War had prepared the colonial officers for the larger battles of the Revolution, so the war with Mexico served as the training school for the future commanders who were to lead the armies of the North and of the South in the great Civil War fast approaching.

Results of the Mexican War.—On February 2, 1848, the peace commissioners of the two countries signed the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, so called from the town where the commissioners met. Mexico gave up to the United States not only the small tract between the Rio Grande and Nueces rivers, but the vast territory lying between Texas and the Pacific Ocean, comprising Arizona, New Mexico, California, Utah, Nevada, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming.

As if in partial apology for its ruthless brigandage, the United States paid Mexico a gratuity of \$15,000,000 for the forced cession of this valuable area—the only feature of the entire affair at all indicative of that magnanimity and decency which have usually characterized the proceedings of this nation.

The Mexican War had the further effect of making slavery more than ever the paramount

issue of the day, for the question immediately arose, Shall slavery be permitted to spread to the new territories? The North said no; the South, yes. The question came definitely before the country when David Wilmot, a member of Congress from Pennsylvania, moved in the House of Representatives that slavery be forever excluded from the territory won from Mexico. The motion was voted down, but the Wilmot Proviso became the rallying point for the growing anti-slavery forces of the North.

The Election of 1848.—The Whigs, taking advantage of General Taylor's great popularity, nominated him for President at a convention held in Philadelphia. Neither Whigs nor Democrats were willing at this time to take a bold stand for or against slavery in the territories, since both parties were afraid of losing votes if they committed themselves in one way or the other. Many of the anti-slavery men thereupon withdrew from the old parties, and uniting with the Liberty men, or extreme abolitionists, formed the Free Soil Party, and nominated ex-President Martin Van Buren, of New York.

Again, as in 1844, the election turned upon New York. Van Buren drew so many Demo-

cratic votes that the State was carried by the Whigs, and Taylor was elected.

California.—In the summer of 1848 some workmen, while building a saw-mill on the Sacramento River, saw bright yellow particles gleaming in the sand. Upon examination these proved to be gold.

In a short time the whole world knew that gold had been discovered in California. The country went wild. Physicians abandoned their practice, judges left the bench, merchants closed their shops, and farmers sold their acres. A torrent of humanity crazy for wealth poured into California. There were no great railroads connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, over which eager men might speed in five days. Some crossed the mountains and prairies of the West in deadly peril of hostile Indians; some went by way of the Isthmus of Panama, with its no less deadly fevers; others took passage in slow sailing vessels down the South American coast and around Cape Horn, the longest, but the safest of the three routes. Cities and towns sprang up almost in a night.

Within a year there were enough people in California to warrant its admission as a State. Then trouble began. The immigrants from

Northern States outnumbered those from the South. The majority were opposed to slavery, and drew up a State Constitution which forbade it. The South, finding that so large a part of the territory which had been gained for slavery at the terrible cost of war was about to join forces with the North, opposed the admission of California.

Again the "Great Pacificator," Henry Clay, came forward with a compromise. He more than any other man had secured the passage of the Missouri Compromise and the compromise tariff of 1833. Now, for the third and last time, this patriotic statesman, whose one purpose was to preserve the Union of the States, guided the embittered sections through another crisis.

The Compromise of 1850.—The measures advocated by Henry Clay consisted of a series of eight laws which were passed during the summer of 1850. The most important features were these: 1. California to be admitted as a free State in accordance with the wishes of the majority of its citizens. 2. A Fugitive Slave Law, demanding the return of runaway slaves who might escape to the Northern States. 3. The people of New Mexico and Utah to determine for them-

selves whether or not slavery should be allowed to exist in those territories.

The first law pleased the North, but displeased the South; the third pleased the South, but not the North; the Fugitive Slave Law was obviously in favor of the slave-holders, and highly repugnant to the Northern abolitionists, but was in strict accord with the Constitution. However, the Compromise of 1850 seemed to be the best arrangement that could be made.

Three Great Speeches were made in the Senate in the month of March while the Compromise was under discussion. The first was a strong and eloquent argument by John C. Calhoun, defending the institution of slavery. The second speech was by Daniel Webster, supporting all the measures of the Compromise; it was an appeal for the preservation of the Union, which he clearly saw was imperilled, and was addressed to the temperate and conservative element of the entire nation. The third represented the extreme abolitionist point of view, and was delivered in opposition to the measure by William H. Seward, of New York.

Webster, Clay, and Calhoun died within a short time of each other, and their places were

taken by Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, Seward, and Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois.

The Election of 1852 and the Death of the Whig Party.—President Taylor had died the year after his inauguration, and had been succeeded by the Vice-president, Millard Fillmore. Neither Taylor nor Fillmore was a political leader.

There was great dissatisfaction throughout the nation with the Whig Party. It had tried to steer a middle course between the friends and the enemies of slavery. It had endeavored to please both sides while committing itself to neither. Its Northern members were displeased because it would not condemn slavery, and its Southern members because it would not denounce the abolitionists. In the election of 1852 it carried only four States. This marked the end of the Whig Party. The Federalist Party, from which the Whigs were descended, and whose principles and policies they had inherited to a great extent, died because it was too aristocratic. The Whig Party died because it lacked backbone. It left no permanent legislation, and is not associated with any great or vital facts in American history.

The Democratic Party, on the contrary, stood for definite ideas and purposes, although they

were not always right ones. Its main strength was in the South, but it was powerful also in the North. It was as old as the national Government itself, it had played an important part in history, and its leaders had been among the greatest of Americans. These facts gave it a place in the affections of the people. It had not vacillated, as the Whig Party had done, but was outspoken in its defence of slavery—though not unanimously in favor of its extension. This was because the Constitution recognized and allowed slavery, and the Democratic Party was pledged to defend whatever rights were guaranteed by the Constitution.

With the defeat of the Whigs in 1852 the Democrats returned to power, electing Franklin Pierce, of New Hampshire, President.

The Kansas-Nebraska Act, 1854.—A new Democratic leader now appeared in the person of Stephen A. Douglas, United States Senator from Illinois. He introduced a bill in Congress providing territorial government for Kansas and Nebraska, which included that part of the Louisiana Purchase extending from Indian Territory to the Canadian boundary. From this region slavery had supposedly been forever excluded by the Missouri Compromise.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill was a Southern measure. It declared that Congress had exceeded its Constitutional authority when it passed the Missouri Compromise; that it was for the people of the territories, not for Congress, to say whether slavery should exist there; and that consequently the Missouri Compromise, which had been in force for thirty-four years, was null and void. The doctrine involved in this law was popularly known as "Squatter Sovereignty."

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was a great blunder, for it reopened the question of slavery in a region where the North and the South had by mutual agreement ceased to dispute about it.

Violence in Kansas.—Immigrants from Northern and Southern States flocked in great numbers to Kansas, which became the battle-ground between freedom and slavery. The ambitions of the South had suffered partial defeat when California came in as a free State, and the South was determined that Kansas should be admitted as a slave State to balance the loss of California. The North was equally determined that it should enter as a free State. The first election was claimed by both the slavery and anti-slavery forces, and each side formed a

territorial government. Anarchy and bloodshed followed. Eventually the immigrants from the North outnumbered those from the South, as they had done in the case of California. They drew up a constitution prohibiting slavery, but Kansas did not become a State until 1861.

The Birth of the Republican Party and the Election of 1856.—The Kansas-Nebraska Act had the effect of consolidating the anti-slavery forces. Many Northern Democrats joined the Free Soil Party, which had also absorbed many Whigs. These men, led by William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio, organized the Republican Party, and took the field on the principal issue of slavery.

The Republican Party was the lineal descendant of the Federalist and Whig parties. It believed in liberal powers for the Federal Government, and declared that Congress had full power to permit or forbid slavery in the territories, regardless of the wishes of the inhabitants. It also favored the Whig policies of internal improvements at national expense and a protective tariff.

The birth of the Republican Party definitely aligned the North and South against each other.

There were no Southern members to compel it to hedge or temporize. Its avowed purpose was to overthrow the slave power.

The Southern Whigs, alarmed at the aggressiveness and growing influence of the abolitionists, joined the Democrats. Slavery was dividing the parties, as it had already split the churches.*

In 1856 the Republican Party named its first presidential ticket, which was headed by John C. Frémont, of California. The Democrats had lost strength in the North, and could not hope to win without Pennsylvania. In order to make sure of that State they nominated James Buchanan, who had served as Secretary of State in Pierce's administration. Buchanan was elected, but the Republicans carried eleven States.

The election of 1856 exhibited a united South pitted against a disunited North. The new President sympathized wholly with the

* Between 1844 and 1853 the Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches separated into Northern and Southern organizations over the question of slavery. The last few years have witnessed successful efforts to bridge the chasm created so long ago. Although the Northern and Southern branches of these denominations have not come into an organic reunion, their relations are wholly fraternal.

South, and appointed Southern men to fill most of his Cabinet offices.

The Dred Scott Decision.—In 1857 the Supreme Court rendered a decision which confirmed the Southern and Democratic view that Congress had no right to legislate for the territories on the question of slavery.

One of the powers exercised by the Supreme Court is to declare whether the laws passed by Congress are in accord with the Constitution. But the Court cannot pass upon the Constitutionality of any law until some case comes regularly before it which involves that question. The Missouri Compromise had been in effect for nearly forty years, and no lawsuit had ever been brought to test its Constitutionality until 1857.

Dred Scott was a slave belonging to a surgeon in the army. His master was ordered by the Government to a garrison in the Nebraska territory, and took the slave with him. After remaining there two years, master and slave returned to Missouri, where Dred Scott was sold. The slave then brought suit against his master for his freedom. He argued that since the Missouri Compromise had forever prohibited slavery in that territory he had become a free man

by living there. Then it was that the Supreme Court, to which the case had been appealed, decided that the Missouri Compromise was null and void because the Constitution gave Congress no power to exclude slavery from the territories.

This decision was perfectly consistent with the Democratic doctrine of large powers for local government and limited powers for the Federal Government. The South hailed it with approval, the North with contempt.

The Raid and Execution of John Brown.—In 1859 occurred an event which further fanned the flame of sectional bitterness. John Brown had been one of the free-State leaders in the Kansas troubles. He was honest and courageous, but lacked judgment, and was a fanatic on the subject of slavery. In the summer of 1859 Brown and a band of followers seized the United States Arsenal at Harper's Ferry for the purpose of distributing the arms which it contained to the slaves of Virginia, so that they might rise in insurrection and secure their freedom. United States troops and militia from Virginia and Maryland were sent to Harper's Ferry under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. John Brown was captured, and after

a fair and open trial by the State of Virginia was convicted of murder and treason and hanged.

The John Brown raid injured the abolitionist cause for a time. Public opinion was strongly against such methods, and there was a slight reaction in favor of the slave-holder. The South, having in mind the recent West Indian slave insurrection, where murder, arson, and anarchy ran their horrible course, realized the peril of a slave uprising, and was more bitter than ever against the abolitionists.

CHAPTER XVII

SECESSION

THE presidential year 1860 found sectional lines more sharply drawn than ever. *What shall be the attitude of Congress toward slavery in the territories?* This was the question which the political parties must face.

The Election of Abraham Lincoln.—The Democratic Party met in convention at Charleston, S. C. It was hopelessly divided. After balloting fifty-seven times in vain for a candidate it adjourned.

The Southern wing met in Richmond and nominated John C. Breckinridge, of Kentucky. It declared that slavery was recognized by the Constitution, and that it was just as much the duty of Congress to protect the rights of the slave-holder to his property in the territories as elsewhere.

The Northern Democrats met in Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas. They desired to get the slavery issue entirely out of

national politics. Their platform declared that the Constitution had given Congress no power to deal with the question, but that the territories must decide for themselves. This had been the Democratic position in the debates on the Kansas-Nebraska bill.

The Republicans assembled in Chicago and nominated Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois. He had first attracted national attention in 1858 by a series of brilliant debates with Douglas when both men were canvassing Illinois for the United States senatorship. The Republican platform pronounced slavery to be an evil. It affirmed that it was both the right and the duty of Congress to keep it out of the territories, although denying any intention to interfere with it in the States where it already existed. The party repeated its declaration of 1856 in favor of a protective tariff.

A fourth party, composed of those who did not know just where they stood, but desired peace above all else, took the name of Constitutional Union. Their slogan was "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws"—which meant nothing at all, unless it meant to continue things as they were, which was impossible.

The contest narrowed down to a duel between the Southern Democrats and the Republicans over the question, *Shall Congress protect or shall it forbid slavery in the territories?* With a few exceptions, the Breckinridge Democrats swept the slave States from Delaware to Texas. The Republicans carried all the free States.* Lincoln was elected, although in a minority of a million in the total popular vote.

Thus the South lost the supremacy which it had held in the national councils since the formation of the Government.

Secession of the Cotton States.—The slaveholders of the cotton States had all along been the most aggressive champions of slavery and the most zealous advocates of its extension into new areas. One reason for their excessive devotion to the institution of slavery was that their form of agriculture was the most dependent upon slave-labor. They understood the election of Lincoln to signify that the Republican Party would use the powers of the Federal Government to destroy the very basis upon which their wealth and political influence rested. Although

* The Constitutional Union Party carried Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia. The Douglas Democrats carried Missouri and three out of New Jersey's seven electoral votes.

numbering but a small part of the white population of their section, yet the political power of this tiny minority was so great that it not only ruled the South, but it had dictated to the nation for many years.

Having lost control of the Federal Government, the slave power now determined to build a new government to suit itself. It had enjoyed supreme authority too long to be willing to surrender it now.

The South Atlantic and Gulf States were convinced that by virtue of their control of the production of cotton they had not only the North, but Europe at their mercy. Said Senator Hammond: "I firmly believe that the slave-holding South is now the controlling power of the world; that no other power will face us in hostilities."

On December 20th South Carolina passed an ordinance of secession, and withdrew from the Union. Within six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas followed. On February 14, 1861, these States formed a new government under the name of the Confederate States of America, and elected Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, President, and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, Vice-president. Davis was a man of brains, address, self-

confidence, and indomitable courage; Stephens, an intellectual prodigy of diminutive physical stature and feeble health. Montgomery, Ala., was chosen for the capital.

The Federal Government in the meantime did nothing, for it was the policy of the Buchanan administration to avert war if possible. The President believed that he had no right to coerce a State. Nearly all the members of his Cabinet were in open sympathy with secession.

Fort Sumter.—Very soon after his inauguration President Lincoln sent reënforcements to Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor. This action was taken by the Confederacy to mean that the Federal Government had decided upon war. President Davis ordered General Beauregard, who was in command of the Confederate forces about Charleston, to open fire on the fort.

The cannonading which began on the morning of April 12, 1861, proclaimed to the world that the greatest civil war of all the ages had now begun. Major Anderson defended the fort with valor, but his men were few, their provisions were exhausted, and it was impossible to hold out long. After thirty-four hours' heroic resistance, during which the fort was reduced to

ruins, Major Anderson surrendered, and the garrison marched out with the honors of war.

The Call to Arms.—The effect of the attack on Sumter was electrical throughout the whole country, North and South. President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand volunteers, and several times that number answered. Party differences were forgotten in the assault upon the flag, and the one supreme peril that threatened the Union. President Davis issued a call for thirty-five thousand Confederate volunteers, and the Southern people responded as one man to repel the invasion of their homes by Northern troops.

Other States Secede.—The area of secession at first included only South Carolina, Georgia, and the Gulf States. It would probably have been confined to that region had not President Lincoln forced the issue upon other Southern States by ordering out their militia to assist in putting down the Confederacy. The Northern States cheerfully obeyed, but Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas refused on the ground that the Federal Government had no right to coerce a sovereign State. Since they could not remain neutral, these States proceeded to join the Confederacy, which by June, 1861, num-

bered eleven States. After the accession of Virginia the Confederate capital was moved from Montgomery to Richmond.

The people in the western part of Virginia were not in sympathy with secession, and refused to go into the Confederacy. They formed a State government of their own, and were admitted into the Union in 1863 as the State of West Virginia.

The Confederacy made strong efforts to gain the four remaining slave States. But Delaware contained scarcely any secessionists. Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were divided in their sympathies, and sent many brave volunteers into both armies, but as these States were under Federal military control throughout the war it is doubtful if they could have seceded, even had the majority of the people been so inclined.

The Confederate Constitution was very similar to that of the United States, which is a strong proof that the Southern people were really attached to the institutions of their fathers. There were some points of difference. The Executive was to be elected for a term of six years, and was not to be eligible for reëlection. Members of the Cabinet were to have a voice in Congress in matters which pertained to their departments.

A protective tariff was declared illegal, and the principle of State sovereignty was upheld—constructions for which the South had always contended. State legislatures had power to impeach officials of the Confederate Government acting within the State.

The Motive and the Argument of Secession.—Although the slave power had been the most zealous advocate of disunion, it comprised only a small fraction of the white population of the South. Slavery precipitated the Civil War, but it was not the fundamental cause of that terrible struggle. There were few slaves in North Carolina, and fewer in Tennessee. These States would not have joined the Confederacy if slavery had been the vital issue. The Confederate Constitution expressly forbade the reopening of the African slave-trade. Mr. Davis and other leaders declared that slavery would not last forever. The magnificent popular enthusiasm, which swept and surged like a tidal wave over North and South for four long and bloody years, was not excited either by the desire of the North to free the negro or of the South to perpetuate his servitude. Mr. Lincoln in his inaugural address expressly denied that he had either the intention or the lawful right to interfere with

slavery in the States where it already existed, and said nothing about putting an end to it in the territories, upon which his party had insisted. He even went so far as to advocate an amendment to the Constitution making slavery perpetual; not because he approved of the institution, but because he was willing to do anything to save the Union. At the same time he let the South understand that the Federal Government would resist secession, by force if necessary.

To discover the real and underlying cause of the Civil War we must look elsewhere than to slavery. We must remember that the South had always held to the conviction that the States were superior to the nation; the nation was the creature of the States, it came into existence by their will, and how could the thing that was created be superior to its creator? And if the nation was inferior to the State, then the Constitution, which was the law of the nation, could not be taken as the measure of State rights. According to this view, if a State decided that it would be better off out of the Union than in it, it had a perfect right to withdraw.

This was the principle for which the Revolutionary fathers had contended, and which the Declaration of Independence had asserted. The

same view had prevailed in the North itself up to 1860. The Legislature of Massachusetts in 1802 threatened to secede if the Jefferson administration should purchase Louisiana. A convention of the New England States, meeting in Hartford in 1814 to oppose the war with England, had proposed secession because they could not have their own way in national affairs. New York, Rhode Island, and Virginia came into the Union on the express condition that they could withdraw whenever they might choose to do so. The abolitionists constantly advocated the secession of the free States rather than live under a flag which sanctioned the curse of slavery.

But gradually the great mass of Northern people had become converted to the national ideal expressed in Jackson's fiery challenge, "*The Union, it must and shall be preserved.*" The thrilling peroration of Webster's reply to Hayne, "*Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable,*" had been recited in every school-house in the North. Their appeal to the popular heart had roused the sentiment of patriotism and given birth to the pride of nationality. When the stars and stripes fell from the bastions of Sumter thousands of Northern men rushed to the defence of the Union, which

the eloquence of Webster and the example of Jackson had taught them to love and reverence.

In the South the warlike preparations of the Government were regarded as the expression of a tyrannical purpose to invade the homes and destroy the liberties of a free people. They could not see why they had not as clear a right to withdraw from the Federal Union as the colonies had to withdraw from the Empire of Great Britain in 1776. When the Federal troops marched into the South these people were compelled to choose between their State—to which they had always been taught that their allegiance was first due—and the nation, which represented to them only an enemy. The men who filled the Confederate armies were no less patriots than the soldiers of the Union. It was a difference between patriotism to the State and patriotism to the nation. The North fought for *federal* government, the South for *local* government; the North to preserve the Union, the South to defend its homes. Slavery simply happened to be the concrete issue over which these two hostile theories came into collision.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CIVIL WAR, 1861-65

THE probabilities were from the start strongly against the success of the Confederacy. The heroism of its people could not be surpassed, but the South was sadly lacking in those resources of wealth and industry without which no war can long be sustained by any people, however determined.

The Belligerents Compared.—The Confederacy numbered eleven States, with a white population of less than five and a half millions. It had few railroads or ships, and no manufactures of any sort. Slavery had confined the South to the single pursuit of agriculture, and had prevented the development of other industries. With the exception of plantation products, it was dependent upon the Northern States and upon Europe for everything it used or needed.

The North, on the contrary, had plenty of money, a flourishing foreign commerce, and industries of every kind, which made it self-sup-

porting and independent of the rest of the world. It had numerous railroads for the transportation of troops and supplies. With its population of twenty-two millions it could put immense armies in the field without draining shops, factories, or farms of necessary hands.

The Federal Plan of War.—The military and naval plan of campaign acted upon by the Federal Government throughout the war was this: First, to surround the Confederacy with armies and navies and attack it on all sides; second, to starve it into submission by a close blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts, which would shut it off from the markets of Europe.

The operations of the war covered an immense area—from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, from the Border States to the Gulf of Mexico—but most of the fighting took place in Virginia.

Confederate Victories in the East.—Neither side at first appreciated or understood the heroism and determination of the other. The general opinion of the North was that the “rebellion” would be over in a few weeks. Southern orators boasted that one Confederate could whip ten “Yankees.” Few realized how vast the forces, how terrible the cost, how tragic the consequences

would be. Even the gallant thousands who marched to the stirring strains of "John Brown's Body" or "Dixie" could not foresee the desperate trial of blood and battle.

Bull Run.—In the east, the Federal design was to capture Richmond, the Confederate capital. The eastern campaign centred mainly in Virginia, and until 1863 the Confederates were generally successful.

The first important battle of the war occurred near the city of Washington, at Manassas, or Bull Run, July 21, 1861.* General McDowell, the Union commander, was ordered to proceed against Richmond. His army was composed for the greater part of raw recruits who had never been under fire. About thirty-five miles from Washington he was met by a Confederate force under Generals Beauregard and Joseph E. Johnston, who utterly routed the Union Army and sent it flying back to Washington.

McClellan and the Army of the Potomac.—The disaster at Bull Run aroused the over-confident

* The hostile armies often called the battles of the Civil War by different names. Bull Run is the name of a creek that flowed near the battle-field; Manassas is the name of the railroad station.

North to the seriousness of the war. General George B. McClellan was appointed to the chief command of the army. He had been successful in driving the Confederates out of West Virginia, and great things were expected of him.

The winter of 1861-62 was spent by McClellan in organizing the Army of the Potomac. In a few months he had completely transformed the untrained recruits into a magnificent army of two hundred thousand men. The difficulties of his task were enormous, and his services to the Union incalculable. The people, the newspapers, and the Government criticised him because he did not fight immediately. They failed to realize the impossibility of using to advantage a mass of inexperienced, undisciplined men. The administration never gave him a free hand, and he was constantly embarrassed by the meddling interference of Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War.

Failure of the Movement Against Richmond.— In the spring of 1862 McClellan was ordered to move against Richmond. The army was transported by water to Fortress Monroe, from whence it was to proceed up the peninsula to the Confederate capital. McClellan was confronted by two of the ablest generals of the Con-

federacy, Joseph E. Johnston and "Stonewall" Jackson.* At the battle of Fair Oaks, or Seven Pines, the Union forces retrieved the disaster of Bull Run by scoring their first victory. General Johnston was wounded, and forced for a time to leave the service. He was succeeded in the command of the Army of Northern Virginia by Robert E. Lee, the greatest of all the Confederate generals, and the most chivalrous figure in the history of the South; a character of transcendent purity and worth in whom neither friend nor foe has ever found a flaw.†

The military skill of Lee proved too great for his antagonist. McClellan got within four miles of Richmond, but in the Seven Days' Battles the Union Army was defeated. McClellan was removed, and the Army of the Potomac was

* Called "Stonewall" because of the rocklike manner in which he held at bay a Federal force at the first battle of Bull Run.

† General Lee was born in Virginia in 1807. He was the son of "Light-horse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary fame. At the outbreak of the Civil War Robert E. Lee was considered the ablest officer in the United States Army, and was offered the chief command of the Union forces. Lee was one of the many Southerners who did not approve of secession as a policy, but when Virginia joined the Confederacy he considered it his duty to follow the lead of his State. The worth of his name alone to the Southern cause was beyond computation.

placed under the command of General John Pope, who had made a reputation in the western campaign. But at the second battle of Bull Run (August 26, 1862) Pope was so badly worsted by Stonewall Jackson that McClellan was reinstated.

The Merrimac and the Monitor.—All the important battles of the Civil War occurred on the land. The navy rendered able assistance to the Union cause, but its services were chiefly valuable in enforcing the blockade of Southern ports. One naval engagement, however, is of particular interest; not because it affected the outcome of the struggle between North and South, but on account of the great change it wrought in methods of naval warfare throughout the world. It took place just before McClellan undertook the Peninsular Campaign.

The United States Navy at the outbreak of the Civil War consisted entirely of wooden ships. In 1861 the Confederates raised the hulk of the *Merrimac*, a Federal steamship that had been sunk off Norfolk, and covered it with an iron sheath.

On March 8, 1862, the *Merrimac*, armed with fifteen guns, steamed out to Hampton Roads, where several of the finest United

States war-ships were anchored. The *Congress*, a fifty-gun frigate, and the *Cumberland*, a lighter vessel, carrying thirty guns, aided by the Federal batteries, trained their heaviest fire upon the *Merrimac*. But the missiles rebounded from her iron roof like rubber. Waiting until she got within easy range, the *Merrimac* poured a volley into both vessels, then, driving her iron prow with terrific force against the side of the *Cumberland*, sent that unfortunate craft to the bottom with all her crew. The *Congress* continued to fight until obliged to surrender, when she was burned by the crew of the *Merrimac*. The iron-clad then retired, expecting to return the next day and finish the remaining ships.

The news was flashed over the wires and set the North in a panic. It looked as though the blockade would now be broken and Northern coast cities ravaged, for no wooden vessel could stand before the *Merrimac*. But the terror of the North was short-lived. When the *Merrimac* returned the next morning to complete the destruction begun the day before she found a strange craft awaiting her. It consisted of nothing more than a flat iron deck, almost flush with the water, upon which was a revolving iron turret

with two guns.* The little *Monitor* proceeded to engage the *Merrimac* in a duel which lasted five hours. Neither one could make any impression upon the iron armor of its adversary, though they fought most desperately at a distance of only a few feet. But the *Merrimac* had met her match, and finally gave up the struggle and withdrew.

The duel of the iron-clads proved that the day of wooden war-ships was past. The United States remodelled its navy, and the European nations, quick to seize a new advantage, followed. The iron navies of the world to-day trace their origin to the battle between the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* in the American Civil War.

Antietam.—General Lee decided to carry the war into Federal territory and attempt the capture of Washington. He believed that Southern sympathy in Maryland was strong enough to wrest that State from the control of the

* When the Government at Washington learned that the Confederates were building the *Merrimac* it made a contract with John Ericsson, a Swedish inventor in New York, to build an iron-clad. The two vessels were finished almost at the same moment. The *Monitor* was at once ordered to Hampton Roads, but having a greater distance to go, arrived several hours after the *Merrimac*.

Union men if the Southern sympathizers should be encouraged by the presence of Confederate troops.

The disastrous battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, followed the attempt of Lee to invade the loyal States. It was one of the bloodiest engagements of the war. Despite the fact that McClellan's army greatly outnumbered Lee's, the battle was indecisive, though the advantage lay with McClellan, since Lee was forced for the time being to abandon the invasion of the North. McClellan was again removed, and Ambrose E. Burnside appointed in his place.

Before taking leave of General McClellan it is only fair to say of him that no other Union general was beset by so many discouraging difficulties. Several years after the war was over, General Lee, who ranks among the greatest masters of military science that the world has ever produced, was asked which of all his late opponents he considered the ablest. "McClellan," replied Lee, "by all odds." *

General Grant's opinion of the first commander of the Army of the Potomac was thus

* Recollections and Letters of General Lee, by Captain Robert E. Lee, New York, 1904, p. 416.

expressed: "The test applied to him would be terrible to any man, being made a major-general at the beginning of the war . . . and if he did not succeed, it was because the conditions of success were so trying. If McClellan had gone into the war as Sherman, Thomas, or Meade—had fought his way along and up—I have no reason to suppose that he would not have won as high distinction as any of us." *

Emancipation.—In the spring and summer of 1862 Congress passed three emancipation acts, liberating all slaves in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and all Confederate slaves who escaped to the Federal lines. Just after the battle of Antietam President Lincoln issued his famous Proclamation, warning the people of the Confederacy that unless they returned to the Union by the first day of January, 1863, he would declare their remaining slaves free.

The President had long been urged by the extreme abolitionists to destroy slavery. But Lincoln, though opposed to slavery in principle, had no desire to give the civil struggle in which he was engaged the appearance of a war in behalf of the negro. At the outset he had even been

* Around the World with General Grant, by John Russell Young, vol. ii, p. 216.

willing to make almost any concession which the slave interest of the South might demand in order to prevent disunion. His attitude had likewise been the attitude of the great majority of Northern people. But the President and other thinking men had come to realize that even if the Union cause should prevail, slavery, which had been so prominent a factor in producing and perpetuating sectional bitterness, would ultimately have to be destroyed. Moreover, Europe was chafing under the blockade, and it was thought that the destruction of slavery would appeal to the moral sense of foreign nations and prevent recognition of the Confederacy, which the Confederate Government was actively seeking.

These motives, however, could not have justified so sweeping an executive act as the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of private property guaranteed by the Constitution. Nor is it likely that the President would have adopted such a policy on those grounds alone. But Mr. Lincoln was not only President of the United States; by the Constitution he was also commander-in-chief of the army and navy. In that capacity he possessed certain powers which as a mere civil ruler he could not have exercised.

Now the slaves were the property of the enemy. Their labor was necessary to the maintenance of the Confederate armies. They raised and harvested the crops which supported the soldiers in the field. To set them free would go a long way toward disabling the Confederacy. As a measure of military necessity, therefore, Lincoln decided to liberate the slaves.

No Confederate State returning to the Union, the Proclamation became operative January 1, 1863. It had no practical effect except when enforced by the armies, but as fast as Southern territory came under Federal control, slave-holders were compelled to surrender their negroes. Many Southerners of their own accord liberated their slaves after January 1st, among them General Lee himself.

It is a significant fact, showing the friendly ties that bound the master and his bondman, that many negroes refused to avail themselves of their freedom, but chose to remain with those whom they had so long been accustomed to serve. The truth is that the slave was not, in the vast majority of instances, the discontented and pathetic figure he is commonly believed to have been. The number of those who enlisted in the Union armies was not large, con-

sidering the inducements offered. Many servants accompanied their masters to the scenes of war, and their devotion is a fact of universal familiarity. All through the war the care of wife, children, and home was intrusted to the slave—a trust that was never betrayed.

The Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to the border slave States which had remained in the Union. Such a measure might at that time have driven them into the Confederacy. Maryland and Missouri of their own accord abolished slavery by State action before the war was over. In Delaware and Kentucky it continued to exist until 1865, when the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution destroyed it forever throughout the United States.

Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville.—The chief fault found with McClellan was that he did not do enough fighting. General Burnside determined to be more aggressive, and to silence criticism at once by taking Richmond. But at the battle of Fredericksburg (December 13, 1862) the persistent Army of the Potomac was again defeated by Lee. Burnside was removed, and his command given to General Joseph Hooker. Now at last, thought the North, a

man has been found who will take Richmond and end the war.

Again failure mocked the heroic efforts of the Army of the Potomac. The Union forces, numbering ninety thousand, encountered forty-five thousand Confederates at Chancellorsville on May 2, 1863. For two days the veterans of Hooker challenged the desperate valor of the Army of Northern Virginia. But the tactics of Hooker proved no match for the superb generalship of Lee and Stonewall Jackson. Chancellorsville added one more defeat to the discouraging record of Federal failures in the East.

But the Confederacy paid a dear price for its victory. Among the heroic Southern slain was Stonewall Jackson. While reconnoitring the Federal position at some distance from his troops, he and his escorts were mistaken by the Confederates for a body of Federal cavalry. The error was not discovered until too late. Jackson ranked with Lee as a master of war, and his death was an irreparable loss to the Southern cause. He is said by military critics to have more nearly resembled Napoleon in genius and method than any other American commander.

Union Victories in the West.—If failure marked the course of the Union armies in the East, Union success had been almost uninterrupted in the West.

The Federal object was to get control of the Mississippi Valley, which divided the western half of the Confederacy into two parts, and which on account of its productiveness was the main granary of the Confederate armies. A few railroad lines connected Vicksburg, Memphis, Chattanooga, and Nashville, the chief towns of the Western Confederacy, with Richmond and with the Gulf of Mexico. The Confederate line of defence was strengthened by fortifications on the Cumberland, the Tennessee, and the Mississippi rivers. The important points were to be attacked by armies moving down from the north with the coöperation of fleets, which were to take New Orleans and ascend the Mississippi.

There was not very much fighting in the West until 1862. The summer and fall of 1861 saw the Confederates driven out of Missouri, and Kentucky saved to the Union.

When the campaign of 1862 opened there were two Union armies in the West, which shortly increased to four. The larger one num-

bered one hundred thousand men, and was commanded by General Buell. A subordinate force of fifteen thousand under Ulysses S. Grant was stationed at Cairo, Ill.

The Confederate armies of the West were under the command of Albert Sidney Johnston. The South expected much from this officer, who was recognized in military circles, North and South, as possessing extraordinary abilities, and who was considered by some, in these early days of the war, to be superior even to Lee.

Forts Henry and Donelson and Island No. 10.—In February, 1862, General Grant took Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and ten days later received the surrender of Fort Donelson, which guarded the Cumberland. These victories gave the United States forces control of two of the principal water-ways of the South-west. The capture of Island No. 10 on the Mississippi by General Pope and the gun-boat fleet under Commodore Foote followed in April, and the Confederates were forced to form a new line of defence.

Pittsburg Landing.—General Grant pressed on and camped at Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee. Here he was attacked on the morning of April 6th by Albert Sidney Johnston. A

furious engagement ensued, which lasted two days. At first victory was with the Confederates, but Grant was reënforced by Buell's army, and further aided by the gun-boats on the river. Johnston was killed, and a Union victory was the result. When Jefferson Davis heard of Johnston's death he endured a temporary spasm of despair.

The battle of Pittsburg Landing is often called the battle of Shiloh, after a church around which the heaviest fighting occurred.

The Capture of New Orleans.—On April 25th Admiral Farragut's Gulf fleet, aided by a land force under General B. F. Butler, took the city of New Orleans and its surrounding forts. This was a most important achievement, since it put an end to Confederate control of the lower Mississippi. Two principal railroad centres, Corinth and Memphis, soon passed into Federal hands. With the exception of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, the Mississippi River was now under Federal control from New Orleans to Illinois.

Vicksburg was besieged by General Grant in the spring of 1863. Joseph E. Johnston was now in command of all the Confederate forces of the South-west. His intention was to fight

Grant in the open field, and thus avoid a siege, which he knew Vicksburg would be unable to resist. But General Pemberton, who was in command at Vicksburg, disobeyed his orders and decided to stand a siege. General Grant succeeded in dividing the forces of Johnston and Pemberton, so that neither one could help the other. After six weeks, during which the Federal gun-boats on the river kept up a terrific bombardment of the city, Vicksburg was blown up by powder-mines which Grant had caused to be constructed beneath the fortifications of the city. On July 4th its defenders surrendered to General Grant. Five days later Port Hudson fell.

The whole Mississippi Valley, with the exception of Chattanooga, was now under Federal control. The Confederacy was cut in twain. It was no longer possible to bring Western cattle and grain to feed the Confederate armies in the East. From now on each half of the Confederacy must fight without help from the other.

Gettysburg.—We left the Army of the Potomac broken by the defeat at Chancellorsville, and the Confederates on the high tide of success.

On the day before the fall of Vicksburg

the Army of Northern Virginia suffered its first great reverse. Public opinion at the South, elated by victory, demanded an invasion of the North. General Lee decided to carry the war into Pennsylvania. The invasion caused great alarm in the North. Lee came up through Maryland to Chambersburg with his main army. Detached commands held York and Carlisle, and came within a few miles of Harrisburg. From Chambersburg Lee turned east to attack Philadelphia. General Hooker had been succeeded by General George G. Meade, a commander of great ability. Meade moved up between Lee and the threatened city of Philadelphia. The two armies met at Gettysburg. Here, on July 1st, 2d, and 3d was fought not only the decisive battle of the war, but one of the most celebrated battles in the history of the world. Deeds of amazing heroism were performed by both armies, but Meade had the advantage of larger forces and superior position. Moreover, certain vital orders of Lee were tardily executed. When the sun set at the close of the third day it symbolized the wane of Confederate fortune.

The repulse of Lee's invasion and the fall of Vicksburg marked the turning-point of the war.

From Gettysburg Lee retreated to Virginia,

slowly followed by the Army of the Potomac. The two forces took position on opposite banks of the Rapidan River. Here they remained through the following winter without much fighting until the spring of 1864, when Grant took command of all the armies of the United States, and the life-and-death struggle began.

Chickamauga.—After the fall of Vicksburg there still remained in Confederate possession eastern Tennessee and Georgia.

At Chickamauga, a few miles from the city of Chattanooga, the Confederates were attacked by General Rosecrans on September 19, 1863. After one of the most desperate battles of the war, lasting two days, the Union Army was defeated. It would have been utterly routed had it not been for the heroic stand of General George H. Thomas, whose command covered the retreat of the fleeing army. For this achievement General Thomas won the sobriquet of "the Rock of Chickamauga."

Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.—The Union Army retreated to Chattanooga, where it was besieged for two months by the Confederates. All eyes were turned to General Grant, the hero of Vicksburg, who had been placed in command of all the Federal armies of

the West, and who now came to the relief of Chattanooga. The Confederates were strongly entrenched on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. By sudden and heroic assault up the mountain-side the Union soldiers succeeded in carrying both of these apparently impregnable positions. Part of the fighting occurred so high up that the combatants were hidden by the clouds, so that the engagement at Lookout Mountain is often called "the battle above the clouds."

The victory at Chattanooga (November 24th-25th) completed the Union conquest of the Mississippi Valley.

The Blockade.—Far more effective than the work of Northern armies in crushing the Confederacy was the blockade.

"Cotton is king," boasted the South at the beginning of the war, meaning that its staple product ruled the industrial world. The South believed in 1861 that the Federal Government could not continue the war without the support of the industrial interests of the North, and that this support would not be given when the manufacturers and the merchants found that they were unable to procure cotton. It also believed the forced interruption of foreign trade

would cause such loss abroad that European governments would compel the United States to raise the blockade.

In both of these anticipations the South was doomed to disappointment. The cotton manufacturers were only a fraction of the industrial interests of the North. In spite of their injuries, the Federal Government never slackened its efforts to compel the submission of the South. Neither did Europe intervene, though inconvenienced by the blockade. The truth was, that badly as Europe needed Southern cotton, the South needed European markets still more. Europe could exist without the South, but the South could not exist without Europe. Only from Europe could military arms, clothing, and other necessities be procured.

Within three months after the outbreak of war the Confederacy was surrounded by fleets and armies which pressed closer and closer until the power of resistance was utterly destroyed.

To evade the blockade, small and very swift vessels were built in Europe to carry military stores and other cargoes to Confederate ports in exchange for cotton. But as the war proceeded it became increasingly difficult to escape the vigilant United States cruisers. Trade of

this sort amounted to very little. Before the war was over cotton was worth \$2.50 a pound in Liverpool, while vast mountains of it rotted on the wharves of Southern ports at four cents a pound. Salt, which was worth \$7.50 a ton in Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas and the nearest port for blockade runners, sold for \$1,700 in gold at Richmond. Supplies of every sort became exhausted, and there was no way to replenish them. The spinning-wheels of farm and plantation were kept constantly at work turning out rough homespun clothing for the soldiers. Women of high social rank suffered the stress of poverty. Roasted rye took the place of coffee, persimmon seeds were utilized for buttons and thorns for pins.

It was the blockade, not the armies of the North, that killed the Confederacy. Had the South had access to foreign markets it could never, in all probability, have been conquered.

Confederate Finance.—An irredeemable paper currency made bad matters very much worse. All paper money is merely a promise to pay an equal amount of gold or silver on demand of the bearer. It is good only as long as it can be redeemed in standard coin. The entire specie revenue of the Confederate Government

during its four years' existence aggregated only about \$28,000,000. The Government was therefore obliged to rely more and more upon paper money, which dropped in value as the chances of Confederate success grew weaker.

The scarcity of goods of every description and the cheapness of money combined to make fabulous prices. Before the war was over one dollar in gold was worth one hundred dollars of paper money. Corn-meal sold for \$80 a bushel, a barrel of flour cost \$1,000, a spool of thread \$20, a pound of sugar \$75, and a newspaper \$1.

The Beginning of the Final Struggle.—In the spring of 1864 General Grant, whose victories had made him the most celebrated of all the Union commanders, was made Lieutenant General of the Armies of the United States, in the hope that with a free hand and full power he would be able to end the war.

There were now only two large Confederate armies in the field; the Army of Northern Virginia, which we left in winter quarters on the Rapidan, and the Southern Army under Joseph E. Johnston in Georgia.

Grant's plan was to attack both armies simultaneously and keep them so busy that neither

one of them could help the other. To this end he sent General W. T. Sherman, who had won renown at Shiloh and in the Vicksburg and Chattanooga campaigns, against Johnston, while he himself directed the movements of the Army of the Potomac, commanded by Meade.

Sherman Takes Atlanta.—General Sherman started from Chattanooga in June with one hundred thousand men. His orders from Grant were to take Atlanta, an important railroad centre and chief base of military supplies.

Throughout his entire campaign there was comparatively little fighting. Johnston's force was small and he desired to avoid direct battle until he could risk it with advantage. Both commanders exhibited remarkable skill. But Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, disliked Johnston and made the vital mistake of removing him from command, putting in his place General Hood. This officer was a bold fighter, but not the equal of Johnston or Sherman in efficiency. After a strong but futile resistance Atlanta capitulated to Sherman (September 2d). Hood then turned into Tennessee hoping to draw Sherman after him. But Sherman remained where he was and sent General Thomas, "the Rock of Chickamauga," to take

care of Hood. At the battle of Nashville (December 15th-16th) Thomas utterly destroyed the army of Hood.

Grant and Lee.—While Sherman was engaged in the South, Grant was endeavoring to take Richmond. These final campaigns in Virginia against Lee were the fiercest and bloodiest of the war. The course of the Army of the Potomac lay through a vast region of forest and swamp known as the Wilderness. That army now numbered one hundred and fifty thousand and was constantly increasing in size and in fighting strength. The Army of Northern Virginia could muster only sixty thousand half-starved, ragged, worn-out men.

Notwithstanding the disparity of forces, Grant's advance was ably resisted by Lee. The battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania (May 5th-18th) were virtually Confederate victories, since Grant was continually forced to deviate from his contemplated line of advance. Still, changing his tactics, he slowly pushed toward Richmond.

At Cold Harbor Grant encountered the strong centre of the Confederate defence. After a heroic but futile charge, during which twelve thousand Union soldiers lost their lives

in thirty minutes, Grant was again obliged to change his plan of attack. He determined to move upon Richmond from the south. But here his advance was blocked by the fortifications of Petersburg, within which Lee, anticipating Grant's purpose, had moved his army. As the defences were too strong to be carried by assault, Grant settled down for a prolonged siege in June, 1864.

The Presidential Election of 1864.—While Grant was besieging Petersburg and Sherman was about to undertake his famous march "from Atlanta to the sea," the country was called upon to choose a President. Lincoln had many enemies in his own party who desired to prevent his renomination. But his strength with the people prevailed over the plots of politicians, who were compelled to nominate him against their will. Andrew Johnson, a Democrat from Tennessee, was named for Vice-president in the hope of drawing the Democratic vote. Johnson had attracted wide attention in 1860 because he was the only Southern Senator who refused to follow his State.

The Democrats tried to regain control of the Government on a platform which declared that the war was a failure and advocated a peace con-

vention of all the States for the purpose of reëstablishing the Union by common consent. Their candidate was General McClellan, who, however, repudiated the sentiment of his party that the war was a failure.

Many Democrats voted for Lincoln, who was overwhelmingly reëlected, McClellan carrying only New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky.

The Fall of the Confederacy.—We left General Sherman in undisputed possession of Atlanta. After burning the city he started for the coast, a distance of three hundred miles, leaving in his wake a belt of desolation sixty miles wide. There was no hostile army to check his advance. Railroads, public property, and growing crops were destroyed that the enemy's power of resistance might be the more effectually and speedily broken. Reaching Savannah, he started north to join Grant in demolishing the army of Lee.

In the meantime General Lee, who had been given full power, had recalled Joseph E. Johnston. This officer collected the fragments of the scattered Western forces, which he formed into an army to resist the advance of Sherman.

While Grant with iron purpose was hammering away at Petersburg, General Sheridan was

despatched with a large cavalry force to ravage the Shenandoah Valley, the last remaining Confederate granary. Sheridan executed his commission with thoroughness, destroying mills, barns, crops, railroads, canals, and bridges, and defeating a Confederate army under General Early, a detachment of which had invaded Pennsylvania and burned Chambersburg.

For ten months Petersburg withstood the efforts of Grant. At last its weakened forces could hold out no longer. In a final desperate assault, Sunday, April 2d, the city was taken. The Confederate capital was now without protection and the next day the goal of four years' heroic effort was occupied by Union troops. Jefferson Davis and his cabinet fled to Georgia.*

General Lee's purpose now was to escape with his army in the night, join Johnston in North Carolina and offer battle to Sherman before he could be reënforced by Grant. But the swarming Federals cut off Lee's retreat and his handful of Confederate soldiers found themselves surrounded. Even then these in-

* Davis was captured a few weeks later and imprisoned in Fortress Monroe for two years. He was indicted for treason but was released on the bond of three Northern gentlemen. In 1868 Davis and other prominent leaders were pardoned by the President of the United States.

trepid men were eager to fight. Lee, however, realizing the folly of further resistance and unwilling to sacrifice life to prolong a hopeless struggle, gave up. At Appomattox Court-house on April 9, 1865, the Army of Northern Virginia laid down its arms. On the 26th Johnston surrendered to Sherman.

Both conquerors proved themselves to be as generous in the hour of victory as they had been heroic and skilful in battle. The starving Confederates were supplied with rations from the plentiful stores of their victors and allowed to return to their homes free of penalties after promising to obey the laws and not to take up arms against the United States. No celebrations were indulged in by the triumphant Union soldiers and no note of exultation mocked the disappointment of their vanquished foes.

The Armies Disband.—In April, 1865, the Union armies numbered over a million veterans, equipped, disciplined, organized, and of superb fighting efficiency. Prophets of evil said that they had been bred to the love of war and camp life and would never again be contented to resume the employments of peace. And yet in an incredibly short time this army completely disappeared. There was no rioting, no disorder.

As quietly as these men had left their homes to fight for the flag, they came back and once more took their places at the work-bench, behind the plough, in the factory, and the law-office.

The voluntary return of this vast army of conquerors to the pursuits of industry was a splendid vindication of American citizenship and proved that in spite of gigantic military successes we were still a peace-loving people.

Pathetic in its melancholy contrast was the home-coming of the Confederate soldier. He found a ruined farm, a plantation run to waste, a land swept by the ravages of war. Men who had once been rich were now reduced to poverty. With courage never surpassed on the battle-field these vanquished heroes in gray accepted defeat without a murmur and began life anew, resolved that toil should know no end until desolation should give place to plenty and the desert blossom as the rose.

The Northern and Southern soldiers were alike Americans, equally brave and equally honest. Well may we take a national pride in their splendid records though they fought in opposing ranks.

Results of the War.—No mere combat of

arms can ever settle which side of a disputed question is morally right and which is morally wrong. But it can and does remove certain questions from all possibility of further quarrel by proving to the defeated side the futility of its purpose.

The Civil War determined forever that the principle of secession, whether right or wrong, could never win triumphant recognition; not only because the Federal Government is too strong to be resisted, but because the great majority of the American people are convinced that their prosperity is dependent upon conditions which can exist only by a close political union in which the States are subordinate to the nation. The *rights* of the States are important and must be maintained, but the measure of their extent must be the Federal Constitution. The *sovereignty of the States over the nation* is quite another matter; that was removed from the field of political discussion by the war and will never be reasserted. The Southern people have accepted this decision as final, and there are to-day none more loyal to the flag of our common country.

The war also took the slavery question out of politics by destroying the institution itself;

first by legislative and executive action, then by the Thirteenth Amendment. The destruction of slavery, while at first entailing great loss upon the South, proved an ultimate blessing. It has led to the opening of mines and the establishment of factories, both of which were impossible under the régime of slavery. The South is unexcelled in natural resources. These are being rapidly developed and in course of time its wealth must equal or surpass that of any other section.

The Civil War, then, solved the two problems of secession and slavery. But it created other difficulties more tragic than the war itself and entailing far greater bitterness.

CHAPTER XIX

RECONSTRUCTION

NO sooner had the Confederacy fallen than the national Government was confronted with the perplexing question, *What shall be done with the Southern States?* The Republican Party was completely dominant and its decision would be final. But on this point the party was not united.

President Lincoln, Secretary Seward, Grant, Sherman, and other generals favored admitting the Southern States at once to full representation in the Government, conditioned on their acquiescence in the results of the war. Actuated by the spirit of Lincoln's noble motto, "with charity for all, with malice toward none," they said in substance: The South was sincere in its devotion to the Confederacy. But the war is over and the South is defeated. Slavery is abolished, the Union is saved. We can afford to be generous, but we cannot afford to be unjust. The surest way to establish fraternal

relations with our late foes is to let by-gones be by-gones and devote our united effort to building up our common country.

This was also the attitude of the soldiers and of the great majority of Northern people.

The strongest and ablest opponent of this liberal policy was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, Republican leader of the House of Representatives. Stevens declared that the South was nothing more than conquered territory to be disposed of in the way that would best suit the purposes of its conquerors and benefit the Republican Party. In this design and policy he had the effective coöperation of Charles Sumner, the distinguished abolitionist Senator from Massachusetts, and the support of a Congressional majority.

The Assassination of Lincoln.—Before the Government could determine upon any policy, an event occurred which plunged the country into blackest gloom and destroyed all possibility of a fraternal adjustment of this delicate matter.

On the evening of April 14th President Lincoln was shot through the brain while attending a play in Ford's Theatre in Washington. The assassin was John Wilkes Booth, an actor, and chief conspirator in an infamous plot to

murder the President and his Cabinet. The blow fell with crushing force upon the North, which had learned to admire Abraham Lincoln for his integrity and common-sense and to love him for his magnanimous and sympathetic nature. Born under the humblest conditions he had risen by sheer force of surpassing character to be the foremost ruler of his time and one of the most impressive figures in the history of mankind.

Thaddeus Stevens Supreme.—The assassination of Lincoln was the worst calamity that could have befallen the prostrate South. Outside of its own borders he was the best and wisest friend it had in a crisis when a powerful advocate was most needed. So strong was Lincoln in the confidence of the Northern people that Congress probably could not have offered effective opposition to his Southern policy had he remained at the helm of state.

The atrocious deed was ascribed by the Northern press to the instigation of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate leaders. The whole North called for summary and speedy punishment. It is now known that the crime originated in the wicked hearts and disordered brains of a few desperadoes. Instead of

rejoicing, mass-meetings were held in Southern cities, where indignant sorrow voiced unfeigned regret.

But Northern passion, inflamed by rumor and suspicion, demanded vengeance. The death of Lincoln removed the only check upon the purpose of the Stevens radicals who came into full control of the Republican Party and of the nation.

Andrew Johnson, who now stepped into Lincoln's place, is the most striking example of rapid promotion from obscurity to exalted political rank which the history of our country affords. He was born in North Carolina, of the despised "poor white" stock, and migrated to Tennessee in his boyhood. He never attended school and could not even write his name until after he was married. A tailor by trade, he entered politics and served in many distinguished offices. He possessed great natural ability and courage, but he was deficient in tact, and being a Southern Democrat he never had the confidence of the party which elected him.

The President and Congress.—When Andrew Johnson became President of the United States Congress was not in session. The new President started to carry into effect the generous

policy of his predecessor. In a few weeks the Southern States were reorganized on lines embodying the ideals of Abraham Lincoln. Nothing was said about negro suffrage. Political power remained in the hands of white men.*

The President, however, reckoned without Congress and its powerful leader. When that body met in December, 1865, the Southern Senators and Representatives who had been elected under Johnson's plan were refused admission to Congress. The work of the President was ignored and Congress, under the merciless direction of Thaddeus Stevens, put into operation an altogether different and drastic plan of reconstruction.

The Fourteenth Amendment.—In South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana the black population exceeded the white. These States, foreseeing the peril sure to arise in Southern communities from the presence of a great mass of ignorant and lazy negroes without legal re-

* Andrew Johnson, unlike Lincoln, was exceedingly bitter against the prominent Confederate leaders and refused to include them in the general pardon extended to the rank and file of Southern people. This was probably owing to the traditional and ingrained jealousy of the "poor white" for the aristocratic class. Subsequently Mr. Johnson changed his attitude toward the Southern leaders and became more lenient.

strait and unable to realize the obligations which freedom imposed, passed laws requiring idle negroes to work. Some of the laws were very severe.

Congress interpreted the action of these States to signify a deliberate purpose to reduce the "freedmen," as the emancipated slaves were called, to a condition of dependence upon the whites which would approximate their former servitude, and thus practically nullify the Thirteenth Amendment, which had forbidden the reëstablishment of slavery. Congress then proposed another amendment to the Constitution, which would place the freedmen under the protection of the Federal Government.

The Fourteenth Amendment defined citizenship in such a way as to include the negroes, and then forbade any State to abridge the privileges of citizens or to deprive them of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. When the proposed amendment was submitted to the people the Northern and Border States ratified it, but the Southern States, with the exception of Tennessee, rejected it.

The Reconstruction Acts.—In refusing to give their assent to a legislative proposition unani-

mously disapproved by the judgment of their section the Southern States acted strictly within their Constitutional right. But Thaddeus Stevens and the Republican leaders resented this independent attitude on the part of the conquered South.

Desiring above all things the permanent triumph of their party these men proceeded to carry into effect a plan which was nothing less than conspiracy against the liberties of the Southern people and the rights of the Southern States, and a plain subversion of the Constitution itself. They resolved to take from the educated, intelligent white men of the South, trained for two hundred and fifty years in the science of government, all political rights and power and give the South over to the control of a vast and irresponsible horde of negroes, all of them ignorant and inexperienced and many of them vicious. The whites, who were Democrats almost to a man, were to be disfranchised, and the freedmen given the ballot.

By this measure the Republican Party expected to build up a negro organization which would transfer permanently the Southern States into the Republican column and destroy the

Democratic Party beyond all possibility of resurrection. Thaddeus Stevens openly declared such to be his purpose.

To insure complete success and to prevent the opposition which the Southern white people would naturally attempt, the United States Army was to take military possession of the entire region and support by force the experiment of negro rule.

In 1867 Congress passed two acts by which the ten Southern States that had rejected the Fourteenth Amendment were divided into five military districts and each district placed under an army officer who was to act in the capacity of military governor. This official was directed to hold an election for delegates to a State convention. A test oath was required which practically debarred the whites and permitted only negroes to take part in the election. Each State convention must then frame a constitution which would extend the franchise to freedmen. If the new constitutions were approved by the colored voters and accepted by Congress the States would thereupon be admitted to the Union after their legislatures had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment.

The President vetoed both reconstruction bills

but Congress by an overwhelming vote passed them over his veto.

The Fifteenth Amendment.—The Fourteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution in 1868. But the Republican leaders were not satisfied. Knowing that their party in the South depended wholly upon negro dominance, they feared that if the white Democrats should regain control of their States they would disfranchise the negroes and make the South again Democratic.

Another amendment was accordingly drafted with the intent of forever insuring negro suffrage. It denied to Congress or to any State the power to disfranchise a man "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The negro governments of the South ratified the Fifteenth Amendment, which became a part of the law of the land in 1870.

Anarchy in the South.—It is now agreed by nearly all historians and statesmen that the reconstructive measures of Congress were a series of tragic blunders. They engendered a bitterness of feeling against the North which would have been impossible under the humane and generous policy of Lincoln or Johnson. Nor did they accomplish their purpose—which was

to make the South permanently Republican. Not one of the negro governments endured after the Federal troops, upon which they depended, were withdrawn. They were corrupt and scandalous beyond all precedent or parallel. The whole ill-fated region was flooded with unscrupulous adventurers from the North, called "carpet-baggers," who took advantage of the helplessness of the whites and the unfitness of the negro to fill the offices and grow rich on public plunder. The freedman was taught to rely for the vindication of his newly acquired political rights not upon the fruits of character but upon force bills and Federal bayonets.

The States of the "black belt" fared worst. Governor Moses of South Carolina was a professional crook, whose photograph may be seen to-day in the Rogues' Gallery of New York. The South Carolina Legislature during a single session spent \$350,000 for whiskey, cigars, and kindred luxuries for its colored members. Taxable values in this State dropped from \$490,000,000 in 1860 to \$184,000,000 in 1871, while in the same period taxes increased from less than \$400,000 to \$2,000,000. In South Carolina there were two hundred negro trial judges who could neither read nor write.

At the close of Reconstruction the average debt of each State subjected to its blasting régime was nearly five times as great as at the close of the Civil War—with nothing to show for it but demoralization and ruin.

The Failure of Reconstruction.—Several additional laws were passed by Congress designed to bolster up negro rule, but they were rendered ineffective or declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Gradually the whites recovered control of their State governments. This was accomplished largely by means of the Ku-Klux-Klan, a powerful secret fraternity which sprang up all over the South. Its members wore disguises and operated by night in armed bands. The huts or houses of the negro rulers were visited and the occupants taken out and flogged or else frightened with a show of "magic." Sometimes they were killed. The mysterious character of the fraternity appealed to the superstition of the negroes, who yielded at once. The Ku-Klux-Klan directed the same effective policy of intimidation against the "carpet-baggers." At first its membership was confined to conservative men who were driven to these measures in necessary self-protection. Later it passed into the

control of a different element, and was finally broken up by Federal marshals—but not until it had achieved its purpose, which was to save the civilization of the South.

The Fourteenth Amendment was greatly weakened by several Supreme Court decisions, which limited its scope and confirmed the Southern States in the possession of the powers of which Congress had tried to deprive them.

The Fifteenth Amendment has likewise become a dead letter. The later State constitutions, drafted by white men, have practically disfranchised the negro.

It is absolutely essential to the progress and welfare of the South that white men shall rule it. In no other way can its resources be developed and its general advancement keep pace with the rest of the nation. Even the North now recognizes this fact and is no longer disposed to interfere in those problems which public opinion has acknowledged the South alone is competent to solve.

The harsh and futile measures of the Republican radicals not only dimmed the glory which their party had won by its successful conduct of the Civil War, but it resulted in committing the Southern whites almost unanimously to the sup-

port of the Democratic Party; not primarily because Democratic policies were better suited to Southern interests than Republican policies, but because the Republican Party was associated with the vindictive and disastrous experiment of negro rule.

Since, however, the Republicans have given up serious thought of enforcing negro equality, it is likely that their party will eventually command a liberal Southern support on the strength of its own merits. Already we can discover a definite movement in that direction, and the "solid South" shows signs of breaking up.

Vast sums of money have been expended upon negro education. Part has been contributed by Northern philanthropists, but by far the greater portion has been the voluntary gift of the Southern people out of their poverty.

The Negro of To-day.—With the exception of an exceedingly small class of intelligent and efficient colored people, the negro exhibits none of the results that forty years of freedom and industrial opportunity under the tutelage of education are popularly supposed to have produced.

The domestic and commercial requirements of slavery, necessitating as they did careful attention to hygiene and moral culture as well as

a thorough training in the useful arts, produced a being in whom bodily strength was united to a considerable degree of moral virtue. But with the passing of slavery the beneficent and humanizing influence of white control disappeared, with the consequence that the original elements of negro character, hopelessly rooted in countless centuries of jungle life, at once asserted themselves, and have wrought sad havoc with the manhood and the prospects of the race.

The overwhelming tendency to herd in cities, aggravated by a constitutional inability to resist the peculiar temptations of urban life, is having a rapidly disastrous effect upon both physical and moral character. The extraordinary proclivity of the negro to find his keenest enjoyment in sensual gratification, together with the entire absence of self-control, renders him the inevitable and easy prey of drunkenness, tuberculosis, and those diseases most demoralizing to the soul and destructive to the body of man. His mortality has increased above one hundred per cent.

Crime is alarmingly on the increase, not only in the region known as the "black belt," but throughout the entire area of the former slave States. Although the whites in the South out-

number the blacks three to one, yet the latter furnish from eighty-five to ninety-three per cent of the convict class. Even in the city of Washington, the colored "Mecca," the negroes furnish eighty-six per cent of the criminals, while comprising less than one-third of the population. And the fact of most tragic import is that this amazing criminal activity is almost wholly the work of the generations born in freedom and whose education has thus far cost \$150,000,000.

The productive capacity of the negro is everywhere of the lowest. He owns but three per cent of the taxable property of the South, and most of that represents the accumulations of the older members of the race who were bred to the habits of industry which slavery promoted. He has had wide opportunities to prove his industrial fitness in the manufactures which are springing up all over the South, but he has failed in factory and in mill because he cannot be relied upon to keep his contract. The average negro has not the first notion of moral responsibility. He possesses neither strength of will nor power of conscience to resist the inclinations of his baser nature. He knows no motive to industry beyond the simple barbaric impulse to fill his stomach or to decorate his

person. With these primitive wants temporarily satisfied, he will knock off work with as little compunction as he would steal a chicken or sell his vote.

The appalling disregard of moral obligations, plus his hand-to-mouth philosophy of existence, is the secret of the negro's indisputable failure in the serious pursuits of life.

At his present rate of deterioration the American negro is destined to a certain and not distant extinction. The mere fact that the race numbers about nine millions in the United States, so far from indicating a future of promise, signifies rather the contrary, for if the rate of increase which prevailed before the Civil War had continued to the present time, the numerical strength of the negro would have far exceeded that figure.

Left to the "uncovenanted" mercy of a superior race, and exposed to the untempered severities of natural law without the safeguards of physical oversight or moral restraint, the ultimate disappearance of the negro from this continent is only a matter of time.

CHAPTER XX

FROM THE IMPEACHMENT OF JOHNSON TO THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION OF 1884

THE Constitution gives the President power to appoint many public officials subject to the approval of the Senate, but by common consent he has from earliest times had the right to remove independently any officer of the Government so appointed.

The Tenure-of-Office Act.—In the spring of 1867 Congress passed an act requiring the consent of the Senate to removals from office. The measure was designed by the Republican leaders to reduce the President's independent powers and thus bring him more completely under their control. It was an outgrowth of the quarrel between Congress and the Executive over Reconstruction.

Soon after the passage of the Tenure-of-Office Act, President Johnson requested Mr. Stanton, the Secretary of War, with whom the President was not on speaking terms, to resign. Stanton refused to do so, whereupon the Presi-

dent removed him in defiance of the law and appointed General Grant to fill the office. The Senate was not in session when this occurred.

When Congress met, the Senate refused to concur in the action of the Executive. General Grant resigned, and Stanton resumed his place in the Cabinet. The President again dismissed him and appointed another Secretary of War.

Then occurred an event which had never happened before in the history of the Republic. The House of Representatives impeached the President of the United States of high crimes and misdemeanors.

The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson (1868).—The Constitution gives the power of impeachment to the lower branch of Congress, but provides that trial shall be by the Senate. In the case of the President the Chief-justice of the Supreme Court presides.

The charges against Andrew Johnson were eleven in number, the most important being his removal of the Secretary of War in defiance of the Tenure-of-Office Act. During the course of the trial, which lasted two months, popular excitement reached fever heat. The President's enemies were legion, his friends few. From beginning to end the prosecution was a strictly

partisan affair, a policy of vengeance resorted to by the Republican leaders in order to punish the Executive for his insubordinate attitude toward the party which had made his elevation possible.

The trial was conducted with slight regard to the rules which govern impartial tribunals. Important testimony favorable to the President was repeatedly excluded by the Senate in spite of the ruling of Chief-justice Chase, who declared it admissible.

The Senate numbered fifty-four members; a two-thirds vote was necessary to convict. As their names were called most of the Republicans voted, "guilty." The eight Democratic members answered, "not guilty." A few Republicans whom partisan fury had not blinded to the equities of the case voted with the Democrats, and the President was acquitted by a majority of one.

The Republican Senators who gave their voices for acquittal did so in the face of public threats, of newspaper abuse, and party pressure. Most of them were defeated for reëlection. But the temperate judgment of later years has applauded their courage and approved the wisdom of their course.

The result of the trial was most fortunate, not merely for the personal fame and official record of Andrew Johnson, who, had he been convicted, would have suffered the disgrace of deposition from office, but because of its deep and permanent effect upon the political development of our country. Had that single determining vote been cast for conviction, it would have established a precedent for expelling the President whenever he placed himself at cross purposes with Congress. The result of that would ultimately have been to destroy the admirable system of legislative and executive balance which the Constitution fixed as the effective safeguard against encroachment by one branch of government upon another and for the protection of popular liberties from the tyranny of office. The conviction of Andrew Johnson would have made the President a figure-head and Congress supreme.*

The Purchase of Alaska.—In 1867 the national area was vastly increased by the addition of Alaska at a cost of \$7,200,000. This region had belonged to Russia since 1741. The purchase was negotiated principally to accommodate

* The Tenure-of-Office Act was repealed by Congress in 1887.

the Russian Government, which alone of all the governments of Europe had been distinctly friendly to the cause of the Union in the Civil War.

Alaska was not at the time regarded as a specially desirable annexation, as its resources were then unknown. Its seal fisheries, gold deposits, and other ascertained natural wealth now make it a valuable territory.

The Presidency of General Grant, 1869-77.—Four days after the close of the great trial the Republican Party met in national convention to nominate a presidential ticket. The man of the hour was General Grant, the magnanimous victor of Appomattox, who received every vote in the convention on the first ballot.

The Democrats named Horatio Seymour, of New York. Grant won by a large electoral majority, but Seymour polled a heavy popular vote. Had it not been for the carpet-bag governments of the South, Seymour might have been elected. The Democratic Party was reënforced by the "war Democrats" who had formerly supported Lincoln, and by a considerable number of Republicans who had become disgusted with Congressional Reconstruction.

Grant's Weakness as an Executive.—Although

General Grant entered on the office of President with the best of intentions, his record as a civil ruler fell far below the plane of his achievements as a military leader.

The Republican Party had enjoyed a monopoly of government since 1861, and looked forward to its indefinite continuance. No political organization enjoying undisputed supremacy and confronted with every opportunity for corrupt profit can long remain uncontaminated. The Republican Party proved no exception to this rule. Since the war it had drifted into the hands of men who were using its immense prestige for personal ends rather than for the advancement of public interests.

General Grant was simple-hearted, straightforward, and patriotic, but without experience in or aptitude for political life. Upright himself, he could not tell the difference among his fellows between an honest man and a thief. Consequently many of the acts and policies of his administration attracted a fire of criticism upon the party which would have been impossible in the days of Lincoln. He was nominated in obedience to unthinking popular clamor by crafty politicians, who saw in the military idol of the American people a convenient and

certain means to bring themselves into power, and in his popularity an impenetrable shield to cover their evil deeds. He trusted his friends and they deceived him.

✓ **The Republican Party Splits.**—At the national convention of 1872 the regular party organization renominated General Grant.

Some of the best and ablest men of the Republican faith, who were dissatisfied with the way things had been going for the last four years, met at Cincinnati and placed in the field a Liberal Republican ticket headed by Horace Greeley, the gifted but erratic editor of the *New York Tribune*. Their platform denounced civil corruption and the disgraceful carpet-bag governments of the South, the scandals of which filled the civilized world. The Liberals were anxious for tariff reform, but Greeley, who was the most extreme protectionist in the country, vetoed every suggestion favoring a declaration to that effect, and the convention was obliged to yield. The tariff issue was waived by a platform resolution which left the matter to the Congressional districts.

The Democrats also named Horace Greeley as their standard-bearer, joining forces with the Liberals in the hope of defeating the regular

Republican organization. The nomination of Greeley by the Democratic Party was a political incongruity. It was brought about solely for reasons of supposed expediency. By no man in the country had that party been more vehemently assailed than by the brilliant editor of the *Tribune*, the gist of whose abuse was popularly put thus: "I do not say that all Democrats are rascals, but it is undeniably true that all rascals are Democrats." His availability as a candidate was thought to consist in the two facts that he had never advocated Republican methods of Reconstruction and that he had given bail for Jefferson Davis. These considerations appealed to the South, which desired above all things else to recover home rule.

General Sherman, writing to his brother from Paris, said: "I feel amazed to see the turn things have taken. Grant, who never was a Republican, is your candidate; while Greeley, who never was a Democrat, but quite the reverse, is the Democratic candidate."

The result of the combine between the Liberal Republicans and the Democrats was a crushing disappointment to both. Greeley carried but six States, all of them Southern.

A number of causes contributed to the over-

whelming victory of General Grant: the remembrance of his military triumphs and the prestige of his name; the discontent of many old-time Democrats and Republicans over their unnatural alliance and incongruous candidate cost Greeley thousands of votes, as also did the powerful enemies he had made by his caustic newspaper editorials. The combination candidate had an eccentric personality which easily lent itself to caricature. Although a great man and a genuine patriot, he was made to appear ridiculous by his clever opponents.

The Reign of Graft.—The immense majorities for Grant imparted to the victorious Republicans a sense of security which made them reckless. The four years that followed were characterized by general demoralization. “Force bills” were enacted to sustain by the presence of Federal troops the corrupt carpet-bag governments of the South. The “Whiskey Ring” defrauded the Government of millions of dollars through the collusion of internal revenue officials. Congress was smirched with railroad scandals. The Indian Bureau was the willing tool of guilty contractors who robbed the red men and cheated the Government to fill their own pockets.

The Secretary of War, not to be outdone by the rest, joined in the scramble for illicit gains. He was impeached, but escaped trial and conviction by resigning his office.

The elevation of General Grant to the presidency was a mistake, but the American people have long since forgiven the tragic blunders which form so sad a feature of his administrations. They remember only his magnificent services on the field, and treasure the memory of the incomparable soldier who brought to glorious issue the greatest civil war in history.

Patriotic Achievement.—The Grant administrations, however, were not devoid of substantial benefit and triumph. One of General Grant's best services to his country was the adjustment of the "Alabama Claims." During the war the British Government had permitted Confederate ships to be built and equipped in British ports. As these vessels were intended by the Confederate Government to destroy Northern shipping and commerce, the action of Great Britain was a breach of international law which imposes upon nations not at war the duty of treating impartially nations which are at war with each other.

The most destructive of these ships was the

Alabama. With one war of huge proportions already on its hands, the United States could not at the time afford to run the almost certain risk of becoming involved in hostilities with Great Britain, never too friendly to the North. But after the restoration of peace our Government demanded of England an apology and a cash indemnity for the damages sustained by Northern commerce by reason of British partiality to the Confederacy. The matter was submitted to a Board of Arbitration which met at Geneva in 1871 and remained in session nearly a year. The amount of the American claims proved extravagant, but the Board decided that England had failed in her duty as a neutral nation, and awarded the United States \$15,500,000.

The arbitration of the "Alabama Claims" was a pronounced step in the moral advancement of nations. The memorable precedent established by these enlightened and powerful states in thus submitting to peaceful process of settlement an irritating question gave impulse throughout the civilized world to the principle of conciliation.

The Resumption Act.—During the Civil War the Government had been compelled to issue

large amounts of paper money in the form of treasury notes, or "greenbacks," as they were popularly called, to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war. Although these notes depreciated in value to some extent, there was no serious doubt of the Government's ability ultimately to redeem its promises in hard money. Nearly ten years had elapsed since the surrender of Lee. The credit of the nation and the business interests of the country alike demanded the return to a hard money basis. In January, 1875, Congress passed an act setting a date for the resumption of specie payments, four years ahead, January 1, 1879.

The Centennial.—The year 1876 is memorable for the celebration of the Republic's one hundredth birthday. In spite of difficulty and danger the United States had discredited every gloomy prophecy of failure made by enemies or sceptics a century before, and had established a record for material achievement and moral progress unparalleled by older nations.

The city of Philadelphia, which had been the scene of the Republic's birth, was fittingly chosen as the place for celebration, which took the form of an international exposition. Congress loaned money and the States made liberal

appropriations. Nearly every country in the civilized world responded to the President's invitation to participate in the first international fair ever held on American soil. More than two hundred buildings were erected in Fairmount Park, some of which still remain.

The bewildering variety of the American display gave Europe an object-lesson in the wealth, the intelligence, and the enterprise of this country, while the European art exhibits impressed the intensely practical American with the more delicate refinements of civilization for which in his eager devotion to material interests he had as yet shown little consideration.

Thus by affording opportunity for friendly participation in a mutual undertaking, the Centennial promoted fraternity among men and nations. The Northerner and the Southerner, lately estranged by civil war, the Easterner and the Westerner, the American and the European, met together on common ground for better acquaintance and interchange of ideas.

The Contested Election of 1876.—Another event of the Centennial year, in striking contrast to the harmonious spirit of the Exposition, nearly overthrew the foundations of the Republic.

There was a very strong sentiment for reform in Government service which the Democrats in 1876 made the key-note of their party platform.

For the first time since the days of Stephen A. Douglas a truly great Democratic leader came to the front in the person of Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York. He had achieved national prominence in 1871 by bringing to the bar of justice the corrupt "Tweed Ring" which had debauched New York City, and by his exposure while Governor of the scarcely less notorious "Canal Ring" which was exploiting the State. The Democratic Party now nominated him for the presidency.

The Republican nominee was Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, a thoroughly honest and capable man, though unknown outside his State, of which he was Governor. The party was clearly on the defensive. As the accusations against it could not be successfully refuted, the campaign managers endeavored to detract public attention from the discreditable features of its record by raising a louder cry against the Democrats, denouncing them as enemies of the Republic who had opposed the war and who, if intrusted with power, would put the South again in the saddle and reënslave the negro.

The election was close. Of the Northern States, Tilden carried New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Indiana, every Southern State, and had a popular majority of two hundred and fifty thousand votes. This gave him apparently two hundred and three electoral votes and Hayes only one hundred and sixty-six.

The morning after election the newspapers announced the election of Tilden. The Republicans, seeing things slipping from their control, at once claimed South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, on the ground that Republican votes had not been fairly counted. As these States were still under carpet-bag régime, their returning boards were obedient to Republican direction. Enough Democratic votes were thrown out to insure Republican majorities, and it was proclaimed that Hayes had been elected by one hundred and eighty-five to one hundred and eighty-four electoral votes.

It is said on high authority that the Republican leaders had bargained with the Democrats of these three States to withdraw Federal troops and give the Democrats entire domestic control in exchange for their electoral votes.*

* A. K. McClure, "Our Presidents and How We Make Them." New York, 1900.

The Democrats everywhere raised the cry of fraud. Popular excitement was intense and civil war threatened. Grant strengthened military defences around Washington.

The Electoral Commission.—The people looked to Congress for peaceful solution, but the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. At length both branches agreed to refer the disputed election to a commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Eight of them were Republicans and seven Democrats. The Commission was a partisan body and voted as such, deciding for Hayes by a majority of one.

Although the decision of the Electoral Commission was partisan, there can be no doubt that it was wise. Had the result been different a serious blow would have been struck at the rights of the States. The real issue of the dispute was not which party had received an actual majority, but which set of electors had received the legal sanction of State authority. The Commission decided that it had no right to go behind the returns as certified by the States.

A few years later, in 1887, Congress passed a law which enforced this finding by throwing

upon each State the responsibility of determining its own vote.

The Hayes Administration was marked by useful accomplishment, and is entitled to strong indorsement. The President was the foe of corruptionists. Able statesmen were selected for Cabinet positions. So capably did John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury, manage the national finances that when January 1, 1879, arrived, the day set for the resumption of specie payments, the people had so much confidence in the Government that few notes were presented for redemption.

The two great parties were about evenly balanced. During the first two years the House was Democratic. The last two years saw the Democrats in full control of Congress, though the presence of a Republican President prevented partisan legislation.

Government scandals came to an end and the wounds inflicted by the Civil War and Reconstruction began to heal. The President withdrew the last of the Federal troops from the Southern States, and for the first time since the Civil War the South was left to take care of itself. It was the assurance that this would be done that induced the

Democrats to acquiesce in the election of Mr. Hayes.

The country was highly prosperous, and from 1875 to 1883 commercial development is the most striking feature of American history. Cities and towns grew with rapidity, railroads began to consolidate into great systems, and giant corporations appeared which centralized business interests in the hands of comparatively few men. Labor became restless. In 1877 there were great railroad strikes in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and Martinsburg, attended by mob violence and "sympathetic" strikes in other branches of industry, the most serious disturbance occurring in the coal regions of Pennsylvania and spreading to West Virginia and Illinois. The miners had the sympathy of the public and gained an advance in wages.

Garfield and Arthur.—As the year 1880 approached the Democrats looked forward to a victory. They nominated a promising candidate in General Winfield Scott Hancock, one of the most picturesque figures of the Civil War, called "Hancock the Superb" on account of his gallant conduct, his chivalrous nature, and the magnificence of his personal appearance.

The Republicans also named a soldier, Gen-

eral James A. Garfield, of Ohio, one of the many public men in American life who have risen from the commonest level to high political station.

The campaign was a singularly clean one. On the popular vote the two candidates were almost even, but Garfield won in the Electoral College.

The new President had not been at the helm of state four months when he was shot by a disappointed office-seeker, who was probably insane. Garfield's life hung long in the balance. He suffered intensely, but never complained. On the night of September 19, 1881, he died at Elberon, N. J., near Long Branch.

Chester A. Arthur, who became President on the death of his chief, had been a New York society leader and politician. His great ability and wisdom were not realized at the time, but he has gone down in history as one of the best Presidents the country has had. He vetoed extravagant legislation and did his best to secure the prosecution and conviction of corrupt officials who had defrauded the Government during the Grant administrations.

It was President Arthur who started the modern American navy.

But the Arthur administration is chiefly memorable for the progress of civil service reform. Ever since the days of Jackson the "spoils system" had held full sway with the consent and approval of politicians, who used the public offices and clerkships to build up and insure their personal following. In 1883 Congress, in deference to public opinion on the matter of arbitrary removals from office for partisan reasons, passed a law classifying certain offices in the Government service under a system of examination and merit. President Arthur enforced the act with sincerity and courage. Since then nearly every branch of the service has been protected by law.

The tariff was now becoming the paramount question. Activity of discussion and an unsatisfactory tariff act passed in 1883 shadowed the coming issue between the two great parties.

CHAPTER XXI

THE OPENING OF A NEW ERA

THE election of 1884 was the most memorable since 1860. It marked the final abandonment by both the great parties of the worn-out issues of the Civil War and the substitution of questions of public expenditure, the currency, the tariff, and the trusts.

The Democracy Returns to Power.—For nearly a quarter of a century the Republican Party had held the reins of government. It had saved the Union, destroyed slavery, maintained the credit of the nation through critical years, and given permanent triumph to the sentiment and principle of nationality over sectionalism. But along with its magnificent achievements it had committed some grievous mistakes.

The Democratic Party, though always defeated in presidential contests, had invariably polled a heavy vote. In 1876 it had a popular majority, in 1880 it fell only a few thousand below the Republican vote. From 1875 to

1881 it controlled the House of Representatives. In 1884 the party faced its quadrennial struggle confident of success.

The Republican nominee was James G. Blaine. Born in Pennsylvania of Scotch-Irish stock, he had emigrated to Maine in his youth. He had been Speaker of the House, United States Senator, Secretary of State, and was a debater of unusual strength. He was popular, renowned, magnetic, eloquent, brilliant. But he had made powerful enemies in his own party, chief and most vindictive among them being Roscoe Conkling, United States Senator from New York.

Against this versatile and famous chieftain the Democrats pitted Grover Cleveland, the Governor of New York. Cleveland had proved himself to be an honest, industrious public servant with very positive convictions of official duty and ample courage to stand by them. As Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of his State he had won the esteem of good men by his persistent hostility to bad legislation.

The campaign was one of the bitterest in American political history, and the election was in doubt for days after the polls closed. When at last the result was known the returns an-

nounced Republican defeat. Again, as in 1844 and 1848, New York turned the scale. Senator Conkling, who hated Blaine, could not be prevailed upon to support his party's choice. In Conkling's home district the falling off from the normal Republican vote was greater than Cleveland's majority in the State. The reform element in the Republican Party, attracted by Cleveland's splendid record, rallied to his support.*

The First Administration of Cleveland.—The Republicans, who by reason of their long ascendancy had come to regard their party as invincible, were thunderstruck at the election of a Democratic President. Such a thing had not happened since the election of Buchanan in 1856. Prophecies of disaster were heard on every hand. "The South is again in the saddle, the work of the war is undone, the negro will be reënslaved," said the alarmists.

Mr. Cleveland promptly disabused the public mind of its baseless fears. The tone of his Inaugural Address was lofty. "Public office is a

* The Republican reformers who "bolted" their party ticket to support Cleveland were derisively called "Mugwumps"—a name that has since been generally applied to those who vote independently.

public trust," he declared, and he lived up to the spirit of his words. His Cabinet was one of exceptional breadth and ability, chosen without sectional bias. Some of its members had followed Grant and others Lee in the war between the States.

Politically the Cleveland administration was a quiet season. The Senate was Republican, and therefore partisan legislation was impossible, though much useful legislation was accomplished by the coöperation of both parties.

Under the efficient direction of William C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy, the naval reforms begun by President Arthur were continued and the old wooden vessels further replaced by modern steel ships.

The Presidential Succession Act—1886.—The death of Vice-president Thomas A. Hendricks in 1885 awakened the country to the necessity of a change in the system of presidential succession. As the law then stood, in case of the death of the President and Vice-president the President of the Senate would succeed to the Executive office, and after him the Speaker of the House of Representatives. But this arrangement might give the presidency to the party that had been unsuccessful at the polls,

and thus turn to defeat the victory of the party that had carried the election. Accordingly, Congress passed a law providing that the line of succession should include only Cabinet officers in the following order: the Secretaries of State, Treasury, War, the Attorney-general, the Postmaster-general, the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of the Interior. Of course these heads of departments must be Constitutionally eligible to the presidency to come under the act.

Labor Troubles.—In order to make better terms with employers, labor unions had been formed by workmen in various trades at an early date. They did not, however, achieve much importance until after the Civil War. In 1886 the American Federation of Labor united many of these special trades unions in a national body for the purpose of more effectively protecting the interests of the wage-earners.

The labor unions were determined to win "recognition of the union," that is, to compel employers to deal with their workmen through the unions instead of individually, since better advantages could be secured by collective action. They also demanded shorter hours, more pay,

and the exclusion of non-union men from employment. The American Federation of Labor had authority to order and enforce general strikes when employers refused to grant the demands of a particular union.

The new organization at once made its power felt. The year 1886 saw the beginning of an industrial warfare that has continued ever since, sometimes rampant and aggressive, sometimes quietly intense, always persistent and determined. Nearly every branch of industry was affected, but chiefly the railroads. In Chicago and St. Louis there were great strikes accompanied by mob violence.

Anarchist Riots.—These labor disturbances were aggravated by a new foreign element which for several years had been pouring into the country. The earlier immigrants to the United States had come from the British Isles and the north of Europe. They were intelligent, law-abiding people who quickly caught the spirit of American customs and institutions. After the Civil War a heavy tide of immigration set in, made up of Italians, Poles, Hungarians, and Portuguese. Many of them were anarchists who were intolerant of law and hated government of every sort, which they identified

with despotism irrespective of form or actuating spirit.

On the night of May 3, 1886, about fourteen hundred anarchists assembled in Haymarket Square, Chicago, to listen to violent speeches advocating the overthrow of government. When the police ordered the crowd to disperse a bomb was thrown which exploded, killing seven policemen. The leaders of the mob were arrested by the Chicago authorities, tried, and convicted. Some were executed, and others given long terms of imprisonment.

The Interstate Commerce Act.—For many years the railroads had been allowed to develop in freedom. Because they distributed population through hitherto unsettled regions, both Federal and State governments had encouraged their construction, giving them rights of way and grants of land or money. But the railroads had abused their powers. In the matter of freight rates they had discriminated unfairly between shippers by secretly granting much lower charges to some than to others, thus enabling favored shippers to drive their less fortunate rivals from the markets. At length the public became so indignant at the methods of the railroads that Congress determined to exer-

cise the power which the Constitution gives it to regulate commerce between the States. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act was passed, which forbade these and kindred practices, and also prohibited such combinations between railroads as resulted in the general injury of other business interests. A permanent Commission was appointed to investigate charges against the railroads and render decisions, subject to review by the courts. Its powers have since been increased.

The Interstate Commerce Act has lessened, though it has not cured, the evils which it was designed to remedy.

Cleveland and Civil Service Reform.—The main trouble with the Jacksonian spoils system was that it encouraged partisanship too often at the expense of patriotism. The party might stand for bad principles or selfish leadership, but men must support it if they would hold office under the Government.

Under General Grant's administration Congress had authorized the creation of a Civil Service Commission, which established a system of competitive examinations for appointments to office. After three years, however, the work of the Commission was abandoned because

Congress, which was not in sympathy with its aims, refused to vote money for its continuance.

President Hayes tried to reestablish the system, but failed, owing to the determined opposition of politicians and the indifference of the public.

Garfield's assassination was indirectly due to the spoils system, since it was the work of a crazed office-seeker. It brought civil service reform again to the forefront, and a law was passed in 1883 which President Arthur strictly enforced.

The Independent Republicans who supported Cleveland in 1884 did so because of his well-known friendliness to reform and his hostility to the spoils system, as evidenced by his record as Mayor of Buffalo and Governor of New York, and by his public utterances.

As President, Mr. Cleveland proved faithful to his earlier principles, greatly extending the civil service. But he could not disappoint office-seekers indiscriminately; the Democratic Party was not ready for so sweeping a departure from historic precedent. Hence he failed to satisfy the reformers who expected him to destroy the spoils system immediately, root and branch. While he would not turn out a Republican

office-holder simply because he happened to be a Republican, and appoint a Democrat in his place, as most Presidents had done since Jackson's time, yet he distributed a large number of postmasterships. The result was that nobody was suited. The Democrats were displeased because they did not get more offices, and the civil-service reformers found fault because the President did not do more reforming.

Cleveland's Famous Tariff Message.—In discussing the tariff it is necessary to remember that the term "protection" has a somewhat different meaning to-day from that which it had when advocated by Henry Clay and the Whigs, and by the Republican Party itself for the first thirty years of its history.

Prior to the war protection meant an import tax sufficiently high to exclude foreign goods until American industries which were engaged in the same lines of manufacture were strong enough to stand foreign competition. Its purpose was to encourage "infant" industries until they could become self-supporting. It was never intended by early advocates to continue the protective policy indefinitely.

When the Civil War broke out the Government was compelled to levy many new taxes in

order to get money to carry on the struggle for the Union. These taxes fell heavily upon the manufacturers. To ease them of their unusual burden, Congress passed a high-tariff act which placed heavy duties upon the goods of foreign competitors. This not only relieved the manufacturers, but it also put more money into the national treasury by the simple device of raising the duties.

After the restoration of peace most of these extraordinary taxes were repealed, but the war tariff continued. The manufacturers who had built up a monopoly of the home trade by the aid of the war tariff were unwilling to return to the moderate schedules that prevailed before the war.

One result of high protection was the accumulation of a large surplus in the treasury. Republican Presidents from Grant to Arthur had deplored a steadily increasing surplus on the ground that it was a temptation to extravagance in legislation. Each of them had recommended lowering the duties.

In his annual message to Congress in 1887 President Cleveland boldly attacked protection. He accused it of fostering monopoly by destroying competition, of encouraging legislative ex-

travagance by creating a surplus, and of oppressing the poor through the maintenance of high prices.

As the time for the next presidential election approached, the Republicans had very little campaign material to use against the party in power. The Senate being Republican they had necessarily shared in whatever legislation had been enacted. But the President's message gave them their cue. The party rallied to the defence of the principle which Cleveland had attacked. They not only opposed lowering the existing duties, but they advocated raising them still higher.

The Election of 1888.—The Democrats re-nominated Cleveland, and fought the campaign on the lines of his tariff message. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison, grandson of a former President, and declared for protection. They claimed that it resulted in better wages and more general employment, provided a home market for domestic producers, and protected American labor against foreign competition.

The campaign was clean, dignified, and intellectual. Cleveland had a popular plurality over the Republican candidate of about one hundred

and ten thousand, but Harrison won on the electoral vote. Once more, as in 1844, 1848, and 1884, New York was the pivotal State, electing a Democratic Governor, but giving its thirty-six presidential votes to Harrison.

The Harrison Administration.—The most important events of President Harrison's term took the form of three laws passed in 1890 dealing with the tariff, the trusts, and the currency, issues which were more and more absorbing public attention. They are important because they show the directions in which the parties were drifting and what the people were thinking about.

The McKinley Tariff.*—The success of the Republicans, which was due chiefly to the treachery of a Democratic faction in New York, was interpreted by themselves to mean that the country was ready for more protection. A tariff measure which became law October 1, 1890, raised the average of duties beyond any point they had ever yet reached. Mr. Blaine strongly counselled against passing the McKinley bill,

* Tariff laws are always named after the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means, which is the Committee intrusted with the framing of such measures. In 1890 the Chairman was William McKinley, of Ohio.

predicting that if it were enacted into law it would defeat the party in the end. His advice was disregarded.

For the first time the most common articles of household necessity were placed on the protected list. Instantly prices rose, but wages, despite campaign promises, remained stationary. The people were indignant. At the Congressional elections in November the Republicans were defeated and a Democratic House was returned. But the Senate being Republican, revision of tariff schedules was impossible.

The Sherman Anti-Trust Law, 1890.—A strong popular protest had been raised against the great combinations, such as the Standard Oil Company, the Sugar Trust, and the powerful railroads, whose methods, often unfair and illegal, had done much to destroy competition in business. Senator Sherman, of Ohio, framed a law empowering the courts to declare void any contract which came before them that was injurious to public interests and in restraint of trade. The statute remained a dead letter until 1904, when a decision of the United States Supreme Court dissolved the Northern Securities Company, a combination of two great railroads in the North-west.

CHAPTER XXII

THE SILVER QUESTION IN POLITICS

WE now come to the only "third party" in the history of American politics that has ever exerted a profound influence upon the events of its day.

The Rise of the Populists.—For some years the currency question had been steadily forging to the front. Agitation centred in the West and South, which had not shared to a great extent in the prosperity of the East, and where the spirit of discontent and unrest was therefore strong. The South had not recovered from the effects of the war, and the West had not yet developed the industrial strength that had made the East wealthy, though its population had increased with amazing rapidity.*

* Six new Western States were admitted in two years: North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington in 1889, Idaho and Wyoming in 1890. Oklahoma Territory, which had been carved out of Indian Territory in 1866 and reserved for civilized Indians and freedmen, was thrown open to white settlers in 1890.

Much of the Western farming-land was mortgaged to Eastern capitalists, to whom was attributed the greater part of the ills of which the West and South complained. This feeling of dissatisfaction expressed itself in the form of a political organization, which soon grew into the People's, or Populist, Party. This party was opposed to protection and also to some of the fundamental principles of American commercial life. It stood for Government ownership of the railroads and of other public utilities which the great corporations had monopolized, and upon the control of which they had built up their extraordinary power. But what gave the Populist Party its peculiar hold upon the masses of people in the South and West was its persistent advocacy of the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

The Free Silver Movement.—For many centuries the civilized world used gold and silver as standard money in legal proportions varying as the market value of the metals changed. This system proved unsatisfactory, owing to the difficulty in keeping the legal and the commercial ratios the same. By 1873 most of the civilized nations, including the United States, had abandoned bimetallism and adopted the

gold standard, though continuing to use silver as subsidiary currency at the ratio of 16 to 1.

This anti-silver legislation inevitably cheapened the commercial value of the white metal and made the silver mines of the West less profitable to their owners, who thereupon demanded that the Government restore silver as full standard money.

The demands of the mine-owners were seconded by a large class of people who believed that national prosperity depended upon having a greater amount of money in circulation. They were convinced that the bankers and capitalists of the East were trying to monopolize the supply of standard money, and that the only way to defeat their plot was to make money so plentiful that Wall Street * could not "corner" the supply. This they thought could best be done by going back to the double standard and making silver full legal tender.

The Populist Party was the recognized champion of these ideas, though many Democrats in

* A street in New York City where capitalists do business. Because it was the financial centre of the country Wall Street became a synonym for the money power which it represented.

the West and South and many Western Republicans held the same views.

As new States were admitted from the West the silver movement became more formidable. At length the silver men in Congress introduced a bill to open the Government mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver into full legal tender money at the existing legal ratio of 16 to 1, notwithstanding the fact that silver had steadily declined in the markets of the world until the amount contained in a silver dollar was worth much less than the gold in a standard dollar. The bill did not pass, but so strong were the advocates of the white metal that in order to conciliate them a compromise measure was enacted in 1890 known as

The Sherman Silver Purchase Act.*—This law authorized the purchase by the Government of four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver every month, to be paid for in treasury notes redeemable in gold on demand. The silver bullion itself was not to be coined, but was to remain in the treasury and be represented in

* Named after Senator John Sherman, the author of the Anti-Trust Law, and the most prominent member of the joint committee of Senate and House that framed the measure.

circulation by the notes, which were made legal tender. It was expected that the law would help the mine-owners by creating a demand for silver, which would consequently advance its price.

The Second Cleveland Administration.—Blaine's prophecy that the McKinley Tariff would defeat the party which enacted it was completely realized in 1892.

Again Harrison headed the Republican ticket, while the Democrats for the third time nominated Cleveland. The tariff was the main issue of the campaign, which ended with an overwhelming Democratic victory. The personal popularity of the ex-President, his well-known integrity, and the general dissatisfaction caused by the McKinley Tariff, which had raised the price of the necessaries of life but not the wages of labor, were the chief factors in determining the result.

A significant feature of the election was the great strength developed by the Populist movement in the West, where in several States the Democrats named no electoral ticket, but supported Weaver, the Populist candidate, on a platform calling for the free and unlimited coinage of silver.

There was a growing tendency on the part of the Western Democrats to coöperate with the Populists, due to the conviction that Cleveland and the Eastern Democrats were controlled by the financial interests of Wall Street. Not a few Silver Republicans also voted for Weaver, who received twenty-two electoral votes.

For the first time since 1858, when James Buchanan was President, the Democratic Party was in full control of the Government, and therefore fully responsible. It had the Executive and a large majority in both branches of Congress. That the party failed to make a great record for itself after waiting nearly forty years for the opportunity, was due to jealousies and disaffections within its own ranks. The Eastern and Western Democrats were at variance with each other. The President was disliked by the politicians, who had been almost unanimously opposed to his nomination, and who had yielded only because the popular demand for his candidacy was too great to be safely resisted.

From the standpoint of Mr. Cleveland's public services, performed under difficulties of unprecedented magnitude and gravity, his second term deserves to be enrolled among the great ad-

ministrations in the national history. Yet throughout its entire period, in nearly all important measures, his own party refused to support the President.

The Repeal of the Sherman Act, 1893.—The Silver Purchase Act had disappointed the advocates of that measure by failing to arrest the fall in the price of silver, while it had alarmed the conservative business class by seeming to imperil the gold standard.

During the Harrison administration Congress had spent a great deal of money, so that when the Democrats came into power the gold reserve in the treasury was low. A spirit of unrest and apprehension pervaded the country. As always happens under such conditions, the Government revenues from the tariff diminished. Then British India suspended the coinage of silver, and that metal fell still further in value. Meantime our Government was purchasing four million five hundred thousand ounces of silver every month and paying for it in gold. Great distrust prevailed in financial circles as to the ability of the Government to continue to meet its obligations in gold, the standard money of civilization. It was feared that the country would be driven onto a silver basis. Business

concerns failed, factories closed, and banks collapsed. Clearly a remedy was needed.

President Cleveland, who believed that these distressing conditions were chiefly due to the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, called a special session of Congress and urged its speedy repeal. Here arose a difficulty, for the Democrats, though easily commanding a majority, were divided over the money question.

A great debate was held in the House of Representatives, which was remarkable for a speech delivered by William J. Bryan, a young Congressman from Nebraska, who attracted the attention of the country by his able and eloquent statement of the argument for silver. But the Gold Democrats were strong in the House, and with the aid of the Eastern Republicans the motion for repeal was carried by a large vote after only three weeks of discussion.

In the Senate silver sentiment was strong, and the repeal of the Sherman Act met with determined and prolonged resistance. The Silver Senators of all parties resorted to "filibustering." Some tried to talk the motion to death. One of them, a Populist from Nebraska, made a speech fourteen hours long. Then the other side attempted to tire out the opposition by pre-

venting adjournment, and for three days and nights the Senators remained in their seats. At last the President threatened to withhold Federal patronage from the Senators who were obstructing the passage of the motion, and those who thought more of the spoils of office than they did of their principles came quickly to terms.* After three months of useless delay the Sherman Act was repealed, but it came too late to avert the panic that had long been threatening.

The repeal of the Sherman Act was regarded by the silver men in all parties as a victory for the financiers of Wall Street, who it was believed were trying to reduce the volume of money in order to "corner" or monopolize the supply.

This impression was strengthened by another policy which the President was compelled to adopt in the emergency created by the low state of the treasury. To save the credit of the nation and enable it to meet its obligations in gold,

* In every State there are many Federal offices whose incumbents are appointed by the President. It is an unwritten law that the senior Senator shall name the appointees. As this privilege gives him a strong hold upon his constituents, the President can greatly injure a Senator by withholding the "patronage," as the bestowal of these offices is called.

Mr. Cleveland negotiated a gold loan from a New York banking syndicate, which received in exchange interest-bearing Government bonds. For this measure the President was bitterly denounced by many in his own party, who accepted it as additional evidence of the subserviency of the Eastern Democracy to Wall Street.

The repeal of the Sherman Act and the bond issue went far toward solidifying the alliance already formed between the Silver Democrats and the Populists.

The Wilson Tariff.—Another vital issue on which the President and his party failed to agree was the tariff.

The Democrats had pledged themselves in 1892 to repeal the McKinley Tariff and substitute lower duties. A bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by William L. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, proposing to reduce the duties on many articles, which was carried by a large majority. The bill was then referred to the Senate where some of the Democratic members, contrary to their party creed and their election promises, insisted upon so much protection that when the measure finally passed both Houses the President refused to sign it. But as he believed it

to be an improvement on the McKinley Tariff, he could not veto it, and so allowed it to become a law without his signature.

It was publicly charged, and generally believed, that corrupt influences had persuaded certain Democratic Senators to vote for the retention of extortionate duties.

The Wilson Tariff law carried with it a provision for raising additional revenue by means of an income tax. This, however, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. Opinion was divided, and the decision reversed all precedents.

The failure of the Supreme Court to sustain the income tax aggravated the bitterness of those who were already convinced that the Government was hand in glove with the millionaires.

The Columbian Exposition which was held in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, offers a cheerful contrast to these troublous experiences. In fitting recognition of the world-wide results which had flowed from that remote event, it was determined to hold in the city of Chicago an international exposition similar to the Centennial of 1876, but on a larger scale, showing the prog-

ress that the human race had made in four hundred years along all lines of effort.

The Exposition lasted from May to November, 1893, preparations having been begun too late to hold it in 1892, the correct year. Magnificent buildings were erected at great cost, wherein were displayed the treasures of art and the triumphs of science and industry. The world had made marvellous strides in civilization since Columbus unfurled the banner of Spain on San Salvador in 1492, and America had led the way in much of it.

The Great Pullman Strike, 1894.—The hard times through which the whole country was passing produced great discontent in the labor world. Many men and women were thrown out of employment or had their wages reduced.

The Pullman Company, manufacturers of cars, whose shops were located near Chicago, cut down the wages of their workmen, but did not reduce the salaries of officers or the rents of the Company's houses in which their employees lived. The men then struck. When the Company were asked to arbitrate the matter they refused, saying they were doing the best they could and had nothing to arbitrate.

The American Railway Union, which many

of the Pullman strikers had joined, thereupon ordered all members of the Union to handle no cars made by the Pullman Company. As Pullman cars were almost universally used, nearly every railroad west of Ohio was paralyzed by the order. Interstate commerce, passenger traffic, and the United States mails were seriously interrupted.

A Federal court issued an injunction against the American Railway Union, ordering it to refrain from further attempts to induce employees to strike. This enraged the strikers, who up to this point had not been guilty of violence. They now began to destroy cars and tear up tracks. The strike spread all through the West and South-west, and many persons lost their lives. Much of the violence was committed by anarchists, who sympathized with the strikers but were not members of the American Railway Union. The President issued a proclamation against rioting.

Some of the labor leaders, among them Eugene V. Debs, the president of the Union, were arrested and put in jail for disobeying the injunction of the court, on the technical charge of contempt. This act was severely condemned by many prominent men who had no sympathy for

Debs or his associates or the cause they represented, but who believed that it was contrary to the spirit of our laws and institutions and dangerous to liberty to permit courts to send men to jail without trial. The incident was destined to play a part in the next presidential campaign.

Whether right or wrong, the imprisonment of the leaders broke the backbone of the strike. The loss of life and property was immense, and would have been vastly greater had it not been for the energetic measures of President Cleveland. The Governor of Illinois, who was in sympathy with the strikers, refused to call out the National Guard in spite of the hourly destruction of life and property in Chicago. Mr. Cleveland then sent Federal troops to the scene of the rioting, and order was quickly restored.

The President was widely criticised for his action on the ground that he had exceeded his authority. The Constitution does not specifically authorize the Executive to send Federal soldiers into a State for such a purpose unless the State Government requests it. But the Constitution and laws do empower him to protect the United States mails and interstate commerce

against conspiracies. These interests were clearly imperilled, and it was on this ground that Mr. Cleveland justified his course. This incident also was destined to assist in shaping the issues of the next campaign.

Cleveland Champions the Monroe Doctrine.—

For more than half a century there had been disagreement between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary separating Venezuela from British Guiana. The South American country had many times offered to submit the dispute to arbitration, but Great Britain had always declined. President Cleveland directed the Secretary of State, Mr. Richard Olney, to inform Great Britain that the United States, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, must insist on the arbitration of the British-Venezuelan dispute. Lord Salisbury, the British Prime-minister, refused, declaring that he did not accept the Monroe Doctrine. Then the President, believing that this time-honored policy was in peril, sent a message to Congress in December, 1895, recommending the appointment of a Commission to determine the exact boundary, and declaring that in case the disputed territory should be found to belong rightfully to Venezuela it would become "the duty

of the United States to resist by every means in its power " the aggressions of Great Britain.

The message threatened war and aroused the national patriotism. Congress forgot party and factional differences and came heartily to the support of the President. Lord Salisbury then receded from his position and agreed to arbitrate.

The Commission decided in favor of the British contention, but the incident impressed Europe with the fact that the Monroe Doctrine was a vital and integral part of the policy of the United States, and could not be safely trifled with.

Free Silver and the Battle of 1896.—The silver movement, which had been steadily gathering momentum, broke over the country in a perfect tidal wave in 1896.

The Republican Party contained a strong and numerous silver faction, but its general leaning was toward the gold standard. The convention met at St. Louis in June, and adopted a compromise platform favoring the retention of the single gold standard until the double standard could be restored by the joint action of the other leading nations, which it pledged itself to bring about. It nominated for President, William

McKinley, of Ohio, and for Vice-president, Garret A. Hobart, of New Jersey. Both candidates had risen from poverty in early life by industry and force of character. McKinley had been fourteen years a member of Congress, twice Governor of Ohio, and had shown great strength as a party leader.

The Democrats met in Chicago a few weeks later. For a long time the Democratic Party had been drifting in the direction already taken by the Populists. The convention was completely dominated by the Western wing, but there was no leadership. While the convention was trying to decide on a candidate, William J. Bryan addressed the delegates in an impassioned speech of great eloquence, giving expression in thrilling language to ideals and sentiments which the majority in the hall felt, but which Bryan alone seemed to have the power to utter. The effect of the speech was to stampede the convention for the orator, who was nominated for the presidency the next day. Mr. Bryan was barely thirty-six years old, just one year above the Constitutional age of eligibility. Arthur Sewall, of Maine, received the nomination for Vice-president.

The Democratic platform demanded the free

and unlimited coinage of silver at the existing legal ratio of 16 to 1 "without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation." Its labor plank denounced the sending of Federal troops to Chicago during the Pullman strike, and the abuse of injunctions by the courts, as instanced in the committal of Debs and his associates to jail without trial. The platform also demanded an income tax as the best means to effect a just distribution of the burden of supporting the Government.

The Populist Party, finding its aims and sympathies so cordially reflected by the Democratic Party, also nominated Bryan with Thomas E. Watson, of Georgia, for his running mate. The Populist demands coincided with those of the Democrats, but included in addition Government ownership of railroads and telegraphs and the popular election of President, Vice-president, and United States Senators.

Many Western Republicans who believed in free silver turned against their party and indorsed Bryan, while the Eastern Democrats very generally supported McKinley.

A very small minority of the Democratic Party met in Indianapolis and named an Independent ticket on a platform declaring unequivocal

cally for the gold standard. The Gold Democrats were indorsed by President Cleveland, but polled only a few thousand votes.

The Argument.—Had it not been for the hard times of 1893 and 1894 the free silver idea would probably not have attained such wide popularity. It was offered as a sure remedy for existing poverty and business distress.

The Democrats claimed that ever since the demonetization of silver by the leading nations there had not been sufficient standard money—that is, gold—to keep pace with the growth of business; that the supply of gold had remained about the same while the demand for it had constantly increased, which meant that the yellow metal was constantly appreciating in value. Consequently a man who had borrowed \$1,000 twenty years ago would have to pay it back to-day in money worth very much more than when the debt was contracted. This was an obvious injustice to the debtor class. Restore silver as standard money along with gold, said they, and gold will drop in value because it will be in less demand, while silver will rise. When one metal gets too dear we will use the other, and thus maintain the parity.

The Republicans said in effect: We also be-

lieve in the double standard, but we do not think it possible for the United States alone to restore bimetallism, for if we open our mints to the free and unlimited coinage of silver, all the silver of the world will flow hither. The experience of the whole world proves that cheap money always drives good money out of circulation. We shall be driven onto a silver basis like the countries of South America and Asia. A silver dollar is worth in the market only fifty cents. If we pay our debts in fifty-cent dollars we shall be dishonest to our creditors. Wait until we can get the consent of Europe, and then we will restore the double standard.

To this the Democrats answered: The United States produces more silver than any other country. Europe must buy our silver, because nowhere else can she get all that she needs for currency and for use in the arts. We admit that the market value of a silver dollar is only fifty cents. But if we offer to stamp all the fifty-cent silver in the world with a dollar mark we shall create such a demand for silver that other nations will be compelled to do the same thing, and a dollar will then be worth as much in the market as it is at the mints.

Neither side intended to be dishonest to

debtor or creditor. It was simply a difference of conviction as to the most effective method of establishing a monetary system that both parties seemed to think desirable. The Democrats said: We can do it ourselves. The Republicans said: We must have the consent of Europe.

The Triumph of the Gold Standard.—After the most exciting political battle since 1860 the Democratic Party was defeated and the Republicans once more returned to power.

The campaign called out the largest vote in the history of the country up to that time. McKinley had a popular majority of over half a million, but the vote for Bryan was larger than Cleveland's vote in 1892.

The Administration of William McKinley.—One of the first acts of the McKinley administration was to conciliate the defeated silver forces by sending three commissioners abroad to inquire into the possibility of restoring the double standard by international consent, but the commissioners found little sentiment favorable to such a step. The gold dollar was then fixed by law as the standard of value for the United States, thus supplementing the earlier legislation of 1873.

The gold discoveries in the Klondike and elsewhere in recent years have eliminated the silver issue from politics, and its revival is improbable.

The Dingley Tariff.—President McKinley summoned an extra session of Congress soon after his inauguration to provide means for increasing the public revenue. The Dingley Tariff was passed in July, 1897, superseding the Wilson Act. It raised the average of duties even above the McKinley Tariff of 1890, and is still in force (1907).

European nations began to retaliate with similar legislation against the United States, imposing prohibitive duties upon American goods

CHAPTER XXIII

WAR AND EXPANSION

AT the period with which this history opened Spain was the dominant power of the world. We have seen how in colonial days Spanish dominion gave place to French and English control. Toward the close of the nineteenth century the only territory owned by Spain in the Western Hemisphere were Cuba, Porto Rico, and a few other islands in the West Indies. These possessions were still ruled in the Spanish fashion of the sixteenth century, plundered by greedy and corrupt officials, their inhabitants having no acquaintance with self-government.

The Revolt of Cuba.—The people of Cuba had several times revolted against the tyranny of their masters, but had always been pacified by promises of better government, which were invariably broken. The last rebellion began in 1895, and was carried on in a spirit of wonderful heroism.

Spanish military methods were cruel. The noncombatant population of the island was herded in camps and towns and subjected to the slow torture of starvation. Both Cleveland and McKinley, during their tenures of presidential office, had issued warnings that this inhuman warfare must cease, but Spain gave no heed.

The Destruction of the Maine.—There were many American citizens living in Havana, and the United States had large commercial and shipping interests in the island. In February, 1898, President McKinley ordered the battleship *Maine* to Cuban waters to protect American interests which were being constantly violated by the Spanish. On the night of February 15th, while the crew were asleep, the *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor. Two hundred and sixty-six men lost their lives. A Spanish commission, appointed to ascertain the cause of the catastrophe, reported that the explosion was the result of defective internal conditions, but the report of a board of United States naval officers indicated that the *Maine* had been destroyed by Spanish treachery.

War with Spain.—The destruction of the *Maine* infuriated the American people, who were convinced that it was the deliberate act

of Spaniards, and was answered by a general demand for war, which was officially declared on April 25, 1898.

The official declaration explicitly stated that the object of the United States in resorting to arms was to release the struggling patriots of Cuba from the curse of Spanish rule and to give them independence. The war was destined to be brief but exceedingly important in its results.

As the regular army numbered only about twenty-six thousand men, the President issued a call for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers. The popular response was overwhelming. Sectional, partisan, and social distinctions melted away in the unanimity of patriotic sentiment. In the regular army were famous Confederate generals fighting side by side with their former opponents of the Civil War.

The Victory of Manila Bay.—Hostilities opened in the Far East. Commodore Dewey, who commanded the American naval forces in Asiatic waters, was ordered to attack the Spanish fleet which was stationed in Manila Bay, Philippine Islands. On May 1st, after a terrific battle lasting half a day, the Spanish ships were utterly

destroyed and hundreds of sailors killed, though not an American life was lost.

A few months later the city of Manila was taken by the combined attack of Dewey and a land force under General Wesley Merritt, assisted by a band of Filipinos commanded by Aguinaldo, a native leader.

Congress passed a vote of thanks to Dewey and his men, and made the Commodore an Admiral.

San Juan and Santiago.—An American army of seventeen thousand men was landed on the coast of Cuba and took up its march to the city of Santiago. In an engagement with the Spaniards on July 2d the Americans were victorious. The feature of the day was the brilliant charge of the "Rough Riders," a volunteer regiment of cavalry typical of our cosmopolitan citizenship, made up of rich men and poor men, society leaders, college graduates, and cowboys from the Western plains.

While the army was approaching Santiago by land a naval force under Admirals Sampson and Schley was waiting at the mouth of the harbor for the Spanish fleet which was stationed within to emerge. On July 3d the Spaniards made a brave though futile dash for liberty.

Instantly the American ships opened fire. In the course of a few hours every Spanish vessel was sunk or captured and hundreds of their crews slain. Only one American was killed and one wounded. Two weeks after this event Santiago surrendered, and the whole island passed under the military control of the United States.

A few weeks later Porto Rico was taken by General Miles's army.

The End of the War.—The Spanish Government, being unable to sustain the war any longer, signified its desire to cease hostilities. A treaty of peace negotiated between the two belligerent nations at Paris in the fall was ratified by the United States Senate February 6, 1899, and signed by the Queen Regent of Spain the following month.

Under the conditions of this treaty Spain relinquished her sovereignty over Cuba, ceded her other islands in the West Indies, including Porto Rico, to the United States, and also ceded to the United States the entire Philippine group, in return for which she received a gratuity of \$20,000,000.

The Philippine Question and the Presidential Election of 1900.—The acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the United States gave rise to a

long and heated discussion in this country. They had been captured as a military measure, and when the war ended were still in our possession.

There were apparently but three ways for the peace commissioners to dispose of the Philippines: to restore them to Spain and continue the misrule of centuries; to give them independence and set them adrift; or cede them to the United States, to which they belonged by right of conquest.

The first course would have been wrong, the second impossible. The Filipinos were utterly unfit for self-government in their existing condition, and would probably have fallen prey to some stronger power had they been given independence. Since it seemed to be the only practicable solution of the question, the United States determined to keep the Philippines, and to do what it could do to redeem their people from ignorance, superstition, and savagery. Being under no obligation to give Spain one cent for the islands—to which the United States was entitled by right of conquest—this nation (as stated above) nevertheless offered Spain \$20,000,000 as an equivalent.

A large proportion of Filipinos, under the

leadership of Aguinaldo, rose against the Americans and proclaimed an independent Philippine republic. For two years a guerrilla warfare was carried on between the Filipino insurgents and the American troops.

There were many persons in the United States who sympathized with Aguinaldo and his followers, believing that our Government could not, without subverting republican ideals and institutions, force its sovereignty upon an unwilling alien people. The Democratic Party held this view.

Before the Philippine revolt had been suppressed the presidential campaign of 1900 was at hand. The Democrats renominated Bryan and reiterated their principles of 1896. Their platform contained an additional plank in favor of the immediate independence of the Philippines under an American protectorate, and denouncing imperialism, which they declared to be the main issue of the campaign. The knowledge that the Democratic Party had advocated their cause encouraged the Filipinos to resist the United States with renewed vigor.

The Populists also renominated Bryan, but at the election polled a smaller vote than in 1896. The importance of the Populist Party

as a separate political organization has steadily waned, the greater part of its membership having been absorbed by the radical and predominant wing of the Democratic Party, whose aim is to extend the general activities of the Government in the direction urged by the Populists.

The Republicans again placed McKinley at the head of their ticket, naming Theodore Roosevelt, Governor of New York, for Vice-president. They took the ground that the United States was in duty bound as a humane and progressive nation to civilize the benighted people who by the fortune of war had been brought under our flag; that a protectorate would fail to answer the purpose; that the islands must be pacified by military force before anything could be accomplished; that the Filipinos lacked the enlightened instincts of Anglo-Saxon races, and would relapse into barbarism if allowed at this stage to go their own way.

The verdict of the people on this and on the former issues of 1896 was a majority for McKinley and Roosevelt larger than the immense Republican majority four years before.

What Has Been Accomplished in our Island Possessions.—In March, 1901, Aguinaldo was captured, and by the close of that year the

Philippine insurrection was practically at an end.

Military authority has been replaced by civil government, in which the Filipinos have been given a degree of representation; schools have been instituted with American teachers, and the work of civilization is advancing. The islands have not, however, been granted those advantages of an open market for their products to which, as a part of our domain, they are in all justice entitled.

In Porto Rico the conditions were different from the start, the people being far more civilized and willing to be annexed to the United States. The Porto Ricans have a considerable share in civil government. Popular education has made great headway, and the domestic products and commerce of the island are being rapidly developed.

Neither Porto Rico nor the Philippines are a part of the Union as a State or territory. They are dependencies of the United States, subject to the laws which Congress may make for their government.

Cuba.—There were many things to be done in Cuba before the island could be turned over to its people. With the commencement of 1899

the United States Government assumed entire charge of Cuban affairs. The legal and judicial systems and methods of taxation were reformed, the sanitary conditions of the cities improved, public schools introduced, and the people prepared for self-government.

In May, 1902, the American occupation came to an end and the Cuban people entered upon their career as a republican member of the family of nations.

The United States had sacrificed life and lavished treasure in the liberation of Cuba. It seemed not unreasonable, therefore, to demand in return that American interests should not be ignored or jeopardized by the nation which owed its existence to the intervention of the United States. Accordingly, Cuba promised to respect the Monroe Doctrine by never allowing any foreign power to acquire control of any part of Cuban territory, and further agreed never to incur debts beyond its power to pay. Several naval stations were granted in perpetuity to the United States. These concessions were embodied in the Cuban constitution.

The probabilities for a successful and permanent Cuban republic, as indicated by the events of the last four years, do not conduce to an opti-

mistic view of the future. The political history of independent Cuba is not essentially different from that of the common run of Latin-American republics. In 1906 it became necessary for the United States to intervene for the protection of its citizens and the preservation of their interests. A state of anarchy prevailed in the island, precipitated by the disaffection of a strong revolutionary element and the inefficiency of the Cuban administration to enforce authority. The intervention was in strict accord with legality, and was welcomed by government and rebels alike. With their consent, and by authority of the United States, a provisional government was established to unravel the civil tangle.

Results of the War with Spain.—Only a few months elapsed between the declaration of hostilities and the signing of the peace treaty. There were but two great naval engagements, and no land battle that would at all compare in magnitude with the battles of the Civil War. And yet measured by its consequences the Spanish War was one of the most important contests of modern times. It not only destroyed the last remnant of Spanish sovereignty in the Western Hemisphere, but it marked the definite abandonment by the United States of its former

policy of isolation from the affairs of the outside world and its entrance upon the broad stage of international life in the permanent character of a world power. American sovereignty over the Philippine and Hawaiian Islands in the Pacific, together with a steadily increasing Oriental trade, have given this nation so many points of contact with other first-class powers having commercial interests in the Far East, that it could not any longer remain a "hermit" nation even if it were so disposed.*

This development has necessitated a larger army and navy, but that does not necessarily signify that Americans are becoming more belligerent. On the contrary, the United States has shown a willingness beyond any other country to arbitrate differences with other nations, excepting issues involving the Monroe Doctrine, which it has officially proclaimed it will never arbitrate. It gave hearty coöperation to the establishment

* The Hawaiian Islands are a small group situated about two thousand miles from San Francisco containing a mixed population. In 1893 the native monarchy was overthrown and a provisional government established under the leadership of American residents. In 1898 the islands were annexed to the United States by a joint resolution of Congress and in accordance with the wishes of a majority of the Hawaiian people. Two years later Hawaii was made a territory. The islands are important chiefly as a naval station.

of the international court known as The Hague Tribunal (1899), and was the first to submit a dispute to the decision of that body.

The United States and the "Open Door" in China.—The reality of American influence in the Far East received striking demonstration in the events following the Boxer uprising.

Certain European powers had long been trying to get control of China. In 1900 the Boxers, a Chinese secret society, started a crusade against foreigners, and for five weeks the foreign legations at Peking were besieged. The German minister and many other persons were killed. The legations were saved by the timely arrival of a relief expedition made up of British, French, German, Japanese, Russian, and American troops.

Most of the European powers proposed to punish China by taking territory away from her and dividing it among themselves. This intention was resisted by the United States through John Hay, the able Secretary of State, who succeeded in gaining general assent to the "Open Door" policy—that is, that no nation appropriate any part of China exclusively for itself, but that China be open to the commerce of the world.

The Assassination of McKinley.—The second administration of William McKinley opened with every indication of prosperity for the country over which he had twice been elected to preside. In 1901 a Pan-American Exposition was held at Buffalo. The President attended and delivered a speech full of wise counsel and noble sentiment. At its conclusion he was approached by an anarchist who carried a revolver concealed in a handkerchief wrapped about his hand, and in unspeakable treachery shot the President as the latter extended his hand in friendly greeting. McKinley lingered a few days, but died on September 14th.

As President, and throughout his long public career, Mr. McKinley had shown himself to be not only a wise and upright statesman but a gentleman of exalted type, and his death was the occasion of unfeigned and universal grief.

The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt.—McKinley's successor had been in public life ever since his graduation from Harvard College in 1880, and was favorably known as author, civil service reformer, and statesman. He had attracted attention as Police Commissioner of New York City by his rigorous enforcement of

the laws. At the outbreak of the war with Spain he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, but resigned to take the field, where he won popular renown as Lieutenant Colonel of the Rough Riders. After the war he was elected Governor of New York, and subsequently Vice-president of the United States. Roosevelt possessed courage, independence, firmness, and honesty. On account of these qualities his strength lay with the people rather than with the politicians.

The Coal Strike, 1902.—The industrial warfare between capital and labor broke out with renewed fury in the spring of 1902, when the anthracite coal-miners of Pennsylvania struck after their demands for higher wages, shorter hours, and the recognition of the United Mine Workers' Union had been refused by the operators. In the interests of the general public who were threatened with a coal famine by the strike, President Roosevelt appealed to the miners and operators to submit their dispute to arbitration. Both sides consenting, a commission was appointed which succeeded in settling the strike by a three years' agreement between operators and miners.

One result of the coal strike was the creation

of a new Cabinet position, the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Roosevelt and the Trusts.—The great aggregations of capital had been steadily growing stronger, while the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, which had been passed in 1890 for their regulation, had never been enforced. Realizing the peril to the public that lay in the misuse of power by great corporations, President Roosevelt directed the Attorney-general to bring suit under the Sherman law against the Northern Securities Company to prevent the consolidation of certain railroads in the North-west. The Supreme Court rendered its decision in 1904, sustaining the action of the Attorney-general and declaring the Northern Securities "merger" illegal.

In 1903 a new and more stringent anti-trust law was enacted compelling corporations which do an interstate business to open their accounts to the inspection of the Federal Government.

The Panama Canal.—For more than half a century the United States had desired a ship canal at some point on the isthmus joining North and South America. During President Tyler's administration the United States and

Great Britain had entered into a compact known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, by the terms of which each country bound itself never to obtain exclusive control over any isthmian canal that might be constructed in the future, but engaging to keep it neutral.

In course of time the relative interests of the two nations in a possible canal greatly changed. As the Pacific coast filled with people a water-way became more than ever necessary to the United States. After many ineffectual attempts to secure the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, that obstacle was at last removed by a new international agreement known as the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (1902) by which the United States secured full power to construct and operate a canal across the isthmus.

A treaty was at once negotiated with the United States of Colombia, the sovereign power on the isthmus, for the necessary control of a portion of Panama. The terms were very favorable to Colombia, but the Colombian Senate, hoping to compel the United States to pay a larger sum of money than had been proposed, refused to ratify the treaty.

At this juncture the people of Panama de-

clared their independence of Colombia, and set up a republic which was recognized by the United States three days after the event, and by European powers quite as promptly. Secretary Hay then offered the newly instituted Panama Government terms similar to those which Colombia had rejected, guaranteeing in addition the independence of the Panama republic, and a satisfactory agreement was soon reached for the construction of the canal.

When finished the Panama Canal will be of immeasurable advantage to the commercial world. Vessels will no longer be compelled to voyage around Cape Horn to reach San Francisco and the ports of Asia. Although the property of the United States, the canal will be open to the commerce of other nations.

The Election of 1904.—As the presidential year approached, public sentiment—which the politicians would gladly have stifled—demanded the nomination of Roosevelt, whom the accident of McKinley's death had promoted from the dignified obscurity of the vice-presidency to undisputed party leadership.

The Democrats, unwilling or unready to abjure the alleged heresies which had twice resulted in ignominious defeat, but anxious to

reinstate their party in public confidence, nominated a conservative candidate on a mildly radical platform. Alton B. Parker, an able New York jurist, was their standard-bearer.

The campaign was exceptionally quiet and uneventful. The policies of the administration were generally approved by the country, whose faith in the common-sense and disinterested patriotism of the President seemed invincible. The electoral vote stood three hundred and thirty-four to one hundred and forty for Roosevelt and Fairbanks, backed by a popular majority of unprecedented magnitude.

Congressional Legislation of 1906.—The first session of the Fifty-ninth Congress was marked by the enactment of a series of drastic measures designed to extend the power of the Federal Government, especially the executive branch of it, over great corporations.

The railway rate law empowers the Interstate Commerce Commission to regulate rates of railroads and other common carriers. The meat inspection and pure food laws are directed against unscrupulous dealers in fraudulent food products in the interest of the public health; while the aim of the immunity law is to deprive officials of recalcitrant corporations of certain

artificial refuges which they have heretofore enjoyed in criminal prosecutions.

The United States in the Twentieth Century.—As the American of the present age looks out with conscious pride over the vast domain whose sovereign emblem is the stars and stripes, and contrasts conditions of to-day with those which prevailed when title passed from the Latin to the Teutonic race, he beholds a change so wonderful, a progress so marvellous, as to challenge and surpass belief. He sees a country which three centuries ago contained scarcely a white man to contrast the pallor of his skin with the dusky red of its aboriginal inhabitant, to-day maintaining in all their strength eighty millions of prosperous and happy citizens. To the war-whoop of the savage resounding with horrendous din through the forest's wild retreats, has succeeded the hum of industry in factory, field, and mine. In regions of once unbroken solitude, or echoing to the wild beast's cry now stand the busy marts of trade. While greater than all its vaunted wealth, surpassing all material splendor, a mighty moral influence proceeds from this favored people, illuminating by its radiations and lifting toward higher ideals of man-

hood and citizenship the myriads from other lands who seek our welcoming shores.

There are many indisputable evils in the political and industrial life of the times, but they are in gradual process of correction—not so much through doubtful remedies of legislation, which thoughtless agitators are apt to invoke for insufficient cause, as in consequence of the steady growth of an enlightened and responsive public conscience and a natural evolutionary adjustment induced by the ceaseless play of inherent forces.

Despite the prevalence of industrial contention capital was never so busy or so productive as now, nor labor so richly remunerated. The general tendency of wages is up, not down. American workingmen to-day enjoy material comforts and intellectual advantages which were unknown to their class a generation ago, and are still impossible in other countries. Some of the great corporations encourage employees to invest their savings in the stock of the employing enterprises, thus approximating the benefits of coöperative effort. The Pennsylvania Railroad and certain other transportation companies provide pensions for those who reach the age-limit in their service.

One of the obvious features of our time is the rapid growth of cities. Out of the nine cities of the world having a population of more than a million each, three are in the United States, while many others are swiftly approaching that mark. In 1790, when the first census was taken, the urban population of the United States comprised less than one-thirtieth of the whole; to-day one-third find their homes amid the rush and roar of great towns. This phenomenon is chiefly due to the fact that urban centres are the foci of predominant manufacturing and commercial activities.

The development of American cities has given rise to serious problems which press for solution, not the least of which is the question of government. Many municipalities are cursed by predatory "rings" which rob the tax-payers for purposes of corrupt and selfish profit. But there is now observable throughout the land a decided reaction from the passive acquiescence of the past, and an unmistakable movement toward the elimination of partisanship in municipal government—a demand for public officials whose qualifications are honesty and administrative capacity.

In the invention and use of superior machin-

ery, in business organization, and in transportation, America is giving lessons to the world.

Our public-school system, more inclusive and efficient than ever, maintains a high level of popular intelligence to which the numerous private institutions of every grade materially contribute. The voluntary gifts of philanthropic men of wealth to education aggregate millions of dollars annually.

And now, in final retrospect, what is the secret of this rapid and amazing metamorphosis—this superlative achievement of material and moral greatness, the foundations of which were laid and the superstructure reared within the brief compass of three hundred years?

The answer to this question, drawn from the remarkable career of this unique people and briefly epitomized is this: The open secret of American success is the universal presence of opportunity which begins in the public school and extends through every avenue of industrial employment and civic life; the habit of self-reliance, formed under stress of early necessity and fostered through years of continued and voluntary choice; the freedom of individuals and associations from the curse of governmental interference, which would choke and paralyze

private initiative and teach men to depend upon the state rather than upon their own unaided and aggressive energies; the spirit of fair play which recognizes before the law no invidious distinction of race, religion, or social caste. It is the principle of *individualism* which, like the scarlet thread that runs through all the cordage of the British Navy, pervades our national philosophy and gives direction to our practice.

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