

AN AMERICAN  
HISTORY  
STEPHENSON



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*After a portrait by Gilbert Stuart*

*George Washington*

# AN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY

NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN THE COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON

"Know one another, my countrymen, and you  
will love one another." — L. Q. C. LAMAR

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## PREFACE

Doubtless every teacher of American history has felt at times the oppression of an apparent lack of unity in his subject. Colonial history in particular has proved a stumblingblock. The old way of tracing thirteen tales, one after another — neatly laying down one thread to pick up the next — roused dislike in our pupils who, fortunately, brought to their study the dramatic sense, the demand for sequence, which is the literary inspiration of normal youth. At last we see how to meet that demand. Through a reformed conception of our past, we now perceive that colonial American history finds its own noble unity only when seen in perspective as part and parcel of the general politics of the Empire. One endeavor of the present text is to be true to this larger conception of our colonial period. It is quite unnecessary in this connection to insist upon the debt which all of us owe to such original observers as Professor H. L. Osgood and Professor C. M. Andrews — to name but two conspicuous benefactors.

As to our history subsequent to 1783, the patriotic teacher should be a stranger to all its hatreds while keenly a sympathizer with all its aspirations. Whatever be the shortcomings of this text, it may at least make confident claim to being informed by such a temper, the temper expressed in the fine line quoted on the title-page.

Passing to more technical matters, it is a pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to a great scholar — Professor Albert Bushnell Hart — from whom, long ago, I learned whatever I know of historical workmanship. His able "Essentials in American History," though embodying a point of view to which I cannot wholly subscribe, has, nevertheless, been my leading guide in the difficult task of determining what data belong of right in a

textbook. My thanks are due to the Honorable Theodore Jervey, Recorder of the city of Charleston, and to my colleagues, Professor P. M. Rea, Professor L. M. Harris, and President Harrison Randolph, by whom the labor of reading and criticizing manuscript has been generously endured. I have had similar considerate aid from Professor Amos S. Hershey and Professor A. M. Brooks, of the University of Indiana; from Mr. Archibald Freeman, of Phillips Andover Academy; and from Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott. Miss Ellen M. FitzSimons, librarian of the Charleston Library, has assisted me in many ways.

My last word of indebtedness is due to Professor Philip Van Ness Myers. His method — simple yet without condescension, exact but vivid — forms an admirable model. His personal influence is ever on the side of those large views of historical significance that eschew the transitory and build upon the permanent. I must be permitted to quote a remark he once made to me. We had spoken of the convincingness attained by Japanese draftsmen through their renunciation of the temporary aspects of objects — the wavering light and shadow — and their preoccupation with the permanent form. "There," said Professor Myers, "is the secret of textbook writing." If I have not succeeded in profiting by his example, it is not through lack of faith.

NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON

COLLEGE OF CHARLESTON

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# AN AMERICAN HISTORY

## CHAPTER I

### THE PROLOGUE TO AMERICAN HISTORY

#### I. PRIMITIVE AMERICA

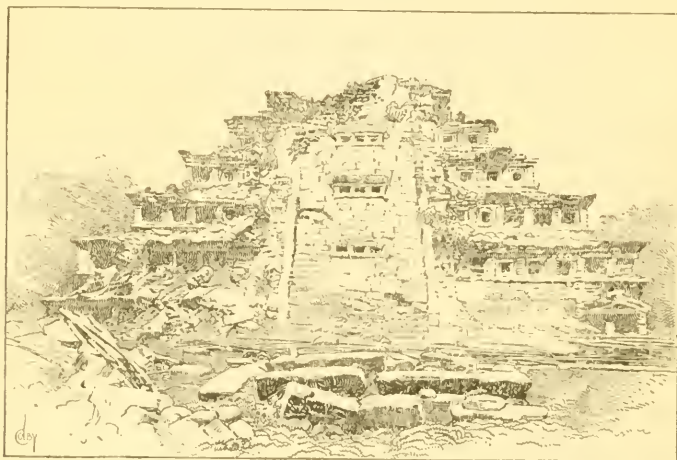
**1. The First Americans.** No one knows how America was first peopled, and yet almost everywhere in the United States we find traces of an ancient people that have left little behind them except their graves. Who were they? Where did they come from? We call them the mound builders because their burial places are earthen mounds. In these mounds have been found pottery, tools, and weapons; also the bones of men. But we have not yet found any writing. The tools and weapons are so rudely made that it is plain they are the work of savages.

There were other native races in ancient America. Three of them that did remarkable things were the Peruvians, the Mexicans, and the people of Yucatan.

Like the mound builders, who may have been their kinsmen, these people have left no books for us to read. But they had a sort of picture writing much like the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt. Many of their hieroglyphics, carved in stone, may still be seen, especially in Yucatan and Peru. There are also ruins of temples, palaces, and gigantic fortifications.

**2. An Ancient American Fortress.** In Peru, near the city of Cuzco, stand the ruins of a vast fortress of the ancient Americans. Some of the stones in its walls are so huge that we cannot see how they could have been set in place without

the use of engines. In metal working as well as in masonry the Peruvians were highly skilled. Very early they discovered the rich mines of the Andes; and Cuzco, their capital, became in large part a city of silver and gold. Its chief temple, dedicated to the sun, was called "the place of gold." Still more remarkable than either the fortress or the temple was the summer palace of the Peruvian monarchs in a lovely valley among the Andes. Surrounding the palace were artificial



TEMPLE PYRAMID AT PAPAUTLA, MEXICO

gardens in which the plants and flowers were all of the precious metals. Tall stalks of corn stood high in the bright mountain air, but the stalks were of silver and the ears and tassels of the corn were gold.

3. Yucatan. Passing from Peru to Yucatan we find there the empty city of Uxmal. The people have been destroyed. Their treasures were long ago carried off by Spanish conquerors. The city, left desolate, has been taken possession of by the tropical forest. In this forest, the modern explorer of Uxmal finds himself among stone pyramids on which seeds have lodged and grown into trees. Among the trunks, on the

walls of shattered temples, appear strange carvings. The twilight of the forest is filled with these ancient images which were once the gods of Yucatan.

**4. Mexico.** More splendid, probably, than either Cuzco or Uxmal was the capital of a strange and terrible people that inhabited the mountain country known to-day as Mexico. Built upon a group of islands, the ancient capital of the Mexicans was the American Venice. Like Cuzco it was barbarically rich in gold and silver. Like Uxmal it had its pyramid temples. In the midst of its blue lake, surrounded by mountains that were crowned by perpetual snow, the Mexican city glittered like an enormous jewel.

However, we cannot think of ancient Peruvians and ancient Mexicans as civilized peoples in the sense in which we think of ancient Greeks and Romans. In the science of government they never advanced beyond comparatively primitive stages. In religion, the Mexicans, at least, were still upon the lowest level, worshipping hideous gods with human sacrifices.

**5. The Indians.** The red Indians of our own country are still to be accounted for. Were they related to the Mexicans? Perhaps, but we are not quite sure. All we can assert positively is that the central part of North America was once occupied by a tall, well-built race, with straight black hair and copper-colored skins. They were bold, could endure much pain, and were able warriors, but they had little of what we mean by "civilization." That is, they did not build cities; they supported themselves largely by hunting; they knew little about the use of metal; and they could not write.

How long the Indians have lived in America it is impossible to say. Very likely their remote ancestors came from Asia, but if that is the case, the migration took place so long ago that the Indians themselves have lost all knowledge of it. Nor is the memory of it preserved in Asiatic tradition. Nevertheless, the Aleutian Islands, strung along between Alaska and Siberia, may well have been the stepping-stones by means of which some old Asiatic people, thousands of years

ago, passed from Asia to America. Possibly the forefathers of our Indians were driven northward out of middle Asia by some younger, more powerful people into the snow and ice of Siberia. Expelled from habitable Asia, they were left to live or die apart in a land which no one visited. If in the course of time they found their way eastward and southward and at last reached a better country, no one in Asia either knew or cared. So, for many centuries, all Asia believed that the Pacific Ocean was the end of things. Looking out across it, Asiatics thought, "Beyond this there is nothing."

**6. Europe and America.** The Europeans at the other end of the world had a similar delusion. In those far-off days, when the earth was supposed to be flat, they looked westward over the Atlantic Ocean and said, "There is nothing beyond."

And all the while, without ever suspecting it, the Europeans and the Asiatics were looking in each other's direction, round the curve of the earth's ball. Between them all the while lay the unknown land, America, with its savage, red-skinned warriors, its bestial human sacrifices, and its golden temple of the sun.

## II. THE SEARCH FOR AMERICA

**7. First Link with Europe.** The earliest known events which connect the Old World with the New took place toward the end of the ninth century. To the far western island of Iceland, in 874, came the Vikings from Norway.

All the west coast of Norway is cut into by the sea. Long, narrow channels go deep into the land. The tide, as it rises, roars through these channels, and the waves crash upon the bases of lofty mountains. There, more than a thousand years ago, lived the Vikings—restless, piratical folk who issued from their bleak inlets to rove the seas in search of adventure. The most daring of sailors, they braved the worst storms in a type of boat which we should not consider seaworthy. A viking "ship" was but sixty or seventy feet long, with a single mast and one square sail, and oars on either side. In such

boats the Norsemen went as far east as Constantinople; while in the west they did what we shall now hear.

**8. Settlement of Iceland and Greenland.** In Iceland the Norsemen settled a new Norway, where the descendants of the Vikings live to this day.

A hundred years later, a famous sea rover, Eric the Red, made his way to Greenland. The news of his discovery caused great excitement in Iceland; and in 985 Eric sailed for Greenland a second time at the head of a numerous party of emigrants.

Few spots on our continent appeal so powerfully to the imagination as does a little piece of meadow land, at



A NORSE SHIP

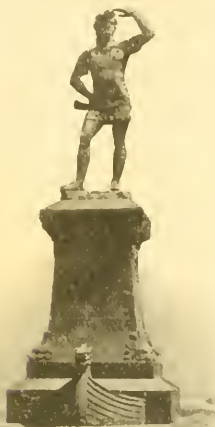
the head of an inlet on the west coast of Greenland. There Eric fixed his colony, the first European settlement in North America. The site of it is still marked by a group of ruins.

**9. Vinland.** It would seem that there was a considerable migration from Iceland to Greenland. Presently the Norse began to wonder what, if anything, lay to the south and west. There are different tales as to who was the first European to reach continental America, but that honor is generally accorded to Leif Ericson, one of the sons of Eric the Red. We may take it as settled that Leif reached the mainland of North America about the year 1000. He cruised along the coast, entered a great bay, found grapes growing wild, and therefore called the country Vinland.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not certainly known just what part of the coast Leif visited. Many students are convinced that his great bay was Boston harbor. There is a monument to Leif in the Fenway Park, Boston.



**10. The Norsemen in Vinland.** The Norsemen attempted to plant a colony in Vinland. We have record of at least one man who was born there, a certain Snorre, from whom many



LEIF ERICSON STATUE, BOSTON

persons in later years claimed descent. The very beginning of the struggle between the white and red races to possess America was a skirmish between Norsemen and Indians, in which the Norse leader was shot dead by an Indian arrow. Soon afterward a fierce attack by Indians drove the Norsemen to their ships. That was the end of the colony, but the Greenlanders did not forget what Leif had found, and long afterward they were still making voyages to Vinland for timber. In time even these

ceased. During many generations there seem to have been no Europeans west of Greenland.

### III. THE ITALIAN EXPLORERS

**11. The Vinland Tradition.** In the countries of the far North people continued to talk of Vinland. In Iceland the story of it was set down as part of Norse history. It was carried eastward to the Orkney Islands. Two Italians of noble birth, the brothers Nicola and Antonio Zeno, heard the story while visiting the Orkneys and resolved to explore the West. The narrative left us by the Zenos tells of a visit to a great island in the West; of long wanderings in sea fog; of a western country which has not been identified; and of exploring the coasts of Greenland. That is all we know of the earliest visit of the Italians to North America.



**12. The Renaissance and Exploration.** However, the time had come when Italians were to outdo all other peoples in making voyages and discoveries. Italy was then in the midst of that great awakening which we call the Renaissance. After a long neglect of thought, Europe rediscovered the delight of it, chiefly through rediscovering the classic writers of Greece and Rome. One of the signs of the time was a passion for knowledge; another was the spirit of adventure. Thus



THE KNOWN WORLD IN 1492

arose the Italian enthusiasm for travel, which the Zenos were by no means the first to feel. Long before, Marco Polo had set his countrymen a famous example. Lured eastward by the tales of Arab traders, he made his way through Persia, across India, to China. His reports of the wonders of those countries — the silks, the spices, the gold and precious stones, the temples and palaces — opened to his countrymen a vision of magnificence which captivated their imagination.

**13. The Problem of India.** Trade between Italy and India had long been carried on by the Arabs over caravan routes through western Asia. In the fifteenth century, however,

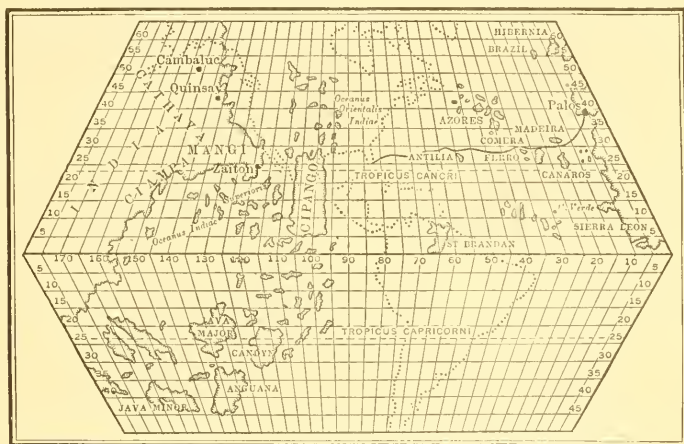
the Turks, rude soldiers who despised commerce, conquered most of the Arabian world. They even entered Europe and in 1453 fixed their capital at Constantinople. By these Turkish conquests overland trade between Europe and India was practically abolished. Thereupon, throughout Italy the question was eagerly discussed: How can trade with India be recovered?

At this juncture the scientists of Italy came to the assistance of the traders. They had long since convinced themselves that the earth is not flat and stationary, as their fathers had supposed, but a great ball whirling on a vast orbit around the sun. At Florence, in 1470, the famed astronomer, Toscanelli, calculated the circumference of the earth and got it almost right. Thus was revealed the fact that any spot on the earth may be reached round the earth's circle, either by going east or by going west.

**14. Columbus.** Who first suggested that India might be reached by going west we do not know. Perhaps it was Toscanelli. Perhaps it was a still more celebrated Italian, a sailor of Genoa, Christopher Columbus. Perhaps it was some one whose name has been forgotten. At any rate, in the year 1474 the king of Portugal was consulting Toscanelli — “taking expert advice,” as we should say to-day — for a full statement of his views on the subject. The great Columbus was then in the employ of Portugal. It is not unlikely, therefore, that it was Columbus who suggested to the king to write to Toscanelli, and that the astronomer merely passed judgment on the scheme of the sailor. But it is certain that he approved. Letters passed between him and Columbus, and the astronomer sent the sailor a map, together with calculations of the probable position of India on the globe of the earth.

What did we say about the European and the Asiatic looking in each other's direction round the earth's ball, and never suspecting the unknown land, America, in between? Of course neither Columbus nor Toscanelli dreamed of such

a place. Their information as to the distance overland through Asia to India was vague. The best they could do was to take the circumference of the earth as calculated by Toscanelli, subtract from it what they believed to be the distance eastward to India, and conclude that the remainder was the distance westward. This they did. The result persuaded both men that the most advantageous commercial route to India lay directly west across the Atlantic Ocean.



THE TOSCANELLI MAP

The outline of the Western Continent is in black dots, showing its actual position.  
The black line shows the voyage of Columbus.

**15. The African Route.** But there was a rival opinion. Others held that if they could find a way southeastward round Africa, it would prove to be much shorter than the westward way advocated by Columbus and Toscanelli. After wavering some time, the king of Portugal turned against Columbus and adopted the opposite view. Columbus, in disgust, left the country and went to Spain. There, in 1487, he had news that troubled him. Until then many people had believed that Africa extended to the South Pole. The news which startled Columbus was the discovery by Bartholomew

Diaz, a Portuguese, of the Cape of Good Hope. This meant that Africa did not extend to the Pole, that to the south of it was an open sea road to India.

**16. The Appeals of Columbus.** Columbus saw that he must be up and doing. Presently, if he did not contrive to prove his own theory, all Europe would be sending ships southeastward round the Cape to India, and no one would be willing to risk the cost of an expedition due west. He now set to work to canvass the states of Europe for financial backing. For four years he sought it in vain. Portugal, Spain, France, England, were all too busy to give heed to him. In 1492 for the second time Columbus appealed to Spain. Some great men in Spain who had become interested in Columbus enlisted on his behalf the sympathies of the queen, Isabella of Castile. His scheme was presented to her as the means to a great campaign of foreign missions. As such the good queen became interested in it. Finally, she agreed to supply Columbus with the ships and men for which he asked.

**17. The Voyage of Columbus.** On the third of August, 1492, from Palos in Spain Columbus set sail. He had three ships, the *Nina*, the *Pinta*, and the *Santa Maria*. They were no bigger than fishing smacks of to-day, and on board them all were but ninety men.

From Palos they sailed to the Canary Islands, the most westerly land then known to Europeans. Five weeks after their departure from Palos, they left the Canaries and stood boldly forth upon an unknown sea. For thirty-three days they were out of sight of land. The sailors became mutinous and Columbus had great difficulty in keeping them from turning back. At length, on the morning of Friday, October 12, 1492, land was sighted.

Columbus, writing of his discovery, says, "I gave (it) the name of San Salvador, in commemoration of his Divine Majesty who has wonderfully granted all this. The Indians call it Guanaham."



COLUMBUS APPEALING TO ISABELLA

After the painting by Brozik in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York





## IV. THE RUSH TO THE NEW WORLD

**18. The Indies.** Though Columbus had found a new world he had no comprehension of what he had done. In his own eyes he had merely visited islands off the coast of India. He therefore named his discoveries, "the Indies." We know to-day that he had visited the Bahama Islands and cruised along the shores of Cuba and Hayti. Curiously enough,



THE LENOX GLOBE (1510) SHOWING THE NEW WORLD AS AN ISLAND OFF THE COAST OF ASIA

it is not known with certainty which island it was that he saw first and named San Salvador. Probably it was what we now call Watling Island.

**19. America and the Fortune Hunters.** The news brought home by Columbus made an immense sensation. At once bold adventurers turned westward to make their fortunes. Every needy gentleman of Spain began to dream of golden cities waiting to be plundered by Europeans. There followed

a succession of exploits, so daring that they take away one's breath, and so fruitful in plunder that the Spaniards passed, at one step, from the poorest to the richest of European peoples.

Columbus himself did not share in this vast but ill-gotten wealth. Though he made three more voyages, he never found the way to the rich parts of America. He died in 1506, poor and disappointed, unaware that his "Indies" were not a part of Asia.

Soon, however, the Spaniards began to find what they sought. Hernando Cortez made his way into the heart of the Mexican dominions, fought a terrible battle among the canals of the capital, and established there the authority of the king of Spain. Peru was found and conquered by Francisco Pizarro. Many others, scarcely less audacious, followed the lead of these two. Before long all the temples and palaces of Mexico, Yucatan, and Peru had been stripped of their gold and silver by the Spaniards. The native Americans, overawed by the steel-clad Europeans, were driven to work their own mines for the benefit of the strangers. So hard were they driven that they died in great numbers, and negro slaves were brought from Africa to take their places. Meanwhile, from Mexico, Central America, Peru, year after year, ships laden with gold and silver went across the sea to the king of Spain. The riches they bore were too vast for us to form any just estimate of them.

**20. Significance of the New World.** From the day Columbus returned to Palos, America has been a prime factor in European politics. From the very start it was looked upon by Europe as a vast reservoir of wealth. Before long the most vigorous European races were competing with each other for the control of America. Spain and Portugal instantly became rivals in this new field of speculation; but soon France, England, and, a little later, Holland boldly demanded a share in the New World. During the hundred years following the voyage of Columbus there was no more vital issue before



the world than this: Shall Spain be allowed to keep the whole of America, or shall other nations be allowed a share of the immense treasure contained in the New World?

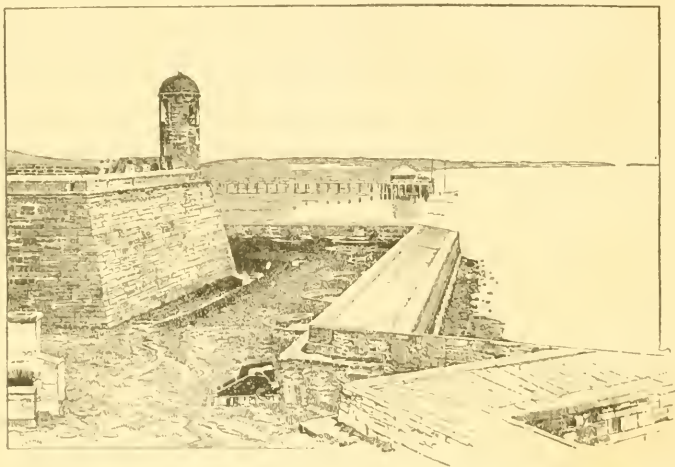
**21. Spain and Portugal.** A contest between the Spaniards and Portugese in America was prevented by Pope Alexander VI, who decreed that the whole world, for purposes of colonization, should be divided into two hemispheres separated by a north and south line through the Atlantic Ocean. Spain was to colonize the western hemisphere; Portugal, the eastern. Later<sup>1</sup> it was decided that the line should run "from pole to pole, three hundred and seventy leagues west from the Cape Verde Islands." Brazil was afterward allotted to Portugal because it was found to extend east of the dividing line.

**22. England follows Spain.** The success of Spain in America roused the English king, Henry VII. In 1497 he sent out John Cabot, a Venetian, "to discover any heathen regions which up to this time have remained unknown to Christians." Cabot came home the next year and reported that he had reached the "territory of the Grand Chan" and that it was seven hundred leagues west of England. He doubtless touched North America, and, like Columbus, thought he had reached Asia. His son, Sebastian, is supposed to have made a second voyage westward and to have explored the American coast as far south as Virginia; but of this second voyage of the Cabots we know little with certainty. Whatever the Cabots discovered, England was not yet ready to take possession of it, and therefore their discoveries were not followed up.

**23. France enters the New World.** France also made a prompt attempt to compete with Spain. Her first explorer was an Italian, Verrazano, who probably sailed along the same coast explored by the Cabots. It is generally thought that he entered New York harbor. But the first great achievement of the French in the West was the discovery of the St. Lawrence River by Jacques Cartier in 1535.

<sup>1</sup> By the Treaty of Tordesillas between Spain and Portugal, 1494.

**24. The Struggle among the Nations.** The inevitable warfare among the nations over America began in 1565. A party of Frenchmen had formed a settlement on the St. Johns River in Florida. Almost at the same time the conquest of Florida was undertaken by a Spaniard, Pedro Menendez, who in 1565 founded the city of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> Thence he marched against the French on the St. Johns. Taking them

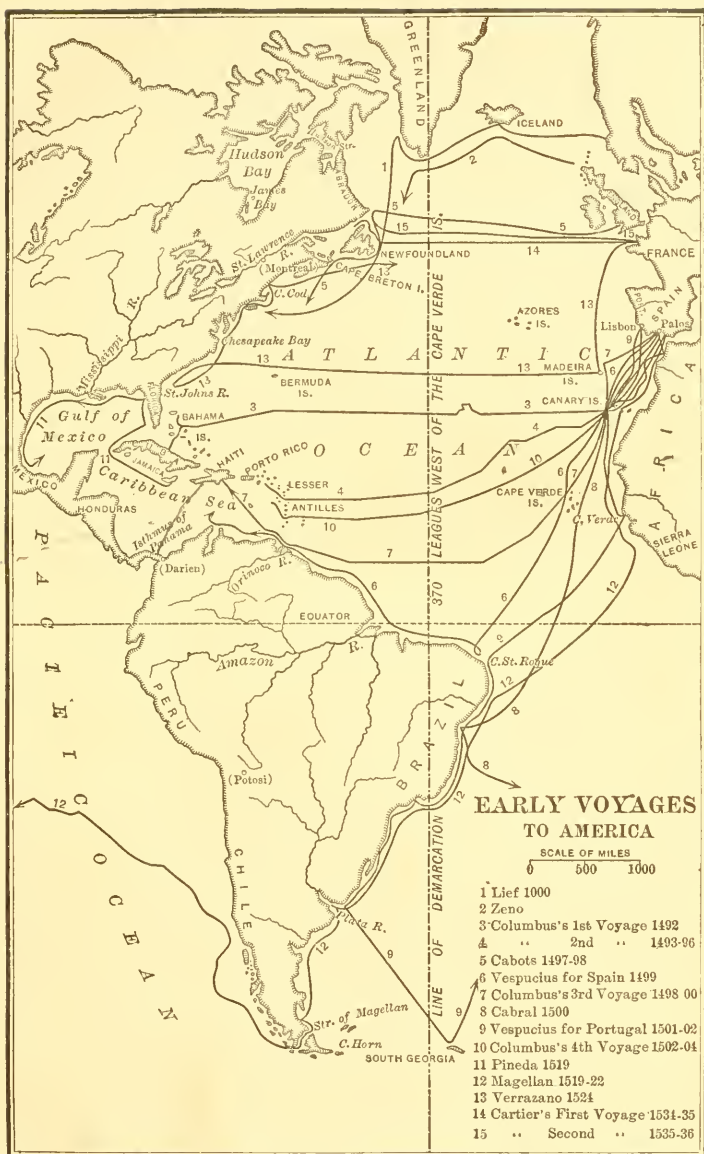


SPANISH FORT, ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

by surprise, Menendez killed every man and boy over fifteen years of age, except a few who escaped to the surrounding forest. That was the end of French settlement in the South.

**25. The Fury of the Conquest.** That savage butchery near St. Augustine struck the keynote of the struggle among the nations for the New World. It was war to the knife.

<sup>1</sup> St. Augustine, Florida, is the oldest city within the limits of the present United States, but a number of places, now part of our country, were visited by Spaniards during the sixteenth century. As early as 1513 Ponce de Leon visited Florida. The Gulf coast was explored by Pineda in 1519. The Mississippi was partially explored by Ferdinand de Soto in 1541. The town of Santa Fe was founded as early as 1605, possibly much earlier. There were also expeditions along the coast of California and as far north as Puget Sound.



Never was Europe more fiercely divided than in the latter part of the sixteenth century ; never have the nations struggled more cruelly to destroy each other. And never have men been animated by such vehement and contradictory motives. It was an age of religious wars, when faith, patriotism, speculation, licentiousness, all clashed, sometimes in the same individual, with terrible results. Our present standards of right and wrong seem hardly to apply to the sixteenth century. Through all that turmoil of desperate competition emerged the ruthless warfare of two great nations to possess America.

**26. France loses her Chance.** It might be expected, from what has been said of Florida, that the chief rivals for America would be France and Spain. But such was not the case. France, at a crisis in her career when an American empire was within her grasp, was rendered impotent by civil war, long, desperate, and exhausting. The people who now rushed into the field for a duel to the death with Spain were the English.

## V. SPAIN AND ENGLAND

**27. England enters the Field.** The English took up the matter in earnest in 1566. A charter was granted by Parliament to Sir Humphrey Gilbert and others, who were to form a company to trade with India. The aim of Gilbert was to find a "northwest passage" round America through the Arctic Sea. By this time people had formed fairly correct ideas about the geography of the New World.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1513 Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and discovered the Pacific Ocean. Somewhat later the famous navigator Magellan set out on a voyage which ended in the first complete circumnavigation of the globe. The old notion that

<sup>1</sup> The name "America" was adopted gradually. It is derived from Americus Vesputius, a Venetian geographer, who made several voyages in the service of Spain and Portugal between the years 1499 and 1507. His writings made an impression, and in 1507 an Alsatian geographer coined the word "Amerige," that is, the land of Americus, or America. At first the word was applied only to the eastern part of South America. Gradually it came to have the significance it has to-day

America was part of Asia was now done away with. Therefore the English dreamed of finding the "northwest passage" to India. For a while, however, nothing came of the plans of Gilbert.

**28. Sir John Hawkins.** A typical Englishman of that day was Sir John Hawkins. In him the strange contradictions of his time were incarnate. Though he doubtless considered himself a good Christian, he combined in one business slave-trading, smuggling, and piracy. The slaves he kidnaped in Africa. But the only market for slaves was in the West

Nūc ꝛo & he partes sunt latius lustratæ/ & alia quarta pars per Americū Vesputiū(vt in sequenti bus audietur) inuenta est/ quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore sagacis ingenij vi ro Amerigen quasi Americi terrā / siue Americam dicendā;

Facsimile of part of the page in Martin Waldseemüller's *Cosmographiæ Introductio*, 1507,  
which contains the first printed suggestion of the name America.

Indies, whence English ships were excluded by Spanish law. To get rid of his slaves Hawkins boldly sailed into Spanish ports and sold them to whomever would buy. Naturally Hawkins was sought after by Spanish ships of war. However, the English had learned how to build better ships than the Spanish, — ships that could sail faster and were quicker in all their movements. England teemed with such men as Hawkins, men who delighted to take their lives in their hands and run great risks on the chance of enormous gain. With a good English ship and a reckless English crew, Hawkins proved too much for any Spanish force he ever met, except on one dreadful occasion. In 1568, while in the harbor of Vera Cruz, Hawkins with five English ships was surrounded by thirteen ships of Spain. The battle which followed, considered merely as gallant fighting, is one of the brilliant things in history. Though so fearfully outnumbered, the

English were not quite beaten. A great part of their force, it is true, were killed or taken prisoner, but the commander with two ships fought his way through the Spanish fleet and escaped.

**29. The Feeling between England and Spain.** Even before then hatred had been engendered between England and Spain, due partly to conflicting principles in politics and religion, partly to commercial jealousy. Subsequent to 1568

their hatred became intense.

The English accused the Spaniards of having deceived Hawkins previous to the battle at Vera Cruz by a solemn promise that he should not be molested there. They also circulated horrible stories of the tortures of the English prisoners in Spain. To all this Spain made the simple answer: These men were pirates, defying the laws of Spain within the Spanish empire. And Queen



ELIZABETH

Elizabeth, much as she sympathized with her own people, could not deny that Hawkins in Mexico was a trespasser.

**30. The Policy of Elizabeth.** Although Elizabeth could not openly take sides with Hawkins, she secretly encouraged him. Other Englishmen followed his example, and the queen, in spite of numerous protests from Spain, refused to treat them as pirates. Her motive was twofold. Being a farsighted statesman, she saw that America was the key to the future, that whoever controlled the treasures of America would play a leading part in Europe. Furthermore, England, once a first-class power,<sup>1</sup> had sunk to a secondary position. It was

<sup>1</sup> During the Middle Ages England rose to the high position of chief power in the west of Europe. Henry V, called "the Napoleon of the Middle Ages," was the mightiest sovereign of his time. Under him England was at the head of



a passion with Elizabeth and all her people to restore England to its old importance. But if they did that, Spanish ascendancy in Europe<sup>1</sup> would be threatened. They judged correctly that Spain would make every effort to prevent the return of England to a place among the great powers. Therefore they concentrated their energies in a fixed determination to undermine the strength of Spain.

**31. The Revolt of the Netherlands.** They had a great chance in 1576. In that year the Netherlands (see footnote below) seceded and formed a separate government. Relentless war was the result. The Dutch appealed to England. But Elizabeth was not quite ready for open war with Spain. She refused to become the confessed ally of the Netherlands, although in secret she sent them both money and soldiers.

**32. Sir Francis Drake.** She took a similar course for some ten years longer with regard to the Indies. While denying that she was an enemy of Spain, she shut her eyes to numerous depredations upon Spanish commerce committed by Englishmen. The most famous exploit of this

an empire. But soon after his death, from a variety of causes, her power declined, her imperial position was lost, and finally civil war — the brutal Wars of the Roses — paralyzed her strength. She relapsed into the class of the minor powers. From this position Elizabeth raised her again to the first rank.

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish kingdom had been raised to imperial position partly by accident, partly by diplomatic ability, partly by military genius. The all-important accident was the finding of America by the Spaniards when they were seeking for something else. Their chief diplomatic triumphs were two. By a marriage between the heiress of Spain and the heir of the House of Hapsburg, Spain and the Netherlands were united and Spanish influence made predominant in Germany. Carlos I, of Spain, son of the Hapsburg marriage, was chosen emperor by the German states and reigned as Charles V. Though the imperial crown was not continued in the Spanish branch of the Hapsburg family, the prestige thus acquired by Spain was not dimmed when the son of Charles became king as Philip II. Under Charles and Philip Spanish diplomacy won a second great triumph. This consisted in appropriating to Spain the position of leader and protector of all the Catholic states of Europe. The military genius of Spain had been developed in centuries of war with the Moors. It bore fruit in the renowned Spanish infantry, whose achievements on the field of battle may compare with those of the greatest military races of the world.

sort was the voyage around the world of Sir Francis Drake.<sup>1</sup> Drake had been with Hawkins at Vera Cruz, where he commanded one of the two ships that escaped. Since then he had outdone his commander in the boldness of his looting in the West Indies. He had brought home whole shiploads of gold, silver, and rich merchandise. In the year 1577, with the secret approval of the queen, but without official warrant, Drake set sail on the most famous of his voyages. What was done on that voyage makes reading that is like the "Arabian Nights." In the report of his booty we read of "thirteen chests full of royals of plate, four score pound weight of gold and six and twenty tunne of silver." This was taken from Spaniards at the mouth of the cannon. Drake's ships were so swift and so well handled that when Spanish ships were too strong for him he easily outsailed them and got away. When he was their match in cannon, he overhauled them and took all their treasure. One ship taken on its way home from the Philippines was worth a million dollars.

**33. England attempts Colonization.** This piratical record is nobly broken by the first English attempt at genuine colonization. In 1578 Sir Humphrey Gilbert made a vain endeavor to plant a colony in Newfoundland. Gilbert was a brave, high-minded gentleman, and his death in a storm that wrecked a later expedition (1583) was a loss to the world.

**34. Second English Attempt.** Gilbert's half brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, a few years later made a similar attempt. The queen gave him warrant to colonize "remote heathen and barbarous lands . . . not actually possessed by any Christian Prince." Raleigh sent out an expedition which planted a settlement, and the queen showed her interest by naming the country Virginia—for herself, the "Virgin Queen." However, Raleigh's attempt failed miserably. His

<sup>1</sup> Drake effected a landing in a harbor of the west coast of what is now the territory of the United States. Very probably that harbor was the Bay of San Francisco. See section 516.





colonists disappeared, and to this day we do not know what became of them.<sup>1</sup>

**35. War between England and Spain.** We come now to the year 1588. Philip II saw that the time had come for him to attack England. In fact, the English, now prepared for war, were thrusting it upon him. He accepted their challenge and sent against them a vast fleet, called by the Spaniards the "Invincible Armada."

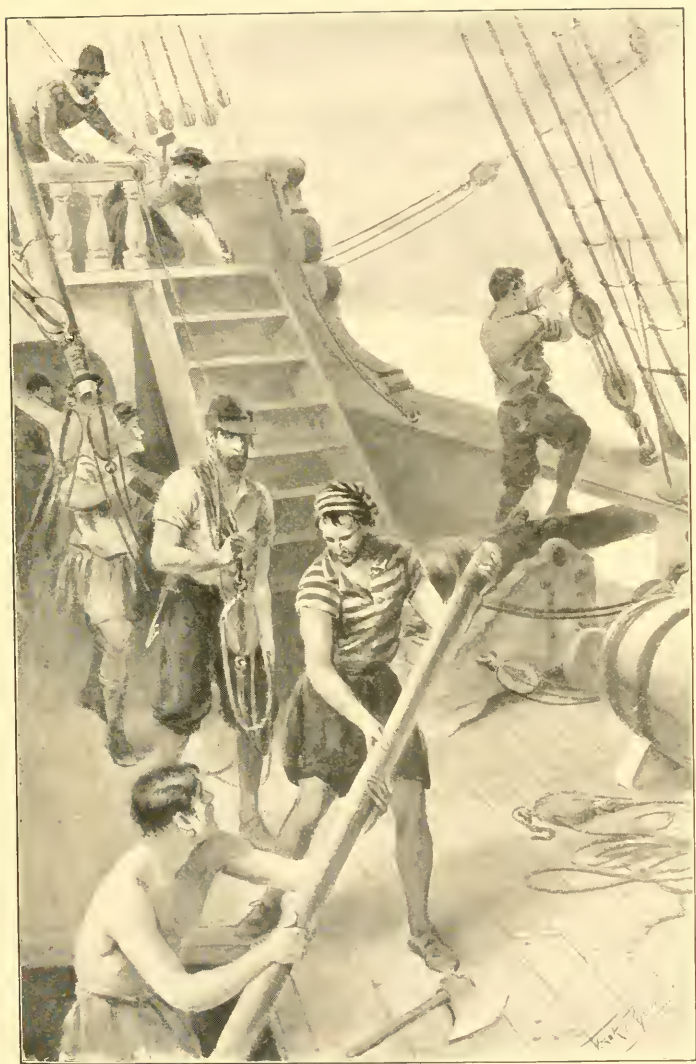
**36. England strikes a New Note.** Up to this point, the story of the struggle between England and Spain has been thronged with contradictions. Courage and duplicity, mental greatness and moral baseness, splendid faithfulness to one's friends and utter barbarity to one's enemies, these are the irreconcilable things that meet us at every turn. So sharply do they contradict each other that we know not what to say in judgment of that startling age. At last, something comes before us that is unquestionably noble in every way. At the supreme moment the Eng-



REGION OF RALEIGH'S SETTLEMENT

lish people took a stand for a new idea, destined to be the shaping principle in the formation of a New World. Hitherto the world had been shaped politically, in no small measure, by the ideas of the later Roman empire. One of these was the idea that religion should be under state control. The Spaniards in their political thinking imitated the Romans.

<sup>1</sup> The site of Raleigh's settlement is on Roanoke Island, North Carolina. He sent over three relays of colonists—in 1585, 1586, and 1587. The third was commanded by John White. It comprised one hundred and fifty people, including seventeen women. The first American child of English blood was born in this fated colony of Roanoke. She was named Virginia Dare.



DRAKE REPAIRING HIS SHIP



In their country they allowed no one to hold any religious views not authorized by the government. Abroad their diplomats had sought to make their religion a means for advancing the interests of Spain. They had skillfully undermined the influence of France and had set Spain in the place of France at the head of the Catholic world. They now attempted to use their religion as a political weapon in the attack on England. Philip II appealed to the English Catholics to look upon him, not as the invader of their country, but as the champion of their faith. Had the Catholics of England met him in that spirit, the war of 1588 would have had only political significance; but what was done by English Catholics<sup>1</sup> that year opened splendidly a new chapter in the evolution of human freedom.

Elizabeth offered the command of the English navy, the supreme responsibility for the defense of England, to a great Catholic nobleman, Charles, Lord Howard, of Effingham.<sup>2</sup> Lord Howard accepted that great trust. In the council of war which he held at Plymouth Catholics and Protestants worked side by side, all eager to resist the invaders. It was the first demonstration, on a great scale, of the principle that religion and politics should be separate. To-day, as we look back, we regard the year 1588 not merely as the point of conflict of two great races, but as the opening of a war between two ideas. The most far-reaching issue of the moment was the question whether the new states to be formed in America should be molded on the ancient despotic principle of a rigid state with a fixed standard of belief, or on the modern principle

<sup>1</sup> The word "Catholic," especially when modified by the adjective "English," has given rise to acrimonious disputes. It is used here with no doctrinal intimation, but merely as the label of a certain group of people living in 1588. It is the label which they used themselves, and which is popularly understood to-day.

<sup>2</sup> Some recent writers deny that he was a Catholic. However, even if they make good their contention, the main point is not affected. No one questions the gallant loyalty to the Crown of many powerful Catholics. See Lingard, "History of England," and "The National Dictionary of Biography" for the course taken by Lord Montague.



of an elastic state, in which belief is a personal matter, uninfluenced by the government. All subsequent history would have been different had Spain succeeded in making the latter principle dominant over North America.

**37. The Arrival of the Armada.** Spain was not destined to do this, however. In midsummer, 1588, the Invincible Armada was sighted off the southwest coast of England. It was sailing in the form of a half moon, seven miles across. Lord Howard and his fleet were then at Plymouth. With him was almost every noted seaman England had. There were Drake, Raleigh, Hawkins, and many more. It had been the business of Howard to combine all these into a great fighting force that should be too strong for Spain. Very ably had he done his work. The fleet he led forth out of Plymouth harbor was probably the finest the world had seen since the day the Greek triremes went forth against Xerxes. The battle which followed was the greatest sea fight since that of Salamis.

**38. The Battle of the Channel.** With a cool audacity that must have amazed the Spaniards, Howard allowed them to pass him. But no sooner had they done so, than he revealed his plan of battle. He meant to hang on their flanks all the way up the Channel,<sup>1</sup> and derange their formation by degrees. The English ships were smaller than the Spanish, but more numerous. They were much swifter, were better able to turn and double, and were far more skillfully handled. They might be likened to a pack of wolves attacking a herd of elephants. The wolves were as quick as thought; if an elephantine Spanish ship lumbered out of line, some of the nimble little English ships dashed in, surrounded it, forced it away from its fellows, and destroyed it. So the battle raged all the way to the Straits of Dover. Long before they reached the straits, the Spaniards were on the verge of demoralization.

<sup>1</sup> The Spaniards intended to make a landing in Flanders, take on board a great army, and then proceed to England. See Hakluyt (Everyman edition), II, 369.

**39. The Battle of the Straits.** On the night of July 28 the Armada had sought shelter in the harbor of Calais, and Howard made ready for his final attack. In the darkness of the night eight fire ships were set adrift on the rising tide, which bore them straight toward the Armada. To escape these, the Spaniards hoisted anchor and hurried out to sea. The next day the two fleets closed with each other in a struggle to the death. By nightfall the Armada was hopelessly defeated.

"We are lost," cried its commander, the Duke of Medina Sidonia. And indeed they were. That was the last great deed of the old Spanish empire. The ancient principle had lost in the duel for the New World. The modern principle had won.

*Selections from the Sources.* Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin No. 30, *American Indians*; CHARNAY, *Ancient Cities of the New World*; American History Leaflets, No. 3 (for Icelandic Sagas); MAJOR, *Select Letters of Columbus*; JAMESON, *Original Narratives of American History*; the volumes on *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, edited by OLSON and BOURNE; *The Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, edited by HODGE; and *Early English and French Voyages*, edited by BURRAGE; HART, *History told by Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 16-43; HAKLUYT, *Principal Navigations*. (At the end of the sixteenth century Richard Hakluyt brought together this great collection, which has become a classic. Every young American should taste the flavor of Elizabethan adventure, at first hand, by reading a portion of Hakluyt.)

*Secondary Accounts.* WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, II; III, 1-126; IV, 1-103; MARKHAM, *Christopher Columbus*; PRESCOTT, *The Conquest of Peru*, and *The Conquest of Mexico*; PARKMAN, *Pioneers of France in the New World*; MOTLEY, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*; CORBETT, *Sir Francis Drake*; CREIGHTON, *Sir Walter Raleigh*; FISKE, *The Discovery of America*.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Ancient American Life. 2. The Norse in America. 3. The Zeno Brothers. 4. Columbus. 5. Growth of the Idea that America was not a part of Asia. 6. The Elizabethan Sea Rovers. 7. The Spanish Empire under Philip II. 8. Raleigh's Colony.

## FIRST PERIOD (1606-1658)

### THE FOUNDATIONS OF AMERICANISM

#### CHAPTER II

##### THE BEGINNINGS OF VIRGINIA

**40. The Spanish War.** England and Spain were at war for fifteen years after the defeat of the Armada. Until the close of the war, the English made no further attempt to colonize North America, but no sooner was peace made than they began to colonize. They had a wildly false idea of the wealth of "Virginia."<sup>1</sup> In a drama<sup>2</sup> of the day, one of the characters speaks of Virginia as a place where "gold and silver are as common as copper is with us."

**41. The First Settlement.** In May, 1607, one hundred and four men<sup>3</sup> were landed from English ships on a marshy

<sup>1</sup> At first the name was applied vaguely to all that part of the Atlantic seaboard which Englishmen had explored. In 1606 the English claimed the seaboard from 34° to 45° north latitude. In that year two companies were organized under a charter of James I providing for the colonization of "that part of America commonly called Virginia." One of these companies, known as the London Company, succeeded in colonizing what we now call Virginia. Hence this company is frequently, though not with strict accuracy, called "The Virginia Company." The other, the Plymouth Company, proved unsuccessful. Each company was given permission to choose a "fit and convenient place" for its first settlement and to occupy thereabouts a region 100 miles square. The London Company was required to locate somewhere between 34° and 41°; the Plymouth Company between 38° and 45°. Thus each was allowed a "sphere of influence," as perhaps we might say, from which the other was excluded, while an intermediate area was open to both. See the admirable discussion in Osgood, "Colonies," I.

<sup>2</sup> "Eastward Hoe," by Chapman, Marston, and Ben Jonson. It was acted in the winter of 1604-1605.

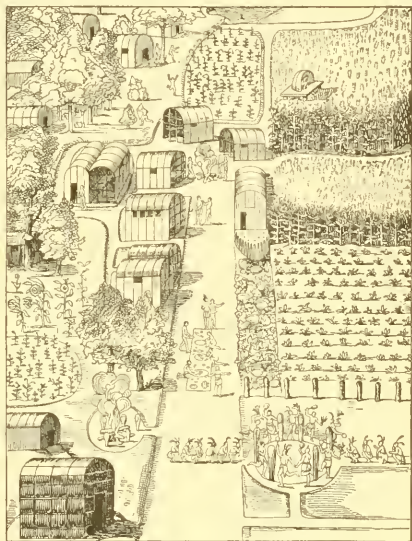
<sup>3</sup> Sent out by the London, or Virginia, Company. See note 1, above.



peninsula that juts out into the James River. There they founded Jamestown, naming it for the new king, James I, who had succeeded Elizabeth. Seldom have hopeful dreamers met with more crushing disappointment. Instead of golden cities and teeming mines like those of Mexico and Peru, they found only low stretches of alternate forest and river, millions of mosquitoes, and naked Indians, fierce, capable, and hostile. Within two weeks the Indians attacked them and they had to fight hard for their lives. The effort to secure food proved a bitter struggle, and before long fever, due to their swampy location, made its appearance.

They were sustained by the dauntless will and buoyant temperament of their commander, Captain John Smith. This remarkable man has left us an account of his adventures, among which is the famous incident of the Indian maiden

Pocahontas. Smith's narrative represents him as having been a prisoner among the Indians, who had decided to beat out his brains. But just as a powerful Indian swung up his club to make an end of the stranger, Pocahontas, the daughter of the chief of the tribe, sprang between them, threw her arms around Smith's neck, and refused to move until her father promised to spare him. This incident has become one of the few traditions of the whole American people. Perhaps



"THE TOWNE OF SECOTA"

Picture of an Indian village drawn by John White in 1585 and incorporated in a report to Sir Walter Raleigh. The original is one of a series preserved in the British Museum.

it gives us an insight into Smith's character, with some inkling of how he managed to keep up the spirits of the desperate men at Jamestown during its terrible beginning. During two years and a half, out of six hundred and thirty colonists who came over, five hundred and seventy perished. A merely stern man could not have inspired those unhappy people to keep up their dreary struggle. Reading between the lines of Smith's narrative, we seem to catch a glimpse of grim humor in the commander, of a deep, rough joyousness, of a large delight in danger, which may well have been the one ray of sunshine illuminating the darkness of early Jamestown.<sup>1</sup>

**42. The Starving Time.** The lowest ebb of the fortunes of the colony was the winter of 1609-1610. It is known as "the starving time." Smith had gone back to England, and without his powerful will to keep them at work, and his immense cheerfulness to sustain their spirits, the colonists lost heart altogether. The severity of the winter, the scarcity of food, and the attacks of the Indians drove them to despair. In the spring of 1610 there were but sixty left at Jamestown. These survivors decided to abandon the settlement. They actually went aboard ship and set sail, but before they cleared the mouth of the James River they were met by Lord Delaware with three ships bringing them ample supplies. Joyfully they faced about and went back to Jamestown.

**43. Despotism at Jamestown.** As it turned out, however, they had escaped one species of torment only to become the victims of another. To keep them in subjection there was promulgated a brutal code afterward known as "Dale's laws." As a specimen of what resulted may be cited the case of a man who stole a calf and fled to the Indians: he was sentenced to death. Speaking of Dale's laws<sup>2</sup> a noted historian says,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Osgood, "The American Colonies," I, 38-45.

<sup>2</sup> "Articles, Laws and Orders, Divine, Politique and Martial for the government of Virginia" (Force's Tracts, III). This code expressed, in part, "the stern and energetic spirit of Governor Dale" (Osgood, "Colonies," I, 69), who now became the ruler at Jamestown.

<sup>3</sup> Channing, "History," I, 183.

"The knife, the lash, the galleys, and the gallows met the offender at every turn." Furthermore the early colonists were not permitted to own land. The authorities managed the colony upon what was known as "the plantation system," which was carried out "with great rigor, the colonists working in gangs under officials acting as overseers, eating at a common table and living in common barracks."<sup>1</sup>

**44. Virginia as a Business Proposition.** It must be understood that the colonization of Virginia had been undertaken by a great commercial company in England for business reasons. As we have seen, its members had misapprehended the situation, and their venture threatened to end in total loss. About 1615 certain capitalists who controlled the Virginia Company<sup>2</sup> decided that some new move must be made to arouse fresh interest in the colony. The course adopted by them involved Virginia in the complex tangle of English politics, at which we must now glance.

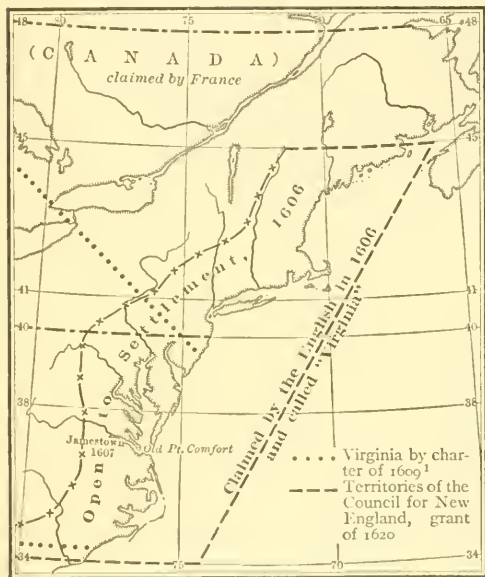
**45. The English Liberals.** In 1614 James I dissolved Parliament, which did not meet again until 1621. Previous to the dissolution, a group of broad-minded politicians had busied themselves advocating those principles of religious and political freedom which, to-day, we take for granted, but

<sup>1</sup> Osgood, "American Colonies," I, 63-64, 75. Somewhat later some of the colonists were permitted to become tenants of particular pieces of land for which they paid rent, using their labor during eleven months each year for its cultivation. The labor of the twelfth month continued to be at the service of the authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Under the charter of 1606 the king kept in his own hands the power to appoint the governing officers of the colony. The company received from him only the land and the control of trade. In 1609 the London (Virginia) Company secured a new charter which separated it entirely from the Plymouth Company and added to its other privileges the right to appoint the rulers of the colony. Under this second charter, the boundaries of the colony were enlarged, so as to include all the coast two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort "up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest." The ultimate governing body of Virginia now became the "Council" of the Company, meeting periodically in London. A third charter in 1612 confirmed and extended the privileges of the second charter. See note 2, p. 26.

which were then new. The chief of the Liberals was Sir Edwin Sandys. His close comrade was Henry, Earl of Southampton, the famous friend of Shakespeare. Nicholas Ferrar, one of the most lovable men in English history, was also of the group. They met with powerful opposition from

the king and from a strong party that believed in despotism and steadily supported James. When Parliament was dissolved, these reformers lost their field of action, and this may account for the fact that they turned at once to the business of colonization. Perhaps they thought they could best cement their party by putting its principles into practice in the organization of a colony. Be that as it may, the



EARLY ROYAL GRANTS

<sup>1</sup> (At least so the Virginia Company subsequently interpreted the grant which described their territory as extending "West and Northwest.")

English Liberals, after 1614, while Parliament was not in session, showed a marked increase of interest in Virginia.

In this fact the capitalists who controlled the Virginia Company saw their opportunity. They were headed by Sir Thomas Smith,<sup>1</sup> one of the richest men of his time, who probably devised the shrewd scheme which he and his friends now put into operation. Though totally out of sympathy

<sup>1</sup> Never to be confused with John Smith.

with the Liberals politically,<sup>1</sup> he wished to induce them to give their time and money to developing Virginia. Consequently he brought about a "deal," so to speak, by which the management of the Virginia Company was taken over by a group of Liberal politicians, and Sir Edwin Sandys became the company's chief officer.

**46. Reforms of the Liberals.** Immediately reforms began. The colonists were put on the footing of free citizens. It was made easy for them to become owners of the land they worked. Land was offered for sale in England. But perhaps the most striking detail of this revolution in the policy of the Company concerns a congregation of English Puritans<sup>2</sup> then living at Leyden in Holland. We shall hear of them later as the "Pilgrims," and may as well call them by that name throughout.

**47. Religious Freedom Begins.** In the previous chapter we beheld Englishmen, at a great crisis, forgetting their religious differences and remembering only that they were Englishmen. Unfortunately, the splendid impulse of 1588, which led Protestant and Catholic to lay aside their differences, was followed by a reaction. The older, despotic idea of state control over religion revived. When James I came to the throne, all the forces of reaction found in the new king their appropriate leader. He was narrow, self-opinionated, and obstinate. Liberals, of all persuasions, whether political or religious, he abhorred. Among other objects of his dislike was a small group of earnest people — the Pilgrims — who differed in theology from the Church of England. To escape the royal enmity they left England and found refuge in Holland. But these people longed to return to the shelter of the English flag. Thinking that there might now be a chance for them in Virginia, they applied to the Company, asking to be allowed

<sup>1</sup> During Smith's administration only members of the Church of England were tolerated in Virginia. An emigrant who could not satisfy the authorities as to his orthodoxy was flogged daily until he could.

<sup>2</sup> See section 64 for the place of the Puritans in English politics.



to settle there. Though Sandys and his associates were churchmen, they warmly took up the cause of the Pilgrims and attempted to secure for them a guarantee of freedom of worship. But they had to deal with the king. The one restriction upon the political authority of the Company was that it should enact no law contradictory of any law of England. It could not guarantee religious freedom while there was an English law restraining it. The only concession the Liberals could secure from the king was a promise that if the Pilgrims went to Virginia and kept quiet he would not, for the present at least, put the laws in operation against them. This was not much of a concession, but it was something. It had great consequences of which we shall hear presently.

**48. Virginia's Magna Charta.** What appeared at the time of far more importance to Virginia itself was a new system of government devised by the Liberals. Having abolished the despotism of the old order of things, they sent out to the officer who represented them as Governor of Virginia a famous set of Instructions. These Instructions have been called Virginia's Magna Charta. In obedience to them, Sir George Yeardley, in July, 1619, called together the first legislature of English America. There were now eleven settlements in Virginia. Each of these elected two "burgesses," and the twenty-two representatives met in the church at Jamestown. This was the opening of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which began at once to enact laws for the colony. American constitutional history began that day.

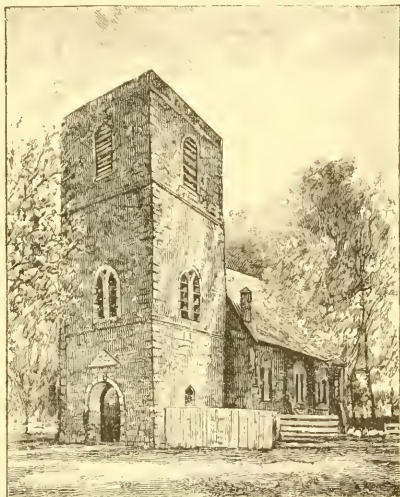
**49. The King against the Liberals.** The course of the Liberals in their management of Virginia was watched by the king with jealous eyes. He spoke of the Company as a "Seminary of Sedition," meaning that Sandys and his party were there nursing into strength revolutionary ideas. At the Company's annual election in May, 1620, when officers<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Company's organization was similar to that of a modern stock company. The shareholders elected annually a "Council" or Board of Directors, and various officers, of whom the chief was known as treasurer. Sir Thomas

were chosen for the ensuing year, James forbade the reelection of Sandys as head of the Company.<sup>1</sup> There followed negotiations between the Liberals and the king during which James is said to have exclaimed, "Choose the devil if you will, but not Sir Edwin Sandys." He consented at last to a compromise.

The Liberals retained control of the Company, but instead of Sandys they put into office Lord Southampton. Sandys, however, continued in the background to be the real director of their policy.

**50. The Political Issues of 1620.** The political battle between Liberals and Reactionaries<sup>2</sup> had now become general throughout England. The control of the Virginia Company was but one of the several issues upon which the two parties clashed. In 1620 the Liberals saw that if



OLD BRICK CHURCH, NEAR SMITHFIELD,  
VA., ERECTED IN 1632

they wished to accomplish their purpose and make Virginia a free country, they must fight for their life, politically speaking, against the king and the Reactionaries. They faced their danger and prepared for a great political struggle. At

Smith served as treasurer many years. He was succeeded by Sandys, who was succeeded by Lord Southampton.

<sup>1</sup> The king submitted a list of names, in which Sandys' name did not occur, and commanded the Company to choose its head from that list. See Osgood, "Colonies," and Fiske, "Old Virginia," to understand how a party was drawn together, both within and without the Company, for the purpose of breaking the hold of the Liberals on Virginia. The matter is set forth in great detail by Alexander Brown, "First Republic in America."

<sup>2</sup> Thus we may label the opponents of the Liberals.



this point let us leave them temporarily and pursue the fortunes of their protégés, the Pilgrims.

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHN SMITH, *General Historie*; HART, *American History told by Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 47, 48, 50, 59, 61-65, 82; MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book of American History*, for the three Virginian charters; FORCE'S *Tracts*, III, for Dale's Laws; SIR EDWIN SANDYS, *Survey of Religion in the Western World*; *The Records of the Virginia Company*, edited by S. KINGSBURY; TYLER, *Narratives of Early Virginia*.

*Secondary Accounts.* GARDINER, *History of England*, III; CHANNING, *History of the United States*, I, chaps. vi-viii; FISKE, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, Vol. I; OSGOOD, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, I, chaps. ii-iv; BEERS, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*; THWAITES, *Colonies*, 38-74; BROWN, *First Republic in America*.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Motives of the English in colonizing Virginia. 2. Constitution of the Virginia Company. 3. John Smith. 4. The Virginia Colony in 1615. 5. English Politics in 1615. 6. Sir Edwin Sandys.

## CHAPTER III

### THE COMMONWEALTH OF PLYMOUTH

**51. The Migration of the Pilgrims.** For some seventy years (1620-1691) on the shores of Massachusetts Bay there was a little commonwealth which had only a vague connection with the crown of England. This was the settlement of the Pilgrims. How it came to be there, what made it different from other places, and how it came to an end, let us now see.

As we know, the original intention of the Pilgrims was to settle in Virginia. With that end in view a party of a hundred sailed in the *Mayflower*, September, 1620. But these enthusiasts never reached Virginia. The voyage was a stormy one, and they were carried far out of their course. Early in November they were off the coast of Cape Cod, where the captain of the *Mayflower*, in spite of their protests, insisted upon landing them. Thus they found themselves adrift politically in a part of the English dominions where they had not title



THE MAYFLOWER

to so much as a foot of land and where, as yet, there was no established government nor any settlement of Englishmen.

**52. The Mayflower Compact.** Instinctively they formed a commonwealth. In the cabin of the *Mayflower*, November 11, 1620, they signed a "compact," which is the first document

of its kind known to history. By their own deliberate act a group of men bound themselves to form a "civil body politic." They were to be governed according to the simple plan of majority rule. The whole body was to vote upon all public questions. They also decided to have a governor regularly elected, and John Carver was chosen to be the first head of the commonwealth. However, they had no intention of doing anything in defiance of the English crown. In their compact they expressly stated that they were "loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James."



*After the painting by Bayes*

#### DEPARTURE OF THE MAYFLOWER

On the shore of a harbor to which the name of Plymouth had been given by earlier voyagers the Pilgrims decided to fix their settlement. There they laid out the town of Plymouth. The landing was made on or near a great boulder, known ever after as Plymouth Rock.<sup>1</sup>

**53. Status of the Commonwealth.** The surrounding country had been granted to an English company known as

<sup>1</sup> The vicinity was free from Indians. A pestilence had recently depopulated it. Soon after the coming of the Pilgrims, however, a native "king," Massasoit, visited their settlement and concluded a treaty of peace and good will.

the Council for New England.<sup>1</sup> From this organization the Pilgrims made haste to secure a patent authorizing their settlement.

However, it must be born in mind that this patent, like the one assigned them in Virginia, was merely a grant of land. It did not ratify the formation of the Plymouth commonwealth. It did not vest in the Pilgrims any powers of government. As a political organization, the Plymouth commonwealth, in the eyes of the English courts, did not exist. The king could abolish it any moment he chose. At last the time came when a king of England chose to do so, and then the commonwealth of Plymouth vanished from the map.

**54. Characteristics of Plymouth.** The little republic—for such it practically was—existed more than seventy years. During that time it was a bright spot amid so much that was dark in the history of the seventeenth century. It was a land of peace and good will.<sup>2</sup>



THE STANDISH HOUSE, DUXBURY, MASS.

The most notable figure in the history of Plymouth is probably the second governor, William Bradford, whose administration lasted thirty years. He wrote an account of the commonwealth which is one of the precious documents of

<sup>1</sup> See note 1, p. 26. That Plymouth Company created by the charter of 1606 had lately been reorganized with the title, Council for New England. See Chapter IV.

<sup>2</sup> The investigations of recent years have convinced some students that the most striking instance of toleration at Plymouth was the attitude of the Pilgrims toward the renowned captain, Miles Standish. He was one of the signers of the compact of the *Mayflower* and served thereafter as general of the commonwealth. His courage and ability contributed much to set the infant state on a firm foundation. According to a recent view, there is evidence that he was a Roman Catholic.

early American history. During Bradford's administration the men of Plymouth organized the first town meetings in America, making each town a pure democracy, and also set up a representative assembly for the whole state.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, for the Mayflower Compact; HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 97-104; BRADFORD, *History of Plymouth* (Original Narratives Series); YOUNG, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*.

*Secondary Accounts.* FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*; OSGOOD, *The American Colonies*, I, 105-119, 290-299; CHANNING, *History*, Vol. I, chap. xi; WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, Vol. III, chaps. vii-viii; GRIFFIS, *The Pilgrims in their Three Homes*; GARDINER, *History of England*, Vol. III; DOYLE, *The Puritan Colonies*; *National Dictionary of Biography*, article on Miles Standish; DEXTER, *Story of the Pilgrims*.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Separatist Movement before 1620. 2. The Pilgrim State. 3. Relations between the Pilgrims and the Indians. 4. Miles Standish. 5. Religious Toleration at Plymouth.

## CHAPTER IV

### REACTION AGAINST THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT OF VIRGINIA

**55. The Council for New England.** We now return to the political battle in England to control the Virginia Company. Those members of the Company who were opposed to the Liberal faction appear about 1620 to have given up hope of wresting its management from the Liberals. They withdrew from the Company and by way of revenge set to work to destroy it.<sup>1</sup> Some of them figured in a rival colonial organization of which we have already heard, the Council for New England.<sup>2</sup> The king granted to it all America between the fortieth and forty-eighth parallels from the Atlantic to the Pacific.<sup>3</sup>

The purpose of the council was to organize its vast domain in a strictly aristocratic way. Many great nobles were

<sup>1</sup> Speaking of this secession of the anti-Sandys faction, the court book of the Company says, "The said Earl (of Warwick) . . . with others . . . have generally absented themselves from the Courts of the Company and . . . together with Sir Thomas Smith have also sold awaie their interest in Virginia." Kingsbury, "Records of the Virginia Company," II, 405.

<sup>2</sup> See notes, pp. 26, 36. The Plymouth Company had not prospered. In 1607, under the auspices of Chief Justice Popham, it sent out an expedition which made a settlement on the Kennebec, in what is now Maine. One severe winter so disheartened the colonists that they gave up their attempt and returned home. In 1620 occurred the reorganization of the Plymouth Company as the Council for New England. See note, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> The term "New England" was coined by Captain John Smith. In 1614, after he had given up the governorship of Virginia, he was sent out by the Plymouth Company to explore the northern coast. He made a fairly correct map of the coast line from Cape Cod to Maine. He gave Cape Ann, Charles River, and Plymouth Harbor the names they still retain. To the whole region he gave the name New England.

It should be observed that the English crown by the grant to the Council for New England advanced the northern boundary of the region claimed by it from the forty-fifth degree north latitude to the forty-eighth.



interested in the project. There were the Dukes of Buckingham, Lenox, and Hamilton; the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Arundel. The Council was to be a self-perpetuating body of forty members, constituting the supreme legislature of New England. It proposed to divide its territories into feudal principalities, to be held under the king precisely as were the great feudal estates in England and Scotland. In 1621 there was drawn up a scheme of govern-

ment which provided that "authority in all cases was to proceed from above downward."<sup>1</sup>

In furtherance of this scheme, the coast of New England was subsequently divided among the councilors. One Sunday afternoon,<sup>2</sup> at a palace in Greenwich, a map of New England was divided into sections, and lots were cast to determine which sections should be assigned to the various councilors. The Duke of Buckingham got what is now southern



SEAL OF THE COUNCIL FOR  
NEW ENGLAND

New Hampshire; the Earl of Warwick, Cape Ann; the Earl of Arundel, eastern Maine; Lord Georges, the vicinity of Boston.

**56. Contrast of the Two Movements.** Almost at the very time when these great nobles were drawing up their scheme for a government of America "from above downwards," Sir Edwin Sandys, by order of the Virginia Company, was perfecting a code of laws for their American possessions. In 1621 this code, known to-day as the "Sandys Constitution," was put in force. Its aim was exactly the opposite of that of the Council for New England. In Virginia the representatives of the people were to be the real source of authority. Though the home government retained a veto upon the acts

<sup>1</sup> Osgood, "Colonies," I, 104.

<sup>2</sup> In June, 1623.



of the Burgesses, this document<sup>1</sup> secured to the colonists a large measure of control over the colony. Thus, in that memorable year 1621, the lines were plainly drawn separating the two parties which were contending for the mastery of the West. On the one hand, a syndicate of unscrupulous capitalists, backed by a ring of powerful courtiers, formulated the reactionary conception of government in their scheme for the organization of New England as a group of feudal principalities. On the other hand, the Liberals, animated by a new principle in human affairs, were anticipating the modern conception of a state. These groups of enemies were rapidly consolidating into political parties. Each side turned to America as to fresh soil in which to plant its ideas and expand them to their fullest proportions.<sup>2</sup>



SIR EDWIN SANDYS

**57. The Great Massacre.** We must now turn our attention to a dreadful event which occurred about this time in Virginia. At the opening of 1622, the colony, as it showed upon the map, was a narrow strip, stretching inland from the sea along the James River to about the site of the present city of Richmond. Under the wise administration of the Liberals, the colony had begun to show many signs of

<sup>1</sup> It was entitled "An Ordinance for Virginia." The essential parts are reprinted in Macdonald's "Documentary Source Book."

<sup>2</sup> Parliament met again in 1621. At once the contest between the two parties began. The apparently simple matter of fishing rights off the American coast opened the struggle and aided in defining the positions of both sides. See a full discussion in Beer, "British Colonial System."

prosperity. Corn, fruit, and tobacco were grown in abundance. The culture of silkworms had been introduced. There were iron works, glass works, and salt works.

On both sides of that narrow strip of settled country were the Indians. In the past they had not always been friendly. Of late, however, good feeling appeared to have been established. Indians came and went freely in the villages of the colony, and visited the lonely farmhouses strung along the river.

There is reason to think that the Powhatan, or Great Chief, of the surrounding Indians was sufficiently far-sighted to perceive the danger to his people of the presence of the white men, and that he had long wanted a pretext on which to incite his "braves" to war. This was given early in 1622. An Indian who had killed a white man was killed by the settlers. Soon afterwards Indians in war paint burst across the boundary of the colony, all along its length, like a rising tide across a dike. Dreadful scenes followed. At many of those lonely houses a handful of settlers fought for their lives against a horde of savages. At many places the attack ended in the butchery of the defenders. In the main, however, the invasion was unsuccessful, but the colony was seriously crippled and some four hundred whites were killed.

**58. Renewal of the Attack on the Liberals.** The news of this catastrophe was made use of most unfairly by the Reactionaries. They tried to show that Virginia had been ruined by the Liberals. In this they were assisted by a certain Captain Butler, of unsavory reputation, who wrote a pamphlet on "The Unmasked Face of Our Colony in Virginia." Butler pictures Virginia as consisting chiefly of "mere salt marshes full of infectious buggs," where all sorts of misery prevailed. The Company replied with a statement which should have persuaded all fair-minded persons that Captain Butler was not to be trusted. It showed that the two thousand or more people then living in Virginia were, considering all the circumstances, getting on very well.

**59. The Virginia Commission.** However, the opportunity of the Reactionaries had come. Early in 1623 James appointed a commission, nominally to examine in full the affairs of the Virginia Company, but in reality to discover a way to destroy it. A way was found. James I had made the courts of law mere tools of the crown. On this despotic practice of the king, the commissioners based their plan. The Court of King's Bench was now to be called upon to decide whether the charters of the Company were legally valid. If, on any ground whatever, these charters could be pronounced invalid, then all the property and all the power of the Company would immediately revert to the king. In 1624 the question of the Virginia charters and the right of the Company to continue in possession of its lands and authority was taken into court.

**60. The Last Stand of the Liberals.** The Liberals knew perfectly well what this meant. The case was as good as decided beforehand. The judges would be mere mouth-pieces of the king. Thus the time had come for a full trial of strength with James. Had the new political party, the party of the Liberals, gained sufficient strength to defy the king? Sandys and Southampton made up their minds to take the desperate course. They appealed to Parliament.

In May, 1624, a petition of the Virginia Company asking for assistance in its difficulties was laid before the House of Commons. Representatives of the Company who were also members of Parliament — Sir Edwin Sandys, Nicholas Ferrar, Lord Cavendish, and Sir John Danvers — appealed to the House to take a hand in the management of Virginia. But once more the king interfered. On the ninth of the month, a letter was delivered to the House of Commons from King James. He commanded the Commons "not to trouble themselves" with this petition of the Liberals, but to leave the matter to him and his Privy Council.

The Parliament of England had not yet acquired sufficient resolution to defy the king. On the reading of his letter the Reactionaries exulted openly. The Liberals were silent and

downcast. A few muttered their discontent. But none were bold enough to propose resistance. The Virginia petition was set aside. The Company was left by Parliament at the mercy of the king.

**61. The Virginia Company Abolished.** There followed what every one knew would follow. The Court of King's Bench gave the judgment the king wished and pronounced the charters null and void. The king at once took possession of the property and of the records of the Company, appointed officers of his own to conduct its business, abolished the Sandys constitution, and commissioned the first royal governor of Virginia.

Thus we take farewell of that noble first attempt to make America free, tolerant, democratic. For the moment it had failed. But the good seed had been sown; it had taken root, and as we shall see, even royal despotism could not entirely uproot it.

*Selections from the Sources.* TYLER, *Narratives of Early Virginia*; MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, for the Ordinance of Virginia; HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 51, 66, 67; the charter of the Council for New England is reprinted by the United States government in *Charters and Constitutions*. I, 951; KINGSBURY, *The Records of the Virginia Company*.

*Secondary Accounts.* BROWN, *First Republic in America*; OSGOOD, *American Colonies*, I, chap. v, III, chap. ii; FISKE, *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, I; BRUCE, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 1-188; CHANNING, *History*, I, 143-236; DOYLE, *English Colonies in America*, I, chaps. vi-ix; BEER, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*; GARDINER, *History of England*, III.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. James I and Parliament. 2. The Tobacco Monopoly. (The revenues derived from the sale of tobacco were a source of much contention between the crown and the Virginia Company. The subject is discussed in all the larger treatises. See, especially, BEER, *Colonial System*, chaps. iv-vi.) 4. Indian war in Virginia. 5. State of the Colony in 1624. 6. English Politics in 1624.

## CHAPTER V

### MASSACHUSETTS, THE GREAT SECTARIAN STATE

**62. English America in 1625.** The Council for New England did not prosper. The great aristocrats in its membership soon tired of the venture, and very few of them took any steps to get possession of their principalities in America. During the few years immediately following the defeat of the Liberals, the active men in the Council had hard work to persuade any one to take an interest in New England. It was during this period that the Council issued a number of smaller grants which were not intended to develop principalities. Sometimes these grants contradicted each other; they were the source of much confusion in after time. At the moment, however, only one of them had important results. This was in the hands of some gentlemen of Dorchester, England, whose agents had established a fishing village out of which eventually grew the present city of Salem, in Massachusetts.<sup>1</sup>

**63. The Massachusetts Bay Company.** It was in 1628 that the Dorchester people got their grant from the Council, and the next year the king gave them a royal charter. Thus was organized the Massachusetts Bay Company.<sup>2</sup> The new

<sup>1</sup> Their fishing village on Cape Ann was founded in 1623. "For some years the Dorchester adventurers — a small company of merchants in the shire town of Dorset — had been sending vessels to catch fish off the New England coast. In 1623 these men conceived the idea of planting a small village as a fishing station, and setting up a church and a preacher therein for the spiritual consolation of the fishermen and sailors." Fiske, "Beginnings of New England," 92.

<sup>2</sup> This Company was formed upon the same model as the Virginia Company. The control of it was vested in stockholders.

The new Company was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Council for New England and became directly subject to the king. Like the Virginia Company it received both the title to the land and authority to govern the inhabitants. Its territory extended from a line three miles south of the Charles River to a line three miles north of the Merrimac, and westward to the Pacific.

Company immediately sent over John Endicott to take command at Salem and begin the work of building up a colony.

**64. The New Party in England.** By this time the Liberals in England were beginning to break up into several distinct groups, and sharp disagreements were arising among them. No one term is adequate to cover all the groups subsequent to 1629. Therefore, we shall not again speak of them as a political party. Instead we shall observe what happened to a new political party of which one division of the old Liberals formed the core.

It must always be borne in mind that the great Liberal movement of 1619 (section 48) and 1621 (section 56) was inspired by two revolutionary ideas: (1) the belief that all political power should come from the people; (2) the faith that the mind should be free, and hence that government should not meddle with religion. But as time passed these two ideas began to part company in the thoughts of many men. Large numbers of the former allies of Sandys definitely abandoned, if they ever held — which is doubtful — his belief in religious toleration as the fixed policy of the State. Many other men, who had not previously sided with him, came over to the revolutionary side on the first of the two principles, but on that only. On the second of the principles, they were as unwavering as his bitterest opponents. Thus arose a party which was revolutionary in one way, and conservative and reactionary in another. As compared with King James, they were revolutionaries; as compared with Sir Edwin Sandys, they were reactionaries.

In 1629 this party had no accepted name. In membership it was almost wholly, if not quite, Protestant. The bulk of its members were "Puritans," who favored certain radical changes in the constitution of the Church of England. A considerable portion went still further and wished to separate from the Church altogether, although, as late as 1629, very few had actually done so. Within the party were the seeds of many





THE PURITAN

By Augustus St. Gaudens. The statue is in Springfield, Mass.



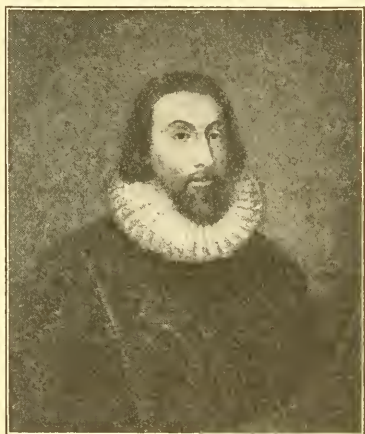
future differences, and its later history is practically the same as the history of England. One wing of it subsequently returned, practically, to the position of Sandys, and came very near putting into practice some of his best ideas. With its later fortunes, however, American history is concerned only indirectly. But with its activities in the years 1629 and 1630 Americans are most intimately concerned.

**65. The European Situation of 1629.** The year 1629 is one of the dark years of history. The bitter disagreement among the nations on the subject of religion had flamed into war. What we have seen of the readiness of Englishmen to take sides against toleration as advocated by Sandys was typical of the whole world. The time had not come when the religion of peace and good will could be much more than a beautiful hope. Even the great reform movements in religion had not as yet become movements for general religious freedom. Though these movements corrected many abuses and did much good, the bitterness aroused against the things abolished had stimulated that spirit of fanaticism which it was the dream of men like Sandys to get rid of forever. Everywhere throughout Europe a fierce reactionary spirit was sweeping both Catholics and Protestants into a passion of mutual hatred. As the natural culmination of all this uncharitableness came the dreadful 'Thirty Years' War, in which the champions of the two religions fought like wild beasts for the control of the world. It ended, fortunately, in neither getting control; but meanwhile Europe was drenched in blood.

**66. Significance to America.** The significance of all this to Americans is as follows. In 1629 the Protestant cause appeared to be losing. Those men who composed the new party in England felt that their situation was desperate. Many of them had become bitterly anti-Catholic and now they began to fear that the Catholic party would become dominant over Europe. It happened that Endicott and the others to whom the Massachusetts charter had been granted were of this extreme anti-Catholic group. In this fact others

of the party saw an opportunity. Why not arrange with their friends in the Massachusetts Company to people the colony only with members of their own party? Thus they might build up, in America, a state in which their own religion should be established by law. To this end a number of Puritans met at Cambridge, England, August 26, 1629, and formed the "Cambridge Agreement." They agreed that if the Massachusetts Company would remove its offices to the colony, they would all become members of the Company and would remove with it to America. Perhaps the chief man in this movement was John Winthrop.

**67. The Company becomes a Commonwealth.** Here was a strange turn of affairs never dreamed of by the king when he chartered the Company. When the Company accepted the "Cambridge Agreement" and elected Winthrop as its head, with intention to carry out his program, there was a great stir among the king's advisers. It was even pro-



JOHN WINTHROP

posed to forbid the removal. But the charter was specific in its grant of authority to the Company, and there was no flaw to be discovered in the terms of the grant. The Company plainly had the right to remove its offices to New England if it chose.

It did so. The system provided in the charter for managing the affairs of the Company was quietly expanded into a political system for managing a state. According to the charter the Company was to consist of "freemen" (whom we should now call "stockholders") who were to have the ultimate management of its affairs. They were to assemble periodi-

cally in a "General Court"<sup>1</sup> and elect a "governor" and a board of "assistants," or, to use the modern term, directors. The Company was to have title to all the land of Massachusetts and complete monopoly of all its trade.

A few changes served to convert this system into a political constitution. Chief of these was a change of point of view in the minds of the emigrants abolishing the recollection that the "governor" was formerly only the head of a commercial company. Each year when the "freemen" chose a "governor," they thought of him as the political head of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Similarly, they put aside the thought that their right to elect him rested on the fact that they were, in the eyes of the English law, members of a company; they substituted the thought that they were entitled to do so as citizens of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

They also gave up certain things which, in their new capacity as citizens of a commonwealth, it seemed undesirable for them to possess in common. For one thing, they abandoned the monopoly which the old company had in trade. Trade was thrown open to all members of the commonwealth, and only the regulation of it was kept in the hands of the government.

Later changes converted the "assistants" into the upper house of the legislature of the commonwealth and made the General Court a representative assembly instead of a meeting of all the freemen.

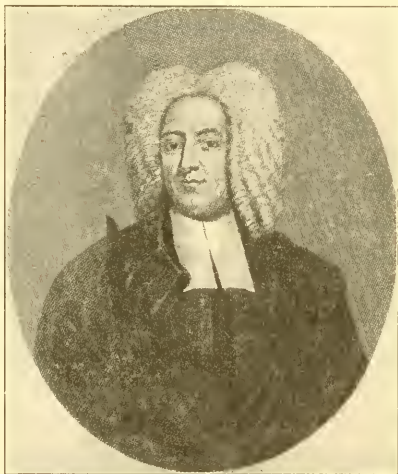
**68. The Religious Test.** However, the heart of the matter has not yet been shown. This was the question: How shall a man become a freeman of Massachusetts and thus acquire the right to vote for governor and members of the General Court? Here came in the great matter of the chief purpose of the colony. The emigrants had crossed the Atlantic to secure themselves in the practice of their own religion. To admit

<sup>1</sup> This old use of "Court" is approximately equivalent to "Assembly." In 1641 the General Court established a legal code known as the "Body of Liberties."

to voting membership in the commonwealth any one who applied might end in getting a majority opposed to the religion of the founders. Just this was what happened later in the case of the Catholic colony of Maryland, — as we shall see in the next chapter. This danger the Massachusetts Puritans sought to forestall by requiring all freemen to profess themselves members of some congregation approved by the General Court. Thus Massachusetts set up an established Puritan Church.<sup>1</sup>

**69. The Puritan Migration.** No sooner was it known in England that the Massachusetts experiment was measurably sure of success than great numbers of Puritans prepared to emigrate. So large were the numbers that their movement westward is known as the "Puritan Migration." Within ten years Massachusetts was a flourishing little state with fifteen thousand inhabitants.

**70. The Crown attacks Massachusetts.** There was now, in England, an organized party of royalists opposing systematically republican ideas. At its head stood the king, Charles I, who had succeeded his father, James, in 1625. The formation of the state of Massachusetts aroused distrust and alarm in the minds of the royalists, and there was talk of invalidating the Massachusetts charter, through the same



COTTON MATHER

One of the great figures of early New England was the famous theologian, Cotton Mather, author of the "Ecclesiastical History of New England," or, "Magnalia Christi Americana." His son, Increase Mather, is only less famous than his father.

<sup>1</sup> Advanced students could investigate with profit the conditions of colonial suffrage. For full bibliography see Root and Ames, "Syllabus," 24-37.

legal process that had proved successful in the case of Virginia (section 59). In 1634 the report came to America that the king intended to take over the government of Massachusetts and establish there the Church of England. Thereupon Boston, now a thriving little town and capital of the colony, was at once fortified, and the General Court created a military commission with authority to make war. When in 1638 the crown demanded the surrender of the Massachusetts charter, the colony refused to give it up. Thus the king and the colony stood squarely opposed. However, the king had waited too long before making his attack. The Puritan party was now too strong, on both sides of the ocean, to be overawed. With each day, opposition to the king at home was becoming more active and more outspoken. Presently (in 1640), the famous Long Parliament began its sittings and never again was Charles I in a position to molest Massachusetts.

**71. Political Significance of the Settlement of Massachusetts.** In its political significance the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was a true descendant of the Liberal movement of 1619 (section 48). It stands in history as a great victory for the first of the two principles of the earlier movement. It had bravely and successfully defied the ancient power of the crown. It had set up a republican state in which the rulers had no title to power but the will of the men who put them into office. As the first successful assertion of the republican principle against the monarchical principle by men of English race, it is one of the great events in our constitutional history.

**72. Roger Williams.** Though a stronghold of liberalism politically, Massachusetts in religion continued to be rigidly conservative. Being determined to have a strictly Puritan state, the founders of the colony made no pretense of toleration. However, a bold and independent thinker was living in their midst — Roger Williams, a clergyman, of Salem. The doctrines which Williams taught were pronounced by the authorities heretical, and Williams was banished. But Roger



Williams was the type of man that thrives upon persecution. He now resolved to put into practice the dream of his life, which was to establish a state that should abandon all religious control over its citizens. Having fled from Massachusetts and found refuge among the Indians (1636), he purchased from them a tract of land on Narragansett Bay, where he laid the foundations of Rhode Island. It is the boast of citizens of Rhode Island that theirs is the first community in the New World founded upon complete freedom of conscience.<sup>1</sup>

**73. The Antinomians.** Another persecution occurred at Boston. Among the chief men of the colony was Colonel Hutchinson, whose wife, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, is described as "of a haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit and very voluble tongue." This probably means that she was a striking and handsome woman who said what she pleased. Mrs. Hutchinson became the center of what Professor Hart has playfully called "the first woman's club in America." That is to say, she used to gather her women friends at her house and discuss the sermons of their pastor. Presently the authorities learned that Mrs. Hutchinson had formed views of her own which were at variance with theirs, and was boldly advocating them. The name "Antinomian" was applied to the lady and her followers. It signified to men of that day very much what "extreme radical" or even "anarchist" does to us.<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Hutchinson was tried for heresy, found guilty, and banished. With a number of persons who accepted her views, she withdrew to the free country of Rhode Island.

**74. A Free Country.** Thus early did little Rhode Island become a refuge for the oppressed of America. In this it had one great example. Holland had been a refuge for the op-

<sup>1</sup> Williams denied that the State had the right to prescribe a form of religion. He advocated absolute freedom of worship. He also maintained that the king had no title to the soil of America and no right to grant it to others, that "honest patents could only be procured from the Indians by purchase."

<sup>2</sup> For exact theological significance see Adams, "Three Episodes of Massachusetts History"; Osgood, "American Colonies."

pressed of Europe. What Holland had been to the Old World, Rhode Island became, in part, to the New. And it is interesting to note that the enemies of both states talked of them in the same way. In Europe, Holland had been derided as a nest of controversies where nothing had permanence,—a most unjust charge. In America, Rhode Island was described by its detractors as a state that could not be relied upon, a state that did not know its own mind. We shall see how curiously this charge figured in later events (see section 103, note).

**75. General Intolerance in America.** It would not be fair to Massachusetts to suppose that she stood alone in her principle of religious intolerance. Unfortunately, the bitter temper of the time permeated almost all communities. While Massachusetts, since the Agreement of 1629, had received only Puritans from England, Virginia had received few colonists who were not Anglicans. However, a small number of Puritans had settled in Virginia. To minister to these, three Puritan clergymen went to Virginia from Boston in 1643. Here was a crisis in the religious history of the southern colony. Had the Liberals of 1619 still been in control, the Puritans would have been welcomed. But the day of the Liberals was gone. The Puritan clergymen were ordered to leave the colony and a law enacted forbidding any clergymen but those of the Church of England to live within its boundaries.

**76. The Execution of the Quakers.** The sad story of religious persecution in America culminates in the sufferings inflicted on the Quakers. Massachusetts again showed her iron devotion to her own stern principles in the way she dealt with the Quakers. There was much in their thinking and acting that peculiarly offended the Puritans. For one thing, the Quakers preached that war was a sin; they also protested against all religious forms and ceremonies as unnecessary, if not wrong. They denied entirely the right of the state to control religion. Such people had no place in the severe



system of Massachusetts. Quakers who attempted to preach in Massachusetts were banished with a warning not to return on pain of death.

Several of the banished Quakers retreated to Rhode Island. Though Massachusetts threatened to prohibit trade with Rhode Island if it sheltered the Quakers, the bold little state refused to yield its principle of complete freedom of conscience. It was in Rhode Island in 1659 that a Quaker named Robinson received a call from God, as he believed, to go to Massachusetts and become a martyr. Three others — among them a woman, Mary Dyer, — had the same inspiration. The four, having gone to Boston, frankly declared why they had come. They were there to witness to the Lord, they said, and to defy the wicked laws of Massachusetts. On Boston Common all four were hanged. Mary Dyer was offered a pardon at the foot of the gallows, if she would promise to leave the colony. She refused life on those terms.

It is but fair to add that there seems to have been a revulsion of feeling following the executions, and though another Quaker was condemned to die, his life was spared.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, for the Massachusetts Charter; WINTHROP, *New England* (Original Narrative Series); HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 105-115, 137-140; FORCE, *Tracts*, Vols. II and III.

*Secondary Accounts.* CHANNING, *History*, I, X, XII, XIII; FISKE, *Beginning of New England*, pp. 50-198; OSGOOD, *Colonies*, I, 141-287, 332-370, III, 54-70; THWAITE, *Colonies*, 124-140; ADAMS, *Three Episodes in Massachusetts History*; EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*; *National Dictionary of Biography*, article on Roger Williams; STRAUS, *Roger Williams*; TWITCHELL, *John Winthrop*; DOYLE, *Puritan Colonies*, I, 74-112; GREENE, *Short History of Rhode Island*; GARDNER, *History of England*, III.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Puritan Party in England. 2. England and the Thirty Years' War. 3. John Winthrop. 4. Constitution of Colonial Massachusetts. 5. Religious Persecution in New England. 6. The Formation of Rhode Island. 7. The King and the Puritans.

## CHAPTER VI

### MARYLAND AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY

**77. The Grant to the Calverts.** We have seen how brave little Rhode Island became the Holland of the New World. But Rhode Island's example was not the sole foundation of religious toleration in America. That honor was shared at first with the Catholic colony of Maryland, and later with the Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, and with South Carolina.

The colony of Maryland was the work of a great Catholic noble, Cecilius Calvert, second Lord Baltimore. A faithful royalist, his colony was named Maryland after the queen, Henrietta Maria. Through the king's favor, the Calvert family was enabled to establish what so many men had dreamed of establishing — an American principality. By a grant drawn up in 1631, Lord Baltimore's father had become entitled to a large tract of land surrounding Chesapeake Bay.<sup>1</sup> He died, however, too soon to improve it; and all his rights descended to his son, the great Lord Baltimore,<sup>2</sup> who was made hereditary ruler of Maryland, with the title of "Proprietary." He was to stand to the king as did the great feudal barons of the Middle Ages. He was bound to assist the king in time of war and not to make laws in his colony

<sup>1</sup> It was bounded on the north by the 40th degree, on the east by Delaware Bay and the ocean, on the south by the Potomac and a line across the peninsula, and on the west by a meridian line drawn through the sources of the Potomac. The first Lord Baltimore died before his charter took effect (1632).

<sup>2</sup> George, first Lord Baltimore, made his first attempt at colonization in Newfoundland. It was unsuccessful. Later he persuaded the king to give him a portion of Virginia to be made into a separate province. The work accomplished by his son appears to have been planned by the father.

repugnant to the laws of England; but otherwise he was practically an independent sovereign.<sup>1</sup>

**78. Catholic Tolerance.** The Maryland charter allowed a great deal of latitude in the matter of religion. This fact gives to Maryland its distinctive position in American history, for Lord Baltimore took advantage of it to open his colony to all forms of Christianity. Thus he sought to secure for Catholics a refuge from Protestant hostility. We have already seen that a reaction against the Catholics had taken place in England (section 64) and that the feeling between the two main branches of Christianity had become intensely bitter. The English laws bore heavily upon Catholics. The feeling against them had become so harsh that an out-and-out Catholic colony would have been promptly suppressed. Therefore it seems plain that Baltimore's first motive was a religious one, and that he tolerated all religions to get free play for his own.<sup>2</sup>

**79. The Founding of Maryland.** In 1634 Baltimore sent over his first expedition to Maryland. It was composed of both Protestants and Catholics. Probably most of the Catholics were gentlemen dissatisfied with conditions in England, and most of the Protestants were their servants and retainers. There were three priests. Baltimore's instructions to his brother Leonard, the commander of the expedition and first governor of the colony, strike the keynote of his policy. Leonard Calvert was instructed to see to it that "no . . . offence be given to any of the Protestants . . . all acts of the

<sup>1</sup> The charter stated that the proprietary was to have, in his province, all the rights enjoyed in the county of Durham by the Bishop of Durham, who was feudal lord of his county with semi-independent authority. See Osgood, "Colonies," II, 4-11.

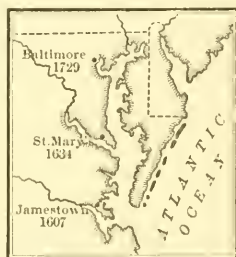
<sup>2</sup> Some writers argue against this interpretation of Baltimore's motive, holding that his real aim was simply to make himself a great prince and that his policy of toleration was but far-sighted self-interest, an astute scheme to make his colony prosper. See Denis, "Lord Baltimore's Struggle with the Jesuits," American Historical Association's Report, 1900. For the Roman Catholic view, see R. H. Clarke, *The Catholic World*, December, 1875, and October, 1883; also "American Catholic Historical Researches," V, 173-176.

Romaine Catholic Religion to be done as privately as may be . . . and that the Governor . . . treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as Justice will permit." In such a temper, on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay, just north of the mouth of the Potomac, was founded the town of St. Mary's. Mass was celebrated there, March 25, 1634.

**80. The Proprietary Type of Colony.** In the state thus founded the Proprietary had power to make war and conclude peace, to establish courts, to appoint judges, to pardon criminals, to coin money, and to grant titles.

The chief officer of the colony was the Governor appointed by the Proprietary and serving as his representative. There was also a General Assembly of the free-men of the colony.<sup>1</sup>

**81. William Claiborne.** Though expressly dedicated to peace and good will, the colony of Maryland was destined to a stormy career. At the very beginning the authority of the Calverts was challenged by a strong man from Virginia, William Claiborne. Under a royal license to trade in Chesapeake Bay he had bought from the Indians Kent Island and formed a settlement there, but this island lay within the boundaries of Maryland. Claiborne's attempt to hold it caused a long and bitter contention between himself and the Calverts, that would not have significance to-day except for two lamentable circumstances. In the spring of 1635 some of Claiborne's traders fought a small battle with the Marylanders. This was the first military engagement between English-speaking people in America. The other bad result of this affair of Kent Island was the relentless enmity to Baltimore which it engendered in Claiborne. The case was



<sup>1</sup> At first the Proprietary was to enact laws and the Assembly was to accept or reject them. Soon this relation was reversed; the Assembly enacted laws which were submitted to the Proprietary for approval.

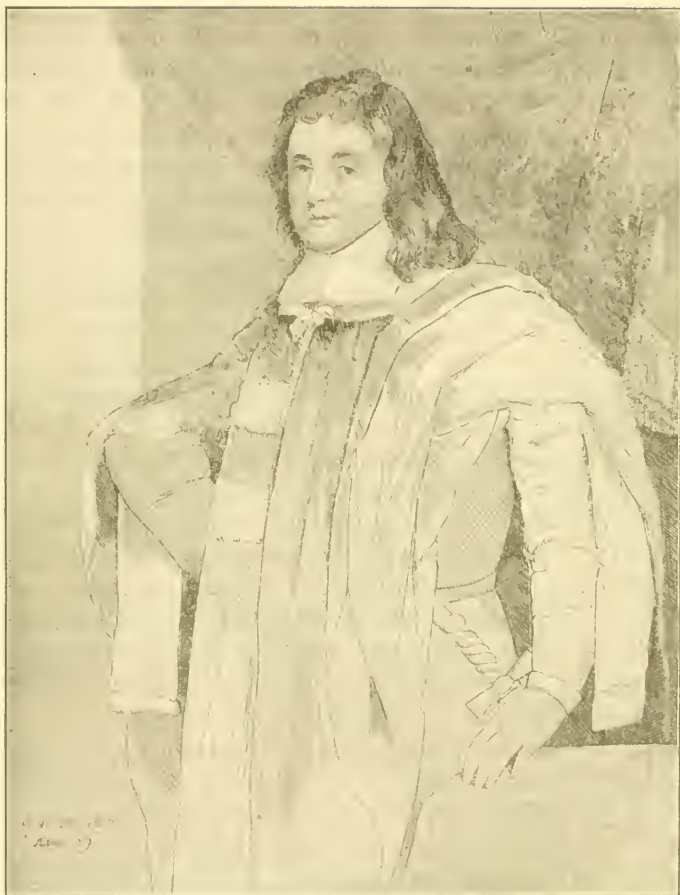
finally decided in Baltimore's favor, and Claiborne lost his title to the island. He never forgave that loss.

**82. Civil War in Maryland.** The outbreak of the Civil War in England gave Claiborne an opportunity. Since many of the subjects of Baltimore sided with the Parliament, Claiborne deemed it possible to extend the Civil War from England to Maryland. In this he had the aid of a Parliamentary adventurer, Richard Ingle. Between them they raised sufficient force to compel the governor to flee to Virginia, and themselves seized the government. There followed a sort of reign of terror. Before long, however, Marylanders of all parties were sick of the rule of Claiborne, and Governor Calvert saw his chance to recover the colony. With the aid of Governor Berkeley of Virginia he raised a small army, returned to Maryland, and carried everything before him. Both Claiborne and Ingle fled the colony (1646).

**83. A Rebellious Temper.** Though most of the Marylanders appear to have consented to the restoration of the Calvert government, they were not in a good humor with the authorities. The Assembly which met the next year drew up a list of grievances. Governor Calvert had died earlier in the year (June, 1647), and the Assembly did not deal gently with his memory. He was charged with abuse of power. Payment for the soldiers he had employed was demanded from his estate.

**84. A Great Colonial Dame.** A fine touch of greatness illumines the dark record at this point. The governor had appointed as his executrix his kinswoman, Mrs. Margaret Brent.<sup>1</sup> This brave lady took up the matter of satisfying the soldiers and succeeded in doing so after selling off the governor's cattle. The Assembly afterward wrote to Lord Balti-

<sup>1</sup> "This Mistress Margaret Brent . . . had come to the province in 1638 with her sister Mary, bringing over nine colonists, five men and four women. They took up manors, imported more settlers and managed their affairs with masculine ability. One of the two courts-baron of which the records have been discovered, was held at St. Gabriel's Manor, the estate of Mary Brent." Browne, "Maryland" (American Commonwealth Series), 64.



CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE



more that except for his kinswoman there would have been serious trouble, as the dissatisfied soldiers would listen to no one else. Still more interesting to us to-day is the demand of Mrs. Brent, as executrix of the late governor, for a seat in the Assembly. She was refused. We find from the records of the Assembly that "the said Mrs. Brent protested against all the proceedings of this Assembly unless she may be present and have a vote as aforesaid." This happened in 1648. Just ten years previous that other strong-minded lady, Mrs. Hutchinson, had been expelled from Massachusetts.

**85. The Act of Toleration.** The mutterings of discontent in Maryland, in the year 1648, were reënforced by partisan enmity toward Baltimore in England. His royalist sympathies and his Catholic faith were made much of by his enemies. Ingle was now in England and had acquired some measure of influence. Every attempt was being made to give the impression that in Maryland poor Protestants were persecuted by cruel Catholics. To meet all this misrepresentation Baltimore decided on a bold stroke. He appointed a Protestant, William Stone, governor of the colony. He also drew up and sent to the Assembly to be enacted as a law the now famous Act of Toleration of Maryland. To secure its passage by the Assembly, he wrote that if it were passed he would "then and not otherwise . . . be willing for the ease of the people there to allow the one half yearly of the tobacco customs due unto us to go to the common defense of the province."

The next year, 1649, the famous act was passed by the freemen of Maryland. It provided that no one professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be "troubled, molested, discountenanced for or in the respect of his or her religion or in the free exercise thereof"; the act further provided that none should be in "any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent."

**86. Puritans invited into Maryland.** Perhaps it was to show the sincerity of the Maryland authorities that Governor

Stone invited the Puritans of Virginia to settle in Maryland. As Virginia had forbidden them seven years earlier (section 75) to have their own ministers, many of them now removed to Maryland.

**87. Later History of the Act.** Thus Maryland took her place beside Rhode Island as a champion of the freedom of the mind. Her action was not indeed all it might have been. The great act benefited Trinitarians only and threatened death to all who denied the divinity of Christ. As John Fiske says, "A statute that threatens Unitarians with death leaves something to be desired in the way of toleration," but he adds, and all men must agree with him, "for the age when it was enacted this statute was eminently liberal, and it certainly reflects great credit upon Lord Baltimore."

The pity is that it did not remain in force forever. The troubles of the times led to another civil war in Maryland, and for a time the Puritans had the upper hand.<sup>1</sup> They repealed the Toleration Act and excluded Catholics from the protection of the law. Only through the interference of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector of England (section 101) was the authority of Baltimore restored and the Toleration Act again put in force (section 112). But even this was not the end. What the Puritans had failed to do, the Anglicans did. Through the quiet immigration of members of the Church of England, Maryland came at length to have an Anglican majority among the freemen. These were as hostile to the principle of toleration as were their Puritan neighbors. So soon as they were able to control legislation, they repealed the act and established the Church of England in Maryland (1692 — see section 152).

**88. Toleration in Maryland.** Because of the undoing of Maryland by immigrants who had found shelter under the

<sup>1</sup> The turning point was an engagement called the battle of the Severn (1655), in which the Puritans were victorious. They executed by court martial four leaders of their enemies. Throughout the period of the Commonwealth Maryland continued in an unsettled condition.

tolerant rule of the Calverts, it is incumbent on us, to-day, to remember how liberal that rule was. All lovers of fair play take comfort in the way the Catholic authorities of Maryland, in the old days, treated their Protestant fellow colonists. In 1638 a Catholic named Lewis came upon some Protestants reading a sectarian book. He burst out in angry denunciations of their religion, but he lived to repent it. Summoned before the Catholic governor and a Catholic court, he was punished because of his "speeches and unseasonable disputation on points of religion contrary to the public proclamation forbidding all such disputes." There is but one other religious case in the early trials of Maryland. In 1642 an ardent Catholic got possession of the key of the Protestant chapel of St. Mary's and refused to give it up. The Catholic officials showed him the full rigor of the law for annoying his Protestant neighbors.

The tolerant spirit thus begun could not be wholly destroyed. The free principles of old-time Maryland lived on in spite of usurpation. When, at last, the colonies became independent and Maryland had to draw up a constitution, there were incorporated in it all the guaranties of religious freedom contained in the Act of Toleration. When, still later, the American states united and adopted our present federal constitution, there was speedily incorporated in it the principle that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."



CHARLES I

**Selections from the Sources.** MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, for Maryland Charter and the Act of Toleration; HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 72-76; FORCE, Tracts, III, for the contemporary pamphlet, *Leah and Rachel*, discussing Maryland and Virginia, IV, for translation of *Relatio Itineres* of Father White, who came over in 1634; MERENES, *Alsop's Maryland*, a description of the province, published in 1666; HALL, *Narratives of Early Maryland* (Original Narrative Series).

**Secondary Accounts.** MERENES, *Maryland*; BROWNE, *Maryland* (Am. Com. Series), chaps. i, v, x; EGGLESTON, *Beginners of a Nation*, 220-265; FISKE, *Old Virginia*, I, 255-318, II, 131-173; CHANNING, *History*, I, chap. ix; OSGOOD, *Colonies*, II, 1-93, III, 112-132; TYLER, *England in America*, 118-148; BROWNE, *George Calvert and Cecilus Calvert*; *Catholic Encyclopædia*, article on Maryland.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. Avalon (the unsuccessful colony which was attempted in Newfoundland). 2. The Feudal State of Maryland. 3. The Maryland Civil Wars. 4. The Act of Toleration. 5. Maryland under the Protectorate. 6. Relations between Maryland and Virginia. 7. The Society of Jesus in Maryland.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MIDDLE OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

#### I. THE COLONIES AND THE LONG PARLIAMENT

89. **Formation of the British Empire.** Gradually during the first half of the seventeenth century an empire had come into existence. The first step was taken in 1603 when England and Scotland were united under one sovereign. Though London became at once the chief residence of the sovereign, who now styled himself "King of Great Britain," nevertheless Scotland retained her own parliament and made her own laws. We have seen how new states sprang up in America, and how the empire gradually enlarged its borders until it came to have both an eastern and a western group of states. But there was a great difference between the two groups, constitutionally. The relation of the states of the eastern group to each other and to the empire as a whole had been defined by law. Such was not the case in the West. In 1638, when Massachusetts defied the crown (section 70), it had not yet been determined just what was her relation to the rest of the empire. Was the brave little colony a part of the kingdom of England, or was she, like Scotland, a separate state of the empire? The question was of vast importance because upon it turned this other question: who was legally entitled to rule over the colonies? In the previous reign James I had maintained, as we have seen (section 60), that the colonies were his personal dominions, that the Parliament of England had no more authority over Virginia than it had over Scotland. In this way arose the great imperial question of the relation to each other of the states of the empire. We shall see, hereafter,

how that question widened slowly into a bitter enmity between East and West in the British empire.

**90. Civil War forces an Issue.** When, in 1642, news came to America that the king and the English Parliament were at war (section 82), the colonies faced a difficult problem. From the American point of view, which side was it best to take? If the king overcame the English Parliament and became the real master of the strongest state of the empire, he might easily prove a despot to all the rest. On the other hand, if England's Parliament crushed the king, it might claim to be the heir of all his former power and treat the outlying parts of the empire as mere fields of speculation for its partisans in England. A tyrant state is even a worse master than a tyrant person. Therefore the colonies had good reason to hesitate.

**91. How the Colonies Acted.** But action of some sort had to be taken. What was done differed greatly in different colonies. In Virginia Sir William Berkeley and his partisans (section 82) were able to keep that colony pretty steadily on the king's side.<sup>1</sup> Maryland, as we have seen (sections 82, 87), was more evenly divided. Rhode Island seems to have looked upon the parliamentary party as the champions of universal liberty and lightly passed over the constitutional questions which were looming upon the political horizon. Early in the war Rhode Island accepted a charter from the Long Parliament (1643) and thus appeared, at least, to commit itself to that side. The action taken by the remaining New England colonies struck a new note. To understand it, we must glance at the map of New England as it was when the war began.

**92. The Political Map of New England.** The political map of New England showed seven distinct regions. With three we are familiar — Plymouth, Massachusetts, and Rhode

<sup>1</sup> It was soon after the beginning of the war that Virginia expelled the Puritan ministers (section 75). As Puritans were generally parliamentarians, we must consider the fact in judging their expulsion.



Island. Two more lay to the northeast; two others to the southwest.

Far to the northeast there was a feeble attempt at a proprietary colony. Sir Ferdinando Gorges<sup>1</sup> had endeavored to establish a royalist colony in Maine with the Church of England as the predominant religion.

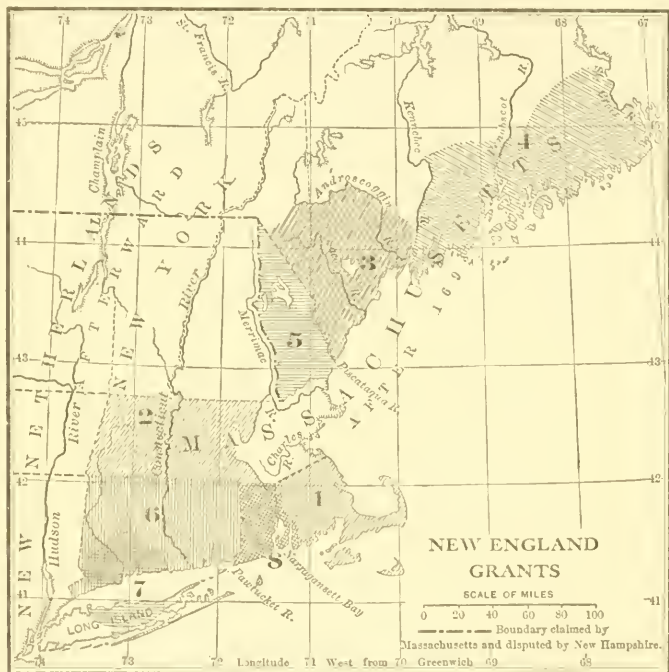
The region between Maine and Massachusetts had already taken the name of New Hampshire. Who was entitled to it was a question.<sup>2</sup> The Council for New England had given it to John Mason; perhaps they had also given it to Massachusetts. This was one of the worst instances of those conflicting grants (section 62) which made trouble for the colonists. However, the claimants of the region had done little to develop it. Meanwhile settlers had come in of their own accord and towns had sprung up. The little group of towns thus formed was coveted by their powerful neighbor, Massachusetts, that claimed the land on which they were located. One of them, Dover, had already been annexed. As to the remainder of New Hampshire, one of the problems of 1642 was, what should become of it.

**93. Connecticut.** Another English state had recently appeared upon the map. As early as 1633 the town of Windsor, in Connecticut, was founded by the men of Plymouth. Hearing what a promising region was the Connecticut Valley, emigrants from Massachusetts had removed thither in 1635-1636.

<sup>1</sup> The Plymouth Company and the Council for New England made several grants of land in the region now occupied by Maine. See Osgood, "Colonies," I, 119-127, 371-390. The royal province of Maine was created by Charles I, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges constituted Lord Proprietor, in 1639. He received the coast from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec and inland one hundred and twenty miles. In Thwaites, "Colonies," 151, is a brief summary of his system of government.

<sup>2</sup> The north line of Massachusetts was described as running three miles north of the Merrimac River. Did this mean three miles north of the mouth or three miles north of the source? If it meant the latter, a glance at the map will show that all seaboard New Hampshire had been granted to Massachusetts. Litigation over the New Hampshire territory was long carried on by the heirs of Mason. By degrees their claims were all extinguished, partly by purchase.

Their principal leader was the Reverend Thomas Hooker, a wise and far-sighted man of liberal views. In 1639 three little towns, Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, united to



1. Plymouth. 2. Region eventually occupied by Massachusetts under the later interpretation of her grant fixing the north boundary at a line three miles north of the east and west portion of the Merrimac. (The unshaded area between the Merrimac and the Charles indicates approximately the first stage of the growth of the colony.) 3. Province of Maine. 4. Region granted to the Duke of York and subsequently added to Maine. 5. Original New Hampshire. 6. Connecticut. 7. New Haven. 8. Rhode Island.

form the state of Connecticut. They adopted a constitution known as the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Connecticut became conspicuous among the strictly Puritan colonies for liberality both in religion and in politics. Much of the credit for this is generally accorded to Hooker. In temper the new colony resembled Plymouth rather than Massachusetts. See Walker, "Thomas Hooker," chaps. vi-vii.

**94. Independent Towns.** The region west of the Connecticut Valley was not occupied by any settled government, but emigrants had gone past Connecticut into what was then the Far West. They had organized towns, some on the mainland, some across the Sound on Long Island. Each of these, in 1642, was a tiny republic with no defined relation to any other government in the world. The chief of these was New Haven.<sup>1</sup>

**95. The Dutch Fort.** Last, but of great significance, was a Dutch fort. In spite of the English claim to the whole of the Atlantic coast, the Dutch had established themselves in the valley of the Hudson and in 1633 had planted an outpost on the Connecticut. That fort of "Good Hope" was a standing evidence of the desire of Holland to secure the Connecticut Valley and had an immense effect upon the imagination of the settlers. The fort was near neighbor to the town of Hartford.

**96. Changes of 1643.** The year 1643 saw marked changes in the map of New England. They were three in number. First, those more remote settlements were united into a state which took its name from its chief town, New Haven. Second, the annexation of New Hampshire to Massachusetts was completed. Third, Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed a federal union styled the "United Colonies of New England." This union led to events of profound significance in American history. They will be discussed in the second section of this chapter. What concerns us here is the relation of these states with the Long Parliament.

**97. The Parliamentary Colonial Commission.** In that same year, 1643, Parliament appointed on its own authority a "Governor in Chief" and named seventeen commissioners to assist him to "dispose all things" concerning the colonies. In other words, Parliament declared itself sovereign over the colonies in place of the king. From what we already know of colonial conditions (sections 90, 91) it should be plain that

<sup>1</sup> See Levermore, "Republic of New Haven" (Johns Hopkins Studies).

this assumption was bound to be resented in America. The southerly colonies with their royalist sympathies could not be expected to acquiesce in parliamentary rule. As events proved, the Northern colonies, though inhabited by Puritans, were equally opposed to having England's Parliament make their laws. A flood of light is thrown upon the American situation by a letter from Winthrop to friends in England who had offered to secure from Parliament any legislation Massachusetts desired. Winthrop declined their offer, "lest in . . . after times . . . hostile forces might be in control and meantime a precedent would have been established." Thus things stood as late as 1649. In that year Charles I was executed and the successful parliamentarians proclaimed England a commonwealth with themselves as its rulers. The relation of East and West in the empire was now squarely at issue. Would the Americans accept the rule of the English Parliament, or would they not?

**98. The Southern Colonies Yield.** Virginia promptly answered, No.<sup>1</sup> The eldest son of the dead king was there acclaimed as Charles II. In Maryland also, against the will of Lord Baltimore, there was a demonstration in favor of Charles II. To check this royalist movement in the South Parliament sent out a commission with a military force that speedily reduced the Southern colonies to submission.<sup>2</sup>

**99. The Situation in the North.** Among the northern colonies a different situation developed. Though the English Puritans did not want to use force against their American brethren, the Long Parliament in 1651 commanded Massa-

<sup>1</sup> It should be borne in mind that Scotland and Ireland also refused to admit the authority of the one great state, England, to administer the empire as it saw fit. Scotland promptly resumed its independence, and crowned Charles II king. It was brought back into the empire by the "push of pike." The empire was held together, during the commonwealth and the protectorate, in Europe by force, in America by diplomacy.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently the commissioners allowed the Virginia Burgesses to elect a governor. Virginia was practically a free republic during this period. See section 112 of this chapter.



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### THE LONG PARLIAMENT IN SESSION

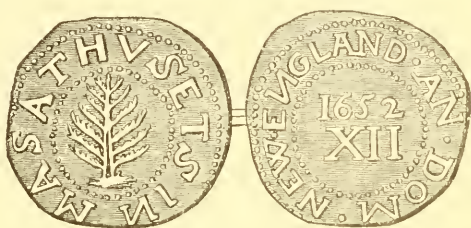
Reception of an Ambassador from the King of Spain. The costumes of Puritans and Cavaliers are well represented in this picture





chusetts to surrender its charter and take out a new one granted by Parliament. But Massachusetts had no mind to admit that the English Parliament was supreme in the empire. During more than a year the colony evaded answering. At last, a memorial was sent to Parliament setting forth that the people of Massachusetts were satisfied with their present form of government and hoped it would not be changed.

It is worth noting that at this time, in 1652, Massachusetts issued a coinage of its own. On one side of the coins were



PINE-TREE SHILLING OF MASSACHUSETTS

“Massachusetts” and a pine tree, and on the other, “New England” and the date. There is nothing on the coins to suggest that the colony was subject to England.

**100. Intentions of Massachusetts.** There is no reason to suppose that Massachusetts had any thought at this time of secession from the empire. Her aim apparently was to secure to herself the position of a free state in a group<sup>1</sup> of political equals. Constitutionally, the question of that day was: Are all the states of the empire equally free and self-governing, or is one state, because of her greater power, to be permitted to dominate the rest?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The constitutional issue of that day cannot be emphasized too much. At the moment of the execution of Charles, the empire consisted of fourteen states. In Europe, besides the petty states of Cornwall, Wales, and the Isle of Man, there were the three kingdoms, England, Scotland, and Ireland. In America were the eight colonies. Several of the states, including Scotland and most of the American ones, denied that they had ever had any sovereign except the king, and refused to admit the authority over them of any legislature except their own. From the moment of the king's death — in fact, for some time previous — one of the states of the empire, powerful England, claimed the right to a dominating position with regard to the rest.

<sup>2</sup> The men of that day did not clearly phrase the question. None the less it underlay their thought, and may truly be said to have been the basal issue of

Though the men of Massachusetts had no plan of campaign, no definite scheme for reorganizing the empire, they were determined not to yield to any one state, even mighty England, the position of dictator.

**101. The Constitutional Issue Sidetracked.** Whether they would have been able to hold their own except for the dissensions which now arose in England is doubtful, but fortune favored them. The split in the parliamentary party which led to the seizure of supreme power in England by Cromwell was their salvation. He was proclaimed Lord Protector in December, 1653. This was virtually a restoration of the kingship under a new name in a new line of descent. All the old questions of the authority of the sovereign over his subjects now revived.<sup>1</sup> But this new question of the right of one parliament to control the other parliaments temporarily disappeared.

## II. THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION

**102. The First Political Issue Strictly American.** The issues which give significance to American history previous to the outbreak of the war between king and Parliament are of world-wide significance. Free government and religious toleration were European questions before they were American ones. But with the outbreak of the English civil war, other issues appear of a different sort. One of these we have examined in the preceding section of this chapter. We turn now to another. It is the first issue which we may, in a strict sense, call "American," — that is to say, it is the first issue growing directly out of American conditions and out of nothing else. It is the question how American states may be related one with another by their voluntary action. It arose

the time in America. Winthrop boldly asserted "our allegiance binds us not to the laws of England any longer than while we live in England, for the laws of the Parliament of England reach no further." . . . For a full discussion, see Beer, "Origins of the British Colonial System."

<sup>1</sup> For a glimpse of the tact of Cromwell with regard to America, see this chapter, section 112.

through the relations of Massachusetts to the other three states which formed with it the "United Colonies."

**103. The First Confederation in America.** We have seen that the confederation of the "United Colonies" was effected in 1643 (section 96). Fear of the Dutch and fear of the Indians were the chief causes that led the four colonies to unite. This earliest American confederation was formed for the purpose of creating out of four<sup>1</sup> distinct states a combined power that might provide for each a degree of protection it could not provide for itself.

**104. The Dutch Peril.** There was good reason for the colonies to fear the Dutch. Though the crown of England still claimed all the Atlantic coast from Canada to Florida, that claim had not been made good. Dutchmen, led by Henry Hudson, in 1609, had explored the Hudson River. The Dutch had later occupied Manhattan Island and settled the town of New Amsterdam. Going up the Hudson, they had settled Fort Orange, which is now Albany. Between these two points along the great river they had established feudal estates under hereditary lords called "patroons." Turning eastward from Manhattan, they formed settlements on Long Island, and, in 1633, built the Fort of Good Hope on the Connecticut River (section 95). Holland had lately become a great commercial power, and the relations of England and Holland under the Stuart kings were seldom friendly. From the moment the New Englanders knew of that Dutch fort on the Connecticut they began to dread a Dutch invasion. The grounds for alarm increased as the New Englanders moved down into the lower valley of the river (section 93). That movement also brought them into hostile contact with the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> Rhode Island and Maine were not admitted to the Union, for religious reasons. Maine was Anglican, Rhode Island was accused of being unreliable (section 74). It was offered membership in the Union, if it would consent to be annexed to an orthodox and "stable" colony, — either Massachusetts or Plymouth. Needless to say, Rhode Island declined.

**105. The Pequot War.** The western movement into the valley of the Connecticut was interrupted in 1637 by a brief but bloody war with the Pequot tribe. Whether the Dutch had any hand in stirring up the Pequots to resist the advance of the English, we cannot say. But certain it is that the Pequots made a stand against the newcomers. The English, however, were able to persuade the Narragansett tribe to take sides with them. Together, a force of English and Narragansetts attacked the Pequots, who occupied an entrenched camp not far from the present site of Stonington. The camp was carried by storm, and its occupants were massacred. This one bold stroke ended the war.

**106. The Problem of Confederation.** From this time forward New England was constantly on the lookout for signs of an alliance between the Dutch and the Indians. Thus there was good reason for the four colonies to unite in a league of mutual protection. But how the league was to be made satisfactory to all concerned was a knotty problem. To illustrate: Massachusetts had fifteen thousand inhabitants; Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven together had only nine thousand. If war broke out, what part of the army of the United Colonies should be raised by Massachusetts? The natural answer would seem to be that the number of men furnished by Massachusetts should be to the number furnished by the other colonies in the ratio of 15 to 9. But was such a plan to be followed throughout? In a council of war, should Massachusetts have fifteen votes and only nine be allowed to the rest of the colonies? This would appear to be logical, but it would amount to giving Massachusetts control of the league. Much as the three smaller colonies desired union, they were resolved not to become the play-things of their stronger neighbor.

**107. Constitution of the United Colonies.** This attitude of the lesser members determined the main feature of the government of the United Colonies. Each member was allowed an equal share in it. A board of federal commissioners was

established, two from each colony, and these eight men formed the miniature congress of the little confederacy. Any measure approved by six of the eight was binding on all the United Colonies. The commissioners had general supervision of all matters in which the whole group of colonies had a common interest: such as their relations with the Dutch and the Indians, and the recapture of criminals or indentured servants<sup>1</sup> who had fled from one colony to another. In case of war, the expenses were to be divided among the colonies in proportion to the number of their male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

**108. First Instance of Nullification.** For some twenty years the government of the United Colonies was a real power in America. Later it lost influence and in time was abolished.<sup>2</sup> Only one episode in its history is here worth mention. This occurred in 1653 when the dread of a Dutch invasion reached its height. England and Holland had gone to war and in New England a rumor got abroad that the Dutch and Indians together were planning a general massacre of the settlers on the Connecticut. Many people, especially in the western settlements, began clamoring for an attack upon the Dutch. They wanted to strike before their enemies were prepared. Even the federal commissioners caught the alarm and voted to attack the Dutch. But the Massachusetts General Court flatly refused to concur. Says one of the chief authorities on those times: "It declared that under the Articles of Confederation (which were the constitution of the union) the general courts were . . . at liberty to act in every case according to their consciences" which, Professor Channing continues, "was a Seventeenth Century way of

<sup>1</sup> The legislation on the return of servants anticipates the fugitive slave laws of a later age. An "indentured" servant was one bound by contract to serve a specified number of years.

<sup>2</sup> It lost influence from the moment of the Restoration. The power of the crown was used whenever possible to discredit it. But the Union did not entirely collapse until the Massachusetts charter was suppressed in 1684.

asserting what came to be called later the doctrine of nullification."<sup>1</sup>

A sharp contention followed between Massachusetts on the one hand and the federal commissioners on the other. But the men of Massachusetts would not give way. They insisted that the war scare was unnecessary, and they stubbornly refused to equip their two thirds of the confederate army. The question at last went over, undecided, to the next meeting of the commissioners. Before that meeting took place, England and Holland signed a treaty of friendship, (1654), and the fear of a Dutch invasion of New England passed away.

### III. THE COLONIES UNDER CROMWELL

**109. First Period of Pause.** The colonies mentioned hitherto were the outcome of the interest felt by Englishmen in America during the first half of the seventeenth century. That interest was very great between 1620 and 1640. After 1640 Englishmen became engrossed in their home affairs and America was neglected. Subsequent to the restoration of the Stuart monarchy (1660), interest in America revived. But for some twenty-five years following 1640 the connection between East and West in the British empire was slight. This period forms the first breathing space, so to speak, in American history.

**110. Characteristics of the Colonies.** The settled parts of the colonies were mere fringes bordering the sea and the larger rivers. Except for the hardships inevitable in frontier countries, the settlers lived as they had been accustomed to live in England. The new conditions of life in America had not as yet had any marked effect upon their characters. The great differences among them were due to peculiarities of religion, or of feeling, which had been formed in England. However,

<sup>1</sup> "History," I, 420. Professor Hart calls the action of the General Court, "the first nullification of a federal act." "Contemporaries," I, 452. See Osgood, "Colonies," I, 404-406.



their new country, with its new conditions, was destined to develop those original peculiarities into new characteristics not always to be recognized as expansions of the old. Already the colonists tended to draw together in groups that were, to an exceptional degree, of the same way of thinking. To illustrate: a member of the Church of England would natu-



EASTERN NORTH AMERICA IN 1650

rally avoid settling in Massachusetts. For such an emigrant there was a choice of four colonies: Maine and Virginia, where his religion was predominant; Rhode Island and Maryland, where it was tolerated. As the religious temper of the time was so generally exclusive, the Anglican as a rule chose one of the colonies where his own faith prevailed. Maine being a failure, Virginia became his natural goal. Similarly the

Puritan who wanted a state church of his own persuasion went to Massachusetts, or New Haven;<sup>1</sup> if somewhat more liberal, to Connecticut; if very liberal, to Plymouth. To Rhode Island went the extremists of all parties. Some Puritans, who felt that even stern Massachusetts was too lenient upon "heresy," turned bitterly away and made Rhode Island their home.<sup>2</sup> Side by side with them dwelt visionaries who advocated the abolition of all social restraints — "nihilists," we should call some of them to-day. But so long as they did not break the civil law, Rhode Island let them theorize to their hearts' content.

**111. The Rights of Englishmen in America.** None of the colonists thought of themselves as Americans. They were still Englishmen. They felt that in crossing the Atlantic they had not parted with any of the rights they had enjoyed at home. Chief among these was the right to have a legislature of their own choice. This was the great principle of representative government which the English had slowly worked out during many centuries. Their devotion to this idea was what inspired in the people of Massachusetts their refusal to acknowledge the Long Parliament. They had no representatives in that Parliament. Under the sovereign, they would have no ruler but their own elected, representative General Court. The people of Virginia differed from the New Englanders in being ardent royalists,<sup>3</sup> but were probably

<sup>1</sup> New Haven was the most severely Puritanical of all the colonies. The Bible was the basis of New Haven law.

<sup>2</sup> It was a scornful sneer of the Puritans that any one who had lost his religion would find it somewhere in Rhode Island.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequent to 1649, many English royalists removed to Virginia, thus enabling later times to think of it as "the Cavalier colony." The official agents of the colony, in 1675, made the declaration that "the Virginians are and have ever been heartily affectionate and loyal to the monarchy of England, and under that to their present government of Virginia, constituted, they humbly conceive, in imitation of it. The New Englanders have obtained the power of choosing their Governor, but the Virginians would not have that power, but desire that their governor may from time to time be appointed by the King." Randolph Ms., III, 331, quoted in "Institutional History of Virginia," P. A. Bruce, II,

quite as resolute to have their own legislature, not England's legislature, for their governing body.

**112. Cromwell and America.** Curiously enough, it was under the reign of a military dictator that the colonies were allowed the largest measure of freedom they ever had until they left the empire. It followed upon the assumption by Cromwell of sovereign power (section 101). Cromwell's difficulties at home were great. Except his army, which was devoted to him, he had but a doubtful following. Therefore, though he crushed opposition in England with a heavy hand, he was most adroit in dealing with the colonies. The last thing he wished to do was to draw off any part of his army to conquer America.

In Virginia the government established by the Parliamentary commissioners (section 98) was allowed to continue uninterrupted during the Protectorate.<sup>1</sup> Maryland was recovered by Lord Baltimore, and the civil war there (section 87) was brought to an end through Cromwell's interference. Baltimore acknowledged the Protector as his sovereign and promised not to punish the Puritans for their revolt.<sup>2</sup>

New England was treated with even greater kindness, for Cromwell wished to recruit his party among the American Puritans. With that end in view, he tried to bring about emigration from New England to Ireland and Jamaica. His efforts were not successful. But throughout his reign he refrained from interfering in the affairs of the Puritan colonies.

**113. The Navigation Act.** So it came about that during the Protectorate, the Americans were left pretty much to themselves. In one respect, indeed, Cromwell legislated for them. He maintained a navigation act, which had been passed by Parliament, during the Commonwealth (1651).

281. Many of the famous families of Virginia were founded by royalist refugees who came over subsequent to 1649.

<sup>1</sup> We should distinguish between the Commonwealth and the Protectorate as sharply as between the French Revolution and the Empire of Napoleon.

<sup>2</sup> See section 87.

This act provided that certain goods should not be imported into the colonies or exported from them, except in ships belonging "to the people of this Commonwealth or the plantations (colonies) thereof."<sup>1</sup> Here was a plain assertion that England controlled the great imperial matter of commerce. As yet, however, the colonies were glad enough to let England foster trade in any way she might, and the far-reaching implications of the act were not contested.



GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS

**114. The Empire under Cromwell.** Had Cromwell succeeded in making his power secure, there is reason for thinking that he would have shared the government of England with a free Parliament. How, in that event, the all-powerful Protector would have treated the colonies we do not know. The actual composition of the empire, while Cromwell reigned, is the thing to remember. A mighty sovereign at London allowed the

American states practically to rule themselves. Though he kept in his own hands the imperial control of commerce, he entirely swept aside the claim of the British Parliament to have authority, independent of the sovereign, over the English in America.

**NOTE.** In spite of the claims of the English kings, only a small part of the Atlantic seaboard was occupied, in 1650, by their subjects. Two other nations attempted to compete with the English. In the valley of the Hudson, the Dutch established their colony of New Netherland, to

<sup>1</sup> There were various other provisions. The act is summarized in Macdonald, "Documentary Source Book," 55, as introduction to what is usually known as the "First Navigation Act," which was established in 1660.

which reference has been made. The Swedes also wished to plant a colony in America, and their great king, Gustavus Adolphus, encouraged the project. What is known as the South Company of Sweden, modeled on the Dutch West India Company, undertook to create a Swedish colony. In 1638 Peter Minuit built Fort Christina (named for Christina, Queen of Sweden, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus) where now stands Wilmington, Delaware. The surrounding country was named New Sweden. But the colony never prospered and its life was brief. In 1655 it was conquered by the Dutch and annexed to New Netherland.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, Nos. 7 (Charter to Patroons), 9 (Fundamental Orders), 10 (Articles of New Haven), 13 (Government of New Haven), 11 (Patent of Providence Plantation, or Rhode Island), 12 (New England Confederacy); *Charters and Constitutions*, 774 (Grant of Maine to Sir Ferdinando Gorges), 1270 (Grant of New Hampshire); HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 113-131, 150-159; American History Leaflets, No. 7, for brief extracts from records of the Confederation; CROMWELL, *Letters*, IV, 74, 133 (Carlyle's edition), for Cromwell's interference in Maryland; WINTHROP, *New England*.

*Secondary Accounts.* FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, chap. iv; *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, I; CHANNING, *History*, I, XV-XIII; BEER, *British Colonial System*, chaps. xi-xiii; OSGOOD, *Colonies*, I, 301-331, 371-422, II, 95-116, 141-157, III, 105-141; DOYLE, *Puritan Colonies*, I, 149-178, 190-319, II, 116-125, 155; WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, IV, 443-448; JOHNSON, *Swedish Settlement on the Delaware*; THWAITES, *Colonies*, 51, 201, 202, 208-211, 217, 221, 222.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Geography of English America in 1650. 2. The Formation of Connecticut. 3. The Colony of New Haven. 4. The New England Confederacy. 5. The Dutch on the Hudson. 6. New Sweden. 7. The Colonies and the Long Parliament. 8. The Colonies and Cromwell.

## SECOND PERIOD (1658-1766)

### EAST AND WEST IN THE BRITISH EMPIRE

#### CHAPTER VIII

##### THE SECOND ADVANCE OF THE ENGLISH

##### I. ROYAL EXPLOITATION OF AMERICA

**115. The American Policy of Charles II.** Every king of the Stuart dynasty, sometime during his reign, tried to set up despotic government in the colonies. The most astute of these treacherous monarchs was Charles II.<sup>1</sup> Not only with a view to strengthening his own power but also for the purpose of enriching his friends, Charles stealthily schemed to make the crown irresistible in America.

Among the various measures through which Charles sought his end, stands conspicuous his treatment of New Haven. It was in that stronghold of Puritanism that two of the judges<sup>2</sup> who had condemned Charles I to death had lately found a refuge. Charles demanded their heads. As the collapse of the English Commonwealth had been followed by a violent reaction in favor of the Stuarts, Charles, in his demand for vengeance on the judges of his father, had, for the moment, the support of the nation. When New Haven came between

<sup>1</sup> The great Protector died in 1658. His weak son, Richard, who succeeded him, abdicated in 1659. Moderate men of all parties then came together in a plan to restore kingship, shorn of much of its old power. The son of Charles I assented to their scheme of a constitutional monarchy. On that understanding he was crowned in 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Whalley and William Goffe. They successfully eluded their pursuers.



him and his prey, it invited destruction. In an adroit fashion, characteristic of Charles, than whom there never was a wilier politician, the destruction of New Haven was swiftly accomplished.

**116. The Connecticut Charter.** The king found his instrument in the ambitions of Connecticut. In contrast with New Haven, Connecticut had spared no pains to win his favor. Neither of these colonies, it should be remembered, had as yet any official warrant for its existence. Hoping to secure a royal charter, Connecticut had sent John Winthrop, Jr., to London. In Winthrop's mission the revengeful but sly Charles saw his opportunity. Connecticut received a charter extending her boundaries from "Narrogancett River . . . to the South Sea." That is, New Haven was to be wiped off the map and all its territory added to Connecticut. Naturally, the men of New Haven bitterly resented the king's action. For a moment there was danger of civil war in New England, but Connecticut's generous use of her success in time restored good feeling.

**117. Rhode Island Befriended by the King.** Rhode Island also was befriended by the king. His motive, in this case, is not entirely plain. Perhaps, because of the enmity felt by all his dynasty toward Massachusetts, he aimed to strengthen its enemies. Be that as it may, Rhode Island, in 1663, received a royal charter which defined its area and bestowed upon it the right to elect its governor.<sup>1</sup>

**118. The Carolina Grant.** From punishing his enemies, Charles turned to rewarding his friends. That great extent of lowland, where are now the states of North and South Carolina,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same privilege was granted to Connecticut. Thus royal sanction was given to the type of colony contrasting both with the proprietary type and with the type of the royal province whose governor was appointed by the king. Those colonies which had appropriated the right to elect their governors were, before the end of the century, deprived of it (see section 158).

<sup>2</sup> There had been several attempts to settle this region previous to the Restoration. Ribault visited it in the sixteenth century. Raleigh's settlers came next. Charles I granted "the province of Carolana" to Sir Robert Heath,

was made over, in 1663, to eight lords and gentlemen as joint proprietaries. Conspicuous among them was Charles' prime minister, the Earl of Clarendon; another was the Duke of Albemarle who had done more than any other man to make Charles king; Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, better known as the Earl of Shaftesbury, another leading royalist, was also among the eight. A second charter, in 1665, defined their vast domain as extending from  $29^{\circ}$  to  $36^{\circ} 30'$ , north latitude,

— covering the whole of the present Carolinas, with much of Florida, — and east and west from the sea to sea.

**119. Locke's Constitution.** The great philosopher, John Locke, was called in by the proprietors of Carolina to devise a system of government. They wanted a model aristocracy which should be "agreeable to the monarchy." Locke's



THE CAROLINA GRANT OF 1665

"Fundamental Constitutions of Carolina" attempted to meet their demands. It provided for a social system based on feudal principles. At the top was to be a colonial nobility with hereditary titles and seats in the colonial parliament;

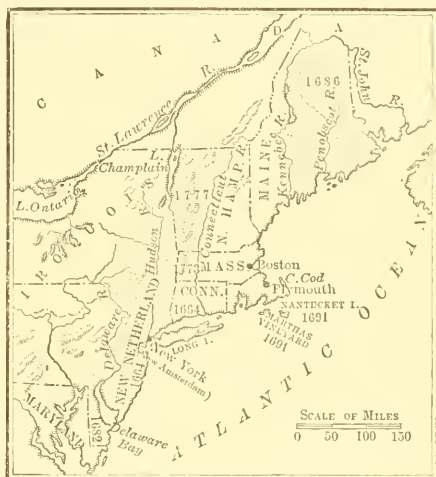
but the grant lapsed. From Virginia probably came the first permanent settlers in the Carolinas. They took up land along the Chowan River. These settlements were formed previous to 1663; they extended gradually along the north shore of Albemarle Sound, forming the germ of present North Carolina.

There was also an early but unsuccessful attempt to establish a settlement on Cape Fear River. An expedition from New England prospected there, but abandoned the country previous to the grant of 1663. Other unsuccessful attempts were made by colonists from the Barbadoes. Sir John Yeamans is the chief figure connecting South Carolina with the Barbadoes. He was the first governor of Carolina. In 1669 a fleet left England having aboard emigrants to Carolina; it touched at the Barbadoes and at Bermuda. The first permanent settlement in South Carolina was made in April, 1670, on the Ashley River. From this settlement developed the present city of Charleston.

at the bottom were to be "leetmen," bound to the soil like the serfs of the Middle Ages. But all this was too reactionary for the end of the seventeenth century. The philosopher's scheme gave way to a more democratic system in which a colonial legislature enacted laws subject to the veto of the proprietaries.

**120. The Creation of New York.** An opportunity to create another great proprietary colony arose in 1664 when commercial rivalries had brought England and Holland to the verge of war. With his usual adroitness, Charles II turned the English war feeling to his own account. Dispatching a fleet and army to conquer the Dutch colonies in America, he granted all those lands to his brother the Duke of York. It was in 1664 that the English appeared before New Amsterdam. The town was ill-prepared to resist and the townspeople forced the commandant, Peter Stuyvesant, to surrender. It was renamed New York.

**121. New Jersey.** The Duke of York began subdividing his great domain<sup>1</sup> even before he was in possession of it. The



LANDS OF THE DUKE OF YORK

Dates of separation of outlying portions from the government of New York.

<sup>1</sup> His possessions extended from the Delaware to the Connecticut rivers. In spite of the charter of Connecticut, it was held that all the country which the Dutch had occupied belonged to the Duke. He also acquired all that part of Maine east of the Kennebec. The western part of Maine had previously been annexed to Massachusetts, though claimed by the heirs of Sir Ferdinando Gorges (section 92). Massachusetts finally purchased their claim in 1677. See Acts of the Privy Council relative to America, I.

region between the lower Hudson and the Delaware was given to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley. This grant was the foundation of the present state of New Jersey.<sup>1</sup>

**122. The King's Attention Withdrawn from America.** Though Charles never lost his desire to make gain in America, there was a period in his reign during which he was compelled by circumstances to confine his attention to Europe. It was a period of terrible catastrophes. The Dutch war, though it ended with the formal cession of Dutch America (1667), in-



cluded some deep humiliations to English pride. In the midst of disaster the Plague appeared at London and made the capital of the empire a vast pest-house. It was followed by the fire of London which laid the capital in ashes. While patriotic Englishmen were struggling to save their country from ruin, the unscrupulous king saw a new chance to advance his own interests. By the secret Treaty of Dover (1670) he became the paid servant of the king of France. Louis XIV agreed to pay

him a large sum yearly, and in return Charles promised to make every effort to control Parliament in the interests of France. It is doubtful if one king ever made a more shameful bargain with another. But it had an immediate effect on England, and indirectly an effect upon America. For several years Charles was busy playing a deep game of political trickery. During this period he did little by way of advancing his American schemes. For a few years before and after 1670 he practically ceased to meddle with the colonies.

<sup>1</sup> In 1674 it was divided into East and West New Jersey, each with a proprietary government of its own. West New Jersey came under the control of the Quakers. Subsequently both Jerseys were controlled by a Quaker syndicate. They were united in 1702 and became the royal province of New Jersey.

## II. THE STRUGGLE TO POSSESS THE LAND

**123. The Indian Danger.** The colonies were not permitted to spend this interval in peace. By the irony of fate one cause of anxiety was replaced by another. While the king was occupied in Europe, the Indians for the first time became aggressive on a great scale in America.

Most of the seaboard was now occupied. During the first fifteen years of Charles' reign emigration to the colonies had been constant. To Virginia went many gallant gentlemen who had lost all in the service of the kings and saw no way to retrieve their fortunes at home. To New England went many Puritans dissatisfied with the restored monarchy. Quakers and Presbyterians found refuge in New Jersey. French Huguenots and English dissenters, as well as loyal Anglicans, turned their eyes toward the Carolinas. The settlements along Albemarle Sound appealed to bold adventurers of all sorts. All along the coast the population was fast increasing. Steadily the west border of every settlement moved inward. By the end of the third quarter of the century there were perhaps one hundred and fifty thousand British subjects in America.

Hitherto they had been too busy with their own affairs to think much about the natives. Except for a few fierce clashes like the Virginia massacre (section 57) and the Pequot War (section 105) the relations of the two races had been friendly. In the main the white men had dealt fairly — according to the ideas of that time — with the red men. That is to say, they had paid them what they asked for their land. But the simple Indians were content with very little. They accepted trifling things which caught their fancy, — beads, copper kettles, knives, arms, trinkets,<sup>1</sup> — retired into the forest, and left the strangers in possession of their hunting grounds along the coast.

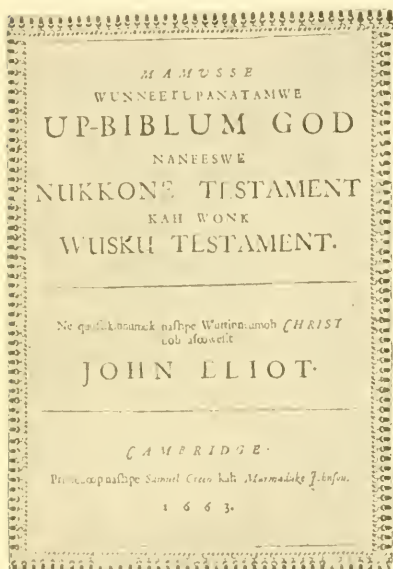
<sup>1</sup> In 1626 the Dutch, in exchange for Manhattan Island, gave the Indians a supply of beads and ribbons worth about twenty-four dollars.

Seventy years had passed during which the great wilderness at the back of the settlements gave ample hunting ground to all the Indian tribes. While the settlers along the coast plowed their fields or sat around their firesides, painted warriors, decked in furs and feathers, roamed the western

horizon through the silences of the forest. The men of the coast went their own way politically, never giving a thought to the politics of the wilderness. But all that while a momentous political change was slowly taking place in the depths of the savage land. A great Indian power had been formed. The rise of this power contained for those unsuspecting colonists a dreadful danger.

**124. The Five Nations.** The greatest of the Indian races were the Iroquois, who were also known as the Five Nations.<sup>1</sup> They had formed a confederacy with its headquarters in what is now central New York, and had extended their rule from

the Green Mountains to the Ohio River. This powerful alliance blocked the path of the coast Indians as they retreated westward. Furthermore, the Iroquois were following a policy of expansion. All along their borders they were conquering their neighbors or driving them before them. Presently the retreating Indians of the coast began to feel the



TITLE-PAGE OF ELIOT'S INDIAN BIBLE

Translation: "The whole Holy Bible of God, both Old Testament and also New Testament. This translated by the Servant of Christ who is called John Eliot. Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1663."

<sup>1</sup> Mohawks, Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Senecas.

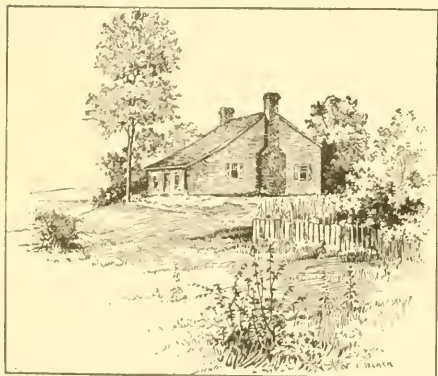


might of the Iroquois. Those grim masters of the interior began to press them back toward the sea. But all along the sea were the English pressing steadily inward. Some time about 1670 the coast Indians, north and south, perceived that they were caught in a trap. Between the English and the Iroquois they would be crushed to death.

**125. King Philip's War.** Such appears to be the explanation of the sudden and terrible rush of the coast Indians back toward the sea. In 1675 settlers were murdered by Indians both in Virginia and New England. There followed the horrors of King Philip's War. Metacom, chief of the Pokanokets, — better known by his English name of Philip, — suddenly attacked the town of Swanzezy on the frontier of Plymouth. Frightful scenes of pillage, massacre, and the burning of whites alive over slow fires occurred at many places in New England during the next two years. That the Indians were fiendishly cruel cannot be denied. Neither can it be denied that the whites were moved to transports of fury and that they retaliated without mercy. The chief event of the war was the storming of the stronghold of the Narragansett tribe, amid December snows, in 1675. The Narragansetts were practically annihilated that day. The death of Philip, the next year, put an end to the hopes of the Indians. Before long they had been beaten at all points. Indians taken alive were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. But New England had paid a great price for her victory. It is estimated that one in every ten of the men of New England had been killed or captured by the Indians. A dozen towns had been burnt to the ground.

**126. The Virginian Misery.** Fortunately the southern Indians had no such leader as Philip. Nevertheless, Virginia suffered more than in any Indian trouble since the great massacre. Some three hundred whites are said to have been killed. All the while terrible reports from New England served as ghastly warnings of what might, at any moment, take place in Virginia. A fever of alarm and discontent took

possession of the colony. There were other causes of it besides the Indian danger.<sup>1</sup> During several years the harvests had been bad, and many people were feeling the pinch of want. The severe winter of 1672-1673 had killed off half the live stock in Virginia. In 1676 wheat and corn had grown so scarce that Governor Berkeley forbade the exportation of food to the Indian fighters of New England whose fields had been ruined. Strange to say, in spite of the greatness of the Indian danger, Berkeley refused to equip an adequate force to protect the colony.



PIONEER HOME OF THE WASHINGTONS

His motives are a problem to this day. Perhaps he feared that any force he raised would turn against him. He had outlived his popularity and his rule was harsh and extravagant. The Virginians accused him of the basest motives for holding back. They declared that his inter-

est in the fur trade carried on by the Indians was what kept him from vigorous action. Finally a young planter, Nathaniel Bacon, defied the governor and took the lead in an unofficial expedition which won a victory over the Indians. Berkeley pronounced him a rebel for acting without authority and ordered his arrest.

**127. Bacon's Rebellion.** Many people, however, sided with Bacon and the Indian war was converted into a civil war, during which Bacon and his partisans marched against Jamestown. Berkeley retreated, and the Virginia capital was burnt

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of the various sources of discontent, in addition to the Indian danger, see Osgood, "Colonies," III, 244-258; also Channing, "History," II, 80-84.

by the rebels. For a brief space Bacon was master of Virginia. Then, suddenly, he died. His following melted away. Berkeley resumed control and set to work to stamp out discontent. He hanged thirty-seven<sup>1</sup> of the partisans of Bacon.

**128. The Culpepper Rebellion.** This was not the end of the troubles in the South. There is an old tradition that Bacon hoped to persuade Maryland and the Carolinas to join Virginia in seceding from the empire and establishing a republic.<sup>2</sup> Whether that was his purpose or not, it appears certain that he had friends in North Carolina and more than likely that some of his partisans found refuge in Albemarle (section 118, note 2).

Very likely they took part in stirring up the discontent which broke out in what is known as the Culpepper Rebellion. The immediate cause was the arrest by the acting governor, Thomas Miller, of two men charged with the comparatively small offense of smuggling. At once there was a popular uprising in which John Culpepper took a leading part. Miller was deposed and thrown into prison.

**129. The Freedom of Albemarle.** During the next few years the North Carolinians<sup>3</sup> managed their own affairs pretty much as they pleased. They had their own little assembly and, once more, they forced an unpopular governor out of office. This was Seth Sothel, one of the proprietors of Carolina,

<sup>1</sup> The number is variously given. See Osgood, "Colonies," III, 278.

<sup>2</sup> It is plain that Berkeley's use of the powers of the governor had roused in Virginia a spirit of antagonism to monarchical authority. How general was this revolutionary temper we cannot say. Scholars differ with regard to its significance. The most conspicuous authority takes an extreme view: "Bacon was . . . fascinated by the dream of Colonial revolt and its indefinite possibilities. The plans which were to take shape a century later were already floating dimly before his mind. . . . As an illustration of the way in which abuses resulting from the monopolization of power, because they occurred in a royal province, might be followed by an effort to renounce allegiance to the king, Bacon's rebellion is the most significant event in the history of the colonies prior to 1760." Osgood, "Colonies," III, 275-276.

<sup>3</sup> Though the possessions of the proprietaries formed in theory one great province, North Carolina formed a division by itself, almost from the beginning.

who had come over to set things straight at Albemarle. He was tried by the assembly and formally banished from the colony. However, the men of Albemarle did not renounce their allegiance to the proprietors of Carolina, and in time good feeling was restored.

### III. QUAKERS AND HUGUENOTS

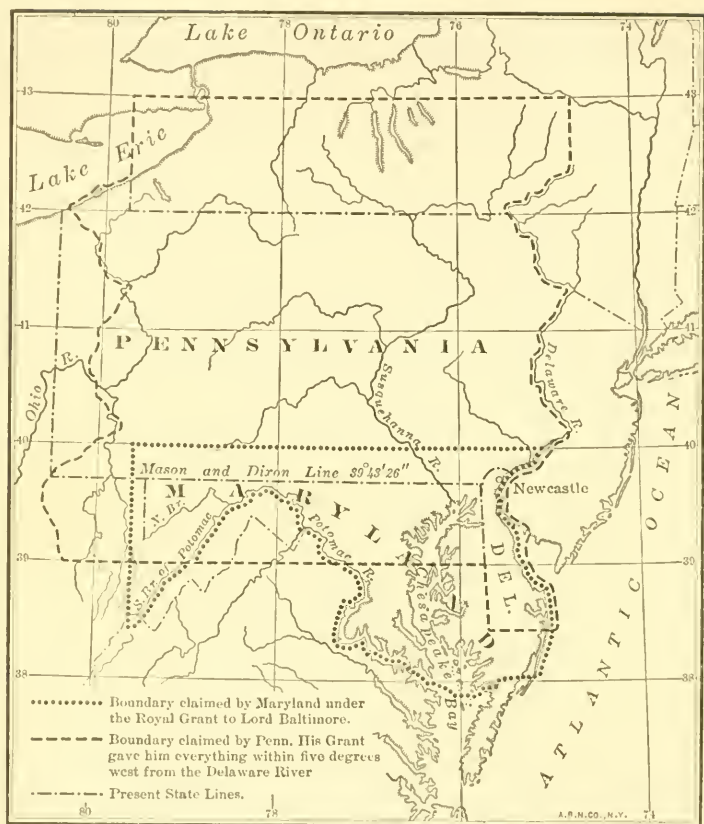
**130. The Province of New Hampshire.** We now arrive at the close of that period in the reign of Charles II during which European affairs absorbed the king's attention. His stealthy use of the gold supplied to him by Louis (section 122) had so corrupted Parliament that Charles was very nearly, if not quite, master of the situation. Again he turned his eyes toward America to see what might there be done in the interests of the Stuart dynasty, and again his old enemy, Massachusetts, was made the object of attack. It will be remembered that the New Hampshire country had been appropriated by Massachusetts (sections 92 and 96). This country Charles now seized, cut off from Massachusetts, and made into the royal province of New Hampshire with a governor appointed by the king (1679).

**131. A New Effort for Toleration.** Charles was not alone in his revival of interest in America. Others, for utterly different reasons, also turned their eyes toward the west. While the king was mutilating Massachusetts to create New Hampshire, Carolina received a party of French Protestants who were seeking to escape the harshness of Louis XIV. These were the advance guard of another widespread movement of Protestants westward. A new fever of persecution was breaking out in Europe. It culminated a few years later in the famous revocation by the French king of the Edict of Nantes, "that gracious decree," which had formerly secured the French Protestants in the practice of their religion. However, this late persecution was more an expression of royalism than of religion. It was grounded on the principle that the subject should accept the faith of the king. In Scotland it was

carried on by Anglicans almost if not quite as ruthlessly as in France by Catholics. Scotchmen followed Huguenots, seeking safety in the Carolinas. A band of Scotch exiles led by Lord Cardross founded Stuart Town, at Port Royal, South Carolina, a settlement destined to a tragic end. Other Scotch and other Huguenots added strong new elements to the population of America generally. With these were soon blended English and German Quakers.

**132. The Fourth Movement for Toleration.** We have traced hitherto three movements for the freedom of the mind — the Sandys government in Virginia, the Catholic colony of Maryland, and Roger Williams' state of Rhode Island. The fourth such movement which ennobles our history in the seventeenth century found expression in two places. Carolina was not alone in opening her doors to the exiles for conscience' sake. A Quaker syndicate in England secured control of West New Jersey (section 121), and established there complete religious toleration. The Quakers also set up a democratic form of government. "We put the power in the people," they said truly. Among the proprietors of New Jersey was William Penn. He determined to carry on the good work begun in New Jersey and form a still more important state on the west side of the Delaware River. Fortunately the king owed him a great sum of money. Penn asked to be paid with a grant of land in America. Consequently, in 1681, Charles paid his debt by issuing to Penn a charter for the proprietary colony of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The grant to Penn involved him in a dispute with Maryland. Pennsylvania was described as extending westward 5° from the Delaware; its northern boundary was to be "the beginning of the three and fourtieth degree of Northern latitude"; its southern boundary "a circle drawn at twelve miles distant from New Castle northward and westward into the beginning of the fortieth degree of Northern Latitude and then by a straight line westward." The town of New Castle, on the west side of the Delaware, proved to be far south of the fortieth degree. The circle drawn around it did not at any point touch that degree. Thus the south boundary of Pennsylvania was an impossible line. Penn claimed that the "beginning of the fortieth degree" was on the line of the thirty-ninth parallel. The dispute was not settled in Penn's lifetime; and was carried on



BOUNDARY DISPUTE BETWEEN MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA

by his descendants. At last a compromise was made and the present line between Maryland and Pennsylvania was agreed upon. The straight part of it is latitude  $39^{\circ}43'26''$ . It was run by two surveyors named Mason and Dixon in 1767. Hence it has been called ever since "Mason and Dixon's line."

That region west of the lower Delaware which was once New Sweden was also given to Penn. It was known as "the Territories" and was plainly within the limits of the grant to Baltimore (section 77, note). But the claim of Maryland to this region was ignored. It forms the present state of Delaware, organized in 1701, under a charter granted by Penn. The government set up under the charter was similar to that of Pennsylvania.



Immediately Penn set about putting into practice what he called his "Holy Experiment." He dreamed of establishing an ideal republic, in which, as he said, "the will of one man" should not any longer be able to "hinder the good of a whole country"—as was the case too often in the monarchies of the old world. But Penn was a practical statesman as well as a political dreamer. Though he held that "obedience without liberty is slavery," he also held that "liberty without obedience is confusion."

**133. The Beginning of Pennsylvania.** Penn laid down the principle, so obvious to us to-day, that "governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend on men than men depend upon governments." Holding these views, he drew up a "Frame of Government" which became the constitution of Pennsylvania. It guaranteed complete religious toleration to all who acknowledged "one Almighty and Eternal God to be the Creator, Upholder, and Ruler of the World." It provided for a governor to be appointed by the Proprietor and a legislature elected by the people.

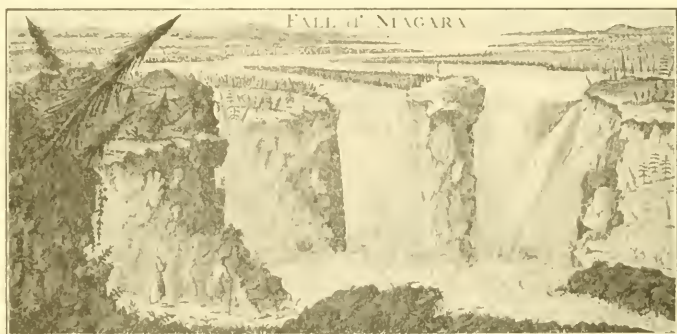
Penn crossed the ocean and spent two years in his colony. He drew to him settlers from many lands. Besides the English Quakers there were Welshmen and Scotchmen. German Quakers settled Germantown. Bethlehem and other villages were settled by Moravians. Penn himself laid out Philadelphia in 1682. Before the end of the century Pennsylvania contained twenty thousand inhabitants.

#### IV. THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NORTHERN BOUNDARY

**134. A Rival of England in America.** We have now reached the last stage of this period of expansion which forms the second advance of the English in America. In order fully to understand it, we must turn aside and observe what had taken place in other parts of America.

The French discovery of the St. Lawrence River (section 23) led to the formation of the French colony of Acadia. Henry IV of France granted it to the Sieur de Monts, in 1603, defining its boundaries as the fortieth and the forty-sixth degrees of latitude. Several settlements were made along the coast of what is now Nova Scotia and Maine. In 1608 Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec, but unfortunately for France made enemies of the Iroquois.

Almost at once the French and English came to blows. The first armed clash was in 1613, when a party from Virginia,



NIAGARA FALLS

Reduced facsimile of an old print. Based doubtless on the earliest known picture of Niagara, which was published in the narrative of Father Hennepin in the seventeenth century.

led by Samuel Argall, broke up a French settlement on Mount Desert Island. There were other conflicts between the races, including the capture of Quebec by an English expedition. But in 1632 by the Treaty of St. Germain's the matter was settled temporarily, and France was given Nova Scotia and the St. Lawrence Valley.

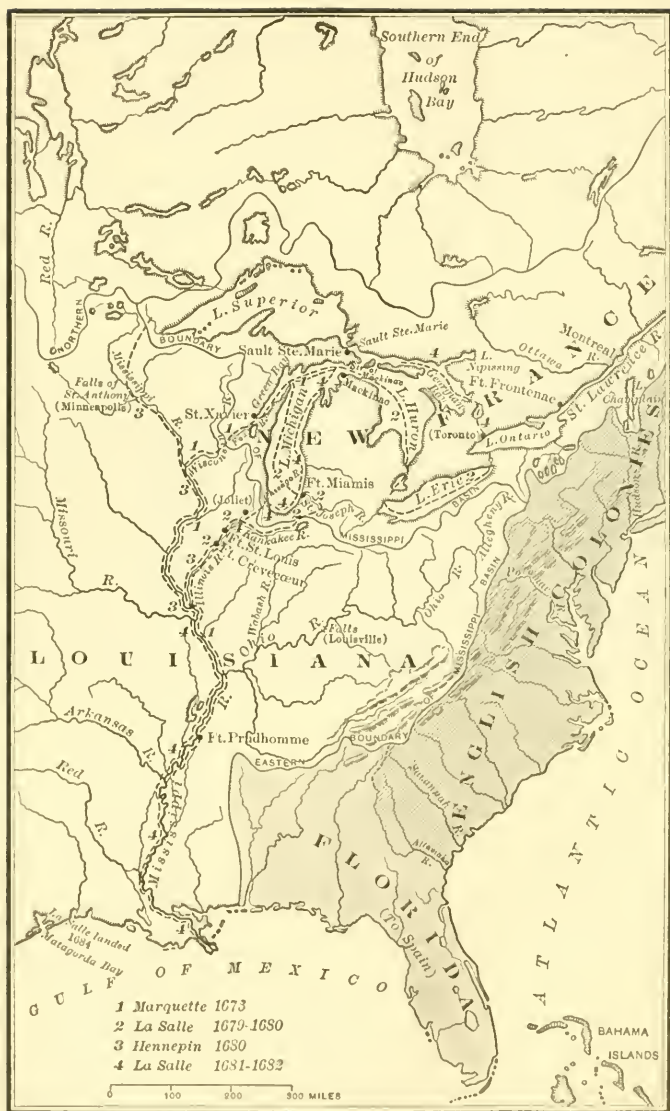
The French set to work to build a colonial empire which they called New France. A succession of brave explorers and devoted missionaries carried the influence of France far into the west. They would have liked, doubtless, to advance directly south from Quebec, take possession of the upper

Hudson, and come at once to close quarters with the English all along their western border. But this was rendered impossible by the Iroquois. The Five Nations held all the south shore of Lake Ontario and resisted every attempt of the French to enter their territory. Unawares, they shielded the English during half a century.

Turning westward along the north shore of Lake Ontario, the French became the first explorers of the Great Lakes. In 1665 Father Allouez, a Jesuit missionary, reached Lake Superior. Soon there were Jesuit missions as far to the northwest as Mackinac and Sault Ste. Marie and at Green Bay in Wisconsin.

**135. The Jesuit Missions.** The efforts of these heroic French Jesuits to convert the Indians form one of the great chapters in the history of missionary daring. Many of them suffered martyrdom amid the cruellest tortures at the hands of the savages. The only effect was to rouse the survivors to greater zeal. Others pressed forward to take the places of the brave dead. Gradually the Jesuits took their captors captive and brought large numbers of the western Indians to accept Christianity and to acknowledge the king of France as their sovereign. But they never could convert the relentless Iroquois, never get a foothold on the south shore of Lake Ontario.

**136. Marquette.** Perhaps the most famous of the Jesuit explorers was Marquette. The Indians of Lake Huron had told him of a great river flowing south through the western wilderness. This river he resolved to find. Starting from Green Bay, his little expedition went up the Fox River to its head; carried their canoes overland to the head of the Wisconsin River; descended it; and on June 17, 1673, paddled out upon the Mississippi. Marquette explored the Mississippi as far south as the mouth of the Arkansas. There, thinking he was on the borders of Spanish territory, he turned back. On his way home, he ascended the Illinois River and crossed the site of Chicago.

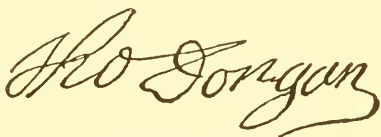


FRENCH EXPLORATIONS OF THE MISSISSIPPI

**137. La Salle.** Marquette's discovery made a great impression on a French nobleman who was commandant at Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario. This was the famous La Salle, to whom Louis XIV had given a commission to establish forts in the interior of America. After three bold excursions into the Far West, La Salle, in 1681, set out on his final expedition to annex the Mississippi Valley to New France. He did not stop at the Arkansas as Marquette had done, but continued all the way to the gulf. Setting up the arms of France near the mouth of the river, he formally declared the whole country the property of the French king, and named it Louisiana (1682).

**138. The Strategic Position of the French.** In this way the French had drawn a vast crescent at the back of the English. One tip reached the Atlantic in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; while the other touched the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Mississippi. The French king claimed as his all that immense area. If he made good his claim, English expansion westward would be checked forever. It might even be possible to drive the English into the sea and make France the chief power in North America. But, as the next step to that result, the French must secure the south shore of Lake Ontario with the upper valley of the Hudson. And there in the hollow of the crescent, between them and the English, were their bitter enemies, the Iroquois.

**139. The Friendship of the Iroquois.** Such was the situation in 1683 when Thomas Dongan became



SIGNATURE OF DONGAN

Governor of New York. He was a Roman Catholic Irishman. He was also a brave friend of the English in America, and he knew how to deal with Indians. In 1684, at Albany, occurred a memorable conference between Dongan and the chiefs of the Five Nations. A treaty was made in which the Iroquois acknowledged themselves subjects of England; agreed not



to attack the frontier settlements of Virginia and Maryland and to allow the arms of the Duke of York to be set up in their villages as signs of their new allegiance. Thus, for the moment, the English were protected along the west.

**140. The War Cloud of 1686.** But there was another menace to the peace of the colonies which at the time appeared even more serious. Carolina was only two days' sail from St. Augustine. From St. Augustine a hundred years before (section 24) Menendez marched to destroy the Huguenots. The Spaniards still held the city. Beyond it to the south lay Cuba and all the vast extent of the Spanish American empire with its walled cities, its strong garrisons, and its great riches. There were no powerful Iroquois to protect the Southern English, and the dread of Spanish invasion hung over the South like a dark cloud. Suddenly, in 1686, the cloud burst.

**141. The Destruction of Port Royal.** A Spanish expedition appeared at sea off Edisto Island, to the south of Charleston, and a landing party burnt the country house of the governor of Carolina, an English dissenter, Joseph Morton. Thence they proceeded to Stuart Town (Port Royal), which they utterly destroyed. After that the Spaniards sailed away.

**142. The French attack the Iroquois.** About the same time the French attacked the Iroquois. A thousand French regulars marched into the country of the Five Nations. It was a crisis in the history of English America, but the governor of New York was equal to the emergency. He promptly supplied the Iroquois with arms and ammunition. Thus supported, the Iroquois were able to hold their own. They even retaliated in a plundering raid into Canada.

**143. The Achievement of Dongan.** Though the colonies were menaced from both sides, the government at London was very slow in taking action. In the case of Spain it never acted at all.<sup>1</sup> With regard to France, however, something was at last done. The French king was notified that the

<sup>1</sup> For the strange course of the Carolina proprietors in the matter of Port Royal, see section 147.



Iroquois were English subjects and the other colonial governors were ordered to unite with Dongan in protecting them. The chief credit for this firm stand appears to be due to that one brave Irishman. The position which he induced England to take was never abandoned. Years afterward, by the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, France acknowledged the Iroquois to be English subjects. Thus the second advance of the English reached, in the North, at least, a safe halting place. With the south shore of Lake Ontario in their hands, with the mountains east and west of New York for their natural fortifications, they were measurably secure against French invasion. If, however, they had lost northern New York, a back door would have been opened into their very midst. That such a door was not opened, that, on the contrary, it was shut in the face of France, is due chiefly to the patriotism and ability of Thomas Dongan.

*Selections from the Sources.* Colonial Records of North Carolina, I, 5; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, No. 21 (the Carolina Charter); MACDONALD, *Select Charters*, 149 (Fundamental Constitutions); JAMESON, *Narratives of New Netherland*; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, No. 20 (Grant to Duke of York); DRAKE'S Edition of INCREASE MATHER'S *Brief History*; HUBBARD, *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*; BURK, *Virginia*, II, 247-250; Calendar of State Papers, America and West Indies, 1675-1676; HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 70-71, 76, 77-81, 121, 124-126, 132-136, 135-157, 161-168, 171, 172, II, Nos. 109-112, 117; THWAITES, *Jesuit Relations and allied Documents*.

*Secondary Accounts.* OSGOOD, *Colonies*, III, 143-191, 242-357; FISKE, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*; PARKMAN, *Pioneers of France*, 229-454; *Jesuits in North America*, La Salle, *Old Regime*, *Frontenac*, 1-183; WINSOR, *Cartier to Frontenac*, 77-342; FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, 199-241; MCCRADY, *South Carolina*, I, 39-222; BASSETT, *Constitutional Beginnings in North Carolina*, 105-169; FISHER, *True William Penn*; WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, III, chaps. x, xii, iv, chaps. iv-viii, V, chaps., i, v.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Younger Winthrop. 2. John Locke. 3. The Conquest of New Netherland. 4. The Seaboard Indians. 5. Bacon's Rebellion. 6. The Culpepper Rebellion. 7. The Society of Friends. 8. Quaker Ideas of Government. 9. Champlain. 10. The Jesuit Missions. 11. French Explorers of the Mississippi. 12. Dongan.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE STUART TYRANNY

**144. The Crown attacks America.** During the last years of the "Second Advance," Charles felt strong enough to aim a direct blow at American liberties. In England his craft and political skill had given him temporary control of the government, and he judged the time was ripe to destroy the free institutions of the West. The means he used were the same which had been used by James I (section 59) in his attack upon the Virginia Company.<sup>1</sup> An English court was induced to pronounce the charter of Massachusetts null and void. Massachusetts became a royal province in October, 1684.

**145. The Duke of York becomes King.** The following February Charles died and his brother, the Duke of York, became king, as James II. There were now four states in New England dependent on the royal will — Plymouth, which had no charter at all; New Hampshire, which had been a royal province since 1679; Massachusetts, which recently had been seized by the crown; and Maine,<sup>2</sup> which had reverted to the crown along with Massachusetts. The new king was a born despot. As a step toward absolute power, he decided to unite all these provinces in one. In 1686 he sent over Sir Edmund Andros to govern the "Dominion of New England,"<sup>3</sup> with his capital at Boston. The General Court of Massa-

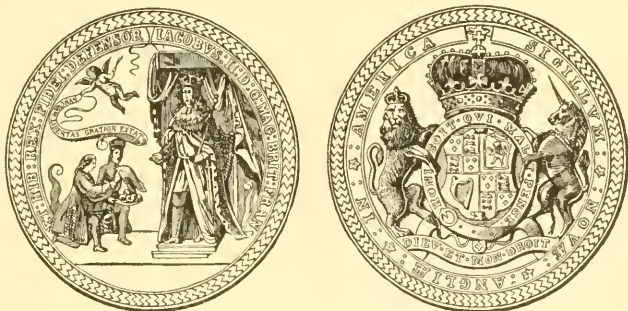
<sup>1</sup> Professor Andrews, in his admirable text on English History, sums up the situation by saying (p. 395): "Aided by powerful allies and subsidized by gold from France," Charles controlled the situation "through a clever manipulation of parties together with the dissensions of his opponents."

<sup>2</sup> Western Maine, that is; Eastern Maine, beyond the Kennebec, was already in the possession of James. See section 121, note.

<sup>3</sup> The "Dominion" was intended to embrace all the colonies northeast of the Delaware. As appears later, all that area submitted temporarily to Andros.

chusetts was to be abolished and replaced by a Council appointed by the governor. Andros was also expected to destroy the free governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island.

**146. The American Policy of James II.** One December day in 1686 Andros landed at Boston. He was attended by a force of British infantry — the famous “redcoats” — which the Americans were to learn to hate. That day was one of



GREAT SEAL OF ANDROS

the most momentous in American History, for the despotic designs of James were not limited to New England. Already he had abolished a representative assembly<sup>1</sup> recently established in New York. In Virginia his governor, Lord Howard, used the power of his office to silence criticism of the king and benefit the king's friends. With Virginia, New York, and New England dominated by the king, there seemed to be strong likelihood that despotic government would be made the order of the day in America.

<sup>1</sup> In New Netherland, just previous to the coming of the English, there was convened an assembly of delegates from all parts of the province. This *landtdag* was presided over by Jeremias van Rensselaer. But the English conquerors did not continue this institution. A code called “The Duke's Laws” was put into effect by Governor Nichols in 1665. Governor Dongan in 1683 convened the first general assembly of the province of New York. It drew up the famous “Charter of Liberties” of New York, which provided for triennial general assemblies and gave freedom of worship to all Christians. The Charter of Liberties was set aside by authority of James in 1686.

**147. James and the Proprietaries.** How entirely James intended to dominate America may be judged from an event which took place at this time in connection with Carolina. The Carolina proprietors were headed in 1686 by William, Earl of Craven, one of James' most unhesitating followers. The least wish of the king had the force of law with the earl. This fact explained the course of the proprietors in forbidding the Carolinians to take revenge on Spain for the destruction of Stuart Town (section 141). An expedition had been organized at Charleston, and was about to sail for St. Augustine late in 1686, when a new governor, James Colleton, arrived from England with orders to permit no attempt at retaliation. He threatened to hang any one who lifted a hand against the Spaniards. The Carolinians were not ready for rebellion and the expedition was abandoned. Shortly after this the proprietors wrote to Colleton: "We are glad you have stopped the expedition against St. Augustine. If it had proceeded, Mr. Morton,<sup>1</sup> Colonel Godfrey, and others might have answered it with their lives." The servility of the Carolina proprietors was but one more evidence of the momentary triumph of the principle of absolutism in English politics. James was friendly to Spain and the wishes of his American subjects counted for nothing.

**148. The Administration of Andros.** The Stuart tyranny in America centers around the strong figure of Sir Edmund Andros. He was a brave soldier and a resolute man. He had been sent over to destroy free institutions and he meant to do so. Massachusetts was his first victim. There he made laws, levied taxes, held courts, without the least regard to the people's will. A notorious instance of his tyranny took place at Ipswich. The citizens having resolved that a tax levied by Andros "did infringe their liberties as free-born English subjects," refused to pay. For this resistance prominent men of Ipswich were brought to trial before a court specially con-

<sup>1</sup> The former governor who had been removed by the proprietors to make room for Colleton.

stituted by Andros. Some were fined, others were imprisoned. In the course of the trial, Joseph Dudley, chief justice under Andros, made the startling assertion that the colonists were outside the protection of the laws of England. He added "that the King's subjects in New England did not differ much from slaves and that the only difference was that they were not bought and sold." This summed up the Stuart policy.

**149. Andros in Rhode Island and Connecticut.** If strong Massachusetts could not cope with Andros, what could weak little Rhode Island do? Nothing. Andros extended his tyranny over Rhode Island without opposition. Connecticut gave him more trouble. When he commanded the Connecticut authorities to surrender their charter, they evaded doing so and Andros went to Hartford to compel the surrender. There is a tradition that he met the colonial officials in a conference by candle light with the charter in a strong box on a table between them; suddenly the candles were blown out, and when they were relit, the box with the charter had disappeared; the precious document had been carried off and hidden in a hollow tree known ever after as the charter oak. However, this did not keep Andros from becoming master of Connecticut.



THE CHARTER OAK

**150. The Great Province.** The power of the king's representative was now very great. James increased it by adding to the "Dominion" two colonies outside New England. In 1688 New York was added to the jurisdiction



of Andros. New Jersey was also annexed by royal warrant. Thus the territory ruled despotically extended from the lower Delaware to Nova Scotia. James seemed to be in a fair way to accomplish his end and combine all his American dominions into one great province with a single despotic governor.

**151. James defeats his own End.** The king, in his devotion to absolutism, was determined to thrust upon his subjects his own religion, which happened to be the Roman Catholic. In this he had the example of his cousin the king of France, who was the very embodiment of absolutism. But England was in a situation far different from that of France. Though many of her people believed in absolutism, almost none believed in Roman Catholicism. It has been estimated that only three per cent of the population belonged to the Church of Rome. The nonconformists were also weak. As we have seen, great numbers of them had emigrated to America. It is doubtful if England was ever more solidly Anglican than in 1688, and yet, as if to defy fate, James chose that moment to attempt the destruction of the English Church. What is known as "the trial of the Seven Bishops" took place in 1688. The bishops had petitioned the king to excuse the clergy from reading in their pulpits a royal proclamation considered by them a blow at the liberties of the Church of England. James ordered them tried on the charge that their petition was a "seditious libel." Their acquittal, and the rejoicings which followed it all over England — even among the king's soldiers who lay encamped near London — was the beginning of the end. Seven great personages signed a letter to William, Prince of Orange, James' son-in-law, asking him to come to England and take control of the government. Before the end of the year William landed in England and the revolution of 1688 began. Shortly afterward James fled to France. His daughter Mary and her husband, the Prince of Orange, were proclaimed joint sovereigns of England.



**152. End of the Stuart Power.** The landing of William had been the signal for war. James was supported by the French and by the extreme royalists of England and Ireland. Three years passed before William was securely in possession of the throne, and could turn his attention to the colonies. Meanwhile, great things took place in America. At Boston, the people rose and threw Andros into prison. A brave German, Jacob Leisler, headed a revolt in New York which forced Deputy Governor Nicholson to flee the country. A third rebellion broke out in Maryland. There, as everywhere throughout the colonies, the religion of the late king was used as a war cry to arouse popular indignation. A rage against the Roman Church was sweeping over America and, unfortunately, the Protestants of Maryland caught the pitiless infection. Once more there was a flurry of civil strife. Now, however, the Protestants outnumbered the Catholics ten to one. They seized the government, abolished the Act of Toleration, and proclaimed William and Mary king and queen in Maryland.<sup>1</sup>

**153. The French Attack.** War began between England and France early in 1689. June 27, 1689, was an ominous day in American History, for on that day a party of French and Indians attacked an outlying village near Dover, New Hampshire. Some of the villagers were killed; the others were carried off to Canada. The following February witnessed an event still more dreadful. In the dead of the night a party of French and Indians attacked the frontier village of Schenectady. Sixty of its people were killed; some thirty were taken prisoners; only about twenty escaped and fled across the snow to Albany. This brutal massacre increased the fury against everything associated with James II — his policy, his religion, his French allies.

**154. The Congress of 1690.** It also led to the first attempt of the American States to act in concert on a large scale. Leisler, who was temporary ruler of New York, called a

<sup>1</sup> For the effect on the government of Maryland, see section 158.

congress. Delegates from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut met with the men of New York in May and decided upon two expeditions against Canada. This was the beginning of what Americans have always called King William's War.

*Selections from the Sources.* HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 122, 135, 136, 156, 157; WHITMORE, *Andros Tracts*; FORCE, *Tracts*, Vol. IV.

*Secondary Accounts.* DOYLE, *Puritan Colonies*, II, 230-276; CHANNING, *History*, II, 31-43, 52-60, 165-213; OSGOOD, *Colonies*, III, 302-333, 378-460, 477-500; FISKE, *Beginnings of New England*, chap. vi; KIMBALL, *Public Life of Joseph Dudley*, chaps. ii and iii, McCRADY, *South Carolina*, I, 217-234; STEINER, *The Protestant Revolution in Maryland* (in Report of American Historical Association for 1897). The account of the Revolution of 1688 in Macaulay's *History*, partisan though it be, is justly a classic. For the Catholic view see LINGARD, *History*, VII, chap. x, VIII. BOURGEAUD, *Rise of Democracy in Old and New England*; ANDREWS, *History of England*, 391-412; *Colonial Self Government*, 252-287.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Sir Edmund Andros. 2. Joseph Dudley. 3. Jacob Leisler. 4. The Dominion of New England. 5. The American Rebellion against James II. 6. William of Orange.

## CHAPTER X

### OUR FIRST GREAT TURNING POINT

#### I. THE REORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE

**155. William's Policy.** The able king who now ruled England knew little about America. Neither had he much interest in popular government. His chief aim in life was to curb the rising power of France and he had consented to be king of England with scarcely another thought than to bring the English into a league against Louis XIV. For eight years the War of the Grand Alliance raged on both sides of the Atlantic. As we have seen, the Americans called it King William's War.

**156. Events of King William's War.** As William succeeded in bringing Spain into the grand alliance against France, the Carolinas, for a time, were free from their natural dread of the Spaniards. In America the war became a Northern event. One of the chief incidents of the war was the capture of Port Royal<sup>1</sup> by an expedition from Massachusetts led by Sir William Phips. This achievement was followed by the appointment of Phips as commander of one of the two expeditions planned by the congress of 1690. He sailed from Boston with some two thousand militiamen to attack Quebec. Up to this time Phips had seemed a bold and able man. But he bungled the Quebec expedition and at last ingloriously sailed home, having accomplished nothing.

The other expedition of the congress was conducted better. John Schuyler, of New York, was the commander. He marched to the shore of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal,

<sup>1</sup> Now Annapolis, Nova Scotia, not to be confused with Port Royal, South Carolina.

destroyed the crops of that region, and returned home without any serious loss to the Americans.

No great events took place in America during the latter part of the war. By the Treaty of Ryswick, in 1697, each power restored to the other whatever territory it had conquered and thus Port Royal was given back to France.

**157. William's Attitude to America.** In the course of the war William found time to reorganize the government of the colonies. He had already reorganized the government of



WILLIAM AND MARY

England. The contrast between what was done in England and what was done in America reveals the lack of sympathy, possibly the contempt, which William felt for the colonies. In England the revolution of 1688 was the end of despotic kingship. The famous Bill of Rights, passed by Parliament and accepted by William, gave the people of England control of their own government. It established for England the principle that there should be no taxation without representation. Had the Bill of Rights extended to America, each colonial legislature would have been recognized as supreme in its own territory, and each American state would have had

the same footing in the empire as Scotland and Ireland. But the Bill of Rights was not allowed to extend to America.<sup>1</sup> As we shall now see, William established the principle that the colonies were not separate states of the empire like Scotland and Ireland, but mere dependencies of the premier state of England.

**158. William's Governors.** William sent out royal governors of his own choice to replace the officials set up by the popular movements that had deposed Andros. In the main, the old governments of the colonies were restored, but important changes were made. For example, though Massachusetts got back her General Court, she lost the right to elect her governor. Henceforth Massachusetts was a royal province with a governor appointed by the king. Gallant little Plymouth fared still worse. That earliest democracy of the English world was wiped off the map and its territory was annexed to Massachusetts. So was all of Maine, both east and west of the Kennebec. New Hampshire became again a royal province under an appointed governor as it was when Andros came. Connecticut and Rhode Island, however, were permitted to resume the election of governors. From that time till the revolution of 1776 they were the only American states that elected their governors.

William and his advisers desired as many royal provinces as possible, and therefore took advantage of the anti-Catholic fury to deprive the Calverts of Maryland.<sup>2</sup> Penn, because of

<sup>1</sup> Professor Channing aptly says of the Bill of Rights: "Its genesis shows a persistent disregard of the rights of the colonists" ("History," II, 192). In the whole matter of determining the succession of the Crown, the colonies were ignored. It was assumed that they had no voice whatever. This feeling went so far that, subsequently, a Maryland law recognizing Queen Anne was frowned upon in England as impertinent. See Chalmers, "Opinions," I, 343 (quoted in Channing).

<sup>2</sup> The proprietaryship was restored to the Calvert family in the person of the fourth Lord Baltimore, following his conversion to the Anglican church early in the eighteenth century. In their later period of control, however, the proprietaries were deprived of some of their former power. For example, their appointments of governors had to receive the sanction of the Crown.

his friendship with the Stuart kings, was under suspicion and narrowly escaped the same treatment. The Carolina proprietaries saved themselves from a like fate by promptly acknowledging the new sovereigns. The Virginians transferred their loyalty from the old king to the new with a sense of relief. Being both monarchial and Protestant, Virginians had every reason to expect well of the change. We shall see what came of their expectations.

**159. Execution of Leisler.** The new order of things was stained at the outset by a judicial murder. In New York, there had always been a party opposed to Leisler (section 152) and now the leaders of this opposition, having won the confidence of the new royal governor, Henry Sloughter, trumped up a charge of treason against the popular leader. He was tried before a court of his enemies and hastily put to death.

**160. A New Phase of Despotism.** All these changes were authorized by William not as king of the various American states, but altogether as king of the one premier state of the empire, England. His treatment of the colonies was based on the assumption that England was entitled to do with them what she pleased. They were her property. Therefore he set about overhauling the whole matter of the relations between East and West in the empire.

**161. The Navigation Laws.** When William took the matter in hand, he found on the English statute book certain acts<sup>1</sup> of Parliament for the regulation of trade with the colonies. These acts were designed to advance the interests of English merchants trading with America. They enumerated such American products as could be handled profitably in England and these "enumerated goods" Americans were forbidden to ship to any other country. The Americans were also forbidden to buy from any foreign country direct. All importations had to pass through the hands of British merchants whose profits

<sup>1</sup> These were the Navigation Acts. The act passed by the Long Parliament (section 113) was expanded by later ones. The important Navigation Acts previous to the reign of William were enacted in 1660, 1663, and 1672.



were, of course, paid by the colonists. Trade at sea had to be in ships built and owned in England or in the colonies.<sup>1</sup> Finally goods sent from one colony to another were subjected to a customs duty. This was the first tax laid by England on the Americans.<sup>2</sup> Its purpose was to force them to trade direct with England and to break up their trade with each other.

**162. Lax Enforcement of the Laws.** Such were the laws found by William III on the statute book of England. He also found that these laws had never been really enforced. Edward Randolph, whom he appointed "surveyor general" to oversee the entire business of colonial trade, made reports which left no doubt as to the general disregard of the Navigation Acts in America. All along the coast, Randolph arrested men for violating the acts. But when they were brought into the colonial courts, the local juries would not find them guilty.

**163. Colonial Measures of William III.** William was not the man to put up with lax enforcement of law. In 1696 another Navigation Act was passed. To the provisions of the earlier acts it added some startling new ones. Notably, it provided that hereafter offenders against the trade restrictions might be tried either in local courts, or in special "admiralty" courts,<sup>3</sup> as the king's officials should see fit. It further declared that all colonial laws repugnant to the act were immediately null and void.

William also created a new colonial council. This was the Board of Trade and Plantations often spoken of as the "Lords of Trade." It was to have constant and general supervision of all colonial affairs. Its aim was in part to make the colonies subservient to the crown.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This provision benefited America. It led to the building of ships which, in time, became a great colonial industry. For the general aim of the Navigation Acts, see text of act of 1663, Macdonald, "Source Book," 73.

<sup>2</sup> It was levied under the act of 1672.

<sup>3</sup> Offenses committed on the open sea do not properly come under the jurisdiction of the courts on land. To deal with them we have "admiralty courts" and a system of "admiralty law."

<sup>4</sup> Advanced students will find in the activities of the Board of Trade, the chief unifying factor of all subsequent history of the English colonies. Only recently

**164. Why the Americans Submitted.** For the time being there was an end of the idea that the colonies were free states of the empire.<sup>1</sup> The question inevitably arises, Why did the Americans submit? Forty years before they had made a stand against the Long Parliament, and even Cromwell had thought it best not to push them to the wall. Why were they easily browbeaten by William III?

There are various explanations. For one thing, England in 1696 was a very different foe from the England of forty years earlier. The earlier England was divided against itself. The England of 1696 was very nearly a unit, — King, Parliament, People, pretty much of one mind. To have defied that later England would have been to court destruction.

Furthermore, at the end of the century Americans were almost all in a spasm of anti-Catholic dread. It is probable that most of the colonists outside Maryland believed that James II, Louis XIV, and the Pope were in league to destroy their liberties. However lightly we may dismiss that notion to-day, we cannot doubt that the colonists accepted it. The Americans dreamed of conquering armies pouring southward from Canada, burning and slaying. If they broke with the power of England, what was to keep them out of the hands of the French?

**165. England's Great Mistake.** However, England had made a great mistake — the greatest colonial mistake she ever

has this fact been appreciated. One of the ablest reformers of our conception of our own past, Professor C. M. Andrews, says, "As long as the career and influence of the one directing agency in England (the Board of Trade) . . . remained little more than a name, American history in its earlier phases" possessed "no proper point of view . . . whence colonial events could be seen as identical phenomena grouped by their connection with a common governing authority." . . . Recent writers on the Board of Trade are — Dickerson, "American Colonial Government"; Root, "Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government"; Kellogg, "The American Colonial Charter."

<sup>1</sup> To quote Miss Kellogg ("The American Colonial Charter"), the policy of the Board, "stated in brief . . . was . . . that the colonies 'must hereafter be brought to understand that they are to be looked upon as united and embodied and that their head and center is here!'"

made. The years between 1689 and 1696 form a turning point not only in the history of the Americans, but in that of the empire. Had William and his advisers recognized the Americans as on the same footing in the empire with his European subjects, it is quite likely there never would have been an American revolution. The empire had reached a crisis. To keep her empire during many generations England had but to acknowledge the Western states as co-partners with the Eastern states in imperial concerns.<sup>1</sup> She chose to treat them as her servants. Circumstances had given her an imperial opportunity in America. She threw it away. It never came again.

## II. LIFE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

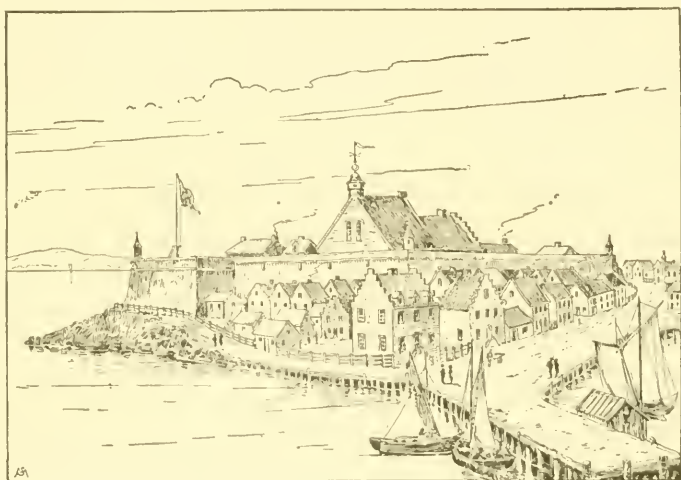
**166. A Point of Pause.** With the opening of the eighteenth century, the Americans entered upon a new chapter in their development. The close of the century we have been studying forms a natural point of pause. We should have a general impression of American life at the close of the seventeenth century.

**167. Inhabitants.** The extent of the country occupied by the English we know.<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants numbered about a quarter of a million. The manners and customs of these people differed greatly in different regions. In the southern colonies most of the people lived outside of towns. The "planter" living on his estate was already the typical figure of those parts. In the middle colonies — Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York — town life was found in combination with country life. Along the Hudson River, the descendants

<sup>1</sup> Two hundred years later, after having lost one colonial empire and valiantly built up another, England confronted a situation strikingly similar to that of 1696. That nations sometimes learn by experience is proved by England's present attitude toward "imperial federation."

<sup>2</sup> Roughly speaking, the settlements were all on the shores of tidewater or extended inland along the banks of streams. See sections 57, 77, note, 92-94, 104, 105, 118, 123, 131, 132, 138, 178.

of the patroons still held their feudal estates, while the little city at the mouth of the river was already becoming a center of influence. To the eastward there were scarcely any large landed estates. The severe climate and the poor soil united to make the open country of comparatively little value. People gathered in towns to be together during the long winters and to find profitable employment.

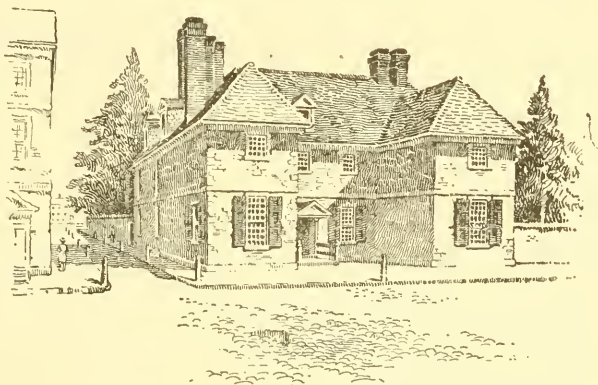


THE BATTERY, NEW YORK, IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

**168. City Population of the Colonies.** It is a question which was the largest American "city." In 1700 Penn estimated the population of Philadelphia at twelve thousand, but this was probably an exaggeration. Boston in 1700 had some seven thousand people; New York about five thousand. Charleston was somewhat smaller than New York. In Maryland and Virginia the capitals were meeting places rather than cities. At certain times they were filled with the great folk of the colony. At other times they came near to being deserted. Thus their permanent population was small. In both cases, toward the end of the century the capital was changed. In

Virginia it was removed from Jamestown to Williamsburg; in Maryland, from St. Mary's to Annapolis.

**169. The Descent of the Americans.** The vast majority of these people scattered over America were of English descent, but other races were represented. In New York, of course, many people had Dutch ancestors. However, intermarriage was rapidly making these people partly English in blood, and they soon became wholly English in feeling. French Huguenots had also come into the colonies in considerable numbers



HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA BUILT BY PENN

(section 131). Carolina had received most of them. We have seen that there were Germans in Pennsylvania (section 133). There were also in America, previous to 1700, people from the north of Ireland, the so-called Scotch-Irish, but as yet they were few.

**170. Domestic Life.** The life led by the Americans when William III was king was seldom luxurious. As yet there were no great houses in America, no stately churches, no imposing public buildings, but there was a great deal of comfort. The owners of large plantations in the South, the New York patroons, prosperous merchants of Boston, all had houses, furniture, servants, sufficient for their wants.

The new houses built about that time were generally plain and without artistic charm, but often large and commodious. Within those houses was an abundance of European articles. There were such imported luxuries as spice, teas, wines, and liquors; the finer clothing of the family — lace, silks, and everything of the sort — was European. The everyday clothing was generally made of homespun, woven on this side the water. Sometimes such cloth was made inside the house itself by the servants of the owner under the supervision of their mistress. On the great plantations in the South this work was done by slaves. In the homes of the poorer people the whole family spent the winter evenings spinning, sewing, or making candles and other articles of household use.

**171. Slavery.** Among the servants in the houses of the rich might generally be found negro slaves.<sup>1</sup> The Southern colonies with their mild climate and country life were well suited to negro labor, and in the South, already, black slaves were numerous. Farther north climatic conditions and town life made slavery less profitable. In the main, the number of slaves decreased as one traveled northward, but there was an exception to the rule. In 1700 Virginia and New York each had about six thousand slaves. The proportion, however, of slaves to the whole population was greater in New York than in Virginia. They were used in large numbers on the estates of the patroons. In New England slaves were, as a rule, merely an affectation of the well-to-do, much as liveried servants are to-day. Slavery always needed agriculture to be profitable and in no New England colony unless, possibly, Rhode Island, was life predominantly agricultural. On the large farms of Rhode Island many slaves were employed.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first slaves in English America are said to have been brought to Virginia by the Dutch in 1619.

<sup>2</sup> Some faint opposition to slavery can be observed even in the seventeenth century. An argument against it was published by German Quakers in 1688. In the last decade of the century official action was taken by the Quaker Church, in meetings held at Philadelphia, adverse to slavery. A famous anti-slavery tract, "The Selling of Joseph," was printed in Boston in 1701.



**172. Books and Printing.** As late as 1700 there was not a newspaper in English America.<sup>1</sup> But there were printing presses, both at Boston and Philadelphia, and a few books were published. Nevertheless the Americans did not lack books brought over from England. Every planter of Virginia had his "library," and though the collections were small, they were generally well chosen. In 1693 the library of a clergyman was catalogued and offered for sale in Boston. It contained

D. C.

Numb. 17

# The Boston News-Letter.

Published by Authority.

From Monday April 17. to Monday April 24. 1704.

London Flying-Post from Decemb. 2d. to 4th. 1703.

**L**etters from Scotland bring us the Copy of a Sheet lately Printed there, Intituled, *A sensible Alarm for Scotland. In a Letter from a Gentleman in the City, to his Friend in the Country, concerning the present Danger of the Kingdom and of the Protestant Religion.*

This Letter takes Notice, That Papists swarm in that Nation, that they traffick more avowedly than formerly, and that of late many Scores of Priests & Jesuites are come thither from France, and gone to the North, to the Highlands & other places of the Country. That the Ministers of the Highlands and North gave in large Lists of them to the Committee of the General Assembly, to be laid before the Privy-Council.

From all this he infers, That they have hopes of Assistance from France, otherwise they would never be so impudent, and he gives Reasons for his Apprehensions that the French King may lend Troops thither this Winter, 1. Because the English & Dutch will not then be at Sea to oppose them. 2. He can then best spare them, the Season of Action beyond Sea being over. 3. The Expectation given him of a considerable number to joyn them, may encourage him to the undertaking with fewer Men, if he can but send over a sufficient number of Officers with Arms and Ammunition.

He endeavours in the rest of his Letters to answer the foolish Pretences of the Pretender's being a Protestant and that he will govern us according to Law. He says, that being bred up in the Religion and Politicks of France, he is by Education a

FACSIMILE OF THE EARLIEST SUCCESSFUL NEWSPAPER IN AMERICA

about a thousand works, of which only eight had been printed in America. A public library was founded at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1698.

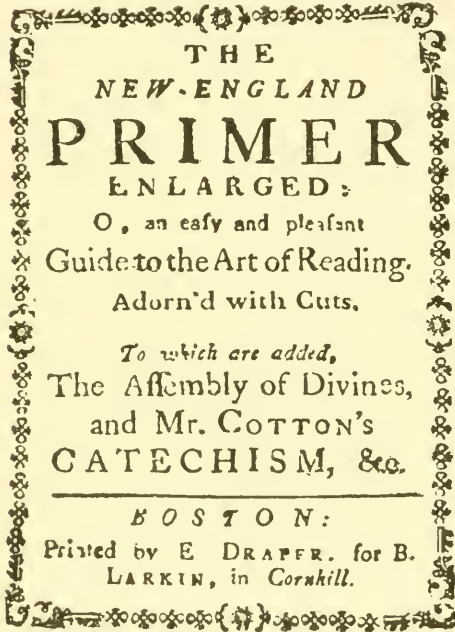
**173. Education.** The American in William's day could not get much of what we now call "higher education" in his own country. For that he had to cross the Atlantic. However, two small colleges were in existence at the end of the century. Harvard College had been founded in 1636 by the General Court of Massachusetts, and William and

<sup>1</sup> There was an attempt to set up a newspaper at Boston in 1690, but the first regular newspaper in America was the *Boston News-Letter*, which began in 1704.

Mary College at Williamsburg in 1693, partly by royal grant, partly through colonial aid. On the other hand, the colonies were well provided with schools. In Massachusetts every town of fifty families was required to maintain a school. The Collegiate School of the Dutch Reformed Church in New

York was founded as far back as 1633. The Penn Charter School was founded at Philadelphia toward the end of the century.

174. Religion. As we have seen, a variety of circumstances had conspired to make the colonies pretty solidly Protestant. If the great liberal movement of the early part of the century had succeeded (section 64), there might have been universal toleration in America in 1690. But it had partially failed, and the tyranny of James



Title-page of the chief reading and spelling book in the colonies from about 1690 to 1800. Facsimile but slightly reduced from original size.

II had united all the Protestants in a cruel opposition to all Catholics (section 164). However, there were still a few members of the Roman Church in English America. Most of them were in Maryland, though New York contained a small number. Jews were also to be found here and there. Once in a while an avowed freethinker might be discovered. But the greater part of the population was distributed among the vari-

ous bodies of Trinitarian Protestants. In Virginia almost every one belonged to the Church of England. The New Englanders, outside Rhode Island, were almost as invariably orthodox Congregationalists. In Rhode Island, however, the Baptists were the leading denomination. The Dutch Reformed Church flourished in New York. There were also a few Lutherans. The Quakers were, of course, the most numerous sect in Pennsylvania. In the Carolinas, Anglicans, Huguenots, and Presbyterians were all influential.

**175. A Tolerant World for Protestants.** The result of all this was general toleration for all Protestants. The party in England which had carried through the revolution of 1688 was friendly to the Protestant dissenters,<sup>1</sup> all of whom had supported the movement (section 151), and most Americans were also ready for as much intellectual freedom as would enable Anglicans and dissenters to dwell together in peace. For example, Carolina, though largely Anglican, accepted a Quaker governor without objection. This was John Archdale, who became governor in 1695. He said of his administration, "My power was very large, yet did I not wholly exclude the High Church party at that time out of the essential part of the government, but mixed two Moderate Churchmen to one High Churchman in the council whereby the balance of government was preserved peaceable and quiet in my Time."

**176. Superstition.** The New World had inherited the superstitions of the Old. There was a general belief in witchcraft. A chief justice of Carolina declared in court: "That there are such creatures as witches I make no doubt; neither do I think they can be denied without denying the truth of

<sup>1</sup> That is, professing Christians who belonged neither to the Church of Rome nor to the Church of England. Unitarians, however, were held to form a class by themselves. The moment the revolution was accomplished, the supporters of it fell into opposite parties. One wished to make Anglicanism the only tolerated religion; the other wished to tolerate all forms of Protestantism. The latter party prevailed (see sections 192-195).

the Holy Scriptures." In Virginia women accused of being witches were publicly ducked in a horsepond.

**177. The Salem Witches.** This ancient superstition was terribly displayed at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. The event may be partly explained by the excited condition of the time. Says a recent critic, "there was general despondency in Massachusetts in 1692, the result of four smallpox epidemics which had quickly followed each other; the loss of the old charter; a temporary increase in crime; financial depression; and general dread of another Indian outbreak."<sup>1</sup> Other students attribute it in part to the gloomy nature of seventeenth century Congregationalism, which dwelt largely on the terrors of hell and kept always before the mind's eye an awful picture of the sufferings of lost souls. Allowing for all possible explanations, it still remains one of the mysteries of our history. A whole community was suddenly possessed by a terror of witches. It began with accusations made by children against an Indian slave. Immediately the people of Salem were thrown into a nervous panic and numbers of them discovered that they also were "afflicted" by the power of absent witches. They declared in court that they had suffered various tortures, such as scalding, and even had been "dragged out of their houses and hurried over the tops of trees for many miles together." The governor set up a special court to try witches. Before the panic was over, nineteen persons had been hanged as witches and one had been pressed to death with leaden weights.

**178. The Near Wilderness.** Nowhere had the settled country been fully separated from the wilderness. Patches of dark woodland lay between the villages. Long arms of forest stretched eastward, making peninsulas of unoccupied land, — tentacles, as it were, extended from the vast, unexplored region of the western boundary. All such stretches of land were associated with the grim figures of stalking Indians. In the imagination of the settlers each bit of dark wood was

<sup>1</sup> Thwaites, "Colonies," 191.

still a possible shelter for their dreadful enemies. This menace of the near wilderness was fulfilled, again and again, when the redness of the sunset mixed with the redness of a burning village, or the darkness of the nighttime was thickened with its smoke. A noted instance was the burning of Andover, only twenty-one miles from Boston, by a party of French and Indians in 1697.

**179. Colonial Self-reliance.** Thus colonial life was always under the shadow of death. With hostile Indians everywhere along the west, with hostile French upon the north, hostile Spaniards upon the south, with the sea for an open door which either France or Spain might enter without a warning, the Americans learned early to rely upon themselves. England was far away and busy with her European affairs. Inevitably America began to be a world to itself almost as soon as it came to be at all. The parts of it naturally sought relations one with another. In New England regular communication by post began early. Virginia set up a post office in 1692; Maryland, in 1695. Before the end of the century there was a postal system between Williamsburg and Boston. American manufactures also began early. The first woolen mill in Massachusetts was established in 1662. The splendid forests of the North were utilized in shipbuilding, and at least one man-of-war was built in New England for the royal navy previous to 1700.

**180. Money.** The seventeenth century Americans had no satisfactory money. The silver shillings of Massachusetts (section 99) had long since been discontinued. English money was scarce. Spanish coins chiefly served the needs of the colonists. But all sorts of coin were in circulation, and there was much confusion. In 1690 Massachusetts set a bad example, followed quickly and recklessly by other colonies. Paper money was issued. This was done because of financial trouble following the unsuccessful expedition against Quebec (section 156), which Sir William Phips had bungled, and which entailed extraordinary expense upon the colony.

**181. Smuggling.** At first the Americans did not take the Navigation Acts very seriously and for a long time the crown was too busy in Europe to provide an efficient system for enforcing them. In defiance of the law, smuggling was carried on upon an immense scale.

**182. Piracy.** A strange detail of the time was the prevalence of piracy. In 1697 it was charged that pirates walked the streets of Philadelphia as safe as if at sea. Penn's representative was accused of making trouble for honest magistrates who tried to bring pirates to justice. In New York the



FIRST WAREHOUSE IN NEW YORK

state of things was still worse. Benjamin Fletcher, who became governor of New York in 1692, issued commissions to pirates on the pretense of employing them to wage war against the enemies of England, and levied blackmail on them in return. The waters of Narragansett Bay were a resort for pirates, and Newport was one of their favorite haunts.

Many respectable merchants did not hesitate to do business with the pirates. Sometimes they sent out ships that met and traded with the pirate ships in distant seas. A noted piratical station was Madagascar. Sometimes the returning ships brought to America rich villains who had decided to retire from piracy. The merchants who traded with them made great fortunes out of the abominable business.

**183. The War upon Pirates.** At length things came to such a pass that Fletcher was recalled and Lord Bellomont was



commissioned to suppress piracy. He began a vigorous campaign, which was carried on even after his death. There was a wholesale hanging of pirates at Boston in 1704; but many more years had to pass before American waters were finally cleared of pirates. One of the greatest ruffians that ever lived was Edward Teach, called "Blackbeard," who used to stain his face black and had thirteen wives, three of whom he throttled with his own hands. Virginia put an end to Blackbeard. The ship sent out to apprehend him brought home his head stuck on a pike staff. The rival of Blackbeard was Stede Bonnet. The credit for abolishing him belongs to the people of Charleston, who commissioned Colonel William Rhett to capture the ruffian, dead or alive. Rhett found him on Cape Fear River, fought a fierce battle, and brought him back to Charleston. He and twenty-three others were tried, convicted, and hanged (see section 198).

**Selections from the Sources.** HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 85-89, 104, 115-116, 142-149, II, Nos. 16-19, 23-27, 33, 34, 45, 46, 71, 85, 102, 103; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 15, 19, 22, 25, *Charters*, 22, 23, 25, 28, 39, 43, 50; SAMUEL SEWALL, *Diary*; COTTON MATHER, *Wonders of the Invisible World* (reprinted in *Library of American Literature*, II, 114).

**Secondary Accounts.** OSGOOD, III, 193-239, 424-440, 470-476, 501-506; SEMPLE, *Geographic Conditions*, 114-132; THWAITES, *Colonies*, 23, 40-45, 75-80, 91-96; FISHER, *Colonial Era*, 56-61, 74, 164-176, 207-211, 313-320; FISKE, *Old Virginia*, II, 1-30, 116-130, 174-269, 308-400; *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 62-98, 222-235, 258-293, 317-356; DOYLE, *English in America*, I, 381-395, II, 1-10, III, 1-8, 14-97, 323-337, 377-395; WINSOR, *Narrative and Critical History*, III, 385-411, V, 99-144, 170, 208-217, 263-334; ANDREWS, *Colonial Self-Government*, chaps. v, vi, ix, x; CHANNING, *History*, II, 13-25, 31-44, 50-60, 117-122, 313-340, 496-507; DOUGLAS, *Currencies of the Colonies* (American Econ. Asso. Studies, II, 294-375).

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The Navigation Laws. 2. The Board of Trade. 3. The Map of America in 1700. 4. Early Colonial Life. 5. Colonial Institutions. 6. What the Colonists brought from Europe. 7. New Conditions encountered by Europeans in America. 8. Colonial Money.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE SPANISH DANGER

#### I. CAROLINA, THE SOUTHERN BULWARK

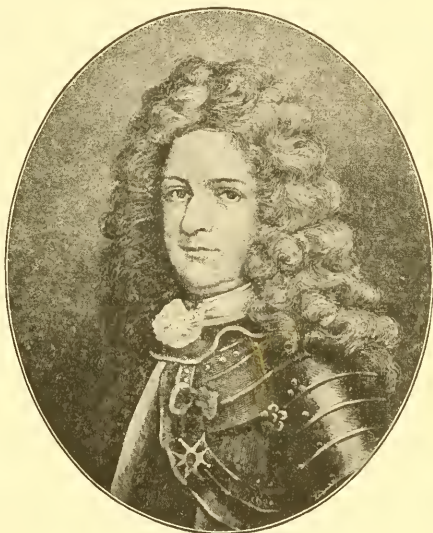
**184. Spain and England part Company.** The Peace of Ryswick (1697) was of great significance to the Americans. It ended the short-lived friendship of England and Spain. During the next four years the main object of France was to detach Spain from the league against her. She succeeded. When war broke out again in 1701, France and Spain were in close alliance. The Americans were menaced from both sides, north and south.

**185. The French on the Gulf of Mexico.** Meanwhile Louis XIV had strengthened his position in America by planting a colony on the Gulf of Mexico. There are few men in the history of French America more justly famous than the *Sieur d'Iberville*. In 1699 D'Iberville took possession of the lower Mississippi. The English, who were also aiming to get a foothold on the great river, were met by the French, that same year, at a bend of the stream which is still called "English Turn" and were compelled to retreat. This was the real beginning of the French colony of Louisiana (section 137). A French post which grew into Mobile was established by D'Iberville soon after (1702): thus Alabama began.

**186. Louis provokes War.** With the opening of 1701 the alliance of France and Spain had been completed. The childless king of Spain had died and bequeathed his crown to a grandson of Louis XIV. To prevent a virtual union of the two countries, England, Holland, and Austria now formed a second alliance against France. All the nations prepared for war. In America the men of Charleston and Albemarle thought of the destruction of Stuart Town and began to put

their defenses in order. New York and Boston recalled angrily the burning of Schenectady and the looting of Andover. Before the year closed, Louis roused them to fury by a bold insult to English pride. On the death of the exiled James II, September 6, 1701, Louis recognized as the rightful king of England, his young son, whom the English Parliament had disinherited.<sup>1</sup> Both in Europe and America broke out at once the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713).

**187. Queen Anne's War.** Before hostilities actually began William III died. He was succeeded by his sister-in-law, Queen Anne, younger daughter of James II. The Americans have generally called the great conflict Queen Anne's War. In Europe it developed the general who is perhaps the greatest England has produced, Marlborough; whose famous victories of Blenheim, Ramillies, Oudenarde, and Malplaquet, astonished the world, shattered the power of France, and forced Louis to beg for peace. Peace was made by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. By this treaty France gave up Nova Scotia, which has been an English possession ever since. Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay Country were also surrendered by the French.<sup>2</sup>



D'IBERVILLE

<sup>1</sup> As he continued until his death to claim the crown of England, he is known as the "Pretender." His son, who made the same claim, is called the "Young Pretender."

<sup>2</sup> For the provisions of the treaty with regard to the slave trade, see section 214.

**188. The Capture of Port Royal.** The most obvious contribution of the Americans to the final success of the English in Queen Anne's war was the conquest of Acadia, or Nova Scotia. In 1710 a British fleet and an American army united at Boston and sailed for Port Royal. After a brief siege the place surrendered and was renamed Annapolis.

**189. The Sack of Deerfield.** In the North this was the only large event of the war. But there was much savage raiding by the French and Indians all along the Canadian border. Perhaps the best known of these attacks is the one which ended in the destruction of Deerfield, Massachusetts. Though the numbers involved were not great, there was an especial ferocity in the way the business was done which has given it a mournful celebrity. The little village was surprised in the dead of the night. A furious battle raged from house to house. Just one house was successfully defended. All the rest were destroyed and most of their defenders killed.

**190. The Expedition against St. Augustine.** While the French invaded English America from the north, the Spaniards invaded it from the south. A Spanish force which had marched northward at the opening of the war was met by a body of Carolinians, with some friendly Indians of the Creek Nation, at Flint River, in our present Georgia, and driven back to Florida. The South Carolina Assembly then resolved upon a great stroke. They would attempt the destruction of the Spanish outpost, St. Augustine, and in 1702 their expedition set sail. But it was not destined to succeed. Though the town was taken by Colonel Daniel, the castle of St. Augustine proved too strong to be reduced, except by siege, and the arrival of Spanish ships of war turned the tables. The Americans retreated, but they were not discouraged, and at its next session the Carolina Assembly, having appealed to the proprietaries for assistance, added bravely, "We hope not only to defend ourselves but even to take St. Augustine."

**191. The Constant Enemy of the Americans.** However, the Spaniards were not their only, perhaps not their worst, enemy. There were men in England who had no sympathy with the war, who wished to end it as quickly as possible, who were also the sworn foes of all the freedom and toleration which, as we have seen, were characteristic of Carolina. These had drawn together in the powerful political party known as the Tories. The Tories were friendly to absolutism and in religious matters utterly intolerant. A resolute Tory was John, Lord Granville, who in 1702 was Palatine<sup>1</sup> of Carolina. Another was Sir Nathaniel Johnson, whom Granville and his associates commissioned governor of Carolina that same year. The Tories of England had long aimed at excluding all but Anglicans from Parliament, but were meeting with poor success. Lord Granville now resolved to attempt in Carolina what as yet his party could not accomplish in England.

**192. The Tory Attack on American Toleration.** There were American Tories as well as English Tories, and Sir Nathaniel set to work to organize the party in Carolina. Apparently the liberal men of the colony were caught napping, and in 1703 was elected an assembly with a Tory majority. The next spring by a majority of one, the Assembly of South Carolina passed an act excluding all but communicants of the Church of England from membership in the legislature of the colony.

**193. The Appeal to the English Whigs.** Great excitement followed. Many churchmen, not Tories, united with Quakers, and other dissenters, in denouncing the new law. The Reverend Edward Marston, rector of St. Philips, Charleston, was one of the leaders of the opposition. Agents were sent to England to protest to the proprietaries. But all this might have come to nothing, had not the Whig party, the rivals of the Tories, steadily opposed the tyrannical legislation favored

<sup>1</sup> The head of the board of proprietaries of Carolina was known as the "Palatine."

by Granville. When the Carolina Palatine approved of the Carolina law, the American agents boldly appealed to the House of Lords. They asked for protection against the proprietaries.

**194. The Last Crisis in the History of American Toleration.** A crisis in English politics occurred late in 1704. The Tories had a majority in the House of Commons, the Whigs in the House of Lords. The Tories were against the war; the Whigs were for it. The Tories, in the Commons, refused to vote supplies unless dissenters were excluded from Parliament; the Whigs, in the House of Lords, stood firm and refused to exclude dissenters. The queen dissolved Parliament.

But the Tories had not allowed for the effect on the English people of the events of the year 1704. In August a great English army had met a great French army near the village of Blenheim in Bavaria. The victory won that day gave Marlborough the first place among the generals of his time. It made all England passionately proud of her general and his army. When the opponents of the war appealed to the voters they spoke to deaf ears. The House of Commons elected in 1705 was overwhelmingly Whig.

Thereupon the Lords boldly urged the Queen to overrule the Tory proprietors. The Board of Trade gave the same advice. At length Queen Anne asserted her sovereign authority and declared the Carolina law null and void.<sup>1</sup>

**195. Renewed War Spirit.** The war was carried on with great spirit in 1706. In that summer occurred the first armed invasion of English America on a considerable scale. A mixed French and Spanish expedition was organized at Havana. It proceeded to St. Augustine, took on board the forces stationed there, and sailed for Charleston. The city was summoned to surrender, and Governor Johnson was given one hour

<sup>1</sup> This attempt to destroy religious freedom was not confined to South Carolina. Though the Tory influence was still weaker in North Carolina, an attempt was made to carry out the same plan there. It was the cause of the minor insurrection known as "Cary's Rebellion."



in which to consider. He replied " that it needed not a quarter of an hour or a minute's time to give the answer to that demand for he (the enemy) might see he (the governor) was not in such condition as to be obliged to surrender the town ; but that he kept the same and would defend it in the name and by the authority of the great Queen of England, and that he valued not any force he had ; and bade him go about his business." By this time all the militia of the colony had been collected. Colonel Rhett, who acted as admiral, had gotten together seven ships of various sorts, one of which had been converted into a fire ship. A council of war decided to attack the invaders. There followed three days of vigorous action both on land and sea ; after which the invaders, having had all the fight they wanted, thought better of it and sailed away.

**196. The Tuscarora War.** Several years passed before Carolina was again troubled by the Spaniards. In this interval broke out, in North Carolina, the war with the Tuscarora Indians, who appear to have thought that a party of innocent Swiss emigrants intended to deprive them of their lands. Their attack was one of the most unexpected and most deadly in all the terrible story of Indian warfare, but it was met with great courage and promptness. The North Carolina authorities appealed to Virginia and South Carolina. Both gave aid. The South Carolinians, commanded by John Barnwell, fought the chief action of the war in January, 1712. The Indians were routed (see section 211).

**197. The Yamassee War.** The European peace, concluded the next year at Utrecht (section 187), did not bring peace to Carolina. Only two years later (1715) the Yamassee Indians in South Carolina followed the example of the Tuscaroras. Again there was all the sickening horror that people had come to expect in Indian war. After severe fighting, the Yamassees were expelled from the colony. They retreated southward and marched into St. Augustine in a body. The garrison received them with the ringing of bells

and firing of guns. It is generally believed, though never proved, that the Yamassee War had been instigated by Spain.

**198. Further Danger from Spain.** The troubles of the South were far from an end. In 1718 the British government made a vigorous campaign against the pirates of the West Indies, and one result of it was the increase of the retreating freebooters along the American coast. There was a time when the Carolinas were almost in a state of blockade. The proprietaries, however, did nothing to relieve this intolerable condition. Rhett's capture of Stede Bonnet (section 183) and a naval battle fought by Governor Robert Johnson<sup>1</sup> were the only encouragement the colonists had. No wonder they made an appeal direct to the crown, early in 1719, begging for the protection of the royal navy.<sup>2</sup> At this desperate moment a new quarrel arose between England and Spain, and war was threatened. The Spaniards determined again to attempt taking Carolina unawares. But the news of their designs<sup>3</sup> came to the ears of Governor Johnson. He summoned the militia of the colony, and the whole force met in review at Charleston.

**199. The Revolution of 1719.** We have seen how little cause the Carolinians had to love their proprietaries. Furthermore, their recent appeal to the crown had not been in vain, and two ships of war had been sent to protect them. As a consequence there was a widespread inclination to rebel against the government of the proprietaries and bring the colony under the direct rule of the crown. The revolutionary movement needed only an organization to become formidable, and an opportunity to organize was given by the review of the militia. It was at once seized. Articles of association were

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Nathaniel Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> The Board of Trade, ever watchful to advance the interests of the crown, seconded the appeal of the colonists and advised the abolition of the proprietary government.

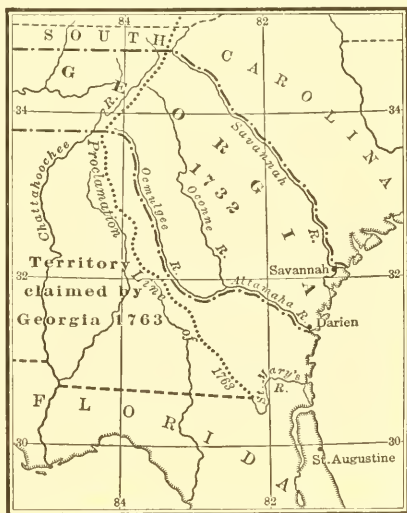
<sup>3</sup> Though a Spanish expedition put to sea, it never reached the American coast. An attempt to capture the island of New Providence was a failure. A severe storm also did great damage to the fleet. The remainder retreated.

distributed among the soldiers and were signed by almost the entire force. Thus the fighting strength of the colony was organized against the proprietary government.

**200. The Crown Colonies of the Carolinas.** Governor Johnson, faithful to his employers, did his best to withstand the revolution. But he stood almost alone. He was peaceably deposed, and James Moore was chosen to take his place until the arrival of a royal governor. The crown sustained the revolutionists; subsequently, the interests of the proprietaries were purchased by the English government; and the colony was divided into the separate royal provinces of North and South Carolina (1729).

## II. GEORGIA, THE SENTINEL STATE

**201. A Great Philanthropic Movement.** The Spanish danger was not yet past. But a new defense against Spain was now formed in a remarkable way. It grew out of the death in a debtors' prison of a poor gentleman of England named Castel, a friend of the great philanthropist and dashing soldier, James Edward Oglethorpe. Oglethorpe investigated the debtors' prisons and found their condition horrible beyond words. Meditating on his discoveries, he formed a plan for drawing together in the New World those members of the Old who had fallen into misfortune without having fallen into crime. Others became interested in his generous scheme. In 1732 a charter was



COLONIAL GEORGIA

granted to them as "Trustees for establishing the Colony of Georgia in America." They were given all the land between the Savannah and Altamaha rivers westward indefinitely.

**202. The Founding of Savannah.** Oglethorpe himself brought over the first party of settlers. He chose a site on the northern edge of the colony and there laid out the city of Savannah (1733). This location was already occupied by the village of an Indian tribe, the Yamacraws, who at first were inclined to resist the coming of the English. Their resistance introduces us to a remarkable Indian woman, who, like Pocahontas, has found a place in American history. This was Mary Musgrove—as she was known after her conversion to Christianity and marriage with a South Carolina trader, John Musgrove. The Musgroves had established a trading post among the Yamacraws, and it was due to the influence of Mary Musgrove that her people were induced to make a treaty with Oglethorpe by which they ceded a large tract of land and consented to the foundation of Savannah.

It was the desire of the trustees to open their colony to oppressed Protestants of all countries—even such generous minds as these were not ready to extend their invitation to all Christians—and many Germans<sup>1</sup> soon emigrated to Georgia. Several noted men helped to start the colony. From England came Charles Wesley to be secretary to Oglethorpe. His celebrated brother John, the founder of the Methodist Church, also spent a part of his life in Georgia. So did that great preacher and reformer, George Whitefield. For many years Georgia was a magnet drawing to it not only the oppressed, but generous natures that were willing to work for the oppressed.

**203. The Strategic Significance of Georgia.** However, there was another side to this movement. Oglethorpe was a

<sup>1</sup> These were the "Salzburghers," thus described by Dr. A. G. Voight in "A Primer of Lutheranism."—"Pious Lutheran people, who were driven from their homes in Austria by . . . (religious) persecution, many of them settled in Georgia in 1734. They brought two pastors with them, named Bolzius and Gronau." Bolzius is a highly interesting figure (see section 214, note).



JAMES OGLETHORPE





soldier as well as a philanthropist, and a renewal of war with Spain was as good as certain even before the Georgia charter was issued. Commercial rivalries, together with the defiance of Spanish laws by English traders, were fast bringing the two nations to a pitch of rage. Oglethorpe and others saw that Georgia would prove an added safeguard to English America. That they understood the situation was proved in 1736, when Oglethorpe was temporarily in England and Spain protested against allowing him to take any soldiers back to Georgia. England's answer was the dispatch of six hundred troops to the new colony. War began in 1739.

**204. The Second Attack on St. Augustine.** Thirty-five years had passed since the failure of the Carolinians to take St.



JOHN WESLEY PREACHING TO THE INDIANS

Augustine (section 190). Oglethorpe was eager to accomplish what had then proved impossible, and the Carolinians were also ready to try again. The attempt was made under Oglethorpe's lead in 1740, but was not successful. Subsequently there was bitter contention as to who was to blame. It is a matter of debate to this day.

**205. Third Spanish Invasion.** Oglethorpe's most brilliant exploit took place in 1742. In that year the Spaniards made their third important attack upon English America.<sup>1</sup> A fleet which has been described as comprising "fifty one sail" appeared off the coast of Georgia, while an army of some five thousand men advanced to sweep the English into the sea. To oppose these forces Oglethorpe had less than a thousand men,

<sup>1</sup> Counting the destruction of Stuart Town (section 141) as the first and the siege of Charleston (section 195) the second.

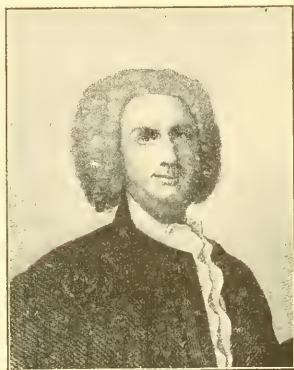
all told, and no ships worth mentioning. This small army he concentrated at Frederica, where he fought a brilliant campaign that ended in the retreat of the invaders. Never again did they return in force to harass the Americans.

### III. COLLAPSE OF THE SPANISH POWER

**206. King George's War.** The empire was at war with Spain from 1739 to 1744 and with Spain and France together from 1744 to 1748. In Europe this long struggle is known chiefly as the War of the Austrian Succession, because a scheme to divide Austria was one of the issues upon which all Europe took sides. Americans call it King George's War. In the course of it the power of Spain was entirely broken and England established herself as the first naval power in the world. Spanish commerce for a time almost disappeared from the seas. In one year six hundred Spanish ships struck their flags. Admiral Anson sailed round the world, plundering and destroying Spaniards in a way that reminds us of the great voyage of Drake (section 32).

**207. The Capture of Louisburg.** Not all the naval commanders were so successful. Admiral Vernon, commanding an expedition made up in part of Americans, attempted vainly to take Cartagena in South America. Other Americans took part in an equally unfortunate attack on Cuba. But there was one foreign exploit conducted chiefly by Americans which was a brilliant success. The fortress of Louisburg, on Cape Breton Island at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, has been called the Gibraltar of the North. It was of great importance to the enemies of England. This fortress, in 1745, the New Englanders determined to take. An army of four thousand men was raised and the command given to William Pepperell of Maine, who was supported by a small British fleet under Commodore Warren. After a resolute siege the northern Gibraltar was surrendered.

**208. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.** The English empire had proved too strong for all its enemies. Spain was exhausted ; France was on the verge of bankruptcy. In 1748 was negotiated the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. By that treaty Louisburg was given back to France in return for concessions in other parts of the world. The treaty was advantageous to old England but the New Englanders felt that their interests had been sacrificed to those of the mother country. The grievance rankled and was never forgotten.



SIR WILLIAM PEPPERELL

Commander of the expedition  
against Louisburg.

By the series of wars between 1701 and 1748, Spain was rendered powerless to check the growth of the English colonies. The way was cleared for a duel, between France and England, and between the principles they stood for, to dominate America.

*Selection from the Sources.* HART, *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 39-41, 118, 120-121 ; SALLY, *Original Narratives of Carolina* ; GIBSON, *Journal of the Siege* (of Louisburg) in JOHNSON'S *Life of Gibson* ; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 26, 27.

*Secondary Accounts.* OSGOOD, *Colonies*, II, 429-432 ; CHANNING, *History*, II, 345-347, 363-365, 537-549 ; DOYLE, *English Colonies*, III, 345-353 ; V, 322-360, 375-383, 390-401, 406-410, 426 ; PARKMAN, *Half Century of Conflict*, I, chaps. i, iii, v, vii, viii ; II, chaps. xviii-xxiv ; MCCRADY, *History of South Carolina*, II, chaps. xi, xii ; WRIGHT, *Oglethorpe*, chaps. ii-vi, ix, xi-xvii ; ROOT, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, 279-292 ; DICKERSON, *American Colonial Government*, 17, 133.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Iberville. 2. The Jacobites. 3. The War of the Spanish Succession. 4. The Movement in South Carolina for Freedom of Worship. 5. The Policy of the Board of Trade. 6. Oglethorpe. 7. The Expedition against Cartagena. 8. The Capture of Louisburg.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE MIDDLE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

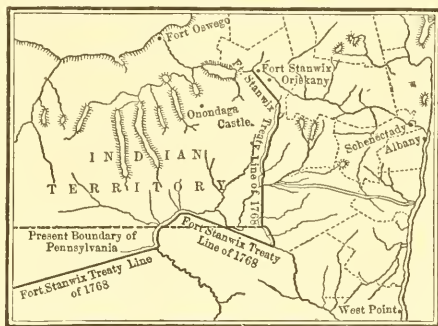
**209. The Intermediate Period.** The fifty years between the Treaty of Ryswick and the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle might well be called the intermediate period in colonial life. We have seen that a new age began about 1696 (section 164) with the imperial policy of William III. We have also seen that the events which terminated in 1748 (section 208) put the Americans in a new relation to the rest of the world. Between these two dates the life of America underwent a change. It is scarcely rash to say that while the colonists of 1696 were in feeling Europeans, their grandchildren in 1748 were beginning to feel that they were a separate people, Americans.<sup>1</sup>

**210. A New Nationality.** The conditions with which the colonists had to struggle during this intermediate period have been described. The boldness with which they met and repulsed their foreign enemies was shown in Chapter XI. The second part of Chapter X contains a picture of the internal problems by which they were confronted when the intermediate period began. Indians, and the hard life of a country only half settled, were the chief sources of difficulty. During the fifty years of the "Spanish danger" both of these were largely overcome. Out of the struggles of that time came forth a new people — bold, resourceful, prompt, and tenacious.

**211. The Indians in the Intermediate Period.** Two important changes took place in Indian relations. The powerful

<sup>1</sup> It is, of course, impossible to say just when the colonial English began to be conscious that they were a separate people. It would not be safe to date the beginning of the change earlier than 1748.

tribe of the Cherokees acknowledged themselves subjects of England. As the Cherokees held all the mountain passes westward from Georgia and the Carolinas, they formed a valuable bulwark against the French in Louisiana. Thus they signified to the South much that the Iroquois signified to the North. The second change concerned the Iroquois. After the defeat of the Tuscaroras (section 196) that tribe retreated northward and joined the confederacy of the Iroquois, known thenceforth as the Six Nations. Whether the Tuscaroras influenced the Iroquois against the English would be hard to say, but it is plain that the task of keeping the latter loyal grew more and more difficult. However it was successfully performed all through the intermediate period. About the middle of the century the Six Nations were dominated by the genius of Sir William Johnson. Johnson Hall, a castle which he built near Schenectady, was on the edge of the Iroquois country. There he lived as agent of the crown and practically ruled the Iroquois many years.



THE IROQUOIS COUNTRY

As finally limited by a treaty at Fort Stanwix, 1768. Johnson Hall, a castle which he built near Schenectady, was on the edge of the Iroquois country. There he lived as agent of the crown and practically ruled the Iroquois many years.

**212. The Conquest over Natural Obstacles.** Trade with the Indians was an increasing source of profit to the Americans, but it was only one of many. By the middle of the eighteenth century the Americans were trading with all parts of the world. Their ships took abroad rice from the Carolinas; tobacco from Virginia; beef, corn, iron ore from the middle colonies; lumber, fish, and rum from New England. Returning they brought home luxuries of all sorts from every great seaport of Europe and Asia — teas, coffees, silks, linens, wines, china, glassware,



silverware. The Americans overcame the wilderness on land, converting the whole seaboard into cultivated country, but also compelled the sea to become an exhaustless source of wealth. A vivid passage in Edmund Burke describes the universal prevalence of the whale ships of New England,

and tells how the most remote ocean was "but a stage and resting place in the progress of their victorious industry."

**213. American Wealth.** Everywhere the Americans had been rewarded for the persistence of their hard struggle with nature. Prosperity was universal; wealth was frequent. A Swiss "promoter" — as we say nowadays — issued an advertisement during this period which asserts: "There are between five and six hundred houses in Charles Town,<sup>1</sup> the most of which are very costly.

... If you travel into the country, you will see stately Buildings, noble Castles, and an infinite Number of all Sorts of Cattle." One of the richest men of that day was



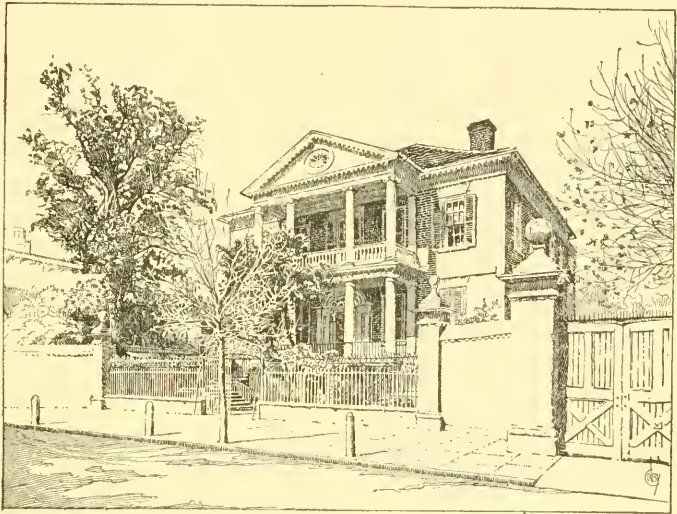
MARTHA WASHINGTON WHEN A  
YOUNG WOMAN

A type of Southern aristocracy.

<sup>1</sup> Thus "Charleston," South Carolina, was written in colonial times. This advertisement may have some of the defects of modern "booming," but undoubtedly had a basis in fact. It was prepared by John Peter Purry of Neufchatel in 1731.



Colonel William Fitzhugh of Virginia. His house was described as a "very good dwelling house with many rooms in it, four of the best of them hung and nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient and all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys, four good cellars, a Dairy, Dovecot, Stable, Barn, Henhouse, Kitchen and all other conveniences." What is meant by rooms being



PRINGLE HOUSE, CHARLESTON, S.C.

Built about 1760.

"hung" is shown in a letter from Sir William Pepperell (who got his title for service at Louisburg) to a merchant in England. Sir William sent over the plan of a room he was furnishing and wrote, "Geet mock Tapestry or painted Canvass lay'd in Oyls for ye same and send me." Especially fine rooms were hung with tapestry, ornamental leather, or pictured wall paper. Of the city of New York John Oldmixon wrote that "there are now about 1100 houses, and near 7000 inhabitants in it. The houses are well built, the meanest of them said

to be worth one hundred pounds, which cannot be said of any city in England. The great Church here was built in the year 1695 and is a very handsome edifice."

**214. The Slave Trade.** Almost all these rich Americans of the middle of the eighteenth century were interested in slavery or the slave trade. Georgia, indeed, had attempted for a time to get on without slavery, but soon fell into line with



A DANDY ABOUT 1760

Portrait of Nicolas Boylston, merchant,  
Boston.

the other colonies.<sup>1</sup> In the South, by 1750 there were great numbers of slaves. Though they were steadily decreasing in the North, commerce in slaves had become a source of wealth to northern merchants. The slave trade, of which so much has since been written, became an important English industry subsequent to the Treaty of Utrecht. One of the provisions of that treaty is known as the "asiento," or privilege to carry slaves to the Spanish West Indies. The trade was fostered by the English government and looked upon as one of the important English industries. Several

times when colonial legislatures tried to lay import duties on slaves, the home government interfered in the interest of British traders and forced them to desist.

<sup>1</sup> The Germans who had settled in the interior and the planters of the coast settlements disagreed over slavery. The coast settlers petitioned the trustees of Georgia to permit the introduction of slaves. The Germans led by Bolzius (section 202, note) opposed. At first, the party of Bolzius was successful. Eventually, however, they yielded; the planters had their way, and the trustees consented to the introduction of slavery into Georgia.

**215. Commercial Restrictions.** But with all their wealth, the colonies had scarcely any manufactures. The Lords of Trade (section 163) watched America with jealous eyes, and as soon as any industry became a rival of anything in England, steps were taken to destroy it. In 1732 the manufacture of hats in America began to interfere with the English trade and exportation of hats from America was forbidden. In 1733 the Sugar Act, called also the Molasses Act, was passed by Parliament. It laid heavy duties on all sugar imported into America from all countries not under the control of England. This act was passed in the interests of English capitalists who owned estates in the West Indies and was designed to break up trade between America and their competitors in the French possessions. The American manufacture of iron and steel was prohibited by act of Parliament in 1750. Americans might ship iron ore to England, but they must not compete with the English manufacture.

**216. Smoldering Discontent.** In all these ways England was but following up the colossal blunder made by William III (section 157). The Lords of Trade systematically carried out the idea that the colonies were not states of the empire (section 160), but mere dependents of England to be

<i>A TABLE of the Value and Weight of Coins, as they now pass in Pennsylv- vania.</i>				
	Value.			Leaft
	£.	s.	d.	dwts. gr.
<b>E</b> ngl. Guineas at	1	14	0	5 6
French Guineas	1	13	6	5 5
Moidores - - -	2	3	6	6 18
Johannes's - - -	5	15	0	18 8
Half Johannes's -	2	17	6	9 4
Carolines - - -	1	14	0	6 5
Dutch or Ger. Ducat.	0	14	0	2 4
French milled Pistoles	1	6	6	4 4
Spanish Pistoles	1	7	0	4 6
Arabian Chequins -	0	13	6	2 3
Other Gold Coin, per				
Ounce - - -	6	5	0	
French Silver Crowns	0	7	6	17 6
Spanish milled Pieces				
of 8. - - -	0	7	6	17 6
Other good coined Span.				
Silver, per Ounce	0	8	6	
The Proportion of Gold to Silver, in				
England is, as 1 : 15 : 1				
1 Ounce Troy of Gold (22 Car.)				
is worth Sterling £. 3 17 8 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>				
1 Ounce Sterling Silver, 0 5 2				

PAGE FROM POOR RICHARD'S AL-  
MANAC

Showing money in use in eighteenth  
century.

used in whatever way might profit Englishmen. After fifty years of this policy it is not strange that the Americans were beginning to resent it. In 1750 there were not yet many open signs of discontent. Nevertheless, all through the century there had been frequent bickerings between the colonial legislatures and the royal governors. In spite of Parliament the Americans insisted that they were entitled to all the rights of Englishmen and that if the Bill of Rights did not apply to the colonies (section 157) it ought to.

**217. American Politicians.** In a word, all this resolute and prosperous America had "a chip on its shoulder." It was



THE "PALACE" AT NEW BERNE

Residence of the Royal Governor of North Carolina.

tired of being treated as the mere ward of England. Americans in 1750 were thinking again of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers and of the old idea that they were subjects of the king of England but not of a Parliament to which they sent no representatives. And most of them were eager politicians. Having no opportunity to take part in the government of the empire, they made up for that deprivation by taking a great interest in local affairs. In every colony there was one house of the legislature to which Americans could be elected. Everywhere, except in Connecticut, and Rhode Island,<sup>1</sup> this popular house was opposed by a governor sent out from

<sup>1</sup> In 1776 these two still elected their governors. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were proprietary colonies. The rest were royal provinces. Georgia had been transformed into a province in 1752.

England. Between the two stood the council, appointed either by the governor or the king, which played the part almost of what we know to-day as an "upper chamber." It also served as the highest court of the colony. Roughly speaking, these two — the Assembly and the Council — were related to each other about as were the House of Commons and the House of Lords in England. The "lower house," as the popular body was called, paid the governor's salary,



PHILADELPHIA ABOUT 1740

From an old print.

often with such bad grace that the governors besought the crown to find some way to pay their salaries without asking leave of the Assemblies.

**218. Other Political Activities.** The political restlessness of the Americans found other means of expression. Everywhere the method of conducting local matters gave scope for the political instinct. The South generally had the English county system: in each county a board of "quarter sessions," also known as the County Court, was appointed by the governor, and this board looked after the taxation of the county and the administration of justice. Pennsylvania had the same system except that the county officials were chosen by the people of the county. Towns, which were smaller than counties, were the political units of New England.



In a New England town all the voters met periodically in the town meeting, which formed a complete democracy almost like the miniature democracies of remote ancient times. That is to say, the taxes were laid, the local officers were elected, the business of the town transacted, all by the same body of men in the same assembly.

There were also towns in New York where the county board was made up of their representatives.

### 219. The Colonial Agents.

In all the colonies except Rhode Island and Connecticut, the governor could veto acts of the Assembly, and any colonial legislation might be vetoed by the king. Consequently on many occasions the Americans had need of some one to look after their interests in London. Thus each colony got in the way of employing an agent. The agent, in some cases, appeared before the Privy Council, or at the bar of the House of Commons, and presented the colonial side of some question in which the Americans were interested. Whenever the



ST. MICHAEL'S, CHARLESTON, S.C.

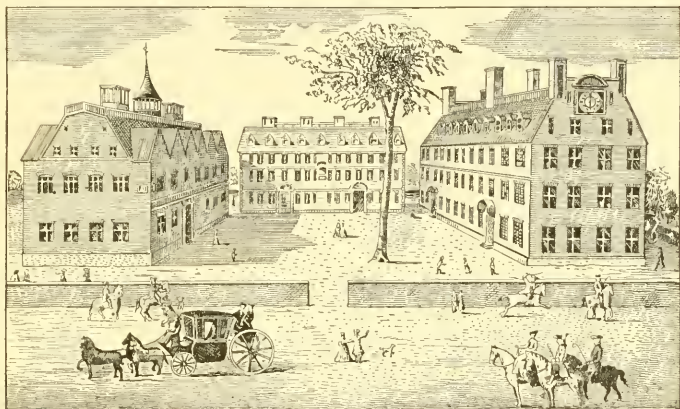
Typical colonial church.

Americans felt themselves wronged, they could appeal to the king in council.

**220. Freedom of Speech.** One new principle had been added by the Americans to the body of English law. In 1735 a poor printer in New York, Peter Zenger, was publisher of a newspaper, the *New York Weekly Journal*. The governor had removed the chief justice because the latter had refused



to acknowledge the right of the governor to order certain cases to be tried without a jury, and the governor's action was severely criticized in the *Weekly Journal*. As a consequence Zenger found himself in court on a charge of libel. Public-spirited men of New York felt that the trial was an attack on the freedom of the press and secured the first lawyer in America, Andrew Hamilton from Philadelphia, to defend Zenger. This famous trial ended in establishing the principle that the truth can be spoken no matter whom it injures with-



HARVARD COLLEGE IN 1726

out fear of the accusation of libel. Gouverneur Morris afterward spoke of the Zenger trial as "the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."

**221. General Ferment in America.** A general increase of interest in things of the mind took place between the years 1740 and 1760. The first great metaphysician of America, Jonathan Edwards, appeared in New England and inspired a fresh zeal for religion. About the same time Whitefield (section 202) made a tour of the colonies, preaching in many places with immense effect. In 1740 he was invited to come from Savannah to Boston, which he did, and later preached before Harvard College. The work of these remarkable

men culminated in what is known as the Great Awakening, a religious revival which was felt throughout the colonies. One result of the revival was the appearance of the Methodist Church in America.<sup>1</sup> About the same time Henry Melchoir Muhlenburg roused and organized the American Lutherans. The establishment of the first Lutheran synod in America, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania, was due to Muhlenburg.<sup>2</sup>



ELIHU YALE

The founder of Yale College.

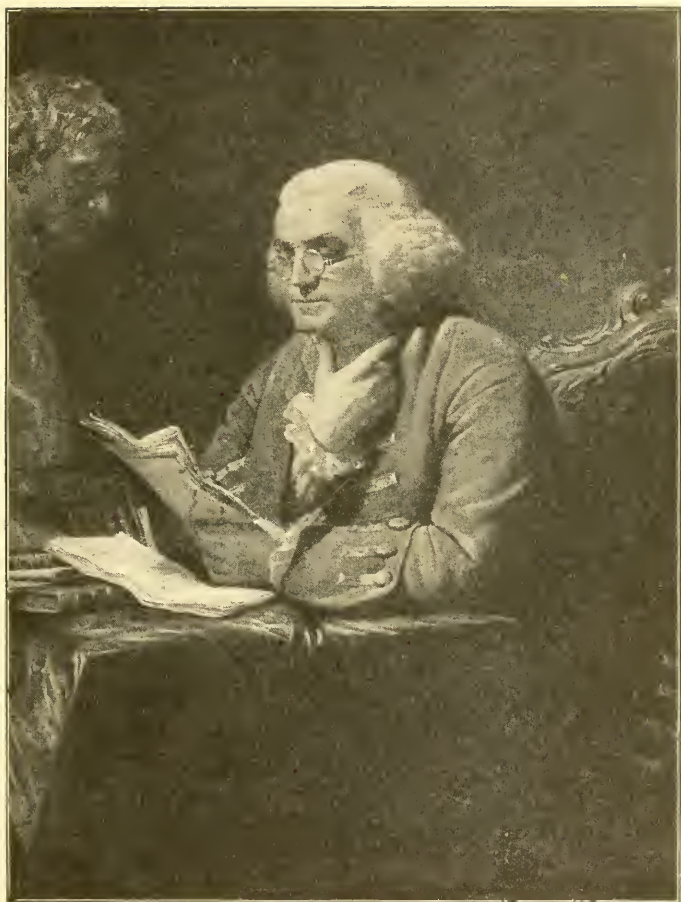
**222. Increase of Colleges.** It is to be noted that a great increase in the number of American colleges occurred at this same time. The two little colleges which dated from the seventeenth century, Harvard and William and Mary (section 173), had been joined by Yale early in the eighteenth century. Five more were founded between 1746 and 1769. Four of these are now known as Princeton University, Columbia University, the University of

Pennsylvania, and Brown University. The fifth is still called Dartmouth College.

**223. The Man of the Hour.** Perhaps the most characteristic American of this time was Benjamin Franklin. Born at Boston in 1706, he went to Philadelphia as a poor lad to seek his fortune. He began as a printer and rose to be owner and

<sup>1</sup> Wesley, the founder of Methodism, was a friend of Whitefield, and had spent several years in Georgia (section 202). His first hymn book was published at Charleston, 1737.

<sup>2</sup> There were Lutherans in New Sweden as early as 1638; others settled in New Amsterdam; still others in Georgia and Pennsylvania. But they had no general organization until Muhlenburg drew them into union.



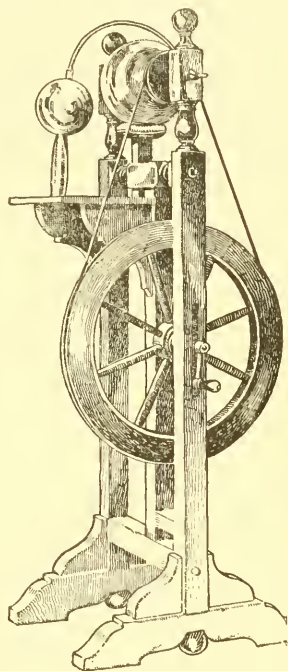
*From the painting by D. Martin. Courtesy of H. W. Biddle.*  
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN



editor of a paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. He was the first American who won fame in Europe as a writer and scientist. It was Franklin who made the discovery that lightning and frictional electricity are the same force. The Royal Academy, the most distinguished scientific body in England, elected Franklin one of its members. In America he had wide influence through his political and satirical writings such as "How a Great Empire may become Small" and "Poor Richard's Almanac." He was shrewd, witty, practical, with a wonderful knowledge of men and a deep understanding of affairs. In 1753 he was deputy postmaster for the colonies<sup>1</sup> and later was the principal American agent in London. Franklin, more than any other one man, roused the Americans to claim again all the political rights which had been claimed by their ancestors a hundred years before, and which had been taken from them by William III.

**Selections from the Sources.** HART, *Contemporaries*, I, Nos. 104, 126, 306; II, Nos. 19-24, 26, 28-31, 35-38, 47-108, 113-116, 122; WILLIAM BYRD, *History of the Dividing Line* (see BASSETT, *Writings of Colonel William Byrd*); MAURY, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*; FRANKLIN, *Autobiography*; *Poor Richard's Almanac*; FORCE, *Tracts*, II; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, No. 28.

**Secondary Accounts.** LECKY, *History of England*, III, 290-330; EGERTON, *British Colonial Policy*, 145-146; DICKERSON, *American Colonial Government*, 39-57, 195-209, 315-323, 336-356; BEER, *British Colonial Policy*, 16-30, 52-131, 188-192, 252-273; THWAITES, *Colonies*,



ELECTRICAL MACHINE DESIGNED BY FRANKLIN

<sup>1</sup> He held the office until 1774.

24-26, 46, 81, 97, 116-130; FISHER, *Colonial Era*, 216-236, 241-286, 292-312; LODGE, *English Colonies*, chaps. i, iii, v, vii, xiv, xviii, xxi, *passim*; GREENE, *Provincial America*, *Colonial Governor*; FISKE, *Old Virginia*, II, 30-44, 162-173, 289-308, 333-337, 370-400; *Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, II, 209-257, 294-317; *New France and New England*, 197-232; DOYLE, *English in America*, I, 266-274, 323-327, 343-350, 363-380; III, 8-14, 273-376, 395-404; WEEDEN, *New England*, I, 314-330, 379-387; II, 473-492, 607-713; CHANNING, *Town and County Government*; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 3-11; MERENESS, *Maryland*.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. Changes in America between 1697 and 1748. 2. Sir William Johnson. 3. Domestic Life about 1750. 4. Restrictions laid on the Colonies by the Crown. 5. The Zenger Case. 6. Franklin. 7. Character of the Empire in the Middle of the Eighteenth Century.



## CHAPTER XIII

### WILLIAM PITT

**224. A World-wide Issue.** At this critical moment, the Americans became involved in one of the greatest events of history. Among the countless wars that make history such tragic reading, few have had a permanent effect upon mankind. They have come and gone like thunderstorms, and their effects have gradually disappeared. Now and then, however, a war has changed the line upon which civilization was developing. This has happened only when two powerful races have become the incarnations of ideas that are incapable of compromise. Such was the war between the Persians and the Greeks; such also was the civil war in the Roman world between Cæsar and Pompey; and such, in the eighteenth century, was the world-wide duel between the English and the French.

**225. France, the Incarnation of Absolutism.** France had become the very incarnation of the principle of absolutism. Louis XIV summed up the French theory of government when he said, "I am the state." His reign marks the highest point ever reached in western Europe by the power of kings. All the monarchs of Europe were his imitators and outside the British empire, his influence was unbounded. The French language was the diplomatic language of the whole world and to a large extent it was the language of the upper classes everywhere. The one obstacle in the way of universal French influence was the stubborn empire which spoke English.

**226. The Democratic Principle.** With all her faults, England was the champion of the opposite principle. In dealing with her relations to the colonies we must learn to sepa-

rate abstract questions from practical ones. In the political thinking of the English, on both sides of the water, had been slowly worked out those great principles of free government upon which to-day every country in the world has founded its system of authority. So far as political theories went, both Americans and Britons agreed. But circumstances, as we have seen, had quietly drawn them apart in feeling, with the result that unaware to themselves they had already become separate peoples. When England was opposed on any point by her colonies, there flashed up in Englishmen pretty much the same feeling that they had when opposed by foreigners. Principles were made to yield to pride. Arrogance took the place of reason. But even then, England treated her colonies immeasurably better than did the absolutist nations of the Continent. The effect of free institutions was gradually changing even the political temper of Englishmen. From England, and from her American colonies, a new set of institutions, a new political temper, was destined to be distributed to all the nations of the earth. The question in 1750, on which all the future depended, was this: Shall France, the incarnation of absolutism, remove from her path the only people that have free institutions? The advance of the French over the world, as has been well said, was not unlike the advance of the Persians more than two thousand years before.

**227. The Advance of the French.** America had the honor of bearing the brunt of the French attack. Hardly had the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle been signed than France began to prepare for the final struggle. In 1749 Céloron de Bienville took possession of the Ohio valley in the name of France. That same year several gentlemen of Virginia, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, organized the Ohio Company and sent out an expedition to explore the region which is now the state of Ohio. The Canadians promptly began establishing forts in the upper valley of the Ohio River. Thereupon, the governor of Virginia picked out a bold and capable young man and commissioned him to

carry word to the French that the Ohio country belonged to Virginia by reason of the old grants from James I which gave Virginia all the western land to the Pacific. This messenger was George Washington. But in spite of the defiance from Virginia, the French continued to advance. They seized the "forks of the Ohio" where Pittsburgh now stands, and built there Fort Duquesne. Meanwhile a small Virginian force was moving westward to protect the frontier. Young Washington commanded it. On May 28, 1754, at a place called Great Meadows, the French and Virginians met. There was a short, sharp engagement; the French commander was killed and his men forced to retreat. But soon they returned, and Washington was compelled to surrender a small fortification he had raised and named Fort Necessity. He was permitted, however, to retreat to Virginia. In this humble way began the mighty struggle that was to affect all succeeding history.<sup>1</sup>

**228. The Newcastle Administration.** The prime minister of England, Thomas, Duke of Newcastle, was perhaps the most incompetent England has ever had. He could not make up his mind what to do. The Lords of Trade however took action. They called a congress of colonial representatives to meet at Albany to make sure of the friendship of the Six Nations. In June, 1754, the Congress met, but it did little except discuss plans for a union of all the colonies. One plan was proposed by Franklin. Nothing came of it at the time. Meanwhile, Newcastle was forced into action, and although he still refused to declare war, General Edward Braddock was sent over from England with two regiments of regular soldiers to capture Fort Duquesne, while Admiral Boscawen was ordered to intercept a French fleet carrying supplies to Canada. Both made failures. Braddock was attacked by the French in the summer of 1755 near the mouth of the Monongahela

<sup>1</sup> These events inspired Macaulay's striking remark, "The firing of a gun in the backwoods of North America brought on a conflict which drenched Europe in blood."

River. He died fighting gallantly, and the wreck of his army retreated, the retreat being covered skillfully by Virginia troops under Washington. Boscawen did no more than capture a ship or two and rouse the French to fury. They now prepared for war on a large scale. It was by Americans however that the next great blow was struck. The Americans naturally expected fresh invasions from Canada, and feared, also, that the French population of Nova Scotia would seize the first opportunity to take sides with their French kinsman. To forestall any such action, Admiral Boscawen and the authorities of Massachusetts decided upon a swift and cruel stroke. An army which included two thousand Massachusetts troops was dispatched to Nova Scotia where some six thousand people of French descent were forced to go aboard ship and suffer removal to distant colonies far from the seat of war. This unhappy "deportation of the Acadians," as they were still called (section 134), is one of the most deplored among the many deplorable cruelties in the dark history of war.<sup>1</sup>

**229. The Seven Years' War.** Newcastle was forced to declare war upon France, May 18, 1756, but the timidity and incapacity of the prime minister were punished by disasters in all parts of the world. English possessions were invaded by the French and the English navy humiliated. In the face of such wide failure the Newcastle administration collapsed. A revolution in the British policy took place and William Pitt in 1757 was given full control of military affairs. Almost instantly the aspect of things changed. It is due to Pitt that this Seven Years' War was made a splendid success.

France had formed alliances with the other great despotic monarchies, Austria and Russia. Sweden and Saxony had also joined her. England was allied with Prussia<sup>2</sup> and it was Pitt

<sup>1</sup> See Longfellow's account of it in "Evangeline."

<sup>2</sup> Before the middle of the eighteenth century Austria had been the chief power in Germany with France for her steadfast enemy. Frederick the Great, however, had suddenly raised Prussia to a commanding position. Wishing

who saw the importance of the Prussian alliance more clearly than any one else. The shadow of France was over the whole world. If only France and her allies were beaten back, it mattered not where the fighting was done. Pitt told his countrymen, "I will conquer America for you in Germany." To that end, he poured money into Prussia, while Frederick — the greatest captain then living — supplied the armies and the generalship.

**230. British-Prussian Success.** In fiercely contested battles Frederick served splendidly the cause both of England and America. His famous victories, such as Rossbach and Zorn-dorf, are steps toward the deliverance of America from the shadow of French conquest. Pitt aided him not only with money but with men. Mixed armies of English and Germans defeated the French at Crefeld in 1758, and still more brilliantly in the celebrated battle of Minden in 1759.

In all parts of the world, the fiery spirit of England's great war minister filled his subordinates like an inspiration. In distant India, Clive won the battle of Plassy and shattered a native empire on which France had relied as a counter check to England in the East. At sea the audacity of Pitt's admirals knew no bounds. Sir Edward Hawke broke the strength of the French navy in the terrible battle of Quiberon, fought under conditions of wind and sea which had led his sailing master to protest that Hawke's scheme was madness.

In America success followed success. Louisburg surrendered to General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen, July 26,

to nip Prussia's greatness in the bud, Austria had made up her ancient quarrel with France and set about forming a league against Frederick. This shifting of international relations is admirably summed up by Professor Ferdinand Schwill: "England and France . . . were looking for continental allies; and as Prussia . . . was induced at last to sign a convention with England, France . . . accepted the proffered hand of Prussia's rival, Austria. In the spring of 1756, this diplomatic revolution was an accomplished fact. The two great political questions of the day, the rivalry between England and France involving the supremacy of the seas, and between Prussia and Austria touching the control of Germany, were to be fought out in the great Seven Years' War. . . ." "Political History of Modern Europe," 317.

1758. In November of the same year General Forbes occupied Fort Duquesne.

**231. The Conquest of Canada.** Pitt had formed the daring resolve to drive the French completely out of America, and to that end sent James Wolfe, supported by a fleet, to take Quebec. There the gallant Montcalm, viceroy of Canada, made his last stand to save French power in the West. Wolfe, however, by means of a daring night attack, got possession of the Heights of Abraham which overlook the city. Montcalm's attempt to dislodge him, September 13, 1759, brought on the battle that decided the future of the western world. It was short but furious, ending in the rout of the French. Both commanders fell mortally wounded.

**232. The Rebellion against Pitt.** At this juncture, when Pitt had the game in his hands, a startling change took place in English politics; there was a rebellion against Pitt's leadership. We must pause here and review a train of events that came near making the great war a disaster to the cause of liberty throughout the world, instead of its chief salvation.

In a previous chapter we had a glimpse of the Tories of 1704 and their unsuccessful attempt to destroy religious freedom in South Carolina. In 1710 they got control of the government of England and proceeded to enact some of the most despotic legislation that has disgraced the English statute books. In the reaction which soon followed, they were driven from power and were unable to revive their political importance for nearly fifty years.

During all that time the Whigs controlled the government. As always happens under such conditions, the ruling party, in spite of its high ideas, became arbitrary and at last selfish and corrupt. By degrees it lost its principles. In the middle of the eighteenth century there was little to choose between the two parties and English political life was characterized by a general stagnation. From that condition Pitt had roused his country. He had breathed new life into the Whig party. Once more its high principles became real things, genuine mo-



tives for action. But by so doing Pitt broke his party in two. Many Whigs had lost their love of freedom and were now quite willing to unite with the Tories in a revival of despotic government, if only they could make it profitable to themselves.

Here was a great opportunity for a king who should attempt to seize it. Just at this moment, by fateful coincidence, a new king mounted the throne (October 25, 1760). This was George the Third. He had been brought up by a high-spirited mother who despised democracy. "George, be a King," was her constant admonition to her son whose education she had intrusted to an out-and-out Tory, the Scotch Earl of Bute. It was Bute who framed the speech made by the king on his accession.<sup>1</sup> A few days later the king commanded his ministers to make room for Bute in the cabinet. Presently Bute and Pitt disagreed over the conduct of the war, and Bute carried his point. Pitt resigned. Thus, for the first time in half a century, the believers in absolutism again had control of the government of England.

**233. Frederick Deserted.** The course pursued by the Tories was deeply dishonorable. Frederick, who had served England so splendidly, had lately suffered terrible reverses. He had been defeated by the Russians in "a battle of unexampled carnage at Kunersdorf," and Berlin had been sacked by the invaders. At this terrible crisis the English absolutists abandoned England's friend. They broke off Pitt's alliance with Prussia,<sup>2</sup> knowing France was now but too glad

<sup>1</sup> The "King's speech" is a paper reviewing the condition of the kingdom, which is prepared in advance with the aid of the ministers, to be read at the opening of Parliament.

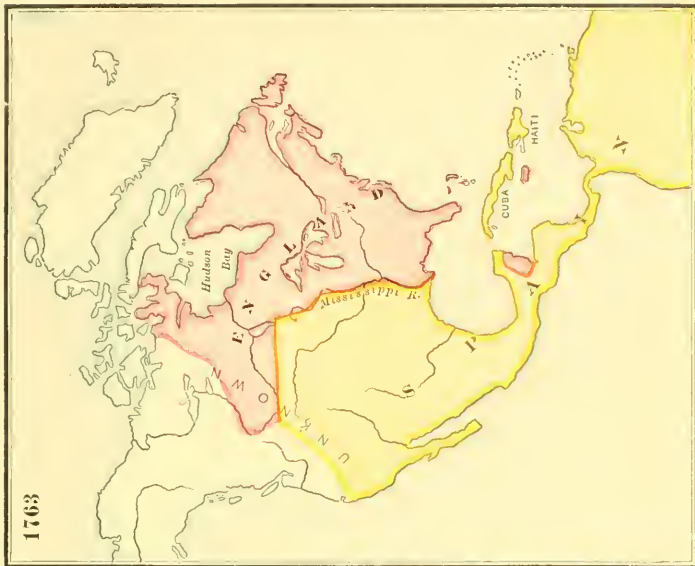
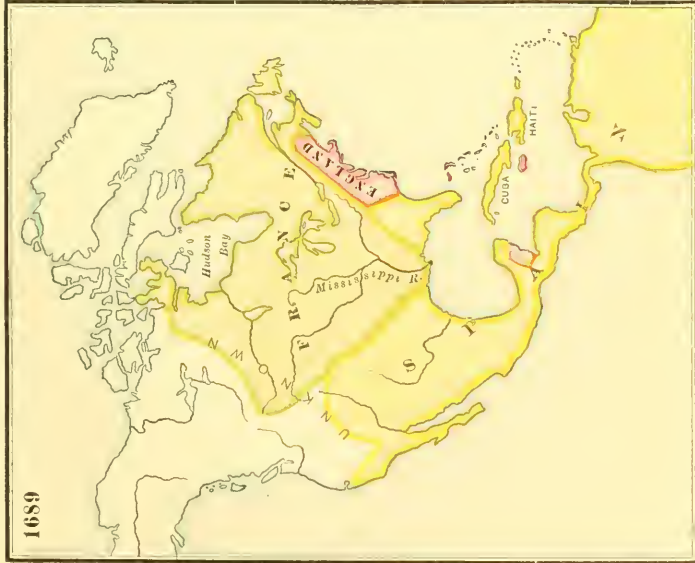
<sup>2</sup> To profit again by the succinctness of Professor Schwill: "For a moment now (after Kunersdorf) it looked as if he (Frederick) were lost but he somehow raised another force about him and the end of the campaign found him not much worse off than the beginning. However . . . when on the death of George II, the new English monarch, George III, refused (1761) to pay the annual subsidy by which alone Frederick was enabled to fill the thinned ranks of the army each year and equip the men, the proud king himself could hardly keep up his hopes. . . ."

to make peace with England on almost any terms so as to be able to turn all her attention to her other enemies. By a treaty signed at Paris February 10, 1763, the French gave up all their possessions in North America except two small islands just south of Newfoundland. All French America, east of the Mississippi, except the city of New Orleans and its immediate vicinity, was ceded to England; the remainder was transferred from France to Spain, which in turn ceded Florida to England.

**234. George Grenville.** Bute who was utterly unfit for leadership soon tired of being prime minister and in April, 1763, resigned. He was succeeded by his chief supporter, George Grenville, one of those reactionary Whigs who had taken sides with the Tories against Pitt. Grenville had gone over, practically, to the principle of absolutism. With regard to America he held in all their offensiveness the vicious doctrines made current by William III. It was England's prerogative, Grenville reasoned, to decide what was best for the colonies, and impose it upon them whether they liked or not. In his stubborn way he honestly desired the safety of America and was genuinely troubled over a great Indian outbreak which took place in 1763, when the Indians of the Northwest, headed by the daring Pontiac, attacked the frontier posts and were with difficulty subdued.<sup>1</sup> Grenville argued that the safety of America demanded the presence there of a considerable part of the British regular army. He proposed to compel the colonies to contribute to the cost of maintaining this army of defense.

**235. The Temper of America in 1763.** However, it was a most unfortunate moment at which to attempt to dictate to the Americans. They were enthusiastic believers in Pitt. He had made them feel that they were to be recognized at last as copartners with England in the management of the empire. Now came this stupid and arbitrary Grenville,

<sup>1</sup> For this greatest of Indian wars, see Parkman's fine account, "The Conspiracy of Pontiac."



ENGLISH AMERICA, 1689-1763



rudely thrusting them back into the position of dependents of the premier state.<sup>1</sup>

**236. Writs of Assistance.** Several recent events had shown that they were not to be trifled with. At Boston (1761) there had been significant opposition to the issue of what were known as "writs of assistance," which gave revenue officers general authority to search any premises supposed to contain smuggled goods. Though the movement to abolish such writs was not successful, it generated intense and widespread indignation. In the course of the opposition James Otis<sup>2</sup> described the Navigation Acts, which made necessary these writs, as "a taxation law made by a foreign legislature without our consent."

**237. The Parson's Cause.** Another significant event was a law case in Virginia known as the "Parson's Cause" (1763). The British government had vetoed a Virginia act reducing the salaries of the established clergy. Speaking upon this point, a young lawyer, Patrick Henry,<sup>3</sup> made the bold declara-

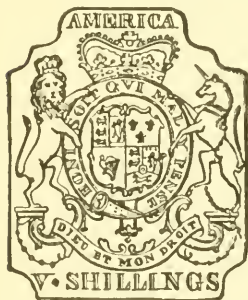
<sup>1</sup> The British side of the question is ably presented by Lecky, "History of England," III, 333-358. The advanced student should pursue at some length topics 5 and 6 in the list of reports following this chapter. He will find especially helpful Beer, "British Colonial Policy," 31-131, 252-273; Dickerson, "American Colonial Government," 320-356; Pitt's "Correspondence." See further Root and Ames, "Syllabus of American Colonial History," 87-89. The British apologists argue that Grenville's scheme was reasonable and that something of the sort had become absolutely necessary. Such appears to have been the case. Nevertheless, the great English historian Gardiner probably anticipates the final judgment of history when he says: "The British Parliament in fact had put itself in the position of Charles I when he levied ship-money. It was as desirable in the eighteenth century that Americans should pay for the army necessary for their protection as it had been desirable in the seventeenth that Englishmen should pay for the fleet then needed to defend their coasts. Americans in the eighteenth century, however, like Englishmen in the seventeenth, thought that the first point to consider was the authority by which the tax was imposed. . . . If the British Parliament could levy a stamp duty in America, it could levy other duties, and the Americans would thus be entirely at its mercy." "Students' History of England," 771.

<sup>2</sup> He resigned his position of advocate-general of the colony rather than serve the government in issuing such writs. See Hosmer, "Life of Hutchinson," chaps. iii-v.

<sup>3</sup> See Tyler, "Patrick Henry," chap. v.

tion, "A king . . . by disallowing acts of so salutary a nature, from being the Father of his people degenerates into a Tyrant and forfeits all rights to his subjects' obedience."

**238. The Proclamation Line.** However, Grenville had made up his mind that the time had come to tighten the hold of the imperial government upon North America. With that end in view he caused the issue of a royal proclamation (1763) laying off the new territory ceded by France. Three new provinces were established — Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida.<sup>1</sup> The southern boundary of Georgia was moved down to the St. Marys River. But the really important part of the proclamation concerned what has since been known as "the proclamation line." A line was drawn on the map along the watershed of the coast plain, and all territory west of it was reserved to the crown to be dealt with in the future as it might deem fit. Thus the old colonies whose charters ran from "sea to sea" were shut out from the Mississippi valley.



REVENUE STAMP USED IN  
THE COLONIES

**239. The Later Acts of Grenville.** The next year (1764) Grenville got the Sugar Act passed.<sup>2</sup> It imposed on the Americans a system of duties designed to raise a revenue for the crown. Two other acts bearing on America, the Stamp Act and the Quartering Act, were passed in 1765. The latter em-

powered officers of the crown to call on colonial governors to provide quarters for whatever troops the king might send to America. The Stamp Act was the most important of all. It required the Americans to pay a stamp duty on every legal document, will, license, land patent, commission, and bill

<sup>1</sup>The Floridas were ceded by Spain as part of the agreement under the Treaty of Paris (section 233).

<sup>2</sup>This was a reassertion of the earlier Sugar Act, or Molasses Act, of 1733 (section 215).



of sale; also on playing cards, newspapers, pamphlets, and almanacs.

**240. The American Theory of the Empire.** Grenville had failed to allow for the American theory of the empire. The Americans made a sharp distinction between what they called "internal" legislation and "external" legislation. They had submitted to the Navigation Laws and the restrictions laid upon commerce on the ground that general imperial business should be left in the hands of the imperial government. Their sense of practicality admitted that, under the circumstances of the time, such a concession was necessary to preserve the empire. This was what they meant by "external" legislation, which, they held, Parliament had a right to enact. But all taxes levied within a colony, all enactments that interfered with the everyday life of its people, were held by the Americans to be "internal" legislation. In these matters they doggedly insisted that each state of the empire was related to the crown in the same way, that everywhere these were local issues between the king and the local assembly, and that the smallest American colony was as completely its own mistress, in home affairs, as was mighty England herself. To sum up their position in modern phraseology: they conceded to the premier state, because of the imperial burdens it bore, the whole enormous matter of the control and taxation of commerce, with all the profits arising therefrom, but they refused to admit the right of the premier state to have a voice in their local affairs.<sup>1</sup>

**241. Opposition to the Stamp Act.** The Stamp Act, being a violation of the latter principle, provoked instant and bitter opposition. John Hancock expressed the general feeling when he said, "I will never carry on business under such great dis-

<sup>1</sup> Whether this argument of the Americans was good law has been a subject of debate ever since. See a discussion of both sides in the "Cambridge Modern History," VII, 175-208; also, Channing, "History," III, 46-79; Beer, "British Colonial Policy," 308-316; Snow, "Administration of Dependencies," 128-168; Lecky, "History of England," III, 333-356; Hart, "Contemporaries," II, No. 142.

advantages and Burthen. I will not be a slave, I have a right to the libertys & Privileges of the English Constitution and I as an Englishman will enjoy them." The American feeling crystallized in a resolution introduced into the Virginia legislature by Patrick Henry, which declared, "That every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatever than the General Assembly . . . is illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust and has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American Liberty." Associations were formed to resist the enforcement of the act. The attempt of Thomas Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, to put it into force caused a riot during which his house was sacked by a mob and for a time his life was in danger.

**242. The Stamp Act Congress.** Massachusetts invited the other colonies to send delegates to a convention to consider the situation. Nine colonies responded.<sup>1</sup> On October 7, 1765, the so-called Stamp Act Congress met in New York. Petitions were drawn up and sent to the king, the House of Commons, and the House of Lords. The Congress also drew up a "Declaration of the Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America." This document is one of the most noteworthy ever composed in our country. It embraces fourteen sections, some of which state grievances and others formulate principles. The most important sections are the first, second, third, and fifth, which read as follows:

"I. That his Majesty's subjects, in these colonies, owe the same allegiance to the crown of Great Britain, that is owing from his subjects born within the realm, and all due subordination to that august body the parliament of Great Britain.

"II. That his Majesty's liege subjects in these Colonies are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born subjects within the kingdom of Great Britain.

<sup>1</sup> Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina.

“ III. That the people of these colonies are not, and from their local circumstances cannot be, represented in the House of Commons of Great Britain.

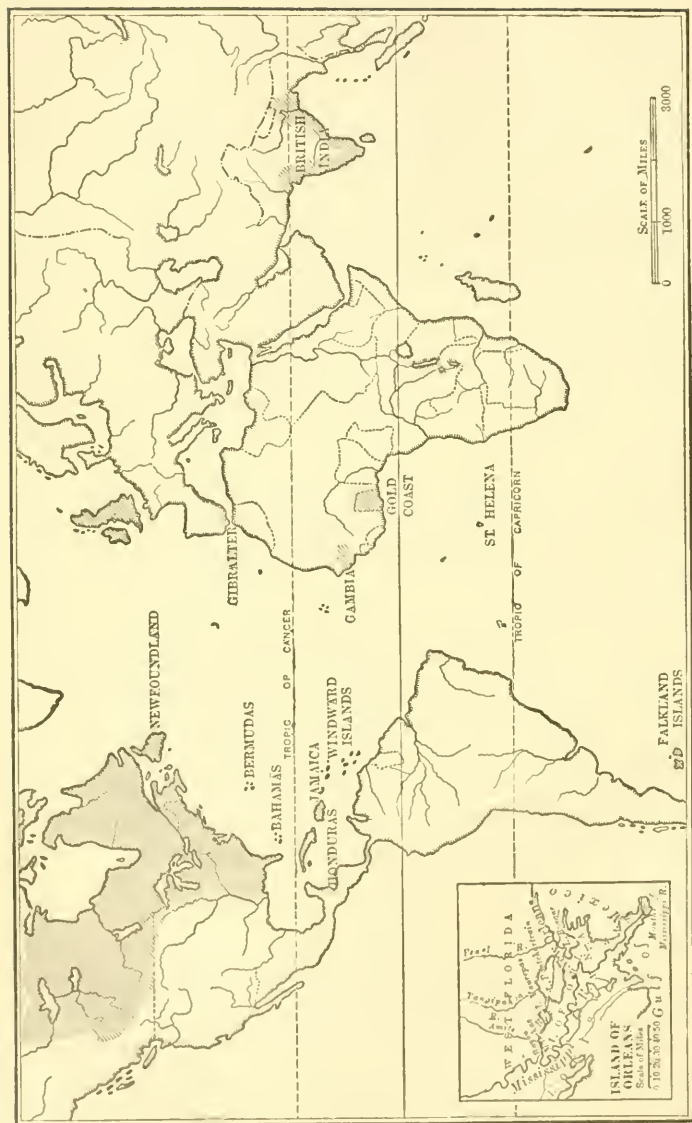
“ V. That the only representatives of the people of these colonies are persons chosen therein by themselves and that no taxes ever have been, or can be constitutionally imposed on them, but by their respective legislatures.”

**243. The New Whigs.** The friends of despotism had gone too far. Though one wing of the old Whig party was quietly merging with the Tories, the other wing, the new Whigs, was steadily gaining ground. Led by Pitt, the Marquis of Rockingham, and Edmund Burke, these genuine Whigs roused all the political conscience of England to take sides with America. “ I rejoice,” said Pitt, “ that the Americans have resisted.”

Grenville, meanwhile, had been forced out of office on a purely British issue and Lord Rockingham had succeeded him. During his brief administration the Stamp Act was repealed (March 18, 1766).

Though Rockingham was prime minister, Pitt was the man of the hour. In America enthusiasm for him was unbounded. The city of Pittsburg is a memorial of his popularity. In the old city of Charleston still stands a statue of Pitt set up in his honor by the grateful Assembly of South Carolina. No other statesman rivaled Pitt in his personal hold upon the mass of Englishmen. Without him the new Whig party — the patriotic branch of the old Whigs — was not yet strong enough to control England. In July, 1766, Pitt became prime minister.

**244. The Great Opportunity.** It was a moment of crisis. No other English minister ever had so great an opportunity. The man who had made successful the great war had now the opportunity to reëstablish in England those principles of free government which the war had saved to the world. At the same time he had an opportunity to unite all the parts of a vast empire in some permanent scheme of government which



BRITISH EMPIRE IN 1766

should put those principles into operation on a world-wide scale.

Only once before had any statesman been confronted by so great an opportunity. Cæsar became chief of the Roman world at a time when the relation between the capital and the provinces was not unlike the condition of the British empire in 1766. An essentially Tory policy had made the capital the tyrant of the provinces and had brought them to the verge of revolt. Cæsar, alone among Roman statesmen, saw that there was but one way to save the empire. Rome had to reverse her despotic course; she had to cease to exploit the provinces for her own gain; she and they had to become mutual friends and equals. In respect to their opportunities, Pitt and Cæsar are thus strikingly alike. Unfortunately the similarity does not extend to their achievements. Cæsar lived to carry out his plan. He saved the Roman state from disruption and secured for it centuries of usefulness to mankind. By one of the most lamentable ironies of fate, Pitt was struck down in dreadful illness, within six months after he became prime minister.

**245. The Defeat of the New Whigs.** Though Pitt's name was allowed to stand as that of the prime minister for some time longer, he had no further relation with the government. He had suffered a complete physical collapse, and his mind was temporarily affected. The next few years he passed in seclusion, and though his health was at last restored and he returned to public life (as the Earl of Chatham), he never again had a controlling voice in public affairs. On Pitt's breakdown, in the autumn of 1766, King George himself became the real master in English politics, and the reign of genuine Toryism began.

**246. The Turning Point of the Empire.** To Americans, 1766 must always be one of the great years of history. It was the last turning point in our relation with that ancient English monarchy in which all the roots of our distinctive institutions were planted. Furthermore, William Pitt was the

first leader beloved and followed by the whole body of Americans. He was our first national hero. His place in our history is best described by the inscription on the pedestal of that statue set up in his honor at Charleston :

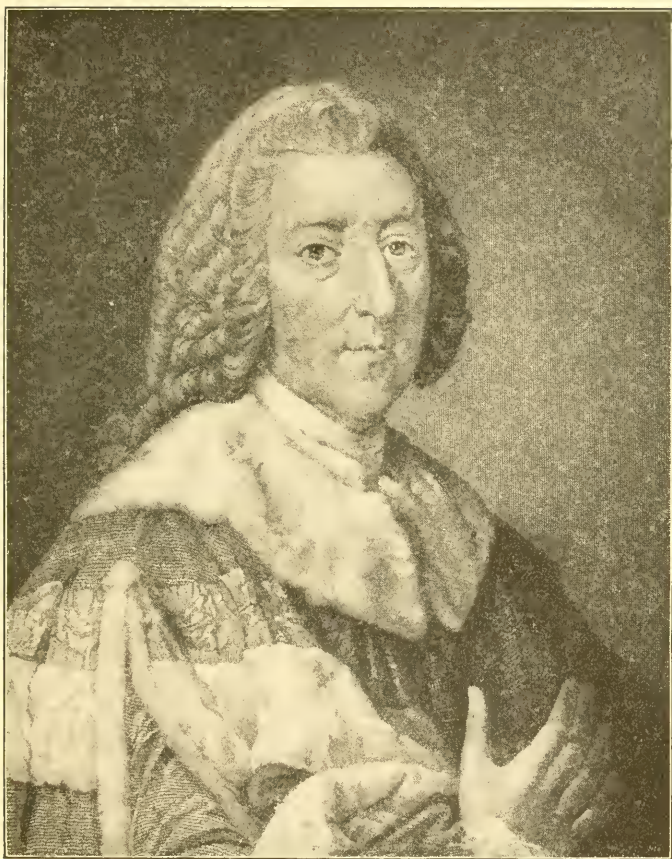
In grateful memory  
of his services to his countrymen in general  
and to Americans in particular  
the Commons House of Assembly  
of South Carolina  
unanimously voted  
this statue  
of  
the Right Honorable William Pitt, Esquire  
who  
gloriously exerted himself  
in defending the freedom of Americans  
the true sons of England  
by promoting a repeal  
of the Stamp Act  
in the year 1766  
time  
shall sooner destroy  
this mark of their esteem  
than  
erase from their minds  
their just sense  
of his patriotic virtues

*Selections from the Sources.* HART, *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 49, 122-129, 133, 138-144; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 29-36; *Select Charters*, Nos. 51, 52, 54, 55; ADAMS, *British Orations*, I, 98, 150; KIMBALL, *Correspondence of William Pitt*, I, 36-50, 74-79, 121-123, 235-237, 242-247; II, 88-90, 130-134, 276, 320, 348-354, 357-360, 373, 382, 432-434.

*Maps.* THWAITES, *France in America*, 36, 106, 204, 256, 268; AVERY, *History of the United States*, IV, 60-61, 67, 78, 85, 89, 162, 199, 252, 276, 277, 352.

*Secondary Accounts.* PARKMAN, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, chaps. i, ii, vi, vii, x, xiii; II, chaps. xviii-xxx; *Conspiracy of Pontiac*, I, chaps. v-viii; II, xviii-xxii; BANCROFT, *History* (last revision), II, 333-338, 419-533, 554-565; III, 3-49, 244. Lecky, *History of Eng-*





WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM



*land*, I, 184-234, 470-515; II, 477-565; III, 26-67, 333-358, 361-378; *American Revolution* (Woodburn edition), 42-49, 52-105; BEER, *British Colonial Policy*, 16-131, 179-192, 210-316; FISHER, *Struggle for Independence*, I, 49-69, 82-112; CHANNING, *History*, II, 527-579, 602-603; ROOT, *Relations of Pennsylvania with the British Government*, 84-90, 124-127, 328-334, 390-396; FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of the Republic*, 158-199, 201-212; TYLER, *Patrick Henry*, chap. iv; *Literary History of the American Revolution*, 44-120, 293-315; TUDOR, *Life of James Otis* (Cambridge Modern History, VII), 175-208.

**Bibliography.** ROOT and AMES, *Syllabus of American Colonial History*, 87-96.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The French Colonial Policy. 2. The English in the Ohio Country. 3. Frederick the Great. 4. England in the Seven Years' War. 5. Attitudes of the Colonies toward the War. 6. Colonial Trade during the War. 7. Wolfe. 8. The Whig Party in the Eighteenth Century. 9. The Opposition to the Writs of Assistance. 10. The Opposition to the Stamp Act in America. 11. British Opposition to the Stamp Act. 12. The Climax of the Empire: Pitt's Ministry.

# THIRD PERIOD (1766-1815)

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WESTERN POWER<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER XIV

#### THE GEORGIAN TYRANNY

**247. The Townshend Duties.** The politician who now took charge of American affairs was Charles Townshend. Under his lead, in 1767 the "Townshend duties," as we now call them, were imposed upon America. They taxed glass, paper,

<sup>1</sup> It is frequently asked: at what date did the American Revolution begin? Many people will fix the date at the peace of Paris; others, at the assumption of power by Grenville. One of the ablest of recent books on the subject, the "Syllabus of Colonial History," by Root and Ames, begins the Revolutionary period with 1748 and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But there are strong objections to all these dates. In a sense no one date can be taken to mark the beginning of the movement. Truly considered it began as soon as the English in America raised the question of their right to govern themselves. The clash between Massachusetts and the king, in 1634, might thus be taken as the initial event quite as plausibly as any of these others. Great harm has been done in the past through conceiving the movement as the fruit of a few years of agitation shortly preceding the actual breach. Especially harmful has been the failure to allow for the part played by William III and his despotic reorganization of the empire in 1696. Following that catastrophe there ensued the slow but irresistibly fateful accumulation of differences that paved the way for disruption. Except for the whole history of the first half of the eighteenth century, both in England and the colonies, the Seven Years' War should have cemented the empire; and had the genius of Pitt been given full scope such reunion, in spite of all that had gone before, might have been accomplished. Until Pitt's breakdown it was not possible to say whether the results of the war were to be conservative of the empire or destructive. Therefore, it is not fanciful to hold that the line between the wholly imperial part of our history and the part which is distinctly Revolutionary, once we leave 1634 behind us, cannot logically be laid down until we reach 1766.

painter's colors, lead, and tea. But this was not the worst. Another act of Parliament rudely asserted the supremacy of England over the colonies. The New York Assembly had refused to meet the demands of British officers who sought to put into effect Grenville's Quartering Act (section 239). Parliament now declared the action of the Assembly to be null.

**248. Lord North.** On the death of Townshend, his work was taken up by Lord North who served George III as chancellor of the exchequer. During all the troublous times that followed, until 1781, North was the chief man in England under the king. Personally he was good and kind. He disapproved of much, perhaps most, of the king's action, but his Tory principles compelled him to side with his sovereign even when he believed him to be in the wrong. To-day Americans can afford to see the pathos of his situation and forget his weakness. The blame for all that follows should be placed upon the obstinate tyrant who stood behind his minister and strove for the restoration of absolutism.

**249. Beginnings of Resistance.** Colonial protests against the Townshend duties made no impression on the king, although the "Letters of a Farmer," written by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, contained this significant sentence, "English history affords examples of resistance by force." There were other signs that a revolution was on the way. Massachusetts sent out a circular letter urging all the colonies to protest against the duties as unconstitutional. Leading Virginians formed an association and pledged themselves not to import British goods until the duties were repealed. The king retaliated by ordering the colonial governors, in 1768, to dissolve their Assemblies if the latter showed signs of protesting. Troops were sent over to Boston.<sup>1</sup> It was even proposed in England to have American agitators arrested and taken across the ocean for trial.

<sup>1</sup> They arrived in 1768, and remained until driven out by Washington, nine years later.

**250. Turmoil in America.** Riots took place in the discontented colonies. At Boston revenue officers were mobbed while attempting to seize a sloop, the *Liberty*, belonging to John Hancock (1768). A much worse affair was the so-called "Boston Massacre," a street fight, March 5, 1770, between a squad of soldiers and the Boston populace. The soldiers fired without orders, killing several citizens. It had really no political significance, but in the excited state of the popular imagination it became a battle against the tyrants. That the Americans were in a state of general unrest was evinced by an insurrection in North Carolina. The royal governor, William Tryon, had trouble with bands of men known as "regulators," who were dissatisfied with his method of administering justice, and who charged him with extortion and inefficiency. In 1771, in the battle of the Alamance, they resisted the royal forces, but were defeated. Seven prisoners, taken by the troops, were hanged. Like the Boston Massacre, the battle of the Alamance was significant only indirectly. Both events contributed to make royal authority hateful.

**251. The Tea Duty.** However, the Townshend Act failed financially. The duties collected amounted only to some sixteen thousand pounds and the cost of collection to two hundred thousand pounds. Even the British Tories saw that this would not do. In 1770 most of the duties were given up. But the king and his friends had no mind to give up the Tory principle of arbitrary taxation, and in order to maintain it, they kept in force a trifling duty on tea.

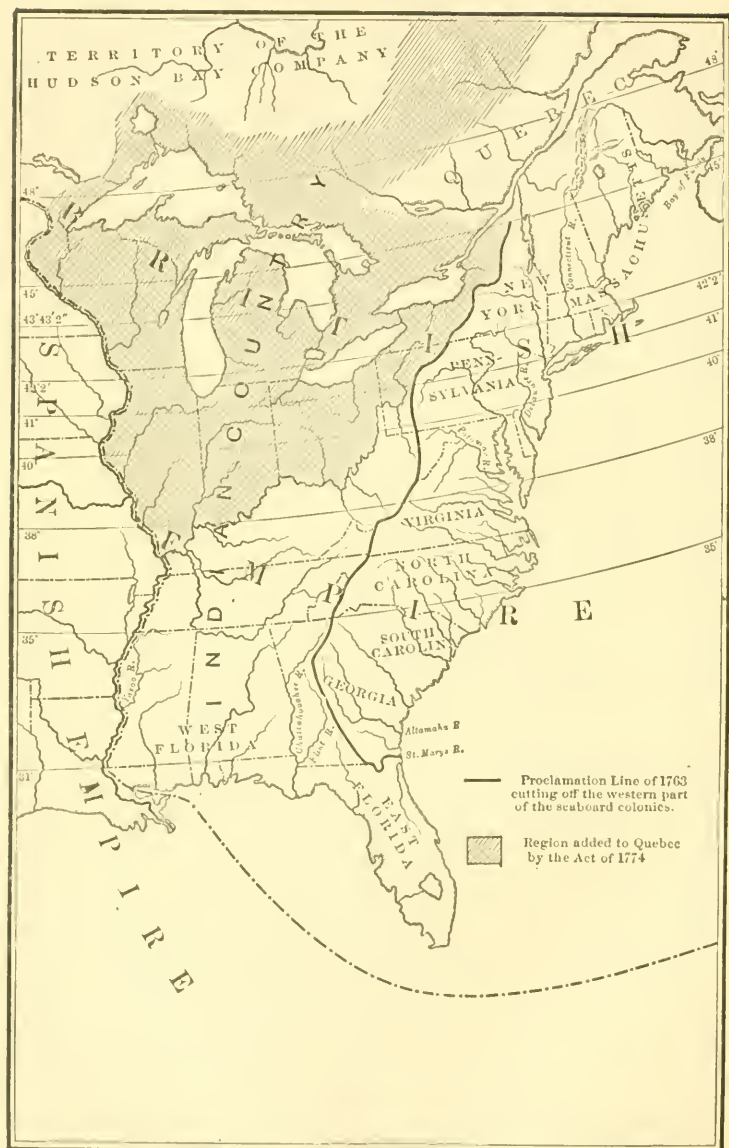
**252. Committees of Correspondence.** The Americans were now in a dangerous mood, as was shown in 1772, when a revenue vessel, the *Gaspee*, was burned by a Rhode Island mob, and the lawyers of the crown could find no witnesses who would admit having seen the burning. In the Boston town meeting Samuel Adams moved to appoint a "Committee of Correspondence" to inform other places what was being done in Boston and to receive similar reports of what was being done elsewhere. This action has sometimes been considered



the first step in the disruption of the empire, and Samuel Adams has been called "the Father of the American Revolution." Although his action was, perhaps, not quite so important as these terms would imply, it was far-reaching. Virginia soon afterward took the lead in establishing an "Intercolonial Committee of Correspondence." By means of these committees news of whatever was done anywhere was quickly circulated everywhere. Thus, all the agitators throughout all the colonies were brought into a political organization. These men, with good reason, called themselves Whigs. Their opponents — all those who for any reason upheld the views of the king's friends in England — were properly named Tories. Thus the two historic parties of England were extended across the Atlantic.

**253. Boston Tea Party.** Just as the American Whigs became organized, the British Tories made a great blunder. To assist the British East India Company, which was in financial straits, Parliament gave the company special privileges with regard to tea. Up to this time tea had been supplied to the Americans chiefly by smugglers. Now, with the help of the home government, the East India Company would be able to sell tea so cheap that the smugglers would be undersold. In 1773, counting on a great profit, the India Company sent ships laden with tea to American ports. But they had not reckoned with the principles of the Americans. If the tea were landed and the duty paid (section 251), the principle of arbitrary taxation would be admitted. The American Whigs were interested in a principle, not in the price of the tea.<sup>1</sup> At some American cities, the tea ships were forbidden to dock and forced to sail away without unloading. In South Carolina the tea was seized by the local authorities and eventually confiscated. The course followed at Boston was more picturesque. While a meeting of protest was in session at the Old South Church (December 16, 1773), a war whoop sounded

<sup>1</sup> Compare the issue of the tea duty with the issue of ship money. See section 235, note.



EASTERN NORTH AMERICA JUST PREVIOUS TO THE REVOLUTION

from the street without. What appeared to be a band of Indians rushed past. The tea ships, lying at the town wharves, were boarded a few moments later by two hundred of these "Indians." Needless to say the pretended Indians were citizens in disguise, who rifled the ships and threw into the harbor a quantity of tea valued at eighteen thousand pounds.

**254. The Intolerable Acts.** To the king's friends<sup>1</sup> the "Boston Tea Party," as it was jocularly called, appeared rank treason. They passed through Parliament certain measures known in America ever since as the "Intolerable Acts." The introduction of these acts was the signal for a great revival of Whig spirit in Parliament. All the opponents of absolutism rallied against the government, but the king's friends were too strong for them. Partly by skillful political management, partly by appealing to British pride not to yield to "rebels," partly by downright bribery, George III for the moment had Parliament under his thumb. The most important provisions of the Intolerable Acts were these:

1. The port of Boston was closed and Salem was designated as the temporary seat of government.
2. The charter of Massachusetts was altered so as to reduce the power of the people and to restrict town meetings.
3. All persons accused of unlawful acts in executing the king's will might be tried outside the colony where the offense was supposed to have been committed. (This was intended, of course, to prevent local courts from interfering with the course of despotism by bringing its agents to trial for violating local laws.)
4. To prevent a union between the English Protestants of

<sup>1</sup> The new Toryism of that day centered about a group of politicians known as "the king's friends." The description of this group by Macaulay has become classic: "Thus sprang into existence and into note a reptile species of politicians never before and never since known in this country. These men disclaimed all political ties except those which bound them to the throne. They were willing to coalesce with any party, to abandon any party, to undermine any party, to assault any party, at a moment's notice. . . . They were the King's friends."

America and the French Catholics, the province of Quebec was extended southward to the Ohio River, and the Roman Catholic Church practically established throughout that vast area.

**255. First Continental Congress.** When the king appealed to force he did the one thing needful to consolidate the American Whig party and enable it to control the colonies. From Virginia through all the colonies was passed the suggestion to repeat the Stamp Act Congress on a larger scale.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

The House of Representatives of Massachusetts indorsed the scheme. That was its last official act (June 17, 1774), for General Gage, the British military commander at Boston, immediately overturned the colonial government and set up arbitrary rule. But he could not head off the movement for a congress. Other colonies followed the lead of Virginia

and Massachusetts. On September 5, 1774, the First Continental Congress met in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia.<sup>1</sup>

**256. American Rights.** This Congress was the organization of a party, not of a nation. Perhaps it can best be understood by comparing it to a modern political convention framing a platform. No action of the Congress showed disrespect to the king. In loyal and dignified addresses, the grievances of the Americans were set forth, and the king was besought to remove their cause. At the same time, a Declaration of Rights was made. The Congress claimed for Americans all the rights of free-born British subjects, including the "Right of Representation . . . in all cases of Taxation

<sup>1</sup> The Second Congress met in the State House, now called Independence Hall.

and Internal Policy subject only to the negative of their sovereign." Here was the old contention which Americans had advanced more than a hundred years before. Each colony must be regarded as a free state of the empire; it must not be treated any longer as a dependent of the premier state England. As to the acts of the Parliament of the premier state by which this present trouble had been caused, the Congress pronounced them "infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies." Finally, Congress organized an association pledged not to buy or sell any British goods.



THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON

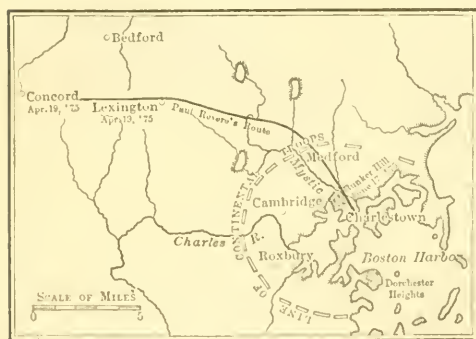
From a drawing by an eyewitness.

**257. Parties in America.** The winter of 1774-1775 was a dark time in America. Everywhere the feeling between the two parties had become intense, and the Whigs, unfortunately, did not always behave with moderation. Prominent Tories were mobbed; Whig politicians formed themselves into "Committees of Safety"; militia companies, known as "minute-men," declared themselves ready to fight at a minute's notice; their political enemies were terrorized into silence and inaction.

**258. Battle of Lexington.** A crisis was reached in the spring of 1775. The Boston Whigs, watching closely every movement of General Gage, discovered that he had ordered

a detachment of troops to march to Lexington, where were John Hancock and Samuel Adams, the chief organizers of discontent. On the night of April 18, Paul Revere galloped across country rousing the minutemen. Adams and Hancock, being warned in time, made their escape. On the morning of the nineteenth, when six companies of British soldiers entered Lexington, they found the place swarming with minutemen. It is not known which side fired first, but the soldiers charged the minutemen and drove them from the field after killing eight and wounding ten. Such was the "battle" of Lexington, a small thing in itself, but immeasurably great in its consequences.

**259. Concord.** Not finding the men they wanted, the soldiers marched seven miles to Concord. They meant to destroy a supply of powder and arms collected there. But the minutemen, now assembled in force, held a small bridge across which the British strove in vain to advance. The fire of the



THE SIEGE OF BOSTON

minutemen was too deadly. At length the attempt was abandoned and the retreat to Boston begun. This was the worst part of the action for the invaders. All along the roads, from behind fences and walls, minutemen riddled the column

with destructive fire. It was a sadly demoralized force that returned exhausted to take refuge in Boston at the day's end.

The British had lost two hundred and seventy-three of their number; the Americans, ninety-three.

**260. The Rising of the Whigs.** The month of May, 1775, is as momentous as any single month in American history.



Everywhere the news of Lexington and Concord roused the Whigs to fury. Popular tumults occurred. Tories were abused with bitterness that knew no bounds. New militia companies were organized and numbers of them set out for Boston, which was soon encompassed by militia camps. On the tenth of the month Ethan Allen led a small force against the great British fortress of Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. It was taken by surprise and surrendered. The same day a second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia.

**261. Second Continental Congress.** This Congress was even more completely a Whig convention than its predecessor. The members were burning with indignation because of Lexington. But still there was no talk of disruption of the empire. Civil war — the sort of struggle undertaken by England's Parliament against Charles I — was what the American Whigs proposed.<sup>1</sup> The Congress at once set about organizing an army and appointed as commander in chief, George Washington.

**262. Civil War in the British Empire.** We must bear in mind that what immediately followed was a civil war between Whigs and Tories. From May, 1775, to July, 1776, the British empire was distracted by a fierce contention between two great parties holding different principles of government. In the eastern states of the empire, the contention did not produce actual fighting, but there, the British Whigs vehemently supported the American wing of their party.<sup>2</sup> They maintained that the principle of free government was what made the British empire worth while. Without that principle there was no good in being an Englishman. They would go any length — break up the empire, if necessary — before

<sup>1</sup> See section 235, note.

<sup>2</sup> It was to avert such a war that Burke made his great speech on conciliation with the colonies, March 22, 1775. The American party in Parliament is fully discussed by Trevelyan "The American Revolution" (see index). Lecky forms a tonic counterweight to Trevelyan because, though perfectly candid, he is no flatterer and puts the case against us as effectively as justice will permit. See "History of England," III.

they would give up that principle. They had no fear for the future of England so long as she was free. They felt that all was lost, no matter how extensive her empire, if freedom was destroyed. Consequently, while American Whigs organized an army and made war on the king's troops, British Whigs enthusiastically applauded. On both sides of the water the Tories gave their hearty support to a last stand in favor of despotic government.

**263. Bunker Hill.** Before the Whig commander in chief could reach Boston, the militia surrounding the city determined to concentrate on high ground back of Charlestown. This resulted in the battle of Bunker Hill, June 17. To drive the militia from their entrenchments, Gage sent against them three thousand regulars. Though the Americans, commanded by Israel Putnam, William Prescott, and Joseph Warren, twice repulsed the regulars, a third assault, when the American ammunition was beginning to run short, was successful. Warren was killed and the Americans were driven from their position. The victory cost the regulars a third of their number.

**264. Washington in Command.** On July 3 the Whig army paraded on the common in Cambridge, where Washington reviewed them and took formal command. Tradition points out a great elm on the edge of the common as the general's station during the review. The Whig lines were now drawn close around Boston and a regular siege was begun.

**265. The American Petition.** Still the Whigs, east and west, clung to the idea that the king would yield, reforms would be granted, and the empire saved from disruption. On July 8, 1775, Congress sent a petition to the king. It was the last attempt of the American Whigs to keep from being forced into separation from England. The attempt was futile. After reaching London, the bearers of the petition were kept waiting a week before the secretary for the colonies would consent to examine it, and while they begged in vain for a hearing, the king issued a royal proclamation of rebellion, August 23,

branding all Americans then in arms as traitors. Early in September the king formally refused to consider the American petition.

**266. First Step toward Separation.** Even before the king's refusal some Americans had begun to think of separation, but until the autumn of 1775 they had very little influence. Even then, in spite of the resentment felt over the king's action, these men had still to labor to make converts. Patrick Henry of Virginia, Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, were the leaders of the Separatists. They now found a powerful ally in Thomas Paine, an English reformer, who had recently come over to America. In January, 1776, appeared Paine's pamphlet entitled "Common Sense." It was a fiery argument for separation. A hundred thousand copies are said to have been sold.

**267. Shortsighted Toryism.** Events which occurred in the early part of 1776 greatly stimulated the feeling for separation. One of these was the burning of Norfolk, Virginia, by the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, in revenge for a Whig uprising. No words can measure the rage inspired by his action throughout America. About the same time the king informed Parliament that he had hired Hessian troops for service in subduing the American "rebels." Few communications have ever made such a commotion in Parliament. In the House of Lords the Duke of Richmond moved to countermand the order for Hessian troops and to suspend hostilities in America. The Duke of Grafton assured the House he had always been opposed to the coercion of the Americans. "I perceive in it," said he, "nothing but inevitable ruin." Great lords and noted members of the Commons protested in vain. With the solid Tory majority nothing counted but the king's will. The employment of Hessians was approved in the House of Lords by a vote of 79 to 29; in the House of Commons, by 242 to 88.

**268. Progress of the War.** Meanwhile in America the war went forward with varying fortunes. The Whigs conceived a plan for conquering Canada. Benedict Arnold and

Richard Montgomery led forth small but eager armies that bore great hardships and made unsuccessful attacks upon the forces at Quebec. The Canadians, then and throughout the war, refused to take part in the revolutionary movement. In North Carolina, on the other hand, a battle between the Whigs and Tories at Moore's Creek, February 27, 1776, was a Whig victory. It was soon followed by a brilliant exploit at Boston. Washington seized Dorchester Heights and had the British general, Howe,<sup>1</sup> at his mercy. On March 17 Howe, with his army of ten thousand men, and more than a thousand Tories, went aboard his ships and sailed for Halifax.

**269. Naval Demonstration in the South.** By means of his great navy, the king was able to strike the Americans at far-distant points, and the royal commanders now attempted to make use of this great advantage they had at sea. While the Whig army was still concentrated in New England, the British made a naval attack far to the south. A royal squadron advanced against Charleston, June 28, 1776. However, the channel into Charleston harbor was swept by the guns of Fort Sullivan, which Colonel Moultrie commanded. The fire of the fort was so destructive that at length the British gave up the attempt to run past it and sailed away. It was in this action that Sergeant Jasper leapt over the parapet of Fort Sullivan, in the face of the English fire, and recovered the flag of South Carolina, which had fallen outward, the flag-staff having been shot in two.

**270. Separation.** By this time the American Whigs had pretty generally accepted the extreme views of the Separatists. On May 15 John Adams, a cousin of Samuel Adams, had moved in Congress that all British authority in the colonies should be abolished. The motion was carried. Virginia had sent instructions to Richard Henry Lee, under which on June 7 he had introduced a resolution for independence. The question was postponed until the various delegates could write home for instructions as to how to vote, and the wisdom of this

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded Gage in October, 1775.

delay was expressed by Franklin in his witty remark, "We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately."

**271. New Attitude of the Whigs.** In this dry laughter of Franklin we see what American Whigs had come to believe with regard to the king. They had all practically accepted the views of Patrick Henry, expressed some time before in a famous speech that closed thus, "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death." The greatest British Whig, Chatham, did justice to the situation when he said, protesting against the prosecution of the war, "Were I an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop landed in my country, I would never lay down my arms — never, never."

**272. The Declaration of Independence.** While the delegates to the Congress were securing their instructions, a committee of five drew up a declaration of independence.<sup>1</sup> The five were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson. To Jefferson, then a brilliant young lawyer, was assigned the difficult task of phrasing the document. As a student of English law and English history, Jefferson sought to state broadly those basal principles of English freedom on which the Whigs grounded their case. To these he added several speculative doctrines generally accepted in America. The result of this blending of philosophy with English political tradition was the famous document which we know. Incorporated in it was a list of twenty-seven grievances which led up to the bold words, "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

On June 28, Jefferson's draft of the Declaration was sub-

<sup>1</sup> Declarations had previously been drawn up in various places. The most noted is a set of resolutions passed by the citizens of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, declaring that all commissions "heretofore granted by the Crown, to be exercised in these colonies, are null and void and the constitution of each particular colony wholly suspended" (May 31, 1775). The tradition of a still earlier "Mecklenburg declaration" (May 20, 1775) has caused long and heated debate.



mitted to Congress. Its phraseology was debated for several days and slight changes were made. On July 2, the delegates generally having received their instructions, debate on Lee's resolution was resumed. The Declaration was adopted, and the independence of the United States proclaimed, July 4, 1776.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 37-50, *Charters*, 317-391; FORD, *Journals of the Continental Congress*, I; II, 13-23, 128-157, 224-234; IV, 142-143; V, 491-516; VI, 1087-1098; BURKE, *Speeches on America* (Everyman's Library), 76-144, 259-262; HART, *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 24, 145-169, 184-192; HANSARD, *Parliamentary History*, XV, XVI; FORD, *Writings of John Dickinson*; HUTCHINSON, *Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson*.

*Secondary Accounts.* LECKY, *History of England*, III, 1-25, 290-499; *American Revolution* (Woodburn edition), 105-179, 194-244; FISKE, *The American Revolution*, I, 28-197; BANCROFT, *History* (last revision), III, 245-295, 319-337, 368-378, 404-416, 443-458, 466-482; IV, 55-92, 167-184, 265-279, 310-346, 382-391, 412-452; TREVELYAN, *The American Revolution*, Pt. 1, 100-209, 274-311; Pt. 2, I, 105-171; II, chap. xvi; CHANNING, *History*, III; FISHER, *Struggle for Independence*, I, 18-36, 112-145, 164-190, 206-214, 221-333, 372-387, 463-456; SABINE, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 58-87; TYLER, *Literary History of the American Revolution*, I, 229-245, 267-279, 316-384, 475-519; BASSETT, *Regulators in North Carolina*; BECKER, *Political Parties in New York, 1760-1776*, chap. i; COLLINS, *Committees of Correspondence*, *Cambridge Modern History*, VII, 175-208; FROTHINGHAM, *Rise of the Republic*, 158-358.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. George III and the New Toryism. 2. John Dickinson. 3. The Regulators. 4. Resistance in New England. 5. Composition of the First Continental Congress. 6. The American Theory of the Empire. 7. The British Theory of the Empire. 8. Beginnings of the Movement for Separation. 9. The King's Friends and their Policy. 10. The American Party in Parliament. 11. Thomas Paine.





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## SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

From the painting by Sarah Paxton Ball Dodson



## CHAPTER XV

### THE WAR OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

#### I. THE BRITISH INVASION

**273. The Battle of Long Island.** While the Continental Congress was reluctantly deciding upon separation from the empire, Howe, at Halifax (section 268), was preparing to resume the war. In August, 1776, with a fleet and army, he proceeded against New York, and a landing on Long Island was speedily effected by no less than twenty thousand British troops. To meet this strong force, Washington, who had moved his headquarters from Boston to New York, also led his army into Long Island. Thus was brought on the first pitched battle of the Revolutionary War. The Americans, who as yet were little more than a crowd of militia, opposed superior numbers and were badly beaten. Washington retreated to the mainland, and drew back his army toward Harlem.

Howe followed him, crossing the East River and landing at Kips Bay (34th Street), where he routed an American force under General Putnam who, having been unable to check the British, retreated toward Harlem to join Washington. Though the main body of the British encamped on Murray Hill,<sup>1</sup> then in the northern outskirts of the city, a portion of their army turned southward into the city proper, which was occupied September 15, 1776. Very soon a line of British entrench-

<sup>1</sup> While Howe, in pursuit of Putnam, was marching across Manhattan Island, he passed near the mansion of Mrs. Lindley Murray on Murray Hill. Mrs. Murray sent a servant to the general with an invitation to take luncheon with her. Together with several of his officers, Howe accepted. The charming hostess and her fine old Madeira wine delayed the officers two hours. In that time Putnam and his army escaped.

ments extended across the island from Haven's Hook on East River to Bloomingdale on the Hudson.<sup>1</sup>

**274. The Battles about New York.** The struggle to possess New York was a dreary one for the Americans, but it had a single moment of brilliant promise. Thinking to make short work of the campaign, Howe pushed northward a column which Washington met and repulsed in the battle of Harlem Heights near where Columbia University now stands. However, Washington's next move was a mistake. He had not yet learned his own capacity, and he listened to bad advice. Congress urged him to hold his ground, and General Greene insisted that a fortification at the north end of Manhattan Island, Fort Washington, should be held at all costs. Though Washington thought it should be abandoned and a new line of defense formed farther north, he let Greene have his way, and some three thousand men were left in Fort Washington, while the remainder of the force was withdrawn north of the Bronx and concentrated at White Plains. Howe promptly interposed his army between Fort Washington and White Plains. At the latter place he attacked Washington with sufficient success to force him to retreat still farther northward from Fort Washington. Then, wheeling southward, Howe attacked the fort, took it by storm, and captured the entire garrison on November 16.

The loss of Fort Washington was a salutary lesson to the commander in chief. From that time forward he trusted his own judgment.

Lord Cornwallis was now sent across the Hudson to take Fort Lee, which was opposite the captured Fort Washington. On November 20 he made a brilliant success of the attempt.

**275. The Retreat through New Jersey.** Between death and

<sup>1</sup> Washington called for volunteers to spy out the British camp, and Nathan Hale of Connecticut undertook the perilous mission. He was detected inside the British lines by a Tory kinsman, arrested, and condemned to death. His execution took place in the orchard of Colonel Henry Rutgers near the present junction of Market Street and East Broadway. His last words were "I regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

capture, followed up, alas ! by desertion, Washington's army had now shrunk to ten or twelve thousand men. Opposed to him were well-organized soldiers flushed with success and numbering between twenty and thirty thousand. And at that very moment one of Washington's leading generals was intriguing against him. This was Charles Lee. A few days later he put his commander in a still more desperate position by disobeying orders.

A part of the American army had been moved across the Hudson and was encamped at the village of Hackensack under the immediate command of Washington. The larger part of the army — some seven thousand men — under Lee was still east of the river. Cornwallis at Fort Lee was already across the river. The day following the capture of Fort Lee, Washington ordered General Lee to cross the Hudson and come at once to his assistance. Lee, however, acted as if no such orders had been received. He remained in his camp, east of the river, doing nothing. Washington with but a few thousand men fell back before Cornwallis and waited for Lee at Newark. A week passed. Then came to Washington the startling news that Howe had moved a strong force by water to South Amboy in New Jersey. If Washington remained where he was, Cornwallis might attack him from Fort Lee in the front, while Howe; from South Amboy, might assault his lines in the rear. And their combined forces would enormously outnumber his own. Sending fresh orders to Lee to hurry to his assistance, Washington evacuated Newark. As his rear guard left the town on the west, the advance guard of Cornwallis entered it on the east. On December 1 Washington wrote to Lee saying that he had no doubt that Howe intended to march to Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. "The force I have with me," wrote Washington, "is infinitely inferior in numbers and such as cannot give, or promise, the least successful opposition. I must entreat you to hasten your march as much as possible, or your arrival may be too late to answer any valuable purpose." Lee did not dare to

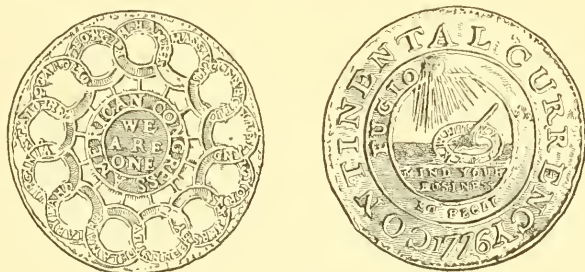
remain longer in his camp. He crossed the Hudson and began moving westward, but he made his advance as slow as possible. While Washington, with Cornwallis at his heels, marched twenty miles a day, Lee marched five or six. Plainly he meant to let the commander in chief be destroyed.

Washington had a narrow escape. On the eighth of December, the rear guard of the American army looked back at the advance guard of the British army with only the Delaware River between. The Americans had just then crossed the river and had taken or sunk every boat to be had. Washington had with him that day less than three thousand men.

**276. Sullivan to the Rescue.** Meanwhile, far away on the borders of Canada, a British army had been repulsed. A considerable body of American troops, which hitherto had been compelled to remain in the vicinity of Lake Champlain and Albany, were thus set at liberty. To them, as well as to Lee, Washington had sent urgent appeals for immediate assistance, and General Schuyler, commanding at Albany, had sent off reënforcements under General Sullivan within an hour after receiving Washington's dispatch. But as Sullivan was hurrying south, he came in contact with the army of Lee, who was his superior in command. Lee immediately ordered Sullivan to join his own column and move forward only as he directed. Sullivan had no choice but to obey. Lee continued to creep along at a snail's pace. Suddenly, on the thirteenth of December, in the twinkling of an eye, everything changed. Lee, lagging apart from his army, had passed the night at a tavern some three miles from the main column. There, early in the morning, he was surprised by a small party of British scouts, captured, and carried off. To the Americans it was almost like an interposition from heaven, for through this accident the command of the entire column devolved upon Sullivan. Instantly he began a forced march for the Delaware, which he crossed in the midst of a blinding snow-storm only two days later.



**277. Washington as Dictator.** The desperate nature of the situation was appreciated by Thomas Paine, who was then serving as a soldier in Washington's army. During the brief halts on the retreat across New Jersey, Paine wrote a patriotic pamphlet which he aptly called "The Crisis," "These are the times," he wrote, "that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but," he continued, speaking of Washington, "there is a natural firmness in some minds that cannot be unlocked by trifles. I reckon it among public



TIN DOLLAR OF 1776

blessings that God hath . . . given him a mind that can flourish upon care." The words were well deserved, and they were destined, immediately and splendidly, to be justified. Congress at this moment of crisis threw upon Washington the whole responsibility for the war by investing him with authority to conduct it as he saw fit. For itself, it sought safety in flight and withdrew from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

Though Congress gave Washington absolute power, it could give him at that moment no actual aid, and in his desperate situation there was imperative necessity to contrive in some way to shame "the summer soldier and the sunshine patriot." Almost all the soldiers had enlisted for but short periods, and practically all of them proposed to leave the army the instant their terms expired. They were deeply disheartened by the retreat. They had not yet learned to

trust their great leader, and were bitter against Congress for not having paid them. But Congress had no money. Though it had issued millions of paper dollars, people refused to accept them. Except for a loan of a million francs, secretly obtained in France by Silas Deane, there was scarcely any good money at the disposal of Congress during 1776. The winter had set in with extreme severity, and the American troops were ragged, ill-fed, and overworked. Their nerves were giving way. And Howe was shrewd enough, at this moment of demoralization, to issue a proclamation offering full pardon to all who would lay down their arms within sixty days and take an oath of allegiance to the king. No wonder Washington wrote to the president of Congress that unless something was done at once to change the mood of the soldiers, he had "not the most distant prospect of retaining them a moment longer than the last of this month" (December, 1776).

At that supreme moment everything hung upon the courage and the genius of the military dictator, George Washington. He was equal to the situation. He saw that whatever else he did, he must capture the imagination of his men. They must somehow be given confidence in themselves, confidence in their cause. In spite of the feebleness of his army, he resolved to turn about and recross the Delaware. As he himself put it, "Necessity, dire necessity, will, nay must, justify an attack." At the same time he wrote to one of the ablest of the Whig leaders, Robert Morris, imploring him to make every effort to raise money. The Christmas Day of 1776 was perhaps the darkest day of the war.

**278. The Battle of Trenton.** But it was the darkness that comes before dawn. Howe had made the fatal mistake of supposing that the Revolution was crushed. He resolved to rest his army, wait for the American forces to melt away, and finish the business at his leisure. Disposing his army in a chain of posts extending from Trenton to the sea, Howe himself, with Cornwallis, returned to New York, leaving a Hessian, Colonel Rahl, in command at Trenton.

On Christmas night, with only two thousand four hundred men and eighteen cannon, Washington recrossed the Delaware, nine miles above Trenton. In the early morning of the twenty-sixth, Rahl and his Hessians were attacked. Washington gained a brilliant victory. Practically the entire force of the enemy was either killed or taken prisoner.

**279. The Results of Trenton.** The effect of the battle was magical. It opened the eyes of the Americans to the greatness of the man who led them. In all parts of America new hope



WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE

sprang up. The soldiers at the front, the Assemblies at home, promised to keep up the fight. Robert Morris raised funds by sheer begging, and together with Washington and other Whig leaders borrowed money, pledging their estates as security, in case Congress could not pay.

**280. Washington cuts the British Line.** Cornwallis, the real fighter on the British side, now hurried to the front. On the second of January he was on the march with eight thousand men from Princeton for Trenton. The situation of the two armies at nightfall on the second must be understood in order to appreciate Washington's next great stroke, the battle of Princeton.

The British, stretched along Howe's chain of posts, still extended across New Jersey. There were strong detachments at various places along this line, notably at Brunswick, where great quantities of stores were collected, and at Princeton. Cornwallis with his eight thousand men had entered Trenton.

Washington had posted his whole force, numbering about five thousand men, with forty cannon, behind a little stream on the south edge of Trenton. These lay south of the line of British posts, but they were not the only Americans under arms. Away to the northeast a considerable American force under General Heath lay in southern New York. There were other American forces in northern New York and in New England. We should observe that these lay north of the British line.

Cornwallis thought he had Washington trapped. Another British column, some two thousand strong, encamped that night at Princeton, would reach Trenton the next day. Ten thousand British would then attack the five thousand Americans. But Cornwallis had not yet learned what sort of man he had to deal with. In the dead of night, with all the cannon wheels wrapped in strips of cloth, while every command was given in a whisper, the American army literally crept away to the east. Presently it wheeled northward. The intention of Washington was to cut his way through the British line and connect with the American forces north of it. Early in the morning he struck Princeton, where the British were as much surprised, wrote the American general, Knox, as if an army had fallen on them perpendicularly out of the clouds. Though they fought against great odds with fine courage, this brilliant action ended in their complete discomfiture. Washington kept on to Morristown (see map, p. 199).

**281. The Tables Turned.** Never has the courage of one man been more swiftly and splendidly rewarded. The Revolutionary movement, which appeared in December to be at its last gasp, was in January again in a fair way to succeed. Cornwallis had retreated upon New York.

## II. ENGLAND AND HER ENEMIES

**282. The Strength of the Combatants.** The "great campaign," as it well deserves to be called, besides showing Europe that America had a master soldier, showed the American Whigs that the difficulties of their cause were enormous. The United States contained about three million people, including slaves, and of these, at least twelve hundred thousand were outside the Whig party. How many of the remainder were genuine Whigs it was impossible to say.<sup>1</sup> "I find no disposition in the inhabitants to afford the least aid," Washington reported to Congress after his retreat across New Jersey. At New York the Tories were buoyant and eager. Even at Philadelphia, under the very nose of Congress, Tory influence was so strong that a garrison had to be maintained. In spite of all the efforts of Washington, Congress, and the state assemblies, it seemed impossible to get together fifteen thousand good troops.

Opposed to the Whigs was the military establishment of a powerful empire. The population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted to eleven millions, and though many of those people were bitterly opposed to George III, a class of great landowners dominated the country and controlled the elections to Parliament. In this class the king's supporters formed a majority. Through the support of this Tory<sup>2</sup> majority in

<sup>1</sup> At the time, John Adams said that a good third of the Americans were Tories. Some later students think he underestimated the Tory strength and believe that the Whigs were never in a majority, that they carried their point not through numbers but because of the perfection of their political organization and because the Tories lacked good leaders. Perhaps the truth of the matter is between these two extremes. As the war went forward, the Tory party seems to have grown in strength. In 1775, out of thirty-seven newspapers in America, seven or eight were Tory organs. It is asserted that at least five went over to the Tory side after war was declared. A number of Tory regiments were raised and several thousand Tories took service under the king's colors. See Van Tyne, "Loyalists," 1-164; Sabine, "Loyalists," I, 55-87.

<sup>2</sup> Tory should be understood here to cover all groups in the political alliance that had revived absolutism.



Parliament the king had at his command two hundred ships of war and three hundred thousand soldiers.

**283. Foreign Affairs.** The logic of circumstances was unmistakable. The Americans must find alliances abroad. Such, indeed, had been the intention of their coolest heads all along. Deane, as we have seen (section 277), was already in France, and the French government had given aid in secret,<sup>1</sup> but it still refused to recognize the United States as a nation. With Deane were now associated Franklin and Arthur Lee as commissioners to obtain a French alliance.

Various forces powerfully aided them. The Whig influence had crossed the British Channel, and made converts for the principle of free government in despotic France. The influence of the great skeptical philosopher, Voltaire, and of a brilliant group of scientists, the authors of the French Encyclopedia, told in the same direction. Furthermore, that fiery Democrat, Rousseau, boldly attacked all absolutist ideas. When the American Declaration appeared these various reformers hailed it with delight, and when Franklin arrived in France he was given an ovation. The greatest French administrator, Turgot, wrote a panegyric upon the great American who had "torn the lightning from heaven, and the scepter from the tyrant's hand." Even the king and queen caught the republican infection. They posed as friends of America, disregarding the warnings of their shrewdest advisers, who saw that if the Americans succeeded there would be an end of absolutism throughout the world.

There was a powerful force of a totally different sort also working for America and against Great Britain. It emanated from Berlin. Frederick the Great, who never forgave the British Tories for their shameful desertion of him in 1761 (section 233), was bent on bringing about another general war through which he should get his revenge. Two other determined enemies of England, also watching for an oppor-

<sup>1</sup> See Channing, "History," III, 282-284, for a compact but very interesting account of the secret aid given the Americans by France and Spain.



tunity to take revenge, were the Count of Vergennes, chief minister to Louis XVI, and Charles III, king of Spain. However, none of these were in a hurry to begin. Frederick wanted France to take the lead. Spain waited for France to decide. France hesitated; even Vergennes moved cautiously, wishing to make sure of the strength of the Americans before committing himself. Unless the United States should prove a strong ally, he would not risk it.

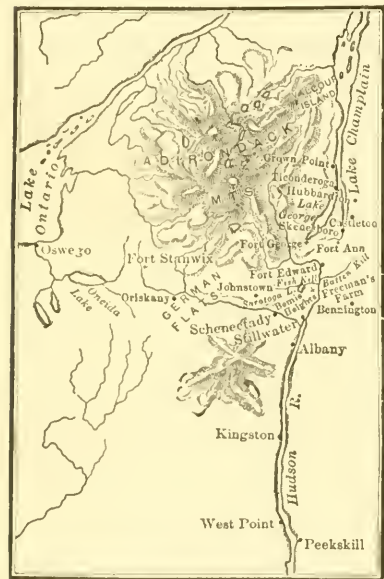
**284. Secret Aid.** All that Franklin could get during 1777 was a continuance of secret aid. This was given rather freely both by France and Spain. Money, arms, even ships were placed at Franklin's disposal, but still there was no recognition of American independence. Vergennes, who was the center of the intrigue, refused to act until the Americans had struck some great blow without aid from Europe.

**285. The Turning Point.** Through the summer of 1777 Franklin watched America with anxious eyes, for it had become known that the British were designing a great movement southward from Canada. Plainly they meant to cut the states in two along the line of the Hudson River. General John Burgoyne was to advance south along Lake Champlain; Colonel St. Leger, east along the valley of the Mohawk. Their junction point would be Albany. If they succeeded in meeting, they would, in connection with Howe, take control of the Hudson valley. On the success or failure of this movement the French alliance and the fate of America depended.

Owing to the peculiar plans adopted by the British generals, two campaigns were now fought in America almost simultaneously. Howe, instead of marching north to unite with Burgoyne, attempted a great flanking movement with a view to paralyzing the American defense by an attack on their capital. The fleet lying at New York enabled him to transport his army by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay, and as Howe had foreseen, this movement of his made it out of the question for Washington to join the forces in front of Burgoyne.

When the British came to land, Washington, having swiftly crossed New Jersey, was already in position to contest their advance upon Philadelphia. However, though Howe had accomplished his purpose, it is doubtful whether he had shown good generalship. At any rate, Burgoyne and St. Leger left to themselves did not prove equal to their under-

taking. In central New York, St. Leger, whose advance had been checked by Fort Stanwix,<sup>1</sup> was defeated by General Herkimer in the furious battle of Oriskany, and soon after (August, 1777) retreated to Canada. Meanwhile a part of Burgoyne's forces had been defeated by Vermont militia under Stark at Bennington. Nevertheless, on the first of September, Burgoyne was still pushing forward. The forces in front of him now outnumbered his own, and though their commander, General Gates, was of small ability, he was supported by the genius of Benedict Arnold.



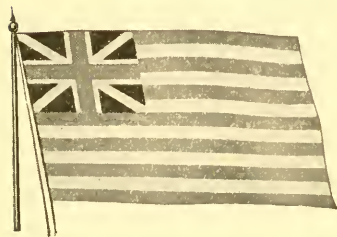
THE WAR IN NORTHERN NEW YORK

That strange man, though lacking in principle, was an excellent general. He compelled Burgoyne to fight his way mile by mile. Presently Burgoyne came to a standstill.

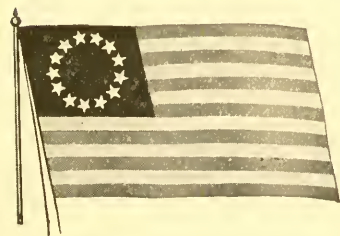
<sup>1</sup> Here a new flag was displayed by the Americans. The flag hoisted by Washington at Boston, in 1775, was the "red ensign" of the British empire with its red field diversified by white stripes. The blue canton in the upper left corner still contained the double cross of St. George and St. Andrew. This later flag was removed a point farther from the red ensign. The white crosses were taken from the canton, and replaced by a circle of thirteen white stars.



The "Red Ensign," which was the commercial flag of the British Empire in 1775, consisted of a red field, a blue canton, the red cross of St. George, and the white cross of St. Andrew. From this flag was derived the phrase "the red, white, and blue."



The American Whigs, in 1775, laid six white stripes on the red field of the ensign, thus producing the thirteen stripes that represent the colonies. The canton was retained to represent the empire.



On June 14, 1777, Congress removed the crosses from the canton and replaced them by a circle of thirteen white stars.



The addition of new states to the Union led to the present arrangement of stars, one for every state.

#### DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN FLAG

Two desperate battles in the neighborhood of Freeman's Farm were favorable to the Americans, and Burgoyne was cooped up in Saratoga. There he surrendered his whole army, October 17, 1777.

**286. The French Alliance.** The autumn of 1777 may be considered the second crisis of the war. It was the good news of the triumph of Saratoga, received by Franklin early in December, that saved the day. The French ministry at once began negotiating an alliance with the Americans.

**287. Capture of Philadelphia.** At the very moment, however, when Franklin in Paris saw that the worst was over, his colleagues in America were plunged in misery. Howe's move upon Philadelphia had been wholly successful. In two severe battles, Brandywine (September 11) and Germantown (October 4), he had shattered the forces under Washington. Congress had fled from Philadelphia to York. "The rebel capital," as Howe called it, was occupied by the British, who went into winter quarters there, while Washington placed the wreck of his army at Valley Forge, only twenty-five miles distant.

**288. Valley Forge.** While Franklin across the sea was negotiating the treaty of alliance, during December, 1777, and January, 1778, the soldiers of Washington were starving and freezing at Valley Forge. The lack of food and shelter during the bitterest part of the winter caused such intense suffering that Valley Forge is a synonym for hardship to this day. In this trying time all the half-hearted patriots deserted. Some three thousand are said to have slipped away and gone inside the British lines.<sup>1</sup> The remainder, however, were hardened into veterans. Washington's genius saved his cause at Trenton; his character saved it at Valley Forge. Steadfast against misfortune, he inspired his men with his own unconquerableness.

<sup>1</sup> Washington was also more than once embarrassed by the intrigues of generals with political ambitions. We have seen that Charles Lee had tried to foil his plans and so ruin his prestige (section 275). The so-called "Conway cabal" in 1778 was a contemptible plot to supplant Washington by Gates.

His influence was thus summed up by one of his officers: "See the poor soldier, if barefoot . . . he labors through the cold and mud with a song in his mouth, extolling War and Washington. If his food be bad — he eats it notwithstanding with seeming content."

**289. Foreign Volunteers.** Two distinguished Europeans shared the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge. These were the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Baron von Steuben. Lafayette, one of the most charming of Frenchmen, was a member of that group of liberal nobles who had gone over to republicanism. He had joined Washington's army as a volunteer shortly before the battle of Brandywine. A very different man was grim old Baron von Steuben, once a member of the staff of Frederick the Great. To him Washington entrusted the severe task of instilling into the Americans a sense of discipline. All that dreary winter Steuben labored at his arduous, but at last successful, undertaking. In a way he was Washington's right-hand man.

**290. The Tory Folly.** While the Americans were freezing at Valley Forge, the British officers in Philadelphia gave an entertainment that was probably one of the most brilliant ever given in America. At London the Tory majority showed an equal disdain of the seriousness of the moment. They adjourned Parliament and went home to enjoy Christmas on their estates. Chatham, who guessed what Franklin was doing at Paris and thought it was still possible to heal the breach with America, begged them to remain in session. But the Tories would have their Christmas gayeties come what might. Their selfish action, in the words of the historian Lecky, "left the country without a Parliament in the six critical weeks that followed the arrival of the news of the capitulation of Saratoga." In those six weeks the last hope of preserving the empire intact passed away. The negotiations at Paris brought the strictly American part of the war to an end. When Parliament reassembled, and Lord North, February 17, 1778, moved to make concessions to America,



it was too late.<sup>1</sup> Ten days previous, France had recognized the "Republic of the United States." On March 13, 1778, the French ambassador at London formally notified the king of England that France was an ally of the Americans.<sup>2</sup> The British ambassador was at once recalled from Paris, and England and France were at war.

### III. THE WORLD-WIDE WAR

**291. Paris becomes the Center.** The war now became world-wide. The best way to understand it is to station oneself in imagination at Paris. There, in consultation, the American envoys and the French ministers watched and schemed while the conflict raged from America over all the seas, as far as distant India.

**292. Monmouth.** A French fleet with an army commanded by the Count of Rochambeau was sent to America immediately after the treaty was signed. Hearing of their approach, Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, withdrew from Philadelphia and started across New Jersey toward New York. Thereupon, Washington with his small but now thoroughly seasoned force, planned to strike the British column at Monmouth, but there for the second time Charles Lee (section 275) played him false. That secret traitor had been exchanged for a captured British officer and restored to his command. At Monmouth, June 28, 1778, he led the American advance, but in disobedience to Washington's orders halted his force at a critical moment and threw the whole army into confusion. Just in the nick of time Washington galloped forward, and in a terrible burst of rage ordered Lee to the rear. Then it was that Steuben's training told. For the first time Americans answered to command like European veterans. Swiftly re-

<sup>1</sup> A conciliatory commission was sent over by Lord North offering to grant almost anything the Americans asked if only they would abandon France and return into the empire. But Congress refused to consider his proposition.

<sup>2</sup> The treaty of alliance had been signed February 6.



organized by Washington, they attacked Clinton with great spirit, but the right moment had passed. Washington's plan of battle could not now be carried out; and Clinton escaped to New York. Shortly afterward, for the second time, Washington fixed his headquarters at White Plains, and began



WASHINGTON'S CAMPAIGNS, 1776-1778

the long siege of New York. Monmouth was the last important battle of the Revolutionary War fought in the Northern states.

**293. The Year 1778.** In that year, 1778, there were large enterprises in every quarter of the globe. The French and British navies entered upon a brilliant rivalry to control the seas. In American waters at first the French were masters of the situation. Nevertheless, a joint attack of French and

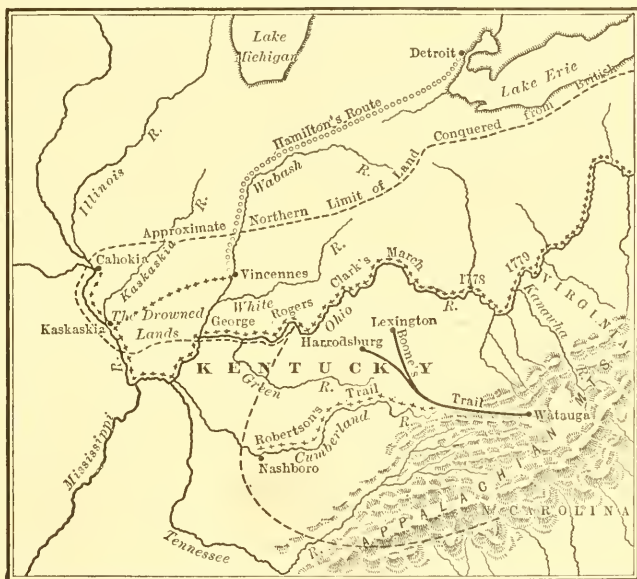
Americans on Newport,<sup>1</sup> where was a British garrison, was not successful and the arrival of naval reënforcements from England forced the French fleet to take shelter at Boston. The Americans had better success in the West. George Rogers Clark, with a force of Virginians, invaded the Ohio country and took the British fort of Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. On the other hand, Wyoming valley, in northeastern Pennsylvania, was raided by a mixed force of Tories and Indians from Canada, and its inhabitants massacred. Battles in the West Indies produced no substantial advantage either for France or for England. On the whole, this first year of the general war ended somewhat in England's favor. Her most brilliant success was in far-off Hindustan. There the French had had a long struggle to build up a subject empire as a rival to British India. In the autumn of 1778 almost all of it was conquered by the British.

**294. The Year 1779.** The next year saw a change. Spain joined the league. The odds were now distinctly against England. In America, however, her troops gained one brilliant success. For the second time the British, arriving by sea, invaded the South, and a mixed French and American army which met them near Savannah<sup>2</sup> was totally routed (October 9, 1779). But this victory was more than counter-balanced by a number of American successes. The British garrison at Newport was forced to withdraw and seek safety in New York. Anthony Wayne captured the important British station of Stony Point on the Hudson. By the capture of Vincennes (see map, p. 201) Clark made an end of British power in the West. The Six Nations, which had sided steadily

<sup>1</sup> Occupied by a British force early in the war.

<sup>2</sup> The British occupied Savannah in 1778 and early in 1779 advanced their outposts as far as Augusta. Their further attempts to occupy upper Georgia were foiled by an American victory at Kettle Creek. Later the Americans suffered a defeat in the desperate battle of Brier Creek (March 3, 1779). Following up their success the British moved northward and threatened Charleston but were forced back upon Savannah, where they turned the tables and gained a great victory.

with the crown, were all but annihilated by General Sullivan. But the greatest achievement of this year occurred outside of America. A great French and Spanish fleet of sixty ships of war sailed along the southern coast of England and offered battle to Sir Charles Hardy, who had not a sufficient force to engage them. For the first time in ninety years the British



CLARK'S CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST

Channel was commanded by a fleet that did not fly the British flag. England's naval supremacy was for the moment lost.

Under the American flag, John Paul Jones, in the *Bonhomme Richard*,<sup>1</sup> sailed up the east coast of Great Britain. Near the mouth of the Humber he fought a celebrated battle with the British man-of-war *Serapis*. For some time the two

<sup>1</sup> Congress had provided for the equipment of thirteen frigates in 1775. By the end of 1778 nine had been captured by the British. Though other ships were bought, the losses exceeded the additions. At the end of the war the American navy had shrunk to six vessels.

ships lay so close that the muzzles of their guns touched. At length the captain of the *Serapis* struck his flag.

Ranging far afield, the French navy conquered the English settlements on the west coast of Africa. In the West Indies they took the British islands of Grenada and St. Vincent. One great Spanish force besieged Gibraltar; another took possession of West Florida.

To complete the distress of England, France raised up against her a terrible enemy in the East. This was Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. For some time French agents had swarmed at his court. What they had been about was made plain when at the head of ninety thousand men, directed by French officers, Hyder Ali burst into British India, spreading ruin and death before him. Thus France contrived to keep the British forces in India desperately at bay. Only the genius of Warren Hastings saved British India from destruction.

**295. The Northern Neutrality.** In Europe also misfortune dogged the government of George III. Holland joined the circle of his enemies. Four nations were now leagued in the war against him. Furthermore, through the wiles of Frederick of Prussia, it was now made possible for neutral nations to trade in safety with America. Hitherto England had maintained that goods intended for America were subject to capture and confiscation, no matter under what flag they were carried. A proclamation of the Empress Catherine of Russia in March, 1780, instigated by Frederick, announced that Russia would no longer consent to the British practice. Sweden and Denmark, as well as Prussia, endorsed the position taken by the empress. This agreement, known as "The Northern Neutrality," was a great diplomatic victory for the enemies of England. The year 1780 was one of the very darkest in the whole of England's history. Attacked on every side, she was without a friend in the world.

## IV. THE DISRUPTION OF THE EMPIRE

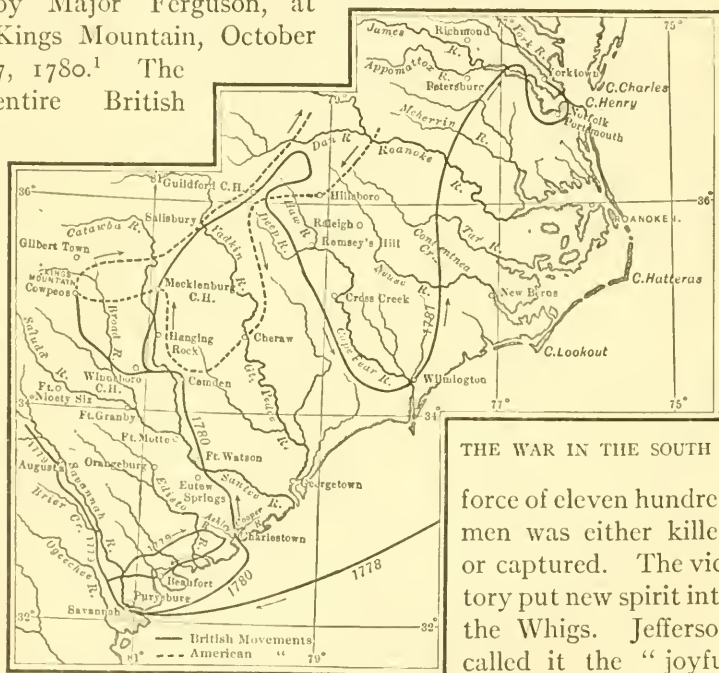
**296. Camden.** Strangely enough, the only news that in any way comforted George III, in 1780, came from America. Charleston, after a siege of six weeks, surrendered in May. In August the faithful Cornwallis, with some two thousand troops, met an American army, three thousand strong, under Gates and routed it at Camden. That was the last great success of the British arms in America.

**297. Arnold's Treason.** More demoralizing to the Americans than the defeat at Camden was an event which took place the following month. Benedict Arnold is one of the problems of the Revolution. We have seen how capable he was. His talent no one questions; his character is the problem. Because he fancied himself slighted by Congress, he planned to surrender West Point to Sir Henry Clinton, in return for a general's commission and thirty thousand dollars. Major John André visited him in disguise to conduct the negotiation. By mere chance, however, on September 23, 1780, André was detected while on his way back to the British lines, and the plot discovered. So deeply was Washington affected by the discovery of Arnold's treason that he broke down and wept, exclaiming to Lafayette, "Whom can we trust now?" Arnold was warned in time to escape to the British lines, but André was hanged as a spy.

**298. The Southern Campaign.** The war in the Carolinas was carried on chiefly by small bands of irregular soldiers who swept across the country, cut off the British scouting parties, destroyed stores, and acted generally like a swarm of hornets. The most noted leaders of these heroic bandits were Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter. They were hampered constantly by the Tory population, which was considerable and everywhere gave priceless aid to the British. The Tory leader, Sir Banastre Tarleton, distinguished himself in this furtive warfare both for ruthlessness and ability. Suddenly out of the West, when things looked darkest for the patriots,



came unexpected aid. In the mountains of the Carolinas, and in new settlements which were soon to be known as Tennessee, was a population of hardy backwoodsmen. From these was recruited a mountain force led by John Sevier, which attacked an important British force commanded by Major Ferguson, at Kings Mountain, October 7, 1780.<sup>1</sup> The entire British



#### THE WAR IN THE SOUTH

force of eleven hundred men was either killed or captured. The victory put new spirit into the Whigs. Jefferson called it the "joyful turn of the tide."

**299. Greene in the South.** A great effort was now made to recover the Carolinas from Cornwallis, who, at the opening of 1781, held the central portion of South Carolina and part of Georgia. General Nathanael Greene took command of

<sup>1</sup> The battle of Kings Mountain was won by an assemblage of volunteers that had little formal organization. Besides the Tennesseans, commanded by Sevier and Isaac Shelby, there were Virginians, led by William Campbell; North Carolinians, led by Benjamin Cleveland and Joseph McDowell; South Carolinians and Georgians under various leaders of which the best known was James Williams.



the Americans and sent Daniel Morgan against Tarleton, at the extreme west end of Cornwallis' line; Greene himself threatened the east end. At Cowpens, January 17, 1781, Morgan won a victory, destroying two thirds of Tarleton's command. Cornwallis with some five thousand troops then pushed forward to strike Greene, but the American general played a crafty part. He skillfully lured Cornwallis farther and farther north and kept himself just out of reach. At Guilford, in North Carolina, he turned at bay. A fierce engagement there, March 15, 1781, while scarcely an American victory, inflicted such loss upon the British that Cornwallis retreated to the coast and rested his army at Wilmington.

**300. Revolutionary Finance.** In spite of the gallant work done in the Carolinas, the winter of 1780-1781 was a gloomy one for the Americans. Their resources were exhausted. Congress had no hard money at all and its paper money — the so-called "continental" notes — had so little value that "not worth a continental" is a proverb for worthlessness to this day. Of these notes some two hundred forty-two million had been issued.<sup>1</sup> In 1781 a gold dollar was worth a thousand paper dollars. Congress was in debt to the amount of thirty-six million dollars in gold. No one knew how this debt was going to be paid. General discontent had settled down upon the country. At the opening of 1781 perhaps the only buoyant Americans were the Tories, who in spite of the reverses of Cornwallis and England's misfortunes all



FIRST MONUMENT  
TO A WOMAN OF  
THE AMERICAN  
REVOLUTION

Erected on Guilford battle ground at Greensboro, N. C., to Mrs. Kerenhappuch Turner, who upon hearing that one of her sons was wounded, rode on horseback all the way from her home in Maryland to Guilford Court House.

<sup>1</sup> Great numbers were redeemed by Congress, in 1780, at two and a half cents on the dollar.

over the world were still confident of success. In startling contrast was the dissatisfaction with the Whig cause shown by a part of the American army. A body of Pennsylvania troops mutinied, deposed their officers, and demanded their pay, which was long in arrears. They were permitted to withdraw from the army and disband. But their example was contagious. Soon afterward a New Jersey contingent also mutinied. Thereupon Washington showed the iron in him. Though so long-enduring, he could be terrible on occasion. Calling up some faithful Massachusetts troops on whom he knew he could rely, he surrounded the mutineers and compelled them to surrender. Two of their number were chosen for an example and promptly shot. That was the end of mutiny in the American army.

**301. The Last Crisis.** No one saw clearer than Washington, however, that it would not do to let the war drag along much longer. France was the head of the alliance against England, and if France did not push things to a conclusion the cause would yet be lost. Even in its dying agony, the old English empire of the eighteenth century was a terrible adversary. As to the American part of the world-wide war, Washington summed up the situation thus: "Without a foreign loan our present force which is but the remnant of an army cannot be kept together. . . . If France delays a timely and powerful aid in the present posture of our affairs, it will avail nothing should she attempt it hereafter. . . . In a word we are at the end of our tether and now or never deliverance must come."

**302. John Laurens.** It was resolved to send a special envoy to Louis XVI, and this delicate mission was entrusted to a young South Carolinian, John Laurens. A gleam of graciousness flashes across the somber record of 1781 at the mention of John Laurens, an accomplished youth who added to his other merits the charm of extreme good looks. He captivated both the king and the queen of France and made his embassy a complete success. Louis presented the United

States with six million livres, loaned them four million, and endorsed their notes for ten million more, which were borrowed in Holland. Thus the crisis passed.

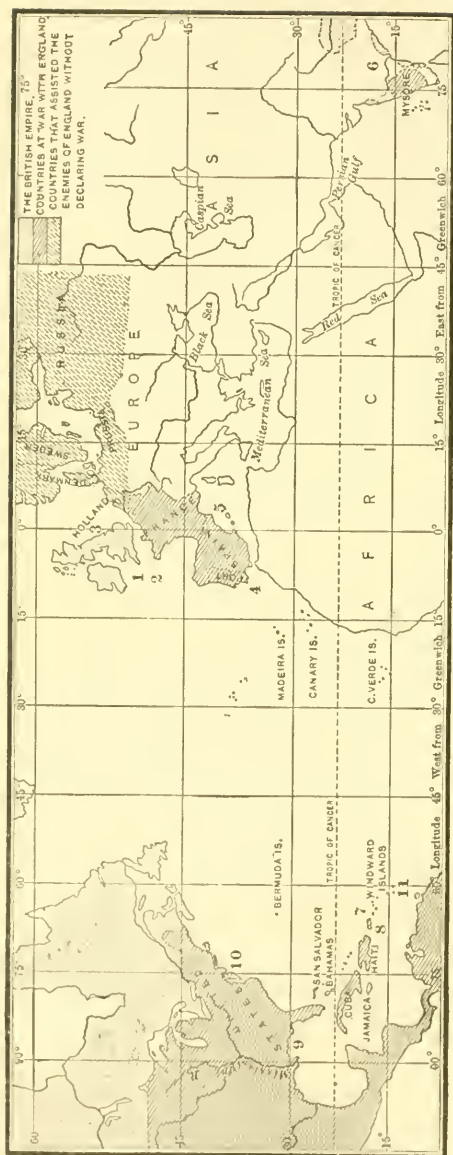
**303. Last American Campaign.** During 1781 Spanish forces drove the British from Pensacola. De Grasse, the best of French admirals, established French naval supremacy in the West Indies and thence, in July, 1781, sailed for the United States, bringing an army of French regulars.

Meanwhile, the British commanders in America had decided on a change of campaign, and a large part of the British force at New York had been removed by sea to Virginia. There they were joined by Cornwallis, who thus found himself at the head of no less than seven thousand veterans. The moment it became evident that the British would invade Virginia, Washington had sent Lafayette to take command against Cornwallis. During the summer there were several indecisive actions. At length Cornwallis decided to fortify a point on the coast and wait for reënforcements. He occupied Yorktown, August 1, 1781.<sup>1</sup>

**304. The Advance against Yorktown.** Washington now formed a bold scheme. With the greatest secrecy he withdrew most of his army from before New York and started on a swift but long march for Yorktown. While Washington was on the march, De Grasse with his French fleet entered Chesapeake Bay.

Since the greater part of the British force was still at New York, and Washington was already far to the south, the chief question of the moment was the control of the sea. Four fleets were involved. De Grasse was in the Chesapeake. Another French fleet lay at Newport. Admiral Graves with a British fleet was at New York. Sir Samuel Hood brought

<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile Greene had resumed operations against the force left by Cornwallis in the Carolinas. There was desperate fighting in Carolina during most of 1781. The fierce battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, was claimed as a victory by both sides. However, the British withdrew to Charleston, where they were besieged.



# WORLD-WIDE WAR

- 1 = French-Spanish occupation of the British Channel, 1779.
- 2 = French-Spanish occupation of the British Channel, 1781.
- 3 = Defeat of the *Serapis* by Paul Jones.
- 4 = Siege of Gibraltar.
- 5 = Spanish invasion of Minorca.
- 6 = Invasion of British India by Hyder Ali.
- 7 = French conquest of St. Vincent and Granada.
- 8 = Later French victories in the West Indies.
- 9 = Spanish attack on Pensacola.
- 10 = Battle of Chesapeake Bay.
- 11 = Battle of Dominica.

another British fleet to New York within two days after the arrival of De Grasse at Yorktown. If Hood and Graves could beat De Grasse, it would still be possible to transfer all the British armies by sea to Yorktown, and Washington's long march would count for nothing.

**305. De Grasse turns the Scale.** In order to open a sea road from New York to Yorktown, Graves and Hood sailed for the Chesapeake. The battle which decided this last American campaign was a naval engagement off the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, September 5, 1781. De Grasse won an easy victory over Hood and Graves, who returned hopeless to New York. The Newport fleet then joined De Grasse in safety. It brought soldiers and cannon to take part against Cornwallis.

**306. Siege of Yorktown.** The Chesapeake was now entirely protected by French ships of war, and Washington's army was conveyed by water from Pennsylvania to Yorktown. By the middle of September the land side of Yorktown was besieged by sixteen thousand men, seven thousand of them French regulars. On the water side it was blockaded by a great French fleet. Within this doomed circle seven thousand British soldiers stood grimly at bay for more than a month. Slowly, steadily, the allies crowded the British into narrower and narrower space. French and Americans vied with each other to see which should show the greater coolness and audacity in assaults. At length, after all the outer fortifications had been taken by storm, Cornwallis gave up his gallant but hopeless defense. He surrendered his whole army October 19, 1781.

## V. THE END OF ABSOLUTISM

**307. Whigs return to Power.** When the news of the surrender of Yorktown reached England, Lord North threw up his hands and exclaimed, "All is over." The personal rule of George III was at an end. Even the Tory majority in Parliament failed him, and sullenly he accepted a Whig prime

minister, Lord Rockingham.<sup>1</sup> Never has an English prime minister come into office under such distressing circumstances. Sixteen years before, this same Lord Rockingham and his Whig colleagues had warned this same king what would inevitably follow from his attempt to revive absolutism. The spectacle of Rockingham being called on to undo the king's



DISPOSITION OF AMERICAN TERRITORY  
PROPOSED BY VERGENNES

work is one of the famous ironies of history. The men who would have saved the empire were now to wind up its affairs, make an end of the old English empire of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and begin a new one — the modern British empire of our own day. Toward America their course had never wavered. Nor did it now. Their plan was to offer America instant recognition, but to prosecute the war vigorously against the enemies of England in Europe and Asia.

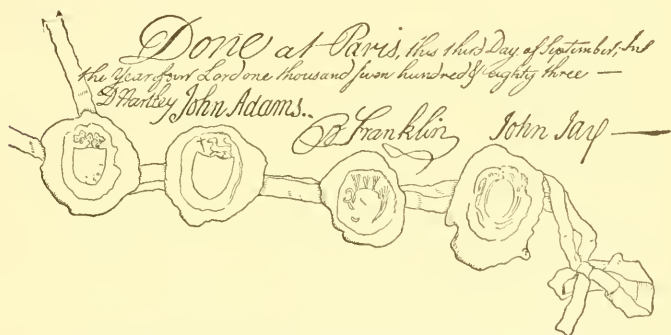
**308. Battle of Dominica.** However, the senseless and terrible war was not quite over. At the opening of 1782 France and Spain thought the time had come to destroy England. The last blow to her prestige was to be struck by a great fleet which was brought together in the West Indies with De Grasse in command. At this supreme crisis in her affairs England was saved by one of her greatest admirals, Sir George Rodney, who met De Grasse off the Island of Dominica, April 12, 1782. After twelve hours of furious battle the

<sup>1</sup> The same who secured the repeal of the Stamp Act. See section 243.



French admiral struck his flag. The whole of that proud fleet which was to give England her deathblow was either sunk or taken, or in headlong flight. This great victory put the peace negotiations on a new footing. Everybody was exhausted. The time had come to establish peace among the nations with general fairness to all concerned.

**309. The Treaty of Paris.** The plenipotentiaries of the various powers met at Paris, where America was represented



FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF 1783

by Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. After tortuous negotiation,<sup>1</sup> several treaties were drawn up. The one between the United States and Great Britain was signed September 3, 1783. This momentous document, which admitted our country into the family of the nations, began thus: "His Brittanic Majesty acknowledges the said United States . . . to be free, sovereign and independent states." . . .

<sup>1</sup> America's allies attempted to play us false, seeking to effect a settlement that would confine the Americans to a narrow strip along the Atlantic coast. Thereupon, the American commissioners violated the letter of their agreement with France and concluded a separate treaty. For doing so they have been accused of bad faith. See Channing, "History," III, 346-373; Lecky, "England," IV, 218-220, 271-302; Hale, "Franklin in France," chaps. iv-xi. FitzMaurice, "Life of Shelburne," III, 164-327; Fiske, "Critical Period," I-49.

*Selections from the Sources.* HART, *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 170-183, 193-220; MACDONALD, *Documentary Source Book*, No. 52; *Documents*, No. 15. The young student is hardly in a position to use wisely the vast mass of source material on the Revolutionary War. At most, perhaps, — if he is to venture outside the few noted above, — he might use the *Journals of the Continental Congress*; MOORE, *Digest of International Law*; WHARTON, *Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence*; FORCE, *American Archives*.

*Secondary Accounts.* TREVELYAN, *American Revolution*, Pt. 3, 289-339; FISKE, *American Revolution*, II, 25-48, 82-109, 116-130; VAN TYNE, *American Revolution*, 120-135, 202-243, 269-333; LECKY, *History of England*, IV, 70-96, 166-170, 218-220, 271-302; BANCROFT, *History* (last revision) V, 226-268, 300-365, 439-458, 535-580; CHANNING, *History*, III, 210-387; FISHER, *Struggle for Independence*, II, 106-121, 246-255, 328-335, 504-551; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, I, chaps. v, vii-xii; II, chaps. i-iv, viii, x-xiii; SUMNER, *Financier and Finances of the Revolution*; FITZMAURICE, *Life of Shelburne*, III, 164-327; HALE, *Franklin in France*, chaps. iv-xi; MORSE, *Franklin*, 352-397; TOWER, *The Marquis de La Fayette in the American Revolution*; CARTER, *Great Britain and the Illinois Country*, 103-163; TURNER, *State Making during the Revolution* (*American Historical Review*, I, 70-87, 251-269); CALDWELL, *History of Tennessee*.

*Bibliographies.* CHANNING, HART, and TURNER, *Guide to the Study of American History*, 111-152; ANDREWS, GAMBRILL, and TALL, *Bibliography of History for Schools*, 107-108.

*Maps.* AVERY, *History*, V, 174-175, 402; VI, 279, 350, 351, 362; SHEPHERD, *Historical Atlas*, 189-194, 199.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Parties in America. 2. Washington's Early Career. 3. The Great Campaign. 4. The American Party in France. 5. The Policy of Vergennes. 6. Frederick the Great and the American Revolution. 7. The American Navy in the Revolution. 8. The Conquest of the West. 9. John Sevier. 10. Revolutionary Finance. 11. The Mission of John Laurens. 12. De Grasse. 13. The European Volunteers. 14. Negotiations in Connection with the Treaty of Paris.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE THIRTEEN STATES

**310. The New Power.** Out of all this turmoil had come a new power called the United States of America. We must now consider just what it was the day that King George acknowledged its independence; we must then consider the difficulties confronting it that day and how it dealt with them.

**311. The Nature of the New Power.** First of all, the new power was a confederation. We have seen that there had long been a demand for some sort of union among the western states of the empire. The Congress at Albany in 1754 (section 228) was busied with schemes for a union of colonies. Franklin had exerted his powerful influence in favor of union, and had made clever use in his newspaper of the superstition that a snake cut into pieces may regain life if the pieces are quickly united. Thus he described the condition of the American states.

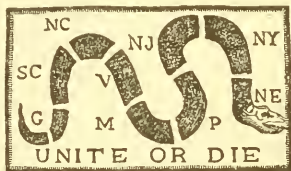


ILLUSTRATION USED IN  
FRANKLIN'S PAPER

Soon after the Declaration was signed, Congress set to work to devise a plan of union, and after long discussion drew up certain Articles of Confederation (November 17, 1777) which were submitted to the states for ratification.<sup>1</sup>

**312. The Adoption of the Articles.** The plan proposed in these Articles was speedily accepted by various states, but

<sup>1</sup> Meantime, in the various states local revolutions had overturned the royal governments and set up new ones in their stead. See Fiske, "Critical Period," 64-70; Van Tyne, "American Revolution," 136-156; Jameson, "Constitutional Conventions," 125-158; Fisher, "Evolution of the Constitution," chap. iv.

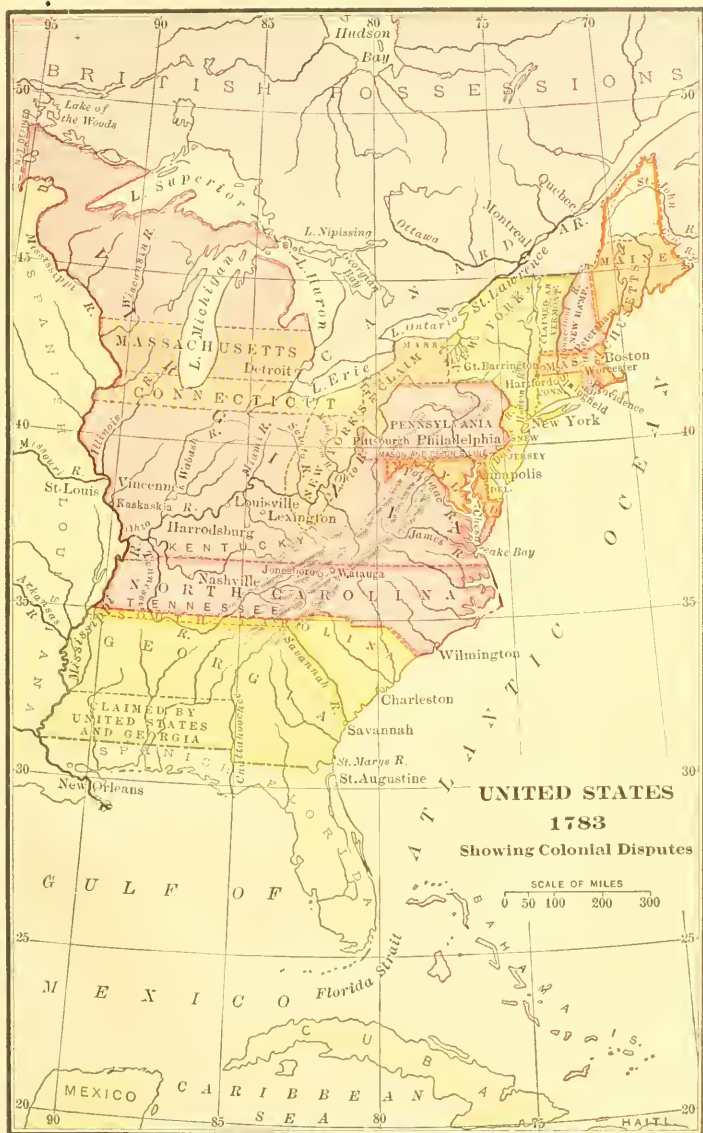
not without objection. There were contentions among the states due to the fact that the original grants from the crown were often inconsistent, and the state boundaries therefore not beyond dispute. For example, a strip of land which is now northern Ohio, was claimed by Connecticut because it lay within the boundaries laid down in the Connecticut charter (section 116). On the other hand, Virginia claimed the same region, partly on the strength of Clark's conquest of the Ohio country (sections 293-294), partly by virtue of King James' Virginia grant of 1609, which, it was claimed, gave Virginia the entire Northwest.<sup>1</sup>

There were many other contentions over boundaries (see map, opposite), but this one about the Northwest shows us the heart of the matter. It shows also why Maryland refused at first to ratify the Articles of Confederation. A small, closed state, it had no chance to expand westward, and feared to enter a confederacy in which after a while the one state, Virginia, might be almost an empire in itself. Therefore Maryland declared it would not enter unless the principle was established that all unoccupied land acquired during the war should belong to the confederacy as a whole. After nearly three years of contention, the matter was compromised.<sup>2</sup> Political jurisdiction over the West was renounced by the states claiming that region; but they retained as mere owners large tracts of land. The Articles were then accepted by all the states, and the confederation of the United States of America was established March 1, 1781.

**313. The Second American Confederation.** This was the second American attempt at confederate government. We

<sup>1</sup> The grant of 1609 (section 45, note) described Virginia as extending into the interior "west and northwest." Hence Virginia claimed everything west of Pennsylvania. See map.

<sup>2</sup> The final settlement of the western land question was not effected until many years later. However, the compromise indicated above was eventually carried out. Most of the land retained by the various states was used to reward Revolutionary soldiers who had claims for back pay. Numbers of them started West almost as soon as peace was declared.







have seen how the "United Colonies of New England" were brought together, what trouble they had in keeping together, how at last their confederacy collapsed (sections 103, 106, 108). The second American confederacy was in general much like the first. Both illustrated the same type of confederate government, — the type in which there is equal distribution of authority among the members, but unequal distribution of burdens.

While every state was to have the same share in lawmaking, the expenses of the confederacy were to be divided among the states in proportion to the value of the land in each.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, in the second confederation, as in the first, the general government was not to be allowed to collect its own revenues. The Articles provided for a confederate Congress that was to apportion to each state the part it ought to pay, make a "requisition" on the state for that part, and leave everything else in the state's own hands. If the state should not see fit to honor the requisition, Congress was not to have any power to compel it to do so.

This new confederate Congress, like the older Continental Congress, consisted of but one chamber. It was made up of delegates chosen by the state governments. The voting was by states, and each state, as we have seen, cast one vote. A mere majority of states could pass measures of minor importance, but no vital measure could be passed unless nine states approved it. The Articles could be amended only by unanimous vote of all the states. All the officers of government were appointed by Congress and were answerable to it, much as the English ministry is answerable to Parliament to-day. Of the officers appointed by Congress, the chief were secretary of war, superintendent of finance, secretary of foreign affairs, and postmaster general.

<sup>1</sup> At first it was proposed to apportion expenses, as in the New England Confederation (section 107), according to population. At once was raised the question, how shall population be counted? This question made slavery an issue in American politics, for the states which had few slaves wished to have the slaves counted, while the states with numerous slaves objected.

However, very little was given Congress to do except to conduct negotiations with foreign governments. Practically everything else was left to the separate states, which were declared to be sovereign, free, and independent. The confederacy as a whole was described as a "perpetual Union and firm league of friendship." This loose confederacy, at the head of which stood a Congress with very little authority, was the new power among the nations which was recognized by George III in 1783.

**314. The Problems of 1783.** The new government was confronted by a number of difficult problems. First of all there was the great problem of the land. By the treaty with George III the territory of the confederation was defined.<sup>1</sup> But the treaty settled nothing as to the boundaries of the different states. As we have seen, the Articles had been accepted on the understanding that the western country should be taken over by Congress. One of the chief problems of 1783 was how to convert into law the understanding about the western land.

**315. The Interstate Problem of 1783.** The jealousy among the states revealed by the contention over the land was but one sign of a general strained relation. In seeking the reason for this we discover two main sources of all the troubles of America during the next hundred years.

First, the people of the various states differed widely in thought and feeling, but in each state the population was comparatively of one mind. The people of Virginia, for example, when compared with the people of Massachusetts, almost without exception found it hard to understand how

<sup>1</sup> The northern boundary was practically what it is now, as far west as the Lake of the Woods. The western boundary was the Mississippi. The southern was the thirty-first parallel from the Mississippi to the Apalachicola River; thence to the sea it was the present southern line of Georgia. All America west of the Mississippi and everything south of the thirty-first parallel and the Georgia line was given to Spain.

There were two confusing statements in the description of the boundary. See section 431, note, for the settlement of the northwestern confusion; section 492, note, for the settlement of the northeastern confusion.

the other people looked at things. This was more or less true of any two states separated from each other by a considerable distance.

Second, the geographical conditions of the various states were widely dissimilar.

This latter fact introduces us to a matter which henceforth is one of the prime issues of American history. Because of the great differences in geographical conditions, different parts of our country have developed in different ways. Since 1783 there has never been a minute when all parts of the country had the same material interests. Thus have been produced sharp commercial rivalries among the different sections. All this was fully apparent in 1783. For example, the men of New England, with a poor soil, fine harbors, and many ships, being far to the northeast, wanted close commercial relations with the north of Europe, and had little interest in the development of agriculture. Virginia, on the other hand, with a rich soil and no special reason for building ships, cared little about commerce, and everything about agriculture. But both New England and Virginia, since they bordered on the Atlantic and traded chiefly with England, were in haste to get satisfactory commercial agreements with George III. Toward the west, however, there were new settlements which had the richest of soil, but no ships and no seaboard. They wanted free navigation of the Mississippi so that they might float their produce down the river to the sea. But Spain controlled the mouth of the river. In foreign affairs these people cared nothing about relations with England, everything about relations with Spain. They were jealous lest their interests should be sacrificed to those of the old states along the seaboard. On the other hand, the Easterners insisted that their interests must not be set aside to please a parcel of "backwoodsmen." So it came about that a major problem of 1783 was how to quiet the jealousies of these widely dissimilar states.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The whole matter is well presented in McMaster, "United States," I, 147-150, 154-166, 204-208, 262-266, 371-389.

**316. The Foreign Problems of 1783.** What has just been said gives us the clew to a third great problem. The confederate government had to establish trade relations with foreign powers. In most cases the European nations gave the new country a helping hand, but there were two exceptions.

Spain had never favored the colonies. She went into the war solely as the ally of France, and for the purpose of injuring England. In the course of the war she had endeavored to seize for herself the region between the mountains and the Mississippi. She was foiled chiefly by the Virginians, and also by the astute diplomacy of the American plenipotentiaries in 1783 (section 309, note). But having control of the mouth of the Mississippi, she had an effective weapon against the Americans which she meant to use.

In the British treaty of 1783 it had been agreed: (1) that Congress should recommend to the states that they deal mercifully with the American Tories; (2) that all debts of Americans to British merchants should be paid; (3) that certain British garrisons stationed inside the boundaries of the confederation should be withdrawn "with all convenient speed"; (4) that the retiring British soldiers should not take with them any "negroes or other property." England refused to make any commercial agreement with the Americans until the treaty stipulations were fulfilled. Here, then, was a problem of first importance in 1783: how were foreign relations to be adjusted with England and Spain?

**317. The Financial Problem of 1783.** The confederacy inherited, of course, all the debt incurred by the Continental Congress. It had to pay this debt, and also to provide funds for carrying on the confederate government. And yet it was unable to lay taxes of any sort. All it could do was to appeal to the various states for the amounts needed. It could not even make a binding contract agreeing to pay back a loan at some future date. All its future actions in finance depended upon what the various states saw fit to do. The fourth great problem of 1783 was: how could the states be induced to

contribute adequately to the payment of the debt and the maintenance of the government of the confederacy?

**318. Efforts of Congress to solve the Land Problem.** Let us observe in turn the efforts of the confederate Congress to solve each of these problems. First, the land problem.

There were three distinct areas west of the mountains to be considered. One of these was not involved in the contentions which had retarded the acceptance of the Articles. This area, which should not be considered in this connection, comprised the region now occupied by Kentucky and Tennessee. It had been entered by settlers from the East before the Revolutionary War began, and there was no question as to what states were entitled to this area. The upper part, in 1783, formed the Kentucky County of Virginia; the lower part, Washington County of North Carolina.

The land in dispute in 1783 formed two great blocks, one south of Washington County, the other north of Kentucky County. The southern block proved the more difficult problem of the two. A thin strip along its upper edge was claimed by South Carolina on the strength of its original charter (section 118); Georgia claimed all the rest; while the portion lying southward from the mouth of the Yazoo was also claimed by Spain.<sup>1</sup> Of these claims one, that of South Carolina, was transferred to the confederate government in 1787, but both Georgia and Spain refused to yield their claims. All through the period we are now discussing, the problem of the southwestern land remained unsettled, a constant source of friction between Spain, the United States, and Georgia.

The northwestern area offered fewer difficulties, and one after another the various states claiming the Northwest<sup>2</sup> made

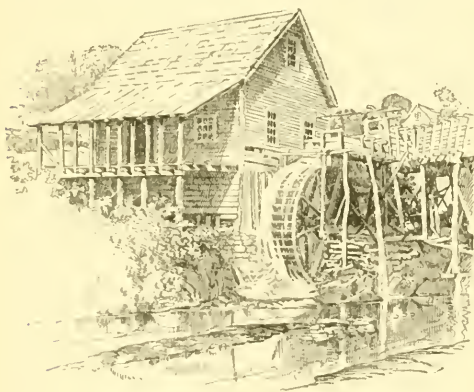
<sup>1</sup> Spain's argument was that in 1764 England changed the north line of West Florida, making it the parallel of the mouth of the Yazoo ( $32^{\circ} 28'$ ); in 1783 she ceded Florida to Spain (section 314, note); therefore, said Spain, in fixing the south line of the United States at  $31^{\circ}$ , England had ceded land not rightfully in her possession.

<sup>2</sup> New York claimed most of the Ohio Valley on the ground that it had formerly belonged to the Six Nations, and the Six Nations were subject to New



over their claims to the confederacy — New York in 1781; Virginia in 1784; Massachusetts in 1785; Connecticut in 1786.

**319. Sale of Lands.** Even before the various cessions were completed, Congress had decided to sell the western lands and use the proceeds to pay off the confederate debt. Jefferson, in 1784, brought forward a plan for organizing new states in the West as fast as desirable, and for providing meanwhile a temporary government there.<sup>1</sup> Congress accepted part of his plan and the next year adopted the Grayson Ordinance, which provided for setting aside, to be used as an endowment for schools, one thirty-sixth part of all the confederate lands in the West, the remainder to be sold at one dollar an acre.



AN EARLY MILL IN OHIO

Companies were soon formed which began to speculate in the West, exchanging the depreciated government bonds — to use our present term — for certificates of land. Notable among these companies were the Ohio Company,<sup>2</sup> which took up some nine hundred thousand acres in present Ohio, and the Symmes Company, which took up a quarter of a million acres, including the site of Cincinnati. Many settlers were transported by the land

York. Massachusetts relinquished to New York her claim to the western third of that state. See map opposite page 214.

Connecticut relinquished to Pennsylvania her claim to the northern third of the state. The northwest corner of Pennsylvania was secured by purchase in 1788.

<sup>1</sup> For the boundaries and names of the states proposed by Jefferson, see map in Channing, "History," III, 538.

<sup>2</sup> The second company of that name.



companies into the West. The immigrants generally went to Pittsburg, built flatboats there, and floated down the Ohio River to various points along its banks as far west as the new town of Louisville. In the course of eight months in 1787, two thousand seven hundred persons went down the Ohio on these immigrant boats.

**320. Northwest Ordinance.** In that year, 1787, the Ohio Company sent its agent, Manasseh Cutler, to confer with Congress. Revolutionary soldiers in New England were the chief supporters of this company, and many of them wished to settle beyond the Ohio, but they also wished to have the economic conditions with which they were familiar extended to the Northwest. As a consequence of Cutler's mission Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, July 13, 1787, organizing the Northwest Territory<sup>1</sup> and setting forth six articles of compact which were to bind the Northwest forever. These were :

(1) There should be absolute religious toleration.

(2) The principles of political freedom, as inherited by the older states from England, should be perpetual.

(3) Education should be " forever encouraged," and — as if Congress thought the two things went together — " the utmost good faith " should be observed toward the Indians; their lands were never to be taken from them without their consent.

(4) The Northwest Territory, and such states as might be formed from it, should " forever remain a part of this confederacy."

(5) As soon as practicable the territory should be divided into not less than three, nor more than five, states.

(6) Slavery should never exist in the Northwest, but fugitive slaves having escaped from the older states should be returned to their owners.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Comprising the region now occupied by the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

<sup>2</sup> Slavery was then supposed to be gradually disappearing. It had been abolished by state law in Vermont in 1777, in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts

Thus was solved the Northwestern problem. A territorial government was speedily organized with General Arthur St. Clair as governor. The capital was fixed at Marietta, which was founded by colonists sent out by the Ohio Company, under Rufus Putnam, April 7, 1788.

**321. Efforts of Congress to solve the Foreign Problem.** The confederate Congress in its attempts to deal with the other problems of the day was unsuccessful. Conspicuous was its humiliating failure to solve the foreign problem. It could not negotiate satisfactorily with England because its recommendations with regard to Tories were ignored by the states. How we wish to-day that we could wipe out this part of the record ! If only our fathers could have been magnanimous to their fallen enemies. The Tories were, in the main, men of high social position who had borne great hardships with fine courage. Now, when they were willing to accept the decision of fate and do their part in the new country, they would have formed an element of strength. The best Whigs wished to forgive and forget. Such men as Patrick Henry in Virginia and Alexander Hamilton in New York ardently took the side of the Tories ; but they made no impression on the mass of their party. By merciless state laws the property of Tories was generally confiscated. Ill-treatment of various kinds forced many thousands to leave the country.

Nor was Congress able to secure the payment of debts due British merchants previous to the war. Before the treaty was signed, five states had passed laws practically confiscating such debts. Even after the signing of the treaty, in defiance of the promise which it contained, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania passed similar acts. Therefore England refused either to withdraw her garrisons from the northern posts or in 1780, in New Hampshire in 1783, in Connecticut and Rhode Island in 1784. The northern states of New York and New Jersey and all the southern states still legalized it, but most people looked forward with indifference to its gradual extinction. A few were vehemently against it. An antislavery society had been formed at Philadelphia in 1775. Some three thousand negroes who had been slaves in the war were set free with their families.

to make any sort of commercial treaty, while a royal decree excluded all American ships from the West Indies. Thus Americans who were engaged in commerce were shut off from what, in colonial times, was a chief source of their prosperity. Furthermore, Spain forbade them to navigate the Mississippi without paying duties at New Orleans. All the East was angry because no agreement was reached with England; all the West because none was reached with Spain. And yet, having no power to enforce its promises, Congress could do nothing to improve the situation.

The European attitude toward the problem was summed up by the Duke of Dorset, speaking for George III: "The apparent determination of the respective states to regulate their own separate interests renders it absolutely necessary, towards forming a permanent system of commerce, that my court should be informed how far the commissioners (of Congress) can be duly authorized to enter into any engagement with Great Britain which it may not be in the power of any one of the states to render totally useless and inefficient."

**322. Efforts of Congress to solve the Financial Problem.** These shrewd words of the British diplomat described the whole American situation. They were amply justified by the failure of Congress to solve the financial problem which proved too difficult even for the genius of Robert Morris, the able superintendent of finance.<sup>1</sup> Morris made a full in-

<sup>1</sup> Second only to Morris as financier of the confederacy was an able Jew of Philadelphia, Haym Soloman. This remarkable man was an ardent patriot during the Revolution, and was imprisoned by the British. Having made his escape, he set up a brokerage business, and became treasurer of the French army in America. In Morris's diary between 1781 and 1784 his name occurs seventy-five times. In the desperate period just before the end of the war, Soloman was almost the main support of the patriot cause financially. On August 26, 1782, Morris wrote in his diary, "I went to Soloman and desired him to try every way he could to raise money, and then went in quest of it myself." The next day Madison wrote to Virginia urging remittance saying, "I have for some time past been a pensioner on the favor of Soloman." Shortly afterward he wrote that he never applied to Soloman without great mortification, "as he obstinately rejects all recompense. The price of money is so

vestigation of the accounts of the confederacy, and concluded that on January 1, 1784, the United States owed at home thirty-one million five hundred thousand dollars, and in Europe eight million dollars.

In the preceding year Congress had not been able to raise enough money to pay off the troops as they were disbanded, and Morris had raised on his personal security funds to pay the common soldiers; while to the officers he had issued interest-bearing certificates. He also persuaded Congress to charter the Bank of North America located at Philadelphia, — the first joint-stock bank in the country. But in spite of every effort of the great financier, the financial situation grew worse and worse. Sometimes the states paid the "requisitions" made upon them, sometimes they did not. Morris could barely raise sufficient funds to pay the salaries of government officials, while the interest on the debt went unpaid.

**323. Failure to solve the Interstate Problem.** What lay at the root of all the difficulties of Congress was its inability to solve the interstate problem. The jealousies and the conflicting interests of the various states could not as yet be reconciled. This was demonstrated by the failure of three successive attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation.

In 1781 Congress asked the states to authorize what was called the "five-per-cent scheme." A duty of five per cent was to be laid on all imports, and the proceeds used to pay off the public debt. Twelve states consented, but Rhode Island would not consent. As an amendment to the Articles had to be accepted by all the states, this one fell to the ground.<sup>1</sup>

In 1783 was proposed a new "revenue plan." It would have

usurious that he thinks it ought to be extorted from none but those who are in profitable speculations. To a necessitous delegate he gratuitously spares a supply out of his private stock." Soloman was one of the earliest and heaviest contributors to the Bank of North America.

<sup>1</sup> See Bancroft, "United States" (last revision), V, 453-454, 560-561; VI, 13-14, 24-35, 63-69, 80-82, 90-96; McMaster, "United States," I, 141-147, 153-154; Fiske, "Critical Period," 90-119; Dewey, "Financial History," chap. ii.

given Congress authority to assess moderate duties for a period of twenty-five years, the collection of these duties to be left to the several states. The single state of New York defeated this plan.<sup>1</sup>

In 1784 Congress, grown desperate over the failure to secure commercial treaties with England and Spain, made another appeal to the states to permit it to exercise sovereign authority. It asked for an amendment enabling it to pass navigation acts which should embarrass such foreign powers as persisted in refusing to conclude treaties of commerce. But only seven states could be brought to support this amendment, which, of course, came to nothing.<sup>2</sup>

**324. Demand for a Stronger Government.** In this chaotic state of affairs some of the chief men in America began demanding a stronger government for the confederacy.

In speaking of the way the states neglected the requisitions of Congress, Jefferson said, "There will never be money in the treasury until the confederacy shows its teeth." Washington, in 1783, wrote a circular letter to the governors of the states urging a more effective central government. Later he summed up the situation in one sentence, "Thirteen sovereignties pulling against each other, and all tugging at the federal head, will soon bring ruin on the whole."

**325. State Enmities.** Some time had still to elapse before the pressure of necessity brought about a constitutional revolution. Meanwhile the thirteen sovereignties pulled against each other in every way possible. They showed their preferences in foreign relations by the duties they levied or refused to levy. Such as were bitter against England laid high duties on British goods. Some, willing to do anything to secure British trade, opened their ports to British ships without any duties at all.

<sup>1</sup> See footnote on opposite page.

<sup>2</sup> See McMaster "United States," I, 207-208, 226-249; Fiske, "Critical Period," 134-144; Bancroft, "United States" (last revision), VI, 27, 111-112, 136, 139, 145.

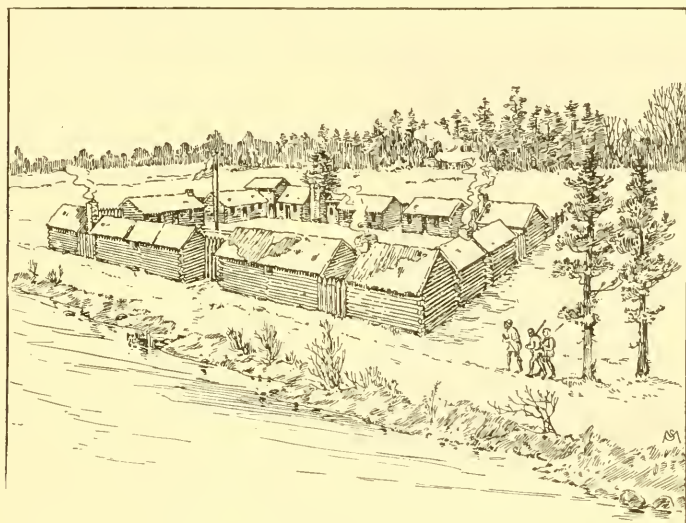
States which had no good harbors were at the mercy of those that had. For example, New Jersey had to get all its European goods from either New York or Pennsylvania. Both these states laid heavy tolls on goods carried across them to New Jersey, which was described as "a cask tapped at both ends." It retaliated by laying an outrageous tax on the lighthouse of Sandy Hook, which was maintained by New York for the safety of its harbor. Massachusetts established a high tariff which operated against the other states. New York did the same. In Connecticut associations were formed to boycott the New Yorkers. Five states went so far as to maintain their own armies, though the Articles of Confederation forbade them to do so. Worst of all were what are known as the "stay and tender laws."

State after state passed "stay" laws by which the collection of debts was "stayed," that is, put off for a specified period. The "tender" laws permitted a debtor to offer property instead of money in payment of debts. Naturally, the effect of such laws was to make it all but impossible for a citizen of one state to collect debts due to him in another. Thus there was some ground for the charge that the states, after confiscating the debts of their citizens to British merchants, had gone on in their evil course and were now confiscating debts of their citizens to their fellow-countrymen. To make the situation as bad as possible, several of the states indulged in reckless issues of valueless paper money.

**326. Secessions.** These ruinous contentions were not only between states but also within states. All through this period the region which we now call Vermont was in rebellion against the state of New York, of which, previous to the Revolution, it had formed a part. In 1777 its people had organized a government of their own, and Vermont now clamored to be recognized as a state in the confederacy; but it was not recognized, and all this while had no representatives either in the legislature of New York or in Congress. (See section 359.)



A more determined secession movement took place in Kentucky. Fourteen years before the confederacy was formed, Daniel Boone had led the way into Kentucky. As far back as 1776 Virginia had organized it as a county with its present boundaries, and in 1784 Kentucky had a considerable population of bold pioneers who had pushed their way into the wilderness, built themselves log cabins, and carried on desperate



A PIONEER KENTUCKY SETTLEMENT

warfare with the Indians. So fierce had been the struggle between the races that Kentucky acquired the name of the "Dark and Bloody Ground." In 1784, like all the settlers west of the mountains, the Kentuckians were out of humor with the East. Already they had perceived that the key to their prosperity was the great western river, and they objected to remaining in a state whose interests were chiefly upon the seaboard. Therefore, a convention was held in Kentucky with a view to bringing about separation from Virginia, and the parent state, seeing that separation was inevitable, prac-

tically promised not to oppose it. From 1784 Kentucky was eagerly waiting to become a state.

The restlessness of the times affected still more powerfully the settlements south of Kentucky. A contemporary of Boone was William Beane, the first settler on the Watauga River in Tennessee. After the defeat of the "regulators" in the battle of the Alamance (section 250), many of the boldest North Carolinians withdrew across the mountains. Under



JOHN SEVIER

the lead of John Sevier (section 298) and James Robertson, there grew up the little community of "the Watauga Association." On the Watauga, as in Kentucky, there was restless dissatisfaction with the idea of being part of an Atlantic state, and in 1784 the Watauga people held a convention at Jonesboro, drew up a constitution, elected Sevier governor, and formally declared themselves members of the separate "State of Franklin." During the next

two years there was considerable friction between this impromptu state and North Carolina. The new state was at last dissolved upon the understanding that the Tennessee country should speedily be formed into a separate commonwealth.

**327. A Dangerous Moment.** It was by these determined Westerners that the issue over the Spanish question was forced. Congress, under the influence of the Eastern states, at length proposed to make a treaty with Spain, abandoning the freedom of navigation on the Mississippi, and the moment this became known the West flew into a rage. Just then the Spanish authorities at New Orleans confiscated the property

of an American trader. Thereupon the Kentuckians retaliated by seizing the possessions of some Spanish merchants. The Westerners loudly threatened to secede. As a result, the treaty fell through, while Americans of each section declared angrily that they would never consent to let the opposing section dictate the foreign policy of the confederation. Washington, always temperate, wrote, "The western states (I speak now from my own observation) stand as it were upon a pivot. The touch of a feather would turn them any way."

**328. The Demand for Reorganization.** The year 1786 brought things to a head. The northern posts were still occupied by British troops, and Congress seemed as far as ever from being able to get rid of them. All the West was seething with discontent over the Mississippi question. Congress was bankrupt and the state governments were almost as badly off. Debts could not be collected. Business was at a standstill. There were riots which amounted to small insurrections. Finally Rhode Island took a step which seemed to forecast the destruction of the confederacy. The state recalled its delegates in Congress and refused to appoint others. Practically, Rhode Island had seceded.

At this desperate moment Virginia made the first move toward better things. It took the lead in organizing a convention on interstate trade, which met at Annapolis in September, 1786. But only a few delegates appeared — so few that they did not attempt any business; instead, a report was drawn up advising a general convention to be held in Philadelphia the following May, for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation.

**329. Shays' Rebellion.** While the Virginia proposition was being discussed, in the winter of 1786-1787, the various causes of discontent merged at last in a fury of insurrection. It reached its height in Massachusetts, where many farmers were so deeply in debt that they lost hope of ever getting out. They began to draw together in bands which attacked the courts and drove the judges from the bench. Presently,

they found a leader, a discontented Revolutionary soldier, Captain Daniel Shays. From him the movement has been called ever since Shays' Rebellion. In the early part of 1787 he was at the head of an unruly force of eighteen hundred rebels. However, the rebels had too little organization to be really formidable. Their first serious clash with the state militia ended in their dispersion, and Shays' Rebellion passed away like a passing thunder storm. But people generally saw in it a significant warning that either things must change or worse rebellions would follow.

**330. The Constitutional Convention.** Within a month after the collapse of Shays' Rebellion, Congress acted on the Virginia proposition and issued a formal call (February 21, 1787) for a convention to revise the Articles of Confederation.

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings in American Constitutional History*, 55-139; HART, *Contemporaries*, II, 134-137, 209, 210; III, 37-59, 166-169; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 51-53; *Documents*, Nos. 4, 6, 21; ELLIOT, *Debates*, I, 85-116; WASHINGTON, *Writings* (Ford edition), IX, 174-176, 192-194; X, 201-202, 274-279.

*Secondary Accounts.* FISKE, *Critical Period of American History*, 64-216; CHANNING, *History*, III, chaps. xiii-xv, xviii; JAMESON, *Constitutional Conventions*, secs. 125-162; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, III, chap. iii; HINSDALE, *Old Northwest*, 192-279, 345-350; WILSON, *American People*, III, 24-60; MCMASTER, *United States*, I, 103-416, 503-524; SUMNER, *Robert Morris*, 53-138; MORSE, *Thomas Jefferson*, 122-152; *Alexander Hamilton*, I, 64-154; HUNT, *James Madison*, chap. v.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Organization of New State Governments. 2. The Debate upon the Articles of Confederation. 3. The Western Land Claims. 4. Sectional Differences in the Confederation. 5. Robert Morris. 6. The Movement toward the West. 7. The Mississippi Problem.

## CHAPTER XVII

### THE CONSTITUTION

**331. The Virginia Plan.** James Madison and other gentlemen of Virginia, before the convention met, drew up a scheme of government which is known to-day as "The Virginia Plan." It was embodied in a series of resolutions and laid before the convention<sup>1</sup> by Edmund Randolph (May 29). Like almost all other schemes considered by the convention, this was an adaptation of institutions already familiar to Americans. We have seen that the colonial legislatures were composed of two "chambers," an Assembly chosen by the people and a Council appointed in some other way. The latter acted as a check upon the former. One of the main features of the Virginia plan was a proposal to give the whole confederacy a supreme legislature of this type. It was to consist of a "lower" chamber, elected frequently, and an "upper" chamber, the members of which were to be chosen at long intervals. The idea was that the upper chamber, with its long term of office, would be a steady, conservative body to restrain the more changeable lower chamber. Furthermore, the Virginians were tired of a confederacy that gave a small state as much power as a

<sup>1</sup> The convention had been organized a few days previous with Washington in the chair. Its membership included most of the distinguished men of the country. Besides those mentioned in the present chapter, there were such famous leaders as Franklin and Alexander Hamilton. South Carolina sent the two Pinckneys. Roger Sherman of Connecticut and William Paterson of New Jersey were the champions of the small states. The brilliant Virginian, George Mason, and the great constitutional lawyer, James Wilson, of Pennsylvania were members. The full roll of the convention included fifty-five names, representing every state except Rhode Island. (See section 340, note.)

The convention sat with closed doors and during the three months of its deliberations strange rumors got abroad. One was that it would recommend a constitutional monarchy.

large state. They proposed to have each state represented in the supreme legislature in proportion to its importance. Naturally, this would give the large, rich states control of the confederacy.

**332. The New Jersey Plan.** The delegates of the small states at once banded together and brought forward what is now known as "The New Jersey Plan."<sup>1</sup> It sketched a confederate government with a legislature of but one chamber in which each state should have equal representation. Roughly speaking, it was an attempt to revive the discredited system of the Articles of Confederation.

**333. Conflicts of the Convention.** The champions of these conflicting plans fought over them so bitterly that more than once the convention seemed in danger of breaking up. However, all the members were loath to adjourn without agreeing upon something. They felt that the one hope for America was a general movement in favor of some sort of new system of government. Whenever they were on the point of giving up in despair, a fresh realization of the importance of their task put new spirit into them and they made another attempt to come to an understanding with each other.

At length, chiefly through suggestions made by Roger Sherman of Connecticut, the convention hit upon a compromise. It was agreed that there should be two chambers, or "houses," and that representation in the lower house should be proportionate to population, but that each state should have equal representation in the upper house, and that both must agree in order to enact laws. This was the so-called "Connecticut compromise."

**334. The Three-Fifths Compromise.** The Connecticut compromise having been accepted, the question arose: What is meant by "population"? Does the word cover all inhabitants, or only free inhabitants? Some Northern men

<sup>1</sup> Still a third complete scheme was the Pinckney plan, drawn up by Charles Pinckney of South Carolina. The original manuscript has been lost, but it seems to have anticipated many of the features at last agreed upon.



replied that it should cover only free people, and that in counting population for purposes of representation slaves should be ignored. This would give the North a larger representation than the South. A South Carolina delegate replied that this was a polite way of telling South Carolina she was not wanted.

Bitter contention ensued. One side argued that government should represent people only — the out-and-out democratic idea — and that slaves, being property, should not be counted any more than horses. However, few people at that time were ready for out-and-out democracy. They felt that a rich community deserved to have more representatives than a poor one. Representation according to population seemed a good thing to them because it was a rough-and-ready way of determining the relative importance of communities, not only in numbers but in wealth.

In this connection, also, the question of taxation came up. Ought not a state to share the cost of maintaining the confederacy in proportion to its power to pay? Should not a rich community bear a large part of the cost, whether its number of voters was large or small? The issue was upon the vital question whether population or property is the true basis of representation. At last, after long discussion and some threatening, a compromise was effected. It was agreed that representation and direct taxes should both be apportioned among the states in proportion to population, but that in taking the count a slave should be rated as three fifths of one unit. In this way a system of classifying the states according to population was curiously blended with a system of classification by property. This is known as the "three-fifths compromise."

**335. The Navigation Problem.** The next important disagreement in the convention divided its members into three groups. Two of the three combined against the third and voted it down. The Virginia statesmen — in the main so influential — were this time completely defeated.

As the apportionment of representatives according to population would give to the seven states north of Maryland thirty-five representatives and to the six remaining states only thirty, the Northern states would thus have a majority of the votes in both houses of the supreme legislature. If it were made possible to enact laws by a mere majority of the legislature, any measure on which the seven Northern states agreed could be made law no matter how detrimental it might be to the six states of the South. These Northern states already had one great interest in common. This was commerce. Their interests and those of the agricultural South might easily become hostile. Therefore, said the Virginians, let us compel them, in order to pass navigation acts, to secure the support of at least a part of the South. To this end, the Virginians proposed that a navigation act should not become law unless it received two thirds of the vote of the supreme legislature.

**336. The Navigation Compromise.** Had the Virginians been able to force the issue on this question alone, they might have carried the day. But, unfortunately for them, there was another point on which they had still more uncompromising views. They disbelieved in slavery and were determined enemies of the African slave trade. On this point they encountered opposition from the Carolinians. While the proposal to require a two-thirds vote on navigation acts set the North against the Virginians, their proposal to abolish the slave trade with Africa set against them the brilliant and influential delegates from South Carolina. Between these latter and certain Northern delegates a "deal" was arranged. The Carolinians agreed to unite with the Northerners in voting down the opposition of Virginia on the question of navigation acts, while the Northerners promised to support the Carolinians and vote down Virginia's opposition to the slave trade. Thus there was carried over the heads of the Virginians, by a coalition of extreme North with extreme South, a compromise providing that navigation acts might

be passed by a bare majority of the supreme legislature and that the African slave trade should continue unhindered until 1808.<sup>1</sup> This was the "navigation compromise." At the time it was scornfully called a "bargain."

**337. The President and the Electoral College.** One feature of the new government which appears most natural to us to-day was accepted only after much hesitation. This was the office of President. All the colonies were familiar with the office of royal governor, the king's representative who exercised practically the power of a constitutional king. When it was proposed to have such an officer for the whole confederation, there was genuine dread that his election might be the first step toward a revival of monarchy.<sup>2</sup> But the advocates of such an office were sufficiently numerous to carry their point. However, they were not willing to trust his election to the mass of the people; so, for once, they stepped outside their experience and instead of adopting something already familiar made an entirely new thing — the Electoral College. It was decided that each state, every four years, should choose electors,

<sup>1</sup> The backbone of the "deal" was formed by the four states of South Carolina, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. The two propositions, the navigation acts and the slave trade, were voted upon separately. On each point the coalition won over enough other states, though not the same ones each time, to put its measure through.

<sup>2</sup> It is imperative to insist on the fact that the men of 1787 took the institutions they were familiar with and adapted them to new uses. They invented out of hand scarcely anything. Therefore, we must bear in mind that with the reorganization of the empire in 1696 the general principles of internal government became fixed and continued so for near a century. Each American state remained during this period an approximate copy of the British state as it was about 1700, and although the British state changed its structure during this period, the American states did not. Thus the foundation of the new government set up in 1789 was the British system as Americans had conceived it during the eighteenth century. A great factor in preserving their conception intact was the brilliant summing up of the old British system by the French jurist Montesquieu, whose famous treatise, "The Spirit of Laws," had great popularity in America. The new office of President, as originally conceived, was but a republican form of the old office of constitutional king familiar to all Americans not only in theory but in practice through the king's proxy, the colonial governor.

the same number as its senators and representatives together, and that these electors should choose whom they wished for President. We shall see later what singular results came from this peculiar institution.

**338. The Fundamental Disagreement.** There remains to be made plain the fundamental disagreement underlying all the others. Even in 1787 there were two conceptions of the nature of the central government. At the very opening of the convention the question came up as to what should be the nature of the proposed new government, whether "national" or "confederate." The Virginia plan described the proposed government as "national." There was violent objection to the word. It implied that each state was to give up its sovereign authority over its own people; that all the states were to merge and disappear in one great new state. So intense was the feeling on this point that we marvel now how the two sides ever came to an understanding. Finally the word "national" was omitted. But no other adjective was put in its place. Whether the nationalists had been defeated, or had merely yielded the word while really carrying their point, remained to be seen.<sup>1</sup>

**339. The Vague Compromise.** In various connections during the progress of the convention, the question reappeared. Again and again it was made plain that on this point different groups of delegates were irreconcilable. Gradually they reached a tacit understanding that this matter would have to be dropped. There was no possibility of agreeing on any one term, either "national" or "confederate," as a descrip-

<sup>1</sup> This omission of the word without a settlement of the issue was characteristic of the convention. On these general questions of political theory neither side would consent to a positive statement acceptable to the other. Consequently the text of the Constitution, as finally adopted, did not state whether the central government was "national" or "confederate." The Virginia plan declared that "a national government ought to be established." This declaration was accepted by the convention, May 30. Subsequently (June 20) the word "national" was struck out and the convention resolved that "the government of the United States ought to consist of" certain enumerated departments.

tion of the new government. Nevertheless, on this fundamental question a vague kind of compromise was effected.

At length, after long discussion, three things were agreed upon by which it was thought the dispute concerning the exact nature of the government was happily shelved. First, the convention deliberately specified certain kinds of legislation which the states were to turn over to the central government. Second, there was instituted a system of federal courts which were to decide, in all cases involving the central government, what laws were binding: that is, whether the enactments of the central government were such as it was allowed to make, and whether any given state enactment was in contradiction of the agreement to put certain matters under the control of Congress. Third, the central government was to have power to execute its enactments through its own military power without asking leave of a state. As a sort of supplement to all this, the central government was given the further privilege of laying indirect taxes.<sup>1</sup>

**340. The Text of the Constitution.** After all the provisions for a new scheme of government had been arranged to the satisfaction of a majority of the convention, the memoranda defining them were turned over to a committee on style in which the chief man was Gouverneur Morris of Pennsylvania. A formal document embodying these provisions, also many others less crucial and entitled "Constitution of the United States," was drawn up by the committee and laid before the convention. A report to the Continental Congress endorsing this "constitution" and recommending its adoption by the states was signed by thirty-nine delegates,<sup>2</sup> September 17, 1787.

<sup>1</sup> An indirect tax is one that is not incurred except by some specific action of the person paying it. For example, customs are paid only by persons importing goods from abroad. However, the people who buy these goods pay an increase in price because of the tax; thus, they really pay the tax, but pay it indirectly. The importance of indirect taxation was not appreciated in 1787. It has turned out to be adequate to the entire support of the central government, which has thus become wholly independent of the states financially.

<sup>2</sup> Several of the original fifty-five had withdrawn. Three refused to sign. (See section 331, note.)

**341. What the Convention Did.** The convention had accomplished two things. Besides devising a new scheme of government, it had formed a political party. When the delegates, headed by Washington, put their names to the Constitution, they were also signing a political platform. They went out from the convention to begin a political campaign. Each was to become, in his own locality, the center of a vigorous contest to enforce upon the country the views of the majority of the convention. They were resolved, standing together, to introduce a new chapter in American history.

**342. Ratification.** The Constitution provided that as soon as it was ratified by nine states, it should at once go into force among those nine. Everywhere the question of ratification gave rise to heated discussions. Many objections were raised, some frivolous, some farsighted. Not a few people foresaw that the new government might some day so overtop the states as practically to reduce them to provinces. Patrick Henry vehemently besought Virginia not to ratify. On the other hand, three great friends of the Constitution, Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay, took thought how they could meet this opposition. The result was a series of essays, written by these three and known collectively as "The Federalist," which argued the case in favor of the Constitution with consummate skill, and had wide influence.

One by one the states held conventions and ratified the Constitution. Delaware was the first, December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania and New Jersey ratified the same year. The ninth state was New Hampshire, which ratified June 21, 1788. Eleven states ratified before the end of 1788. However, when the first Electoral College was chosen, in January, 1789, two states had not yet ratified. North Carolina did so in November, 1789; but little Rhode Island remained a separate republic until May, 1790.

**343. The American Bill of Rights.** The discussions over ratifying the Constitution revealed a curious oversight.



The framers had become so deeply engrossed in questions of a strictly federal nature that they had forgotten other things of even greater importance. As ratified by the states, the Constitution did not contain any guarantee of those final rights of Englishmen, to possess which had been the aim of the Revolution. On all sides went up the demand to have these fundamental principles of Anglo-Saxon political freedom incorporated in the Constitution. The oversight of the convention was generally admitted, and there was tacit agreement that Congress should immediately take steps to correct it.

The Constitution provides that it may be amended by consent of three fourths of the states. In its first session Congress considered some four hundred proposed amendments, and compacted them into twelve, of which ten were promptly ratified by the states. They form a bill of rights on which the political freedom of the citizens of the United States is based. As time passes, and the working of the federal system becomes a matter of course, these guarantees of personal liberty, which sum up the fruits of the Revolution, appear, more and more conspicuously, the live part of the great document. Several of the ten amendments form together a reiteration of the great basal principles of the ancient law of England, such as the right of an accused person "to be confronted with the witnesses against him," and the security of all men against being "deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law"; and others equally fundamental. Two amendments were designed to clarify certain points as to the Constitution itself. Four of the ten are monuments of certain great events with which we are familiar. The struggle of the colonies against the removal of accused persons to England for trial (section 249) gives especial point to the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees to all accused persons "a public trial by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed." The struggle against the Quartering Act (section 239) comes again to mind as we read in the Third Amendment that "no soldier shall in

time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner." The Fourth Amendment is a memorial of the opposition to Writs of Assistance (section 236) providing that no house may be searched except under a warrant "particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized." That long and illustrious struggle for the freedom of the mind which was the first note in American history reached its final expression in the First Amendment: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievances."

*Selections from the Sources.* FERRAND, *Records of the Federal Conventions*, I, II; ELLIOT, *Debates*, I, II; HART, *Contemporaries*, III, 60-75; *Federalist*, Nos. 41-48.

*Secondary Accounts.* W. M. MEIGS, *Growth of the Constitution*; McLAUGHLIN, *Confederation and Constitution*, chaps. xi-xvi; WILSON, *American People*, III, 60-98; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII, 243-304; CHANNING, *History*, III, 494-527; DAVIS, *Confederate Government*, I, 86-103; FISKE, *Critical Period*, 222-345; HUNT, *James Madison*, 108-160; HOSMER, *Samuel Adams*, 392-401; MORSE, *Alexander Hamilton*, I, 238-375; TYLER, *Patrick Henry*, 279-301; ROWLAND, *George Mason*, II, chaps. iv, v; STEVENS, *War between the States*, I, 116-147, 465-486; II, 21-24; NOTT, *The Mystery of the Pinckney Draft*.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Virginia Plan. 2. The New Jersey Plan. 3. The Struggle to have the New Government described as "National." 4. The Specific Compromises. 5. The Vague Compromise. 6. Opposition to Ratification (for bibliography, see Channing Hart, and Turner, "Guide," 341-343). 7. "The Federalist" and its Authors.

## CHAPTER XVIII

### THE UNITED STATES IN 1789

**344. General Conditions.** In the forty years during which the Americans were drifting away from the mother country, their social life had not greatly changed. American conditions in 1789 were still much as they had been in the middle of the eighteenth century (see Chapter XII); almost all the people still depended on one of two occupations, trading<sup>1</sup> and agriculture. With the exception of shipbuilding there were no manufactures that counted for much. Almost all the manufactured articles and practically all the luxuries came from Europe. There were hardly any steam engines in America and no power machinery.<sup>2</sup> The mills were run by water. The roads were few and ill made. There were no good roads across the wide stretch of forest and mountain separating the East from the West.<sup>3</sup> However, the need of them was scarcely felt in 1789. Most of the four million Americans<sup>4</sup> of that day lived comparatively near the sea. Nine tenths of them lived outside of cities.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Recently trade with the Orient had sprung up, and Pennsylvania was exporting flour to Europe.

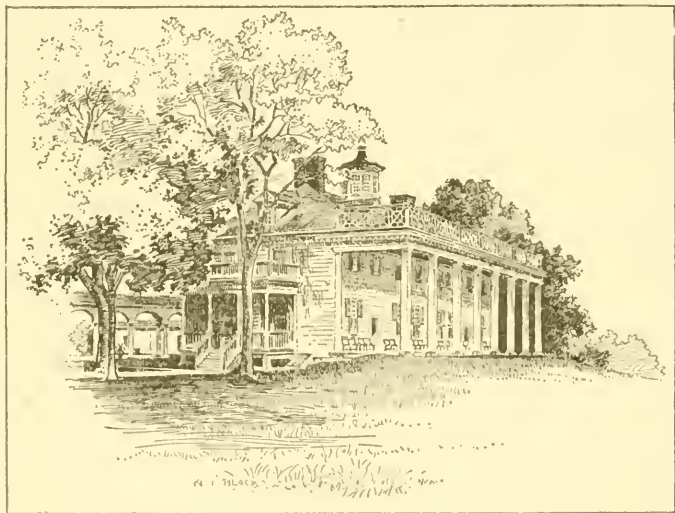
<sup>2</sup> In 1790 spinning machinery was brought from England to Rhode Island. In 1795 sugar was made in New Orleans. The invention of the cotton gin in 1793 revolutionized the cotton industry. Experiments in steam navigation were made by John Fitch on the Delaware in 1786, and by James Ramsay on the Potomac in 1787. These and other inventions soon worked great changes in American life.

<sup>3</sup> The first wagon track into the "Far West" was the "Wilderness Road" to Kentucky, opened in 1795.

<sup>4</sup> The census of 1790 showed 3,160,000 whites; 80,000 Indians; 60,000 free negroes; 700,000 slaves. Practically all the whites were of English descent, excepting 200,000 Scotch-Irish, some Germans, a few Dutch, and French.

<sup>5</sup> The chief cities in 1790 were Philadelphia, 42,000; New York, 33,000; Boston, 18,000; Charleston, 16,000; Baltimore, 14,000.

**345. "Merchant Princes."** The great figures in social life were the merchant and the landowner. A noted specimen of the former was John Hancock of Boston. His stately house was surrounded by gardens and included a ballroom sixty feet long. The furniture and wall decorations had been brought from England; there were quantities of silver engraved with the Hancock arms; the owner drove about in



WASHINGTON'S HOME, MOUNT VERNON

a stately "chariot," or family carriage. He was very much of a dandy and delighted in suits of crimson velvet with white silk embroidered waistcoats. This great personage had ships on every sea, traded with many countries, and did a large banking business both at home and abroad.

**346. The Great Estates.** However, with all his wealth Hancock owned very little land. In the North, land was not, as a rule, a "good investment."<sup>1</sup> In sharp contrast the

<sup>1</sup> An exception to this was New York. There the descendants of the patroons still found it profitable to own great estates along the Hudson.

best investment in the South was land. From Maryland southward all the prosperous men owned great estates. Their country houses and the contents of them were not unlike the great houses in Boston, but the life lived in them was quite different. The owner spent much of his time on horseback, sometimes riding about to view his slaves at work, sometimes hunting, sometimes on a journey to visit other "plantations," — as these large estates were called. The mistress of the house was kept busy training, directing, caring for a small army of slaves. Many of these great country houses of the end of the eighteenth century still stand. A striking instance is Mulberry "Castle" on a bluff above the Cooper River in South Carolina. It is surrounded by huge live oaks and looks out over long stretches of low-lying rice fields.

**347. Types of North and South.** These two figures, the merchant prince and great planter, were not met with in the same region.<sup>1</sup> Already there was the beginning of a "North" and a "South," having different interests. We shall see as we proceed how, step by step, the task of legislating agreeably to both sections became more and more difficult; and at last impossible.

**348. Religion.** However, this did not become apparent until long afterward. In 1789 the similarities of the sections were more in evidence than their dissimilarities. Upon many important matters most Americans from New England to Georgia thought and felt very much alike. To begin with the great matter of religion,<sup>2</sup> almost every one was a Protestant Christian and practically everybody held the liberal views

<sup>1</sup> Excepting always the feudal lords in New York.

<sup>2</sup> Several changes in the religious situation had taken place since 1750. Following the war, the Anglican Church in the United States separated from the mother Church and became the Protestant Episcopal. Its first general convention was held in 1785. The American Wesleyans had organized as the American Methodist Episcopal Church in 1784. In 1789 the Roman Catholic Church established a general organization for all the United States with the Bishop of Baltimore as primate. The same year the first general assembly of American Presbyterians was held. Though there were synagogues in the various cities, there was no general organization of American Hebrews.

of religious freedom,<sup>1</sup> expressed in the First Amendment to the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

**349. Social Classes.** The social system generally was strikingly unlike anything in Europe, strikingly different from America to-day. In theory, it was democratic; in practice, it was a curious mixture of democracy and aristocracy. The European traveler who did not understand America was astounded by what he took for evidence of extreme social equality. Often he saw innkeepers sit down at table with their guests. He saw men of wealth talking with mechanics, and not assuming superiority. However, beneath the surface of social life there was a sharp separation of classes. This superficial equality had not yet destroyed the general feeling, inherited from England, that the "upper" classes should rule things. In every part of the country there was a local aristocracy which controlled the wealth and education of the community and looked upon itself as having an innate right to direct the state. John Adams expressed the feeling of these classes when he said, "The rich and the well born, and the able, must be separated from the mass and placed by themselves." But nowhere did this class have any definite political power except what it owed to its own wits. Though these men were born leaders, they could remain leaders only by persuading the masses to accept their lead. As yet, the masses were willing to do so. Thus, for a time, America had the rare spectacle of a "ruling class," cheerfully followed by the "masses," but not imposed on them by law. This class made no parade of leadership, although enjoying the fruits of it.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In some of the states, compulsory support of religion was not finally done away with until well into the nineteenth century. But the movement had begun and the severity of feeling toward persons not members of the local state Church had already passed away.

<sup>2</sup> Symptoms of a different state of things, in which the political leadership was to pass into the hands of organizations, appeared as early as 1790, when the





LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION



**350. Education.** The education of well-to-do Americans was of the old-style English sort. For example, Alexander Graydon,<sup>1</sup> who went to school in Philadelphia, "read Latin fables, learned Ancient history, fought the other boys, was flogged by his teacher, and when fourteen years old had read Ovid, Virgil, Cæsar, and Sallust and was reading Horace and Cicero." From such schools the American of 1789 passed to one of the small colleges<sup>2</sup> of his own land, or in rare cases went abroad. Sometimes he pursued advanced studies by himself with the aid of tutors.

Girls received little formal education, and were never sent to college. All girls of the upper classes were taught to play the harpsichord and to embroider. Nevertheless, American women, in 1789, as in fact throughout our history, were a great power in all phases of life. In several ways social conditions forced even the richest women to be active workers. Perhaps the most obvious illustration is the necessity of the southern lady to be a manager and ruler over her slaves. In New England there was an effect of social conditions still more imperative. The men often went to sea in command of their ships. Their wives, left at home for many months, were the sole managers of the household and all its affairs. These



WASHINGTON'S BOOK-PLATE

famous Tammany Society was formed in New York. Still, for some time after, two great rival families, the Clintons and the Livingstons, controlled New York politics.

<sup>1</sup> See his "Memoirs" for a classic picture of the times.

<sup>2</sup> Several new institutions came into existence toward the end of the century. In 1779 the University of Pennsylvania was founded; in 1795 the University of North Carolina. "The first professional schools in the United States were two medical schools founded in Philadelphia and Boston" about this time. (See section 542.)

two instances are but the most conspicuous of many. All American conditions, backed up in the main by American sentiment, tended to make the woman of the family as important a personage as the man.

**351. Overshadowing of Foreign Thought.** Intellectually speaking, the Americans of 1789 were still under the shadow of Europe. They had not begun to produce writers and thinkers who were entirely their own. In some Americans, to be sure, there was a certain quality that had not come to them from Europe. We feel it in the writings of Franklin. In some ways, perhaps, it is still more apparent in one of the chief figures of 1789, Thomas Jefferson. Both of these had a point of view which no European at that time could quite understand. But in imaginative literature, the Americans were sadly lacking.<sup>1</sup>

**352. Human Feeling.** In one respect America nobly reflected the best sentiment of Europe. Previous to this time laws had been characterized chiefly by their barbarity, and prisons, as we saw in the case of Oglethorpe's reform, were abodes of horror. A movement to put an end to all that spread from England to America. It broadened into a general sympathy with inferiors, whether criminals or not, and at last produced the humanitarian spirit of the nineteenth century. In America it strengthened the dislike for slavery. In 1789 slavery no longer existed in five of the states: Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. There was a common belief that it would soon die out everywhere.

*Selections from the Sources.* HART, *Contemporaries*, III, Nos. 10-36; ALEXANDER GRAYDON, *Memoirs of his own Time*; BRISSOT DE WARVILLE, *New Travels in the United States Performed in 1788*; CALDWELL, *Survey of American History*, 132-142; BROWNE, *Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago*.

<sup>1</sup> There was an increasing demand for reading matter, and two "literary" magazines came into existence, the *Universal Asylum and Columbian Magazine* of Philadelphia and the *Boston Magazine*. The first daily newspaper was the *Pennsylvania Packet*, founded in 1784.

**Secondary Accounts.** COMAN, *Industrial History of the United States*, 116-164; CHANNING, *History*, III, 552-573; HART, *Formation of the Union*, secs. 55, 70-72, 79; WALKER, *Making of the Nation*, 64-72; FISKE, *Critical Period*, 50-89; RHODES, *United States*, I, 1-12, 221-241; ADAMS, *United States*, I, 1-184; MCMASTER, *United States*, I, 1-102, 423-436; II, 1-24, 57-66, 158-165, 538-582; III, 514-516; V, 268-284; LOCKE, *Antislavery*, 88-111, 166-197; MORSE, *Thomas Jefferson*, 36-50; HUNT, *James Madison*, 67-86; WARD, *Bishop White*, 1-89; EARLE, *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*; RAVENEL, *Charleston, the Place and the People*.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The Beginnings of American Manufactures. 2. Social Life at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. 3. Evidence that already there was a "North" and a "South." 4. Political Methods of 1789. 5. The Beginnings of American Commerce.

## CHAPTER XIX

### THE NEW RÉGIME

#### I. INTRODUCTORY LEGISLATION

**353. Organization of the Government.** Washington was unanimously elected first President of the United States.<sup>1</sup> John Adams was chosen vice president. On April 30, 1789, Washington took the oath of office, standing in the balcony of the Federal Building in New York, which was the temporary capital of the Union.

Both houses of Congress were then in session.<sup>2</sup> They went to work at once, establishing offices and fixing salaries. The president was given what seemed at that time an enormous salary, \$25,000.<sup>3</sup> Four executive departments were created to assist the President. These were the Departments of State, War, the Treasury, and the Post Office. Washington appointed to take charge of these departments the following secretaries: for the State Department, Thomas Jefferson; for the War Department, Henry Knox; for the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton; for the Post Office, Samuel Osgood. Before long he began asking the secretaries to confer with him in a body. The custom became fixed and led to our present system of

<sup>1</sup> There were sixty-nine electors. Washington received sixty-nine votes. Adams received thirty-four. The remaining votes for vice president were distributed among ten other candidates.

<sup>2</sup> The new Congress ought to have met the first Wednesday in March, but was slow in assembling. The House of Representatives organized April 1, electing Frederick Muhlenburg the first speaker. The Senate organized April 6.

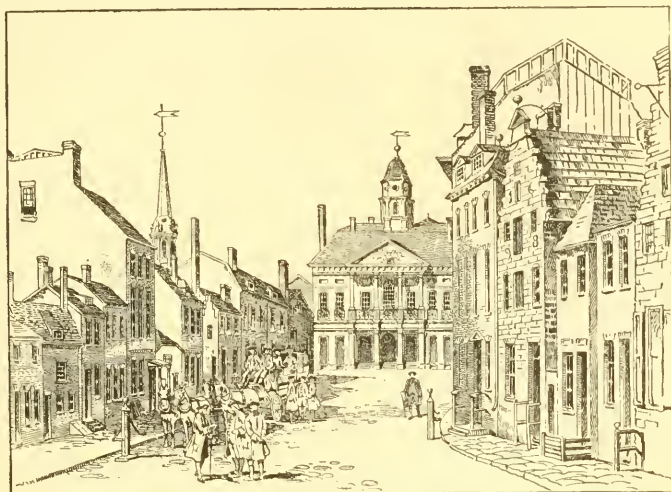
<sup>3</sup> The question also came up, how the President should be addressed. Washington, who believed in form, wanted the title, "His Highness, the President of the United States of America and Protector of their Liberties." But this did not suit the democratic temper of the time. After long discussion, common consent fixed the style of address as simply, "Mr. President."



cabinet meetings which make the cabinet a sort of high council assisting the President.<sup>1</sup>

The organization of the cabinet was followed by the establishment of a system of federal courts. John Jay was appointed the first Supreme Justice of the United States.<sup>2</sup>

**354. First Sectional Clash.** However, Congress was by no means unanimous in its desires. Perhaps its most sig-



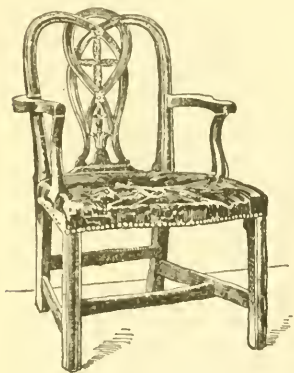
FEDERAL BUILDING, WALL STREET, NEW YORK

nificant debate was that upon the tariff act of 1789. Already those Americans who were interested in manufactures had turned to Congress for assistance, and their petitions brought out a sentiment in favor of protecting "our infant

<sup>1</sup> Other departments have been added since. The cabinet to-day consists of the four named above, the Attorney-general, and secretaries for the Navy, the Interior, Agriculture, Commerce, and Labor. The Postmaster-general was not included in the cabinet until 1829.

<sup>2</sup> One of his most famous cases was *Chisholm vs. Georgia* in 1793. In this case the court held that an individual could sue a state. The country at large disliked this idea. Therefore, the Eleventh Amendment was added to the Constitution. It forbids suits in the federal courts brought against a state by citizens of another state.

industries." In Pennsylvania, especially, the protection sentiment was strong. On the other hand, certain South Carolinians declared the scheme to be oppressive. Here was that clash of interests between the mercantile states and the agricultural states which Madison had feared (section 335). But on this first occasion differences were soon adjusted. A tariff act passed both houses and was signed by Washington. It stated that one of its purposes was the "encouragement and protection of manufactures."



CHAIR USED BY WASHINGTON  
AT HIS INAUGURATION

**355. The "Deal" over the Capital.** Two other matters were combined and settled by a famous political "deal." The deal grew out of a report submitted by Hamilton for the purpose of settling the debt of the old Confederation, to which, of course, the new Union was heir. Most of Hamilton's plan was accepted by Congress.<sup>1</sup> But on one point Congress seemed unlikely ever to agree with him. He wanted the federal government to assume the debts contracted by the various states during the Revolution. It was at once objected that some states owed less than others and that if Congress assumed the debts, it practically divided the total evenly among the whole people. Thus a state with a small debt would, in the long run, pay more than if it paid its debt in its own way.<sup>2</sup> Congress was so closely divided on this

<sup>1</sup> Congress concurred at once in his proposal to pay the foreign debt in full, but it dissented, at first, from his proposition to pay in full the domestic debt, on the ground that the claims had been bought up by speculators. Hamilton argued that the most important thing just then was to create financial confidence in the new government. At length, Congress concurred.

<sup>2</sup> Here, again, was that difficult problem of making federal legislation bear evenly on all parts of the country. In this case southern states, generally, opposed the assumption of state debts by Congress, while northern states favored it.

subject that the opposition to Hamilton had a majority of but two votes. Hamilton then effected his "deal."

Congress was also considering where the capital should be located. Virginia and Pennsylvania were the favorite localities. As yet, however, it was impossible to get a majority to vote for either. Hamilton solved the problem by offering to persuade his followers to vote for a southern capital on condition that his financial scheme be passed through Congress.

This proposal induced certain southern members, hitherto opposed to Hamilton, to change sides. Thus both measures were carried. The state debts were assumed and the site of the capital was fixed upon the Potomac.<sup>1</sup>

### 356. Hamilton's Policy.

The aim of the secretary of the treasury was to teach men to rely upon the central government as their chief friend in all respects, but especially in business. He also wanted to bring to the aid of the government all

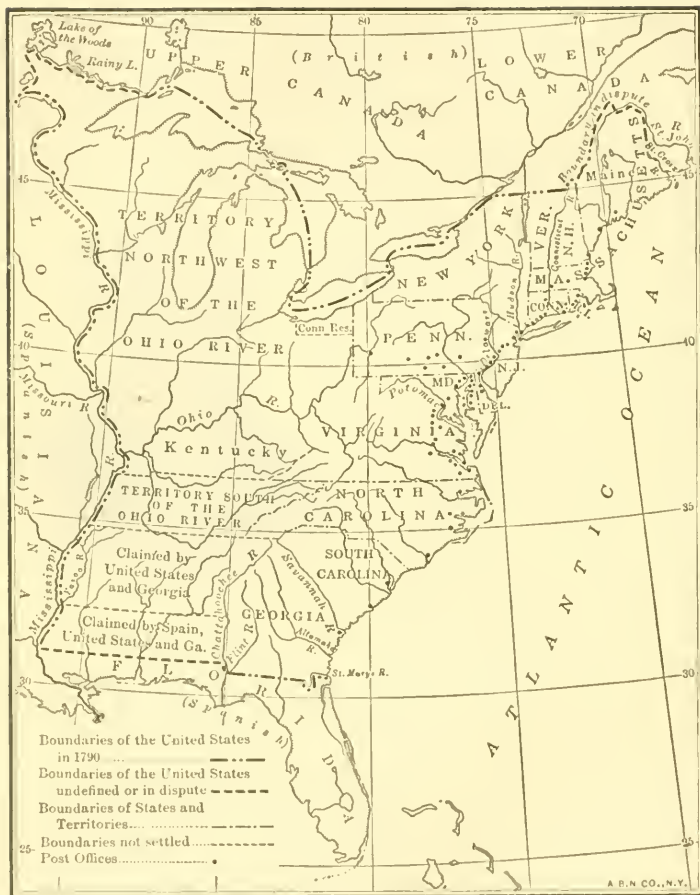
the moneyed classes. Therefore, he proposed a plan for establishing a great financial corporation to be known as the Bank of the United States. The purpose of the bank should be to keep the country supplied with ready money, to issue notes, to make loans that would aid in developing business, and in general to lead the country to depend upon it, and on the government behind it, for the maintenance of



FREDERICK MUHLENBURG

First Speaker of the National House of Representatives.

<sup>1</sup> A "District of Columbia" was laid off ten miles square, part in Maryland, part in Virginia. There the city of Washington was located. Until the city could be built, Philadelphia was to serve as capital. Eventually Congress ceded back to Virginia the part of the district south of the Potomac.



THE UNITED STATES IN 1790

NOTE. Vermont was separate from New York; it became a state in 1791. Kentucky was preparing to separate from Virginia; it became a state in 1792.

prosperity. It was to have a capital stock of ten million dollars, the government to own one fifth.

**357. Washington as Referee.** The friends of Hamilton passed through Congress a bill establishing such a bank. But there was intense opposition,<sup>1</sup> and Washington was implored to veto it. Before taking action, however, he called for written opinions from the two great men of his cabinet, Hamilton and Jefferson. The latter drew up an elaborate argument to show that Congress had no right to establish such an institution. He developed what has been known ever since as the "strict constructionist" view of the Constitution. That is, he argued that we should hold Congress strictly to account not to use any power not granted to it in so many words. With great skill, he argued that none of the powers granted to Congress included the right to establish a moneyed corporation like the proposed bank. Hamilton, with equal argumentative skill, developed what is known to-day as the "broad construction" principle, reasoning that Congress possessed not only the powers definitely granted to it, but, in addition, all those logically resulting from the granted powers. These latter he held to be "implied powers," and among these he found the right to establish his bank. Washington accepted Hamilton's reasoning and signed the bill under which the Bank of the United States was established (1791).

**358. First Coinage Act.** Another great financial measure was passed through Congress the next year. It provided for a national mint and authorized our present system of coinage. The Spanish dollar was accepted as the standard of value. It was also provided that fifteen ounces of silver should be considered equal in value to one ounce of gold.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here again, the difference in the interests of the mercantile and agricultural sections was revealed. The North was almost solid for the bank, the South was largely opposed.

<sup>2</sup> In 1834 the proportion was made sixteen to one. The act of 1792 set up free coinage of both metals, which was continued until 1873.



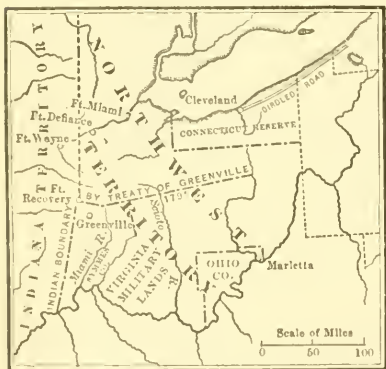
## II. PROBLEMS OF THE FRONTIER

**359. The Admission of Vermont.** The local conditions of the northern and western frontiers were forced upon the attention of Congress. To the northeast, within the territory ceded by England, was a community not yet recognized as a state, but not certainly included in any other state. This was Vermont (section 326). It had a considerable population and its people had done good service in the Revolution. Congress decided to recognize Vermont as a state and in 1791 it was admitted to the Union.

**360. The Border Indians.** Farther to the west there was trouble with the Indians. Indian war began in the Northwest Territory the year the Union was formed and in 1791 an American army commanded by General St. Clair was destroyed at Fort Recovery. For a time the situation in the West was desperate; but Washington sent out General

Anthony Wayne, who broke the Indian power at the Falls of the Maumee. By the Treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the Indians gave up all southern and eastern Ohio.

**361. The State of Ohio.** The region thus surrendered was quickly settled. Two distinct streams of emigration flowed westward and blended to form the present state of Ohio. One of



THE NORTHWEST, 1802

these streams came from Virginia, the other from New England.<sup>1</sup> We have seen that Virginia had reserved for her-

<sup>1</sup> Ohio, settled both from New England and Virginia, was the meeting point of streams of emigration that, until then, had avoided each other. In this fact lay the promise of a new phase of American life.



self, when ceding her Northwestern claims to the confederation, a great tract known as the "military bounty lands" (section 312). These were now opened to settlement. Connecticut, similarly, had retained a great tract called the "western reserve." Most of it was transferred in 1795 to the Connecticut Land Company. General Moses Cleveland went West and founded a post on Lake Erie, which is now the city of Cleveland. Other settlements were made at Chilliscothe and Losantiville, now called Cincinnati. So rapid was this western movement that Ohio, which had but a handful of people in 1790, had nearly fifty thousand in 1800. In 1803 it was admitted as a state.<sup>1</sup>

**362. On the Southwest Frontier.** South of the Ohio, two regions demanded the attention of Congress. Kentucky in 1790 had more than seventy thousand inhabitants, drawn chiefly from Virginia and the Carolinas. During the first years of the Union there was such constant emigration to Kentucky that by 1800 the Kentuckians numbered two hundred twenty thousand. By that time, however, their country had become a state. It was admitted in 1792.

**363. Tennessee.** There was still another western region with which Congress had to deal. We have seen that the state of Franklin (section 326) was organized by pioneers during the Revolution in what is now Tennessee. Afterward it became Washington County of North Carolina. Later North Carolina gave up its rule over these lands, which were then formed into the "Territory South of the Ohio River." Its population was already thirty-five thousand. In 1796 it was admitted to the Union as the state of Tennessee.

**364. On the Spanish Border.** We have seen what excitement there was, during the confederation, over the navigation of the Mississippi (sections 316, 327) and how near it came to producing a Spanish war. The matter appeared to be settled by a treaty made in 1795. Spain granted the free navigation of the Mississippi and accepted the line laid

<sup>1</sup> The region west of Ohio was organized in 1802 as the Territory of Indiana.

down in the British treaty of 1783 as the southern boundary separating the United States from the Spanish possessions.

**365. Mississippi Territory.** The long contention with Georgia over its claim to western land (section 318) was also brought to an end. In 1798 Mississippi Territory was organized, and four years later Georgia gave up all claim to anything west of its present western line.

**366. The British Posts.** There was one other frontier trouble. England still had garrisons at several points inside the territory of the United States and, in spite of the treaty of 1783, refused to withdraw these garrisons. Neither would the British government send a regular ambassador to the United States. This contemptuous disregard of the wishes of the Americans had a marked effect upon events to which we must now turn our attention.

### III. WASHINGTON'S FOREIGN POLICY

**367. Original Conception of the Presidency.** Our fathers intended the President to be a great ruler who should decide, in the last resort, what was best for the country. Once in office, he was not to be bound by the will of the people who had elected him. Washington held this view of his own position. He felt he was head of the whole country and that the people had authorized him to use his judgment as to what course was best. His way of dealing with the bank question (section 357) was characteristic. He did not ask what the people wanted, but invited both sides to argue the matter before him, and then decided it on his own responsibility.

**368. First Theory of the Cabinet.** Having this view of his office, he had included in his cabinet men of different political principles. No two men could be farther apart in their ideas than the secretary of state and the secretary of the treasury. To-day, we could not imagine both of them in the same cabinet. It was possible for both to be in Washington's cabinet only so long as Washington refused to take

sides, definitely, with either, but acted as a sovereign over both. Naturally, each tried to bring the President to his way of thinking. Their antagonism became so intense that Jefferson said they contended with each other in cabinet meetings "like cocks in a pit." But could this go on? Could Washington keep his detached sovereign position, or would he be forced by circumstances to ally himself with some political party and allow himself to be directed by its wishes? At bottom the question was whether the President of the United States should have the character of an elective sovereign, or the character of a party leader.

**369. Aristocracy versus Democracy.** Had there been no call for the formation of parties, Washington might have kept the presidency on the lofty plane where he wished it to be. But already it was evident that political parties were inevitable. Hamilton and Jefferson were great figures in politics because each summed up in himself the whole belief of a numerous group of Americans. Hamilton stood for aristocracy; Jefferson for democracy. Hamilton despised the mass of the people. "Your people, Sir," said he, "is a great beast." His policy aimed at strengthening the upper classes, and at arresting those social forces which already were beginning to undermine their rule. Jefferson on the other hand, though born an aristocrat, had gone over to the side of the people. He loved France and had the deepest sympathy with those movements which were bringing on the French Revolution. He said that he and his followers "identified themselves with the people, have confidence in them, cherish and consider them as the most honest and safe, although not the most wise, depository of the public interest." Both men pushed their theories to logical conclusions. Hamilton wanted a strong government that would not hesitate to use its powers and would steadily befriend the moneyed classes. Jefferson wanted to limit the power of the government as much as practicable and have no laws whatever for the benefit of any particular class.

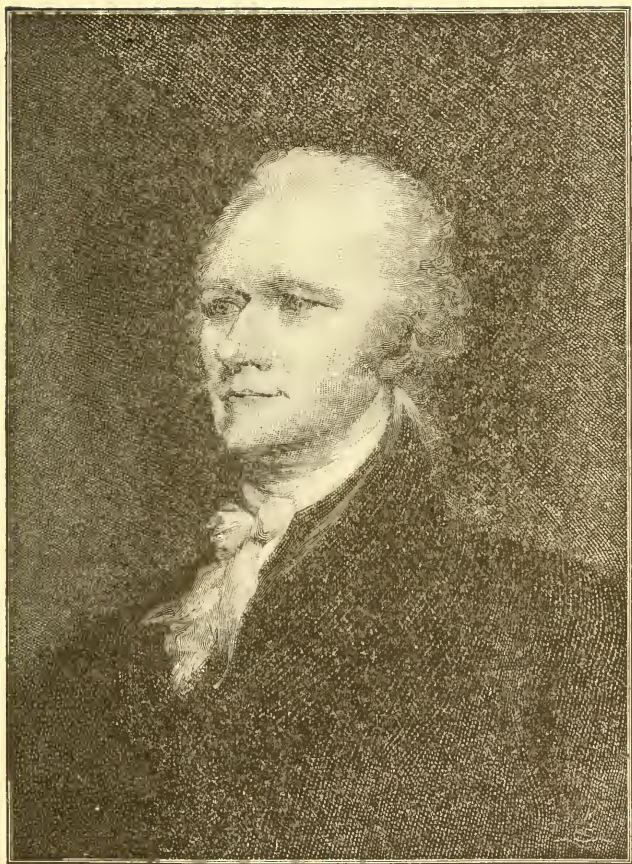
**370. First Political Struggle.** As early as the second election for President, the followers of the two leaders acted like two political parties. There was no question about reëlecting Washington, who again received every electoral vote, but there was a sharp fight over the vice presidency. Jefferson and his friends supported George Clinton. Hamilton supported John Adams. Adams was elected.

**371. Foreign Complications.** The relation of the two parties became further complicated by a question of foreign policy. The treaty of 1778 (section 290) made it the duty of the United States, in case France became engaged in "defensive war," to protect her possessions in the West Indies. But that treaty was made with the French monarchy. In 1792 France became a republic; soon after, Louis XVI was executed and war was declared against England and Spain. The French Republic then called upon the United States to take part in the war, and sent over an ambassador, Edmond Genêt, to persuade the Americans to do so. While Genêt was at sea, Washington debated with his cabinet whether the treaty of 1778 was still in force.

**372. Proclamation of Neutrality.** Though Jefferson favored the French republic, and Hamilton was against it, both agreed that the French treaty did not apply to present conditions. Therefore Washington issued on April 22, 1793, a proclamation of neutrality, stating that the United States would "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers."

**373. The Democratic Party.** Meanwhile, Genêt landed at Charleston. He was received with enthusiasm. The old friendship of America for France became the theme of much public speaking, and "Democratic" clubs were organized, modeled on the famous Jacobin Club of Paris. The followers of Jefferson joined these clubs and began to call themselves by the party name "Democrat."<sup>1</sup> Thus the Democratic party was born.

<sup>1</sup> For the later history of the name, see sections 380, 451, 480.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON







**374. The Federalist Party.** Hamilton looked with contempt upon the Democratic movement. His aristocratic sympathies blinded him to all that was good in the French Revolution and made him oversensitive to all that was bad. And he thought that American interests were with England far more than with France. He and his followers now drew together in a confessed political party, advocating principles exactly the opposite of those of the Democrats. They appropriated as their party name the familiar term, "Federalist."

**375. A Crisis in Foreign Affairs.** During 1793 the two parties, Democrats and Federalists, found plenty of cause for contention. The conduct of Genêt was foolish in the extreme, and the Democrats had all they could do to apologize for him. In defiance of the proclamation he enlisted men for an expedition against New Orleans; he fitted out a cruiser, the *Petit Democrat*, and, in spite of Jefferson's protest, sent her to sea. At last he tried to meddle in American politics. Toward the end of the year Washington demanded his recall and the French government ordered him home.

It was now plain that the United States must come to an understanding with either France or England. Both powers ignored the proclamation of neutrality and seized and plundered American ships on the high seas. As the chief maritime states of Europe had all become involved in the war, the United States formed the one important neutral trader, and each side was determined that the United States should not trade with its enemy. France seized American provision ships bound for English ports. England seized similar ships bound for French ports. To the American contention that "free ships make free goods" and that French property on an American ship was protected by the American flag, England refused to listen. England further asserted that any neutral ship bound for a port she had declared blockaded was subject to confiscation. The United States replied that "a blockade to be binding must be effective": in other words, that neutrals had the right to enter any port not actually closed by a

blockading squadron. England also advanced the claim that a neutral ship should not enter in time of war any port which was closed to it when the war began.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, because France opened her colonial ports to Americans after war was declared, England seized American vessels coming home from those ports. Finally, English warships overhauled American merchantmen and "impressed" — that is, forcibly carried away for service in their own navy — any British subjects found on board. Sometimes they did not distinguish between Englishmen and Americans, and impressed citizens of the United States.

**376. Conflicting Party Claims.** The two American parties held opposite views. The Democrats demanded a policy hostile to England and friendly to France. The Federalists wished to remain neutral and were hopeful that a satisfactory understanding with England could be reached.

When a new Congress met at the close of 1793, the Federalists had a majority in the Senate, the Democrats in the House. It was plain that neither party would be satisfied until the President definitely took sides with one or the other. Throughout 1793 he had leaned more and more toward the policy of the Federalists. Jefferson, in the cabinet meetings, had less and less influence. At last he resigned, and in January, 1794, Washington appointed as his successor a Federalist, Edmund Randolph.

**377. The President as a Party Leader.** During the remainder of his administration Washington allied himself with the Federalists. In this way the attempt to have a sovereign President in America came to an end. Thereafter, Washington was a party leader, whom his enemies abused without mercy. In their vehemence they took leave both of good taste and of common sense. They nicknamed him "the stepfather of his country." They accused him of

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that many ports were at that time open to foreigners only by special favor. England herself excluded Americans from her West Indian ports.

incapacity during the Revolution. He was charged with embezzling the public funds and was threatened with impeachment and assassination. Washington felt this injustice deeply. Even before it had reached its height, he broke out one day at a cabinet meeting, exclaiming that "he had never repented but once having slipped the moment of resigning his office, and that was every moment since, that . . . he had rather be on his farm than to be emperor of the world, and yet they were charging him with wanting to be a king."

#### IV. THE RULE OF THE FEDERALISTS

**378. The Jay Treaty.** Washington accepted the Federalist policy of coming to terms with England, and appointed John Jay special envoy to accomplish it. After months of negotiation, Jay signed a treaty which Washington sent to the Senate<sup>1</sup> for ratification June 8, 1795. The Federalist Senate promptly ratified it, but when the Democrats heard what it contained they were fiercely indignant. Jay had not succeeded in getting England to abandon her claim to the "right of search" for the purpose of discovering runaway Englishmen on American ships; nor would England consent to let Americans trade with her West Indian possessions (section 321) except on unsatisfactory terms. Jay had also given up the principle that "free ships make free goods," and had promised to make compensation to British merchants who still held claims for American debts due in 1775. On the other hand, he had secured a pledge from England to withdraw the obnoxious garrisons from the frontier posts, to refer the question of her capture of American ships to a commission of arbitration,<sup>2</sup> and to negotiate a commercial treaty with the United States. In the minds of the Democrats Jay had given more than he got. Great public meetings were held and the President was exhorted not to sign the treaty. Seldom has an American Presi-

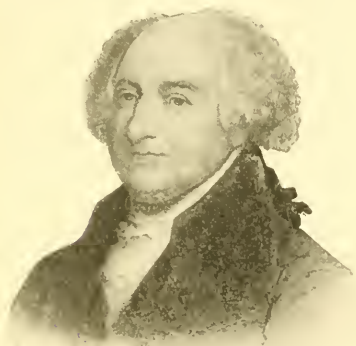
<sup>1</sup> The Constitution requires that treaties shall be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate and signed by the President.

<sup>2</sup> Eventually England paid half a million dollars, assessed by this commission.

dent faced such widespread disapproval of his course as Washington did in 1795. But he believed the treaty was the best that could be had and that any treaty was better than none. Therefore, in spite of the general indignation, he signed it.

**379. Washington's Farewell.** About a year later Washington withdrew from politics. He refused to be a candidate in the presidential election of 1796 and issued his celebrated

Farewell Address to the American people, urging them to maintain their federal government, to put down party spirit, and to refrain from "permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world."



JOHN ADAMS

**380. The Election of 1796.** A party battle over the presidency now followed. The Federalists were successful in the elections but, through a blunder in the Electoral

College, lost part of their victory. All their electors voted for John Adams for President. For vice president, however, they scattered their votes. As every Democratic elector voted for Jefferson, his vote was second to that of Adams.<sup>1</sup> Thus, a Federalist became President while the vice president was a Democrat, or, as the party was now styled, a Republican.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This blunder of the Federalists led eventually to the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution. Four years later every elector voting for Jefferson took care to vote also for Burr, the candidate for vice president. Both having the same vote there was a technical tie. The Constitution provides that in case of a tie vote the House shall determine the matter. Though every one knew that Jefferson was the choice of his party, many Federalist representatives voted for Burr. Nevertheless, Jefferson was chosen. The Twelfth Amendment in 1804 provided for separate votes for President and vice president.

<sup>2</sup> This change of name was due, in part, to certain events which took place in 1794. In western Pennsylvania there were many small distillers. Hamilton

**381. The X. Y. Z. Matter.** As might be expected, the Federalists in coming to an understanding with England had created trouble with France. Adams found himself very soon on the verge of a French war. The American minister, C. C. Pinckney, was insulted at Paris, and the French navy seized American ships. Hoping to effect a settlement, Adams appointed a special commission, composed of Pinckney, John Marshall, and Elbridge Gerry, to treat with the French government. After a time Adams received dispatches from the envoys which led him to send a message to Congress declaring, "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected and honored as becomes the representative of a great, free, powerful and widespread nation."

What had so angered the President was an attempt to blackmail the envoys. Three men who were indicated in the dispatches as "X. Y. Z." had come to the envoys and informed them that they must pay down a quarter of a million dollars "for the pocket of the French Directory and Ministers."

**382. The Rage against France.** When these facts became known in America there was a general outburst of anger against France. Congress declared the treaty of 1778 at an end. A Navy Department was organized with George Cabot of Massachusetts as its first secretary. A wave of war feeling swept the country. The courage of the President was praised in popular songs composed for the occasion.<sup>1</sup> The general cry was "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute."<sup>2</sup>

had persuaded Congress to lay an excise tax on whisky. Much discontent was the result. In 1794 there broke out what is known as "the whisky rebellion" in Pennsylvania. It was easily put down. However, in his message to Congress with regard to it, Washington attributed the rebellion to the influence of the Democratic clubs. The word "Democrat" was therefore temporarily in disfavor. To escape its unpopularity, Jefferson took up the word Republican, by which the party was known until about 1828, when it resumed the older name. It has been known as the Democratic party ever since.

<sup>1</sup> One of these was Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia."

<sup>2</sup> The expression is attributed to Pinckney.



**383. The Naval War.** During the next two years a naval war was carried on between France and the United States. Though no formal declaration of war was made by either country, their ships fought upon the high seas. The ocean swarmed with American privateers by which the commerce of France was sorely damaged. The most noted action of the war was the battle between the American frigate *Constellation* and the French frigate *Vengeance*. The latter was put to flight.

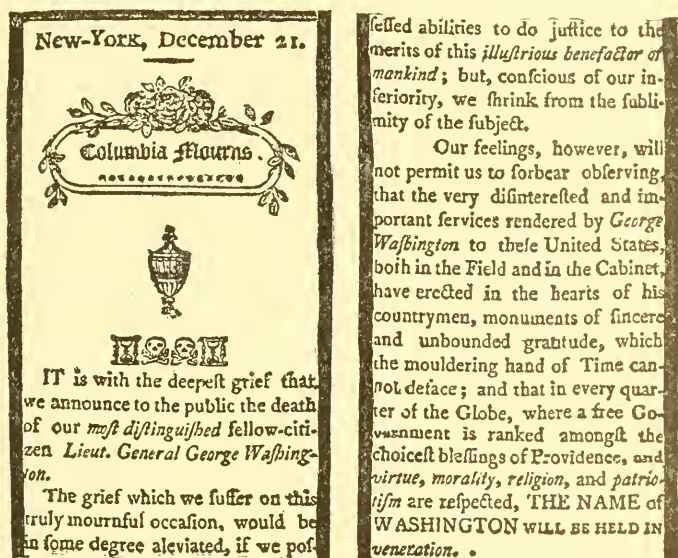
**384. The Appearance of Napoleon.** However, a change soon took place in the government of France. It was now dominated by the great genius of Napoleon Bonaparte, whose European schemes would only be hampered by this side war with the United States. He sent word to the President indirectly that he was willing to make peace. Adams seized the opportunity and concluded a treaty with France in 1800.

**385. Alien and Sedition Acts.** While pursuing this resolute policy abroad, the Federalists had made a great mistake at home. Carried away by their hatred for France they had passed a series of acts known collectively as the Alien and Sedition Acts. These gave the President power to order out of the country any foreigner he thought undesirable, and also made it a crime punishable with imprisonment to issue any false, scandalous, or malicious writing aimed at the government, Congress, or the President. The former act was inspired, in part, by the impertinence of French ministers to the United States, who had freely meddled in American politics, while the latter act was a blow at certain Republican newspapers which heaped upon the President the same sort of abuse formerly showered upon Washington.

**386. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.** These acts killed the Federalist party. They were felt to be an intolerable enlargement of the power of the central government, and in the very year when they were passed, 1798, two state legislatures protested against them. A series of resolutions drawn up by Jefferson was adopted by the legislature of



Kentucky; a similar series drawn up by Madison<sup>1</sup> was adopted by the legislature of Virginia. These resolutions formed a sort of political platform for the Republican (Democratic) party. They declared the Alien and Sedition Acts "void and of no force," because they violated the guarantee of personal liberty (section 343) set up by the Constitution; the resolutions



FACSIMILE OF ANNOUNCEMENT OF DEATH OF WASHINGTON

also declared that the Union was a "compact" among the states, and that the states should see to it that the federal government did not overstep its authority.

**387. The Fall of the Federalists.** As preparation for the presidential election of 1800, the members of Congress, of both parties, held caucuses which nominated candidates.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He had parted company with Hamilton as soon as the latter took his stand as the avowed champion of aristocracy and a "strong" government. Since 1794 Madison had been one of the chief Democratic-Republicans.

<sup>2</sup> The caucus consisted mainly of the members of the party who were in Congress. It was an informal means of uniting the party preparatory to a campaign and inevitably gave place to the formal party convention. (See section 456.)

The Federalists put up Adams and C. C. Pinckney. The Republicans nominated Jefferson and Aaron Burr. At this election the great state of New York, which had hitherto been Federalist, was captured by the Republicans. The twelve electoral votes of New York turned the scale and Jefferson was elected.<sup>1</sup>

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings in American Constitutional History*, 140-142, 152-235; HART, *Contemporaries*, III, Nos. 76-105; MACDONALD, *Documents*, 6-12; *Source Book*, Nos. 55-64; AMES, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, No. I, 1-26; MACLAY, *Journal*; JOHNSTON, *American Orations*, I, 84-113.

*Secondary Accounts.* WILSON, *American People*, III, 98-163; JOHNSTON, *American Politics*, 19-54; HART, *Formation of the Union*, secs. 73-82; WALKER, *Making of the Nation*, 73-167; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 20-73; BASSETT, *Federalist System*; GORDY, *Political Parties*, I, 103-382; SCHOULER, *United States*, I, 70-220, 238-514; MCMASTER, *United States*, I, 525-604; II, 24-57, 67-154, 165-537; III, 116-123; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 136-184; MACLAY, *United States Navy*, I, 155-213; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 34-52; McDougall, *Fugitive Slaves*, 16-19; HINSDALE, *Old Northwest*, 296-313, 368-388; ROOSEVELT, *Winning of the West*, IV, 1-257; WINSOR, *Westward Movement*, 375-574; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 103-135; LODGE, *George Washington*, II, 41-298, 304-395; *Alexander Hamilton*, 83-233; FORD, *True George Washington*; MORSE, *Thomas Jefferson*, 87-185; SCHOULER, *Thomas Jefferson*, 153-169; HUNT, *James Madison*, 167-270; MORSE, *John Adams*, 251-318; MERWIN, *Aaron Burr*, 71-90; CONANT, *Alexander Hamilton*, 100-135; STEVENS, *Albert Gallatin*, 1-169; SEMPLE, *Geographic Conditions*, 75-92.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. The Formation of the President's Cabinet. 2. Early Clashes between the Sections. 3. The Policy of Hamilton. 4. The Original Conception of the Presidency. 5. The Theory of Implied Powers. 6. The Distinction between "Strict" and "Loose" Construction. 7. The Opening of the West. 8. The Appearance of Political Parties. 9. The Transformation of the Presidency. 10. The Eleventh Amendment. 11. The Twelfth Amendment. 12. "X. Y. Z." 13. Alien and Sedition Acts. 14. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

<sup>1</sup> See section 380, note.

## CHAPTER XX

### THE AGE OF NAPOLEON

**388. Thomas Jefferson.** The new President was one of those brilliant original persons who inspire devotion in friends and dislike in enemies. To this day, people still find it hard to discuss his genius dispassionately. Early in life he had become a philosophical skeptic both in religion and politics. He accepted the political principles of the French Democrats and the religious principles of the school of philosophy then dominant in France. Personally, this revolutionary President was charming. His influence over the people around him was profound, and made up entirely for the fact that he was a poor public speaker. Though a believer in democratic simplicity, his house in Virginia was a great mansion where he kept up a spacious style of living. A visitor said of him that he was "at once a musician, . . . an astronomer, a natural philosopher and a statesman."

**389. The Republican (Democratic) Party.** The party behind Jefferson now included many people besides those who made up the Democratic movement of 1793. It had come into power in a great reaction against the "strong" government designed by Hamilton. Many men opposed a strong government for purely social reasons, because they feared it would lead to oppression of the lower classes by the money power; some, because they feared it would encroach upon the authority of the separate states; some, because of a dread that it would strengthen the mercantile North and weaken the agricultural South. This mixture of motives must be borne in mind if we want to understand the future history of the Jeffersonian party.

**390. Peace and Economy.** Jefferson's first endeavor was to undo, so far as possible, the work of Hamilton and Adams. Though the army and navy were both small, he made them still smaller. His secretary of the treasury, Albert Gallatin, an able man of Swiss birth, set to work to cut down the national debt. In 1801 the United States owed eighty-three million dollars; through the economies introduced by Gallatin, the debt was eventually cut down to forty-five million.<sup>1</sup>

**391. Appointments to Office.** Jefferson's loftiness of purpose was put to the test almost as soon as he became President. He was truly a Democrat "on principle," and not for profit, but among his followers were some who were Democrats for profit. In two states, particularly, certain bad features of later politics had already appeared. In New York and Pennsylvania politics were beginning to be a business, the chief end of which was to secure office. Professional politicians who had supported Jefferson demanded that all Federalists be turned out.<sup>2</sup> They were backed up by the more bigoted Republicans (Democrats), whose hatred of Federalists was so extreme that they felt none of them could be trusted. Jefferson bravely withstood both of these groups among his followers. He announced that he would appoint only Republicans (Democrats) until they and the Federalists were equally represented in the service of the country. After that, he would "return with joy to that state of things when the only questions concerning a candidate shall be: Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the Constitution?"

**392. The War with Tripoli.** The great believers in democracy have generally opposed war because the successful

<sup>1</sup> This reduction had been effected by 1812, when war made a change in the situation.

<sup>2</sup> At the close of Adams's administration, twenty-three new judgeships were created, and Adams filled them just as he was leaving office. Jefferson condemned his action as a species of trickery. Congress abolished the new judgeships (1802). Later there was an attempt to impeach Judge Chase of the Supreme Court, on the charge of improper conduct when trying cases under the Alien and Sedition Laws. The attempt was not successful.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

From original picture by Gilbert Stuart in the Walker Art Building,  
Bowdoin College





prosecution of it necessitates a "strong" government and thus tends to bring back aristocratic and monarchic ideas. Jefferson was no exception. Nevertheless, he was compelled to wage war. Fortunately for him and his principles it was a short and successful one. The Mohammedan states of north-west Africa were nests of pirates, and most countries found it cheaper to pay a fixed sum annually to these villains than to chase them from the seas. The United States began by doing the same, but the more the pirates got, the more they wanted. At last Tripoli declared war against the United States. Thereupon Americans showed the same genius at sea that they had shown in the brief war with France. The power of the piratical states was quickly crushed.<sup>1</sup>

**393. The Mississippi Question.** While this little war was in progress Jefferson was suddenly confronted with a foreign complication a hundred times more serious. Spain ceded Louisiana to France,<sup>2</sup> of which the great Napoleon was now master, and while Napoleon was getting ready an army of occupation, the Spanish authorities at New Orleans, in spite of the treaty of 1795 (section 364), closed the Mississippi against Americans. Apparently Napoleon wanted to begin his reign in Louisiana freed from every obligation to keep open the Mississippi. This meant that the greatest military power in the world held in its "mailed fist" the key to the prosperity of our Western states, and in spite of his fondness for France Jefferson saw plainly the only possible course before him. Either the United States must somehow keep

<sup>1</sup> The most brilliant action of the war was fought in the harbor of Tripoli (1803). The frigate *Philadelphia* had run aground and was in the hands of the pirates. Stephen Decatur with a crew of volunteers sailed into the harbor in a little vessel disguised as a fishing boat. They boarded the *Philadelphia*, drove off the pirates, and not being able to get the frigate away, burned it. They then made good their escape into the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> By the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800. The country ceded consisted of the entire west bank of the Mississippi and a small region on the east known as "Island of Orleans," a triangle bounded by the Mississippi, the Gulf, and the Bayou Manchac. This triangle had been given to Spain together with the whole west bank of the Mississippi in 1763. (See map p. 164.)

Napoleon from closing the Mississippi, or they must form an alliance with his persistent enemy, England. "The day that France takes possession of New Orleans," said Jefferson, "we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

But Jefferson had no intention to do that if he could help it. He instructed our minister at Paris, Robert R. Livingston, to attempt to purchase the small part of Louisiana lying east of the river, and also, in order to join New Orleans with the United States, to purchase if possible West Florida. Thus Jefferson hoped to secure the whole east bank of the Mississippi and get equal rights with France in the navigation of the river. To assist Livingston he commissioned James Monroe as special envoy to Napoleon.

**394. Napoleon's Change of Front.** When that amazing soldier took Louisiana, he was planning a colonial empire. But in 1802 several of his schemes went wrong. For one thing, an expedition against Haiti, where he intended to fix the halfway station between France and Louisiana, ended in disaster. Suddenly Napoleon changed his mind and determined to undertake the conquest of Europe. This meant a great war with England. However, the English navy was so powerful that Napoleon in spite of his irresistible armies could hardly expect to keep England from conquering the French colonies. The moment war broke out, they would be at her mercy. Therefore Napoleon said to his counsellors: "They (the English) shall not have the Mississippi, which they covet. . . . I have not a moment to lose in putting it out of their reach. . . . I am thinking of ceding it to the United States." He took away Livingston's breath by offering to sell him the whole of Louisiana for fifteen million dollars.<sup>1</sup> Just then Monroe arrived in Paris. The two ministers, though they had no authority to do so, took upon themselves the responsibility of accepting Napoleon's offer. Jefferson, though with some misgivings, supported them. At New Orleans the French

<sup>1</sup> \$11,250,000 cash and \$3,750,000 (approximately) to American creditors of the French government. The treaty was completed, April 30, 1803.

flag was lowered, the American flag was raised. Thus a vast western area was added to our country December 20, 1803.<sup>1</sup>

**395. Louisiana.** It was impossible to say just how much territory was included in Louisiana. Presumably it was the whole valley of the Mississippi west of the original United States. Very little was known about it. The population was but forty thousand, settled chiefly along the banks of the Mississippi and Red rivers.<sup>2</sup> Only the extreme southern portion of it was now organized under the title of the Territory of Orleans, which, seven years afterward, was admitted to the Union as the state of Louisiana.

**396. Effects of the West.** The acquisition of Louisiana was a turning point in American history. Even before this, the thoughts of all men were turned more or less toward the West. By adding to "the West" this vast area of which so little was known, Jefferson cleared the way for political changes which will appear, one by one, in the following chapter. The immediate effect was a great quickening of the American imagination. The enormous unknown West appealed in different ways to the imaginations of different people, but to every one its bigness and mystery made some sort of appeal. Whether they liked the fact or not, all felt that the United States had acquired an empire and that out of this immense increase in territory great consequences were to grow.

At least one of the immediate effects of the acquisition of Louisiana seems to us to-day astounding. This was nothing less than a great wave of fear. In the minds of the men of

<sup>1</sup> According to strict constructionist principles it was doubtful whether the federal government had the right to acquire new territory. Jefferson wished for an amendment to the Constitution justifying his act. But few other people thought it necessary, and presently the question was dropped.

<sup>2</sup> A contention arose over its eastern boundary. The American minister to France, Robert R. Livingston, insisted that West Florida had been ceded by Spain to Napoleon along with Louisiana and therefore should pass with Louisiana to the United States. Both Spain and Napoleon denied this. In 1810 the United States took possession of part of the disputed area. The whole of West Florida was occupied in 1814. Spain ceded her entire Florida claim in 1819. (See sections 410, 417.)

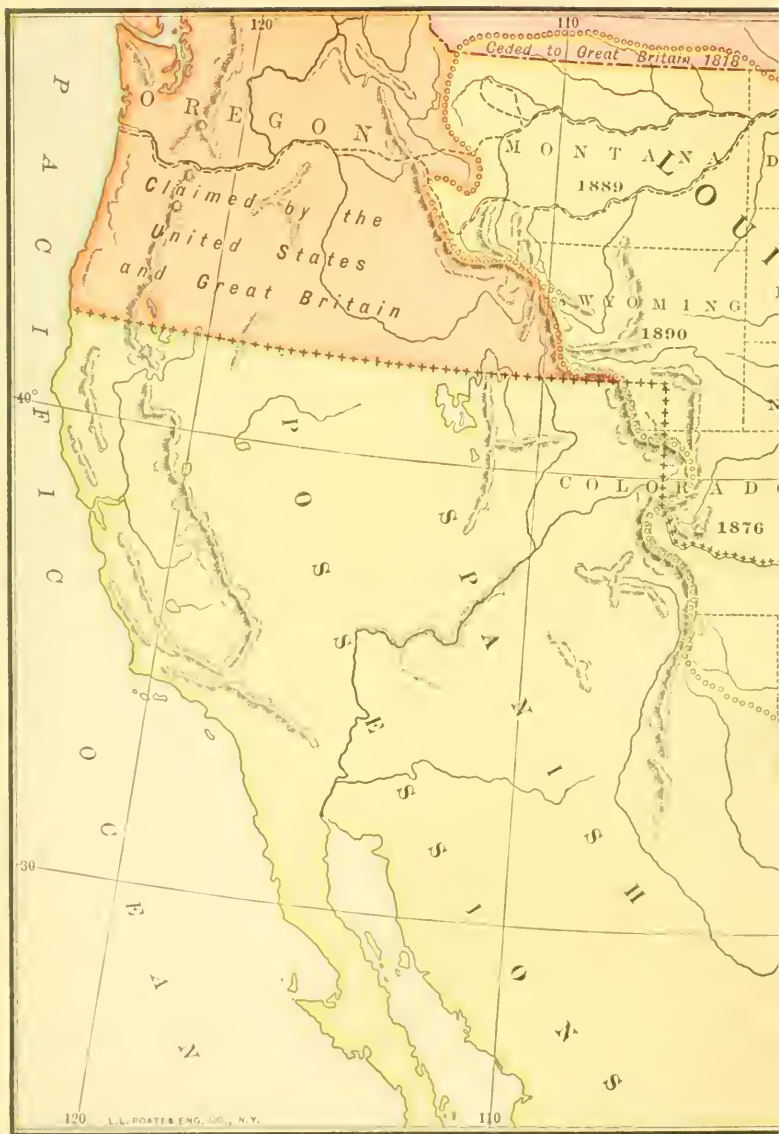
the extreme East, especially of New England, the acquisition was a menace to their political existence. They foresaw the time when the Mississippi Valley would control the politics of America. That danger of sectional control over the central government, so clearly foreseen by Madison long before (section 335), now became plain to the New Englanders. They felt that a country with such an enormous West was no longer a safe place for the comparatively small East.<sup>1</sup> Animated by this dread, the Federalists opposed the ratification of the treaty, but were powerless against the general enthusiasm it aroused.

**397. Lewis and Clark.** A very different effect of the acquisition was its appeal to the sense of adventure in the hearts of men of daring. The lure of the unknown stirred many a bold Easterner to set his face toward the West. The trackless sunset land cast upon the imaginations of such men the same spell that the mysterious Indies cast upon their Elizabethan ancestors. Two such were William Clark and Meriwether Lewis. Jefferson, who shared this feeling, commissioned them to explore the West and the result was the famous "Lewis and Clark Expedition." Starting from St. Louis in the spring of 1804, they ascended the Missouri River to its source, crossed the Rocky Mountains, found the main stream of the Columbia River, and descended it to the Pacific, which they reached November 25, 1805.<sup>2</sup>

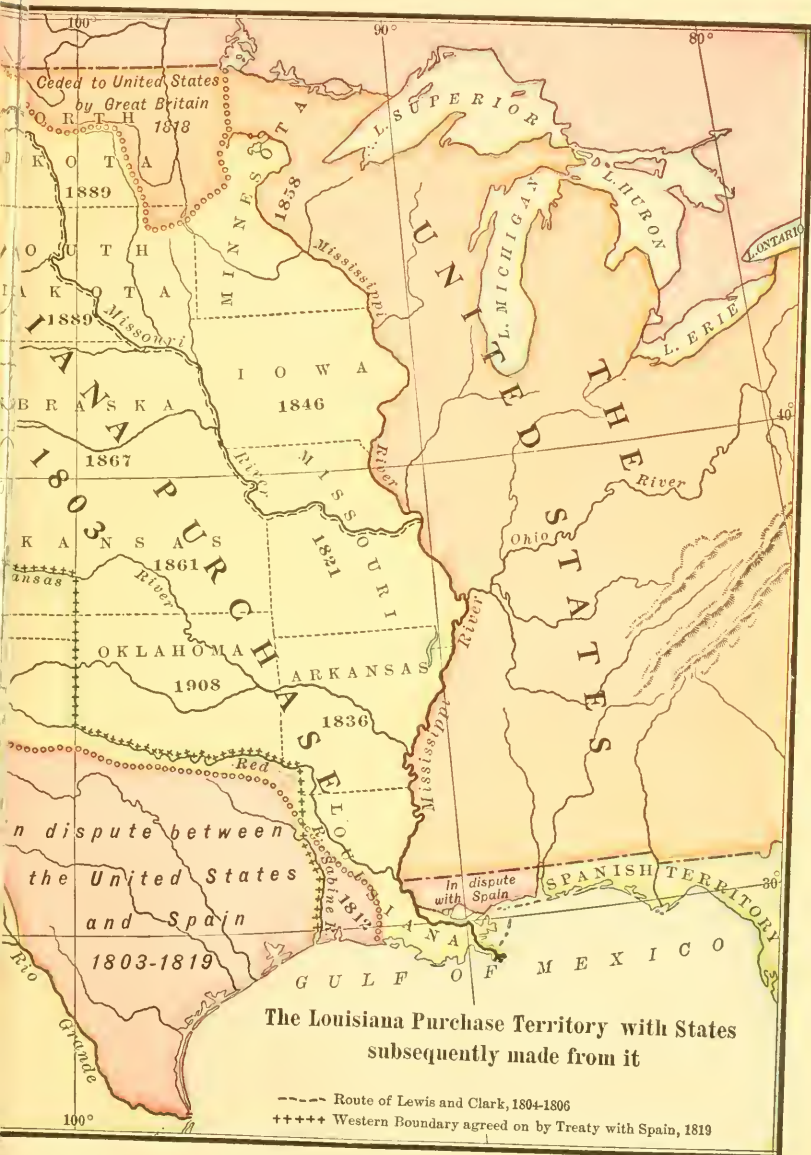
<sup>1</sup> So intense was this feeling that some sort of movement seems to have been started to separate New York and New England from the Union and form a separate northeastern confederacy. Dread of the West, and of what might come out of the West, inspired a speech made by Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts in 1811 against the admission of Louisiana. He said, "If this bill passes, it is my deliberate opinion that it is virtually a dissolution of the Union: that it will free the states from their moral obligation; and as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, definitely to prepare for a separation, amicably if they can, violently if they must." However, he had little support at the time.

<sup>2</sup> Another famous exploration was conducted by Lieutenant Zebulon Pike of the United States army. He went up the Mississippi, skirted the present boundary of Canada, and returned southeastward through the Rocky Mountains. One of his discoveries was Pike's Peak.











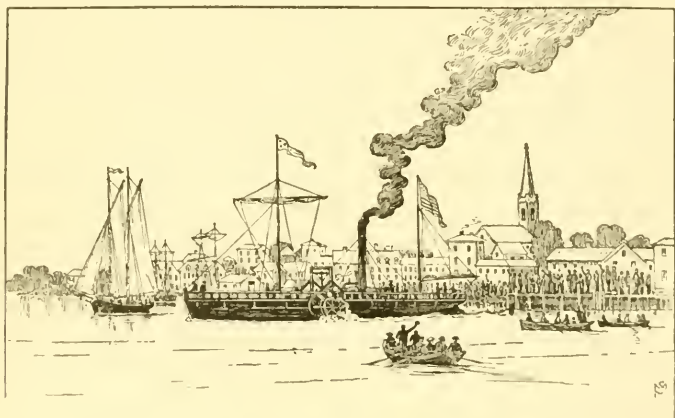
**398. Astoria.** The West appealed also to the imaginations of business men who saw in it limitless possibilities of fortune. None perceived these more clearly than a great merchant of New York, John Jacob Astor. He sent out an expedition of fur traders, which established a post at the mouth of the Columbia and called it Astoria. Thus a further result of the Louisiana Purchase was the securing by the United States of a foothold on the Pacific.

**399. Aaron Burr.** The West enthralled the imagination of still another type of man. This was the political schemer, of which there was no better instance than the vice president, Aaron Burr, whose career is one of the strangest in our history. Its most startling incident took place in 1804, when he shot Alexander Hamilton in a duel which Burr had forced upon him. That same year Burr quarreled with the leaders of his own party and was not renominated for the vice presidency.

The Republicans (Democrats) put up Jefferson and George Clinton, of New York. They were opposed by C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. But Jefferson's leadership of the whole country was, for the moment, almost complete. He received one hundred sixty-two electoral votes, while Pinckney received only fourteen.

The election put Burr in a desperate situation. Jefferson and the other party leaders had "read him out of the party." He no longer had any future as a Republican, while the Federalists would never forgive him for the killing of Hamilton. It was proposed, even, in spite of the general tolerance of dueling, to bring him to trial on the charge of murder. With his fortunes at this hopeless ebb, the spell of the West inspired in Burr a mad resolve. Out there in the wonderful new country, sheer boldness and originality must of necessity count for more than in the old, comparatively conventional East. A leader of Napoleonic sort might build an empire in the sunset land. A gambler at heart, Burr determined to stake his all on a daring stroke in the West. Just what he planned to do is a question to this day, but there is no doubt

that he gathered a small force at Blennerhasset's Island in the Ohio River, and started thence by water toward the southwest, late in 1806. However, he had been watched by the government, and now General Wilkinson, who was partly, at least, in his confidence, betrayed him. The arrest of Burr on his way down the Mississippi, and his trial on the charge of treasonable designs against the United States formed the sensation in 1807. The evidence was not sufficient to sustain the



CLERMONT ON HER VOYAGE UP THE HUDSON TO ALBANY, AUG. 17, 1807

From the foot of W. 10th St., Greenwich Village, near the State Prison.

charge and Burr was set free. But never again did he figure in public life.

**400. Fulton's Steamboat.** That year, 1807, was an eventful one in various ways, for the West was not the only thing that stimulated the Americans. The possibilities of science also made new appeals to them. Perhaps there was a direct connection between the two sorts of activity; perhaps the general stir caused by the Western enthusiasm roused men of thought as well as men of action. At least, it was just then that the first American invention of universal importance was perfected. The first entirely successful voyage by steam

power was made by the steamer *Clermont*, which was designed by Robert Fulton.

Almost at once a regular line of steamers was put in operation between New York and Albany.

**401. Slave Trade.** Another important event of this year was the abolition of the slave trade. Under the Constitution it could continue until 1808. An act of Congress now provided that it should cease absolutely at the first moment permitted by the Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

**402. John Quincy Adams.** The success of Jefferson's government was illustrated by a conspicuous withdrawal from the ranks of the Federalists. John Quincy Adams, the son of his old enemy, President Adams, came over to Jefferson's side in this year 1807. Thereafter he was a supporter of the Republicans (Democrats).

**403. Foreign Complications.** However, the most far-reaching event of the year was of a different character from any of these. To understand it, we must glance at the history of Europe. While Americans were exploring the West, England and France were waging a terrible war, in which practically every European nation took part. Again, as in 1793, both sides were determined that no power should stand neutral. Again the United States attempted to do so, and at first the attempt was successful. American trade became brisk, especially with the French West Indies. As a consequence, unfortunately, deserters from the English navy were welcomed and given employment on board American merchantmen. The British government thereupon revived its old claim of "right of search," and declared further that neutral ships should not be allowed under any conditions to carry French goods. Orders were issued to the navy to search neutrals on the high seas and not only impress deserters but confiscate French goods. English frigates were stationed

<sup>1</sup> Previous legislation on slavery included an act for the arrest and return of fugitive slaves (1793). Congress refused to introduce slavery into Indiana, though the people of the territory repeatedly petitioned in favor of it.

outside New York harbor and American ships were insolently stopped and searched. Now, as formerly, American seamen were often impressed on the false charge that they were English deserters.

Through her great victory at Trafalgar, England at last destroyed the French navy and got full control of the sea. Napoleon then made a new move. Having control of the entire continent of Europe, he resolved to destroy England's market. He established his "continental system," under which France and all her allies were bound not to purchase English goods of any sort. England retaliated by forbidding all the world to trade with France.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon answered, forbidding all the world to trade with England.

One aim of all this was to force the United States to take one side or the other. "Those who are not with me are against me" was the motto of both sides. But the Americans were resolute not to take sides; Jefferson was still an ardent believer in peace. Moreover, the profits of the neutral trade, in spite of all the ships taken and confiscated by the English, were enormous.<sup>2</sup>

**404. The Chesapeake.** So things stood in June, 1807. In that month the United States frigate *Chesapeake* went to sea. On board, without the commander's knowledge, were some English deserters who had enlisted in the American navy. Just beyond Cape Henry the *Chesapeake* was overtaken by the British frigate *Leopard*, fired upon, and forced to submit to search. Several men were taken off, some of whom were undoubtedly American citizens. The *Chesapeake* was then

<sup>1</sup> In technical language, the whole French coast was declared blockaded. This was the old question of the "paper blockade": that is, the right to exclude neutrals from an enemy's port by a mere decree unsupported by naval power. The United States met it as before by contending that a blockade "to be binding must be effective." England ignored this contention and captured ships bound for any prohibited port, irrespective of whether the port was actually closed or not.

<sup>2</sup> Between 1803 and 1811 the English captured 917 American vessels; the French, 558. And yet, during that time, the tonnage of American ships in foreign trade almost doubled.



permitted to return home, bringing news of this insult to the American flag, this outrage upon American pride.

**405. The Embargo.** Naturally the country became enraged. On all sides went up a cry for war, but Jefferson was still determined to keep the peace. It occurred to him to do on a small scale what Napoleon appeared to have done on a great scale.<sup>1</sup> Napoleon having closed England's European market, Congress might now close her American market. Jefferson advised Congress to lay an embargo on American shipping, — that is to say, prohibit all American ships from trading with Europe. The shipowners protested, but the Republicans had a majority in both houses of Congress, and the shipowners were almost all New England Federalists. Their protests were not heeded. The embargo was laid. (1807.)

**406. Reaction against Jefferson.** The next fourteen months formed a period of bitter discontent in America. Ships lay idle at the wharves. Cargoes of grain rotted in the warehouses. Business, of course, was at a standstill, and many men were thrown out of employment. Gradually a reaction against the government came about. In New England the feeling was so intense that secession seemed not unlikely. Reluctantly the Republican leaders decided to repeal the embargo. Said a South Carolina member of Congress, "The excitement in the East renders it necessary that we should enforce the embargo with the bayonet or repeal it. I will repeal it. . . ."

**407. Madison becomes President.** A few days after the repeal of the embargo, Jefferson left the White House and was succeeded as President by his friend James Madison, who had been his secretary of state. No other American President, with the exception of Lincoln fifty years later, came into office under such trying circumstances. Abroad the greatest powers of the world, England and France, both threatened us with

<sup>1</sup> In point of fact Napoleon had failed. Smuggling was carried on in France as never before. Napoleon was forced to wink at it and even turn smuggler himself. His army, for example, wore English shoes.

destruction. At home one section of the Union, New England, had become alienated from the rest. In other sections there was a growing tendency to pay no attention to New England's wishes. Hatred of the British government was daily increasing and there was a popular demand to take revenge in war. If war should be declared at Washington, it would be eagerly applauded by the South and the West. But in the East, as a



MADISON

rule, it would be grimly opposed. Agents of England were believed to be at work even then, seeking to bring about a secession of the New England states from the Union. Certainly it appeared to be to England's interest to force war upon the United States. And neither England nor Napoleon would make the least concession to the neutral power. Both stood fast by the stern doctrine "Who is not with me is against me."

**408. Madison's Policy.** Nevertheless Madison made heroic efforts to maintain peace. At one time he seemed about to succeed. The British minister at Washington, David Erskine, was persuaded to sign a treaty which would have satisfied the Americans; but the British government promptly disavowed it. Erskine was succeeded by another minister, Jackson, who showed his contempt for Americans so plainly that Madison refused to have further dealings with him. It was an ominous sign of the times that the New England Federalists, when Jackson went on a tour of the country after being dismissed from Washington, received him with enthusiasm. Diplomatically, the President had failed. The country was a long step nearer war.

**409. Congressional Schemes.** Congress had no better success. By a series of enactments it tried to force one or the other of the great European contestants, England or Napoleon, to come to the relief of the Americans. In 1810 it passed an act promising that if either would make satisfactory commercial agreements with the United States, all trade with the other should be prohibited. This act gave rise to tortuous diplomacy, in the course of which Napoleon showed himself a master of deceit, but nothing satisfactory to Americans was accomplished. England, also, refused to make concessions.<sup>1</sup>

**410. The Indian War.** The strength of the war party was in the West, and surprising events which now took place increased greatly the Western hatred of England. We know to-day that England had nothing to do with these events. At the time, so credulous do men become in moments of anger, many people were willing to believe that a hostile movement among the Indians was inspired by the British government. This hostile movement was nothing less than the organization of a great Indian confederacy. The organizer was Tecumseh, perhaps the ablest of all American Indians. In 1810 he had drawn together the northern tribes and had an army of five thousand warriors. He was endeavoring also to draw in the southern tribes, of which the most important were the Creeks of Alabama. So threatening was Tecumseh's power that the governor of Indiana Territory, General William Henry Harrison, prepared for war. Presently Harrison had an opportunity to attack Tecumseh's forces in the absence of their leader and, seizing his opportunity, he invaded the Indian country, attacked the Indian town of Tippecanoe, and won a decisive victory (1811). Thereupon the South became

<sup>1</sup> When the embargo was repealed in 1809, Congress substituted a "Non-Intercourse Act," by which Americans were forbidden to trade directly with either France or England. This act played a leading part in subsequent negotiations, but it could not be enforced once American ships were allowed to go to sea. In spite of it, trade with England and France went on. The act of 1810, known as "Macon's Bill, No. 2," authorized direct trade with England and France while expressing the provisional threat indicated above.

the seat of war. The Creeks attacked Fort Mims and massacred its garrison.

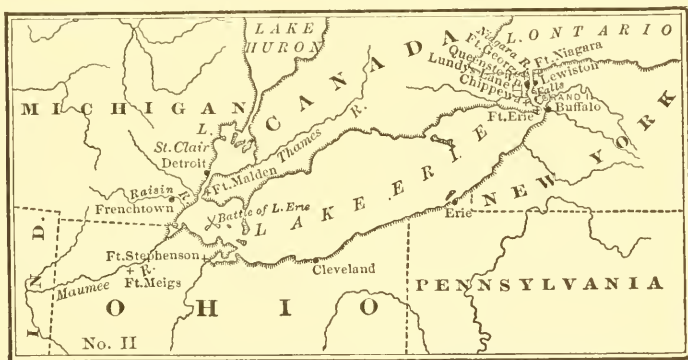
However, Tecumseh's great scheme had been nipped in the bud. The northern confederacy fell to pieces. The Creeks, after stubborn fighting, were finally conquered by General Andrew Jackson, in the battle of Tohopeka (1814).

**411. The John Henry Letters.** President Madison stimulated the anti-English feeling by sending to Congress certain documents which he had recently purchased at a cost of \$50,000. They came from a "John Henry," who claimed to have acted as secret agent of England to New England. The British minister officially denied that Henry had ever been employed on such a mission, but Congress, already at fever heat, would not believe him. It passed a resolution, in the spring of 1812, declaring its belief in Henry and bitterly denouncing England. War was now almost certainly a matter of time.

**412. New Political Leaders.** This Congress of 1811-1812 was controlled by young men. The old men, whose youth had been spent as subjects of the British crown, were passing away. Their places were taken by such men as William H. Crawford of Georgia, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, and Henry Clay of Kentucky, and a little later, Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. A new note was struck in American politics by the advent of these young leaders. It is not fanciful, perhaps, to add that most of them had become possessed, so to speak, by the spirit of the West. Of Clay, at least, this is entirely true. And Clay was the most influential of them all. He summed up in himself both the strength and the weakness of the daring life of the frontier. In Clay were embodied the frontier boldness, its love of adventure, its contempt of danger, its willingness to take a great risk for a great gain, its impulsiveness, its generosity, but also its lack of restraint, its tendency to go to extremes, its willingness to fight, not troubling itself much about the strict justice of the cause. To such a nature, war always makes a romantic appeal.

We are not surprised to find Clay, in 1812, eager for war and assuring Congress that if it would force war, his frontiersmen would easily conquer Canada and we should "negotiate the terms of a peace at Quebec or Halifax." He carried his point and war was declared against England June 18, 1812.

**413. The War of 1812.** It was perhaps the worst instance in American history of rushing into a great undertaking without sufficient preparation. The whole American army numbered only a few thousand men. As to conquering Canada,



THE WAR OF 1812 ON THE CANADIAN BORDER

Clay had forgotten that no good roads led to the Canadian line. To move an army northward would be a serious matter. At sea we had but a handful of ships with which to meet the greatest navy in the world. Furthermore, the northeastern states were certain to obstruct the war in every way possible.

The history of the war on land is largely a record of unsuccessful attempts to invade Canada. An exception was an expedition under General Harrison, in 1813, which defeated a force of British and Indians at the battle of the Thames in Canada and delivered the northwest from the threatened danger of British conquest. Harrison's expedition had been made possible by a brilliant naval action on Lake Erie, won by Lieutenant Oliver H. Perry (September 10, 1813), who re-



ported his victory in the famous dispatch, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

The British retaliated in a series of invasions of the United States. In 1814 a part of Maine was occupied and all the coast blockaded. Other attacks were made at various places that same year. One of them ended in a striking American success. At Plattsburg, on Lake Champlain, eighteen thousand invaders moving down from Canada were repulsed by entrenched forces of militia (September 11). A naval attack upon Baltimore (September 12) was also unsuccessful,<sup>1</sup> the invaders being held in check by the fine defense of Fort McHenry. The one distinguished countermove made by the Americans against Canada, in 1814, had ended with the doubtful battle of Lundy's Lane (July 25). However, one event of this year made all others seem insignificant. A British army landed in Maryland, defeated an American force at Bladensburg, and marched against Washington. The President and cabinet fled; the city was taken; the capitol burned; and the invaders withdrew in safety to their ships.

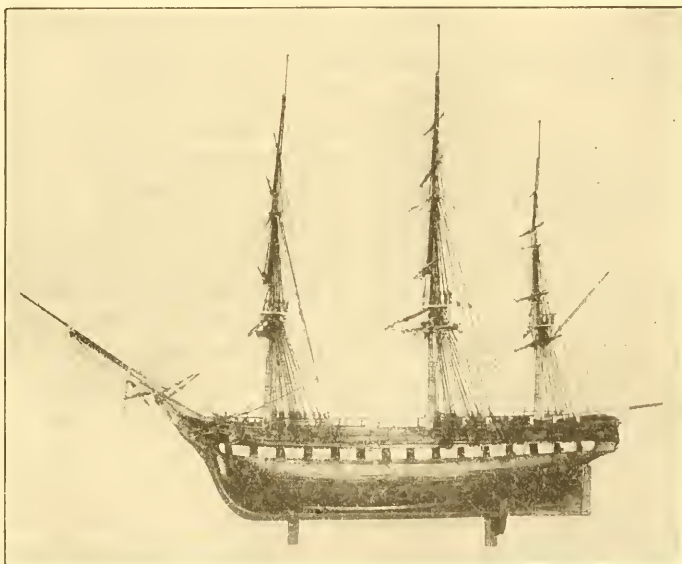
**414. The War at Sea.** At sea, on the other hand, the Americans astonished the world. Their ships, which proved to be much superior to the British ships, were handled with perfect seamanship and with startling audacity. The Americans were victors in a series of brilliant naval duels. The first in this roll of fame was the action between the American frigate *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*. It took the Americans only thirty minutes to make of the *Guerrière* a total wreck (August 19, 1812).

Nevertheless, before the end of 1814 the superiority of the British in numbers turned the scale. Practically all the American warships had been either captured or driven into

<sup>1</sup> It was during this attack that Francis Scott Key was detained a virtual prisoner on board one of the British ships, where he waited during a night of bombardment for "the morning's first light" to reveal whether our flag still flew above Fort McHenry. Thrilled by the sight of it still flying, he wrote off, on the back of an old letter, the first draft of the "Star-Spangled Banner."



port and there blockaded. But the American flag was not driven from the seas, which swarmed with American privateers. In the course of the war they captured twenty-three hundred British merchantmen.<sup>1</sup> The *London Times* expressed the dismay and bewilderment of the English business world when it said of the American ships, "If they fight, they are sure to conquer; if they fly, they are sure to escape."



*Courtesy of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Mass.*

A MODEL OF THE CONSTITUTION

**415. Opposition to the War.** By the latter part of 1814 the Americans, in spite of their great deeds at sea, appeared to have lost their cause. Their navy was destroyed; the capitol had been taken and burned; their aggressive movements had generally been disastrous. The opposition to the war among their own people had become threatening. The

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the British took seventeen hundred American ships and recaptured seven hundred and fifty of their own.

governors of New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Jersey had refused to supply militia called for by the President. Recently, in the legislature of Massachusetts language had been used that was almost identical with that of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions (section 386). In the autumn of 1814 the Massachusetts legislature voted to raise a state army of ten thousand men and asked the other New England states to send delegates to a convention.

**416. The Hartford Convention.** The convention met at Hartford in December, 1814. The debates were held in secret and we do not know what propositions were actually discussed. It seems probable that the movement which resulted

in the Hartford Convention began as a secession movement, but that men opposed to secession skillfully got control of it and changed its drift.<sup>1</sup> And yet the official report of the convention, considering the moment at which it was made, was sufficiently alarming. Besides urging a number of changes in the details of the federal system — such as limiting the President to one term of office — its main demands



WAR IN THE SOUTHWEST

were two: payment to each state of part of the federal revenue collected within it, and wholesale reduction of the powers of Congress.

**417. Battle of New Orleans.** While the Hartford Convention was in session, a British army approached New Orleans.

<sup>1</sup> In spite of these anti-war demonstrations, the New Englanders bore their share in the war, especially at sea.

The American commander at New Orleans was General Andrew Jackson, who had already distinguished himself in the war with the Creeks.<sup>1</sup> He took his position outside the city and threw up entrenchments a mile long, extending from the Mississippi to a swamp. A canal formed a further defense in front of his line. In this position he was attacked by English regulars. The attack was made with great spirit, but the American fire was "so terrible, so continuous, that it dwelt in the memory of the assailants as most like to the continuous roar of tropical thunder." After fearful loss, the British retreated (January 8, 1815).

**418. Peace Negotiations.** Meanwhile a different sort of event was taking place at Ghent in Belgium. Commissioners from the United States were debating with commissioners from England the terms of a treaty of peace. This had been made possible by the overthrow of Napoleon's empire and the close of the European war the previous year. Unless England treasured vindictive feelings toward the United States, there was no longer any real reason for continuing the war in America. The English must be given credit for meeting the changed conditions in a liberal spirit. The great Duke of Wellington threw his influence on the side of peace. As a result, the commissioners of the two countries signed the Treaty of Ghent. It was ratified by the Senate of the United States in 1815.<sup>2</sup>

**419. The Treaty of Ghent.** The treaty was little more than an agreement to stop the war and begin over in friendly relations. The particular questions over which the war started, such as right of search, and what goods a neutral might carry,

<sup>1</sup> Following his victory of Tohopeka (section 410), Jackson had invaded Florida, where the Spanish authorities, though supposed to be neutral, had allowed the British to form a base of supplies. Having repulsed a British movement toward Mobile, Jackson then pushed on against Pensacola, the British base. He took possession of it November 7, 1814.

<sup>2</sup> The American commissioners were Albert Gallatin, James A. Bayard, John Quincy Adams, Johnathan Russell, and Henry Clay. Gallatin and Bayard had been sent over as early as 1813, when the Emperor of Russia made a fruitless attempt to bring England and America to terms.

were simply dropped. England agreed that the United States should have all the territory they had when the war began.<sup>1</sup>

**420. The Peace of 1815.** The news that peace had been made put an end to the secession movement in New England. The Hartford Convention was soon forgotten, and the issues it had raised were never voted upon. In all parts of the Union joy over the return of peace subdued all other feelings. The Republicans (Democrats), who had captured so much popularity by making war, now gained as much more by making an end of it. The war expenses, including loans amounting to \$98,000,000, had been felt everywhere, and the whole people turned toward peace with grateful hearts.

The Treaty of Ghent marks the close of the long struggle of the Americans to withdraw from European politics. From that time forward, the United States were enabled to pursue their own course and develop in their own way. With one exception, they were hardly concerned in European politics during the space of three generations. Thus they were enabled to determine for themselves what their civilization was to be. When, after long isolation, the American republic became again one of the factors in the world's diplomacy, it returned into the field as a first-class power.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 65-70; *Documents*, Nos. 24-32; AMES, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, No. 1, 26-44; No. 2; JOHNSON, *Readings*, 237-291; HART, *Contemporaries*, III, Nos. 106-129; JOHNSTON, *American Orations*, I, 164-215.

*Secondary Accounts.* ADAMS, *United States*, I, 185-446; II-VIII; IX, 1-103; WILSON, *American People*, III, 153-234; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII, 331-348; HART, *Formation of the Union*, secs. 94-117; WALKER, *Making of the Nation*, 168-213; CHANNING, *Jeffersonian System*; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 74-105; SCHOULER, *United States*, II, 1-220; MCMASTER, *United States*, II, 583-635; III, 1-88, 142-458, 516-560; IV, 1-270; V, 373-380, 418-432; BABCOCK, *Rise of American Nationality*; GORDY, *Political Parties*, 9-333; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 54-64; LOCKE, *Antislavery*, 131-165; ROOSEVELT,

<sup>1</sup> Astoria (section 308), which had been seized by the British in the course of the war, was now returned to the United States.

*Winning of the West*, IV, 258-343; HOSMER, *Louisiana Purchase*, 21-178; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 188-215; CABLE, *Creoles of Louisiana*, 1-209; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 185-232; MORSE, *Thomas Jefferson*, 186-307; MERWIN, *Thomas Jefferson*, 119-164; Aaron Burr, 57-147; STEVENS, *Albert Gallatin*, 170-200; ADAMS, *John Randolph*, 1-233; SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*, I, 67-125; BROWN, *Andrew Jackson*, 24-86; PARTON, *General Jackson*, 25-248; THURSTON, *Robert Fulton*; LIGHTON, *Lewis and Clark*; EGGLESTON and SEELEY, *Tecumseh and the Shawnee Prophet*; MAHAN, *War of 1812*; ROOSEVELT, *Naval War of 1812*; MACLAY, *United States Navy*, I, 305-658; II, 3-22; HOLLIS, *Frigate Constitution*; HOSMER, *Mississippi Valley*, 146-191; SEMPLE, *Geographic Conditions*, 93-113, 134-139; COMAN, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, I, 222-341.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The Character of Jefferson. 2. Napoleon's American Schemes. 3. The Cession of Louisiana. 4. The Expedition of Lewis and Clark (their original "History" is published in the Trail Maker's Series, edited by Professor McMaster, three volumes). 5. Astoria (see H. H. Bancroft, "Oregon"). 6. The Burr Conspiracy. 7. The American Decrees of Napoleon. 8. Tecumseh. 9. The War at Sea. 10. The Hartford Convention.

## FOURTH PERIOD (1815-1876)

### NORTH AND SOUTH IN THE AMERICAN UNION

#### CHAPTER XXI

##### THE FEDERAL PROBLEM

**421. The Three Historic Forces.** The experience of the United States between 1789 and 1815 reveals to us the chief problem of all governments which rule over a vast extent of territory. It is the difficulty of making laws agreeable to every section. Where different sections of a country are unlike geographically, they are bound to develop different interests. Furthermore, accident is almost certain to give rise in each section to likes and dislikes peculiar to the locality. Also, the way of living in each section, as years pass, is sure to become distinctive and thus create in its people a point of view of their own. All these things came about in the United States. New England's interests were all upon the sea, and hence New England bitterly opposed any laws that did not protect its shipping. The interests of the West were all on land, and its demand was ever to make sure of our position on land and treat the shipping interests as secondary. Hence the bad feeling between New England and the West. In the matter of likes and dislikes, the New Englanders loved old England and hated France. The Southerners, or at least a considerable number of Southerners, were in the main friendly to France and indifferent, or even hostile, toward England.<sup>1</sup> So New

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently, these relations were altered. See chapter XXII.



England and the South became enemies upon a matter of feeling. As to the zeal of each locality to preserve its own way of living, this was not so clearly demonstrated previous to 1815, though already people saw that any sweeping change of conditions in any given section would tend to alter the entire social system. This point will be treated more fully later. To sum up: we have encountered, in the experience of our country between 1789 and 1815, three of the leading forces that determine the course of history — the economic force, the sentimental force, and the social force.

**422. The Despotism of the Majority.** All three forces had their share in separating the states of the Union into groups.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the minority group was forced to accept the dictation of the majority group. In the presidential election of 1812 the opposition to Madison had very little strength outside New England. However, the large group of states which supported him was not destined to hold together. An important group — New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey — were soon to become what we now call “doubtful” states. Their interests in general inclined them to side with New England and support what came to be known as an “eastern” policy. Their feeling, on the other hand, was often with the South, so that their votes at times upheld a “southern” policy. Counting out these three, the remaining states in the majority group fell sharply into two other subgroups: (1) the really Southern states — Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, the Carolinas, Georgia, with the new state of Louisiana, and (2) the Western states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio. These latter, with the vast territories beyond them, in 1812 formed “the West.” We have traced, step by step, how circumstances had established an alliance

<sup>1</sup> In all groupings of the states in sections previous to 1861, there was always a string of border states which were not unconditionally in any group. In 1815 Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York formed the “border” group. Both in interest and feeling, their sympathies were divided among the three clearly defined sections. Soon these states lost their border character and another group acquired it.

between the West and the South with the result that the East was at their mercy. Thus had come about the first great instance in our history of a majority of the states overruling in their own interests the solid opposition of a minority.

**423. Rearrangement of the Sections.** If the West and the South could have held together, the course of our history would have been very different from what it actually became. But they could not hold together. In the twenty years following 1812 they gradually drew apart. By degrees, the West became an ally of the East. The chief topic of American history during this transitional period is the rearrangement of the sections which ended in combining the West and the East against the South. By 1830 the three sections were practically consolidated into two, the South and the North.

**424. The Causes of the Change.** Our next purpose is to get a clear understanding both of how this rearrangement of the sections took place and of what were its chief causes. To do so, we shall need to get a general impression of what the West at that time was like. Also we must see how slavery suddenly became a great question in American politics. Then, too, we must trace certain economic consequences of the war which did not appear until several years afterward, but which at last proved to be most profound. Finally, we shall observe another case of defiance of the will of a majority of the states; the "nullification episode" in South Carolina will show a startling kinship to the earlier secessionist movement in New England (section 415). Thus the history of these twenty years may be summarized under four heads: (1) The Needs of the West; (2) Slavery Complications; (3) The Problem of the Tariff; (4) Nullification.

### I. THE NEEDS OF THE WEST

**425. The Western People.** In 1810 the western people numbered nearly a million. During the next ten years their numbers rose to more than seventeen hundred thousand, and by the end of the period we are now considering were nearly

three million.<sup>1</sup> These people, however, differed among themselves for several reasons, but first of all because the streams of immigration moving westward had in the main kept apart. From New England and New York, settlers occupied the northwest section along the Great Lakes. From Virginia they moved directly westward into southern Ohio and Kentucky. Tennessee drew its population largely from the Carolinas. Of course there were exceptions to all this. Ohio, for example, drew from all parts of the seaboard. Indiana, on the other hand, was settled chiefly from the South, and remained for a long time distinctly Southern in its sympathies. Thus, from the beginning there were great differences of feeling among Westerners, differences of inherited attitude toward the states of the seaboard. The states north of the Ohio inclined to be tender of the interests of New England, while the states south of the river inclined to favor the interests of Virginia and the Carolinas.

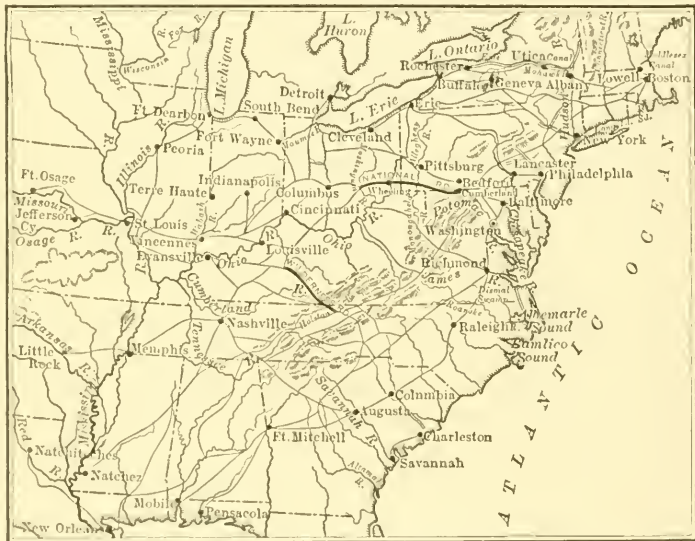
**426. Western Interests.** However, all the Westerners soon began to develop interests of their own. Almost all of them were farmers. The little towns of the West were trading places, not manufacturing centers. At the opening of this period of the rearrangement, western life was mainly rough and hard. The "frontiersman" lived in cramped quarters, very often in a log cabin, with few comforts and no luxuries. His prosperity depended entirely upon his crop. He had to meet, therefore, two exacting problems — how to get plenty of good land to cultivate, and how to dispose of its produce.

**427. The Land Question.** Upon the first question, Congress had already come to his assistance. As early as 1800, land offices were established in the Western states. Land was offered for sale by the government at a minimum price of two

<sup>1</sup> Including Kentucky and Tennessee. Kentucky eventually became a "border" state, while Tennessee was drawn into the southern group. The part of the West that definitely joined with the East to make the North, — that is, the portion north of the Ohio, — had, in 1830, about a million and a half people.

dollars an acre and only one fourth of the money had to be paid down; the settler was given four years in which to pay the rest. This system enabled practically every one to get as much land in the West as he wanted.

**428. The Market Question.** There was still, however, the question of disposing of the produce. At first there was no way but to load it upon flatboats and float it down the



ROUTES TO THE WEST, 1825

Mississippi to New Orleans. The invention of the steamboat helped matters greatly. About 1812 steamboats began to be in general use on the western rivers.<sup>1</sup> From Pittsburg to New Orleans was a ten-day voyage. The return voyage against the current took thirty-five days.

**429. The Need of Roads.** However, the problem of getting western produce to market was not solved by the steamboats, for New Orleans served only as a stopping point on the way to

<sup>1</sup> Steamers were introduced on the Great Lakes in 1818. In 1832 began direct water communications between the East and Chicago.

distant ports. The place where western produce was finally sold was either some port in Europe, or some American city on the seaboard, and early in the century Westerners turned their eyes upon the seaboard cities as the best markets for their produce. But how were they to reach the cities except by the slow and costly voyage to New Orleans and thence through the Gulf and round Florida to the East? It was a question of roads. The interests of the West demanded good



*From an old print.*

BROADWAY, NEW YORK, IN 1830

roads across the mountains, and yet who was to build them? Not the West itself for two reasons: the needed roads would be chiefly outside the Western states — across New York or Pennsylvania, or Virginia, or the Carolinas — and furthermore the Western communities were too poor to pay for them.

Congress, which had already supplied the Westerners with land, now set to work to supply them with a profitable market. It undertook the construction of roads across the mountains. A "national road," as it was called, was authorized in 1806,



and was opened for travel in 1820.<sup>1</sup> It extended from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling on the Ohio.

**430. The "American System."** The chief leaders of the movement to build up the West through the aid of Congress were Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. Their coöperation shows how the South and West at that time mutually supported each other.

Clay, speaking for Kentucky, urged upon Congress what he called the "American system," a great scheme of internal



*From an old print.*

CHICAGO IN THE EARLY DAYS

improvements calculated to bring all parts of the country into close relations with all others. Calhoun, in 1817, introduced into Congress the so-called Bonus Bill, providing for the beginnings of such a system. Congress was to distribute among the states \$1,500,000 "for constructing roads and canals and improving the navigation of water courses." This bill inevitably aroused much opposition. Many people objected to being taxed in order to make internal improvements which might not in the least benefit their own localities. But Clay and Calhoun carried the day. New York was brought

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently Congress ceded the various sections of it to the states in which they lay. The road had been extended across Ohio and Indiana to Vandalia, Illinois.



to support the bill because one of its chief objects was a great canal connecting the Hudson River with Lake Erie. Naturally, it would be much to the advantage of New York to have this canal largely paid for out of federal taxes. However, almost in the last moment of his term, President Madison vetoed the bill. He doubted whether Congress had the right to appropriate money for purposes of this sort.<sup>1</sup>

**431. The Western Doctrine.** There, for the moment, the matter was brought to a standstill. During the greater part of the next administration, the first presidential term of James Monroe,<sup>2</sup> minor issues held the attention of Congress. However, the influence of the West upon the Union as a whole had only begun. Out of the circumstances just reviewed, the

<sup>1</sup> Thus deprived of federal aid, New York went to work alone and built the Erie Canal. The effect was revolutionary. The cost of freight from the sea water to Lake Erie dropped from \$120 a ton to \$19. The population of New York City increased from 124,000 in 1820, to 203,000 in 1830.

<sup>2</sup> For the second time, the secretary of state succeeded the President. The Republican (Democratic) candidates in 1816 were Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins, of New York. They received one hundred eighty-three electoral votes. The Federalists cast thirty-four electoral votes for Rufus King of New York, but did not agree on a candidate for vice president.

During Monroe's presidency occurred the First Seminole War (1817-1818). The Seminoles were Creeks who had retreated into Florida after the power of their nation was shattered by Jackson (section 410). From Florida, with the connivance perhaps of the Spanish authorities, they raided the Georgia border. Jackson having been sent against them speedily crushed their power. It was in the course of this war that Jackson seized and hanged two British traders, named Arbuthnot and Ambrister, who were accused of intriguing with the Indians. (See section 454, note.)

While Jackson was virtually conquering Florida, Monroe was negotiating for its purchase. In 1819 Spain consented to a cession, accepting in return the promise of the United States to discharge claims against the Spanish government amounting to some \$5,000,000. The same treaty defined the western boundary of the United States as far north as the forty-second parallel (see map, p. 272) which was accepted as the northern limit of the Spanish possessions.

The year previous (1818) a treaty with England had defined our northwestern boundary, making it the forty-ninth parallel from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains. (See maps following pp. 272, 278.)

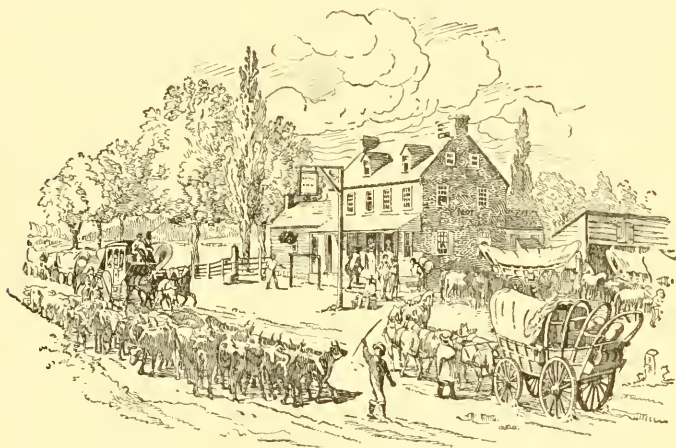
For the great events of Monroe's second term, the dispute over Oregon and the dealings with the Holy Alliance, see for the former, sections 504, 505, and for the latter, section 441.

West formulated its chief political proposition — the doctrine that it was not only right but sensible to use the power of the central government to assist a state to counteract its natural disadvantages. The Westerners, Clay particularly, applied this doctrine in various ways. For one thing they supported legislation in the interests of the eastern manufactures. We shall see how and why, when we come to the third section of this chapter.

**432. Western Sentiment.** So much for the working of the economic force in the West. However, we should blind ourselves to something still more significant if we thought that the West had no other inspiration. On the contrary, the men of the West were stirred by a great sentimental force which had little to do with economics. The mass of Westerners had been infected, so to speak, by what we may call "Westernism," a state of mind that had come to them through their struggle with the mighty forests they had hewed down; in their long journeys on the solitary western rivers; in their lonely pondering on the vastness of their land of the setting sun. Their imaginations were enthralled by a sense of the grandeur of their undeveloped empire and the majesty of the task of developing it. Then, too, these people had another influence in their lives making them different from the men of the South and East. Their state governments had not yet had time to become objects of deep feeling with them. The Easterner, on the other hand, inherited a love for his state. He told his children how the state had borne itself in colonial wars, how it had fought for its freedom against the king. The Westerner was often a newcomer in his state, often uncertain how long he would remain. All the West was still more or less on the move — across the mountains, along the rivers, through the forests, toward the sunset.

These bold Westerners were mostly people of intense feeling. Frontier life always makes people bold and passionate, and American frontier life in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was characterized by vehemence. In religion, for

example, the forms most popular in the West were of an intense, emotional sort. As far back as 1800, what was known as the Kentucky revival caused a wave of religious excitement to go over the West. Later, the chief religious figures were the "circuit riders," Baptist or Methodist ministers who rode a circuit through many neighborhoods, holding services wherever they could find a place. Often they had only a tent. The "camp meeting" was an assemblage drawn together from



SCENE ON THE NATIONAL ROAD

all the country round, to hear some traveling preacher. America has produced no bolder or more devoted men than these circuit riders of a hundred years ago. They put into their religion the imagination, the mystery, the faith in the future, both here and hereafter, that characterized their section.

It must not be supposed, however, that the West was all rough and rude, even at first. Many a man of education, many a woman of refinement, crossed the mountains before the Cumberland Road was built. There were small groups of educated people here and there in the West, even before

1800 and a great many of them before 1815. Houses still stand, built before that year, which are spacious mansions.<sup>1</sup>

**433. Nationalism.** The most distinctive thing about all these people was their peculiar state of mind politically. With all their hearts they longed to satisfy their imaginations by becoming part of a grand state. But no state then existing in the West seemed to answer this purpose. What were they to do to satisfy their longing? This unspoken question was answered by the springing to life among them of a new conception of the federal government.

It seems fairly certain that down to about 1815, perhaps later, no one thought of the Union as anything but a group of states. They did not think of it as a single thing. With comparative suddenness, in the latter part of the twenty years of the rearrangement of the sections, considerable numbers of men began to think of the Union in a different way. They began to think of it not as a mere association, a group of partners as you might say, but as a fixed and inviolable unit. They began denying that any member, under any circumstances, had the right to withdraw from it. They began saying that however one might oppose the course of Congress, any law, once enacted, was as binding on all Americans, no matter how they felt about it, as in Europe would be the edict of an emperor. This was the national idea, or "nationalism." It was this idea, from whatever source it came — and people are not of one mind as to what was its precise origin<sup>2</sup> — that fell in perfectly with the mood of the West, that found there the conditions favorable to its growth, and became, through its

<sup>1</sup> One such is a beautiful old house in Cincinnati, now the property of Mr. Charles P. Taft, which was counted the home residence of President William H. Taft.

<sup>2</sup> The national idea was undoubtedly held by Hamilton and believers in it think they find it in the writings of Washington. Whether Washington's approval of a strong government was the same thing as this passionate later faith in the right of the central government to act with sovereign finality as the instrument of a single unit, the nation, may be questioned. However, there can be no doubt that the national idea reaped the fruit sown by the great Federalists, notably John Marshall.

acceptance by the Westerners, a tremendous force in American politics, destined to work the greatest revolution of our history.

## II. SLAVERY COMPLICATIONS

**434. The Parts of the West.** The political situation about 1818 may be described thus: the South and the West were mainly Republican (Democratic). They upheld the American system and a protective tariff, while in the Middle Atlantic states and in New England many manufacturers were also finding it to their advantage to join the Republicans and profit by their policy. It seemed that before long the last remnant of the Federalists would disappear and the minority group of states would surrender unconditionally to the majority group. But all this triumphal career of the new party depended upon maintaining a "solid West." Suddenly it was revealed that the West contained within it possibilities of division, that there was a northern West and a southern West, that the two parts of the West might easily fly asunder, and that if they did so their division would break the whole Union into two sections — North and South — with opposing interests too different to be reconciled. This startling knowledge came upon the country so suddenly that Jefferson spoke of it as an "alarm bell in the night," that seemed to ring the "knell of the Union."

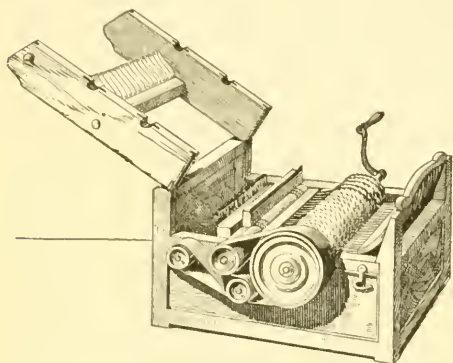
**435. Causes of the Western Division.** To understand it fully we must go back a little. We saw that when the Union was formed, slavery appeared to be passing away. Nowhere, except in the malarial rice fields along the coast, was it highly profitable. We saw how bitterly opposed to it were the Virginians in 1787 (section 336). The movement which the Virginians championed had quietly continued its course and one after another the Northern states had abolished slavery, without serious opposition. A national colonization society was founded to carry free negroes back to Africa<sup>1</sup> and was

<sup>1</sup> One result was the negro state of Liberia, in Africa, founded under American protection in 1821.



given assistance by Congress. In Virginia itself there was still a powerful opposition to slavery.

However, a great change in economic conditions had been brought about through the invention, in 1793, of a machine for clearing the seed from the fiber of cotton. This was Eli Whitney's cotton gin. By the aid of this machine, cotton



COTTON GIN

growing, which could now be done profitably with the crudest negro labor, became at once the chief industry of the South. The quantity of the product advanced from a few hundred bales in 1790 to six hundred thousand

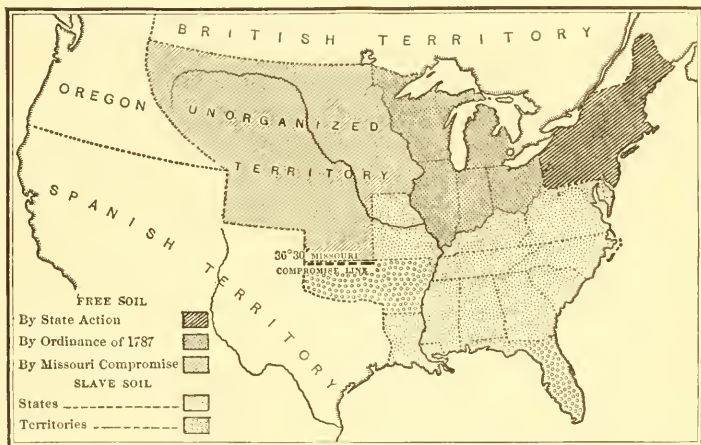
bales in 1830. By reason of the cotton gin, negro slaves became valuable property in every cotton growing section.

Meanwhile, slavery had been affecting the West. Even before 1820 it was plain that many settlers avoided those parts of the West which were slave-holding. The poorer immigrants, who did not want to be forced into competition with slave labor, turned toward the northern West, which in consequence grew more rapidly than the southern West. The statistics of two adjoining states tell the whole story. The free state of Ohio<sup>1</sup> increased in population from 45,365 in 1800 to 581,434 in 1820; the slave state of Kentucky increased, in the same time, from 220,955 to 564,317. The population of the free state increased tenfold; that of the slave state less than threefold. There was the same ratio, of course, in the increase of their representation in Congress.

<sup>1</sup> Being part of the Northwest Territory (section 320) it was reserved to free settlement.



**436. The Missouri Question.** Such was the state of affairs in 1819 when a bill was introduced in Congress to admit to the Union the slave-holding territory of Missouri; whereupon, James Tallmadge, of New York, proposed to make the admission of Missouri conditional upon the abolition of slavery there. This proposition caused a sharp disagreement in Congress, which adjourned without coming to a conclusion.

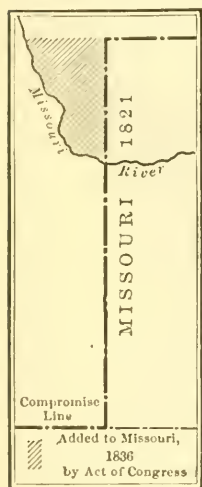


THE UNITED STATES AS DIVIDED BY THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

Congress did not meet again for nine months. During that time, the Missouri question was the chief topic of popular discussion, and in a number of free states the legislatures called upon Congress to prohibit slavery in Missouri. In the slave states the demand for the maintenance of slavery was equally positive. The West divided. Clay, who took sides with slavery, found himself unable to control his followers on the north side of the Ohio. When Congress reassembled in December, 1819, all other political questions were, for the moment, dropped. The division between free-state men and slave-state men was the only issue.

There was a deadlock between the two Houses. It hap-

pened that the states of the Union were then evenly divided between slavery and non-slavery.<sup>1</sup> Each side had twenty-two votes in the Senate. But the free states had some six hundred thousand more people than the slave states. If the two sides kept their forces together, it would never be possible to pass a bill admitting Missouri. Here, for the moment, was an end of the "solid West" and the collapse of the combination of West and South.



FIRST VIOLATION OF  
THE MISSOURI  
COMPROMISE

**437. The Missouri Compromise.** The politicians found a way out of their difficulty by means of a compromise. Missouri was admitted as a slave state, but slavery was forever prohibited in all other places north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  north latitude. It was also agreed that Maine<sup>2</sup> should enter the Union as a free state. Thus the even division in the Senate was kept up. "I have favored the Missouri Compromise," said John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, "believing it all that could be effected under the present constitution and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. . . . If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question on which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep."<sup>3</sup>

Such appeared to be the case. Clay had thrown all his

<sup>1</sup> Slave states: Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky. Free states: Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire.

<sup>2</sup> Until this time, Maine had been part of Massachusetts.

<sup>3</sup> See Macdonald, "Documents," Nos. 34-41; Benton, "Thirty Years' View," I, 8-10; II, 140-143, 745; Von Holst, "United States," I, chap. ix; Schouler, III, 101-103, 147-151, 154-173, 178-188; Turner, "New West," chap. x; Burgess, "Middle Period," chap. iv; Schurz, "Clay," I, chap. viii.

In 1836, Congress enlarged Missouri by adding its present northwest corner.

influence on the side of compromise and is generally given the chief credit for bringing it about. Immediately he had his reward. The division in the West was forgotten. Once more the combination of West and South dominated politics, with Clay as its most conspicuous figure. The Republican (Democratic) leaders turned again to the task of advancing their party interests in the North and East.

We must now consider what difficulties had arisen in that quarter.

### III. THE TARIFF PROBLEM

**438. Review of Economic Conditions.** Again let us go back a little. At the time of the embargo of 1807-1808 (section 405), the country went mad, you might say, in its clamor to be revenged upon England and France. Associations were formed, the members of which pledged themselves not to use any foreign fabrics. Money was subscribed to pay bounties to Americans who would set up manufactures. As European goods were shut out of the American market, manufactures quickly sprang up. Until the end of the War of 1812 foreign manufactures, by one law or another, continued to be kept out of the American market. Thus, two forces contributed to foster our "infant industries": the people who loudly pledged themselves to buy only American products, and the government which excluded foreign goods from competition.

However, these American goods could not be produced as cheaply as European goods. When peace was made and the Europeans were at last permitted to resume trade with America, the factories that had sprung up during the war were undersold by the foreigners. The men who had put their money into these factories turned upon the government. They said, in substance, "You got us into this predicament; now get us out."

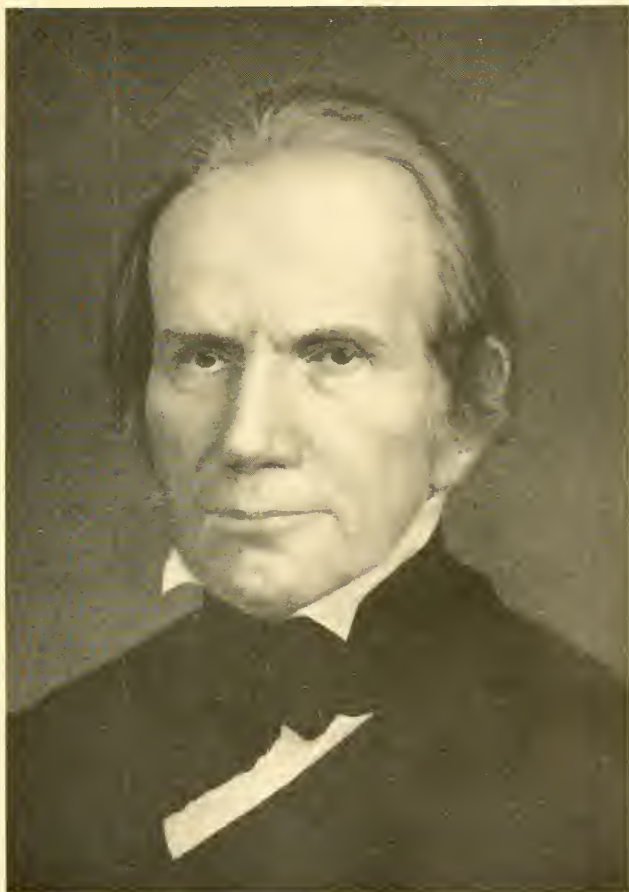
**439. The Champions of the Manufacturers.** This demand was one to make a special appeal to Clay. He and his Westerners were eagerly advocating the idea that the government

existed to take care of its people. The men who wanted millions of federal money to develop the West would seem strangely selfish if they opposed a corresponding assistance to the East. Besides, whatever enlarged the markets of the East, meant for the West a better chance to sell its produce on this side of the ocean. So Clay became a "protectionist," that is, he advocated such a tariff on foreign goods as would make the cost of them in the American market so high that home manufacturers could undersell them. Calhoun took the same view. Even more influential, perhaps, than Calhoun was another great South Carolinian, William Lowndes.

Both Lowndes and Calhoun joined Clay in support of the tariff of 1816. With these were allied the manufacturers of the Middle states and New England. They were opposed by the Federalists of New England and by various free lances here and there. John Randolph of Virginia warned the Southerners that the tariff would turn out to be an advantage to the North at the expense of the South. Another great opponent of the tariff was Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. He spoke for the shipowners who would be hurt by anything whatever that reduced foreign trade. But the opponents of the tariff were not strong enough to check the triple alliance of the South, the West, and the manufacturers; and the tariff was established.

**440. Further Demands of the Manufacturers.** However, the tariff of 1816 did not fully accomplish its purpose. Foreign competitors were not entirely driven from the field, and the American manufacturers had great trouble in holding their own. Money went out of America to pay for European goods and never came back. American business was in a dangerous state and no one felt that his investments were quite safe. A fondness for speculation became general. In 1819 there was a general collapse of business — a "panic," as we say — and the manufacturers cried out for a higher tariff.

**441. Second Administration of Monroe.** Thus things stood at the time of the presidential election of 1820. The Re-



HENRY CLAY  
From an old print





publicans (Democrats) appeared to have everything in their own hands and the disheartened Federalists made no nomination. Monroe was reëlected with only one electoral vote against him.<sup>1</sup> In reality, the Republicans were beginning to be divided among themselves and the question of the tariff was destined to split the party in pieces. For a time, however, though the discontent of the manufacturers steadily increased, nothing further was done to assist them. Temporarily the tariff controversy was at a standstill.

It was during this pause in the controversy that the Republicans (Democrats) scored their last great triumph as a united party. This was a formulation of foreign policy known to-day as the Monroe Doctrine. Briefly stated, it was a notice to European monarchies that the United States would resist any attempt to set up absolutism in America. It was called forth by the schemes of the so-called "Holy Alliance" of absolute monarchies — Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France. The Spanish colonies, which had lately revolted, had declared themselves independent republics and had been recognized by the United States. The Holy Alliance, however, proposed to reconquer them for the king of Spain. Both President Monroe and his secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, were determined to prevent the conquest. In his message to Congress, December, 1823, Monroe summed up the foreign policy of the administration in three propositions<sup>2</sup>:

1. That the United States should not meddle in the affairs of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> There is a tradition that this one was withheld from him merely to preserve to Washington the honor of being the only President elected unanimously. The short period when there was but one important political party has been called the "Era of Good Feeling."

<sup>2</sup> England supported the United States throughout this episode. Except for England's support the opposition of the United States might have counted for little against the Holy Alliance. Canning, the English prime minister, boasted that he had "called the New World into existence to right the balance of the Old."

For the relation between these events and our dealings with Russia, see the section of this chapter devoted to Oregon.

2. That European governments should do likewise and not attempt to control the destinies of any American republic.

3. That the two American continents are no longer open to colonization by European powers.

Such was the celebrated Monroe Doctrine<sup>1</sup> as originally formulated. It has played a great part in later history and we shall hear of it again. Its immediate effect was to bring to an end the schemes of the Holy Alliance touching South America.

**442. Consolidation of the Tariff Interests.** Meanwhile, the demands of the manufacturers became more and more urgent. The Westerners, generally, indorsed their demands. Factory towns in the East meant a large population that did not raise its own food. The West was the great grain-growing part of the country and for the West those masses of factory population meant an excellent market near at home. Then, too, Kentucky was growing hemp, but there would be no market for hemp unless the manufacture of it should be undertaken in the East. So, as a result of economic conditions, the West and a great part of the East were entirely at one about the tariff. A vast extent of country, stretching from the Mississippi all the way to New England, had come to think that its prosperity depended upon building up the Eastern manufactures, shutting out European competition, and thus creating an American market for the West. The states supporting this idea formed a solid block: the two southern New England states,—Connecticut and Rhode Island,—all the Middle states with the addition of Delaware, and all the Western states north of Tennessee. Even Tennessee was not wholly averse to it. Maryland was uncertain.

**443. The Division of New England.** New England, however, was divided. The three states of Massachusetts, New

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonald, "Documents," No. 43; Hart, "Contemporaries," III, No. 142; Moore, "Digest of International Law"; Latane, "America as a World Power," 255-268, and "The Diplomatic Relations of the United States with South America"; Paxson, "The Independence of the South American Republics"; Fyffe, "Modern Europe," II, chap. i.

Hampshire, and Maine, had most of their interests on the sea. For them, the more Americans bought from Europe, the more the condition of things was to be applauded. In these states the economic doctrine of free trade had been fully worked out. Their spokesman was that same Daniel Webster who had opposed the tariff of 1816.

In 1824 there was a famous debate in Congress between Clay and Webster, and the contrast in the two figures made an impression that was long remembered. The Kentuckian was brilliant, gay, witty, captivating. The New Englander, a grand, dark-looking man, was acute and formidable. Webster put forth one of the ablest arguments for free trade ever formulated by an American. Clay replied for the protectionists with the liveliness, the oratorical effect, the imagination, which had made him famous. He argued boldly against the interests of the shipowning classes and drew up his final scheme for an "American system" which was to establish home markets and link them with all parts of the country through a vast system of internal improvements.

**444. Tariff and the Presidency.** There were several reasons why the tariff controversy reached a critical stage in 1824. For one thing, there was intense rivalry among the Republican leaders for the nomination for President. The states in which protection was desired were just about strong enough, if they held together, to dictate the choice of President, and the friends of the tariff saw that now was the time to strike, when all the party leaders would hate to oppose them. As we have seen, Clay promptly came forward as their champion.

**445. The Opposition.** The three shipping states now faced a great alliance of states that had no regard for their wishes, and the New Englanders looked about for allies, which they found in an unexpected quarter. In the eight years since 1816, the Southern leaders had perceived that in supporting a tariff they were injuring their section. As we have seen, the chief industry of the South was cotton growing. But only a part of the cotton crop could be disposed of to the

Northern manufacturers; the rest had to be sent to England. For his exported cotton, the Southerner had to accept the English price, not a Northern price forced up by the tariff; but when the Southerner, who had to take English prices for what he sold, wanted to have the benefit of English prices in what he bought, the tariff prevented him. On whatever he bought in England, he had to pay duty before he could get it into the United States. Naturally, the South changed front

on the subject of the tariff.

A new leader, Robert Y. Hayne,<sup>1</sup> appeared in the Senate and denied that Congress had any right, under the Constitution, to legislate on behalf of any particular section or "for the avowed purpose of encouraging any particular form of industry." Almost the whole South held with Hayne. When the House voted on the new tariff act of 1824, the seven states of Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and



ROBERT Y. HAYNE

Louisiana cast fifty-one votes against it and only one for it. In the Senate all seven states voted against it. The tariff of 1824 was passed by the Westerners. They broke with the South and voted almost solidly for protection.

**446. Rivalries of the Leaders.** Having got the tariff out of the way, as they thought, the party leaders gave their whole thought to their rivalries for the presidency. Calhoun, who had stood aside recently and had made an enviable record as

<sup>1</sup> It was Hayne who clearly formulated the creed of his party that a tariff could be levied "for revenue only."

secretary of war, was generally accepted as candidate for vice president. The leading claimant for the first place appeared to be Clay, the hero of the hour, who had engineered the tariff, and was still the leader of the West. His chief rivals were the secretary of state, John Quincy Adams, and the secretary of the treasury, William H. Crawford. The latter secured the official nomination. The regular caucus (section 387, note) of Republican (Democratic) members of Congress named him as their candidate, but the other factions of the party refused to be bound by the action of the caucus. Both Adams and Clay were placed in nomination by state legislatures. So was a candidate of a different sort. This was Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans. While the politicians at Washington had been manipulating the tariff, Jackson had been living the rough life of a frontier general.<sup>1</sup> He had won a name for boldness, downrightness, and rugged honesty. Two things were in his favor: he was a Westerner and thus had a chance against Clay; he had taken no part in the tariff battle and therefore had not earned the hostility of the South. As Clay and Adams were both protectionists, it was not to be expected that they would have much support in the states that had opposed their tariff. However, when the votes were finally counted, the result was a surprise. Clay, the man who had seemed to dominate politics, proved the weakest of the four presidential candidates. He had but thirty-seven electoral votes out of two hundred sixty-one. Even Crawford, who was a man of small ability, went ahead of him with forty-one votes. Adams was next, having received eighty-four votes. The highest electoral vote, ninety-nine, was given to the new man unskilled in politics, Jackson.

**447. Election by the House.** But Jackson was not yet elected. A majority of all the electoral votes are necessary for a choice. When no candidate receives a majority, the Constitution provides that the three candidates leading the

<sup>1</sup> See sections 417, 431, note; 454, note. As to Jackson's political significance, see sections 481, 482.



vote shall become candidates in a second election which shall take place in the House of Representatives. Only these three may be voted on by the House. Thus it happened that the name of Clay could not come up in the second election. His followers helped to secure a majority in the House for John Quincy Adams. Quite naturally he made Clay secretary of state. Thus the two chief protectionists became the chief men of the new administration.



*From the painting by John Singleton Copley.*

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

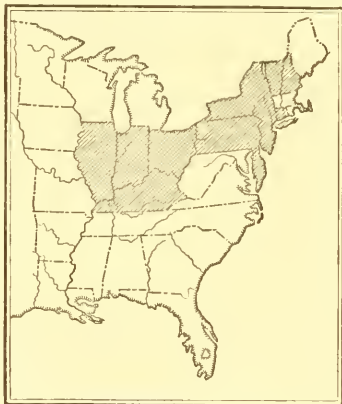
**448. The Anti-Protectionists.** The followers of Jackson and Crawford now made common cause. Crawford was in failing health, and presently both factions merged in one. All through Adams's term they fought in Congress every measure the administration proposed, and though Adams's followers in the House passed a new tariff bill, it was defeated in the Senate by the casting vote of the vice president, Calhoun.

The protectionists, however, did not abate their demands. A national convention of protectionists was held at Harrisburg in 1827. A new Congress which assembled that year contained a protectionist majority, and in 1828 Congress again took up the question of raising the tariff so as to satisfy the demands of the West and of the manufacturers. As soon as it was known that Congress would attempt to increase duties, protests were made in the South. The Charleston chamber of commerce sent a remonstrance to Congress, denouncing the proposed increase in the tariff as unjust and unconstitutional. Both North and South Carolina made official protests. Alabama declared that the power to protect manufacturers



had never been granted to Congress, that it tended to make a few rich and the majority wretched. Georgia declared that she would not submit to that broad constructionist view of the Constitution which made possible sectional legislation.

**449. Changed Attitude of New England.** At this point we encounter another of those startling changes in the grouping of political forces so characteristic of the time. Upper New England began facing about toward protection. This was due to an economic revolution, the result of the tariff of 1824, by which the shipping industry had been ruined. Many shipowners had been forced out of business. Whenever possible, New England capitalists had sold their ships, made the best of a bad bargain, and put what money they had left into manufactures. Webster, the spokesman of Massachusetts, now added his voice to the other advocates of protection. "You forced this upon us," said he, in substance, to the rest of the country, "and we have changed our investments because we had to. We have suffered in doing so. We won't consent to suffering still more by changing them back again."<sup>1</sup> Therefore he abandoned free trade.



STATES CONTROLLED BY PROTECTIONISTS, 1828. See note below.

**450. The Tariff of Abominations.** The debate in Congress over the tariff of 1828 was more bitter than any that had gone before. John Randolph said that the new tariff would "plunder nearly one half of the Union for the benefit of the residue." Hayne declared that it "was calculated to sever the bonds of the Union." A senator from Maryland denounced the bill as a "tariff of abominations." As "the tariff of abomina-

<sup>1</sup> The Massachusetts delegation in the House opposed the tariff. Webster, however, as events prove, expressed the real attitude of his state.

tions " it is known to this day. Nevertheless the bill passed both Houses and was signed by the President.

#### IV. NULLIFICATION

**451. Election of Jackson.** The presidential campaign of 1828 was chiefly a personal rivalry between the two Republican (Democratic) leaders, Adams and Jackson. The breaking of the dominant party in two was further helped on by the adoption of a special name by each faction. The administration faction called themselves National Republicans; the opposition took the name of Republican Democrats, or simply Democrats.

As little as possible was said about the tariff in this election. The new law was so extreme in its provisions that there was a reaction against it almost at once, but the administration had pushed it through and could not disown it. Nevertheless, the opposition shrank from making it an issue.<sup>1</sup> They dared not alarm the manufacturers and contented themselves with giving out that their candidate, Jackson, was a moderate protectionist. By this time, the northeastern states were solid for protection; they gave all their electoral votes to Adams. The South, on the other hand, chose what it considered the lesser of two evils and supported Jackson. In the Middle and Western states each candidate had a following. The Jackson following proved to be far the stronger, giving its candidate one hundred seventy-eight electoral votes against eighty-three for Adams.

**452. South Carolina Exposition.** In the very year of Jackson's election the legislature of South Carolina decided to make a formal statement of its position on the tariff.<sup>2</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> In point of fact the worst features of the tariff had been forced into it by the Jackson men in Congress. Their scheme was to make it so obnoxious that President Adams would have to veto it and thus appear before the country as an enemy of the manufacturers. We have seen that he refused to be put in that position.

<sup>2</sup> There has been much debate whether the economic troubles of the South, about 1830, were really caused by the tariff or can be traced to other sources.

turned to Calhoun who composed a state paper known thereafter as the "South Carolina Exposition." Calhoun was now the chief enemy of protection.<sup>1</sup> He shared a widespread belief that his section was on the verge of ruin and that only by getting rid of protection could it be saved. He saw that the Southern states had come to be related to the rest of the Union, much as were the New England states at the time of the Hartford Convention (section 416). In a word, it had become plain to Calhoun's mind that all other questions then before the country were outgrowths of a single question at the back of them all. This was the question of the power of a majority of the states to enforce its will upon a minority. As we have seen, this was no new question. Madison had sought to prevent it by requiring a two-thirds vote in Congress to make laws on a sectional matter (section 335). The Hartford Convention also thought that the minority would be protected if two thirds of Congress were required to assent to all bills regulating certain vital matters (section 416). At the same time, as we have seen, it was freely asserted that each state should judge for itself how long it would stay in the Union. Calhoun was animated by two feelings: he wished earnestly to secure the minority of the states against dictation from the majority; he loved the Union and wanted to preserve it.

But he comprehended that the task of holding together the American Union was becoming a delicate problem. To govern an immense area occupied by communities with varying local conditions, appeared to him, after sixteen years spent in Congress and the cabinet, a matter of what should not be done quite as much as of what should be. Even that rough-

But it can hardly be doubted that the tariff was a real burden upon the South, even if we conclude that it was not so deadly as, at that moment, it was supposed to be.

<sup>1</sup> The enemies of Calhoun accused him of insincerity because, having begun as a supporter of Clay, nationalism, and the tariff, he subsequently repudiated all three. His defense was simply that he upheld the nationalists just so long as their policy did not injure his own state but left them the moment it began to do so.

and-ready plan of requiring the majority in Congress to represent two thirds of the people involved, did not satisfy him. A lawyer and a student of history, Calhoun remembered that in court we require the jury to be unanimous in its verdict ; also that in the Roman republic there were at one time two divisions of the citizenship and that a law had to satisfy both in order to be binding. He was struck by the case of Poland, where a law had to have the unanimous assent of the national Diet. On these observations he based a formal political argument. It is known as "the theory of nullification." Condensed, it amounts to this : in order to protect a minority of the states against harmful dictation by the majority we should limit the action of Congress to those subjects upon which all the states are agreed ; and in order to make sure that Congress will not overstep the mark, each state should have power to nullify—that is, reject—such legislation as it considers injurious to itself.

To many Southerners this doctrine of nullification appeared to be a happy compromise between breaking up the Union and surrendering to the majority. It appealed to the strong local feeling so deeply laid in the hearts of the men of the southeast. These people had not undergone, as had the northeast, a social revolution. Neither were there many newcomers among them. Almost all had inherited a deep, unwavering attachment to their own community. Furthermore, the new western feeling for the country as a whole, the western indifference as to which state one happened to live in, was to these men past understanding. So, also, was the feeling of the recent immigrants who were pouring into the Northern states and to whom, as yet, one state meant as much as another. And finally, they believed sincerely that the prosperity of their state would pass away if they submitted much longer to the dictation of the majority in Congress.

**453. Growth of Nationalism.** However, the doctrine of nullification aroused vigorous opposition. Even in South Carolina it was not at once accepted. In the North and

West it served as a challenge to the national idea (sections 432, 433). That idea had made great advances. All the remnant of the Federalist party had accepted it.<sup>1</sup> The national Republicans were ready to accept it and most of them had already done so. Many causes combined to strengthen this conception of the central government as a power, now indestructible, whose right to rule should not be questioned. Hosts of people had come to look upon that government as the main source of their prosperity. The minds of political thinkers were quickened by the great possibilities opened in politics by the national idea. It must also be remembered that the Americans were a proud and impetuous people whose ancestors had been members of a great empire. When not absorbed in their local problems, their instinct was for a state that should be large and magnificent, one of the mighty ones of the earth. All these feelings found expression in a famous speech of Daniel Webster in the Senate in 1830. He and Senator Hayne had been drawn into a discussion known to-day as "the Great Debate." Hayne stated with admirable clearness and force the doctrine of nullification. Webster in reply gave the national idea its first literary expression. The close of his speech was a famous apostrophe to the American flag. It is not too much to say that his powerful phrasing unified the national idea, gave it form and expression, and converted a vague feeling into a fixed belief. However men felt toward the Union previous to 1830, it is certain that thereafter thousands of Americans looked upon it as sacred, and were willing to die for it, if need be. They felt for it precisely as Hayne felt for his State.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The contention that they held it all along must be taken cautiously, remembering the Hartford Convention.

<sup>2</sup> In the states' rights view, the Union was a mere league of sovereign republics and the Constitution a "compact" which any of the states could terminate at pleasure. The nationalists held that the central government had been set up by the people of all the states acting together and that the Constitution was an "instrument" through which the mass of the American people had expressed their will. They held that the ancient sovereignty of the English crown had been transferred to this central authority and not to the states.

**454. The Jackson Toast.** Another significant assertion of the national idea took place at a public dinner this same year. The President proposed a toast, "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved." For some time thereafter, his great influence was thrown on the side of Webster and the nationalists and against the South Carolinians.<sup>1</sup>

**455. Triumph of the Protectionists.** Another bold assertion of nationalism came from Clay. In 1832 Congress again took up the question of the tariff. Clay, on behalf of the protectionists, made one of his most famous speeches. In the course of it he said: "The majority must govern, from which there can be no appeal but to the sword. . . . If each one, or several states, being a minority, can by menacing a dissolution of the Union, succeed in forcing an abandonment of great measures deemed essential to the interests and prosperity of the whole, the Union from that moment is practically gone." He consented to various reductions of duty but on the general principle of protection stood firm. The new bill was passed and the President signed it. The indignation in South Carolina knew no bounds.

**456. Jackson's Second Election.** It was now time for another presidential election. A new device had lately been introduced into national politics — the nominating convention. The National Republicans held a convention and nominated Clay. The Democratic national convention nomi-

<sup>1</sup> It was once believed that a personal quarrel with Calhoun was the chief explanation of Jackson's course. We need not take so trivial a view of his motives. Nevertheless, it is plain that recently he had become incensed against his great antagonist. Enemies of Calhoun at a critical moment revealed to Jackson the fact that long before, when in the First Seminole War he executed Arbuthnot and Ambrister (section 431, note) Calhoun, then secretary of war, condemned his action. This knowledge caused great bitterness in Jackson and changed his attitude toward Calhoun, but undoubtedly was not the cause of his opposition to nullification. His temper was, first of all, military; he was the last man to brook insubordination, and nullification appeared to his soldierly instinct as next door to mutiny. Furthermore, he was greatly influenced by a small group of personal friends who were styled by their enemies the "kitchen cabinet." This group was hostile to Calhoun.



nated Jackson. South Carolina, bitter against both, gave its electoral vote to John Floyd of Virginia.<sup>1</sup> Fifteen states out of twenty-four chose Jackson electors, giving him two hundred nineteen electoral votes out of two hundred eighty-eight.

**457. Nullification Ordinance.** Meanwhile South Carolina had determined to defy the central government. The legislature called a state convention which met November 19, 1832. This convention passed an ordinance of nullification, which declared the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers or citizens." It instructed the legislature to resist the enforcement of the tariff in South Carolina after February 1, 1833, and declared that if the United States attempted to exact further payment of duties "the people of this state will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government." Soon afterward Calhoun resigned the vice presidency and was elected a senator from South Carolina.

**458. Jackson's Proclamation.** Jackson allowed no one to be in doubt as to what he meant to do. A proclamation was issued by the President (December 10, 1832), which was largely the work of his able secretary of state, Edward Livingston.<sup>2</sup> It set forth the doctrines of the nationalists in the strongest terms. "The Constitution of the United States forms a government," said the proclamation, "not a league. . . . The laws of the United States must be executed. . . . Disunion by armed force is *treason*." Jackson ordered a sloop of war to Charleston and directed General Winfield Scott to prepare to collect by force the customs in South Carolina. War between the United States and South Carolina seemed about to break out.

<sup>1</sup> There was also an "anti-Mason" party, which nominated William Wirt, of Virginia, and carried one state, Vermont. The history of this party is one of the oddities of history. A man named Morgan had professed to reveal the secrets of the Masonic order. Subsequently he disappeared. It was reported that he had been murdered. On this slight foundation, an anti-Masonic excitement was worked up. It passed almost as suddenly as it came.

<sup>2</sup> He had succeeded Van Buren, who was now vice president.

**459. The Compromise of 1833.** From this desperate situation the country was delivered by the adroitness of Clay. Congress was induced to pass two bills: one granted all that the nullifiers could wish in the way of a reduction of the tariff; the other, called the "Force Bill," authorized the President to raise armed forces to deal with the emergency. Thus the government yielded on the particular point, the tariff, while declaring it would never yield its general proposition, namely, that no state had the right to obstruct a federal law. Practically, the nullifiers had carried the day. The compromise tariff of 1833 provided for a gradual reduction of the rates until 1842; thereafter the comparatively low rates were to continue. The nullifiers accepted this as virtual surrender on the part of Congress; they repealed their ordinance, and the crisis was over.

**460. The Final Issue.** This episode marks a momentous point in the great contention over the relation of the states in the Union. On the one hand, the nationalist sentiment had been fully expressed and a powerful following refused to consider resistance to the central government as anything but treason. On the other hand, the opposite theory had been carried to its logical result in the doctrine that unanimous consent of all the states was necessary to federal legislation. It remained to be seen which of these theories, or what compromise between the two, would finally prevail.

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings*, 299-336; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 72-80, 85-87; *Documents*, Nos. 33-42, 44, 45, 47-49, 53, 55, 56; AMES, *State Documents on Federal Relations*, Nos. 3, 4, 1-31; HART, *Contemporaries*, II, Nos. 130-150; J. Q. ADAMS, *Memoirs*, IV-VI; BENTON, *Thirty Years' View*, I, 1-49, 70-118; THWAITES, *Early Western Travels*; *Works of Clay and Calhoun*; HILL, *Liberty Documents*, chaps. xix, xx.

*Secondary Accounts.* WILSON, *American People*, III, 234-255; IV, 21-38; *Division and Reunion*, secs. 2-10, 25-33; HART, *Formation of the Union*, 119; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 106-150; TURNER, *New West*; SCHOULER, *United States*, II, 205-278, 446-463; III, 1-178, 189-450; IV, chap. xiii; MCMASTER, *United States*, III, 123-142, 459-514; IV, 280-380, 381-521, 570-681; V, 148-177; ADAMS, *United States*, IX,

106-242; GORDY, *Political Parties*, II, 333-389, 445-581; PECK, *Jacksonian Epoch*, I-122, 158-161, 193-274; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 66-80; STANWOOD, *American Tariff Controversies*, I, 111-348; HINSDALE, *Old Northwest*, 313-328, 351-367, 380-392; HOSMER, *Mississippi Valley*, 153-167; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 220-274; SEMPLE, *Geographic Conditions*, 150-168, 246-277; COMAN, *Industrial History*, 184-227; HART, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, 211-218; LATANE, *United States and Spanish America*, 9-105; SATO, *Land Question*, 53-60; GILMAN, *James Monroe*, 128-179, 191-202; MORSE, *J. Q. Adams*, 107-118, 122-250; SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*, I, 1-47, 126-311; SUMNER, *Andrew Jackson*, 60-150; BROWN, *Andrew Jackson*, 87-117; THAYER, *John Marshall*; LODGE, *Daniel Webster*, 60-166; SHEPARD, *Martin Van Buren*, 88-176; McLAUGHLIN, *Lewis Cass*, 1-33, 92-132, 139-149; HUNT, *Calhoun*, 60-197; HOUSTON, *Critical Study of Nullification*; JERVEY, *Robert Y. Hayne*, 32-45, 93-98, 230-377; ROOSEVELT, *Benton*, 1-87.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The American System. 2. The Bonus Bill. 3. The Sources of Nationalism. 4. The Rise of the Cotton Industry. 5. The Debates on the Missouri Question. 6. Jackson in Florida. 7. The Treaty of 1818. 8. The Treaty of 1819. 9. Origin of the Protective Tariff. 10. New England and the Tariff of 1824. 11. The South and the Tariff of 1828. 12. The Monroe Doctrine. 13. The Second Bank of the United States. 14. The Great Debate. 15. The South Carolina Exposition.

## CHAPTER XXII

### THE DUAL REVOLUTION

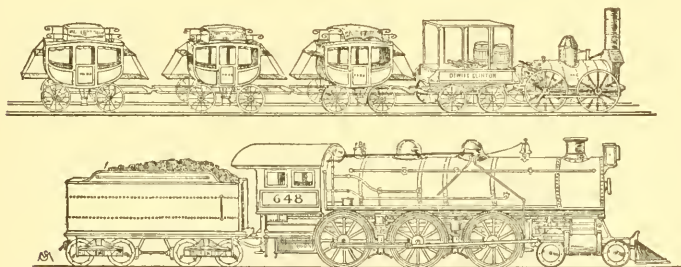
**461. Nationalism and the Railroads.** The conflict of ideas which was outlined in the previous chapter was deeply affected by several things. Among these were railroads. What chance the national idea would have had without railroads is, of course, a vain speculation. Before railroads were built the various parts of the country had so little connection that the likelihood of their fusing was slight. Before that could happen there had to be established a general sense of common interests, common feeling, common mode of life. How could such community come about among a group of peoples not intimately connected? Intimate connection of all the states was made possible by the railroads. Quick communication, rapid interchange of commodities, led the way toward a general fusion of interests such as the national idea demanded.

**462. First Long Railroad.** Our first steam locomotive was brought over from England in 1829. In 1830 Peter Cooper built the first American locomotive. The "first long railroad in the world" was completed in 1834 from Charleston, South Carolina, to Hamburg, opposite Augusta, a distance of one hundred thirty-four miles.

**463. New Economic Force.** At first the states looked on railroads as merely a new kind of public highway. Many states set to building them, or aided companies to do so by grants of money. But a difficulty appeared in the fact that soon railroads began to extend from one state into another. How to adjust the management of the portions of a road, when each was owned by a separate state, was a problem. By

degrees these state lines passed into private hands. Thus a new economic force was created which stimulated nationalism. Business corporations which were in daily action in more than one state would, inevitably, use their influence against the theory that those states might, at any moment, draw apart.

**464. Growth of Railroads.** During twenty years (1830-1850), there was a great deal of railroad building. By 1850, lines of railroad ran along the seaboard from Portland, Maine, to Wilmington, North Carolina. Long arms thrown out from

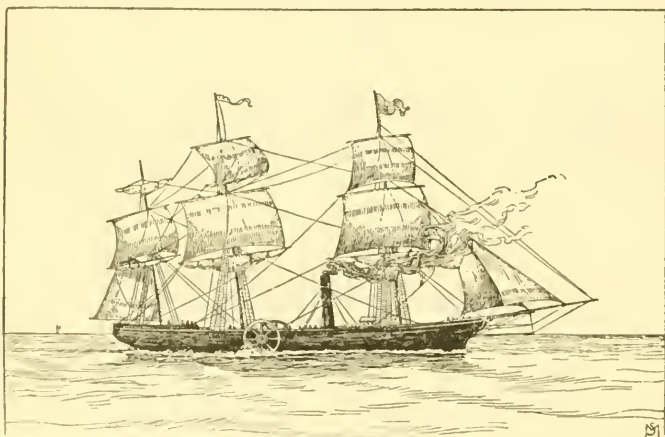


A RAILROAD TRAIN OF 1830 COMPARED WITH A MODERN LOCOMOTIVE

this seaboard system crossed the mountains and touched the lakes and the headwaters of the Ohio. Another series of roads had their seaboard terminals at Charleston and Savannah, and extended west and northwest as far as Chattanooga. Still another system was located in Ohio and Indiana. By the end of another decade, only thirty years after the construction of our first locomotive, the three main systems had been linked together; thousands of miles of additional road had been built; and all the country east of the Mississippi was covered by a network of railroads, much as it is to-day.

**465. Northern and Southern Roads.** For various reasons the building of railroads went forward more rapidly in the North than in the South. The cotton-growing states traded with England more than with the North or with each other, and most of them had a seaboard. Those that had no seaboard, —

Arkansas, for example, which was admitted into the Union in 1836,—had good river communication with the sea. Therefore, the Southern states did not need intercommunication as the Northern states did.<sup>1</sup> Here, again, circumstances in one section strengthened one idea, and in the other strengthened an opposite idea. Western states, without a seaboard and with their chief market in the East, grew daily more conscious of the dependence of the parts of the country on each other :



THE SAVANNAH

thought less and less about Europe ; became more aggressively American. The Southern states, on the other hand, each in direct communication with England, having the minimum

<sup>1</sup> There was little trouble about getting the cotton to market. English ships were always ready to carry it. American ships, in spite of the misfortunes of the shipowners, continued to do business. The American "clipper" ships — fast-sailing wooden vessels — were accounted the best of the kind in the world. They held their own, as freight ships, long after steam came into general use at sea. A steamer, the *Savannah*, in 1819 crossed in twenty-six days from Savannah to Liverpool. In 1840 the first oceanic steamship line was established between Liverpool and Boston. As ships increased in size, harbors had to be improved. The "American system" was at once extended to warrant congressional appropriations for "rivers and harbors." Like the tariff, this matter became a source of bitter controversy.



of dependence on each other, thought less and less of their connection with the Union and increased, if anything, their attention to the Old World.

**466. The Coming of Foreigners.** Another matter of great importance was the difference in the way population changed in the North and in the South. In 1830 there were between 100,000 and 200,000 people who had recently come to America from Europe. During the thirty years between 1830 and 1860, the foreign-born population increased to more than four millions. Nine tenths of it, roughly speaking, settled in the North and West. This was due, mainly, to the refusal of the free immigrants to compete with slave labor.<sup>1</sup> These thirty years are among the most significant in our history, and throughout this period the parallel between Ohio and Kentucky (section 435) continues to be instructive. From 1830 to 1840 Kentucky's population was increased by 91,000; the population of Ohio in the same decade increased 581,000.<sup>2</sup> From 1840 to 1850 Kentucky increased in population 202,000; Ohio, 460,000. From 1850 to 1860 Kentucky's increase was 173,000; Ohio's, 359,000. In 1860 the population of Kentucky was a little over a million; that of Ohio, considerably over two million and a quarter. Comparing the increase of Ohio with that of an old seaboard state of the South, like South Carolina, the result is startling. In the decade during which Ohio was increased by half a million, South Carolina was increased by only 13,213. These figures tell their own story. The newcomers went almost altogether to the North and the northern West.

**467. Reënforcement of Nationalism.** Inevitably the newcomers reënforced the national idea. This was due to several causes. First of all, they took it for granted. To every

<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, the absence of mountains in the Northwest made it easy for the pioneer farmer to get a start.

<sup>2</sup> In 1830 Kentucky had 687,000; Ohio, 937,000. Thus it is plain that the gain of Ohio in population was out of all proportion to the natural rate of increase.

European the idea of a strong national government which branded every internal opponent a "traitor" seemed a matter of course. Second, these people had no conception in advance of any particular American state, but all had a preconception of the United States as a whole. Third, they quickly learned that the commercial system which made possible their new life was the work not of separate states but of the central government. Fourth, a great many of these newcomers were philosophical radicals. Such was the case, especially after the failure of the revolutionary movement that swept over Europe in 1848. Thousands of German university men fled to the United States to escape imprisonment or execution. These men were bold idealists who had risked their lives for their principles. We shall see what their principles were hereafter. The point now is that this group desired a powerful American government to make their idealism effective not only in America but throughout the world.

**468. The South Stationary.** The changes in population among the Southern states form a contrast that is full of meaning. The older states practically stood still. Their increase in population, generally speaking, was less than the natural increase of one generation over the preceding one. This meant that a considerable part of each new generation was drawn away from its native state and not replaced by newcomers. In this connection the statistics of the old rivals, Massachusetts and South Carolina, sum up the differences between North and South. South Carolina in 1830 had a little over nineteen people to the square mile, while Massachusetts had seventy-five. In 1860 South Carolina had some twenty-three to the square mile; Massachusetts, one hundred fifty-three. The Southern state had increased only about one fifth; the Northern state had doubled.

**469. Disadvantages of Slavery.** The explanation of all this lies in the fact that slave labor is wasteful and requires a large amount of fresh land in order to be profitable. In a state like South Carolina, it soon became necessary for some

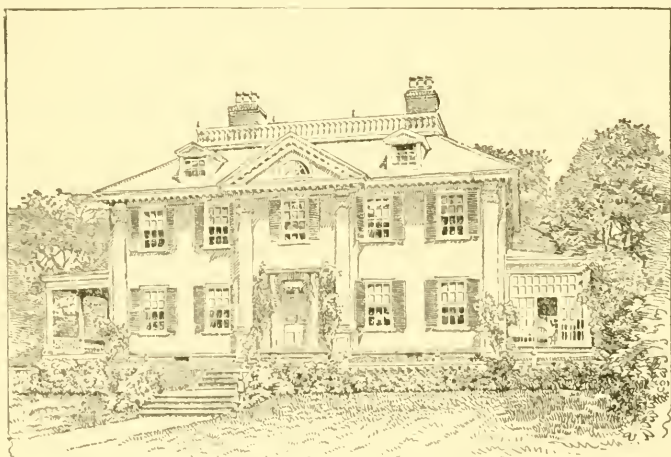
members of each rising generation to go West to seek their fortunes. At home, it was not possible for all of them to keep up the style of living to which they were accustomed. Slave labor and the lack of manufactures thus compelled the Southern population to spread out over wider and wider areas. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, the growth of business enabled population to concentrate so that almost everybody could find something to do that was profitable. So arose this other sharp contrast between North and South. In the North, everything was in a bustle: there was opportunity for all. The result was a buoyant, optimistic temper. In the South, men looked about them and saw their population practically at a standstill; they saw many of their young men forced westward into new states along the Mississippi; they saw the power of those thriving Northern states in the House of Representatives growing from year to year;<sup>1</sup> they recalled how merciless had been the action of the majority in Congress whenever it had set its heart on advancing its interests. Naturally a feeling of despair threatened to make its way into the Southern mind with the inevitable consequence of a great intensification of local feeling. The citizen of a Southern state began to feel that his home and his inherited style of living were dear possessions threatened with destruction. He rallied his friends about them. His thought of them became more and more fond and uncompromising. Presently his whole mental and emotional life came to center in one purpose — the preservation of the individual character of the life of his beloved state.

**470. Imagination in Politics.** These silent economic forces were separating the North from the South with irresistible power. To these was added a force to which historians do not always do justice. This was literature.<sup>2</sup> It has been said,

<sup>1</sup> In 1830 the North had one hundred twenty-three representatives, the South, ninety; in 1860 the North had one hundred forty-seven, the South, still ninety.

<sup>2</sup> No literary movement can ever be sharply separated from the preceding and following periods. The first American writer after 1800 who attained great

"Let me make the ballads of a country and let who will make the laws." In other words, the conception of things made current by the writers of a country counts for more, in the long run, than the acts of the politicians. Our country's experience reaffirms this ancient truth. The stir and ferment throughout America about 1830 roused in many Americans the literary impulse; thereupon, through the reactions of the literary activity of the country the mental energies of the American people became vastly more powerful.



LONGFELLOW'S HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE

Men of intellectual force, responding to the tense atmosphere of the times, looked about them for great subjects with which to delight their souls and found what they sought through discovering and expressing those ideals, not hitherto phrased, by which their brothers, the men of action, were

excellence was Washington Irving. He published his "Knickerbocker History of New York" in 1809. William Cullen Bryant wrote "Thanatopsis" in 1811. James Fenimore Cooper began his long series of Indian tales in 1821. William Gilmore Simms issued his first volume of poems in 1827. Edgar Allan Poe also began publishing in 1827; Nathaniel Hawthorne in 1828.

impelled to their great undertakings. These writers and dreamers discovered among others two lofty themes, one of which had stolen unawares into the heart of the North, the other into the heart of the South.

Of these two themes, both of which appear and reappear throughout the long drama of history, one, from most ancient times, has embodied a sentiment of intense tenderness for one's immediate world, a sentiment that makes of that world an object of veneration, a precious thing which one longs to preserve intact. Many peoples have held this sentiment so devotedly that it has stood in their way when they have wished to combine with others in a confederacy. It was the perfection of this sentiment that made the Greek incapable of consolidating his beautiful little city-states into an empire. To men who feel this sentiment in its strength, the thought of submerging their own state in another is as bitter as the thought of destroying the lives of their parents.

An imposing antithesis to this sentiment of the sacredness of locality is that austere ideal of empire which was the inspiration of the Romans. Not theirs the passionate tenderness of the Greek's love of his home city; instead there was the towering military conception, the eager foreseeing in imagination of the day when the Roman trumpets should sound victorious upon the farthest limits of the world. Men possessed by this Roman ideal grow careless of the loveliness of their homeland and concentrate their thoughts upon a vision of grandeur. As beauty was the end of the Greek vision, power was the end of Rome's.

It is not wholly fanciful to think that these two immortal ideals had cast their shadows upon the hearts of the Americans, the Greek ideal in the South, the Roman ideal in the North. It was the Roman sense of things, the poetry of an imperial career, that thrilled the Northern nationalist in his literary response to the pervasive energy of the times. Seeking an outlet for his enthusiasm he found it through the same subjects that had so charmed his brothers and cousins who



had been lured away into the West—the vastness of their country, the grandeur of its future, the might and majesty of its government, the imperial significance of the American flag. Before long there was a notable group that drew inspiration, directly or indirectly, from the national idea—Bryant, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, Hawthorne, Emerson, Prescott, Motley, Bancroft, Parkman, Webster. These men continued the subtle transformation of the national idea begun by Webster in his speech against Hayne. The more they wrote and thought about it, the more enthusiastic they became and the more surely they communicated their enthusiasm to others. They crowned the national idea with a halo of reverent faith. They dreamed of a grand, young, irresistible Western power that was to be the knight errant among nations which should, at last, set free all the oppressed of the world.<sup>1</sup> They gave poetic voice to the nationalism of the North and West, and framed a sonorous political creed to express its longings. Longfellow at last summed up their belief in his famous lines:

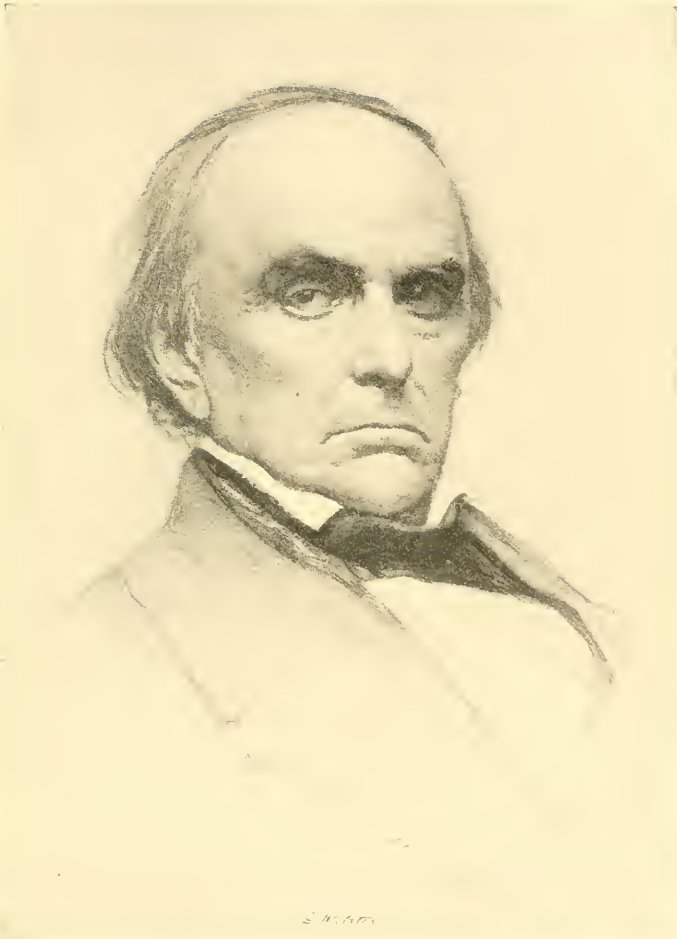
Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State !  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great !  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate !

Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea !  
Our hearts, our hopes, are all with thee,  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee — are all with thee !

**471. A Strange Ally of Nationalism.** In counting up the forces that made for nationalism we must not forget another which did its work unwittingly. You would not think that

<sup>1</sup> It is worth remembering that almost without exception they were deeply influenced by German thought, especially by the philosophical literature that was involved in the revolution of 1848. See Faust, "German Element in the United States."





L. W. H. Co.

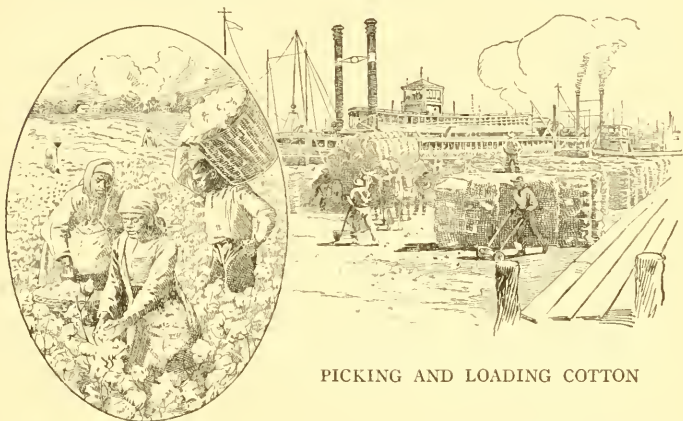
DANIEL WEBSTER

*Courtesy of The Prang Co.*



people who called the Constitution "a covenant with death" and an "agreement with hell" would do much to buttress the national idea. Nevertheless, in spite of themselves they did so. These violent people were a new kind<sup>1</sup> of opponent of slavery — the "abolitionists." To understand their significance we must understand the exact condition of the slavery question at the date of their appearance.

We have seen that in the eighteenth century slavery was supposed to be dying out, and that the Virginians strove hard



PICKING AND LOADING COTTON

to destroy it; but we have also seen how a change in economic conditions produced a new group of capitalists, the so-called "cotton interest" that repudiated the Virginia tradition and sought to make friends for slavery. Almost the last act of the great career of Jefferson was his opposition, in 1825, to this

<sup>1</sup> One of the great mistakes of the time was a failure to distinguish between the various sorts of antislavery men. At least four distinct groups must be recognized: (1) the old-time antislavery liberals, who wished to abolish the institution legally, such men as Jefferson; (2) the abolitionists, who treated it in a religious spirit and would consent to nothing but forcible emancipation, like Garrison; (3) the Free Soilers, who wanted to exclude it from the territories and leave it to die of economic competition in the states, like Charles Francis Adams; (4) the German idealists, who were for abolishing slavery but had not Garrison's vindictive temper, like Carl Schurz (section 467).

new attitude of friendliness to slavery.<sup>1</sup> In 1831 a scheme of gradual emancipation was debated in the Virginia legislature. At that time, a vigorous movement toward emancipation was under way in various parts of the South. In Alabama it was led by James G. Birney, of whom we shall hear again. The Southern emancipationists<sup>2</sup> hailed with delight the Virginian plan, but it was not destined to prevail. The committee to which it was referred finally rejected it by a majority of one.

Just what influence brought about this rejection is a matter of dispute,<sup>3</sup> but from that time forward there was increased vigor in the movement to make friends for slavery and to persuade men that it was a good thing all round — good for both black and white. What would have been the result of this controversy, had the Southerners been left to fight it out among themselves, we cannot say, because, unfortunately, they were not permitted to do so. The new friendliness to slavery was offset by a new sort of opposition to it. Between 1830 and 1840 certain extremists began popularizing the idea that slavery was a deadly sin which should be visited mercilessly on the heads of the present holders of slaves. These agitators — the abolitionists, strictly speaking — demanded that slavery cease instantly, no matter at what cost to the present slaveholders, and declared that remuneration of the holders for the loss of their slaves would be the same thing as paying a thief for the goods he had stolen. The first conspicuous leader of the abolitionists was William Lloyd Garrison. In 1831 he set up a newspaper in Boston, called *The Liberator*. He and his followers denounced the South with an indiscriminate vindictiveness hard, at this day, to realize. They made use of the impassioned language of the ancient Hebrew

<sup>1</sup> He wrote a famous letter denouncing the new attitude. As to how this attitude came about, see section 435.

<sup>2</sup> We may use this awkward word because "abolitionist" has become identified with the special group represented by William Lloyd Garrison.

<sup>3</sup> Recent writers tend to magnify the power of the "cotton interest" and trace to its activity all movements that in any way favored slavery.

prophets, calling the Constitution "an agreement with hell" because it tolerated slavery.

**472. The Irony of Abolitionism.** One of the ironies of history is the way the abolitionists unconsciously played into the hands of the "cotton interest." Because of their fury against the South, and because of a one-sided view of Southern life which they recklessly disseminated, it became possible to rouse against them all the eager patriotism of the Southern people. The whole lamentable controversy was summed up, years afterward, by an acute Northern nationalist, no particular friend of the South, who wrote in his private diary this candid review of the whole matter: "it began with a few ultra-abolitionists using all manner of irritating and aggravating writing and speech. . . . It was not a kind and candid argument against slavery, but bitter, insulting and degrading abuse of the slaveholders — calculated to incite the slaves against their masters and incite servile insurrection. This, of course, enraged the slaveholders and they retorted with aggravated asperity, not discriminating much, as indeed they could not fully, between the authors of such abuse and the North at large."

**473. The Abolitionists demand National Action.** However, what concerns us here is the effect of this movement on the growing cause of nationalism. At first the abolitionists were only a handful, with almost everybody against them. In 1835, when Garrison tried to hold an abolition meeting in Boston, a mob broke it up, tied a rope around him, and dragged him through the streets. One of his adherents, Elijah Lovejoy, who set up an abolitionist paper at Alton, Illinois, was murdered by a mob (1837). Nevertheless, the abolitionists gained ground. They formed a national society with an annual convention. Oberlin College, in Ohio, became an abolitionist stronghold. In 1835 William Slade of Vermont made the first abolition speech in Congress. In 1838 Ohio sent to Congress the first abolition member from the West, Joshua R. Giddings.

Fierce and rebellious as these men were, they had perfect courage, never shrinking from the risk of death in pursuit of their ideal, and indirectly they increased the general emphasis on the national idea. They turned to the central government as the one power that might carry out their wishes<sup>1</sup> and abolish slavery. Petitions were rained upon Congress. Generally the petitions asked either for abolition in the District of Columbia, or for the suppression of the slave trade among the states.

**474. The Gag Rules.** The Southern members of Congress, unfortunately for their cause, lost their heads and attempted to suppress the right of petition. So-called "gag rules" were passed. Thereupon ex-President Adams, who now sat in Congress as a representative, became the champion of the right of petition.<sup>2</sup> Year after year, he fought the gag rules, warning Congress that if they did not allow complete freedom of petition, they would have the people down on them "besieging, not beseeching." At last he carried his point, and thereafter abolition discussions in Congress were frequent and bitter.

**475. Abolition embitters the South.** This abolition excitement made still more serious the opening breach between the North and the South. It must not be forgotten that the abolitionist attack was made at a time when the South felt that it was growing poor, when it was in many ways at a standstill, and had become extremely resentful of the dictation of a majority in Congress. Hence, any misrepresentation of it naturally roused it to anger. The moment of the attack was unfortunate for another reason. Recently there had been

<sup>1</sup> It is important to note that many schemes in which Northerners and Westerners became involved during the nineteenth century were of a sort that could be made successful *only through governmental activity*. Consequently the North and West tended to magnify the function of the government and lost a part, at least, of their inherited theory of political individualism. In the South the reverse was true. (See section 478.)

<sup>2</sup> Attempts were made to censure Adams by vote of the House in 1837 and in 1842.



evidence of a dangerous excitability among the black population. In 1800 there was a slave insurrection in Virginia; in 1822 Denmark Vesey, a free negro, formed a conspiracy to burn Charleston; in 1831 a very horrible insurrection, known as Nat Turner's Rebellion, took place in Virginia. These startling signs of unrest among the blacks had alarmed the whites. They felt that if discussion of the question were allowed, it might extend to the slaves and produce another insurrection.

Finally, they repudiated the picture of Southern life painted by the abolitionists. They pronounced it sensational and, in respect to the general impression conveyed, false. The abolitionists made use of such evidence as that of an English lady, Fanny Kemble, who married a Southerner and has left a harrowing picture of the ill-treatment of slaves on her husband's plantation. To this day there is acrimonious debate as to just how far such cases should be accepted as typical. Southerners have always insisted that they were nothing but abominable exceptions and that the general rule was one of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

**476. The Temper of the Time.** The dispute over slavery was destined to go to fearful lengths. It engendered bitter feeling, warped men's minds, and made uncharitableness the order of the day, north and south. Unfortunately, we must hear much more of it before we are done. At this moment we need consider only its effect on the absorbing matter of the

<sup>1</sup> Dispassionate history tends to reject the picture of slavery current among the abolitionists. Woodrow Wilson sums up the matter thus: "Of the conditions of slave life it is exceedingly difficult to speak in general terms with confidence or with accuracy. . . . Domestic slaves were almost uniformly dealt with indulgently and even affectionately by their masters. Among those masters who had the sensibility and breeding of gentlemen, the dignity and responsibility of ownership were apt to produce a noble and gracious type of manhood, and relations really patriarchal. 'On principle in habit, and even on grounds of self-interest, the greater part of the slave owners were humane in their treatment of their slaves . . .' is the judgment of an eminently competent Northern observer who visited the South in 1844." "Division and Reunion," 126.

relation of the states in the Union. Inevitably it increased the Southern opposition to the rule of the majority in Congress. It roused the pride of the Southerners and led them to demand to be "let alone." "Slavery is our problem," they said, in substance; "we will solve it our own way."

Just as abolition indirectly strengthened the national idea, so the slavery dispute indirectly strengthened the belief in states' rights. The Southerners fell back upon the idea that each state was sovereign and inviolable and subject to no dictation from without.

**477. The Dual Revolution.** There had been a time when this idea was not peculiar to the South. At that time, also, it did not overshadow all other political ideas anywhere, even in the South. By degrees, circumstances had expelled it, or almost expelled it, from the North. Attendant circumstances had acted oppositely in the South; as a result, this one idea had come to dominate Southern politics. Thus we see what is meant by the term "the dual revolution." All the political life of the North had undergone a revolution which had ended in making the North, as a whole, loyal to the national idea. The South had passed through a corresponding revolution that had crushed out whatever impulse it may once have had to abandon the faith in states' rights.

**478. The Southern Individualism.** But even when all these things have been taken into account, the very heart of the Southern feeling has not yet been revealed. Back of all these lay a basal idea which circumstances might have undermined but which they intensified instead. This was what we know as the philosophy of individualism: that is, a faith that the chief end of social institutions is to produce a large number of highly distinctive individuals and that government instead of repressing the distinctiveness of each individual should encourage it.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, argues the political individ-

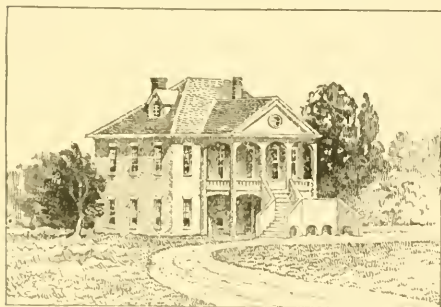
<sup>1</sup> It must be understood that in this chapter we are contemplating all the complex phenomena of that difficult age from a positive point of view. Therefore, neither in the presentation of the national inspiration (section 470) nor

ualist, government should exert no more authority than is strictly necessary and leave to individual enterprise everything that it is capable of accomplishing. Opposed to this view are the so-called collective theories of society which pay more regard to the community as a whole than to the development of its individual members. The individualist judges a society by the number of commanding personalities which it produces; the collectivist, by the average happiness of its citizens. The nineteenth century was characterized by its leanings toward collectivism in politics. In this respect it was a departure from the old traditions of Anglo-Saxon civilization, which during many generations had persistently refused to enlarge the powers of the government at the expense of the individual.

The South, from 1830 to 1860, formed the last citadel of unimpaired Anglo-Saxon individualism. We may sum up the causes of this under three heads: (1) that intense consciousness of locality which, as we have seen (section 470), dominated Southern thought; (2) the aristocratic structure of Southern society; (3) the comparative isolation of the great plantations, each a little world in itself, because of which the necessity for the regulation of affairs by society as a whole was reduced to a minimum. In a social order such as this, men were bound to develop a keen sense of the need of their community for commanding personalities and to look with distrust upon that democratic collectivism which, as they believed, — whether rightly or wrongly does not here concern us, — was threatening to put an end to the production of exceptional people and to increase enormously the number of commonplace people. In other words, they believed that majority rule,

with regard to this still more elusive matter of individualistic theory do we include in the picture all the minor elements that lay in the shadow of the dominants. The national idea carried with it a great accompaniment of individualism; the Southern tendencies included things that have seemed to some students contradictory to the main drift. See Dodd, "Statesmen of the Old South"; Phillips in "American Historical Review," XI, 798; Hunt, "Calhoun," chap. ix; Woodrow Wilson in "Cambridge Modern History," VII, chap. xiii.

whether in the Union or in a state, was destined, if not checked, to revolutionize society by "leveling it down" to a comparatively low standard of living and by depriving it of original characters. Furthermore, they ardently believed that free government could not be preserved except on an individualistic basis. For a majority of states to destroy the prosperity of a minority, for a majority of citizens to ride rough-shod over the interests of the remainder, appeared to the Southern mind the same thing as the ancient tyranny of the kings. The

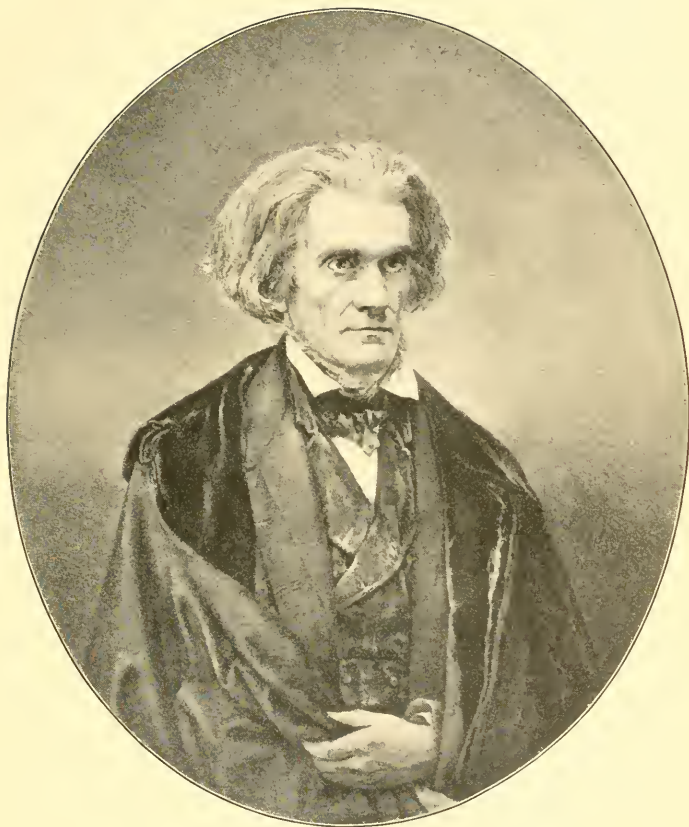


THE HOUSE OF WILLIAM GILMORE SIMMS  
IN SOUTH CAROLINA

final significance of the Southern attitude in the dual revolution was its insistence on the political theory of individualism. Says Woodrow Wilson: "There were many men in the South who, while they had no love for slavery, had a deep love, a deep inherited veneration even

for the Union, but with whom the passion for the ancient principles, the ancient sentiment, of self-government was greater even than these, and covered every subject of domestic policy."

**479. States' Rights Literature.** It remains but to ask how this faith of the South was given literary form. Who were the Southern writers corresponding to that group of literary nationalists in the North? The most distinguished Southern writer, Edgar Allan Poe, appeared about 1830 and belongs, therefore, to this period of vehement change. But it is doubtful whether Poe had any effect upon the life of his section except in purely literary ways. He was a great, solitary artist, whose world was within himself. The men who phrased the Southern political faith were chiefly the orators. Of these there is a long and illustrious roll call, headed by



JOHN CALDWELL CALHOUN

From a daguerreotype





Calhoun. The novelist, William Gilmore Simms, wove the life of the South into a series of tales to form a sort of prose chronicle of its bravery. Somewhat later came another novelist, John Esten Cooke, of Virginia. J. M. Legare and after him the better known Paul H. Hayne hold their places among the poets. But the Southern author who felt the call of his own land and expressed it most distinctively was Henry Timrod. His poems are a striking contrast to those of the nationalist singers. They have but two main themes — his own soil, South Carolina, and a passion to resist invasion. On his gentler side, in his love of the strange, mysterious landscape of the low-lying Carolinas with their rich flora, Timrod expresses in poetry the concentration of Southern life within its own horizon. In his passionate phase, there rang from him the typical Southern devotion to the state. Some lines of his, written after this thirty-year period had ended but none the less appropriate to it, may serve to close this chapter, in suggestive contrast to the lines already quoted from Longfellow :

The despot treads thy sacred sands,  
Thy pines give shelter to his bands,  
Thy sons stand by with idle hands,  
                    Carolina !  
He breathes at ease thy airs of balm,  
He scorns the lances of thy palm ;  
Oh ! who shall break thy craven calm,  
                    Carolina !  
Thy ancient fame is growing dim,  
A spot is on thy garment's rim ;  
Give to the winds thy battle hymn,  
                    Carolina !

*Selections from the Sources.* U. S. Census Bureau, *A Century of Population Growth*; JOHNSON, *Readings*, 353-366; HART, *Contemporaries*, II, 151-157, 163-184; MACDONALD, *Documents*, Nos. 63, 69; DE TOCQUEVILLE, *Democracy in America*; TROLLOPE, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*; OLNSTED, *Seaboard Slave States*; SMEDES, *Southern Planter*, 17-189; QUINCY, *Figures of the Past*; Niles' *Weekly Register* (1820-1849); KENDALL, *Autobiography*.

*Secondary Accounts.* COMAN, *Industrial History*, 207-227, 232-243; RHODES, *United States*, I, 40-75, 303-383; SCHOUER, *United States*, III, 507-531; IV, 1-31, 199-229; MCMASTER, *United States*, IV, 522-569; V, 82-108, 184-226, 284-372; ADAMS, *United States*, IX, 175-187, 198-242; WILSON, *Division and Reunion*, secs. 53-57, 60-66; HART, *Slavery and Abolition*; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 290-296, 376-418; LARNED, *History for Ready Reference*, IV, 2927-2935, 2943; V, 3369, 3373, 3375; PAGE, *Old South*, 57-92, 143-185; DODD, *Statesmen of the Old South*; BROWN, *Lower South*, 16-49; SMITH, *Liberty and Free-soil Parties*, 1-47; WENDELL, *Literary History of America*, 157-345; MORSE, J. Q. Adams, 242-308; HUNT, J. C. Calhoun, 121-132, 191-197; ROOSEVELT, T. H. Benton, 140-151; HART, S. P. Chase, 28-91; SCHURZ, Henry Clay, II, 71-87, 153-171; GARRISON, *Life of Garrison*; BIRNEY, James G. Birney; SANBORN, R. W. Emerson; BURTON, J. G. Whittier; T. Life of Simms; JERVEY, Hayne.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Development of Railroads. 2. Settlement of the Northwest. 3. German Influence in Am 4. Emancipation Movement in the South. 5. Garrison. 6. Quincy Adams in Congress. 7. European Views of Slavery. 8. Tyranny of the Majority in America. 9. Sources of the Sou Belief in Individualism. 10. Nationalist Literature.

John E. Clerget,  
503 19th St., N. W.,  
Washington, D. C.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE SECTIONS

#### I. ANDREW JACKSON

**480. New Political Parties.** The conditions sketched in the preceding chapter developed gradually during the course of a generation. No other single generation saw such great changes in American life as were seen by that one whose members were young men in 1830 and old men in 1860. Political events reflected these changes. The two factions of the old Republican (Democratic) party developed into distinct new parties with principles that could not be reconciled.

**481. Jackson Supreme.** At the opening of this period, American politics were overshadowed by one masterful figure — Jackson. Perhaps no other President has had such unlimited power as he had. Refusing to consider himself a mere party leader, he insisted that he was the “standard bearer” of the whole people, and the peculiar circumstances of the election of 1832 confirmed him in that belief. We must now consider features of that election which were omitted from Chapter XXI because they did not bear upon nullification.

Jackson has rightly been called the first real democrat among our presidents. We have seen that the President was intended at first to be practically an elective king (section 367), but that soon the office was transformed into a party leadership. However, this party leader was bound by rigid laws. He was part of a system and had to keep his place in a system. Until Jackson appeared, every holder of the office was a trained statesman who had served a long apprenticeship in politics before being elevated to the presidency. In spite of their differences, all the early Presidents agreed in their respect

for the general system of the government and were at one in their carefulness not to overstep the authority of their office. A striking instance was Jefferson's fear that he might have overstepped his authority in annexing Louisiana (section 394), even though the interests of the country plainly required him to do so.

Jackson, in sharp contrast, had grown up on the frontier where there was little if any realization of the precise nature of the governmental system. He, and the world from which he issued, had but one unfailing test of a law: did it help the country? While the conservative Easterners asked with regard to a measure, Is it constitutional? the frontiersmen asked, Will it accomplish the end desired? Their impulse was to deal with each issue as it arose, settle it as seemed best for the moment, and not to trouble themselves if the lawyer or the student pronounced them inconsistent. Jackson was the very embodiment of the frontier. From the point of view of to-day, it cannot be denied that much of his policy seems to many people indefensible. However, once we have grasped the dominant principle governing his actions, there is nothing in his course that is problematical. He lacked entirely the lawyer's dread of setting a precedent, and sincerely believed that since the will of the people was the source of law, a clear expression of the people's will should supersede all other expressions of authority.<sup>1</sup>

The election of 1832 brought out this attitude in a remarkable way. During Jackson's first term, the state of Georgia had attempted to remove the Cherokee Indians from lands held by them within the state. The case was taken to the Supreme Court of the United States which decided that the

<sup>1</sup> Jackson is generally accused of introducing the "spoils system," and he certainly permitted the application of it to national politics.

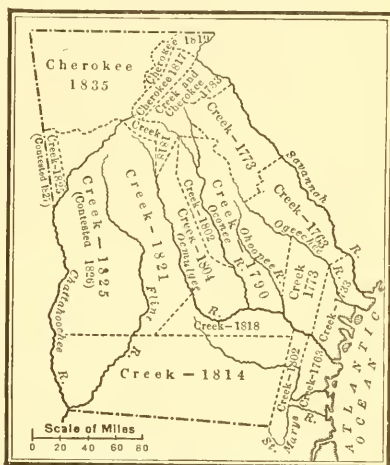
The real originators of this system were certain shrewd New York politicians known as the "Albany regency." One of the ablest of them was Martin Van Buren. Jackson appointed him secretary of state. He had great influence over the President and directed much of his policy. In 1832 Van Buren became vice president.

Indians had a right to remain on their lands. Jackson, however, considered the decision improper and when Georgia defied the court he refused to enforce the court's decision. In the election of 1832, he boldly submitted the question to the American people.<sup>1</sup> If they reelected him they must indorse his position that it was not the part of wisdom to compel a state to retain an Indian population against its will. His sweeping victory was construed by Jackson as an authorization from the people to support Georgia and oppose the Supreme Court. Consequently, Georgia was given her way and the Creeks were eventually removed to the Indian Territory.<sup>2</sup>

#### 482. Jackson's Signifi-

**cance.** The cause of Jackson's immense popularity in 1832 was threefold. First of all, he was a great man. Many people have thought of him as merely

rough and rude. But this will not explain him. Though narrow and without education, he had a force of character that amounted to genius. He impressed the world as a man of iron. His tremendous energy and his inflexible determination drew to him a great host of admirers. He kept



INDIAN CESSIONS IN GEORGIA

<sup>1</sup> It is impossible not to see in this the foreshadowing of those political theories of our day that include the "referendum" and the "recall."

<sup>2</sup> In 1834 Congress organized the Indian Territory. Practically all the Indians east of the Mississippi were gradually removed thither. This policy caused two Indian wars. In 1832 occurred the Black Hawk War in the Northwest, quickly terminated to the disadvantage of the Indians. A part of the Seminoles, however, made their way back to Florida and caused the Second Seminole War. Florida was not cleared of Indians until 1842.

their admiration by the faithfulness of his friendships and the firmness with which he followed up all his undertakings.<sup>1</sup>

But there was far more behind Jackson than mere popular admiration of a strong man. In 1832, in spite of the trouble in South Carolina, every other Southern state except Maryland supported Jackson. To the South, generally, he seemed the deliverer from Clay and Adams and out-and-out nationalism.

There was still a third cause of his strength, — the greatest of all. Forty years had now passed since the formation of the Union and in that period a great social change had taken place. The South, to be sure, had not yet been affected; it was not destined to be affected for thirty years to come. But in the North, East, and most of the West, the conditions of 1789 had passed away. The Northern aristocratic class, to which political leadership was conceded in 1789 (section 349), had largely gone to the wall. The growth of the manufacturing population and the formation of vigorous new communities had put political power in the hands of the mass of the people. They were just beginning to use it. The day had gone by when great families could dominate Northern politics, when Livingstons and Clintons divided New York between them (section 349). All over the North the plain people were clamoring to have a government that was not in the interests of the aristocrats. The Adams and Clay party was thought to lean toward aristocracy. Therefore, all the plain people everywhere hurraed for Jackson, the man of the people, the Westerner, who knew not aristocracy and would not surrender to it. He was nicknamed "Old Hickory" and proclaimed the "standard bearer of the people."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> During his first term he secured to his countrymen a concession from England which they had long desired. By promising that Congress should repeal all restrictions upon the trade of England, he induced the British ministry to open to Americans the ports of the West Indies. Later, in 1836, he forced a settlement by France of claims growing out of French captures of American merchantmen thirty years before.

<sup>2</sup> Enemies of Jackson have charged him with being a despot in the guise of a demagogue. See the famous chapter in Von Holst, "United States," Vol. II, entitled "The Reign of Andrew Jackson."





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ANDREW JACKSON



Supported by the South for sectional reasons, supported by the masses of the North for social reasons, Jackson combined in his following men whose motives for supporting him were widely different. It remained to be seen whether his following would harden into a party. Could it be held together when his masterful personality was no longer at the head of it? That was a great question during his second term, and we shall see, presently, what came of it.

**483. The Bank Question.** Besides the issue of the Georgia Indians (section 481), there was another which also had been submitted to the people in the election of 1832, namely, should the President deal as he thought best with the Bank of the United States?<sup>1</sup> The enemies of Jackson had brought forward during his first term a bill to recharter the bank. Jackson who considered the bank a monopolistic and aristocratic institution vetoed the bill. Clay and his followers then took up the bank charter as a leading issue in the presidential campaign.

It turned out that the popular sentiment was with Jackson and against the bank.<sup>2</sup> This came out so plainly in the course

<sup>1</sup> This was not the bank organized by Hamilton (section 356), the charter of which expired in 1811. The second Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816 (see Macdonald, "Documents," No. 33; Dewey, "Financial History," 145-157). The government held one fifth of its stock, and appointed five of its twenty-five directors.

<sup>2</sup> There seem to have been two chief causes of hostility to the bank. First, for a variety of reasons (see Wilson, "Division and Reunion," sec. 37, and Dewey, "Financial History of the United States," secs. 68-72, 86), many people were interested in state banks most of which were more or less unsound; the competition of the powerful and wealthy Bank of the United States was a constant menace to these weaker banks and was resented by all their supporters. Second, it was known that bank charters were generally granted through political favoritism. The bankers were expected to aid with convenient loans the politicians who got them their charters, and to find money for use in politics. People not directly interested in banking were ready to believe that the Bank of the United States did the same thing, on a great scale, in the interests of the party of Clay.

Furthermore, a considerable portion of the stock of the bank was owned in Europe, and almost all the rest except the government's portion (one fifth) was in the hands of a few Americans, "chiefly of the richest class" (Dewey,

of the campaign that Jackson felt he had been authorized by the people to withdraw from the bank the support of the government. Although under its old charter the bank had still several years to live, the government might destroy its official character by removing the deposits of the United States, of which hitherto the bank had been the repository. Jackson resolved to remove the deposits.<sup>1</sup> In 1833 they were withdrawn and the bank ceased to have a national character.

**484. The Specie Circular.** Having withdrawn the government moneys from the Bank of the United States, Jackson caused them to be deposited in various private banks. The charge was made that in selecting these banks he showed favoritism and therefore they were nicknamed "pet banks."

It was a busy moment all over America and much exporting, especially of cotton, had caused a rise of prices. Speculation was rife. Everybody seemed to be getting rich. By putting large sums of money into the hands of the "pet banks," Jackson unintentionally did the country an injury, for the banks used this money without due regard to its safety. Seeing how prosperous the pet bankers were, other people hastened into the banking business. Presently there was a mania for banking all over the United States. Bank notes were issued so recklessly that people began to be afraid to take

"Financial History," 208). The mass of the Jacksonian democracy felt that the bank was an aristocratic institution, more or less controlled by foreigners. For a significant case of state opposition to the bank, see Bogart, "Taxation of the Second Bank of the United States by Ohio," *American Historical Review*, XVII, 312-331.

<sup>1</sup> There was a legal question as to the authority of the President to remove the deposits without the sanction of Congress, and the secretary of the treasury, Louis McLane, held that the removal was illegal. Jackson forced him to resign. A new secretary, William J. Duane, took the same ground and was removed by the President. At last, Roger B. Taney carried out Jackson's plan. See Dewey, "Financial History," 203-209.

In 1834, though there was a majority of Jackson men in the House, the Senate was against him and Clay induced it to pass a resolution censuring Jackson for removing the deposits. In the next Congress, however, the President commanded a majority in both Houses, and the resolution of censure was expunged from the Senate journal.

them, and at last Jackson himself became alarmed. Suddenly, against the advice of his cabinet, he issued (July 11, 1836) what is known as the Specie Circular.<sup>1</sup> Many of the Western banks had been speculating in public lands, which hitherto they had paid for with the unreliable bank notes that had now fallen under suspicion. The Specie Circular, without any warning, put a stop to the use of bank notes in that connection. Thereafter, only gold or silver would be accepted by the government for public lands. As we shall soon see the effect of the Specie Circular was far-reaching. But that effect did not instantly appear. For the moment it was obscured in the public mind by the purely party questions of the election of 1836.

## II. THE NEW PARTIES

**485. Van Buren.** Jackson had picked out as his successor the vice president, Martin Van Buren, and the influence of the President was sufficient to secure for Van Buren the Democratic nomination. In Jackson's mind, probably that was enough. But Van Buren was a far more adroit politician than was his great leader. He, better than the President, understood the make-up of the Jacksonian party. He understood the difficult problem facing any man who wished to be Jackson's successor. It must not be forgotten that Southerners, generally, supported Jackson for a sectional reason, while his Northern supporters stood by him for a social reason. Could any man but Jackson hold these two groups of supporters together?

Van Buren's political principles commended him to the South. He and a number of Northern politicians were convinced that governmental interference in business had brought nothing but harm to the country. To check the tendency

<sup>1</sup> See Macdonald, "Documents," 327-329; Benton, "Thirty Years' View," I, 676-678, 694-707; Dewey, "Financial History," 224-233; Sumner, "Jackson," 335-336; Von Holst, "United States," II, 184-194; Bassett, "Andrew Jackson," II, chap. xxix.

in that direction they had adopted strict constructionist views. Thus Van Buren appealed to the states' rights sentiment in the South. He was an enemy of the abolitionists and on that issue he appealed to all those numerous Southerners who, whatever their personal views on slavery, joined in demanding that the South be left to deal with slavery in its own time and its own way. As an enemy of the abolitionists and an anti-tariff man, Van Buren carried the South. As the chosen successor of Jackson, he held the Jackson following in the North.<sup>1</sup> Apparently he had solved the problem of knitting together the diverse elements in the Jackson party.

**486. Distribution of the Surplus.** But there were troubles ahead which Van Buren could not prevent. We have seen that Jackson had issued the Specie Circular in order to save the government at the expense of the banks (section 484). After Van Buren was elected, but before he was inaugurated, another disastrous event took place. Shortly before this time, the debt of the United States had been paid off; there was a surplus in the treasury, and Congress, in 1836, had passed an act for distributing it among the states.<sup>2</sup> In January, 1837, those banks having government deposits were called upon to begin paying out the surplus to the states. Nearly \$10,000,000 were demanded by the government. The banks already embarrassed by the effect of the Specie Circular met this demand with great difficulty. They were forced to call in their loans, thus increasing the tension under which all the business of the country was laboring. At the same time the price of cotton (section 484) unexpectedly fell. The whole business world was thrown into confusion and alarm, the blame for which was placed upon the government.

<sup>1</sup> There were several other nominations. The National Republicans, known hereafter as Whigs, were divided among themselves and made a poor showing. Van Buren received one hundred and seventy electoral votes against one hundred and twenty-four.

<sup>2</sup> The surplus amounted to \$42,468,000. All but \$5,000,000 was to be distributed in quarterly payments. Three installments, amounting to some \$28,000,000, were paid.



**487. Panic of 1837.** At this critical moment Van Buren became President. Some two months later (May, 1837), all the banks of the United States suspended specie payments. Business collapsed. This was what is known as "the panic of 1837." Says Professor Hart, "Nine tenths of the men in business in 1836 were bankrupt in 1837."

**488. The President's Courage.** Van Buren is ordinarily thought of as merely an adroit schemer. But his conduct in the face of the panic deserves to be called courageous. The suffering throughout the country was great. Flour — to take but one detail — which, in 1834, had cost \$5 a barrel, in 1837 cost \$11. Everything else went up in price proportionately, and Clay and the Whigs did not fail to make much of the fact. They demanded of the President what he was going to do to save the country from distress. They revived all the old Hamiltonian arguments for using the government to strengthen business — those arguments which the states' rights men, North and South, had rejected.

At such a moment, in the face of such a demand, it took considerable courage for Van Buren to stick to his principles. But he did so.<sup>1</sup> To the demand to know what he would do, he answered in substance that he would do nothing, and in spite of popular clamor against him, he did not give way. Though he consented to call a special session of Congress, his message to it stated with perfect frankness his belief that business must be left to take care of itself and that any interference by the government would do more harm than good.<sup>2</sup> However, he consented to put a stop to the distribution of the surplus, and to allow payments to the government to be made in treasury

<sup>1</sup> See "Messages and Papers," III, 324-346; Benton, "Thirty Years View," II, 9-67; Schurz, "Clay," II, 113-127; Shephard, "Van Buren," 242-277; Von Holst, "United States," II, 173-216.

<sup>2</sup> He also recommended the "independent treasury plan," by which the government moneys are kept at this day. By this plan, instead of depositing with banks, the government has its own system of vaults, located in the large cities throughout the country. See Dewey, "Financial History," 235-237, 252-255; Phillips, "Methods of Keeping the Public Money," 103-111.

notes. The United States again began borrowing money and has remained in debt ever since.

**489. The Democratic Party.** Van Buren's real achievement consisted in defining the position of the Democratic party. By refusing to use the power of the government to force an adjustment of business, Van Buren lost the support of great numbers of voters, but thereby he completed his work of solidifying a new party with definite principles. These were clearly formulated by the Democratic national convention of 1840. The chief ones were: (1) the central government should refrain from interference with the sovereign rights of the states; (2) it should not interfere with business; (3) it should not make internal improvements; (4) it should not establish a tariff; (5) questions of slavery should be left to the various states to deal with as they saw fit.

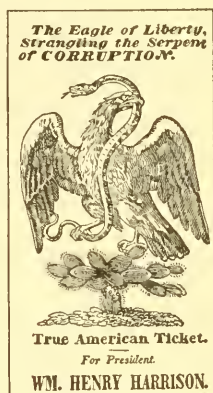
**490. The Whig Party.<sup>1</sup>** The Whigs in 1840 made no official declaration of principles, but the majority of them, it seems fairly certain, were nationalists; they believed in using the government to assist business; they were friendly, to say the least, to all such measures as the tariff. As to slavery, they would not commit themselves either way.

By evading the issue of slavery, they both lost and gained. They lost many Northern votes. Abolitionists held a convention, organized the "Liberty party," and nominated for President, James G. Birney.<sup>2</sup> However, by keeping silence about slavery the Whigs gained more than they lost. Though the South was changing fast and was destined soon to become almost wholly a states' rights region, it had not become so in 1840. There was still a minority of Southerners who believed in "strong" government, who wanted internal improvements by the central government, and were not afraid of a tariff. These men were drawn into the Whig party.

<sup>1</sup> See section 485, note. The name appears to have been first used in the winter of 1834-1835.

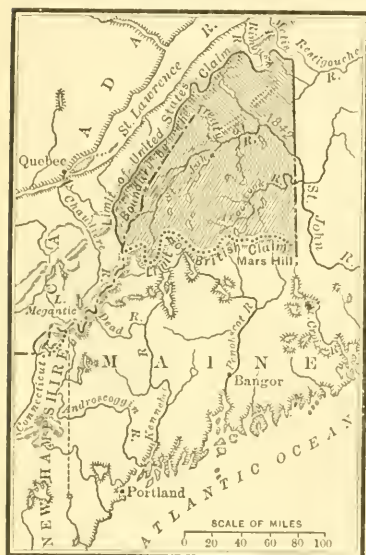
<sup>2</sup> See page 330. He was now living in New York.

**491. The Whig Candidate.** In selecting a candidate, the Whigs had three things to consider. They must hold fast the minority in the South; they must break the hold of the Jackson party on the plain people in the North; they must take advantage of the reaction against Van Buren. They chose a Virginian living in the West, William Henry Harrison, of Ohio. He was a brave soldier of the War of 1812; he was friendly to the South; and his life as a pioneer enabled his partisans to apply to him the very sort of praise that was formerly given to Jackson. He was called the "log cabin" candidate, and loudly proclaimed the true champion of the plain people. Van Buren was denounced as a selfish schemer who lived in luxury and cared only for his own advancement. Though the condition of the country was improving, prosperity had not yet returned, and all those who had suffered in the panic took their revenge by voting against the man who had refused to show them a way out of their troubles. The campaign was one of the most heated and bitter in our history. It ended in what we call to-day a "landslide." The Whigs elected Harrison by a great majority and obtained control of both Houses of Congress.



**492. The Whig Party Divided.** But now occurred a swift succession of unforeseen events, beginning with the sudden death of President Harrison, a month after his inauguration. He was succeeded by the vice president, John Tyler, of Virginia. Tyler had been put on the ticket to secure the Southern vote, and though an anti-Jackson man, he was not in sympathy with many influential Whigs. This fact now became apparent. The Whigs in Congress, led by Clay, had expected to re-establish the Bank of the United States, pass a new tariff act, and spend money on internal improvements. To their amazement, Tyler vetoed a number of Whig measures which had

passed Congress. A furious quarrel between him and the Whig leaders was the immediate result. Before he had been a year in office, his cabinet resigned,<sup>1</sup> and the Whig leaders made a formal announcement that "all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end from that day forth." During the rest of his term he pursued an independent course, acting with the Democrats as often as with the Whigs.



NORTHEAST BOUNDARY

**493. Tariff of 1842.** In spite of their breach with Tyler, the Whigs tried to bring the country back to a high tariff. It will be remembered that the compromise tariff of 1833 (section 459) provided for a gradual reduction of duties until 1842. Two Whig bills providing for a high tariff after 1842 were vetoed by the President. A third bill, however, he signed. It made the duties about what they were in 1832, thus upsetting the compromise which had quieted the nullifiers (section 459).

**494. A New Issue.** Here was ground for a fresh quarrel between Democrats and Whigs, but it was sidetracked by another question which became the chief issue in the campaign of 1844. To bring this question to a head, Calhoun, chief

<sup>1</sup> There was one exception. Webster was secretary of state and busily engaged with the British government settling the boundary of Maine. It had been in dispute since 1783, as the treaty describing the boundary was ambiguous. A considerable tract of country was claimed both by the United States and England. Their dispute had engendered much ill-feeling and had even threatened to produce war. Webster continued in office until the Webster-Ashburton treaty with England was signed. It made the boundary definite and divided the disputed territory about in half. Webster then resigned.

opponent of Clay and all the Whigs, entered Tyler's cabinet as secretary of state. What this question was we must now proceed to consider.

### III. THE TEXAN COMPLICATIONS

**495. Beginnings of Texas.** By the treaty with Spain, in 1819, the Sabine River was accepted as the boundary between the United States and Mexico. Across the Sabine lay the Mexican state of Texas. During the next few years a considerable number of Americans crossed the Sabine and settled in Texas. A large extent of land was granted by the Spanish government to Moses Austin, one of the chief men in the early movement to Texas.

When Mexico revolted against Spain in 1821 and became an independent republic, the Americans in Texas quietly accepted the change of government. Emigration from the United States continued. Under what has been known as "the Constitution of 1824," Mexico enjoyed a federal system and the Americans in the state of Texas were well content.

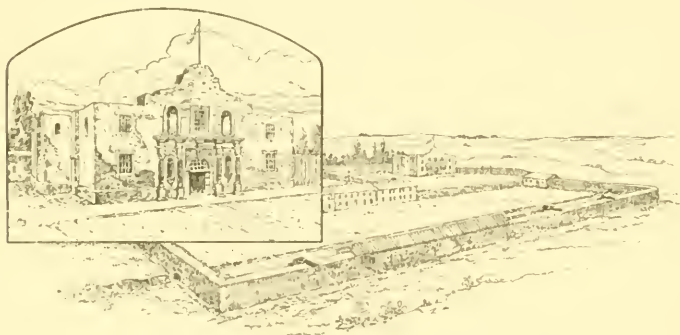
**496. Usurpation of Santa Anna.** The Mexicans, however, were not ripe for republican government and the successive presidents generally made themselves dictators. In 1835 a dictator of unusual ability, Antonio de Santa Anna, had succeeded in crushing the local governments of the various Mexican states with the one exception of Texas. In Texas his enemies took refuge. Being resolved to oppose the dictator, the Texans called a convention to determine their course, which, they knew, might end in war. At this critical moment the Mexican authorities made a rash attempt to seize a cannon belonging to the Texan settlement of Gonzales. A force of volunteers, hastily brought together, withstood the Mexicans and after a sharp fight forced them to retreat,<sup>1</sup> October 2, 1835.

<sup>1</sup> The fight of Gonzales might be called the Lexington of Texan independence. A strange resemblance is to be found in the accidental similarities of the two incidents. In each case an attempt to seize the arms of a discontented region caused a battle with militia and precipitated a war.



**497. Civil War in Texas.** Unofficial war began at once between the Mexican soldiers and bands of Texans variously organized. During the next three months several gallant actions were fought, among which the siege of Béjar, where was a Mexican garrison, was conspicuous. In December the Texans took the town by storm, fighting their way from house to house with most desperate courage and determination.

Meanwhile, representatives of the Texan people had assembled, and on November 7, 1835, made a formal declaration



THE CONVENT AND GROUNDS OF THE ALAMO

to the effect that Texas had taken up arms "in defense of the republican principles of the federal constitution of Mexico of eighteen and twenty-four," and was ready to join with any other states that would resist the dictator. Samuel Houston was named major-general of the forces of Texas. Henry Smith was chosen governor.

**498. The Siege of the Alamo.** Santa Anna was not slow in accepting the challenge of the Texans. Collecting an army he marched upon San Antonio where, in a fortified convent called the Alamo, was a little garrison about a hundred and fifty strong commanded by William Barret Travis. The situation was described by Travis in a public letter dated February 24, 1836. He addressed it "to the People of Texas and all Americans in the World."



"Fellow citizens and compatriots — I am besieged by a thousand or more of the Mexicans under Santa Anna. . . . The enemy has demanded a surrender at discretion, otherwise, the garrison are to be put to the sword, if the fort is taken. . . . I call on you in the name of Liberty, of Patriotism, and everything dear to the American character, to come to our aid with all despatch. The enemy is receiving reinforcements daily and will no doubt increase to three or four thousand in four or five days. If this call is neglected I am determined to sustain myself as long as possible and die like a soldier who never forgets what is due to his own honor and that of his country, Victory or Death!"

**499. Declaration of Independence.** It was while Santa Anna was besieging the Alamo, that a second Texan convention was called together at the town of Washington. By this time all Texas was afire with hatred of the invaders. Letters from the United States urged the convention to declare for independence. It did so. On March 2, 1836, while the little force at the Alamo still held Santa Anna at bay, the Texan declaration of independence was issued. A constitution was at once adopted, a provisional government was set up, with David G. Burnet as provisional president of the Republic of Texas, and a Mexican, Lorenzo de Zavala, vice president.<sup>1</sup>

**500. The War of Independence.** A few days afterward Houston was on the march to relieve the Alamo. At Gonzales he received word that Santa Anna had carried the place by storm (March 6, 1836), and that every man who defended its walls had died at his post. Thereupon, Houston burned Gonzales to prevent its affording shelter to Santa Anna, and retreated northward. He sent word to another Texan force, commanded by Captain J. W. Fannin, to join his own. But Fannin failed to do so. He was surrounded by the Mexicans, and forced to surrender. On March 27 the Mexicans massacred their prisoners in cold blood.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An election was held in the autumn of this same year. Houston became the first regular president of the republic.

<sup>2</sup> The Texan war of independence roused much sympathy in the United States. High-spirited young Americans had joined the Texan forces as volunteers, and many of the prisoners massacred on March 27 were American citi-

This cowardly action was quickly avenged. At San Jacinto Houston and his Texans attacked with irresistible fury the much larger army of Santa Anna and totally routed it (April 21, 1836). Santa Anna himself was taken prisoner. He was released and allowed to return to Mexico only after signing a treaty, in which he promised to cease hostilities and to use his influence in Mexico to secure a recognition of Texan independence.



SAM HOUSTON, FIRST PRESIDENT  
OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS

#### 501. The Republic of Texas.

This was the end of the war for independence. Santa Anna, however, repudiated the treaty he had been forced to sign, but he did not venture to renew hostilities, and in 1837 the United States recognized Texas as an independent republic. France did the same in 1839; England in 1843.

Except for one thing, probably Texas would have at once become a state in the American

Union. The Texans themselves were almost unanimous in desiring annexation. They were opposed in this by certain Northerners who feared that Texas would increase too much the power of the South. Though the Texans were not vehement for slavery, it existed there, and Texas, if admitted, would be a slave state. The influence of the enemies of slavery kept the question of annexation from coming to a head for several years.

**502. Texas and Europe.** Meanwhile, both France and England began to take an interest in Texas. Neither of them

zens. This fact, together with the heroic defense of the Alamo, stirred the hearts of the whole people of the United States. The cry of the moment was "Remember the Alamo!"

appear to have relished the idea of its becoming part of the United States. In England, especially, where antislavery feeling was strong, many people hoped that Texas would not be added to the American slave states. About 1843 various actions of the British ministry pointed to the conclusion that England was endeavoring to heal the breach between Texas and Mexico. On the one hand, Mexico was to acknowledge the independence of Texas; on the other, Texas was to abolish slavery. Thus England hoped both to reduce the area of slavery and also to prevent another important addition to the United States. Once these purposes became apparent, the friends of annexation became active. Of these President Tyler was the chief. Another great annexationist was Calhoun. Another was the secretary of state, Abel P. Upshur. During the winter of 1843-1844 Upshur labored to organize a party in Congress pledged to annexation. In this he was powerfully assisted by Calhoun. On his sudden death, in the spring of 1844, Calhoun seemed the one man to succeed him. We have seen that Tyler appointed Calhoun secretary of state (section 494).

**503. The Issues of 1844.** Hitherto, Tyler had kept his plans comparatively secret. He disclosed them suddenly in April, 1844, when he sent to the Senate a treaty of annexation. The Whig Senate rejected it. However, in both the Whig and Democratic national conventions held the next month, the annexation treaty was the one great issue.<sup>1</sup> The Democrats formally endorsed it, and nominated a strong annexationist, James K. Polk, of Tennessee. The Whigs were not so clear about their position, but their candidate, Clay, announced himself opposed to annexation.

The sentiment in the North against annexation was very strong. Sectional feeling was beginning to run high and there was vehement objection to adding this great slave state to the southern group. As a countercheck to this objection, the

<sup>1</sup> The Liberty party had already held its convention. It renominated Birney.

Democrats brought forward a scheme to increase also the area of the North. They made a political issue of the Oregon question. We must now see what that question was.

#### IV. THE OREGON QUESTION

**504. The Russians in America.** That portion of our country now occupied by the states of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, was formerly known by the one name — Oregon. Its modern history may be traced back to the schemes of the Russian emperor, Peter the Great. Pursuing a line of policy



THE OREGON COUNTRY

mapped out by Peter, his successors attempted to extend their dominion from Asia across the Pacific to north-west America. The great navigator Bering explored the northwest coast, and as a result of his discoveries, Russian companies were formed to develop the fur trade of the Northwest. Several Russian-American settlements were

dotted along the Pacific coast, the most southern being made in what is now the upper part of California.

In 1821 Russia served notice to the rest of the world that her empire included both sides of the Pacific north of the fifty-first degree, and that the intervening ocean was a "closed sea" from which all but Russians were excluded.<sup>1</sup> John Quincy Adams, then secretary of state, protested. He would allow Russia the Pacific coast of America north of the fifty-

<sup>1</sup> Russian aggression in North America was part of the program of the Holy Alliance in 1823. The league of absolutist powers, — Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, Spain, — may be likened to a vast octopus advancing one gigantic tentacle across Siberia and down into America from the northwest, while another tentacle equally huge was to move to meet it from the east. See an excellent summary by Professor McMaster, in "Cambridge Modern History," VII, 364-371.

fifth parallel, but he denied that she had any claim south of it. This was the beginning of diplomatic contentions, at the end of which Russia abandoned much and the United States conceded a little. In 1824 Russia accepted as the southern boundary of her American possessions the line of  $54^{\circ} 40'$  north latitude.

**505. Americans on the Pacific.** This arrest of the Russian advance left open a splendid region extending along the Pacific coast from Alaska to California. Who was entitled to this region now became an issue between the United States and Great Britain. We have seen that the Americans had a settlement at Astoria on the Columbia, which river had been discovered by an American sea captain as early as 1792. But the Hudson Bay Company had also pushed its way into the Northwest. It had control of what was later British Columbia and laid claim also to Oregon. The appeal of the Hudson Bay Company to the British government to support its claim brought on tortuous negotiations between the two countries. England demanded for her southern boundary the Columbia, while the United States claimed the whole region, even to the Russian line of  $54^{\circ} 40'$ .

**506. The Indian Mission.** Meanwhile, Americans made their way overland to Oregon. In 1832 Captain Bonneville took a wagon train across the mountains. Nathaniel J. Wyeth followed with a party of settlers two years after. Some of these early visitors to the Oregon country — we know not which one — made a deep impression on certain Indians, by means of talk about a priceless "Book" in which was hidden the secret of all things. The silent, imaginative Indians decided to go in search of it, and four of them made the long journey to St. Louis. In the way that they conducted their mission, the singular character of the Indian appeared, for they spoke to no one of their purpose, but trusted their own eyes alone. For some time these silent warriors out of the unknown West walked about St. Louis looking for the "Book." Not being able to discover it, they gave up their



search and went away, as silent as they came. They returned home to tell their people that the mission to St. Louis was in vain, that the "Book" was not there.

**507. Missionaries to the Indians.** What the Indians were seeking was, of course, the Bible. Fortunately their purpose was discovered. It led speedily to the sending of missionaries to Oregon. Not only men but women prepared to go, although the best-informed explorers assured them that no



AN INDIAN CHIEF

women would reach Oregon alive. Mrs. H. H. Spaulding and Mrs. Marcus Whitman, wives of two missionaries, were the first of a number of daring women who risked the perils of the Oregon trail. Their courage is made plain when we reflect that George Catlin, chief authority at the time on Indian conditions, declared: "The hostile Indians that hover around the convoy would fight against any odds to capture the women." On their way west they were met by Catlin, who begged them to turn back. He described a massacre in which the

Indians killed all the men of a party in order to carry off into horrible captivity one woman. But nothing could turn these women from their purpose. Already Mr. Spaulding had tried to persuade his wife to turn back, but added that the decision "shall be left to you after we have prayed together." Mrs. Spaulding, after a space of silence, had replied, "I am ready not to be bound only but also to die on the Rocky Mountains for the name of the Lord Jesus."

**508. The American Occupation.** In this heroic spirit the American occupation of Oregon began. A number of people joined the missionary caravan, which grew, at last, to some two hundred persons and six hundred animals. On July 4,





THE OCCUPATION OF THE NORTHWEST



1836, they entered South Pass, on the divide between the Mississippi Valley and the valley of the Columbia. At the western end of the pass, where they were definitely on "the Pacific slope," the company halted. They raised the American flag, knelt beneath it, held a service of prayer, and then formally took possession of the country in the name of the United States. It is impossible, in this connection, not to think of another religious service when Columbus raised the flag of Spain on an island in the West Indies, three hundred and fifty years before.

**509. Whitman's Ride.** As American interest in Oregon increased, the Hudson Bay Company became alarmed. It tried to induce the British ministry to take a firm stand and demand the withdrawal of the Americans from Oregon. In 1842 Marcus Whitman got word of this and determined that something should be done by way of countercheck. He started east for the purpose of rousing the country to take action. This return journey is known in Oregon as "Whitman's Ride." It was a long, hard journey through the snows of a severe winter.

Whitman's ride contributed greatly to stimulate the growing interest in Oregon. The two religious organizations by which the early missionaries had been sent out, the American Board of Foreign Missions and the Methodist Board of Missions, continued their support, and when Whitman returned in 1843, he guided a party of immigrants numbering about a thousand.<sup>1</sup>

**510. "Fifty-four Forty or Fight !".** And yet England still claimed Oregon at least as far south as the Columbia River. Thus things stood when the Democrats determined to annex Texas and looked about them for some way of quieting the

<sup>1</sup> See Schouler, "United States," VI, 505-514; McMaster, "United States," VII, 286-302; Barrows, "Oregon," 160-254; Bancroft, "Oregon," I, chaps. v, xiii-xv; Bourne, "Legend of Marcus Whitman," *American Historical Review*, VI, 276-300; Coman, "Economic Beginnings of the Far West," II, 113-166.

objection that it would increase unduly the power of the South. Oregon served their purpose. They put forward the extreme American claim, demanding the whole Northwest as far as the Russian settlements. So, one of the cries of the campaign was, " Fifty-four forty or fight! "

## V. POLK AND HIS PLANS

**511. Clay's Blunder.** A blunder of the Whig candidate helped the Democrats to win. Clay had a talent for devising compromises and more than once this talent delivered his country from political discord, but in 1844 it proved the ruin of his own career. Thinking he saw a chance to compromise on the annexation question, he wrote a letter implying that he might favor annexation at some time in the future. This position, he hoped, would win him votes in the South. But it failed to do so and instead lost him the antislavery vote, which was especially strong in New York. Many Whigs, who would otherwise have supported Clay, now refused to do so, and cast their ballots for Birney. As a consequence, New York was carried by Polk and that one state determined the election. Clay had thrown away his last chance to be President of the United States.

**512. Annexation of Texas.** A number of senators looked upon the election as a command from their constituents to admit Texas. Accordingly, they voted for a joint resolution in favor of annexation. The resolution passed both Houses of Congress and was signed by Tyler (March 1, 1845).

**513. The Breach with Mexico.** Tyler thus bequeathed to his successor a quarrel with Mexico. It was opened only two days after the inauguration of Polk by a formal protest from the Mexican minister against the annexation of Texas. The new President replied that Texas was an independent power and if it wished to enter the American Union, no other power had the right to interfere. Thereupon, the Mexican government broke off diplomatic relations with the United

States. At the same time Texas was warned that if she entered the Union, Mexico would declare war. The Texan reply to this threat was made through a convention which voted, July 4, 1845, to accept the terms of annexation proposed by the United States.<sup>1</sup>

Though American troops were at once sent into Texas to defend the new state should Mexico invade it, Polk did not at that time desire war. He now had in hand three distinct undertakings: (1) with the annexation of Texas, the United States assumed the claim of Texas to certain territory which Mexico vehemently claimed as her own; (2) there was the old contention, still unsettled, with regard to the Northwest boundary; (3) in addition, there was a scheme not yet made public but close to Polk's heart, and this was nothing less than the purchase from Mexico of her great province of California. To restore friendly relations with Mexico and accomplish his



TEXAS BOUNDARY PROBLEM

<sup>1</sup> The admission of Texas was not completed until February, 1846, when a state government replaced the former national government of Texas. Said the retiring president, Anson Jones, in his valedictory: "The lone star of Texas, which ten years since arose amid clouds over fields of carnage and shone obscurely for a while, has culminated, and, following an inscrutable destiny, has passed on and become fixed forever in that glorious constellation which all freemen and lovers of freedom in the world must reverence and adore — the American Union."

purposes by negotiation was the aim of the President during several months of fruitless diplomacy in which the Mexican leaders proved to be masters of double-dealing. His patience exhausted, Polk was on the point of adopting a more peremptory course, when news was received at Washington of a clash between American and Mexican troops on the Rio Grande.

Polk had previously instructed General Zachary Taylor to cross the Nueces River, which Mexico claimed as her bound-



WINFIELD SCOTT

ZACHARY TAYLOR

ary, and advance to the Rio Grande, the boundary claimed by Texas. There, Taylor was attacked by the Mexicans, April 25, 1846. Polk speedily informed Congress that "now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States and shed American blood on American soil." Congress at once appropriated funds for "the prosecution of the existing war."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was bitter contention throughout the country with regard to the war. The Whigs, though opposed, gave it unwilling support "on the ground that the army had been forced into a perilous position and must be rescued." The Liberty party was unconditional in its opposition. Their attitude was brilliantly expressed in the "Biglow Papers" of Lowell.



**514. The Northwestern Settlement.** However, the summer passed before an American army could be assembled for the invasion of Mexico, and meanwhile Polk brought one of his three undertakings to a successful close. He was enabled to do so because England, at this critical moment, proposed to compromise the Oregon question by fixing the boundary at the forty-ninth parallel. Congress advised Polk to accept the compromise, and by a treaty drawn up in June, 1846, the long dispute was finally settled.<sup>1</sup>

**515. The Mexican War.** Turning upon Mexico, the Americans now demonstrated their instinctive military talent. Taylor's campaign in northern Mexico is one of the most brilliant episodes in our military annals. He was uniformly successful against greatly superior numbers. The climax of his advance was a crushing defeat of the Mexicans in the hard-fought battle of Buena Vista, February 22-23, 1847.

Equally remarkable was the success of an American army which entered Mexico from the east. General Winfield Scott took his forces by sea to Vera Cruz, whence he marched upon the city of Mexico. The battle of Cerro Gordo, April 18,



THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE MEXICAN WAR

<sup>1</sup> See Polk's "Diary," index; also, an excellent brief account in McMaster, "United States," VII, 407-420. The line of the forty-ninth parallel had previously been proposed by the Americans and rejected by England.

1847, cleared the way for the fall of the Mexican capital, which was entered by Scott, September 14, 1847.

The war was closed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848. Mexico gave up all claim to the country north of the Rio Grande and, in addition, ceded to the United States her northern provinces of New Mexico<sup>1</sup> and California. The United States paid Mexico \$15,000,000.

Thus Polk had concluded all of his three undertakings, but the final result of his course formed a startling surprise to the President and his party. To understand this surprise we must once more pause and review a train of past events.

## VI. CALIFORNIA

**516. Earliest California.** The beautiful and romantic region of California was first explored by the Spanish conquerors of Mexico. It is probable that the first English spoken in California was uttered by the crew of Sir Francis Drake,<sup>2</sup> who is thought to have put into the harbor of San Francisco<sup>3</sup> while on his voyage around the world. Hardly any more English was heard in California during the next two hundred years. Meanwhile, a few Spanish settlers came in, and some small Spanish towns were built. Missionary priests from Spain erected monasteries, or "missions," which were extensive, thick-walled buildings, each inclosing a courtyard bordered by an arcade. These missions formed centers for the picturesque Old-World life which is the local background of California history.

<sup>1</sup> This cession included all of the present area of the West from Texas to Oregon, except a small portion along the present border of Mexico. This latter portion was bought from Mexico in 1853 and was known as "the Gadsden Purchase."

<sup>2</sup> It is said that Drake received some sort of submission from the Indians and proclaimed the region English soil.

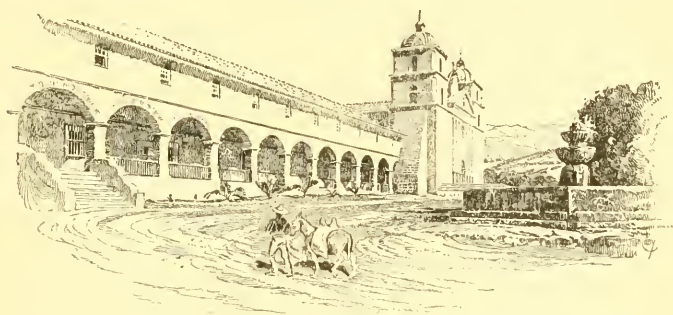
<sup>3</sup> Some students insist that the harbor visited by Drake was the one now known as Drake's Bay. See Royce, "California," 10-11; Bancroft, "California," I, 81-94.





**517. Americans in California.** Early in the nineteenth century bold adventurers from the United States began to make their way to California. In those days it was an almost fabulous land separated from the settled country by an enormous extent of trackless mountain and unknown desert. Nevertheless that lure of the West which has affected our history so deeply did its final work in drawing Americans across the western desert to the genuine land of the sunset, — California.

As early as 1820, Major Long explored the Rocky Mountains and opened the Sante Fe trail to the southwest. In



SANTA BARBARA MISSION, CALIFORNIA

1826 Jedediah H. Smith led a party of American trappers to California. About the same time began trade by sea between California and New England round Cape Horn. By 1836 there were several hundred Americans in California, and a number of them took part in the "Alvarado revolution," which came near making California a sovereign state, but eventually failed.<sup>1</sup> Soon afterward a dashing young officer of the United States, Captain John C. Frémont, explored the northern Rockies and found a way across them to California. The name of "Pathfinder," given him in consequence, has been applied to him ever since.

<sup>1</sup> See brief review in Royce, "California," 24-28; full account in Bancroft, "California," III.

In the wake of the Pathfinder, Americans began making their way along the difficult northern trail, where the hardships were such that all but the bravest faltered. A famous instance has been enshrined in the memory of California as typical of the sufferings of the first comers. What is known as the "Donner Party" numbered, at the start, eighty-seven people, men, women, and children. They lost their way and were overtaken amid snow-clad mountains by frightful storms which rendered the passage of the mountains during the remainder of that winter all but impossible. For months they camped, starving among the snows. Only a pitiful remnant was at length found by rescuers and taken to Sutter's Fort in the Sacramento Valley. The rest had died of cold and starvation.

**518. California Republic.** At first the relations between the American emigrants and the native Californians were friendly. But when trouble arose between the United States and Mexico, the Americans and the Mexicans of California began to look upon each other with distrust. Presently, wild rumors began to pass from mouth to mouth. It was reported that Mexico meant to drive out all the Americans. In June, 1846, the two races suddenly began fighting. The first blow was struck by the Americans, who seized the town of Sonoma and made it their base for rallying an army. They raised at Sonoma the now famous "bear flag," a white flag on which was painted a grizzly bear and the words "California Republic."

Frémont at that time was still exploring in California. Feeling that here was a great chance to strike a blow for American supremacy in the West, he hurried to Sonoma and took command of the revolt.

**519. Conquest of California.** The conquest of California by the Americans went forward with great rapidity. An American fleet had been sent to the Pacific in anticipation of such an emergency, and as soon as it was known that the Mexican War had begun, the fleet acted. Commodore Sloat



landed at Monterey, raised the American flag, and proclaimed California annexed to the United States (July 7, 1846).

Frémont organized a force of riflemen — his “California battalion” — and the naval authorities named him provisional governor. However, the conquest was not yet accomplished and the act of Frémont most deserving of praise was yet to take place. The native Californians rallied against the Americans, but on January 8–9, 1847, at the San Gabriel River, they were defeated by a force of Americans commanded by Commodore Stockton and General Stephen Kearney,<sup>1</sup> who had advanced against them from the south. Frémont at the same time was marching against them from the north. The defeated Californians hastened to make their submission to Frémont, preferring to trust his mercy rather than that of Kearney, for the latter had threatened them with destruction. They had judged well. Frémont pardoned them all.<sup>2</sup> This generous action marked the close of the colonial period of California history.

## VII. REORGANIZATION OF PARTIES

**520. The Western Problem.** We have seen that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo confirmed the United States in the possession of California. Thus, through the rapid acquisition of new regions — Texas, Oregon, California — the United States had so enlarged its area that a distinctly new section had been created, the Farther West. The absorbing question

<sup>1</sup> Kearney had started westward along the Santa Fe trail at the opening of the war. He occupied the town of Santa Fe, August 18, 1846, declared New Mexico annexed to the United States, and organized a civil government. Thence he pushed on to California.

<sup>2</sup> This action led to a bitter dispute between Frémont and Kearney as to who was the superior officer. It ended in Frémont's being summoned to Washington to be tried by court martial on the charge of mutiny. He was found guilty but was pardoned by President Polk. Resigning from the army, he returned to California to make his home there. When California became a state he returned to Washington as a senator.

of 1848 was — how should the Farther West be organized, should it be opened or closed to slavery?

Polk had schemed to open a considerable part, at least, to slavery. In opposition to him various Northern leaders demanded that slavery be excluded altogether from the Farther West.<sup>1</sup> A middle ground was taken by those who proposed to extend the line of the Missouri Compromise to the Pacific, cutting California in two. There were excited debates on the subject in Congress, in 1848, but nothing was accomplished except the organization of the territory of Oregon. After much contention both Houses had consented to let Oregon be organized without slavery. Congress then adjourned and the dispute was taken up by the national party conventions.

**521. The Changed Parties.** And now it became plain that a transformation had recently taken place in American politics. It will be understood most readily through a brief review of the history of the parties between 1836 and 1848. In 1836, when Van Buren was elected, the Democrats represented, at least in the North and West, the extreme of Jacksonian faith in popular government. Van Buren, however, through his course in 1837 (section 489), gave his party a new significance. He alienated many of the followers of Jackson but secured to the remainder of the party a genuine unity. In this second phase of the Jacksonian party, though it was taken for granted that the people should control politics, the matters chiefly insisted upon were general questions of public policy not involving class distinctions.

This was an inevitable change, because the popular move-

<sup>1</sup> This proposition, ignoring the Missouri Compromise, was first made in 1846. Polk asked Congress for \$2,000,000 to be used in "negotiations" with Mexico. David Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved an amendment to the bill appropriating the money. This was the famous "Wilmot Proviso," which declared that "as an express and fundamental condition to the acquisition of any territory . . . neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory." The bill failed, but it marked the opening of a new and more vindictive stage of the long contention over slavery.

ment all over the North and West could not be confined to any one party.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the Whigs — who were not really in sympathy with the masses — had promptly surrendered to the popular movement and made every effort not to seem a party of aristocrats. They had sought to make it appear that their doctrine of a “strong” government not afraid to interfere with business was a benefit to the mass of the people. It was with this argument that they elected Harrison in 1840. Thereafter, no class distinction separated the two parties, whose antagonism was now based on genuine difference of political principle. In the main they had revived the old parties of the previous generation. The Democrats held the principles of Jefferson; they had thrown off all nationalistic tendencies and based their policy consistently on the two ideas of states’ rights and non-interference of the government in business. The Whigs, on the other hand, had frankly revived the principles of Hamilton; they wanted the states subordinated to the central government, and they wanted that government to have a free hand to legislate as it thought best with regard to business. Each side strove to prove that its principles were best for rich and poor alike, for both the high and the low.

**522. The New Slavery Question.** However, we have not yet perceived the whole of the change that had taken place since Van Buren’s election. In the twelve years between 1836 and 1848 the southern wing of the Democratic party had ac-

<sup>1</sup> Unless this is steadily borne in mind, neither the later history of the parties nor the differing social structures of North and South in 1860 can be understood. Even the significance of Jackson is frequently misstated. He is spoken of as the beginner of an era. In a sense he was, but still more truly he was the closer of a gradual social revolution, which began almost with the beginning of the Union and found triumphant expression in Jackson. The moment it triumphed, all politicians accepted the fact and immediately began building upon it. Immediately, popular control of politics became the condition assumed by all, and thereupon men began recombining to express general principles of government under this condition. The key to what follows is the fact that this revolution was at first northern and western, and did not, for another generation, affect the South.

cepted the domination of that group of politicians who held the new view with regard to slavery (section 471), maintaining that it was a positive good for both black and white. The great Calhoun had joined this group and used his wonderful genius in spreading its views. He declared that slavery was the cornerstone of Southern society, that it must be systematically encouraged, and that there must be new slave states.

The attitude toward slavery, now that so much fresh territory had been acquired, gave politics a new aspect in 1848. Twelve years before, when Van Buren became the champion of the South against the abolitionists, this question had not existed. Slavery was then on the defensive, and Garrison was seeking to interfere with it in states where it had long been established. Many Northerners, who personally disapproved of slavery, joined with those who thought it a good thing in telling Garrison to mind his own business. That was Van Buren's position in 1836. But in 1848 slavery was on the increase. The question was now, not whether slavery should be let alone, but whether it should be assisted to grow.

This question, as soon as it was clearly perceived, revealed a difference of opinion among Northern Democrats. Some of them, it appeared, were quite willing to acquiesce in the new-style Southern view and encourage slavery, but a great number of them were not. The latter, the moment slavery showed signs of expanding, felt that they must oppose it even if they had to withdraw from their party. Among these was the great organizer of the party, Van Buren.

The Democratic presidential nominee, Lewis Cass of Michigan, was an out-and-out friend of slavery. Rather than support him, Van Buren and other Democrats revolted. Many Democrats left the party and became organizers of the "Free-Soil" movement. This must not be confused with the abolition movement, for these seceding Democrats were willing to let slavery alone where it then existed, but were unconditionally opposed to its extension into the new territory recently ac-

quired. The "Free-Soilers" held a national convention at Buffalo. They nominated Van Buren for President, and for vice president Charles Francis Adams, the talented son of John Quincy Adams.<sup>1</sup>

**523. Election of Taylor.** The election of 1848 was decided by two things. One was the personal popularity of the Whig candidate, General Taylor, who had borne himself so gallantly in the Mexican War. The other was the effect of the Democratic split on the vote of New York. The seceding Free-Soilers drew off so many votes from Cass that Taylor was enabled to carry the state and was elected.

**524. Democratic Party after 1848.** Few national elections have been more significant. It fixed the issue that remained the absorbing one until the outbreak of the Civil War. This was: Shall slavery be extended into the territories? The election also consolidated a party that was bent on answering "Yes." This was the Democratic party, which now, through the secession of its Free-Soil members, became all of one mind on the subject of slavery.

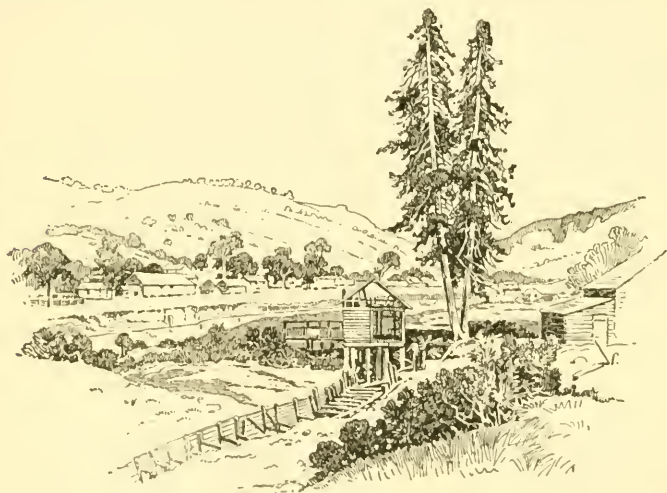
## VIII. THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

**525. The Congress of 1850.** Thus everything was ready for a great struggle in the next Congress, which was due to meet December 3, 1849. The regular Democrats had a majority in the Senate. Neither Democrats nor Whigs had a majority in the House. There, a small group of Free-Soilers held the balance of power. It was plain that any proposition relating to the West or to slavery would be fought over with great bitterness.

**526. Gold.** Between the election of this Congress in 1848 and its meeting in 1849, a new factor was added to the problem, already so distressingly complex. All of a sudden the people

<sup>1</sup> The Liberty party was effaced politically by the Free-Soil party. Extreme abolitionists continued hostile to the principles of this new party, but they ceased nominating candidates for President.

of California organized a state government, and demanded admission to the Union.<sup>1</sup> This sudden popular upheaval was a result of the discovery of gold. In January, 1848, some bits of gold were washed out of the earth at Sutter's Fort. The discovery had a magical effect. From the coast settlements of California almost every one rushed into the interior. In the East, also, the news caused wild excitement. Thousands of the most adventurous men of the East packed up and



SUTTER'S FORT

started for California — some by the long voyage round Cape Horn, some overland. Many perished of hardship on the way, but great numbers, in the course of the next year, reached their goal. These were the now famous "Forty-niners" of California. In that one year the American population of California increased from a few hundred to more than a hundred thousand.

**527. Californian Government.** There was no machinery of government with which to control this great number of

<sup>1</sup> In this bold move they had the encouragement of Taylor.



hardy and often reckless men. Therefore, they took matters into their own hands. They had in them the instinctive sense of free representative government inherited from many generations of self-governing Americans. This instinct was expressed in a convention which assembled September 1, 1849, at Monterey. Three important things were done by this convention. It drew up a plan of government; it forbade slavery; and it marked out the boundaries which the Californians agreed to demand as the limits of their proposed state. The work of the convention was ratified by popular vote November 13, 1849.<sup>1</sup>

**528. The Problem of Congress.** All this was done without the least authority from Congress. When Congress met, in December, the state of California was already in existence. It was composed of as bold and hardy men as were to be found anywhere, and there were many thousands of them. Here was a factor in the situation, unsuspected when the Congress was elected but with which it now had to reckon. Plainly there were but three courses before it. It might refuse to recognize the self-constituted state and order a second conquest of California, — a conquest of the Americans there. It might accept the state as an accomplished fact with its prohibition of slavery and admit it to the Union. It might attempt to divide the state in two. In order to defend any of these courses, Congress would have to agree upon a general principle by which to deal with slavery in the future. The situation, at the opening of 1850, seemed well-nigh desperate.

**529. The Compromise Debates.** During the better part of the year the various factions in Congress fought over this

<sup>1</sup> These founders of the free state of California were animated by much the same motives as the Free-Soilers of the East. Among them were many Southerners. Very few, if any, were abolitionists. But all were bent on securing the new land for those who sought fortune through their own toil; and all meant to exclude the slaveholder, whose coming would force the free white pioneer to compete with unpaid labor. Their bill of rights began, "All men are by nature free and independent and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining safety and happiness."

great matter. All the chief political leaders took part. The older generation was represented by Clay, Webster, Calhoun. Among the young men, who were destined to play great parts in the future, were such Northerners as Seward of New York, Chase of Ohio, and Douglas of Illinois. Prominent among the younger Southerners were Stephens and Toombs of Georgia, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.

In the course of their contentions, all their cardinal principles were fully stated. The irreconcilable difference between nationalists and states' rights men was put as bluntly as possible. The debates were given a tragic appearance — as well as a tragic significance — by the failing health of one of the chief figures. Calhoun was dying. Nevertheless, he insisted upon taking his place in the Senate, though at times he was too feeble to trust his voice in speaking. Only his unconquerable will kept him alive during these trying scenes. His greatest speech he wrote out and had read to the Senate by John M. Mason. During the reading Calhoun sat motionless — plainly in the shadow of death.

The states' rights view of the Union — namely, that it was a mere league from which any state could withdraw whenever it chose — received final expression in this debate. It was stated best by Southerners but was practically endorsed by some of the Northerners. Some of the Southerners opposed it. Among these was Samuel Houston, Senator from Texas. Though Calhoun frankly threatened secession if the South were not given a fair share of the new country, Houston made a sensation by declaring that he would stand by the Union. On March 7 Webster delivered a famous speech. "There can be no such thing as peaceable secession," said he; "disruption . . . must produce war and such a war as I will not describe. . . ." Here was the nationalist principle stated without reserve. Clay was equally unconditional. He declared that whoever attempted disunion would be a "traitor," and added, "I hope he will meet the fate of a traitor."

Nevertheless, both Clay and Webster, with many others

among the nationalists, shrank from forcing the issue. By degrees all considerations merged in one — anxiety for the Union. Clay took the lead in devising a compromise. Webster ably seconded him, and though some extreme nationalists charged Webster with treachery to his side, a compromise was finally brought about.<sup>1</sup> It embraced a number of provisions. Only two, however, were of lasting significance: (1) the western country was divided between slavery and freedom, California and Oregon continuing free, while Texas and all the remainder — covering the present states of New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, and part of Colorado — was opened to slavery; (2) a severe law was passed for the pursuit and capture of fugitive slaves escaping into free states.<sup>2</sup>

**530. Substance of the Compromise of 1850.** Stated broadly, the compromise admitted that the Union now embraced two distinct sections, doubtfully united. It settled a few points as to the future relations of these sections and sharply defined their boundaries on the map. In the very nature of things, as we can see to-day, it was a temporary arrangement — a mere truce, not a real peace. And yet at the time people were so eager for any sort of peace that it was hailed with rejoicing. The men of 1850 — all, that is, but a few extremists — now assured each other that there was an end of such contentions, and that the terrible slavery question was “finally settled.”

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings*, 370-415; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 71, 81-84, 87-108; *Documents*, Nos. 46, 50,

<sup>1</sup> The compromise was expressed in five bills. It is a question whether President Taylor would have signed them. His sudden death and the succession of Vice President Fillmore, July, 1850, made certain the completion of the compromise.

<sup>2</sup> The fugitive slave law of 1793 (section 401, note) had been rendered ineffective by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1842 (*Sprigg vs. Pennsylvania*, see Johnson, “Readings,” 416) laying down the principle that state officers could not be compelled to execute the federal statute. The fugitive slave law of 1850 (see Macdonald, “Source Book,” No. 106; “Documents,” No. 82) provided federal machinery for its execution.

52, 54, 57-68, 70-84; BENTON, *Thirty Years' View*, I, chaps. cxliv, cxlv; II, chaps. xxiv, cxxxv-cxliii, clxxxiv-cxcvii; POLK, *Diary*; GARRISON, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas*; FREMONT, *Report*; HART, *Contemporaries*, III, Nos. 158-162, 185-179; IV, Nos. 7-22; JOHNSTON, *American Orations*, II; MOORE, *Digest of International Law*, (Texas) I, 277, 274, 446-457; (Oregon) I, 259, 260, 265, 457-458, 462, 463; II, 277; V, 720; (California) I, 46, 291, 306, 315, 317, 323.

**Secondary Accounts.** COMAN, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, I, 28-375; II, 75-331; *Industrial History*, 227-235, 243-265; SCHOUER, *United States*, IV, 359-550; V, 1-260; VON HOLST, *Constitutional History*, II, 1-39, 553-570; III, chaps. iii-viii, xiii-xvi; RHODES, *United States*, I, 75-302; WILSON, *Division and Reunion*, secs. 34-52, 67-86; *American People*, IV, 88-128; GARRISON, *Westward Extension*; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 206-257; TURNER, *New West*, chaps. v-viii; SEMPLE, *Geographic Conditions*, chaps. x-xii; BURGESS, *Middle Period*, chaps. xiii-xvi; SMITH, *The Annexation of Texas*; DAVIS, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, I, chaps. ii, iii; SMITH, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 48-120; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 102-109; SATO, *Land Question*, 60-69; SPARKS, *Expansion*, 296-309, 319-350; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 273-325; LATANE, *United States and Spanish America*, 105-116, 176-194; *American Relations in the Pacific*, 72-123; SCHURZ, *Henry Clay*, II, 199-415; HUNT, *Calhoun*, 199-321; LODGE, *Webster*, 265-333; McLAUGHLIN, *Lewis Cass*, 175-292; ROOSEVELT, *T. H. Benton*, 210-289; MORSE, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 1-93; BANCROFT, *W. H. Seward*, I, 1-332; HART, *Chase*, 95-132; ELLIOTT, *Sam Houston*, 122-133; HOWARD, *General Taylor*, 76-294; BROWN, *Douglas*, 1-81; WRIGHT, *General Scott*, 149-288; WILSON, *General Grant*, 1-73; GARRISON, *Texas*; WINN, *Mormons*; ROYCE, *California*; RICHMAN, *California under Spain and Mexico*; PARKMAN, *The Oregon Trail*; BARROWS, *Oregon*; THWAITES, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*; E. G. BOURNE, *The Legend of Marcus Whitman* (*American Historical Review*, VI, 276-300); GARRISON, *First Stage of the Movement for the Annexation of Texas* (*American Historical Review*, X, 72-96).

**Topics for Special Report.** 1. Jackson. 2. The Opposition to the United States Bank. 3. The Policy of Van Buren. 4. The Republic of Texas. 5. The Alaska Boundary. 6. The Occupation of Oregon. 7. Polk's Negotiations with Mexico. 8. Early Settlers of California. 9. The Formation of the State of California. 10. The Compromise of 1850.

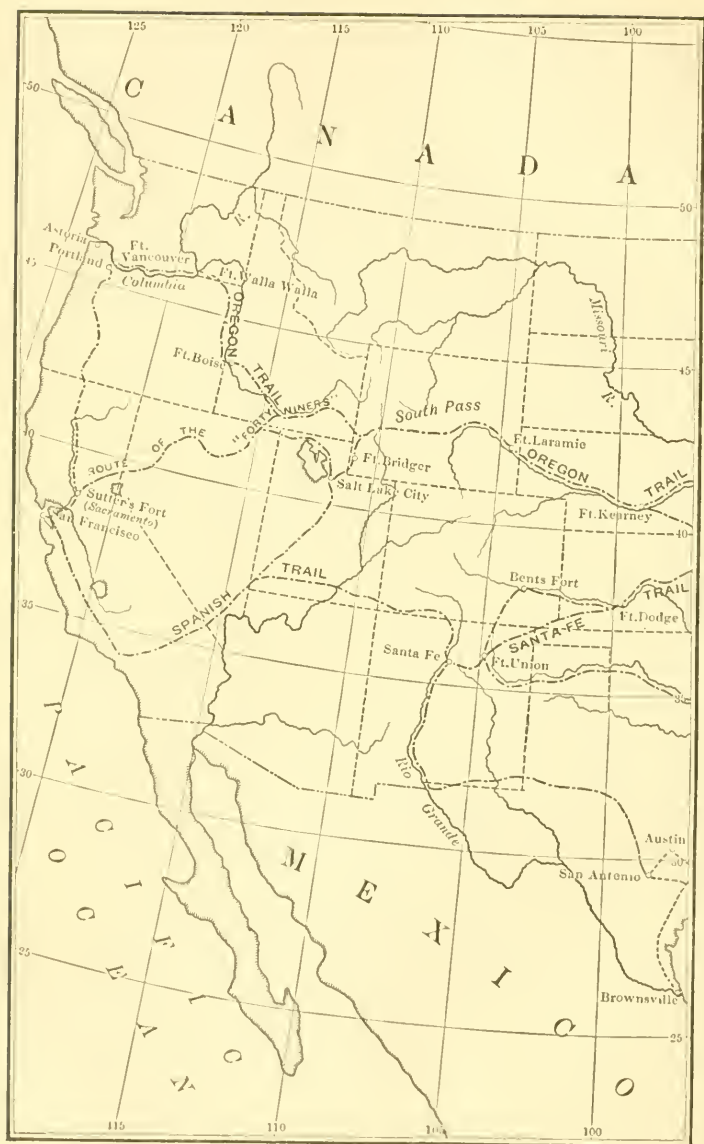
## CHAPTER XXIV

### THE MIDDLE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

**531. Merchant Marine.** The country in which these fierce disputes took place was now fast approaching the stature of a first-class power. Its energy had established commercial relations with all parts of the world. The fast-sailing "clipper ships" of the Americans were famous upon all the seas. Steamships, however, were beginning to compete with clippers. In 1847 Congress began granting subsidies to steamship lines across the ocean, giving \$850,000 a year to a line running to Bremen.

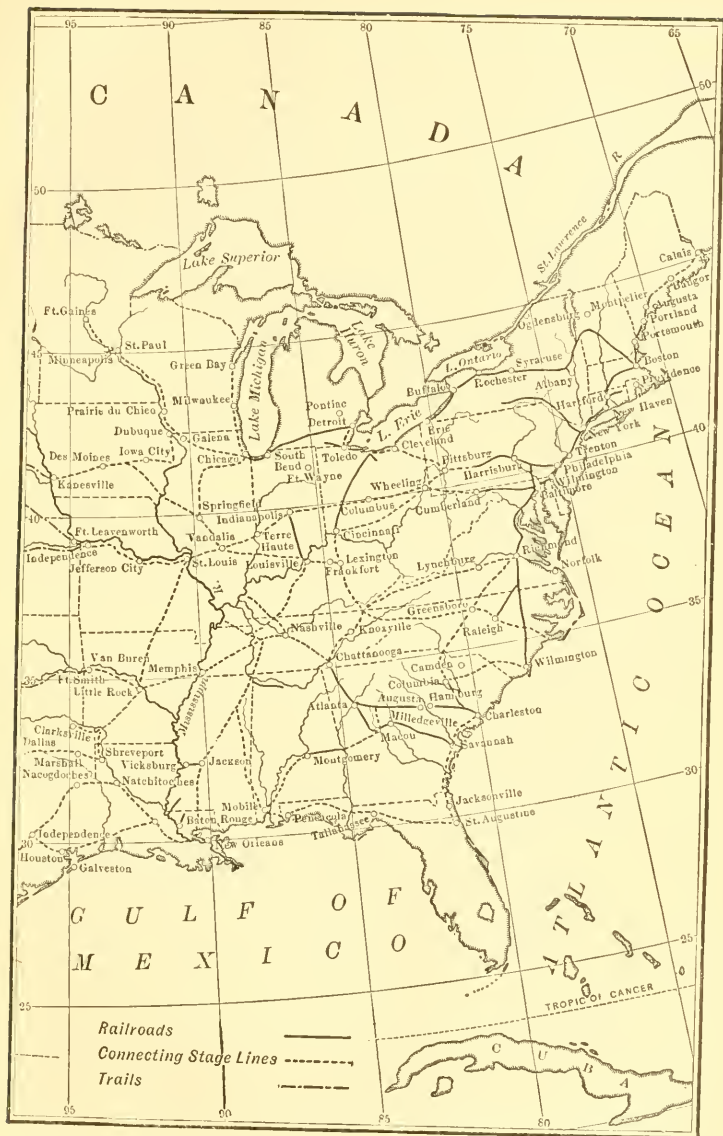
**532. Panama.** American interests abroad took several new turns about the middle of the century. For one thing the Isthmus of Panama began to figure constantly in the thought of Americans. In 1846 a treaty was made with New Granada (now United States of Colombia) by which the United States of America guaranteed to protect the isthmus in case any foreign power should attempt to seize it; in return we were promised equal rights with other countries should a canal be built.

**533. Oriental Trade.** The annexation of California, which was largely responsible for this interest in the isthmus, also stimulated trade with the East. In fact, Americans had had their eyes on the harbor of San Francisco for that express purpose. Already the Sandwich Islands were under the influence of American missionaries and the native kings treated Americans as a "favored nation." In 1844 China made a treaty opening five "treaty ports" to American ships. Japan, however, refused to open any of her ports until 1854, when Commodore Perry, with an American fleet, forced the Japanese



THE SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION IN 1850





THE SYSTEM OF COMMUNICATION IN 1850

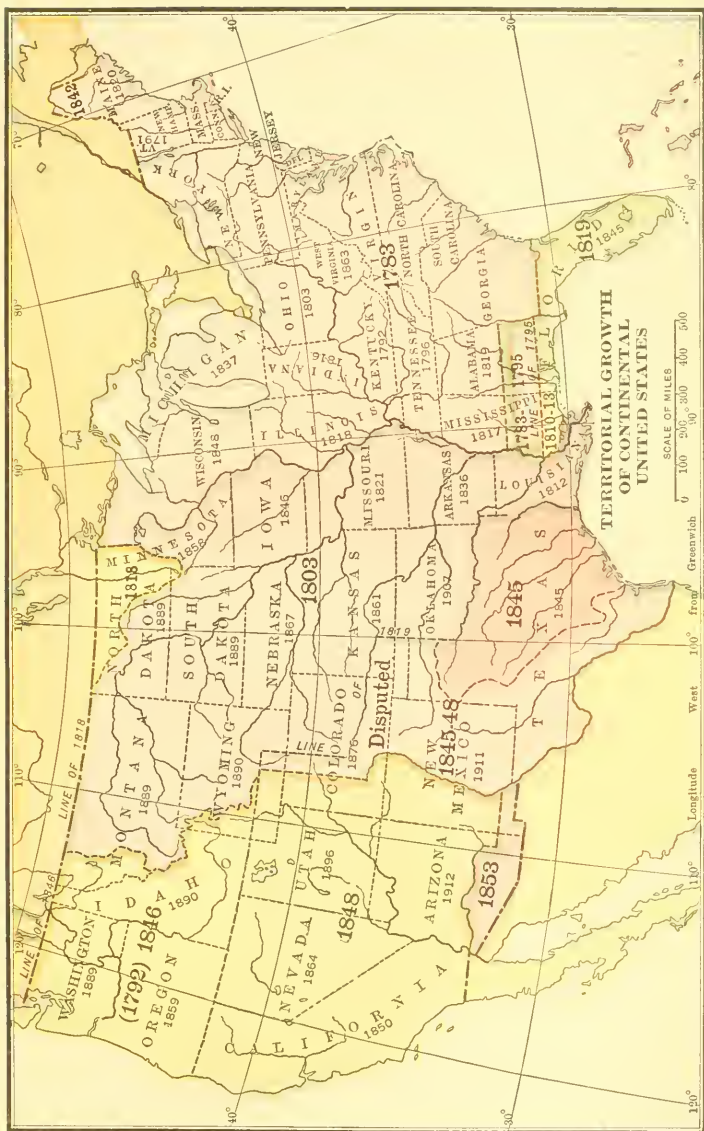
to sign a treaty. From that time forward American interests in the Orient steadily progressed.

**534. Internal Commerce.** This growing commerce abroad was paralleled by growing commerce among the states themselves. It was at this time that the short railroad lines began to be consolidated into long "through" systems. In 1853 ten short lines were combined to form the New York Central. That same year there was a continuous line of rails from New York to Chicago; in 1859, from New York to New Orleans. By 1860 there were 30,000 miles of railroad.

**535. Land Grants.** Congress began aiding the railroads with large grants of land, the first of which was made to the Illinois Central in 1850. There was general talk of a trans-continental railway, and the War Department in 1853, when Jefferson Davis was secretary, surveyed a route. However, railways were quite different from what they are to-day. The cars were small and uncomfortable. As late as 1860, the best time made between New York and Chicago was thirty-eight hours.

**536. Post Office and Express.** With the growth of railroads came improvements in the Post Office Department. In 1847 postage stamps were introduced, and in 1863 the rate on a sealed letter was reduced to three cents, which remained the charge for many years thereafter. Packages, however, were not carried either by the post office or by the railroads. Therefore, small express companies came into existence. In 1854 a large company, the Adams Express, was organized and began to operate on an extensive scale. Not long after, Wells, Fargo and Company organized an express system on the Pacific coast.

**537. Inventions.** Business was further stimulated by inventions. In 1845 the McCormick reaper began revolutionizing methods in farming. In 1846 Elias Howe invented the sewing machine. In 1847 the rotary printing press was invented by Richard Hoe. These were but a few of many inventions that soon made American ingenuity famous





throughout the world. Perhaps the most important invention of that day was the electric telegraph designed by Samuel F. B. Morse. The first successful line was operated in 1844. One of the earliest messages was the news, sent from Baltimore to Washington, that Polk had been nominated for President.

**538. New Industries.** With the inventions came increased opportunity to use them. Oil was discovered in Pennsylvania in 1859, and gave rise to an enormous quantity of new business. Mining also became one of the chief industries; coal, iron, copper, silver, and gold, all were produced in abundance.

**539. Industrial Conditions.** Industrial conditions were changing fast. The rapid increase of wealth and new conditions of labor created new problems. On the one hand, capital began combining into great corporations from which sprang the trusts of the present day; banking became more and more important, and in 1853 the New York clearing house was organized. On the other hand, laboring men began taking thought how to better their condition through organizations of their own, with the result that trades unions became important factors in American life. As early as 1840 there was a demand to shorten the day's labor and ten hours were made the legal day for all federal employees. What are known as "labor troubles," attended by strikes and lockouts, were first known in the United States about the middle of the century.

**540. Population.** Altogether, there were in the United States in 1850, 23,191,876 people; in 1860, 31,443,321. East of the Mississippi the whole country was populated fairly thickly, more so in the North than in the South. The greater population of the North was due largely to its cities, which were the result of the manufactures. The census of 1860 showed 158 cities, five sixths of them in the North. New Orleans with 168,000 people was, in 1860, the one large city in the Southern states. Charleston had but 41,000. Besides the great cities of the East, many towns in the West were fast becoming important. Cincinnati and St. Louis had

each 161,000, while Chicago — now so gigantic — was still but a small place of 109,000 inhabitants. Louisville had only 68,000; Pittsburg, 49,000; Detroit, Milwaukee, and Cleveland, each about 45,000. One sixth of the whole population lived in cities.

**541. Civic Improvement.** One of the notable movements of the times was a general effort to improve the cities. Previous



UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

to 1840 they had been generally ill-paved, ill-lighted, badly drained, and inadequately policed. Gradually a revolution in all these respects took place. In 1857 New York organized its uniformed and disciplined "metropolitan police" and laid out the first pleasure ground designed on a large scale, Central Park. Street railways had come into general use some ten years earlier.

**542. Education.**

Education was much

what it had been fifty years before, except that schools were more numerous and less expensive. Massachusetts led the way in giving a larger share of the taxes to public schools and in organizing a State Board of Education.

Several new universities enlarged the opportunity for higher education. The University of Virginia — founded by Jefferson in 1819 — was the first American institution framed on



European models and giving elective studies. Other state universities contributed to bring higher education within the reach of the people. There were many endowed colleges. Law, medical, and divinity schools were now numerous. For a long time the federal government had maintained its own academies — one at West Point to train officers for the army, one at Annapolis, for the navy.

**543. Intellectual Activity.** The third quarter of the century was a vigorous period intellectually, when some of the most famous American writing was produced. Emerson, Hawthorne, Lowell, in the North, Poe, Simms, Timrod, in the South, were all at their best in those years. In the middle of the century a characteristic American institution, the popular magazine, had its beginning. Before then we had literary reviews, such as the *North American* and *De Bow's Review*, but a new chapter was begun by *Harper's Monthly Magazine* in 1850. Newspapers also took on a new phase. Such famous papers as the *New York Sun*, the *Herald*, and the *Tribune*, all acquired their particular lines of thought and style shortly before 1850. The combination of many newspapers in the Associated Press was effected in 1849.

**544 Humanitarianism.** It was an age of humanitarian endeavor. As far back as 1830, interest had been aroused in prison reform and a model prison was built at Philadelphia. This interest extended to poorhouses and asylums. A great woman, Dorothea Dix, incarnated a new sense of duty which compelled people to feel an obligation with regard to the neglected classes, — "the lame, the halt, and the blind." Her most notable achievement was the establishment of public asylums for the insane.



DOROTHEA DIX

**545. Woman's Rights.** Other women had already made themselves felt in the public life of America. What is known as the "Woman's Rights Movement" dates back to about 1830. Frances Wright, one of the most striking figures of her day, was among its first leaders. She was succeeded by such women as Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, and Mary B. Livermore. Among the first demands of this movement was better education for women. Almost at once many public schools were opened to girls, and academies especially for girls were founded. Oberlin College established coeducation

in 1833. The demand for woman suffrage, however, had to wait another generation before it gained its first victories.

**546. Prohibition.** Another reform tendency of that time was the movement against the use of spirituous liquors. Until about 1840 there was scarcely any restriction upon their use in all classes of life, from the clergy at their dinner tables to the sailors in the forecastles. The abuse of the custom led to the formation of Washing-



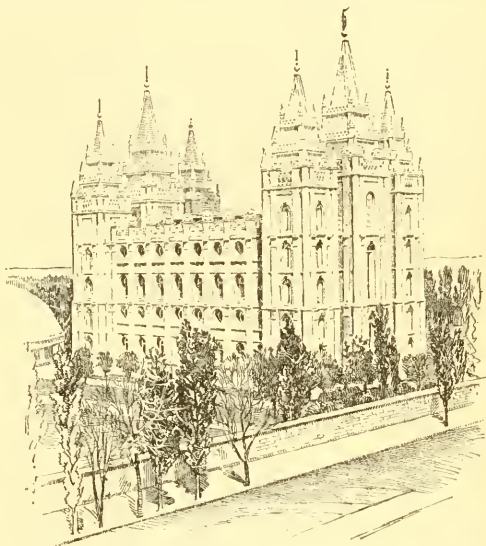
FRANCES WRIGHT

tonian societies, whose members were pledged to use liquor in moderation. Soon a further step was taken, and in 1851 Maine adopted the first state prohibition law.

**547. Communism.** A curious feature of the time was a widespread impulse to invent new forms of social life. Little communities were organized which put various theories to the test of experiment. Such were "The New Harmony Community of Equality" in Indiana, and later the famous "Brook Farm" in Massachusetts. These and other communities of experiment bore witness to the belief that society stood in need of some sort of reorganization. There was a time when

Emerson could say, "Not a leading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket."

**548. The Mormons.** One of these societies had a remarkable career. At Palmyra, in New York, Joseph Smith announced himself the prophet of a new religion. He told how the angel of the Lord had come to him in a vision and revealed to him the Book of Mormon. On the principles laid down in the Book he founded a community at Kirtland, in Ohio. Thence the Mormons moved to Nauvoo, Illinois, where they grew into a city of twenty thousand. However, the Mormons inspired distrust in their neighbors and even defied the laws of the state; finally there was a popular tumult in which Smith was killed (1844). Soon after



MORMON TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH

ward his followers went still farther west and, under the leadership of Brigham Young, settled Utah.

**549. Conditions in the North.** The industrial and social conditions at which we have glanced characterized the North. They were scarcely in evidence in the South. In the North commerce and manufactures were even more important than agriculture. The North was also a democratic country, where an industrial revolution had broken down completely the social system of 1789. The "old families" had either sunk into the masses, or had joined hands with the "new"

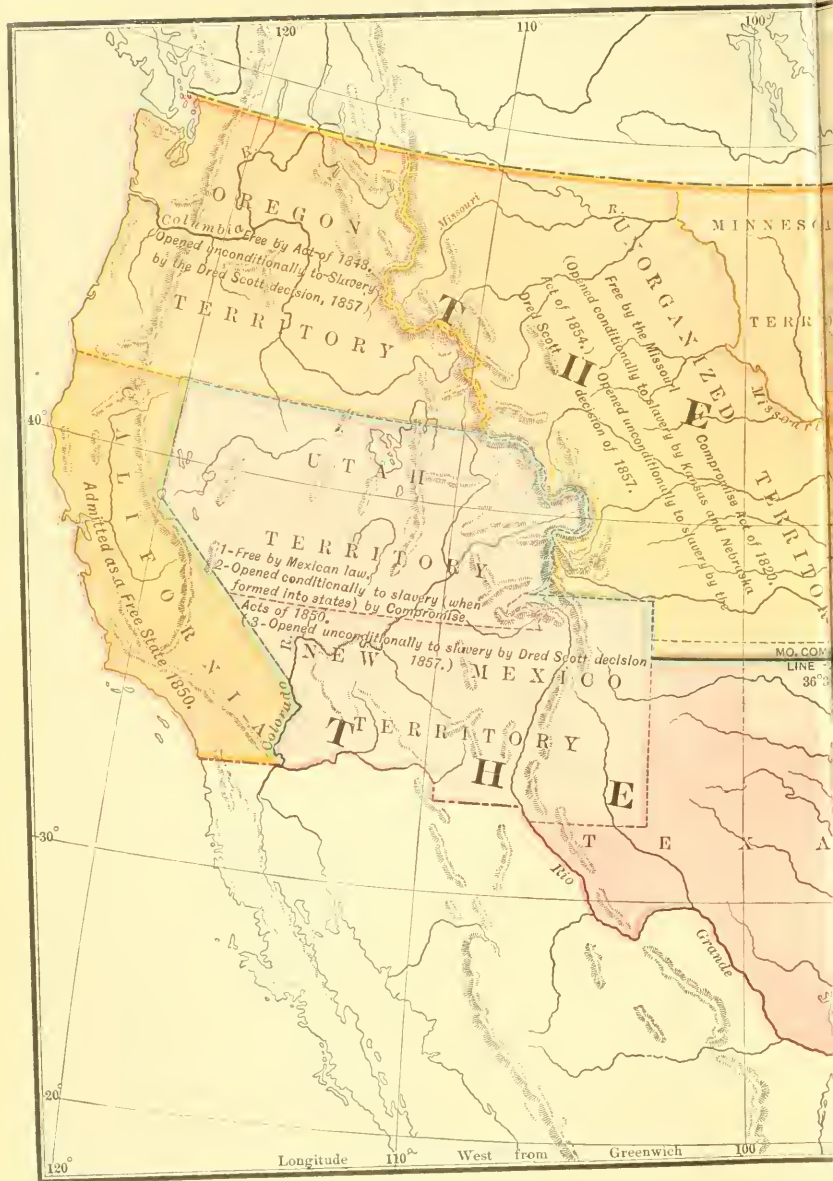
people whose fortunes had been made in the recent expansion of business. The popular will — expressed through political clubs — was the ruling power in politics. When a man of ancient name took the lead in politics, he did so through his own personal charm, or as the head of a club, not any longer as a member of an upper class privileged to lead. Almost everywhere in the North the suffrage had been freed of practically all restrictions.<sup>1</sup>

**550. Conditions in the South.** The South was quite different. It had taken no part in the industrial revolution, and unlike the North, had neither manufacturing cities nor a great number of foreign-born citizens. Its social system was still the same that had been common to both sections in 1789. The presence of slavery had served as an economic break-water that turned aside the industrial current and kept it from undermining the aristocracy of the South. Consequently Southern life was dominated in 1861 by the same classes that dominated it in 1789.

The one source of prosperity in the South was agriculture. The plantation, with its hospitable mansion, its retinue of slaves, its broad tract of surrounding land, was still the center of Southern life. The aristocracy all possessed plantations. They varied greatly in extent, however. The number of his slaves was the best gauge of a man's wealth, and there is record of some sixty-seven families each of which owned more than three hundred slaves. The total number of families owning a hundred slaves or more was reported in the census of 1850 as 1733. However, these great slaveholders were a comparatively small portion of the community. More than half of the slaveholders owned less than five slaves each. The census of 1850 shows that in most of the Southern states less than a

<sup>1</sup> In some states there were educational qualifications and as late as 1842 Rhode Island still restricted the suffrage to property holders. What is known as the "Dorr Rebellion" was a petty insurrection in Rhode Island to secure manhood suffrage. Though the "rebellion" was suppressed, the recognized authorities soon adopted the views of the rebels and abolished property qualifications for the suffrage.









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third of all the white families held slaves.<sup>1</sup> Some of the non-slaveholders were prosperous farmers; some were dependents of the slaveholders; while the great mass of them, known as "poor whites," occupied a place in society similar to that of the peasantry in Europe. They were poor, illiterate, and had great difficulty to make a livelihood.

**551. Feeling of the Sections.** The last word descriptive of the country as it was about 1850 should deal with the feeling of the sections toward each other. In general, it was bitter. Unfortunately there was little intercourse between North and South, and neither section knew nor understood the other. This ill-will of the sections was aggravated by the violent propaganda of the abolitionists.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the abolitionists maintained what was known as the "underground railroad" — a secret system for aiding slaves to escape from their masters, cross the free states, and take refuge in Canada. Three thousand people are known to have taken part in it. Some of its agents were men of great coolness and daring who secretly went about in the South, and persuaded slaves to run away.<sup>3</sup> More than 60,000 slaves are said to have been spirited away to Canada,

The final evidence of the separation of the sections was

<sup>1</sup> "In 1790 approximately . . . one-third of the white population of all the Southern states were members of slaveholding families. In 1850 the decline in the proportion of such persons was apparent in every geographic division. In the Southern states as a whole, there was a decrease from 36.6 to 32.1. Some of the states of the lower South, however, showed an increase. . . . the movement of slaves was steadily toward the lower South and Southwest, where the proportion in the entire population . . . was becoming very large. . . . The proportion of those who either owned slaves or were in some manner identified with slaveholding was slowly but steadily declining." "A Century of Population Growth in the United States" (U. S. Census Bulletin), 139.

<sup>2</sup> These indomitable fanatics remind us of the covenanters of Scotland. The character of Balfour of Burley in "Old Mortality" is, perhaps, our best clue to their state of mind.

<sup>3</sup> John Fairfield, the most noted character of this sort, is said to have aided several thousand slaves to escape. He is described by Levi Coffin, an abolitionist, as a "wicked man, daring and reckless in his actions, yet faithful to the trust reposed in him. . . ." "Reminiscences," 432.

revealed by the religious organizations. Many men felt that they could no longer remain in a church that should include both Northerners and Southerners. Two great churches, however, resisted the tendency to divide into northern and southern branches; the Church of Rome and the Episcopal Church did not so divide. On the other hand, the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians divided. This is perhaps the best evidence that Northerners and Southerners had come to feel toward each other, speaking broadly, almost as members of different countries.

*Selections from the Sources.* The compact collections of source material do not as a rule venture far from the beaten track of political and constitutional debate; consequently, for the authorities upon general social conditions, the young student can hardly undertake to seek. They are found in memoirs, in collections of letters, and in publications too special to be always accessible. Important exceptions are: *Compendium of the Seventh Census; A Century of Population Growth* (bulletin of the census bureau); CALLENDER, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, 738-793; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 22-23.

*Secondary Accounts.* RHODES, *United States*, III, 1-56; SCHOULER, *United States*, V, chaps. xx, xxi; MCMASTER, *United States*, VII; BURGESS, *Middle Period*, chap. xviii; SMITH, *Parties and Slavery*, chaps. i-vi; LATANE, *Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America*, 176-195; JOHNSON, *Four Centuries of the Panama Canal*, 51-77; A. T. HADLEY, *Railroad Transportation, its History and its Laws*, chaps. i, ii; COMAN, *Industrial History*, 232-278 and *The Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II, 167-331; BOGART, *Economic History*, 206-215, 222-226, 238-249; DEWEY, *Financial History*, 248-274; WRIGHT, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*, 133-142; EDWARD INGLE, *Southern Sidelights*, 55-60, 88-94; BROWN, *The Lower South in American History*, 32-49; SIEBERT, *The Underground Railway*, 18-76.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Perry in Japan. 2. Development of American Railroads. 3. The Public Lands. 4. American Inventions. 5. The Growth of Free Schools. 6. Beginnings of the Woman's Rights Movement. 7. The Social Revolution. 8. The Underground Railway.

## CHAPTER XXV

### "A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF"

**552. Fugitive Slaves.** The compromise of 1850 in reality settled nothing. Trouble between the sections broke out again directly, the immediate subject of debate being the new Fugitive Slave Law. Under this law persons of color in the North, if accused of being runaway slaves, could be seized by United States marshals and carried off into slavery. They were not allowed jury trial, nor were they permitted to testify in their own behalf. Arrests under the new law began at once. At Boston a negro named Shadrach, an undoubted runaway, was arrested early in 1851, but was rescued by a mob and conveyed to Canada. The same year a slave owner named Gorsuch was killed while attempting to recover runaway slaves at Christiana, Pennsylvania. These cases were the first of a long series of tumults which roused to fury both slaveholders and abolitionists. They led to what were known as "personal liberty laws." These were state enactments designed to block the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law by securing to the accused negroes jury trials. Such enactments were made by all the Northern states except two. They amounted to a rejection of the compromise of 1850.

**553. "Uncle Tom's Cabin."** Another consequence of the Fugitive Slave Law was the famous novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Its author, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, a New Englander, was living in Cincinnati in 1851. Events connected with the new law stirred Mrs. Stowe to write a popular story that should put the case against slavery in its blackest terms. The book appeared in 1852. In the words of Professor McMaster, "It is a picture of what slavery might be

rather than what it was." However, the North and the world generally accepted "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as a literal statement of fact; not as "a product of the sympathetic imagination."<sup>1</sup> The effect of the story was tremendous. Three hundred thousand copies were sold in a single year. It played a great part in reviving that antislavery tempest which had lulled in 1850. Thereafter, the opposition to slavery became a relentless crusade.

**554. A Dual Empire.** If the compromisers of 1850 really wanted to maintain the Union as a sort of dual empire, "half slave, half free," they should have made the two sections equal in extent and resources. Instead they had unintentionally given the North the larger share. Soon it became apparent that much of the region opened to slavery was not the sort of soil where slave labor could be used to advantage. This fact, together with renewed sectional bitterness aroused by the personal liberty laws, led Southern leaders to look for some new region to add to the South.

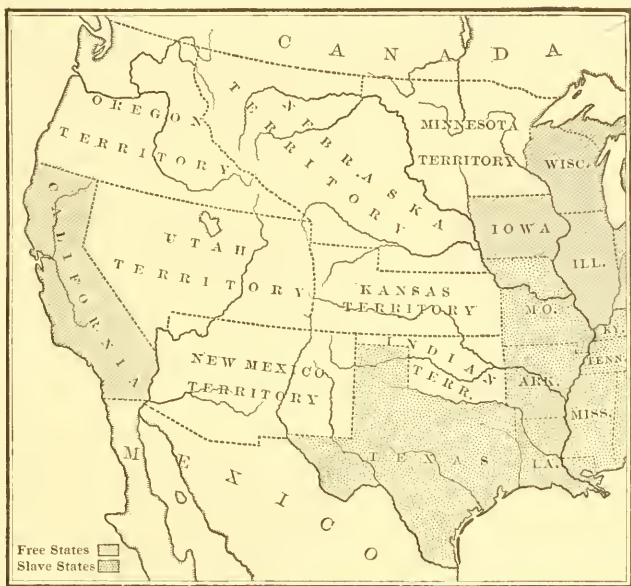
**555. The Ostend Manifesto.** They fixed their eyes upon Cuba. The next President, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, a Democrat,<sup>2</sup> intimated in his inaugural address that he wished to annex the island, and in the following year it seemed, for a time, that he would succeed in doing so. An American ship, the *Elack Warrior*, having been seized by the customs authorities at Havana, the President — or more truly, his able secretary of war, Jefferson Davis — threatened war. It was while negotiations with Spain were in progress, that three American ambassadors, all Democrats, met at

<sup>1</sup> Woodrow Wilson, "Division and Reunion," 181.

<sup>2</sup> In the election of 1852 both Whigs and Democrats refused to mention slavery in their platforms. They insisted that the compromise was a "finality" and that the abolitionists were making a fuss about nothing. There were three parties in the field; the regular Democrats, who were united in defense of slavery; the Whigs, who were divided among themselves, some for, some against, slavery; and the Free-Soilers, now called the Free Democracy, who were united opponents of slavery. Under these conditions the regular Democrats easily won, though their candidate was little known and of slight ability.



Ostend in Belgium to discuss the situation.<sup>1</sup> They drew up a statement of policy, urging the purchase of Cuba, if possible — its conquest, if necessary. Their communication on the subject is known as the "Ostend Manifesto." However, Spain made reparation for the seizure of the *Black Warrior*, and the excuse for war was lost.



OUR WESTERN TERRITORIES, 1854

**556. Kansas and Nebraska.** Meanwhile, another plan for extending the area of slavery had drawn all eyes away from Cuba and fixed them again upon the West. It was devised by Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, who proposed to organize the two territories of Kansas and Nebraska and open them to both slaveholders and non-slaveholders. Subsequently, the people of each territory were to decide for

<sup>1</sup> James Buchanan, minister to England, James M. Mason, minister to France, and Pierre Soule, minister to Spain.

themselves whether they wished to form a free state or a slave state. Since both of the proposed territories lay north of the line of the Missouri Compromise, Douglas boldly proposed to repeal the compromise. This plan of opening the territories to slavery, regardless of the old line of division between North and South, and leaving each locality to decide the matter for itself, was termed "popular sovereignty" or "squatter sovereignty."

At first the slaveholders failed to see the full significance of the plan. But the antislavery men saw what would come of



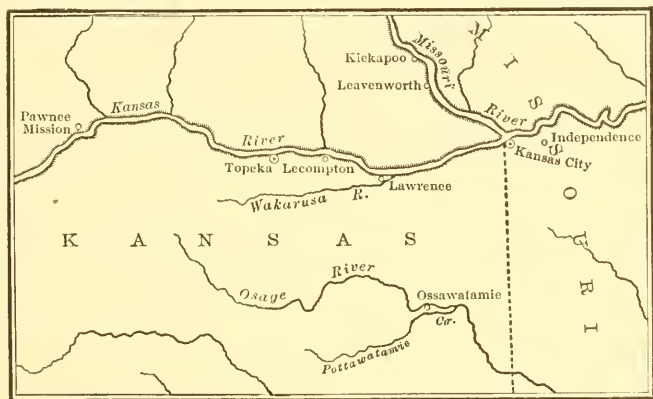
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

it. Any region that permitted slave labor would inevitably be avoided by free labor, since the latter would refuse to compete with the cheaper labor of slaves. The real issue of the moment was upon the question: what industrial system shall dominate the Northwest? To meet this issue a group of "independent Democrats" in Congress drew up an "appeal" to the American people denouncing the Kansas-Nebraska plan as "an atrocious plot to exclude from a vast unoccupied region immigrants

from the Old World and free laborers from our own states."

The most energetic slaveholding leaders now took the plan up and gave it hearty support. Such were Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, and Robert Toombs. The bill was passed and President Pierce signed it, May 30, 1854. Seward, in the course of the debate, had used these threatening words, "Come on then, gentlemen of slave states, since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of freedom. We will engage in competition for the soil of Kansas and God give the victory to the side which is stronger. . . ."

**557. The Rush to Kansas.** The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill marked a new stage in the slavery question. Now went up the cry, "Slavery is invading free soil." Many Northerners who had hitherto been indifferent now became eager opponents of the slaveholders, and associations were formed to send antislavery settlers to Kansas. In opposition, slaveholders, especially in Missouri, made haste to fill Kansas with their partisans. Towns, inhabited altogether by people of one faction or the other, quickly sprang up. The chief



CIVIL WAR IN KANSAS, 1855-1857

free-state town was Lawrence; the chief slave-state town, Lecompton. Around each gathered an armed population.

**558. The War in Kansas.** All these men went to Kansas with their rifles in their hands. There was violence, bloodshed, and dishonest voting. At first the slaveholders seemed the stronger party and the earliest elections in Kansas were favorable to their interests. Thereupon the Free-Soilers, declaring that the slaveholders had been aided by thousands of illegal voters from Missouri, met at Topeka and framed a constitution prohibiting slavery. Practically, there were two governments in Kansas. So fierce and unrestrained was their enmity that civil war soon broke out. It is known as the

Wakarusa War and consisted of guerrilla fights made especially shocking by the lack of mercy shown on both sides. In May, 1856, the free-state town of Lawrence was taken and sacked by the slaveholders. By way of reprisal the sternest of the free-state leaders, John Brown, took a number of slaveholders and put them to death in cold blood. President Pierce now interfered, and a free-state legislature which tried to assemble under the Topeka constitution was broken up by United States soldiers. For a brief time the slaveholders controlled the situation and Kansas had peace.<sup>1</sup>

**559. The Republican Party.** These dreadful events consolidated a new political party. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had caused a secession from the Democratic party, and the seceders, together with the Free Soil party, the antislavery Whigs, and the abolitionists, all drew together on this latest issue of resisting the opening of the territories to slavery. Much as they differed on other points, they could agree on this. Presently, the coalition began to act as one party and was named "Republican." The name appears to have been first used at Ripon, in Wisconsin, in 1854. The first Republican convention was held that same year at Jackson, Michigan. State Republican conventions were held in Wisconsin, Indiana, Ohio, and Vermont. In 1856 was held the first Republican national convention. A platform was adopted condemning unconditionally the extension of slavery in the territories. John C. Frémont, the Pathfinder (section 517), was nominated for President.

**560. Election of Buchanan.** The formation of the Republican party was the deathblow of the Whigs. Though a few

<sup>1</sup> The bitterness of feeling engendered over Kansas was further demonstrated by an encounter between Charles Sumner, senator from Massachusetts, and Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina (1856). In a speech entitled "The Crime against Kansas," Sumner criticized Senator Butler of South Carolina in language that was coarse and violent. Brooks, a kinsman of Butler, assaulted Sumner in the Senate chamber and beat him insensible. Brooks was censured by the House, resigned his seat, and was reelected by his constituents.

Whigs still stuck to their colors, nominating Fillmore for President, this was the last time their party figured in a national election. Fillmore carried but one state, Maryland.<sup>1</sup> The Democrats were more fortunate. Their candidate, James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, carried every Southern state, together with Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana, Illinois, and California. The Republicans carried eleven states — all New England, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa — and cast 114 electoral votes, against 174 for Buchanan and only 8 for Fillmore.

**561. The Dred Scott Decision.** In his inaugural address Buchanan alluded to a case then before the Supreme Court. This was the famous case of Dred Scott, a negro, who claimed his freedom because his master had taken him into a free territory, previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. The decision of the Court, rendered March 6, 1857, was another startling event in this long succession of startling events that were rapidly bringing the country to a danger point. The case was highly complicated; the judges did not agree, and the decision dealt with various points of law. However, Scott was refused his freedom, and one of the principles laid down in the decision at once became a burning question in politics. Hitherto it had been generally admitted that Congress could legislate upon slavery in the territories as it saw fit. In repealing the Missouri Compromise, Congress had not questioned the authority of the law so long as it stood unrepealed. The Supreme Court now declared that the law had been unconstitutional from the beginning. The Court laid down the principle that as slaves were property, any citizen owning such property could take it where he chose in the national domain, — namely, the territories, — and neither

<sup>1</sup> He was also nominated by the "American party." It had sprung into existence two years previously as a protest against the increase of foreigners in the country. The backbone of it was a numerous secret society, which required its members to deny any knowledge of its existence. Hence they were nicknamed "Know Nothings." The American party broke into factions and quickly disappeared.

Congress nor any government created by Congress could prevent his doing so. It followed, therefore, that Congress was bound to protect any slaveholder who might take his slaves into a territory, whether the people of the territory approved or not.

According to this decision the Republican platform was a defiance of law. The friends of slavery pointed this out exultantly. The Republicans replied that the Dred Scott decision was inspired by party spirit and declared they would not abide by it. Seward made the bold statement, "We shall reorganize the Court and thus reform its political sentiments."

**562. "The Impending Crisis."** By strange coincidence, this year, 1857, saw the publication of a book that is next in importance to "Uncle Tom's Cabin" as an antislavery tract. This was "The Impending Crisis," by H. R. Helper of North Carolina, a "poor white," whose purpose was to show that slavery, indirectly, was the curse of his class; that it made possible a social system in which the southern white man who held no slaves was at a cruel disadvantage. The book was reprinted by the Republicans as a campaign document.

**563. The Lecompton Scheme.** Meanwhile, the struggle over Kansas had continued. In November, 1857, a slaveholding convention at Lecompton drew up a new constitution establishing slavery, and submitted it to the people.<sup>1</sup> The free-state men refused to take part in the election, and this constitution was ratified by a vote of 6063 to 576.

By this time, however, the Free-Soilers were distinctly the more numerous party. Many circumstances had assisted them to become so. Not the least of these was an especially severe winter that made the slaves, accustomed to milder climates, of little use, and disheartened their owners. At length, the free-state men got control of the regular ter-

<sup>1</sup> The voting was arranged so that slaves already in the territory would not be excluded whichever way the election turned. Every one was asked to vote for "Constitution with slavery" — that is, with an article expressly establishing slavery — or for "Constitution with no slavery."



ritorial legislature. They at once ordered another vote on the Lecompton constitution. This time the slaveholders appear to have abstained from voting. There were over 10,000 votes against the constitution and less than 200 for it.

Nevertheless, President Buchanan tried to have Kansas brought into the Union with the Lecompton constitution in force, but he had not reckoned with Douglas, who steadily refused to give up the principle of popular sovereignty. He took the lead in fighting a bill which would have carried out the President's wishes. He held that the majority in Kansas were opposed to this constitution, and therefore it ought not to be forced upon them. Finally, a compromise was made and the people of Kansas were offered a vast grant of public land, if they would accept the Lecompton constitution. On a final vote they refused. With a territorial government controlled by a Free-Soil majority, Kansas waited quietly during the next few years, until in 1861 the Republicans were strong enough to bring it in as a free state.

**564. Lincoln and Douglas Debate.** Once more the Democratic party showed signs of division. Though the greater portion of it sided with the Supreme Court, holding that nobody had power to shut slavery out of a territory, a portion of it drew back and stood fast by the idea of popular sovereignty (section 556). The split in the party was revealed, in 1858, when Douglas became a candidate for reelection as senator from Illinois. He was opposed by Abraham Lincoln, who, in accepting the Republican nomination for the Senate, used the famous words that stand at the head of this chapter. He said: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

He was then forty-nine years old, a tall, homely, loose-knit man, with little formal education. His parents belonged to that same class of poor whites from which came the author of "The Impending Crisis." Born in Kentucky, he was taken as a child to Illinois, where most of his life had been spent.

He had served one term in Congress. Though without any hatred of slaveholders, he was an ardent Free-Soiler, as well as a firm nationalist, and hoped to live to see slavery disappear. He spoke of slavery as "a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."

Lincoln challenged Douglas to a series of public debates, and in the course of them, at the town of Freeport, Lincoln made a square issue on the Dred Scott decision. He asked Douglas, "Can the people of a United States territory in any legal way, against the will of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas was compelled by his own principles to answer that they could. He then tried to reconcile his answer with the Dred Scott decision. His argument — shown by Lincoln to be unconvincing — was known afterwards as the "Freeport Doctrine."

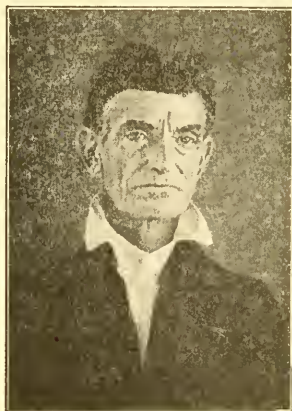
Douglas had saved himself with the Democrats of Illinois, and was reëlected senator, but he had split his party in two. From that time forward, the President and his advisers would have nothing to do with him. They rejected popular sovereignty and made acceptance of the Dred Scott decision a test whether a man was a regular Democrat or not.<sup>1</sup>

**565. The Approach of the Crisis.** About this time, two new states were admitted to the Union — Minnesota in 1858, Oregon in 1859; both were free states. The North now had 36 votes in the Senate while the South had only 32. In the House, the representation of the Northern states numbered 147; that of the Southern states 90. Thus it was plain that one section, if it could ever be brought to act as a unit, might legislate as it pleased to the injury of the other. At present, for two reasons, there was still no immediate danger that such would be the case. A large part of the people of the North were still states' rights men, who would stand with

<sup>1</sup> "Never in the history of American party warfare has any leader been more bitterly attacked by the head of his own house." Professor William E. Dodd, "The Fight for the Northwest," *American Historical Review*, XVI, 778.

Southern states' rights men at a crisis. Also, the Democrats controlled the executive. The President's veto could be relied upon to defeat legislation designed to injure the South. So long as the President continued to be a Democrat, the South was safe. But if a Republican became President, there was no telling what hostile legislation the South might have to face. Naturally the year 1859 was a moment of intense excitement when events were moving fast, and all men dreaded what the day might bring forth. Two powers were contending for the mastery of the Union. "The power which obviously grew," says Woodrow Wilson, "was the power of the North; the power which obviously waned and was threatened with extinction was the power of the South."

**566. John Brown.** Suddenly, in the midst of this tense sectional feeling, something happened that was like a clap of thunder. On October 16, 1859, a band of twenty-three men descended from the mountains near Harper's Ferry, seized the United States arsenal there, and issued a call to the slaves of the surrounding country to rise in rebellion against their masters.



JOHN BROWN

The leader of the band was that terrible John Brown who had been the sternest figure of the Wakarusa War (section 558). From friends in the North, Brown had lately obtained funds to be used in a secret undertaking, the nature of which he probably did not divulge. He had then proceeded to western Maryland; he rented a mountain farm and gathered about him his little band of enthusiasts, all as reckless as himself. Their intention was to organize an insurrection on a great scale which should compel the immediate abolition of slavery.

But this desperate scheme was swiftly brought to nought. The negroes did not rise, and instead there was a rising of the whites. United States soldiers led by Colonel Robert E. Lee hastened to their assistance. Brown, in an engine house which he had fortified, was surrounded and taken prisoner, though not until half his men were slain, together with a number of his assailants, and himself severely wounded.

Charged with murder and treason, Brown was given an open trial in a Virginia court and condemned to die. He was hanged, December 2, 1859.

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings*, 411-453; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, Nos. 108-114; *Documents*, Nos. 77-92; HILL, *Liberty Documents*, chap. xxi; JOHNSTON, *American Orations*, III, 3-207; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 30-48; RICHARDSON, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 352-360, 390-391, 401-407, 449-454, 471-481.

*Secondary Accounts.* RHODES, *United States*, I, 207-506; II, 1-416; SCHOULER, *United States*, V, 270-454; VON HOLST, *History*, IV, 9-12, 20-28, 236-246; V, 61-70; PHILLIPS in *The South in the Building of the Nation*, IV, 398-422; DAVIS, *Confederate Government*, I, 26-31; WILSON, *Division and Reunion*, 90-100; JOHNSTON, *Politics*, 167-189; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 226-278; SMITH, *Slavery and Political Parties*; MACY, *Political Parties*, 183-282; SMITH, *Liberty and Free Soil Parties*, 261-307; CURTIS, *Constitutional History*, II, 259-285, 295-299; SPRING, *Kansas*; BROWN, *Lower South*, 50-82, and *Douglas*, 82-128; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 110-115; TAUSSIG, *Tariff History*, 115-154; HART, *Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, 108-127; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 335-356; LATANE, *United States and Spanish America*, 116-136, 194-198, and *The Diplomacy of the United States in Regard to Cuba* (American Historical Association Report, 1897), 217-277; MORSE, *Abraham Lincoln*, I, 93-160; BANCROFT, *Seward*, I, 333-519; HART, *Chase*, 132-177; STOREY, *Charles Sumner*, 101-164; DODD, *Jefferson Davis*, 130-188; WISE, *Henry A. Wise*, chap. xiv; CHAMBERLIN, *John Brown*.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Personal Liberty Laws. 2. The Black Warrior Episode. 3. Popular Sovereignty. 4. The Wakarusa War. 5. Formation of the Republican Party. 6. The Dred Scott Decision. 7. Lincoln.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### THE CRISIS OF 1860

**567. 1860.** It is almost impossible to-day to realize the state of the country in the year 1860. The bad feeling between the sections, which had been increasing so steadily since 1830, all came to a head, and burst into fury, over the episode of John Brown. Though most of the Northern people at once condemned his undertaking, the abolitionists pronounced him a martyr. They redoubled the fierceness of their abuse of the South.

The South, on the other hand, was swept by a vehement anti-Northern feeling that united all classes and all political groups in a general storm of protest against the influence of the North in national politics. Men of the most diverse views eagerly joined forces upon this one point and assured each other of their resolution not to stay in the Union if the entire government — House, Senate, Presidency — should fall into the hands of Northerners.

**568. The Republican Platform.** In May the Republicans held their national convention at Chicago. The platform adopted was frankly nationalistic. However, it admitted the right of each state to “control its own domestic institutions” — that is, legislate as it pleased on slavery — but demanded the complete expulsion of slavery from all the territories. It took another step which put the party in a new light. The great state of Pennsylvania, which had gone for Buchanan in 1856, was now demanding a return to high tariff. It was largely to capture the vote of Pennsylvania that the convention declared in favor of a tariff. To make sure of the remnant of the Whigs, it also declared for internal improve-



ments. Except for the antislavery provisions, the platform might have been the work of the Whig nationalists of a generation before. One might almost say that the spirit of Clay had risen from his grave. Thus the slavery question became entangled with that older and even more disturbing question, the power of a majority of the states to impose its will on the minority through commercial legislation. Lincoln was nominated for President.

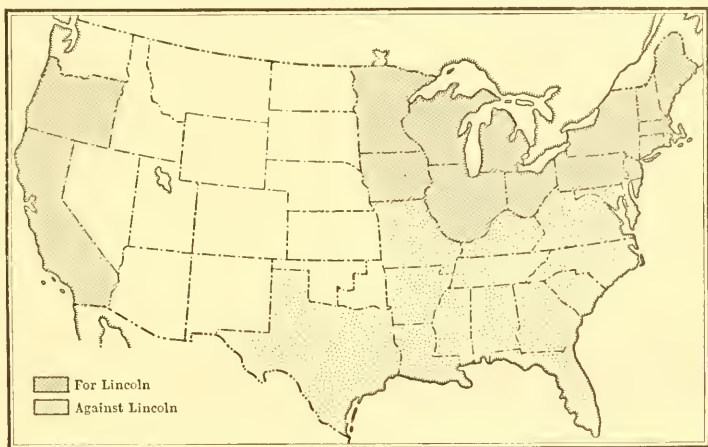
**569. The Democratic Split.** Meanwhile the Democratic party had split. The national convention held at Charleston broke up without making nominations, and in June two Democratic conventions met at Baltimore. One nominated Douglas with popular sovereignty as the basis of its platform. The other nominated John C. Breckenridge of Kentucky, and based its platform on the Dred Scott decision.

**570. The Fourth Party.** But even these three parties were not enough to hold everybody. Many men, especially in the South and West, were unwilling to endorse the nationalistic and protectionist platform of the Republicans, and yet would not accept either of the Democratic platforms. They took the name "Constitutional Union party," held a convention, and adopted a vague platform declaring that their only principles were: "the Constitution of the country, the Union of the States, and the enforcement of the laws." They nominated John Bell of Tennessee and Edward Everett of Massachusetts.

**571. Election of 1860.** The election was the fiercest popular contest in our history. The vehemence and bitterness of the feeling displayed could hardly be overstated. In November Lincoln carried every Northern and Western state except New Jersey, whose electoral vote was divided, but not one Southern state. He received 180 electoral votes out of 303; Breckenridge, 72; Bell, 39; Douglas, 12. The majority of the popular vote, however, was against him. Though he received some 1,900,000 votes, the total of the votes for the three other candidates was 2,800,000.



**572. The Southern Vote.** The most significant detail of the election was the vote in the South. Practically no votes were cast for Lincoln. Though Breckenridge carried most of the Southern states, there was a large vote for each of the remaining candidates. This meant that Southerners were still divided among themselves as to what they wanted, but were almost a unit as to what they did not want. They did not want a Republican President and they dreaded what might follow his accession to power.



ELECTION OF 1860

**573. Secession.** Few, if any, other Southern states were as bitter over the election as was South Carolina, that old-time stronghold of opposition to nationalism, which cherished proudly the memory of its successful defiance of the central government in 1832. On the day following the election, South Carolina called a convention to consider withdrawing from the Union. The convention met at Columbia and adjourned to Charleston. The events of 1832 were now repeated on a larger scale. Military companies were formed; federal buildings were seized; federal officers, including the two

senators, resigned; commissioners were sent to other states to confer upon secession. Finally, the convention by unanimous vote, on December 20, 1860, passed an Ordinance of Secession, declaring that the union between South Carolina and

the other states was "hereby dissolved."

# CHARLESTON MERCURY EXTRA:

*Passed unanimously at 1.15 o'clock, P. M., December 20/A, 1860.*

## AN ORDINANCE

*To dissolve the Union between the State of South Carolina and other States united with her under the compact entitled "The Constitution of the United States of America."*

*We, the People of the State of South Carolina, in Convention assembled, do declare and ordain, and it is hereby declared and ordained:*

*That the Ordinance adopted by us in Convention, on the twenty-ninth day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-eight, whereby the Constitution of the United States of America was ratified, and also all Acts and parts of Acts of the General Assembly of the State, ratifying amendments of the said Constitution, are hereby repealed; and that the Union now subsisting between South Carolina and other States, under the name of "The United States of America," is hereby dissolved.*

# THE UNION IS DISSOLVED!

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE  
ORDINANCE OF SECESSION

was in a position where compromise was impossible. The one question was now: what would the nationalists do? Would they surrender their principle, allow the Union to be dissolved, or would they appeal to that dreadful court of last resort, the field of battle? Would they verify Webster's prophecy, "There can be no such thing as peaceable secession. . . ."?

**574. The Final Issue.** If the spirit of Clay seemed to have risen from the grave to dominate the Chicago convention, similarly we may say that the spirit of Calhoun dominated the convention at Charleston. Around these two mighty resurrections gathered powers immeasurably greater than those which obeyed the living men during their terms on earth. Antagonisms which had been growing gradually during nearly a hundred years—which clashed in that other convention in 1787—and had drawn into their vehement currents numerous incidental issues, were now, at last, to receive final settlement. Nationalism, challenged for the second time by South Carolina,

*Selections from the Sources.* JOHNSON, *Readings*, 446-453; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 49-52, 58-60; MACDONALD, *Source Book*, No. 115; *Documents*, No. 94; RICHARDSON, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 433, 434, 437-460, 487, 493-495, 503-506, 527-529, 555-558, 593-596, 608-625, 648.

*Secondary Accounts.* STANWOOD, *Presidency*, chap. xxi; FITE, *Presidential Election of 1860*; WILSON, *American People*, IV, 174-189; POLLARD, *Lost Cause*, chap. iv; NICOLAY and HAY, *Lincoln*, II, chaps. x-xvi; MORSE, *Lincoln*, I, chap. vi; GREELEY, *American Conflict*, I, chap. xxi; DODD, *Jefferson Davis*, 163-191; RHODES, *United States*, II, chaps. x, xi.

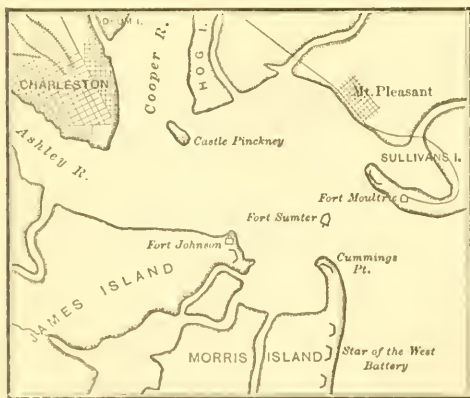
*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Revival of the Tariff Issue. 2. The Democratic Conventions. 3. Secession of South Carolina.

## CHAPTER XXVII

### THE WAR

#### I. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION

**575. Buchanan's Waverings.** President Buchanan was at a loss to know how to deal with secession. He believed it wrong, but he thought the Constitution gave him no authority to prevent it. Because of his unwillingness to play the part of a second Jackson and try to stop secession by force, his secretary of state, Lewis Cass, resigned. At the same time the secretary of war, John B. Floyd, took sides with the secessionists. South Carolina was demanding the surrender



CHARLESTON HARBOR

of Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, then garrisoned by Federal troops, and the secretary of war held that this demand should be granted. The President wavered. His course was finally determined very largely through the influence gained over him by a new member of his cabinet,

Edwin M. Stanton. Under Stanton's lead he refused to accept the advice of Floyd, who thereupon resigned. Thenceforth the Northern faction in the cabinet controlled the President.

**576. Schemes of Compromise.** However, Buchanan was not alone in his shrinking from an appeal to force. As soon as it became plain that the secessionists were in earnest, desperate attempts were made to patch things up once more by a compromise, and both the Senate and the House appointed committees for that purpose. Many compromise schemes were debated. The most famous was the so-called "Crittenden Compromise," submitted by Senator John T. Crittenden of Kentucky, who proposed to extend the line of the Missouri Compromise westward to California, to have the "personal liberty laws" declared unconstitutional, and in case of rescue of fugitive slaves after they had been arrested, to have Congress reimburse the owner. However, the time for compromise had unfortunately gone by and eventually Crittenden's plan, together with a number of others, was cast aside.

**577. Secession.** While Congress debated the possibility of a compromise, a merchant steamer, the *Star of the West*, had been sent to Charleston harbor with supplies for Fort Sumter. It was fired upon by the state militia and compelled to retire. This incident greatly increased the tension between the sections, but even before it occurred a number of Southern senators and representatives at Washington had drawn up an address<sup>1</sup> "To our Constituents," advising all the Southern states to withdraw from the Union and unite with South Carolina in a Southern confederacy. A few days after the retreat of the *Star of the West*, conventions in a number of Southern states were hotly debating the question of secession.<sup>2</sup> So, at the same time, two debates raged — one in Congress at Washington on compromise; another in the state conventions of the South on secession.

<sup>1</sup> December 14, 1860. Their action was reaffirmed by a second caucus, January 5, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> In many cases there was strong opposition. Alexander H. Stephens, afterward vice president of the Confederacy, led the opposition in Georgia. In Texas, Governor Houston was the chief opponent of secession.

Several Southern states, one after another, seceded. By February 1, 1861, six states had formally declared their connection with the Union at an end. Besides South Carolina these included Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana. Furthermore, as these states seceded, their senators and representatives at Washington resigned,<sup>1</sup> while the states chose delegates to a general convention to meet at Montgomery, Alabama, for the purpose of forming a Southern confederacy, which Texas also was preparing to join.<sup>2</sup>

**578. The Peace Congress.** At this desperate moment, when the Union seemed to be already divided, the state of Virginia made a last attempt to save it. Most Virginians were eager supporters of the Union, but they felt they belonged to it as partners in a firm, so to speak, with full right to withdraw if they chose. They felt that their Southern neighbors were acting unwisely, but not wrongfully. If the North attempted to use force against them, Virginians generally felt that duty would compel them to side with the South. To prevent such an unhappy event Virginia called a "peace congress," which met at Washington, February 4. Twenty states sent delegates. After long discussion a report was drawn up which was very similar to the Crittenden Compromise.

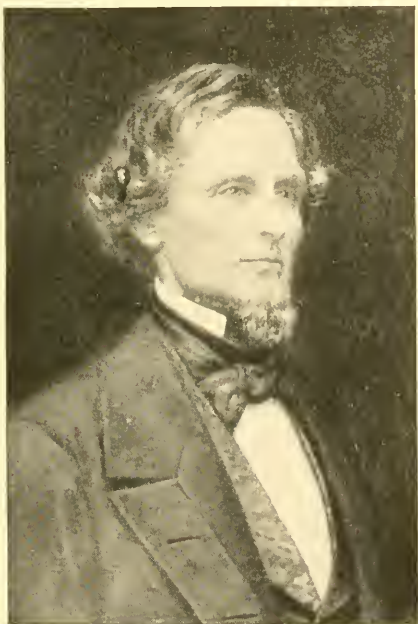
**579. Formation of the Confederacy.** Unfortunately, the peace congress was held too late. On the very day it assembled, the Confederate convention met at Montgomery. While the Congress at Washington was framing its compromise, the convention at Montgomery drew up a constitution,<sup>3</sup> and pro-

<sup>1</sup> The withdrawal of Southern members of Congress made possible the admission of Kansas under its free constitution (January 29, 1861).

<sup>2</sup> On February 1 the Texas convention passed an ordinance of secession, which was ratified by popular vote, February 23.

<sup>3</sup> The Confederate constitution was planned to correct those features of the federal Constitution held by the Confederates to be defects. Except for changes of detail, such as lengthening the president's term to six years, the striking provisions are its limitations of the power of the central government. Having in mind their sufferings under the tariff, the Southerners forbade their new con-





*Jefferson Davis*



claimed the birth of a new nation, the Confederate States of America. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was chosen provisional president,<sup>1</sup> and Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, vice president. Montgomery was fixed upon as the capital.

**580. Lincoln Inaugurated.** Such was the situation March 4, 1861, when Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States.<sup>2</sup> Though an antislavery man, he held very different views from those of the strict abolitionists of the type of Garrison. He refused to consider slavery as a sin with which it was wrong to compromise. He refused to admit that the South alone was to blame for it. "We are all responsible for slavery," said he, meaning that the ancestors of the whole American people had consented to its establishment, and their descendants together should bear the cost of getting rid of it. Therefore, he felt not a trace of the vindictive anti-Southern spirit of the out-and-out abolitionist. Moreover, he was before all else a Unionist. His policy was clearly announced in his inaugural address. He said: "I have no purpose

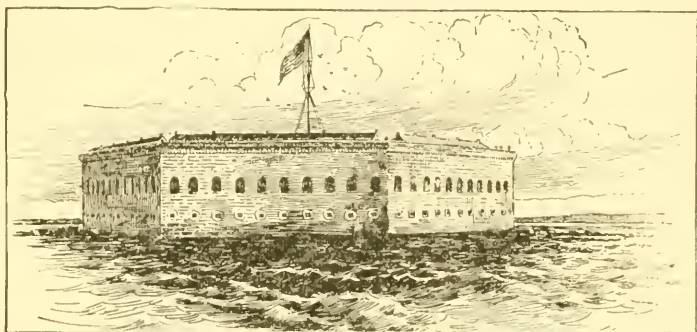
gress to levy any taxes or duties "to promote or foster any branch of industry." Because of the final results of Clay's policy of internal improvements, the Confederate congress was forbidden "to appropriate money for any internal improvements intended to facilitate commerce. . . ." The sovereign character of the states was expressly stated.

<sup>1</sup> He appointed the following cabinet: secretary of state, Robert Toombs of Georgia; secretary of the treasury, Charles G. Memminger, of South Carolina; secretary of war, Leroy Walker, of Alabama; secretary of navy, Stephen R. Mallory, of Florida; attorney-general, Judah P. Benjamin, of Louisiana; postmaster-general, John H. Reagan, of Texas. There were many changes in this cabinet during the next four years. Benjamin is generally thought of as secretary of state. He was transferred to that department March 18, 1862. Memminger was succeeded in the treasury by George A. Trenholm, also of South Carolina, July 18, 1864.

<sup>2</sup> Lincoln's cabinet was composed as follows: secretary of state, William H. Seward, of New York; secretary of treasury, S. P. Chase, of Ohio; secretary of war, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania; secretary of navy, Gideon Welles, of Connecticut; secretary of interior, Caleb P. Smith, of Indiana; attorney-general, Edward Bates of Missouri; postmaster-general, Montgomery Blair, of Maryland. The only subsequent change of great importance was the appointment of Edwin M. Stanton of Pennsylvania as secretary of war in place of Cameron, January 15, 1862.

directly or indirectly to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. . . . No state on its own mere motion can go out of the Union. . . . The Union is unbroken, and to the extent of my ability, I shall take care that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. The power confided in me will be used to hold, occupy and possess the property and places belonging to the government."

**581. Fort Sumter.** Lincoln speedily gave notice to Governor Pickens of South Carolina that Fort Sumter should be



FORT SUMTER, 1861

freshly supplied and held by the United States.<sup>1</sup> Pickens referred the matter to President Davis, who decided upon an aggressive policy, though his secretary of state, Robert Toombs, sought in vain to persuade him not to strike the first blow. "At this time," said Toombs, "it is suicide, murder, and will lose us every friend at the North . . . it is fatal." He was not heeded, and orders were sent to General Beauregard at Charleston to compel the surrender of Fort Sumter.

The fort, situated on an island in the harbor, was held by Major Robert Anderson with a small garrison. The land forts

<sup>1</sup> The Secretary of State, Seward, had told Confederate Commissioners that Sumter would not be relieved. Whether Lincoln was bound by Seward's promise has been bitterly disputed. See Davis, "Confederate Government," I, 263-295; Rhodes, "History," III, 325-351.

protecting the harbor had been occupied by the Confederates, and new batteries had been erected. Several thousand militia had been assembled. The first shot was fired at 4.30 A.M., April 12, 1861, by Captain George S. James, from a cannon at Fort Johnson on the south side of the harbor. Thus began the great war of secession. This first event of it ended two days later in the hauling down of the flag of the United States from above Fort Sumter<sup>1</sup> (April 14, 1861).

**582. The Rising of the North.** Until the day Sumter was fired upon, it was still uncertain whether the North would stand by Lincoln if he went to war. Many Northerners were known to sympathize with the South. But a large portion of them, as Toombs had prophesied, changed their attitude the moment their flag was fired upon. A call for 75,000 volunteers, issued by Lincoln the day after Sumter fell, was quickly answered by 100,000. The Northern militia in great numbers hurried to Washington. Only five days after the fall of Sumter, the sixth regiment of Massachusetts, on its way through Baltimore, was attacked by a mob; there was firing and loss of life. Thus promptly general war began.

**583. The Rising of the South.** The call for volunteers decided the course of four Southern states that hitherto had held back from seceding. Many of their citizens were opposed to secession as a matter of policy, but almost all held it to be a right which the North now threatened to take from them. Consequently, at whatever cost, they resolved to take sides with the seceders. Thus Arkansas, North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee were added to the Confederate States.<sup>2</sup>

President Davis issued a call for volunteers. The response

<sup>1</sup> Anderson was allowed to march out with the honors of war. With his soldiers he went aboard ship and sailed for New York.

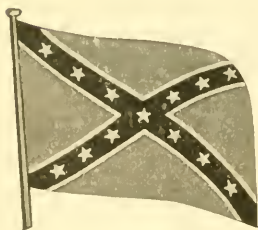
<sup>2</sup> Upon the secession of Virginia the Confederate capital was changed from Montgomery to Richmond. The Montgomery convention had decreed that the provisional president should hold office until a general election should decide upon a regular president. The election was held October 8, 1861. Davis and Stephens were retained in office. The inauguration of the first regular president of the Confederacy took place at Richmond, February 22, 1862.



**1860.** Flag displayed in the Secession Convention at Charleston. The design was based on the State flag of South Carolina.



**1861.** This design, known as the "Stars and Bars," was adopted by the Montgomery Convention.



**1861.** The armies adopted unofficially this flag, known as the "Southern Cross." The "Stars and Bars" had been mistaken in battle for the "Stars and Stripes."



**1863.** Official flag of the Confederacy adopted in 1863. Subsequently a red stripe was added perpendicularly along the outer edge. This was done chiefly for use in the navy. When hanging idle from a mast the flag of 1863 sometimes appeared all white.

#### CONFEDERATE FLAGS



was instant and enthusiastic. A passion of war-feeling swept the land, North and South. On both sides the voices of temperate men, who foresaw how terrible the war would be, were drowned in the roll of drums and the furious shout, "To arms!"

**584. Lincoln's Desperate Situation.** However, neither the government at Washington nor the government at Richmond was really in a position to make war successfully. Of the two, in the spring of 1861, the Washington government was perhaps the worse off. In the first place, it did not have behind it as large a proportion of its own people as did the government at Richmond. Just how strong it was, it did not know. Then, too, so many Southern officers had resigned from the army that the whole service had to be reorganized. The Washington government had almost no funds, and, therefore, schemes for raising great sums of money had instantly to be devised. Above all it had enemies abroad. England and France both wished to see the American republic broken in two. In England, especially, the upper classes sympathized warmly with the South. It seemed probable that at the first excuse both France and England would come to the aid of the Confederacy.

**585. Federal War Program.** But in spite of the greatness of its task and the extremity of its danger, the Washington government did not falter. Congress was called in special session. A series of measures, passed at various times during the next twelve months, formed together a general program for sustaining the government at all cost. An act of Congress authorized the blockade of Southern ports; another authorized a great loan; another, the raising of an army of 500,000 men. Increased tariff duties were levied; direct taxes were provided for; paper money was issued; and an income tax established. Congress also sought to stimulate business so as to have more wealth to tax. Protective duties were laid so as to encourage new manufactures to spring up. Public land was offered for almost nothing to any one who would settle on it and become

a farmer. A charter was granted to the Union Pacific Railroad together with a huge grant of land.

**586. The Struggle for Missouri.** But before all these measures could be enacted, battles were fought. The first thought on both sides was to get control of those border slave states that had not joined the Confederacy, and therefore one of the earliest incidents of the war was a sharp contest between unionists and secessionists in Missouri. The former appealed to Washington for aid; the latter, to Richmond. During the month of May, 1861, it was an open question which side would get control of the state government. The energy of Captain Nathaniel Lyon turned the scale. A secessionist camp near St. Louis was broken up; the governor, a secessionist, was driven from the state capitol; and the unionists got control of the state government. Thereafter, St. Louis was a great base of supplies for the Federal forces.<sup>1</sup>

**587. Maryland Rises.** Maryland, just after the fighting in Baltimore with the sixth Massachusetts regiment (section 582), witnessed a general outburst of secessionist sentiment. For a few days Washington was surrounded by Maryland secessionists and cut off from communication with the North. From this desperate situation the Washington government was delivered by the arrival of New York and Massachusetts militia. Other regiments quickly followed. Presently there were great numbers of Federal troops at Washington and the secession of Maryland was out of the question.

**588. West Virginia.** Still more acute was the situation in western Virginia. The counties west of the mountains had opposed secession and refused to abide by the action of the state convention which had voted to secede. Early in May their representatives met at Wheeling as the first

<sup>1</sup> The Germans of St. Louis were especially active in behalf of the federal government, and contributed greatly to keeping Missouri in the Union. However, the Federal position there was not made entirely secure until the defeat of the Confederates under General Van Dorn, by General Curtis, at Pea Ridge, or Elkhorn, Arkansas, the following spring.

step toward separating from Virginia. To suppress this rebellion against the state, President Davis sent a small Confederate force across the mountains, and at the same time General George B. McClellan, who commanded the militia of Ohio, perceived the great importance to the Union of securing West Virginia. He came to the assistance of the West Virginians, and in a short campaign cleared the region of Confederate forces. As a consequence, the state of West Virginia came into existence and subsequently joined the Union.<sup>1</sup> McClellan's achievement was so magnified in popular fancy that he was talked of throughout the North as a great genius.

**589. The First Great Action.** These clashes in the border states formed, as it were, the prologue to the drama. Three months passed before really considerable armies were brought together on both sides, and it was not until midsummer that the Washington government imagined itself strong enough to strike a blow in Virginia. At Manassas Junction, on the little stream known as Bull Run, there was an important Confederate force commanded by General Pierre G. T. Beauregard and General Joseph E. Johnston.<sup>2</sup> They were attacked, July 21, by a Federal army composed chiefly of militia and commanded by General McDowell. A fierce engagement was turned in favor of the Confederates by the arrival of fresh troops, and ended in the total rout of the Federals.

**590. The Pause for Reorganization.** This battle was followed by another pause during which both governments pushed forward their endeavors to put their forces on a genuine war footing. Each side was strong where the other was weak. While the North, for all its host of militia, still lacked a genuine army, the South lacked the means to equip one. The North now set to work in earnest to drill and train its men. The South set to work to build foundries and cast can-

<sup>1</sup> It was not formally admitted until 1863.

<sup>2</sup> With them was General Thomas T. Jackson, called thereafter, because of the firmness of his conduct, "Stonewall."

non.<sup>1</sup> And each side turned to Europe to see who was its friend there and who was its enemy.

**591. The Trent Affair.** In this moment of pause, the war came near taking a new and bewildering turn. J. M. Mason had been named by President Davis as commissioner of the Confederacy to England, and John Slidell, commissioner to France. They had eluded the Federal warships that were watching Charleston, and made their way to Havana. Thence they sailed for Europe under the English flag on the steamer *Trent*. On November 8, 1861, the *Trent* was stopped and searched by a United States man-of-war. The Confederate commissioners were taken off and conveyed to Fort Warren, in Boston harbor.

The English prime minister at once demanded their release. His note was practically a threat of war. Here was that old question, the right of search at sea, which brought on the War of 1812. But, in this case, the Americans had violated their own principle. Lincoln promptly disavowed the act of the American man-of-war, and the commissioners were given up.

Thus the year 1861 came to an end.<sup>2</sup> Two powerful combatants were straining every nerve to get in first-class condition

<sup>1</sup> President Davis sent agents to Europe to purchase arms, he also issued "letters of marque" to privateers, and sent out "commerce destroyers" to prey on the commerce of the United States. The most famous of these was the *Alabama*, commanded by Captain (afterward Admiral) Raphael Semmes. Altogether two hundred and sixty American merchant ships were captured on the high seas by the Confederates. They were valued at \$20,000,000. So successful were the commerce destroyers that many United States ships were sold to foreigners so as to have the protection of a neutral flag.

<sup>2</sup> In Kentucky, meanwhile, the unionists had got control of the state government. No state came so near to being evenly divided. Two sons of Senator Crittenden became major-generals — one in the Federal army, the other in the Confederate. Being so deeply divided against itself, Kentucky attempted at first to stand neutral. In September, 1861, General Leonidas Polk, with a Confederate army, entered Kentucky, intending to occupy Paducah, an important point on the Ohio River. General U. S. Grant also entered Kentucky, aiming at the same point. The legislature demanded the withdrawal of Polk, but refused to demand the withdrawal of Grant. Kentucky furnished great numbers of men to both armies, and Kentucky representatives were admitted to the Congress of the Confederacy, as well as to the United States Congress.

for a tremendous duel; though neither, as yet, fully realized what was before them, both realized it sufficiently to be terribly in earnest.

## II. THE COMBATANTS

**592. Strength of Numbers.** In 1861 the fighting strength of each side was still an unknown quantity. The advantage of numbers was obviously with the North. The census of 1860 showed the population of the whole United States to be 31,443,321. The states which subsequently seceded contained only 9,103,343. The four slave states which did not secede had a population of 3,100,000. The free states had over 19,000,000. By the slave states which remained in the Union, — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, — a great deal of assistance was given to the South. Many of their citizens joined the Southern armies. It is estimated that perhaps half a million should be added to the population of the Confederacy in order to include the people along the border who actively aided it. On the other hand, eastern Tennessee and the mountain region of Virginia were strongly in favor of the Union. Probably the secessionists along the border were about balanced by the unionists south of the line. In reckoning up the numerical strength, two things must be considered. On the one hand, the Southern population included 3,500,000 slaves; on the other, the Northern people were far from being a unit on the subject of the war. Though undoubtedly the vast majority supported Lincoln, it is certain that a strong minority opposed and hindered him. Still, when every allowance has been made, there can be little doubt that the white men in the Union who favored war outnumbered the white men in the Confederacy three to one.

**593. The Unity of the South.** However, numbers alone are but a part of the military strength of a country. Organization is almost if not quite as important. When the war began, the inferiority of the South in numbers was almost offset by the superiority it had in organization. This was due

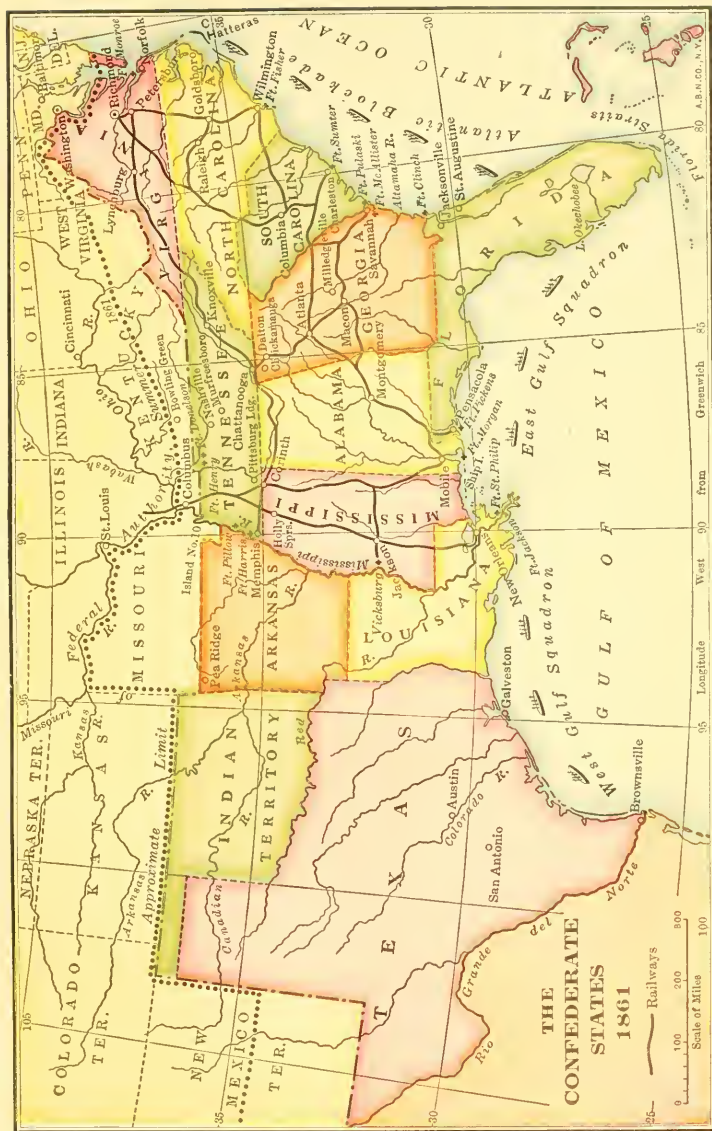
to two things: the unity of its people in point of origin and the aristocratic character of their social system.

The Southern people had not changed in blood since 1790. At that time, as we saw, all Americans were practically English in descent. In 1860 this still was true of the South. Out of its five millions of people not one in fifteen was foreign-born. In the North, on the other hand, about one man in every five was a foreigner. Naturally it would be much easier for a unified population like that of the South to come to a general understanding of what it wanted, and act on that understanding, than for a diverse population like that of the North.

**594. Southern Organization.** Furthermore, the social system of the South was still aristocratic. A class of landed proprietors practically ruled the country. But their power had no basis except their own skill in making use of the social lead which their fathers had secured. Theoretically the poorest white man in the South was the equal of the richest, and therefore the landed class, to retain its social and political eminence, had to keep the mass of the Southern people satisfied with its rule. It had to lead — it could not drive — its followers. Thus political necessity compelled the Southern aristocrat to combine in his character forcefulness with persuasiveness. He had to convince the mass of people that he would make an efficient leader; he had also to get and keep their perfect confidence. In the effort to do this there was give and take between the classes, resulting in a tactful authority on the part of the aristocracy and a great trustfulness on the part of the common people.<sup>1</sup> There had come to be a general conviction that all Southerners had the same interests and that the aristocracy could be trusted to say what those interests were. In short, the social system of the South was practically the same thing as the organization of an army. There was an aristocracy acting like a body of officers, and a mass of people acting like soldiers trustful of their generals.

<sup>1</sup> There were exceptions to the rule. In parts of the South the poor whites were beginning to protest against the ruling class. (See section 562.)







A society thus organized is by far the best with which to begin war, far more effective than democracy, on the one hand, or old-style domineering aristocracy, on the other.

**595. Diversity of the North.** In contrast with this military structure of Southern society, Northern society showed opposite characteristics. During fifty years many tendencies had coöperated to break up the Northern people into separate factions. In the Northwest, for example, the absence of slavery and aristocracy had lured thither all adventurous spirits seeking their fortune. There, politically speaking, one man was as good as another. He felt that he was and asserted it. Consequently it was a difficult task to bring all these people together in a common purpose. It was still more difficult to impose on them that severe discipline, essentially aristocratic, which is the secret of military success.

We have seen that the East had become very nearly as democratic as the West. Partly through the War of 1812, partly through the tariff legislation, partly through the general shifting of population, the readjustment of business, and the rise of new industries, the old aristocratic structure of Eastern society had been broken down. The cultivated people who led "society" — in the narrow sense — no longer had a corresponding leadership in politics. Education had become general. Most of the people had had some schooling and, as a rule, this sufficed to undermine their awe of the cultivated people of wealth. "Many men of many minds" sums up the condition of the North, intellectually, socially, politically, in 1861. Consequently the Northern people had many lessons to learn before they could take kindly to the aristocratic nature of military excellence.

**596. Country versus City.** Again it seemed on the surface that the daily habits of the South were more favorable to military life than those of the North. The Southerner of every class lived largely out of doors. He was generally a good horseman and a good shot. While the same was true of all the frontier population North and West, it was not true

of that large part of the Northern people which lived in cities. An ancient prejudice of the man of the country against the man of the city led many people in 1860 to believe that the North could never recruit valiant armies. Experience, however, showed that city men, once their innate democracy had accepted discipline, made excellent soldiers.

**597. Relative Resources.** The city population of the North was really its chief source of strength. The world has come to see that wars are won in the workshops and on the farms, even more than in the line of battle. Without a great industrial system to feed and equip enormous armies, modern warfare is impossible. The North, even in 1861, had such a system. The South had not. The North cultivated twice as much land as the South, and got more money out of it because free labor made possible more intelligent industry. Furthermore, in 1861, the factories of the North could produce anything needed by its armies in order to wage successful war. In the South, on the contrary, there was only one foundry equipped to cast heavy cannon. There was not a single powder mill. There were no makers of arms, and in the whole South in 1861, there were not enough rifles to arm the Southern volunteers who were so eager to use them.<sup>1</sup> The one resource of the South was its cotton. Through cotton profits it hoped to purchase rifles and cannon in Europe, and build foundries at home. Cotton was the key to the situation in the South.

**598. The Naval Contrast.** It was in relation to the South's dependence upon cotton that the crucial difference of the sections was most fully revealed. The South had no navy and no shipyards worth mentioning. To protect its cotton trade, ships of war were an absolute necessity. As we shall see, the South was unable to meet this necessity. The Northern manufacturing superiority turned the scale at last by creating a powerful navy that swept the Southern cotton trade from the seas.

<sup>1</sup> By confiscating the Federal arsenals in the South the Confederacy became possessed of a considerable number of muskets, but these were largely of antiquated type.

## III. THE PERIOD OF UNCERTAINTIES

**599. Fields of Action.** The geography of the Southern states made it certain that four distinct regions would be the chief seats of war. In the center of the northern boundary of the Confederacy lay a great stretch of rugged mountains and dense forests. To move an army through these mountain forests was almost impossible. Therefore, Virginia on the east and Tennessee on the west formed two gateways into the South which both sides were eager to secure. A third gateway was the lower Mississippi, guarded by New Orleans. If a Northern fleet could force its way up the Mississippi and unite with a Northern army moving down through Tennessee, the South would be cut in two. For that reason the lower Mississippi was inevitably a third chief center of action. The fourth region was the Atlantic coast. If the Atlantic and Gulf ports could go on trading with Europe, sending cotton over and receiving supplies in return, the South might be able to keep up the war indefinitely. If the North was to win, those ports must be closed, their commerce destroyed. Therefore, the whole coast had to be watched by a strong fleet. Such then were the four predetermined seats of war: Virginia, the country between the mountains and the Mississippi, the region about New Orleans, and the coast of the Atlantic and the Gulf.

**600. The Military Situation at the Opening of 1862.** In each of these four regions the Confederate war department, during 1861, had prepared to receive attack. Along the coast fortifications were built, and at the important places, such as Savannah, Charleston, and Norfolk, garrisons were assembled. New Orleans was guarded by two strong forts. Other fortifications higher up the river, especially those at Vicksburg, were also of prime importance. The most northern of these were at Columbus, Kentucky, only a short distance below the mouth of the Ohio. From Columbus eastward to the mountains there was a string of Confederate posts. Among the most important were Fort Henry on the Tennessee River

and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. At Bowling Green, Kentucky, lay the chief Confederate force in that region, commanded by Albert Sidney Johnston. Far to the east of it, on the other side of the mountains, Virginia was occupied by the army that had won at Manassas. Its commander was Joseph E. Johnston.

In each of the four principal regions great forces of Northerners were gathering for battle. The Confederate army in Virginia was confronted by the army of the Potomac, commanded by McClellan. He had been organizing this army all through the previous autumn, skillfully training the Northern militia in the art of war. Early in 1862 the army of the Potomac had become a good fighting machine, and McClellan was ready to try his strength with J. E. Johnston. In the west at the opening of the year there were two Federal armies, independent of each other. Watching A. S. Johnston, in Kentucky, was the army of the Ohio under Don Carlos Buell. Farther west, with headquarters at St. Louis, General Henry W. Halleck commanded.

Preparations were also in progress for an attack on New Orleans. Ship Island in the Gulf of Mexico had already been occupied by a Federal fleet. A fleet under Farragut, carrying an army under Benjamin F. Butler, was soon to assemble there and set to work forcing its way up the Mississippi.

All along the eastern coast, throughout 1861, the Federal navy was being steadily increased and in the course of the year it had accomplished much. Fort Hatteras, on the coast of North Carolina, and Hilton Head in South Carolina had been captured. At the latter place, only sixty miles from Charleston, a naval base had been established. However, on the side of the sea, at the opening of 1862, the North was still comparatively weak. Its navy was not yet strong enough to terrorize the coast. Though President Lincoln had declared the Southern ports "blockaded" and had forbidden any one to go into or come out of them, it was not yet possible to make the blockade effective. Southern cotton was still sent over to



England, and both England and France had done the South a great service by issuing proclamations of neutrality.<sup>1</sup> This amounted to saying that they looked upon the Southerners not as "rebels,"<sup>2</sup> as many Northerners wished to have them considered, but as lawful opponents of the North in war.

Thus at the opening of 1862 the naval operations along the eastern coast seemed as yet of minor importance. The South was eager and hopeful. Its armies were prepared for battle in Virginia, in the West, and about New Orleans. In each of these regions early in 1862 Northern armies began the invasion of the South.

**601. The Invasion of Tennessee.** The first great blow was struck by a portion of Halleck's force under the immediate command of Grant. Advancing suddenly up the Tennessee River, Grant stormed and took Fort Henry (February 6), and ten days later compelled Fort Donelson to surrender. Grant's advance had been so swift and successful that Johnston, at Bowling Green, did not venture to remain longer so far north. He retreated to Nashville, whither Buell followed him.

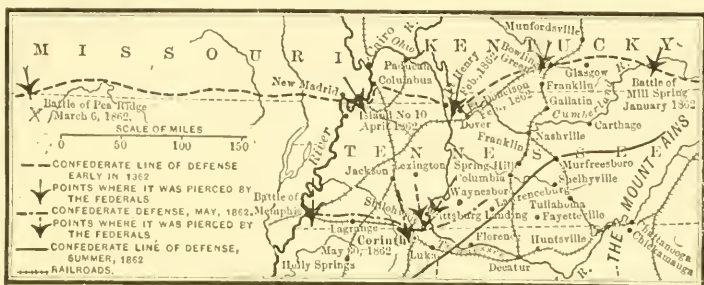
This sudden success of the Federals had two noteworthy consequences. First, the credit for it was given not to Grant but to his superior, Halleck, who was made commander over all the Federal forces in the West, with Grant and Buell as his leading subordinates. Second, it was the cause of Halleck's

<sup>1</sup> The British proclamation of neutrality was issued May 13, 1861. It gave the Southerners the standing of "belligerents," entitled to the protection of the law of nations. The Southern ships were thus entitled to the same treatment in British ports as ships flying the flag of the United States.

<sup>2</sup> At first the Washington government attempted to regard the Southern soldiers as mere "rebels," and not as citizens of a foreign state with which the Union was at war. On this ground Lincoln for a time refused to exchange prisoners. However, by his blockade proclamation (April 19, 1861), which was directed against all Southern commerce and made no distinction whether the shipowners were Unionist or Confederate in their sympathies, he practically treated the Southern states as foreign powers. Presently he went further and authorized the exchange of prisoners.

attempting an advance upon Corinth, in Mississippi, a railway center of vital importance to the defense of the Confederacy.

Perceiving that Corinth would certainly be the objective point of the Federals, Johnston hurried thither, while Halleck, with a view to advancing on Corinth, ordered all his forces to concentrate at Pittsburg Landing in southern Tennessee.



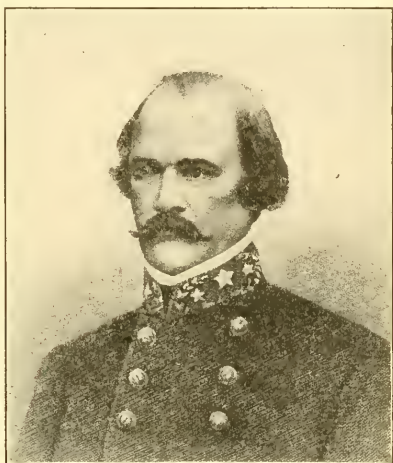
THE WAR IN THE WEST, 1862

But these forces were widely scattered and could not immediately be brought together. At the opening of April, though Grant had reached Pittsburg Landing with 43,000 men, Buell was still some distance away. A third division of Halleck's forces, under General John Pope, was busy on the Mississippi, held in check by the great fortress known as Island No. 10.<sup>1</sup> Grant's position well in advance of the other Federal armies was full of danger, and Johnston, who had assembled 40,000 men at Corinth, saw that his chance had come. He would strike Grant and destroy him before Buell could arrive. A swift march from Corinth ended in a furious attack on Grant's camp at Shiloh, two miles from Pittsburg Landing, April 6, 1862. The Federals were taken by surprise and thrown into confusion. By nightfall, after desperate fighting, they were slowly retreating. The Confederates appeared to have won a great victory, but the next day the situation changed. Johnston, who had been mortally wounded, was succeeded in command by Beauregard. During the night Buell had come up with 20,000 men. The united Federal

<sup>1</sup> Almost on the southern line of Kentucky.

army now, in turn, drove the Confederates from the field, and Beauregard retreated to Corinth.

**602. Halleck against Corinth.** Beauregard's retreat left Halleck free to concentrate his forces at leisure. He soon joined the camp at Pittsburg Landing, but he would not move against Corinth until all his three armies were consolidated into one. This was made possible by the surrender of Island No. 10 to Pope (April 8), who was thus enabled to bring his whole force to Pittsburg Landing on April 22. Halleck had now brought together 100,000 men. Beauregard at Corinth had only 50,000. The distance separating the two armies was but twenty miles.

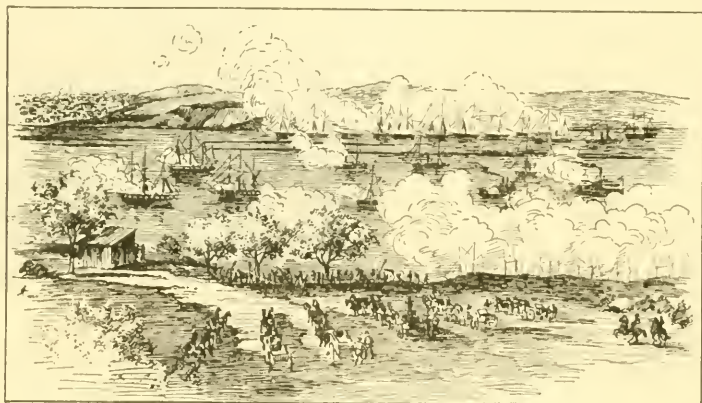


A. S. JOHNSTON

At this juncture, telegrams from Washington informed Halleck that a Federal fleet under Farragut had daringly run past the forts below New Orleans and was before the city. On May 1 Farragut landed Butler's army in New Orleans (section 600) and went on up the river with his fleet. His purpose was to destroy Vicksburg — "the Gibraltar of the West," as it was called — and the Federal authorities urged Halleck to press forward and coöperate with him. The wisdom of such a course was quickly proved when Farragut after bombarding Vicksburg confessed his inability to reduce it without the aid of an army. But Halleck, after much hesitation, decided the time had not come to attack Vicksburg. With incredible slowness he went forward toward Corinth. Johnston had covered the same distance in two days. Halleck took thirty-seven days. He reached it May 30, 1862, one

day after Beauregard with all his army had quietly marched away to form a new camp fifty miles south.

**603. The Pause in the West.** A fleet of Federal gunboats, coming down the Mississippi, destroyed a Confederate fleet and forced the surrender of Memphis, June 6. The Federals now had control of the river as far south as Vicksburg, but that great fortress was like a lion in their path. Its defenses had been greatly strengthened during the month which Halleck had wasted. To attack it at once seemed to Halleck un-



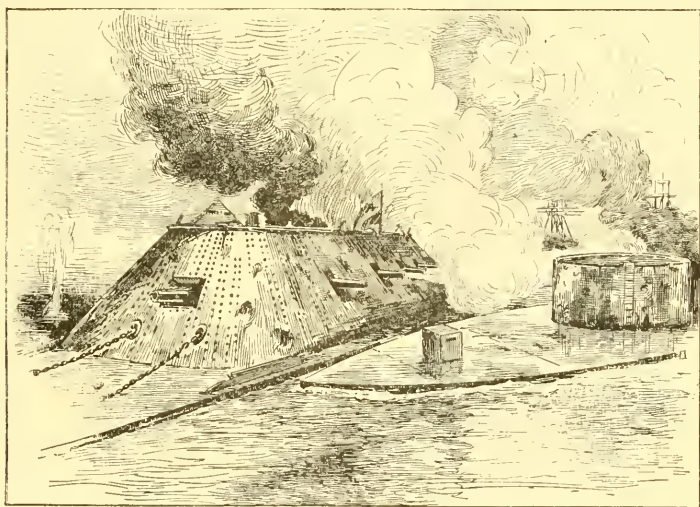
BOMBARDMENT OF VICKSBURG

reasonable. He could think of nothing better to do than to make a long pause at Corinth, and wait to be attacked.

**604. Contemporaneous Eastern Events.** During all this stern fighting along the Mississippi, the Confederate war department was unable to send assistance from the East. This fact shows the extent of the Federal attack. From the start the Confederate armies formed two great forces, eastern and western. Each group was so closely pressed by its opponents that President Davis dared not draw off any part of one to assist the other. This state of things continued in the main throughout the war. The Richmond government was

always directing an eastern and a western army and almost always each force was too busy on its own field to give aid to the other.

**605. The Ironclads.** In 1862 there were notable Confederate successes in the East. They began with the destruction of the Federal vessels at Hampton Roads by a new sort of warship, the armored ram *Virginia*. This vessel had once been the United States frigate *Merrimac*. It had fallen into



MONITOR AND VIRGINIA

the hands of the Confederates, had been remodeled, and sheathed with iron. Steaming from Norfolk, it attacked a fleet of old-style wooden ships lying in Hampton Roads.<sup>1</sup>

Without injury to herself the *Virginia* sank the old warship *Cumberland* and disabled the *Congress*. However, the Confederates had not been alone in the attempt to design new ships of war. The North at the same time was doing the same thing. A Swedish engineer, John Ericsson, had built the

<sup>1</sup> The United States had kept possession of Fortress Monroe, which formed an important naval base.



*Monitor*, a small ironclad, sitting low in the water, with a revolving armored turret which sheltered her powerful cannon. The *Monitor* arrived in Hampton Roads just at the crucial moment. On March 9 the two ironclads met. They circled about each other in a fierce duel, and more than once the mouths of their cannon almost touched. Though neither vessel was seriously damaged, the *Virginia* at last drew off and steamed back to Norfolk.

**606. The Invasion of Virginia.** With the *Monitor* check-mating the *Virginia*, the Federals had full control of Chesapeake Bay. McClellan decided to take his army by water from the neighborhood of Washington to Fortress Monroe and thence march upon Richmond. Accordingly, more than 120,000 men were landed on the Virginia coast and marched with extreme deliberation up the peninsula between the York and James rivers. A month was spent by McClellan getting ready to bombard Yorktown, and during that time Johnston concentrated his forces for the defense of Richmond. Then, just as the Federal siege guns were about to open fire upon Yorktown, the Confederates withdrew (May 3). McClellan, slowly following, reached the Chickahominy River, and there made a great mistake. Instead of crossing at once with his whole army, he sent part of it across, while the rest halted. A sudden rise of the river threatened to cut the army of the Potomac in two. Johnston saw his opportunity. Wheeling upon his pursuers, he attacked that part of them already across the Chickahominy and separated from the rest by the flooded stream. This was the battle of Seven Pines or Fair Oaks. McClellan barely succeeded in saving his army from destruction, and two days of desperate fighting proved necessary to do it, but at last he held his ground (May 31-June 1). The Confederates fell back to Richmond, which was but a few miles distant. Johnston, who had been wounded in the battle, was succeeded in command by Robert Edward Lee.

**607. Jackson circumvents McClellan.** McClellan did not believe that his army by itself was strong enough to take



Richmond. He was misled by his scouts, and got the notion that the army opposed to him was two or three times its actual size. In point of fact it was but half as large as his own. Nevertheless, he tormented Lincoln for reënforcements, and at last it was arranged that McDowell with some 40,000 men should come to his aid. But McDowell never came. He was prevented by the daring exploits of one of the greatest of the great leaders of the war. This was Stonewall Jackson (section 589, note). As McDowell was preparing to move southward, Jackson made a brief but wonderful campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. So swift and startling were his movements, that the War Department feared he would get behind McDowell and attack Washington. In hot haste McDowell was ordered back to protect the capital. Jackson's real purpose, however, was not to attack Washington, but to prevent the junction of McDowell and McClellan. While great preparations were being made to resist Jackson, he suddenly slipped away, took his army with amazing swiftness across Virginia, and joined Lee at Richmond, June 23.<sup>1</sup>



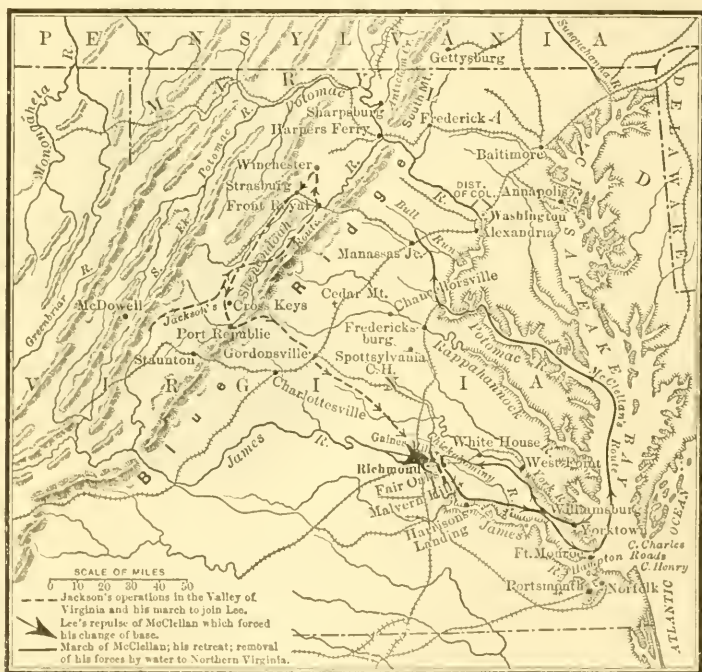
STONEWALL JACKSON

**608. The Change of Base.** Thus McClellan found himself balked. He had not been joined by McDowell and he had allowed his enemies to concentrate their forces. He lacked neither courage nor ability, but he was not a match for either of the two great geniuses now opposed to him. His own genius

<sup>1</sup> Ever since the battle of Fair Oaks, McClellan had remained inactive on the banks of the Chickahominy.

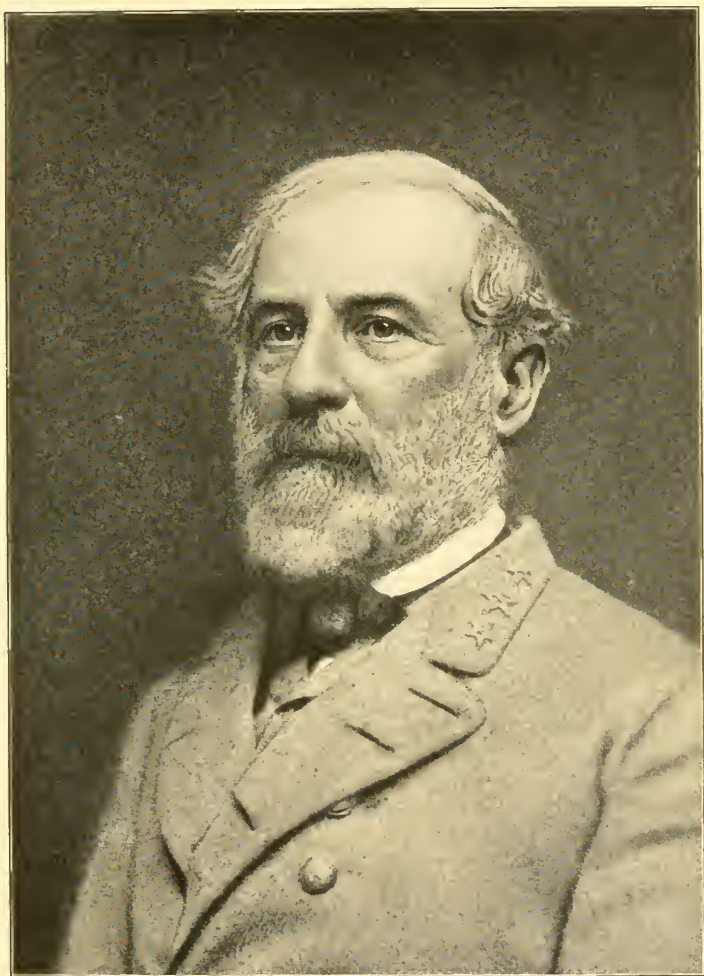
was chiefly in the line of organization. He had made an army out of raw levies, but now that it was made he was not equal to using it, and at this moment he was deliberating whether he ought not to "change his base," — that is, move his depot of supplies from a point on the Pamunkey River to a less exposed point on the James.

**609. The Seven Days.** While McClellan was hesitating what to do, Lee attacked him (June 26). This was the



VIRGINIA CAMPAIGN, 1862

beginning of a terrible conflict known as the Seven Days' Battles. The first day's fight was not decisive. On the second day occurred the fierce battle of Gaines' Mills, in which one wing of the Federal army, commanded by Fitz-John Porter, bore the whole brunt of the fighting. That night Mc-



ROBERT EDWARD LEE

From a negative in the possession of H. P. Cook, Richmond, Va.



Clellan gave orders to attempt the change of base. During the next four days the army of the Potomac slowly edged away toward the James. It was on this famous retreat — for such it was — that McClellan appeared at his best. With great skill he kept his army in good order, while repulsing the eager Southern columns hurled against him in a grand fury of enthusiasm. The last terrific attack was made at Malvern Hill, July 1. The Confederates, after appalling losses, fell back from before the massed cannon of the Federals. The next day McClellan formed his new base on the James River, under the guns of a Federal fleet. His “peninsular campaign” had cost the Federals 23,000 men. The Confederates had lost 27,000 men, but Richmond had been saved, and the confidence of the North in its chief general had been sadly shaken.

**610. Pope supplants McClellan.** While McClellan was retreating, all the forces about Washington had been combined into one army, and General Pope had been summoned from the west to command it. Both Lincoln and his secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, had lost confidence in McClellan, and they had fixed on Pope to take his place. McClellan was ordered to abandon the peninsula and bring his army home by sea. A great part of it was taken from him and instructed to join Pope.

**611. Second Manassas.** That headlong and stubborn soldier marched into Virginia. Thereupon, Lee, with all his forces, hurried northward, hoping to attack Pope before McClellan’s army could join him. It was in carrying out Lee’s plan that Jackson again astonished the world by the swiftness with which he marched. Sweeping clear around Pope’s army, he got between him and Washington and burnt his supplies at Manassas. Lee then attacked in front. Thus began the terrible second battle of Manassas, fought on the old field of Bull Run (August 30). Pope was beaten so completely that the confidence he had enjoyed hitherto immediately vanished. His army retreated toward Washington, and the unfortunate general was removed from command.

**612. The Confederate Counterstrokes.** The month of August, 1862, was a hopeful period for the Confederacy. Both east and west the Federal armies were either retreating or at a standstill. In the west they had not made any noteworthy advance since Halleck paused at Corinth. Though that slow general had been lately called to Washington as military adviser of President Lincoln, he continued to keep the western armies inactive. The western Confederates, on the other hand, after the long rest Halleck had allowed them, were eagerly preparing to turn the tables. President Davis had given them a new general, Braxton Bragg (June, 1862), who now planned a great forward movement designed to strike the Federals in three places at once, drive them back from Mississippi and Tennessee, win Kentucky for the Confederacy, and fix its northern boundary at the Ohio River.

Another great movement of Confederates was planned in the east. Lee decided to follow up his victory at Manassas by an invasion of Maryland.

**613. Hopes of the Confederates.** The Confederate government expected great results from these forward movements. It was believed at Richmond that both Kentucky and Maryland had been kept from seceding only by the presence of Federal soldiers. Furthermore, in all the Northern states, elections for a new House of Representatives would be held in November. It was known that a considerable portion of the Northern people wished the South to succeed, while many others, convinced that the war must end in failure, were opposed to what they considered a useless waste of life.<sup>1</sup> If victorious Southern armies could drive the Northern armies from all the Southern states, and if, in the course of the autumn, Kentucky and Maryland finally joined the Confederacy, it might well follow that the November elections would result in

<sup>1</sup> This attitude was summed up in the saying, "Let the erring sisters go in peace." It must not be confused with the attitude of friendliness to secession. For the latter, see section 640.



a House opposed to the war, and that the independence of the Confederacy would be recognized at Washington. Filled with these hopes, the Southern leaders pressed forward the two great counterstrokes that were to force the Federal government to make peace.

**614. The Eastern Counterstroke.** Lee crossed the Potomac early in September, and issued a proclamation calling on the Marylanders to rise against the Federal government and join the Confederacy. But western Maryland proved to be largely Federal in feeling, and there was no rising; no Maryland troops joined Lee. He had forbidden pillage and wished to pay his way, but the farmers refused to accept Confederate money. Though Jackson performed another brilliant exploit, capturing Harper's Ferry with some 12,000 men, the outlook was very dark when Lee reached Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek. He had with him less than 50,000 men.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond the Antietam lay the army of the Potomac, 95,000 strong. McClellan was again in command of it. Now that Pope was out of favor, there was no one else available on whom the Washington government dared rely, and, therefore, McClellan was given his second opportunity. The battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg, was fought September 17. It was undoubtedly one of the half dozen critical events of the war. Had the Federals been defeated that day, Lee would have entered Washington, and there is no telling how the whole political situation might have changed. But the Federals were not defeated. It is an open question whether they gained a victory. Antietam may be classed as a drawn battle in which neither side was entirely successful. It was a frightfully bloody battle, which proved only that Lee was not strong enough to crush the army of the Potomac and take Washington.

**615. Fredericksburg.** Lee fell back into Virginia, and McClellan would not risk an attack upon him as he retreated. This excess of caution finally convinced Lincoln that McClellan

<sup>1</sup> Estimates of his force differ; Lee's own estimate was 40,000.

was unfit for his difficult position. He was removed and General Ambrose E. Burnside was appointed to succeed him. The change proved disastrous. Though the new commander was utterly without fear, he was also without genius. Eager to make up for McClellan's overcaution, he pressed forward into central Virginia, where Lee had entrenched his army at Fredericksburg. There, December 13, Burnside attacked him. The assault is justly considered one of the great examples of American courage, but it was utterly useless. The Confederate lines were impregnable. The army of the Potomac was hurled against them, in charge after charge, with no result but a reckless display of the daring of the American soldier. After fearful slaughter, his officers begged Burnside to give up the attempt. At last he consented, and ordered a retreat toward Washington.

**616. The Western Counterstroke.** Let us now see what had happened in the west. When Halleck went to Washington (section 612) he divided the western Federal armies between Grant and Buell. Through Halleck's orders nothing was done for a considerable time, with the exception of a movement by Buell toward Chattanooga. This was checked in July by the famous Confederate cavalry commander, General Nathan B. Forrest. Then followed a number of daring cavalry raids, conducted chiefly by Forrest and his rival in reputation, General John H. Morgan. One or the other of them repeatedly attacked outlying Federal posts with brilliant success. Meanwhile Bragg made his arrangements for a triple movement against all the Federal forces in the west (section 612). His own forces were grouped in Mississippi, central Tennessee, and eastern Tennessee. In September they were in motion along three separate lines of advance. General Earl Van Dorn moved against Corinth. At the other extremity of the Confederate line, General Kirby Smith marched from east Tennessee into Kentucky, and threatened Cincinnati. Bragg himself invaded western Kentucky from Chattanooga, aiming at Louisville.

Like Lee in the invasion of Maryland, Bragg counted upon a general uprising of the state he meant to occupy. But like Lee in Maryland, he suffered disappointment. Few Kentuckians joined his army. At the same time, through unwise delays, he permitted Buell, who made a swift march northward, to get between him and Louisville. A fierce, though indecisive battle, fought at Perryville, October 8, convinced Bragg that his invasion of Kentucky was a mistake. Kirby Smith had also lost hope. Both commanders withdrew with heavy hearts into Tennessee.

To add to the discouragements of the Confederates, Van Dorn had also failed. An attack which he had made upon Corinth, with a view to shattering Grant's army, had been foiled by Grant's chief lieutenant, General William S. Rosecrans, October 3-4.

**617. Situation at the End of 1862.** This success of

Rosecrans made him the man of the moment. The government at Washington was impatient to find generals who showed driving energy; Buell was supposed, perhaps unjustly, to lack it. Like McClellan he was blamed for not destroying his enemy as he retreated. We have seen that McClellan was removed in November and the impetuous Burnside put in his place. That same month Buell was removed, and the command of his army given to Rosecrans. During November and December, 1862, while Burnside was pushing across Virginia against Lee, Rosecrans was making vigorous prepara-



STATUE OF GENERAL FORREST,  
MEMPHIS

tions to strike Bragg. The general forward movement of the Confederates had changed to a general movement of retreat, like a great flood that had reached its high tide and was now ebbing. From Virginia to the Mississippi the Federals were now advancing.

In this advance the movements of Rosecrans were of great importance because of their bearing upon Vicksburg. Grant had at last got permission from Halleck to attempt its capture. To do so he must destroy the Confederate forces in Mississippi. But that would be impossible unless Bragg was prevented from coming to their aid. To prevent Bragg was the business of Rosecrans. Bragg, on the other hand, had one last chance to stop the advance upon Vicksburg.<sup>1</sup> If he could fight and beat Rosecrans he might then turn westward, catch Grant in a vise, as it were, before Vicksburg, and destroy him. Therefore, the three days' battle of Murfreesboro, fought on the last day of 1862 and the first two of 1863, is one of the chief actions of the war. It has truly been called a terrible battle, so fierce was the fighting. The Confederate charges were as fine displays of daring as our history contains. There was a time when it seemed as if they had won the battle. But Rosecrans was a very stubborn fighter, and Bragg was at length forced to retreat. Thereafter Rosecrans watched him so closely that he was unable to make any movement to assist Vicksburg. Grant advanced with all his forces against this western Gibraltar.

#### IV. THE CRISIS

**618. Foreign Affairs in 1862.** Great things happened in 1862 at other places than the fields of battle. Hitherto the South had hoped for aid from Europe. England was the world's chief cotton manufacturer, and all her raw cotton came

<sup>1</sup> Grant made his first advance against Vicksburg in December, 1862. A Confederate raid, which destroyed his base of supplies at Holly Springs, forced him to fall back (December 20). Sherman, who was in command of a separate column, was repulsed (December 27) at Chickasaw Bayou.

from the South. Southerners reasoned that England would never consent to the closing of Southern ports, for that would mean shutting off her supply of cotton and loss of employment to thousands of her workmen. France was also more than willing to see the American Union divided in two. Both these powers, in their desire to encourage the South, had gone as far as they could without actually declaring war on the United States. In fact, the French emperor, Napoleon III, had taken a step which amounted to a challenge to the United States to defend the Monroe Doctrine if they dared. He undertook to bring a New World republic under monarchical influence and French legions were landed in Mexico. Napoleon's course was bitterly resented in the North, but Lincoln and his cabinet knew they dared not, just then, go to war with France. They had no choice but to wait grimly for the time when their hands should be free and they might force the emperor to withdraw the legions from Mexican soil.<sup>1</sup>



COIN OF THE MEXICAN  
EMPIRE

**619. English Ships for the Confederacy.** Relations with England were also alarming the North. In the spring of 1862 Confederate agents bought in England and sent to sea a commerce destroyer, the *Florida*. Another ship, the *Alabama*, was built for the Confederacy at Liverpool, and in spite of the protest of the American minister, Charles Francis Adams, was allowed to go to sea (July, 1862). Napoleon was then urging the English ministry to agree to coöperate with him in a joint Anglo-French intervention by force of arms in American affairs, and many prominent Englishmen made no

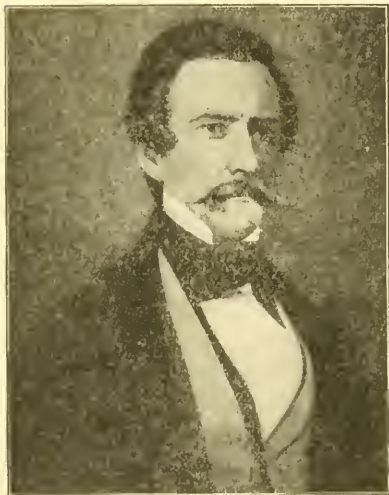
<sup>1</sup> In 1863 Napoleon suppressed the Mexican republic altogether and set up Maximilian of Austria as emperor. The United States protested, but did no more than that until after the war. In 1865 the United States practically threatened to invade Mexico. Napoleon subsequently withdrew his army and Maximilian was executed by the Mexicans.



secret of their wish to take such a course. William Ewart Gladstone said in a public address, "Jefferson Davis, and other leaders of the South, have made an army, they are making, it appears, a navy; and they have made what is more than either—a nation." Gladstone was then chancellor of the exchequer in the ministry of Lord Palmerston.<sup>1</sup> Hearing of this speech, Mr. Adams said, "We are

now passing through the very crisis of our fate."

**620. The Union Party in England.** However, there was one factor in this diplomatic chess game which was not fully appreciated either by the Confederates or by the British ministry. This was the feeling of the English working people on the subject of slavery. American lecturers, such as Henry Ward Beecher, and certain English radicals, such as John Bright and John Stuart Mill, had aroused and organized the



ADMIRAL RAPHAEL SEMMES, COMMANDER OF THE *ALABAMA*

antislavery spirit of Great Britain. The workingmen thought of slavery as a despotic institution opposed to all the interests of their class. Consequently, when cotton ran short in England and the mills began to shut down, the Confederates met with a great surprise. They had expected to hear of the English workingmen clamoring for English intervention in America so as to open the ports of the South. Instead, the

<sup>1</sup> There was an "American party" in the cabinet, led by the Duke of Argyle, which steadily favored the North and more or less tied Palmerston's hands.



workingmen declared uncompromising hostility to any government that supported slavery.<sup>1</sup>

**621. The Emancipation Proclamation.** It was partly to take advantage of this feeling that Lincoln, in the latter part of 1862, had decided on a bold measure. Up to that time he had made no move hostile to slavery. Twice he had reversed the acts of Federal generals who had proclaimed freedom to the slaves.<sup>2</sup> As late as August, 1862, he had refused to commit himself to emancipation. In that month, when everything looked dark for the North, Horace Greeley, in the *New York Tribune*, violently attacked the President for what he called his defense of "rebel slavery." Lincoln replied in an open letter printed in a Washington newspaper. He said: "My paramount object is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it. If I could save it by freeing some, and leaving others alone, I would also do that."<sup>3</sup> However, he was even then considering emancipation as a war measure. He saw three reasons for giving to the war an antislavery turn: (1) a wholesale freeing of slaves might revolutionize those parts of the South not held by the Confederate armies; (2) it would bring to his support certain classes in the North, the extreme abolitionists, who had hitherto held aloof<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> A few Southerners had seen from the beginning that such would be the case, and that because of its workingmen, the British government would not venture to intervene. B. C. Yancey, early in 1861, foretold what would happen. See the life of Charles Francis Adams by his son, C. F. Adams.

<sup>2</sup> These proclamations were issued by General Frémont (August, 1861), and General Hunter (May, 1862). Runaway negroes, however, had been received within the Federal lines and retained as "contraband of war," that is, property seized from the enemy in order to reduce his strength. Congress authorized the retention of these slaves by a sweeping confiscation act, July 17, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> This is all the more significant because Lincoln was always personally a strong opponent of slavery. He had already urged Congress to free the slaves in the border states by purchase. Congress had approved the scheme, but the states would not coöperate, and nothing came of it.

<sup>4</sup> At first the abolitionists bitterly opposed the war. Their hatred of the South was so extreme that they rejoiced in the prospect of separation.

(3) above all it would secure the hearty support of the North by the English radicals. For all these reasons he decided, in September, 1862, to follow up the next success of the Federal arms by a blow at slavery in the states.<sup>1</sup> Antietam, followed by Lee's retreat, served his purpose. On September 22 he issued a proclamation which gave notice that he would, one hundred days thereafter, declare free all slaves in every state that had not meanwhile laid down its arms and acknowledged the authority of the Union. As no state did so, he issued, January 1, 1863, his Emancipation Proclamation. It was issued solely on his own responsibility as commander in chief of the armies of the United States, and did not apply to those slave states which had not seceded. Since the Federal authority extended over but a small part of the South, the proclamation did not, of course, have much immediate effect upon slavery. It was not expected to have. Its significance was as a declaration of policy. Thereafter, the North could take the attitude of an armed champion of freedom against slavery. This attitude brought into line behind the Lincoln administration those antislavery extremists who had hitherto withheld their support. It also secured for the North the enthusiastic support of the working class, and of the radicals generally, in England. With those classes eagerly opposed to assisting the South, the British ministry drew back and became less considerate of Southern interests. As a piece of political and diplomatic generalship the Emancipation Proclamation was one of the great strokes of the Lincoln administration.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Congress had already abolished slavery in the territories (June 19, 1862). It had previously purchased and set free the slaves in the District of Columbia (April 16, 1862).

<sup>2</sup> One result of emancipation was the enlistment of negro troops. The first black regiment was the First South Carolina Volunteers, commanded by a New England abolitionist, Colonel T. W. Higginson. A famous negro regiment was the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, commanded by Robert G. Shaw. It took part in the very desperate assault upon Battery Wagner, near Charleston, where Shaw was killed. In all, there were 179,000 negro troops in the armies of the United States.

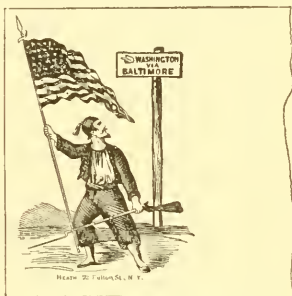


ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a photogravure. © A. W. Elson & Co., Boston



**622. Composition of the Armies.** It was the military custom at that time to suspend operations if possible during the winter. Very little was done by any of the armies in the early months of 1863,<sup>1</sup> while the governments, both at Washington and at Richmond, made every effort to increase their fighting strength. The Federal soldiers at the opening of 1863 numbered 918,000, the Confederate, 466,000. At first, the armies had been composed of volunteers only, but the South with its comparatively small population had been forced early to pass conscription laws.<sup>2</sup> The North now took the same course. Congress passed a Draft Act,<sup>3</sup> March 3, 1863. A certain number of men, in every township of the North, were to be drawn by lot for service in the field.



FEDERAL WAR-TIME  
ENVELOPE

**623. Habeas Corpus.** In order to strengthen the government, the Federal Congress empowered the President to suspend the writ of *habeas corpus*.<sup>4</sup> The privileges of *habeas corpus*

<sup>1</sup> Grant, stubbornly returning to the attack after his severe mishap in December (section 617, note), made two attempts upon Vicksburg. But the obstacles in his way were so great that both undertakings failed.

Another Federal disaster about the same time was the failure of an attempt to occupy Galveston (January, 1863).

<sup>2</sup> In April, 1862, all white males between eighteen and thirty-five years of age were made subject to military duty. Later acts extended the age until, as has been said, conscription "robbed both the cradle and the grave."

<sup>3</sup> The Draft Act provoked violent protest, resulting in what were known as "draft riots." The worst were in New York City. For three days, in July, 1863, the city was in possession of the mob. More than a thousand people were killed or wounded, and much property was destroyed. The riot was finally suppressed by soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> Lincoln had previously suspended writ of *habeas corpus* on his own authority. Says Alexander Johnston: "By the writ of Habeas Corpus, an imprisoned person obtains an examination before the courts, and a release if his imprisonment is shown to be without warrant of law. Its suspension was considered necessary on account of the number of Northern courts disposed to resist military arrests of suspected persons." "American Politics" (ed. of 1910, p. 203).

are among the fundamental things of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and by suspending these privileges, Congress made it possible for any one suspected of disloyalty to the government to be arrested on suspicion and kept in prison indefinitely, without a trial. This power made the President almost a dictator. Fortunately, Lincoln used it with moderation.<sup>1</sup>

**624. Federal Advance Resumed.** Both these acts were evidences that the crisis of the war had come. The aim of the Federal Congress<sup>2</sup> was to increase the resources and efficiency of the Washington government to the maximum. With its power thus increased, the Lincoln administration turned again to the task of pushing a great army south toward Richmond. Burnside, having proved incompetent, was succeeded in command by General Joseph E. Hooker. The new commander was much abler than his predecessor, but to some extent he mistook courage for genius, and energy for judgment. Marching southward, he met Lee and Jackson at Chancellorsville. The two days' battle which followed (May 2-3, 1863) was one of the most brilliant of Confederate victories. Jackson conducted a famous flanking march which made Hooker's position untenable and was the crowning achievement of Jackson's life. Again, the army of the Potomac was driven back upon Washington.

**625. Death of Jackson.** However, Chancellorsville inflicted upon the Confederacy one of its most irreparable losses. Jackson, having ridden far forward, was mistaken by his own men for an enemy, and as he rode back, they fired upon him. He was mortally wounded and died shortly after. His death robbed the Confederacy of one of its chief hopes of success. Jackson's genius had wonderfully supplemented

<sup>1</sup> In this session Congress established the present system of national banks. The government also issued great quantities of paper money, which soon fell in value because it could not be exchanged for gold. In 1864 a paper dollar of the United States was worth only about a third as much as a gold dollar.

<sup>2</sup> The elections of 1862 had reduced the majority in Congress supporting the administration but had not put the peace party in power. (Section 613.)



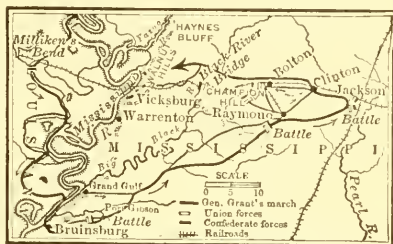
and sustained the genius of Lee, who never again found an assistant that could execute his designs with the judgment and swiftness of Jackson.

**626. The Spring of 1863.** Following the battle of Chancellorsville came another pause in the war in the east, and while Lee was recuperating his army during May, 1863, the west again became the center of interest. There Grant had sought patiently to take General Pemberton<sup>1</sup> at a disadvantage, but so far, had not succeeded. At last Grant had conceived a plan of extreme boldness. He proposed to cross the Mississippi, march past Vicksburg, recross the river, and attack Vicksburg from the rear. To do so he would have to cut loose from his base of supplies, and operate in a country entirely controlled by his enemy.

Once having made up his mind, Grant was inflexible. He made his land-march down the west side of the river, and ordered Admiral Porter with a fleet of gunboats to run past the Vicksburg batteries, and join him below the city. Porter did so, despite a fierce cannonade. He ferried Grant's army across the Mississippi at Bruinsburg. A week later Grant parted from him, and advanced into the heart of his enemy's country.

Grant's movements during the next eleven days form one of the brilliant episodes of the war, and have won from other soldiers the highest praise. His swift marching and bold fighting culminated in the battle of Champion's Hill, called also Baker's Creek, May 16. Pemberton was defeated and, after another disastrous engagement, was shut up inside the fortifications of Vicksburg, around which was rapidly gathered a besieging force of seventy thousand men.

<sup>1</sup> In command in Mississippi since October, 1862.



GRANT'S MARCH TO VICKSBURG

**627. The Moment of Crisis.** The surrounding of Vicksburg by Federal armies created a desperate situation for the Confederacy. However, the key to the situation was not anywhere in America but in London. Again, international relations had become the absorbing question of the hour, and both Washington and Richmond bent all their energies toward securing the friendship of Great Britain. Both governments took the keenest interest in two powerful ironclads, then being built at Liverpool and known to be destined for the service of the Confederacy. These ships would probably outclass any ships of the Northern navy and by means of them the Northern coast might be put at the mercy of the Confederates. With such enemies active in the rear of their armies, the war party in Congress might yet be brought to make peace and acknowledge the Confederacy. From the Southern point of view the sailing of the ironclads from Liverpool would be the happiest event of the war.

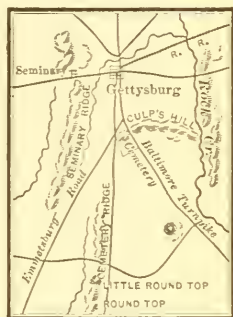
But would they be allowed to sail? Had conditions been the same as in the previous year when the *Alabama* was allowed to sail (section 619), the ironclads would certainly have gone to sea. Since then, however, the Washington government had won its great diplomatic triumph (section 621). Furthermore, Grant's success around Vicksburg had greatly increased the prestige of the Federal armies. There could be no doubt that the British ministry was now considering whether it should not commit itself to the side of the North. At the same time the Federal authorities, confident that they had gained powerful friends in England, were firmly demanding that the British government prevent the sailing of the ironclads. The very moment of crisis for the Confederacy had arrived, and nothing but a victory on a great scale, checking entirely the Northern advance, could now save the day, recover the friendship of the British ministry, and secure the release of the ironclads at Liverpool. To accomplish these great results, the Confederate authorities decided upon an invasion of the North.

**628. Gettysburg.** Early in June, Lee with his celebrated "Army of northern Virginia," set out upon the greatest of his many great undertakings. His design was to move across upper Maryland and carry the war into Pennsylvania. Before him was the army of the Potomac now commanded by General George G. Meade, a strong, calm, resolute man, not a great genius and yet, as events proved, equal to the occasion.

Lee carried out successfully the first part of his plan. The Federals got no opportunity to strike him as he crossed Maryland. His skillful strategy compelled the army of the Potomac to withdraw across the river and follow the Confederates northwestward.

On the first day of July both armies were in Pennsylvania. Lee, with some 70,000 men, was somewhat to the northwest of the little town of Gettysburg. Meade, with about 100,000, was somewhat to the east.<sup>1</sup> At Gettysburg, on that day, portions of the two armies met, and sharp fighting resulted. The Federals were driven back, and intrenched themselves upon a line of hills, south of the town.

During the night following, both commanders were hurrying forward all their forces toward Gettysburg. The Confederates arrived more rapidly than the Federals, and on the morning of the second, Lee's force was greater than Meade's. Believing that such would be the case, Lee, apparently, had ordered an attack to be made at dawn, but owing, it seems, to a disastrous misunderstanding on the part of General Longstreet, now Lee's chief lieutenant, the attack was not made until late in the day. Meanwhile, great numbers of Federal troops had come up, and when at last the Confederates advanced, the advantage of numbers was no longer on Lee's



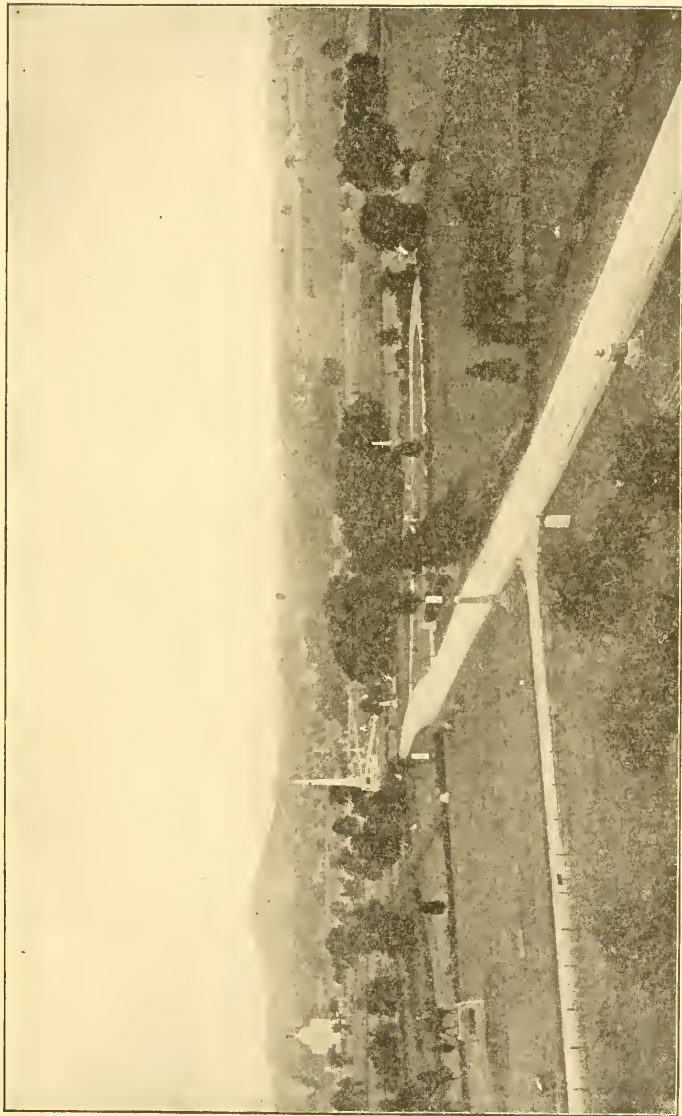
GETTYSBURG

<sup>1</sup> Lee began the campaign with 76,224 men; Meade, with 115,226. Neither army was in full strength at Gettysburg. See Alexander, "Memoirs," 368-370.

side. Nevertheless, two gallant assaults were made. Longstreet attacked the Federal left wing posted on the hills known as "Round Top" and "Little Round Top," while General Richard S. Ewell stormed the right on Culp's Hill. The fighting was desperate at both places. Longstreet, however, was driven back, and the Round Tops were securely held by the Federals. Ewell, on the other hand, fought his way to the top of Culp's Hill, and there his men remained during the night.

The final battle occurred next day. It was opened early in the morning, by a furious Federal attack upon Ewell, who at length withdrew from Culp's Hill. Thus the Federal army recovered the position it had occupied the day before. The hills between Culp's Hill and Little Round Top were known as Cemetery Ridge, and along this ridge was posted the bulk of Meade's army. The crucial point was held by veteran troops commanded by General Winfield Scott Hancock. It was this part of the Federal line which Lee now resolved to pierce. As preparation for the attack, the Confederate artillery was ordered to silence the Federal guns. For two hours the cannon of both armies thundered at each other across open fields until, about three<sup>1</sup> in the afternoon, the Federal batteries ceased firing, and the Confederate order to charge was given. In all the history of war there is nothing more famous than the heroic advance known to-day as "Pickett's charge." A magnificent column composed of 15,000 of Lee's best veterans, commanded by General G. E. Pickett, swept forward in this grand assault upon the Federal center, to reach which they had to cover a mile of open country. As they came, the Federal guns reopened fire and rained upon them a hurricane of cannon shot. Terrific infantry fire swept their ranks and opened frightful gaps, but though thrown into confusion, they did not falter. General L. A. Armistead, with his cap on the point of his sword, leaped upon the Federal intrénochments,

<sup>1</sup> The precise hour of the great attack, as well as the duration of the artillery duel, is a matter of dispute.



SCENE OF PICKETT'S CHARGE  
Meade Statue at the extreme left center.





crying, "Boys, give them the cold steel." He was shot down. A portion of the assailants burst through the Federal line,<sup>1</sup> and for a brief space held their ground on the summit of Cemetery Ridge. But they had attempted the impossible. A mighty wave of Federal infantry rushed upon them, swept them backward, and the day was lost for the South.

**629. Fourth of July, 1863.** Thus ended the great struggle of July 3. On July 4, all day long, the two armies faced each other inactive.

That same day, far off on the Mississippi, the Confederates suffered another terrible reverse. Vicksburg surrendered. The fortress, its guns, and 30,000 prisoners fell into the hands of the Federals.<sup>2</sup>

To return to Gettysburg. On the night of the fourth, Lee began his melancholy retreat into Virginia. The crisis of the war was over. The star of the Confederacy had passed its zenith and had begun to sink.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The conduct of Hancock's command in resistance nobly matched that of Pickett's in attack. The very high tide of combat was a dreadful hand-to-hand struggle across a low stone wall bordering a field. It was there that Armistead was killed. Near by, Hancock, lying wounded on the ground, directed the Federal countercharge by which Pickett was driven back.

<sup>2</sup> While Grant was pushing down the Mississippi, General Banks was pushing north from New Orleans. The last Confederate post on the river, Port Hudson, was taken by Banks, July 9. Soon afterward steamers under the Federal flag went up and down the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans.

<sup>3</sup> Important campaigns took place during 1863-1864, west of the Mississippi. Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas at that time formed a sort of world to themselves, cut off from the rest of the Confederacy. It was feared, at Washington, that Napoleon would take advantage of the situation to conquer Texas. Federal troops were sent thither for the purpose of destroying the small Confederate forces left in that region. A naval expedition against Sabine Pass was a failure, and two gunboats surrendered. Galveston was attacked, and for the second time (section 622, note 1) defended itself successfully. General Banks (Federal) attempted his "Red River expedition," while another Federal force, under General Steel, moved south from Arkansas. They were to unite at Shreveport, the military center west of the river. With Shreveport in Federal hands, Banks hoped to conquer Texas. His plan was foiled by General Kirby Smith and General Richard Taylor. The latter defeated Banks at Mansfield, April 8, 1864; General Smith then drove back the forces of Steel. Smith kept on foot a Confederate army in the western country until the end of the war.

## V. THE CONFEDERATE RALLY

**630. Foreign Aid denied the South.** After the fall of Vicksburg and Lee's return to Virginia, there was no longer any chance that the Confederacy would get aid from abroad.<sup>1</sup> By this time, it was plain that the North was enormously richer and stronger than the South. Foreign powers that might have allied themselves with the South, had it proved equal to holding its own, drew back when it was shown to be distinctly weaker than its gigantic opponent.

From the moment Vicksburg surrendered the Confederate government stood alone in a vast circle of fire and steel. The rest of the world turned its back and left the South to its fate.

**631. The Confederacy Isolated.** Furthermore, the fall of Vicksburg cut the connection between the eastern South and Texas. This disaster not only prevented the reinforcement of the eastern armies from Texas but shut off a most important source of supplies. Until then, supplies and ammunition sent over from Europe could be landed in Mexico, taken across the Rio Grande into Texas, and thence forwarded to the armies in the east. By getting control of the Mississippi and cutting the Confederacy in two, Grant made this traffic so dangerous that most of it ceased.

No supplies or ammunition could now come from Europe except through the blockade. Sea captains who eluded the Federal cruisers and brought supplies into Southern ports were known as "blockade runners." For a time the blockade runners made large profits, but as the Federal warships became numerous, the risk of blockade running became enormous.<sup>2</sup> Fewer and fewer captains were willing to take

<sup>1</sup> The ironclads at Liverpool (section 627) were never delivered to the Confederacy. When it was reported that they were about to go to sea, the American minister sent a note to the British foreign secretary in which were the significant words, "It would be superfluous for me to point out to your Lordship that this is war."

<sup>2</sup> If captured, the ships and cargo were confiscated. Some 1500 such ships were captured during the war.

the risk. At last blockade running ceased. With the Mississippi patrolled by Federal gunboats, with Federal cruisers watching all the southern coast, on three sides the Richmond government was securely shut off from the rest of the world. On the fourth side, from the Mississippi to the Potomac, stretched a formidable human wall composed of powerful Federal armies.

**632. Martial Law.** Thus surrounded by enemies who greatly outnumbered its own forces, the Confederate government stood at bay. All considerations except military necessity were ignored. Whatever seemed desirable from a military point of view was done. Sometimes these war measures were in accord with the spirit of the Confederate constitution, sometimes not. For example: in the South, as in the North, the confusions of the time led to a suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*.<sup>1</sup> Also, in 1863, there were seizures of food supplies by government agents who themselves fixed the price to be paid.<sup>2</sup> These, and similar measures, deeply offended the more conservative Southerners. They had gone into the secession movement honestly believing that America was suffering from too much government. They had a horror, inherited from Revolutionary times, of the least hint of despotic authority. When President Davis, like President Lincoln, found that war created a need for despotic authority, the conservatives could not be reconciled to his conclusions. Very bitterly they accused him of perverting the cause for which the South fought.

**633. The Southern Women.** However, whether agreeing with Davis or not, the mass of the Southern people were wonderfully self-sacrificing in their support of the government. Their devotion increased as the situation became more hopeless and the men in the field were equaled by the women at home. It was the courage of the women and their ability

<sup>1</sup> For a good brief discussion, see Dodd, "Jefferson Davis," 266-270, 291-302.

<sup>2</sup> For all such measures, see Schwab, "Confederate States," and "Cambridge Modern History," VII, 603-621.

that made possible the continuance of the war. Except for their capable management of the plantations, their smiling endurance of hardships, their unfailing faith in the cause, the outnumbered and desperate armies would have lost heart.<sup>1</sup>



MONUMENT TO THE WOMEN OF THE  
CONFEDERACY, COLUMBIA, S.C.

**634. The Confederacy Bankrupt.** During the latter half of the war the Confederacy had no money. Enormous quantities of government notes had been issued, but as the government could not redeem them in gold or silver, they soon became worthless. All the good money which the South had at the opening of the war was sent abroad to purchase supplies, and practically none came back because of the difficulties in the way of sending cotton to Europe for sale. In 1860 the South had sent abroad no less

than 615,000 bales of cotton; in 1861, only 10,129 bales;<sup>2</sup> and in spite of the blockade runners, the situation did not materially improve. In 1864 the business of exporting cotton may be said to have ceased. The Confederacy had spent its last dollar and was bankrupt.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the most striking features of the war was the faithfulness of the negroes on the plantations. For the most part, they stayed quietly at work under the direction of the white women. There was no hint of a servile insurrection. Many attended their masters to the front as servants.

<sup>2</sup> See "Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1910," 538.

<sup>3</sup> Prices rose enormously. At Richmond, late in the war, a barrel of flour cost a thousand dollars.

**635. Chickamauga.** There was left to the South nothing but the courage of its people. A brilliant episode in the history of American character is the rally made by the Southerners in the autumn of 1863. In this great rally the army of Bragg was conspicuous. It had shared in the misfortunes of that dreadful summer during which Rosecrans had slowly forced it backward into northern Georgia. September came. On the nineteenth of the month, in a desperate attempt to break the spell of disaster that overhung the Confederacy, Bragg threw himself upon Rosecrans at Chickamauga. The battle which raged that day and the next was one of the fiercest and bloodiest of the war.<sup>1</sup> Rosecrans was defeated and driven back upon Chattanooga. But Bragg was unable



CONFEDERATE CURRENCY

to make the most of his victory because of the firmness of a Federal general who had not until now had an opportunity to display his great qualities. This was General George H. Thomas. He commanded the Federal left wing which he skillfully interposed between the wrecked Federal center and Bragg. Though the Confederates outdid themselves in their efforts to break Thomas's line and thus destroy the whole force of their opponents, their furious charges were in vain.<sup>1</sup> Thomas slowly withdrew and the Federal army was not destroyed. Nevertheless it was shut up in Chattanooga and there besieged.

**636. Chattanooga.** At this critical moment Bragg felt called upon to send a part of his force under Long-

<sup>1</sup> General Garfield, who was in the battle, said, "I never shall forget my amazement and admiration when I saw that grand officer holding his own, with utter defeat on each side and such wild disorder in his rear."

street <sup>1</sup> into eastern Tennessee,<sup>2</sup> which had been invaded by a Federal force commanded by Burnside. About the same time Rosecrans was superseded by Thomas, and Grant was given command of all the Federal armies of the west, October 16, 1863. He immediately began a rapid concentration of troops in the direction of Chattanooga. So prompt and effective were his movements that the circle of the besiegers was quickly pierced, and supplies and reinforcements were brought into the

city. Then followed the decisive battle of Chattanooga, November 23-25, 1863. Bragg's army lay among the mountains south of the town, part on Lookout Mountain, part on Missionary Ridge. Thomas opened the battle by seizing the Confederate lines along the base of Missionary Ridge. The next day the Ridge was taken by storm. On Lookout Mountain that same day occurred "the Battle above the Clouds," as it has been called, more poetically than correctly, and the

Confederates were driven from their position at that end of the line. On the third day, in a great combined assault from three directions at once, the Federals drove Bragg's army off the summit of Missionary Ridge, and down the farther slope. Bragg retreated into Georgia. It was now out of the question for Longstreet to hold his own in east Tennessee. He gave up the attempt, made his way across the mountains, and rejoined Lee in Virginia.



GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS

<sup>1</sup> President Davis had recently sent Longstreet to the assistance of Bragg with troops drawn from the army of Lee. This was one of the few occasions when such a transfer from east to west was made by the Confederate government.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of eastern Tennessee were mainly on the side of the Union. From the beginning of the war Lincoln had planned to send an army to assist them in opposing the Confederacy. He had not been able to do so until now.



All Tennessee thus passed under Federal control. The last aggressive movement of the Confederacy had ended in disaster.<sup>1</sup>

## VI. THE CONQUEST OF THE SOUTH

**637. Strength of the North.** With the opening of 1864, the last stage of the war began. The Federal government had on foot over a million men. The innumerable workshops of the North turned out daily vast supplies of arms, ammunition, accouterments, for the use of the soldiers. In spite of the great number of men enlisted in the armies, there remained at home a sufficient number to till the fields and conduct business. The war had revealed the fact that the United States formed one of the richest and most powerful countries in the world.

**638. Weakness of the South.** In contrast to the inexhaustible resources of the North, the Confederate resources had shrunk almost to nothing. Nor was the South able any longer to fill the gaps made by battle in its wasted armies. Practically all the able-bodied white men had been pressed into service. The North, on the contrary, had another million men it might call into the field if driven to do so. One cruel detail showed the superiority of the North in numbers. In the latter part of the war, the Federal government refused to exchange prisoners and thousands of Federal soldiers were left in Southern prisons, in order to prevent the return to the Confederacy of an equal number of captured Southerners. This was done in spite of the fact that both the Southern armies and their prisoners were in actual want of food. Grant expressed the stern attitude of the Washington government when he said that if the prisoners gave up their lives in prison they

<sup>1</sup> A brilliant raid through Indiana and Ohio was made by General Morgan. It was designed as part of Bragg's campaign against Rosecrans. Though not successful, it is remembered as one of the few invasions of the free states by the Confederacy and also for the great dash and spirit with which it was executed. It ended, however, in the capture of Morgan and the destruction of his command.

would be doing only what was done by their comrades on the battlefield.

**639. Stanton.** A terrible determination had become the keynote of the prosecution of the war. It was embodied by no one more completely than by the Federal secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton,<sup>1</sup> a man of iron who had great executive ability. Under his able management, the vast resources of the North were fully utilized. The generals needed only to ask, and it was given both in men and money.

**640. Lincoln's Rule.** Nevertheless there was strong opposition to the war at the North. The Washington government had bitter political enemies with whom it was continually forced to deal.<sup>2</sup> In so doing, Lincoln used at times those extraordinary powers which Congress had given him (section 623). Dangerous opponents of the government were cast into prison. "Peace meetings," in opposition to the government's policy, were broken up by force.

Had Lincoln been a man of ordinary ambition, all this might have ended in the downfall of democratic government, and in no respect does his country owe more to him than for his cautious use of the autocratic power thrust by circumstances into his hands. In all ways it was Lincoln who was really the soul of the Federal government. His great, but mild, genius was at once the guide and harmonizer of all the grim men surrounding him. He was also their checkrein, for, unlike some of his associates, he never hated the South. The most remarkable feature of his character was inability to bear malice, even toward the men with whom he was at war. Contrasted with the grim Stanton, he seems almost an embodiment of the gentle spirit of Christianity opposed to pagan hardness.

<sup>1</sup> He succeeded Cameron in January, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> The opponents of the government were nicknamed "Copperheads." They were especially strong in Ohio and Indiana, where there were secret societies of them, such as the "Knights of the Golden Circle." A noted Ohio "Copperhead," Clement L. Vallandigham, was banished to the Confederacy by Lincoln. He was afterward nominated for governor by the Ohio Democrats, but was defeated.

**641. Grant in Supreme Command.** The one Federal general who had been steadily successful was Grant, and in the spring of 1864 he was put at the head of all the Federal armies. He thereupon took direct command of the army of the Potomac, while the western army he intrusted to the man who had been his chief assistant in Tennessee, General William T. Sherman.

A comprehensive scheme for closing in upon the South from all sides was now formed. Grant, with the army of the Potomac, planned to march from Washington upon Richmond. Sherman made ready to advance from Tennessee into the heart of Georgia. A naval expedition under Farragut was designed to attack Mobile. On the east coast, the activity of the Atlantic fleet was to be redoubled.



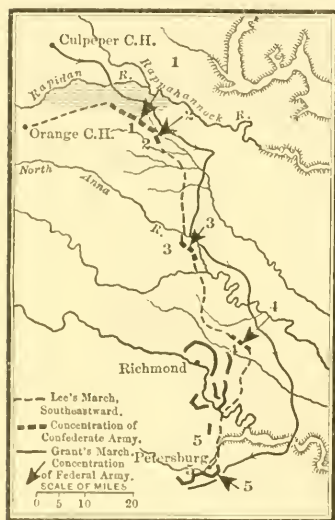
GENERAL SHERMAN

To three out of these four coöperating attacks, the Confederacy was powerless to oppose adequate resistance. So shrunk were its forces on the west, the south, and the east, that it was almost certain they would be overcome. Only in Virginia was there a powerful Southern army still equal to holding its own. There, with the vast ring of steel slowly closing around him, was Lee and his famous army of northern Virginia.

**642. The Battles in the Wilderness.** In May, 1864, Lee's army lay intrenched in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, on the south side of the Rapidan River, with its right flank protected by a region of wood and thick undergrowth known as the "Wilderness."

On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan. His plan was to force his way through the "Wilderness," turn Lee's right flank, and cut him off from Richmond. He had some 120,000

men while Lee had but 60,000.<sup>1</sup> Lee, however, fought behind intrenchments, and had the advantage of what soldiers call the "interior line"; that is, Grant, working round Lee's flank, had to describe an arc of a circle, while Lee could move on a straight line from one extremity of the curve to the other.



WILDERNESS CAMPAIGN

With the crossing of the Rapidan began a series of desperate battles. The two armies, struggling as in a death grapple, moved gradually southeastward. Though Lee was forced nearer and nearer to Richmond, Grant continually failed to get between him and the Confederate capital. The reckless valor of the Federals in assault, the steadfast heroism of the Confederates in defense make this campaign one of the sternest episodes of military history. Its agony culminated at Cold Harbor, where Grant made a tremendous attack all along his

line only to be repulsed with frightful slaughter.

In close coöperation with Grant, two other Federal armies had invaded Virginia. General Butler with 40,000 men advanced along the James River, while General Hunter led a force of 20,000 men into the "Valley of Virginia"—the western portion of the state, where Jackson conducted his

<sup>1</sup> There is difference of opinion as to the size of the armies. Colonel Livermore, U.S.A., estimates Grant's force at 115,000 and Lee's at 70,000 (Report of Am. Hist. Ass., 1908, I, 244). Major Eben Swift, of the general staff U.S.A., estimates Grant's strength at 100,000 men with 316 cannon, Lee's at 54,000 men with 224 cannon (same volume page 236). General Alexander, C.S.A., thinks Grant opened the campaign with some 103,000 men, while Lee had but 64,000 men ("Military Memoirs of a Confederate," 496). The English students, Wood and Edmunds, attribute to Grant a strength of 121,000 men; to Lee "over 60,000" ("The Civil War in the United States," 311-313).



ULYSSES S. GRANT





amazing campaign in 1862. The purpose of these lesser invasions was to compel Lee to detach portions of his army for the defense of Richmond, which was now menaced both from the southeast and the northwest. Thus Lee was prevented from massing his entire force in front of Grant during the struggle of the Wilderness, and so the disparity of their armies was increased. Nevertheless, while Lee held Grant in check,<sup>1</sup> the two subordinate attacks were repulsed. Butler was "bottled up," as the saying is, on a peninsula of southeastern Virginia. Hunter was driven from "the Valley."

Grant now changed his plan. By a great detour, he crossed the James River and put his army south of Richmond. He intended to take Petersburg, cut Lee off from his source of supplies in the far South, and thus force him to abandon Richmond.



GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

**643. The Countermove against Washington.** Lee attempted to divert him by sending a force under General Early to threaten Washington. Early made a bold raid across the Potomac, and appeared before the forts which protected the Union capital. It is thought by some critics that with a little more promptness he might have taken the city. The arrival of Federal reinforcements obliged him to retreat, and before long the energetic Federal cavalryman, General Sheridan,<sup>2</sup> turned the tables. Early was driven back into

<sup>1</sup> The Wilderness, May 5-6; Spottsylvania, May 8-12; North Anna, May 23-26; Cold Harbor, June 1-3. These were general engagements. There were also important actions conducted by portions of the armies. In one of these, Yellow Tavern, May 11, General J. E. B. Stuart lost his life.

<sup>2</sup> In connection with the battle of Cedar Creek (October 19), occurred the picturesque incident known as "Sheridan's Ride." In Sheridan's absence the Confederates attacked his army and were driving it back, when he appeared on the field, having galloped twenty miles. The tide was turned and the battle ended as a Federal victory.

southern Virginia, and the eastern forces of both sides were concentrated around Petersburg. Having failed to take it by storm, Grant was now besieging it. This siege is second in fame only to the siege of Vicksburg. It was pressed during many months with unflagging determination, the besieged resisting with that reckless courage which had everywhere become the order of the day.

**644. Contemporaneous Western Events.** It must be remembered that all the Federal advances in 1864 began about the same time — early in the spring. While Grant was forcing his way through the “Wilderness,” Sherman was forcing his way across northern Georgia. The commander opposed to him was now Joseph E. Johnston, who had succeeded Bragg as chief Confederate commander in the West. Though he had not enough men for a pitched battle, Johnston skillfully obstructed Sherman, while slowly retreating before him.<sup>1</sup> In July Johnston had



GENERAL HOOD

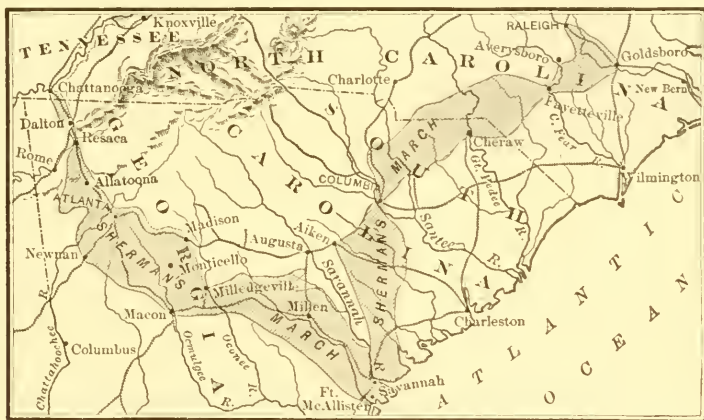
fallen back to Atlanta, where, at last, he intended to risk a battle. At this critical moment President Davis removed Johnston on the ground that he was too backward in fighting. The command of the Confederate forces in Georgia was now given to General Hood. Hood went to the other extreme. He attacked Sherman, more boldly than wisely, and was repulsed with great loss. On September 2 Sherman entered Atlanta.

**645. Hood's Misunderstanding of Sherman.** Having failed to keep Sherman out of Atlanta, Hood conceived the idea of cutting off his communications with Tennessee. With that end in view, he marched northwestward, thinking Sherman would follow him. But Sherman cared nothing about his communications. He meant to find support for his army

<sup>1</sup> Once Sherman closed with him at Kenesaw Mountain and was repulsed.

in the country through which he passed and also to render that country useless to his enemies. His march through Georgia was a blow at Lee, quite as much as Grant's march through Virginia. While Grant hammered at Lee's front, Sherman swept the country at his back clean of supplies. Therefore, Sherman gave no further attention to Hood. Thomas was in Tennessee, and it should be Thomas's business to deal with Hood. Thomas did so. In the battle of Nashville (December 15-16) Hood's army was destroyed.

**646. Sherman's March to the Sea.** Meanwhile Sherman turned eastward.



SHERMAN'S MARCH

The characteristic of this remarkable strategist was a terrible relentlessness of purpose, as appeared when he commanded the whole population of Atlanta to quit their homes and find shelter where they could, because the conqueror wished to convert their city into "a pure military garrison with no civil population to influence military measures" (September 12). Two months later he burned Atlanta to the ground and set out on his now celebrated "March to the Sea" (November 16). As he began in Atlanta, so he continued. His march was a stupendous act of desolation. Behind him stretched

a black trail of ruined fields and burned houses. In December he took Savannah and opened connection with the Federal fleet on the Atlantic.<sup>1</sup>

**647. Contemporaneous Events in the Far South.** Meanwhile Farragut had won the battle of Mobile Bay (August 5),



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT

had destroyed the forts protecting the approach to Mobile, and begun the siege of the city. With the isolation of Mobile, followed by the surrender of Savannah, there were left to the Confederacy only two seaports of importance — Charleston and Wilmington. Both were closely watched by powerful Federal fleets.<sup>2</sup>

**648. Federal Election of 1864.**

In the midst of these dreadful events was held the Federal national election of 1864. Lincoln had been renominated by a convention composed of all parties supporting the war. Many of its members were "Union Democrats," and for that reason the candidate for vice president was a Democrat, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. The platform, which promised a vigorous prosecution of the war, pledged the government to pay in full the large war debt which the administration had contracted.<sup>3</sup> The regular Democratic convention<sup>4</sup> nominated McClellan. Lincoln

<sup>1</sup> Here is Sherman's own account of his march: "As I anticipated, fire and smoke and complete destruction marked our pathway. . . . Not a thing has been left to eat in many cases; not a horse, or an ox, or a mule, to work with. . . . It was not the intention of the commanding officers that the poor people should thus be stripped. But unprincipled stragglers . . . show no mercy or heart."

<sup>2</sup> Another Confederate disaster was the sinking of the *Alabama* by the Federal warship *Kearsarge*, off the coast of France, June 19, 1864.

<sup>3</sup> The debt of the United States was increased from \$90,000,000 in 1861 to nearly \$3,000,000,000 in 1866. See Dewey, "Financial History," 299-330.

<sup>4</sup> The Democrats had no platform except opposition to Lincoln. They declared the war to have been "four years of failure." McClellan in his letter of acceptance repudiated this assertion.

electors were chosen by every state which took part in the election <sup>1</sup> except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. At last there was no doubt about the strength of the Lincoln administration. At the opening of 1865 it addressed itself, with renewed spirit, to the task of swiftly crushing the Confederacy.

**649. Military Situation at the Opening of 1865.** On New Year's Day, 1865, the region held by the Richmond government had shrunk to less than three states — the two Carolinas and Virginia. In this region only two Confederate armies still kept the field.<sup>2</sup> The army of northern Virginia, terribly wasted and half starved, still stood between Grant and Richmond. In the Carolinas a considerable force had been brought together under the command of Sherman's old antagonist, Johnston. There were still Confederate garrisons at Charleston and Wilmington. But all these forces were insignificant compared to the mighty hosts opposed to them. Their condition, too, formed a sad contrast. Ragged, hungry, and with insufficient ammunition, they confronted veterans perfectly equipped.

**650. Lee.** Except for the genius of Lee the war probably would have ended the previous year. His great figure was the center of that fearful ring of warriors closing so relentlessly about Richmond. He, at last, was the aim of all the Federal movements. Even the most remote undertakings had their share in making Lee's situation unendurable. Federal admirals along the coast, Sherman in Georgia, all were seeking to cut off his sources of supply and bring his army to the point of starvation. Close to him in front, the splendid army under Grant thundered against his lines, and every cannon shot told the great captain that his hour was almost come. But

<sup>1</sup> Since 1860 three new states had been added to the Union, — Kansas, West Virginia, and Nevada. Lincoln received 212 electoral votes; McClellan, 21. However, Lincoln's popular vote was but 2,330,552 against 1,835,985 for McClellan. See Stanwood, "History of the Presidency," 307.

<sup>2</sup> West of the Mississippi, Kirby Smith (section 629, note) continued his independent operations.



his genius never failed him, his courage did not falter; nor was there any wavering in the love and confidence of his soldiers. Among the great men of history, few have inspired such devoted obedience, or have impressed others with such absolute confidence in their loyalty to their ideals. His great opponent, to whom he finally surrendered, said of Lee, "I knew there was no use to urge him to do anything against his ideas of what was right."

**651. General Convergence toward Richmond.** The operations of 1865 were opened by a seaboard invasion of North Carolina. Fort Fisher was taken, and the Confederates were compelled to withdraw from Wilmington. About the same time a northern movement by Sherman compelled the evacuation of Charleston, which was at once occupied by Federal troops.<sup>1</sup> South Carolina was now devastated by Sherman, who burnt and ravaged with the same cold thoroughness that he had shown in Georgia.<sup>2</sup> The work of devastation filled the month of February.<sup>3</sup> Johnston with his small army was

<sup>1</sup> Charleston was under siege during most of the war. Several attacks upon the city were gallantly repelled. Perhaps the greatest interest of the long siege attaches to the Confederate attempts to construct serviceable submarine boats. Crews of volunteers lost their lives in repeated experiments, none of which entirely succeeded.

<sup>2</sup> The most terrible incident of this march was the burning of Columbia, February 17. Unlike the burning of Atlanta the destruction of Columbia has produced a controversy. Sherman denied that he ever gave orders to destroy the city. His defenders insist that the fire was accidental. On the other hand, the recollections of numbers of eye witnesses are inconsistent with such an explanation. General Howard, U. S. A., reported that "some escaped prisoners, convicts from the penitentiary just broken open, army followers, and drunken soldiers ran through house after house and were doubtless guilty of all manner of villainies, and it is these men that I presume set new fires farther and farther to the windward in the northern part of the city." General Logan, U. S. A., said in an official report: "The scenes in Columbia that night were terrible. Some fiend first applied the torch and the wild flames leaped from house to house and street to street until the lower and business part of the city was wrapped in flames. Frightened citizens rushed in every direction and the reeling incendiaries dashed, torch in hand, from street to street spreading dismay wherever they went." These reports of Federal generals, made at the time, are confirmed by similar testimony given by citizens of Columbia.

<sup>3</sup> During February took place the famous "Hampton Roads Conference."



powerless to prevent it. During March he fell slowly back across North Carolina, with Sherman following.

**652. The Last Stand in Virginia.** Meanwhile the siege of Petersburg was nearing its end. The army of northern Virginia had shrunk to a comparatively few thousand men. Grant and Sherman were closing about Lee with irresistible power and each day the effort to provision his forces became more distressing. At the opening of April it was plain that the end was near. On the second of April, Lee withdrew from Petersburg, abandoned Richmond, and retreated toward Danville. His army was literally starving, and wherever he turned he was met by great numbers of foemen.

**653. The Surrender.** At last, on April 9, at Appomattox Court House, he surrendered his whole army to Grant. The meeting of the generals to arrange the surrender is well described in the words of the victor: "What General Lee's feelings were I do not know, for he was a man of great dignity, with an impassible face. . . . They were entirely concealed from my observation. . . . My own feelings were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of a foe who had fought so long and so valiantly, and had suffered so much. . . . We fell into conversation about old army times. . . . After our conversation had run on for some time in this style, General Lee called my attention to the object of our meeting — the terms I proposed to give his army — I said that I meant merely that his army should lay down their arms, and not to take them up again during the continuance of the war, unless duly and properly exchanged."

Grant further allowed all soldiers to retain their horses, and all officers to retain their swords. When his soldiers, hearing of the surrender, began firing a salute, he ordered it

Lincoln and Seward met vice president Stephens of the Confederacy on a steamer in Hampton Roads. It was an informal attempt to treat for peace. But as Lincoln would not consider any terms except a restoration of the Union, and as Stephens had no authority to promise its restoration, the conference came to nothing.

stopped. In his own words, "The Confederates were now our prisoners and we did not want to exult over their downfall." The surrendered army numbered 26,765 men. It had no food except parched corn. Grant at once supplied it with rations.

On the twenty-sixth of the month, Johnston surrendered to Sherman on the same terms.

Shortly afterwards, President Davis was captured by Federal cavalry near Irwinville, Georgia.<sup>1</sup>

But even then the war was not quite at an end. The army of Kirby Smith (section 629, note) still kept the field and it was in Texas that the last actual fighting took place, May 13. Smith's surrender closed the war, May 26, 1865.<sup>2</sup>

*Selections from the Sources.* The source material for the great war is so voluminous, and in the main so accessible, that the student is overwhelmed by an embarrassment of riches. First of all, there is the enormous publication of the United States government, to be found in all public libraries, *Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*. Personal narratives have been published by many of the most noted generals, though Lee and Jackson are unfortunately missing from the list. Among memoirs those of Grant and Sherman are of first importance on the Federal side; on the Confederate, it is harder to select, but there can be no doubt that special value attaches to those of Longstreet, Johnston, Gordon, R. Taylor, and E. P. Alexander. The series of brief treatises by participants known as *Battles and Leaders* may be classed as source material. Of great value are such personal observations as those of SCHURZ, *Reminiscences*, II, chaps. i, ii, iv; JONES, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary*; RUSSELL, *My Diary North and South*; McCULLOCH, *Men and Measures*, chaps. xv-xvii; SHERMAN (JOHN), *Recollections*, I, chaps. xii, xiii; MRS. CHESTNUT, *Diary from Dixie*; MRS. PRYOR, *Reminiscences of Peace and War*; MRS. LIVERMORE, *My Story of the War*; POLLARD, *Lost Cause*; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 49-140. For the administration of Lincoln, see *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, VI, 5-297, and the invaluable *Diary* of Secretary Welles, vols. I

<sup>1</sup> When Lee abandoned Petersburg, Davis and his cabinet withdrew to Danville; thence the president with a few attendants made his way south hoping to escape out of the country.

<sup>2</sup> On May 1, 1865, the Union forces numbered 1,052,038 men. The total number of Confederates who surrendered was 174,223. See quotations from Official Records in Rhodes, "History of the United States," V, 185.

and II. For the Confederate administration, the first authority to consider is, of course, President Davis's *Confederate Government*, which should be supplemented by *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*. The *Journals* of the Confederate Congress have been published by the United States government. The last authority for the action of the Federal Congress is the *Congressional Globe*. On foreign affairs, see MOORE, *Digest of International Law*, section 860, and the whole of chaps. xxvi-xxviii, in particular sections 1256-1262, 1265, 1271, 1310, 1330. A brief collection of Federal documents is in MACDONALD, *Select Statutes*, 11-43; see also JOHNSTON, *Readings*, 454-505.

**Maps.** War Atlas (to accompany Official Records).

**Secondary Accounts.** ROPES, *Story of the Civil War*; HENDERSON, *Stonewall Jackson and the American Civil War*; NICOLAY and HAY, *Abraham Lincoln; a History*; MAHAN, *Critical History of the American War*; POLLARD, *Southern History of the War*; WOOD and EDMONDS, *Civil War in the United States*; FORMBY, *American Civil War*; SCHOULER, *History*, VI; WILSON, *American People*, IV, 210-286, and *Division and Reunion*, 208-252; BURGESS, *Civil War and Constitution*, I, chaps. viii-xi; II; RHODES, *History*, III, IV, V; DEWEY, *Financial History*, chaps. xii, xiii; DAVIS, *Origin of the National Banking System*; FOSTER, *Century of American Diplomacy*, chap. x; CALLAHAN, *Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy*; ADAMS, *C. F. Adams*, 144-357; BIGELOW, *France and the Confederate Navy*; FITE, *Social and Industrial Conditions in the North*; SCHWAB, *Confederate States*; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 298-312; American Statesmen Series, lives of Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Sumner, Stevens; American Crisis Biographies, lives of Davis, Stephens, Benjamin, Toombs; BRADFORD, *Lee, the American*; BRUCE, *Robert E. Lee*; FITZHUGH LEE, *Memoirs of General Lee*; EDMONDS, *Ulysses S. Grant*; WILSON, *General Grant*.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. Attempts to prevent War. 2. The Progress of Secession. 3. Military Events previous to Manassas. 4. The Trent Affair. 5. Disposition of the Armies, April 1, 1862. 6. Regions held by the Confederates, April 1, 1863. 7. The War West of the Mississippi. 8. Finances of the Union. 9. Finances of the Confederacy. 10. England's Policy during the War. 11. Maximilian. 12. The Anti-War Party in the North. 13. Gettysburg. 14. Vicksburg. 15. Condition of the Confederacy, April 1, 1864. 16. The Campaign of the Wilderness.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### RECONSTRUCTION

#### I. THE PRESIDENTIAL PROGRAM

**654. The Real Nationalism.** Long before Lee's surrender it had become plain that the South was exhausted, that the downfall of the Confederacy was only a matter of time. As the victory of his party became assured, Lincoln showed his true greatness. He also proved himself a genuine nationalist. Too many of his party had unconsciously, in the heat and bitterness of the war, put their nationalism aside. They had become sectional in spirit. They were now thinking and acting as Northerners, no longer as lovers of a united nation. As Northerners, many of them yielded to the temptation to desire revenge upon the South. The soldiers in the field were, as a rule, free from this spirit, but in the politicians at Washington it threatened to become rampant. They failed to perceive which problems confronting them were really of first importance from the nationalistic point of view. Lincoln made no such mistake. He saw that the worst thing which could happen to the United States as a whole would be the continuance of sectional bitterness after the close of the fighting; that the next most disastrous thing would be the general impoverishment of one whole section, the South; and that the third disaster would be a failure to keep in good order the multitude of recently emancipated negroes.<sup>1</sup> Being

<sup>1</sup> The Emancipation Proclamation did not abolish slavery. It merely set free certain slaves. The number thus freed was so great that any continuance of the institution was rendered impossible. Slavery was formally abolished by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which was proposed by Congress early in 1865, and declared in force, December 18, 1865. It had been approved in the course of the year by twenty-seven out of the thirty-six states. Of these, eleven had been slave-holding states in 1860. (See section 658.)

the real statesman of nationalism, he set about preventing these three catastrophes to his country and his cause.

**655. The Four Hundred Millions.** In February, 1865, Lincoln made his first move toward healing the wounds inflicted upon the country by the war. He proposed to his cabinet to send a message to Congress asking it to appropriate four hundred million dollars to be paid to the slave states as a compensation on condition that war cease by April 1. The cabinet, however, though it contained some liberal men, unanimously disapproved of the scheme.<sup>1</sup>

Says Lincoln's private secretary: "The President, in evident surprise and sorrow at the want of statesmanlike liberality shown by his executive council, folded and laid away the draft of his message. . . . It is fair to infer that, even after this, he still clung to the hope that an opportunity might arise when he might make some such good-will offering to the South."<sup>2</sup> He continued pondering this great question. Meanwhile Lee surrendered, April 9. On the night of April 11 Lincoln made his last public address. In the course of it he said: "In the present situation, as the phrase goes, it may be my duty to make some new announcement to the people of the South. I am considering, and shall not fail to act when action will be proper."

**656. Assassination of Lincoln.** Three days later Lincoln was assassinated by an half-crazed fanatic, John Wilkes Booth. The President was shot through the head while sitting in his box at Ford's Theater. That same night there was an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the secretary of state,

<sup>1</sup> "February 6, Monday, there was a Cabinet meeting last evening. The President had matured a scheme which he hoped would be successful in promoting peace. It was a proposition for paying the expenses of the war for two hundred days, or four hundred millions, to the rebel states, to be for the extinguishment of slavery or for such purpose as the states were disposed. . . . It did not meet with favor, but was dropped. The earnest desire of the President to conciliate and make peace was manifest." "Diary of Gideon Welles," secretary of the navy, III, 237.

<sup>2</sup> John G. Nicolay, in "Cambridge Modern History," VII, 601.

Seward. Booth was killed while attempting to escape, but several persons charged with being accomplices were apprehended and hanged.

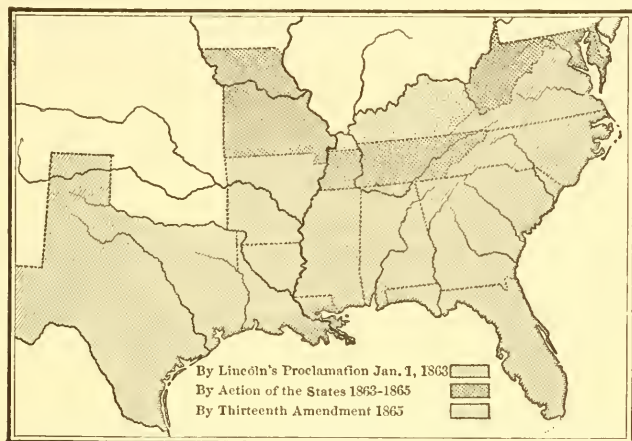
**657. The Successor of Lincoln.** As Congress was not in session, the entire direction of affairs devolved upon Lincoln's successor, the vice-president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. This was a calamity. Though well meaning, Johnson was coarse and rude, without a particle of Lincoln's genius for managing men. Even for Lincoln, the task of curbing the spirit of revenge bred by the war would have been hard enough. Possibly, even he might not have been able to do so. When the news of his assassination spread over the North, the situation was made infinitely more difficult. Numbers of people who had hitherto dealt with the matter dispassionately were carried away by the fury of the new sectionalism that was clamoring for revenge upon the South as a whole. They listened to wild stories which entirely perverted the truth about the assassination. Instead of regarding it as it was — the crazed act of one or two visionaries — they were ready now to think of it as part of a deliberate conspiracy showing an irreconcilable temper in the Southern people. In the face of such wild excitement there was need of a President of judgment and delicacy who should stand firm by Lincoln's policy and yet calm the feelings of his own party. As we shall see, Johnson was the last man for such a situation.

**658. The New Governments of 1865.** Johnson issued an amnesty proclamation offering full restoration of civil rights to all ex-Confederates except certain enumerated groups,<sup>1</sup> on condition that they should take an oath of allegiance to the United States. He appointed provisional governors and directed them to call conventions of those people who took the oath,

<sup>1</sup> Various classes of high officials were excepted, also all persons who had left the service of the United States to enter the service of the Confederacy, and all persons who owned property in excess of \$20,000. Individuals of the exempted groups might, however, make application to the President for executive pardon, which the proclamation hinted would be "liberally extended."



and to organize state governments.<sup>1</sup> Such governments were rapidly formed. Though made up largely of ex-Confederates, they frankly accepted the situation and set to work to make the best of it. Most of them in the course of 1865 ratified the Thirteenth Amendment (section 654, note). These ratifications gave the amendment the required number and it became law. By the end of the year every Southern state



MAP SHOWING HOW THE SLAVES WERE EMANCIPATED

had a reconstructed civil government which had been recognized by the President, with the one exception of Texas.<sup>2</sup>

A definite problem confronted these new governments. In every Southern state there were many thousand negroes who had been thrown suddenly upon their own responsibility. They had always been accustomed to have their lives directed

<sup>1</sup> As early as December, 1863, Lincoln had proposed a scheme of reconstruction. Whenever in any seceded state 10 per cent of the voters of 1860 should take an oath of allegiance to the United States, they should be empowered to organize a new state government. This plan was denounced by extremists in Congress, and in the spring of 1864 a bill was passed giving Congress entire control of the whole matter of reconstruction. Lincoln refused to sign it.

<sup>2</sup> Upon the formation of a civil government by Texas, Johnson officially proclaimed the "insurrection" at an end, August 20, 1866.

for them by others. They had little or no property. Their former owners, impoverished by the war, were seldom able to give them work. How to adapt these people to their changed conditions was the first and most exacting problem of the new state governments. Though these governments had endorsed emancipation by ratifying the Thirteenth Amendment, the men who composed them had a lively dread of what might happen now if the negroes should prove unmanageable. Therefore, several Southern states passed vagrancy laws for the purpose of empowering the authorities to control negroes who should show a disposition to avoid work and become tramps.

In December, 1865, these reconstructed state governments sent their representatives to Washington to be admitted to Congress. However, the Constitution declares that each House of Congress "shall be the judge of the election returns, and qualifications of its own members." The question of the moment was: will the Houses admit the senators and representatives chosen by the reconstructed states?

## II. THE CONTEST BETWEEN THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

**659. Politics in 1865.** It must be remembered that in 1861 the Northern Democrats had divided into two factions, the "War Democrats" and the "Copperheads" (section 640, note). The War Democrats combined with the Republicans to form the temporary "Union" party by which Lincoln was elected the second time. Now that the war was over, the Union party began to break up into factions. There was the greatest uncertainty as to how the parties would eventually rearrange themselves, for though the majority of Northerners in 1865 called themselves Republicans, the name covered several distinct groups.

One of these groups was distinguished by its stern temper. It contained the men who best exemplified that new sectional-

ism from which Lincoln and the broad-minded Republicans were free (section 654). Its members were known as "Radicals." Into this group went all the extremists who were now clamoring for revenge upon the South, also the abolitionists with their violent demands in behalf of the freedmen.<sup>1</sup>

One of the ablest and most bitter of the Radicals was Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania.<sup>2</sup> Previous to the war he had been an extreme abolitionist. He was animated now by two main purposes. He wished to take the utmost revenge upon the South and also to build up a political machine that should be able to dominate the Republican party and through it control the country. Politically, the chief matter in American national affairs, during the next ten years, was the effort of Stevens and other Radical leaders to get control of the Republican party. Their temporary success and their eventual defeat we shall now observe.

**660. The New Governments Rejected.** The Congress which met at the end of 1865 was jealous of the President for having reconstructed the state governments without calling it together to take part in the work. It promptly refused to admit any representative or senators from any of the "States which have been declared to be in rebellion . . . until Congress shall have declared such states entitled to such representation." It also appointed a joint committee of both Houses to which were to be referred all questions of when, and under what conditions, a state was to be readmitted to representation in Congress.

<sup>1</sup> This is the ancient term to describe a slave who has been set free.

<sup>2</sup> "Stevens was one of the best debaters that ever sat in Congress but he was absolutely one-sided and thought everybody on the other side a scoundrel. He was strongly in favor of emancipation not so much to help the slaves as to hurt the slaveholders; and he insisted on enlisting negroes in the army for he said: 'The only place where they can find equality is in the grave. There all God's children are equal'; and he favored negro suffrage explicitly on the ground that it would 'continue the Republican ascendancy.'" Professor A. B. Hart, "Essentials of American History," 496.

**661. The Conflict within the Republican Party.** The conflict between the Radicals and the Liberal Republicans<sup>1</sup> now began. The Radicals, led by Stevens, demanded practically the exclusion of all ex-Confederates from the government of their states. They wished immediately to give the negroes the vote. In sharp contrast, the clear-sighted Republicans urged that the interests of all parties and all sections — both the blacks and the whites, both the North and the South — demanded that the race problem be left to the Southern people to be adjusted gradually. The leading Federal generals, almost without exception, favored such a course. Even the former abolitionist, Henry Ward Beecher, said in a sermon toward the close of 1865: "All measures instituted under the act of emancipation for the blacks in order to be permanently useful must have the cordial consent of the wise and good citizens of the South . . . the kindness of the white man in the South is more important to the negroes than all the policies of the nation put together." In January, 1866, John A. Andrew, the illustrious governor of Massachusetts during the war, made a closing address to the Massachusetts legislature. Speaking of what ought to be done in the South, he said: "I am confident we cannot reorganize political society with any security: (1) unless we let in the people to a co-operation and not merely an arbitrarily selected portion of them; (2) unless we give those, who are by their intelligence and character the natural leaders of the people, and who will surely lead them by-and-by, an opportunity to lead them now." Andrew understood just how things actually were in the South, and he knew that the course he advocated would put the control of the Southern states into the hands of ex-Confederates who would almost certainly act with the Democrats. But Andrew thought of his country first and his party second. Stevens, on the contrary, thought of his party first.

<sup>1</sup> During several years there were practically two Republican parties (see section 668, note 3). The Liberal wing of the "Union" party (section 659) formed the political group known as Liberal Republicans, or merely "Liberals."

**662. The Radicals in Congress.** In the early part of 1866 there was a bitter contention between Congress and the President as to their respective rights. The President expressed his views in coarse and insulting ways. Certain extremists in the South also talked rashly, leading some excitable Northerners to think there might be another war. One thing with another enabled Stevens to bring the whole Republican membership in Congress into line under the leadership of the Radicals. As two thirds of both Houses were Republicans, they could, whenever they acted together, pass any bill they pleased over the President's veto. Under Stevens's lead they began using their power in the spring of 1866. They passed over the veto a Civil Rights Bill, which made the freedmen citizens <sup>1</sup> of the United States with practically all political rights except the right to vote. They also passed over the veto a bill which gave extensive authority to the Freedmen's Bureau. This bureau was to take general charge of the freedmen, provide them with land at small cost, use the property of the late Confederate government for their education, and see that they were not molested.

**663. The Fourteenth Amendment.** However, the most important act of this session was the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which passed both Houses and was submitted to the states for ratification in June, 1866. It contained four propositions: (1) the negroes were declared citizens; (2) representation in Congress was made proportional to the voters in a state; <sup>2</sup> (3) all ex-Confederates who had left the service of the United States to take service under the Confederacy were excluded from holding office under the United States unless declared eligible to do so by a two-thirds

<sup>1</sup> Hitherto they had had the standing of foreigners resident in the United States. So much had been secured to them by the Thirteenth Amendment. The movement to make them citizens with the right to bring suit, to make contracts, etc., brought about the Fourteenth Amendment. The ballot was not given them until the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment.

<sup>2</sup> This provision was designed to induce the Southern states to make the negroes voters, as, otherwise, their representation in Congress would be reduced.



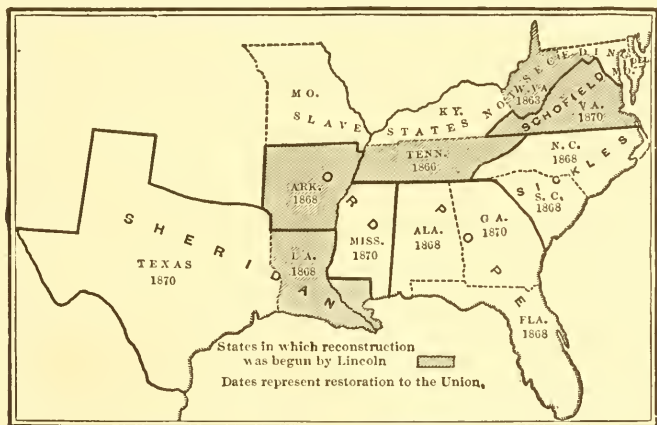
vote of both Houses of Congress; (4) the debt of the United States was guaranteed, but the states were forbidden to assume the Confederate debt, and claims for remuneration for the loss of slaves were pronounced illegal.

**664. The Terms of Congressional Recognition.** The President sent a vehement message to Congress protesting against the amendment. Congress disregarded it. The Radicals then made known the terms on which they would recognize a state as reconstructed and entitled to representation in Congress. This was done by their action in the case of Tennessee. There the legislature was under Radical influences and the amendment was ratified. Immediately, Congress passed a joint resolution stating that because of this ratification and "other acts proclaiming and denoting loyalty" Tennessee was again entitled to representation in Congress (July 24, 1866).

**665. The Appeal to the People.** Both the President and his enemies now appealed to the people to decide which faction should control the new Congress to be elected in the autumn of 1866. The Radicals argued chiefly from such matters as the Southern vagrancy laws and of certain lamentable cases of violence which had recently occurred in the South. We know, to-day, that the violence of the time was stirred up by the lowest class of Southerners and by unscrupulous Northern adventurers who had gone South to make their fortunes and were seeking to embitter the negroes against their former masters. At the time, these facts were not known. Neither did Northerners understand the object of the vagrancy laws. When Stevens and his followers insisted that those laws and the recent disturbances were evidence that the South was not candid in appearing to accept the new conditions, too many people believed them. Many who were Liberals at heart — who before long regretted their course — were carried away by the Radical argument and voted that year for Radical congressmen. Furthermore, the Liberal cause was greatly injured by the action of the President. He made a tour



through the country, speaking at many places. Were it not amply proven, we could scarcely believe that a President of the United States could ever have used such coarse, illiterate, abusive language as Johnson poured forth in speech after speech. His low vituperation of Congress lost him friends wherever he went. The Democrats also helped the Radicals by failing to make common cause with the Liberal Republicans. Says Secretary Welles, in reviewing the campaign in his diary for November 17, 1866: "The fall elections have passed and



the Radicals retain their strength in Congress. False issues have prevailed. . . . Passion, prejudice, hate of the South, the whole South, were the Radical (program) for reestablishing the Union. . . . The Democrats, with equal folly and selfishness, strove to install their old party organization in force, regardless of the true interest of the country. . . . The consequence is that instead of reinstating themselves they have established the Radicals more strongly in power."

**666. Military Reconstruction.** The Radicals<sup>1</sup> now felt they might do what they pleased. In the spring of 1867 there was

<sup>1</sup> The Radicals took this extreme course because, toward the close of 1866, several Southern states had rejected the amendment.

passed over the veto a "Reconstruction Act." It declared that "no legal state governments" existed in the "states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and Arkansas." The act grouped these states into five military districts each to be ruled for the present by a Federal general. Under the supervision of the military authorities a constitution was to be framed in each state by a convention of the male citizens of "whatever race, color, or previous condition . . . except such as may be disfranchised for participation in the rebellion . . . and when said state by a vote of its legislature elected under said Constitution shall have adopted" the Fourteenth Amendment, the state might be readmitted to representation in Congress.

**667. The Tenure of Office Act.** The question arose: would the President carry out the provisions of the act? According to our theory of government only Congress can make laws, only the Federal Courts can interpret them, and only the President can put them into operation. Theoretically, the three branches of the government are equal and independent of each other. We have seen that cases had arisen in which the President had ignored his obligation to respect the commands of the Supreme Court.<sup>1</sup> What if this determined Johnson should take a similar course with regard to Congress? To do so openly would render him liable to impeachment. But it might be possible for him to make delays and hold back the formation of new state governments until sentiment in the North had reacted and the Radicals, perhaps, were put out of power. To prevent this, Stevens and his faction passed the Tenure of Office Act. It forbade the President to remove any member of his cabinet without the consent of the Senate. The purpose of the act was chiefly to make sure that Stanton<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Chapter XXIII.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson had retained Lincoln's cabinet. The cabinet had long since divided into factions, one liberal, the other radical. Several Radicals had resigned.

should continue in control of the Department of War. In spite of being a secretary to the President, Stanton was acting with his political opponents and was almost as important a Radical leader as Stevens himself. Feeling that it had thus insured its policy against being sidetracked by the interference of the President, Congress adjourned.<sup>1</sup>

**668. The Struggle for the War Office.** Soon after Congress had adjourned, the President demanded Stanton's resignation. Stanton refused to resign. Thereupon the President suspended him and made General Grant temporary secretary. But upon the reassembling of Congress, the President was rebuked and Stanton was reinstated. The President then resolved to test the right of Congress to control the cabinet. He appointed a new secretary of war, General Lorenzo Thomas, and ordered Stanton to turn over to him the papers of the department. Instead, Stanton appealed for help to the speaker of the House, and the House replied by impeaching the President for "high misdemeanors in office."<sup>2</sup> There followed the most famous trial in our history. It ended May, 1868, in acquittal. Twelve Democratic and seven Republican senators<sup>3</sup> voted "not guilty." Thirty-five Radicals voted "guilty." As impeachment requires a two-thirds vote, the President was saved by one vote. Stanton at once resigned.

**669. The Radical Governments.** In spite of his opposition to the Radicals, the President had not really impeded the exe-

<sup>1</sup> A bill to admit Nebraska\*had been passed over the veto in February, 1867.

<sup>2</sup> In impeaching a President the House acts as prosecutor, the Senate as judge. The Radicals had been seeking for some time to find a charge on which to impeach Johnson. It is probable that the Tenure of Office Act had been expressly designed to make impeachment likely.

<sup>3</sup> This Republican minority which here broke with the Radical leaders saved their country from a constitutional revolution. They were evidence, also, that the bulk of the party would not permanently be manageable by the Stevens faction. It is imperative in all this part of our history to distinguish between Republican "Liberals" and "Radicals." The latter were but one faction which had temporary control of a great historic party.

cution of their scheme of reconstruction. In all the Southern states the provisions of the Reconstruction Act were carried out. Each state witnessed a social revolution during the brief period of the rule of the generals. Great numbers of the whites were excluded from the franchise, and all the negroes were admitted to it. New governments were set up, based upon the votes of negroes who were managed by unscrupulous white adventurers. In the summer of 1868 Congress admitted representatives sent to Washington by such governments in North and South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas.<sup>1</sup> The Radical legislatures of these reconstructed states had approved the Fourteenth Amendment, which was declared in force July 20, 1868.

**670. Election of 1868.** All these states took part in the presidential election of 1868, and in all but Louisiana the electoral votes were cast for the Republican candidate, General Grant. These votes were secured, of course, through the disfranchisement of the Southern whites. And yet if all the Southern states that took part in the election had frankly expressed themselves and voted for the Democratic candidate, Horatio Seymour, of New York, Grant would still have had a majority in the electoral college. There was a widespread belief that he was "no politician" and that the country had had enough of politicians. As it turned out, the great general was easily managed by the politicians.

**671. Fifteenth Amendment.** The Congress which impeached President Johnson<sup>2</sup> drafted in its last session the Fifteenth Amendment and submitted it to the states. This amendment forbade any state to deny the right to vote to any citizen on account of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." As was expected the amendment was promptly

<sup>1</sup> Georgia was not at once admitted because its reconstructed government did not satisfy the Radicals in Congress. Not until 1870 was there a government in Georgia which the Radicals would recognize. Governments satisfactory to the majority in Congress were established the same year in the remaining Southern states.

<sup>2</sup> The Fortieth Congress: March 4, 1867–March 3, 1869.

accepted in those reconstructed states where the Radicals and negroes were in control; also in a number of Northern and Western states.<sup>1</sup>

**672. Final Readmissions.** There were still four Southern states that had no representatives in Congress. A new Congress met in 1869. Though not so violent as its uncompromising predecessor, this Congress also had a Radical majority in both Houses. As to the four states, it continued the work of the preceding Congress. These four, however, were required to ratify both the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments as well as to comply with the other provisions of the Reconstruction Act. In the course of the year 1870, this was done. Representatives were admitted to Congress from the four states of Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas. In January, 1871, all the states of the Union were once more represented at Washington.

**673. Texas *versus* White.** Meanwhile the Supreme Court had interpreted the various laws that had been enacted upon the subject of reconstruction, and had laid down a general principle by which the laws were to be judged. It had decided (1869) in the case known as *Texas versus White* that a state could not be destroyed by the act of Congress, that our Federal government is an "indestructible Union of indestructible States," but that no state has the right to secede from the Union and that if it attempts to do so Congress has authority to act as it deems best in restoring the relations between the state and the Union.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It was rejected by New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, Oregon, California, and Georgia. The rejections of Ohio and Georgia were subsequently changed to ratifications. New York at first ratified but afterward rescinded its ratification. Tennessee did not act; neither did Texas, Virginia, and Mississippi.

<sup>2</sup> While this decision upheld the legislation enacted by the Radicals, it rejected the theory on which their extreme leaders wished to proceed; namely, the idea that the seceding states had forfeited all rights, and were at the mercy of Congress. Stevens held that none of them were "entitled to the protection of the Constitution." Some extremists had advocated cutting South Carolina in two and adding half to North Carolina, half to Georgia.

**674. The Release of President Davis.** Another action of the Federal courts makes a gleam of brightness and magnanimity in this darkly bitter time. The feeling of the Radicals was most relentless toward President Davis. Of the Confederate leaders he alone had been cast into prison. For two years he was a prisoner in Fortress Monroe. At first, he was treated with harshness; later, as the Northern Liberals began to recover influence, he was given comfortable quarters. Every effort was made to induce him to apply to the President for an executive pardon; but he refused because "to ask pardon would be a confession of guilt." At length the demands of the Liberals were granted. He was released May 13, 1867. The bond required by the Court was signed by a number of distinguished Northerners, among them two who had formerly been his most ardent opponents — Horace Greeley and Gerrit Smith.

**675. What Johnson Achieved.** It would be unfair to close the record of the first five years following the great surrender without mentioning two things done by the government of President Johnson that have had permanent results.

One was the enforcement of the Monroe Doctrine with regard to the French in Mexico. When the war ended, French legions still upheld the throne of Maximilian, the so-called Mexican emperor. The United States assembled an army on the Mexican frontier and gave Napoleon to understand that the Monroe Doctrine must be respected. Napoleon had no desire now to risk a war with the Americans whose veteran soldiers numbered more than a million men. He recalled his legions, and the Mexicans promptly put an end to the bogus "empire" he had set up.

The other achievement of the administration was the purchase of Alaska from Russia, in 1867, for \$7,000,000. At the time most people thought the purchase a useless squandering of money.

**676. The Disbanding of the Armies.** Perhaps the most striking single event of Johnson's administration was the dis-



banding of the enormous Federal armies. Until it took place, Europeans would not believe that it would happen. They could not think that a million soldiers would quietly lay down their arms and go back to work. They expected to see some one make himself military dictator. To their astonishment the million veterans disbanded without a word of protest, and the army was reduced at one stroke to fifty thousand men.

### III. THE RECOVERY OF LOCAL INDEPENDENCE

**677. Despotism in the South.** The condition of the country during Grant's administration was extremely critical. A large part of the people of the North were hostile to the government and considered it despotic, a menace to free institutions. The chief seat of danger, however, was the South. The conditions there were so peculiar and so sinister that we must pause to glance at them.

The governments set up by the Radicals depended for their existence on the support of three groups of men: the negroes, the lowest class of Southern whites known as "scalawags," and Northern adventurers called "carpetbaggers." The negroes furnished the votes; the scalawags and the carpetbaggers were the political bosses who manipulated the negro vote and by means of it made their own fortunes. Behind these local bosses stood the Radical party in Congress always ready to give them aid.<sup>1</sup>

Although the South was utterly impoverished as a result of the war,<sup>2</sup> the legislatures controlled by these shameless adventurers put the Southern states in debt for some \$300,000,000 and none of this money was expended for the benefit of the people whose taxes would have to pay it back. The taxes fell almost altogether on those classes which, for the moment,

<sup>1</sup> In 1870 and 1871 Congress passed "Force Acts" temporarily suspending the writ of *habeas corpus* in the South and providing for the use of the army in holding elections.

<sup>2</sup> The greatest cost of the war was in human life. The dead on both sides numbered between 600,000 and 700,000, most of them in the prime of life.

had no voice in the government. The amount of these taxes was staggering. Time and again plantations had to be sold in order to pay the taxes levied by a legislature of negroes and adventurers who themselves paid practically no taxes at all. The use of the money thus raised was most disgraceful. A few illustrations tell the whole story. In South Carolina the negro legislature in one year spent \$350,000 for "supplies, sundries, and incidentals." Records still exist which show that the "sundries" were chiefly liquors and cigars. On one occasion the speaker made a bet of a thousand dollars with a member. The speaker lost. One of the last acts of the session increased the speaker's salary for that year by one thousand dollars. These are fair specimens of what went on throughout the South. No wonder Judge Black of Pennsylvania summed up the situation thus: "A conflagration sweeping over all the states from one end to the other and destroying every building and every article of personal property would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison with the course of such a government."

**678. The Ku-Klux Klan.** By way of protection against their irresponsible despots, the Southern whites formed secret societies. The most famous of these was known as the Ku-Klux Klan. This society discovered a way of working upon the superstitions of the negroes, making them believe that supernatural powers had forbidden them to take part in politics. Bands of horsemen, swathed in white so as to have a resemblance to specters, rode about at night among the simple-minded black folk and often succeeded in frightening them out of further participation in politics.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As the situation became more desperate, the Ku-Klux had recourse to force, and sometimes terrified negroes by means of violence. No sooner was it known that such things were going on, than all sorts of desperadoes put on the Ku-Klux disguise and committed violent acts of various kinds. All these events were reported in the North as done by the Ku-Klux, and no distinction was made between the actions of the genuine Ku-Klux and their crafty imitators. At length, the original society took the lead in a movement to put down all such associations.

However, these simple means were not sufficient. They were counteracted by secret societies among the negroes and low whites, the chief of which was the Union League. The latter sought to terrorize the whites. Houses were burned at night, and fearful insults were offered to white men and women. The Ku-Klux retaliated by whipping and even killing negroes. For a time there was virtual civil war between the two groups of secret societies.

**679. The Whites begin to regain Power.** In those states where the negroes formed a minority of the population, the whites soon regained their natural leadership,<sup>1</sup> but in states where the negroes formed a majority the white people returned to power only after a long and arduous struggle. In such states a great deal depended on the exclusion of the ex-Confederates from the franchise. As the control of the franchise was entirely in the hands of Congress, the voting body of the whites could not be increased except by congressional action. Friends of fair play in the North brought such action about. We must now consider how this was accomplished.

**680. The Radicals begin to lose Ground.** In 1870 two things happened both of which showed that a political change had begun. In the congressional election of that year, the Republican majority shrank more than thirty votes. Moreover, the Liberal wing of the party opposed the Radical wing at the polls. This began in Missouri, where the Liberals were led by General Carl Schurz and B. Gratz Brown, who also received the support of the Democrats. The issue was, what to do about the white people in the South. The Radicals stood firm for continuing to keep the bulk of them disquali-

<sup>1</sup> "In several of the states," to quote from "Division and Reunion," ". . . the white vote (under the act of 1867) was strong enough to control, when united; and in these reconstruction when completed reinstated the whites in power almost at once." Georgia was an instance. "The regeneration of Georgia," says the distinguished Northern historian, Mr. Rhodes, ". . . was completed by the inauguration of a Democratic governor in January, 1872. Henceforward she has had home rule." That same year Radical rule was overthrown in Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia.

fied. The Liberals demanded "universal amnesty and universal enfranchisement." The Liberals carried the Missouri elections.

The next spring a coalition of Liberal Republicans and Democrats took place in Ohio, and on May 1, 1872, a national Liberal Republican convention was held at Cincinnati. It adopted a platform which declared that "the partisans of the administration, assuming to be the Republican party and controlling its organization . . . have kept alive the passions



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and resentments of the late Civil War, to use them for their own advantage; they have resorted to arbitrary measures in direct conflict with the organic law, instead of appealing to the better instincts and latent patriotism of the Southern people by restoring to them those rights the enjoyment of which is indispensable to a successful administration of their local affairs, and would

tend to revive a patriotic and hopeful national feeling."

The Liberals demanded "the immediate and absolute removal of all disabilities imposed on account of the rebellion," and proclaimed the principle that "local self-government with impartial suffrage will guard the rights of all citizens more securely than any centralized power."

On this platform they nominated for President Horace Greeley, of New York.

**681. The Act of Amnesty.** This platform summed up the course the Liberals had lately been following in Congress. Several times they had brought forward a plan for granting general amnesty in the South. The Radical leaders were

losing their hold upon Congress and now the Liberals gained an important point. Three weeks after the Cincinnati convention the Act of Amnesty was passed. It restored political rights to all ex-Confederates with the exception of a few hundred.<sup>1</sup> By this act more than 150,000 of the best men of the South, the natural leaders of the better classes, resumed their proper places in political life.

**682. The Issue of 1872.** The issue of the election of 1872 was whether or not national politics should cease to be concerned with sectional questions. The Liberal Republicans demanded that sectional questions be dropped, and that the national government turn its attention to questions of finance and the reform of the civil service.<sup>2</sup> Their candidate, Greeley, was also nominated by the Democrats. The Radical Republicans renominated Grant. They indorsed the government's policy in the South and denied the charge that the civil service was corrupt. In nominating Greeley the Liberals had made a mistake in generalship. Their really strong candidate was probably Charles Francis Adams. Furthermore, Greeley's partisans had induced the Liberal convention to adopt a resolution that half-way committed the new party to protection. Hence, many Democrats who might otherwise have voted for Greeley refused to support the joint ticket. Grant's personal popularity was still great. He was reelected<sup>3</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of those deprived of the benefits of this act were subsequently restored to full rights under special acts of Congress.

<sup>2</sup> The financial questions concerned the credit of the government. There had been much discussion as to whether the bonds should be paid in paper money or in specie. Though the government paper was worth much more than during the war, as late as 1871 a paper dollar was worth but ninety cents in specie. The Liberals were fearful that the government would fail to redeem its obligations in good money.

During the period when the Radicals had everything their own way, the civil service had degenerated into a recognized source of profit to the politicians. In one of the conventions a delegate frankly asked, "What are we here for if it's not to get the offices?" The Liberals demanded that all this be done away with and the civil service be taken out of politics.

<sup>3</sup> In 1872 three Southern states—Georgia, Texas, and Tennessee—had already been recovered by the whites and cast their electoral votes against

once more the Republicans had a majority in the House of Representatives.

**683. Results of the Liberal Defeat.** Thus the first attempt of the Liberals to rid national politics of the sectional issue failed. Their failure led to four years more of sectional disturbance. During this period, however, the white people of the South gradually got the upper hand in most of the reconstructed states. The insolence, dishonesty, and violence of the "carpetbag" governments had become so extreme that in some cases even the better class of negroes began voting with the Democrats. Northerners who had settled in the South and had sided at first with the Radicals went over to the Democrats. At last every Southern community became massed in two solid factions — on the one hand, all the educated and responsible people; on the other, all the illiterate and disreputable ones.

**684. Local Civil Wars.** The better classes did not recover power without having to fight for it. In several of the states there were miniature civil wars. Whenever a Radical government was in danger of being put out, it appealed to the President for troops on the pretext that the negroes were being intimidated by the Ku-Klux. During several years such appeals were generally granted. However, the struggle for home rule was helped on by quarrels among the adventurers who controlled the negro vote. In Arkansas, in 1874, two rival leaders claimed to have been elected governor, and each appealed to the President for troops to put down the other. This led to a local revolution in which both the adventurers were expelled. In 1875 a Democratic legislature in Louisiana was suppressed by troops at the command of the Radical

Grant. Before the next presidential election, in five other states — Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Arkansas, and Mississippi — the white people regained control. In 1876 all the foregoing eight states had their electoral votes counted for Tilden. The three remaining states — Florida, Louisiana, South Carolina — were in 1876 still struggling with the "carpetbaggers"; their electoral votes were counted for Hayes. They were recovered by the whites in 1877. (See sections 688-690.)



governor, and in the same year, the tottering Radical government of Mississippi made urgent appeals for military support. By that time the President was disgusted with the Southern Radicals. He refused the appeal, saying, "The whole public are tired out with these . . . outbreaks in the South, and the majority are ready now to condemn any interference on the part of the government."

**685. "The Tidal Wave."** Grant spoke the plain truth, as was proved by the elections of 1874 and 1875. What was nicknamed "the tidal wave" swept over the country. Numbers of Republicans left the party — some permanently, some only for the time being — and voted with the Democrats. Massachusetts led the revolt by electing a Democratic governor. In the House of Representatives the Republican majority was swept away.

**686. The Fifth Avenue Conference.** Again the best elements in the Republican party drew together in an attempt to wrest the control of it from the Radicals. Said Carl Schurz, who, with Charles Francis Adams, led the movement, "I see some reason to hope that the year 1876 will present an opportunity for a movement such as that of 1872 ought to have been." There was especial reason for this new revolt because James G. Blaine, of Maine, who was scheming to be the next Republican candidate for President, had deliberately revived all the worst features of extreme sectionalism. In a speech in Congress, early in 1876, he attacked the South in a manner that rivaled Stevens at his worst. The Liberals answered with a counterstroke of great dignity but full of menace to the Radical domination. Some two hundred of the most distinguished men in America, guided by Schurz and Adams, met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, May 15, 1876. The chairman of the meeting was the President of Yale, Theodore D. Woolsey. They drew up resolutions plainly threatening to leave the party if Blaine were nominated for President. They repeated the demand of the convention of four years previous for a divorce between national and local

politics and denounced the administration as excessively corrupt.<sup>1</sup>

**687. The Election of 1876.** The effect of the Fifth Avenue Conference was seen in the Republican national convention. All the enemies of Blaine combined to secure the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio, a moderate politician pledged to the reform of the civil service. His nomination, however, did not satisfy all the members of the conference. The two leaders parted com-



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

pany. Though Schurz decided to remain with the Republicans and support Hayes, Adams went over to the Democrats and supported their candidate, Samuel J. Tilden, of New York, a fearless man of high character who had made a great name fighting official corruption in New York City.<sup>2</sup>

By this time, eight of the reconstructed states had thrown off the rule of the "carpetbaggers," and these with a number of states in the North and West supported Tilden, giving him an electoral vote of 184. The remaining states, except three, were carried by Hayes who received

<sup>1</sup> Several notorious scandals had contributed to form a general impression that the public service was honeycombed with fraud. It was proved that a corporation known as the *Crédit Mobilier* had bribed members of Congress to vote for bills favoring its interests. The secretary of war, W. W. Belknap, was impeached for fraud and narrowly missed being convicted. On the other hand, the secretary of the treasury, B. M. Bristow of Kentucky, showed himself an able and uncompromising reformer by hunting down and bringing to punishment the members of the "Whisky Ring"—a secret association of distillers and federal officers that was extensively defrauding the government. Bristow was the first choice of the liberal Republicans for President.

<sup>2</sup> He broke up the infamous "Tweed Ring," a conspiracy of corrupt politicians which robbed the city, through fraudulent contracts, of some \$100,000,000. The head of it was sent to the penitentiary.

from them 172 electoral votes. However, votes of three states were claimed by both sides. These were Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon — thirteen votes in all.<sup>1</sup> Every one admitted that Tilden had a popular majority of over 250,000.

The thirteen contested votes were taken under consideration by Congress. A long and bitter debate resulted in the appointment of an electoral commission of fifteen whose judgment was to decide the matter, unless both Houses rejected their decision. On the commission were seven Democrats and eight Republicans. Every question which it passed upon was decided by a strictly party vote. The commission gave every contested point to Hayes, and as the Republicans had control of the Senate there was no possibility of a concurrent vote of the Houses reversing the decision. Hayes was declared elected by 185 electoral votes against 184.

**688. The South in 1876.** During the presidential year the civil conflict in the South reached its height. In the states not yet recovered from the "carpetbaggers," the whites put forth all their strength, making a final effort to secure local independence. In South Carolina, particularly, under the able leadership of General Wade Hampton, they made a gallant struggle against the adventurers and the Federal troops. At the close of the year there were two governors and two legislatures, each claiming to be legally elected. The same condition of things had come about in Louisiana. In Florida the whites had been more unconditionally successful. Even the Radicals admitted that the Democrats had elected their state officers. In 1877 Florida quietly passed into the control of its white people.

<sup>1</sup> At first the Democrats claimed South Carolina, which was still under the "carpetbagger" régime. But later the Democratic members of the congressional investigating committee abandoned the claim.

In the case of Oregon only one of its three electoral votes was questioned. The state had chosen three Republican electors, one of whom was a federal officeholder, and therefore by law disqualified to serve. The Democratic governor then gave a certificate of election to two Republicans and one Democrat. The legality of his action was challenged by the Republicans.

**689. The Withdrawal of the Troops.** In South Carolina and Louisiana the situation, when Hayes became President, was critical in the extreme. Furthermore, the entire country was in a state of intense excitement. Vast numbers of people all over the North and West felt that Tilden had been "counted out" — as the phrase was — in an illegal way. The country appears now to have been on the brink of genuine civil war.



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However, there was one important phase in the controversy which was developed in a way to avert war. The Democrats and Liberals wanted, first of all, the restoration of the principle of local independence in local matters. They cared more for this even than for the election of their presidential candidate. By conceding this point in return for Demo-

cratic acquiescence in the decision of the electoral commission, the Republicans might effect a compromise.

Before the commission brought in its report, Hayes had cleared the way for such a compromise by intimating that in the event of his election he would withdraw the troops from the South. He proved as good as his word. Soon after his inauguration, the troops were withdrawn. Thereupon, both in South Carolina and in Louisiana, the Radicals surrendered. The white people took possession of the state governments. Thus, in 1877, the restoration of local independence was complete throughout the United States.

**690. The End of an Era.** President Hayes further committed himself to a liberal policy by appointing Schurz<sup>1</sup> a member of his cabinet. He went still further and included in his cabinet an ex-Confederate, General D. M. Key, of Tennessee. Both these appointments stirred the Radicals to bitterest denunciation of the President; but their day was done. The Republican party had escaped from their domination and with that event their significance in our history ceased. Though their voices were still heard in the land long afterward, their influence steadily waned and eventually disappeared. A new Republicanism, as well as a new nation, arose out of the fearful controversies between 1865 and 1877. President Hayes understood his mission in American history when he said: "My chance to serve my country is to give it peace, to let sectional animosities die, to clear the way for new phases of national politics. I am the end of an era."

*Selections from the Sources.* FLEMING, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*; JOHNSON, *Readings*, 506-578; MACDONALD, *Select Statutes*, Nos. 35-42, 44-95, 99-104; WELLES, *Diary*, III; RICHARDSON, *Messages and Papers*, VI, 189-191, 213-215, 222-226, 251, 252, 305-757; VII; SMEDES, *Southern Planter*, 231-341; HOAR, *Autobiography*, I, chaps. xv-xviii; PIKE, *The Prostrate State*; NORDHOFF, *Cotton States in 1875*; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 141-159.

*Bibliography.* CHANNING, HART, and TURNER, *Guide*, 489-500; DUNNING, *Reconstruction*, chap. xxii; *The South in the Building of the Nation*, IV, 625, 626, 645; FLEMING, *Documentary History*.

*Secondary Accounts.* FLEMING, *Documentary History* (introductions to the various chapters); RHODES, *History*, IV, 484-487; V, 47-57, 132-138, 516-626; VI, 1-157, 168-192, 200-204, 244-246, 284-334, 390-391; VII, 74-174; WILSON, *American People*, V, 1-108, 136-140, and *Division*

<sup>1</sup> This remarkable man, who was a great force in American politics for forty years, is one of the most striking instances of a foreigner who has achieved high distinction in his adopted country. Born in Germany, one of the philosophical revolutionists in 1848, he had to flee the country to save his life. Afterward he served in the Federal army and became a general; he took a leading part throughout the great struggle of the Liberals to defeat the absolutism of the Radicals and was Republican secretary of the interior. He later took part in the Republican secession of 1884 when he joined the Democrats. He was editor of *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Evening Post*.

and Reunion, secs. 125-141; JOHNSTON, *Politics*, 207-242; STANWOOD, *Presidency*, 313-335; DUNNING, *Reconstruction*, and *Civil War and Reconstruction*, 66-302; LARNED, *History for Ready Reference*, V, 3560, 3721; VI, 170; CURTIS, *Constitutional History*, II, 349-396; LANDON, *Constitutional History*, 250-265, 331-348; BROWN, *Lower South*, 191-225; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 142-158, 163-170; FOSTER, *Century of Diplomacy*, 401-437; LATANE, *United States and Spanish America*, 136-174, 221-265; DODD, *Jefferson Davis*, chap. xxii; PENDLETON, *A. H. Stephens*, chap. xvii; MCCALL, *Thaddeus Stevens*, 239-348; STOREY, *Charles Sumner*, 225-270, 282-432; HART, *S. P. Chase*, 319-435; BANCROFT, *W. H. Seward*, II, 419-500; ADAMS, *C. F. Adams*, 377-397; LINN, *Horace Greeley*, 214-259; MAYES, *L. Q. C. Lamar*, chap. XII; TAYLOR, *Destruction and Reconstruction*, chap. xv.

*Topics for Special Reports.* 1. Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. 2. Johnston's Plan. 3. The Vagrancy Laws. 4. The Radical Party. 5. The Liberal Republicans. 6. Congressional Reconstruction. 7. The Impeachment of President Johnston. 8. The Rule of the Carpetbaggers. 9. The Ku-Klux Klan. 10. The Union League. 11. The Act of Amnesty. 12. The Liberal Party. 13. The Fifth Avenue Conference. 14. The South in 1876. 15. Election of Hayes.



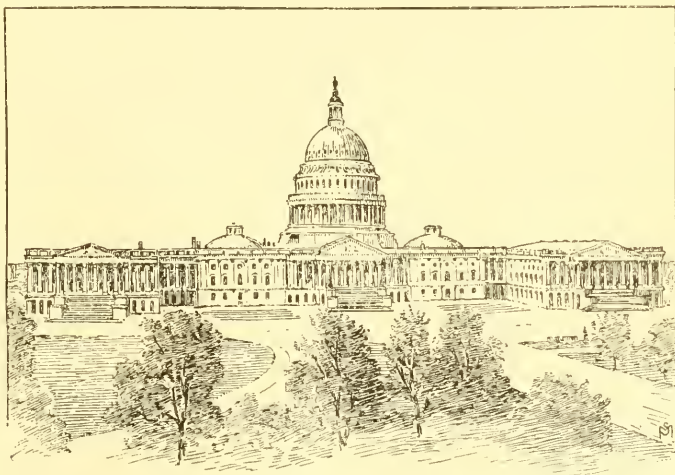
# FIFTH PERIOD (1877-1913)

## THE AMERICAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC

### CHAPTER XXIX

#### THE RISE OF INDUSTRIALISM

**691. The Cruiser Claims.** The great war left in the hands of the American people three problems: (1) reconstruction; (2) foreign affairs; and (3) the national debt. We have



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

traced the stern course of the solution of the reconstruction problem. Our foreign affairs were more easily adjusted. As has been shown, the war was followed by a vigorous reasser-

tion of the Monroe Doctrine (section 675). Napoleon withdrew his armies from Mexico. There remained a contention with England. The United States claimed that the British were responsible for damages done to American commerce by the Confederate cruisers fitted out in the British ports. A joint high commission drew up, in 1871, the Treaty of Washington, under which the matter was referred to a court of arbitration. The court met at Geneva in 1872. It awarded damages to the United States amounting to \$15,500,000. England, in due time, paid that sum to the American government.<sup>1</sup>

**692. The Payment of the Debt.** At the end of the war the United States owed \$2,758,000,000. The government immediately took steps toward paying its enormous debt. This brought up a question with regard to the currency. Gold and silver had practically disappeared and in 1865 the American paper dollar was worth only seventy cents, calculated in gold. The intention of the government, nevertheless, was to pay the bonds in gold, and offer gold in return for its "greenbacks," dollar for dollar. But the business world in 1866 was despondent and many people objected to the government's plan; they feared it would necessitate high taxes. There was an outcry against resuming specie payments — that is, giving out gold to all who wished to exchange their greenbacks. But after a great deal of vehement discussion the friends of resumption carried the day, and the Resumption Act was passed January 14, 1875. It directed the secretary of the treasury to begin collecting a store of coin, and after four years to begin giving out coin in return for greenbacks.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Two minor controversies with England, one relative to our boundary in the islands of Puget Sound, the other concerning Canadian fisheries, were also settled by arbitration.

<sup>2</sup> The resumption of specie payments began, as directed, in 1879. Previously (February 12, 1873) there had been passed a Coinage Act. At that time few silver dollars were in circulation and this act provided that, in future, gold dollars should be coined with a weight of 25.80 grains and also specially heavy silver "trade" dollars (intended for the China trade) with a weight of 420 grains. The "standard" silver dollar which had formerly been coined with a weight of 412.50 grains was discontinued. A later act (1878) forbade the use of the trade

**693. Readjustment of Business.** In the ten years between 1866 and 1876, the business of the country struggled hard to readjust itself to new conditions. This was inevitable because in the course of the war the old-time business conditions had been entirely upset. We have seen that the federal government had sought to stimulate internal business so as to have more wealth to tax. At the same time American commerce had been very nearly swept off the seas by the Confederate



LINE OF THE FIRST TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAY

cruisers. Thus during the war two causes had coöperated to turn American capital into purely American ventures — into equipping the armies, building railways,<sup>1</sup> and organizing new industries.

The close of the war and the return of a million soldiers to civil life caused vast increase in the demand for employment, and satisfactory employment could not always be had. In

dollar as legal tender. Therefore, in 1879, the United States was a "gold standard" country. The act of 1873 was called by the silver men "the crime of '73."

<sup>1</sup> Congress chartered the Union Pacific Railway in 1862. In 1869, at Ogden, Utah, was driven the last spike and there was a continuous track from New York to San Francisco.

all respects the moment was one of great restlessness. Men had become accustomed to doing things on a great scale, and not unnaturally, when they turned from war to business, they began to speculate. Reckless investment became the order of the day. Suddenly, two great fires, the Chicago fire of 1871 and the Boston fire of 1872, destroyed property valued at \$200,000,000. In 1873 a reaction began. Banks began to fail. Railroads could not pay their dividends. It is estimated that losses through business failures in 1873 amounted to \$225,000,000.

**694. A New Type of Business Man.** All these conditions united to bring about new and very significant forms of business. Railroads, especially, entered upon a new era in their development. The financial troubles of 1873 caused a great many roads to change hands,<sup>1</sup> and the reorganization of these roads offered great opportunities to a new style of business man, a more far-sighted and original type than the country had yet known. Men of this type reorganized the railway world by compacting the shattered small roads into great systems that were rich enough to stand almost any reverse of fortune. Thus began the era of the great "corporations" of which we hear so much to-day.

However, the new railroads were not the only great corporations. Even before the troubles of 1873, John D. Rockefeller had organized the Standard Oil Company. He was one of the first Americans who saw the great profit that may result from getting virtual control of the sale of a single article. In the general collapse of 1873 strong organizers saw a chance to imitate Mr. Rockefeller's methods in other lines. As in the case of the railroads, small concerns were combined into great ones. The result was a number of great mercantile and manufacturing corporations which we know to-day as "trusts."

<sup>1</sup> As a result of the panic of 1873 two fifths of the railway mileage passed into the hands of receivers. Between 1876 and 1879, 450 roads changed hands through forced sale.

**695. A New Power.** The results of this readjustment of business to the new conditions were far-reaching. Business men discovered that a rich corporation has enormous power. In some cases, by giving their business to one town and withholding it from another, they could literally make one and destroy the other. Hereafter, we shall hear much of the power of the corporations.<sup>1</sup> We need now to realize that these powerful business combinations met the need of the moment. That was the secret of their immediate success. They restored confidence, gave employment to great numbers of people, and set business going again in an orderly fashion. However, — to speak broadly, — they had practically brought back into American politics the aristocratic factor. We shall see more clearly what this means as we proceed.

**696. The Centennial Year.** In 1876 the hundredth anniversary of American independence was celebrated by an international exposition, held at Philadelphia. It made a splendid showing of material wealth. It also revealed to the world the vast possibilities of that part of our country which had not until then been more than a noble promise — the West.

Beginning with 1876, the next twenty years of our history are concerned chiefly with the logical working out of those forces which were organized just previous to 1876. In this process the conditions of American life were revolutionized. Old questions were forgotten; new questions became insistent. All this immense transformation was made possible by the growth of the West. We must fix in memory the condition of the West at the opening of this twenty-year period.

**697. The Opening of the West.** We have seen how the federal government encouraged railroads to extend into the

<sup>1</sup> Almost at once the power of the corporations became a political issue. In the West their power was very great and was freely used. An association known as the Farmers' Alliance, whose members were sometimes called "Grangers," led the way in opposing corporations. It especially opposed the western railways, which were in the habit of discriminating against various localities. This agitation contributed both to the formation, later, of the Populist party, and to the federal legislation on interstate commerce.

West. Millions of acres of land were given to them as rewards for building westward. But the West needed people even more than it needed roads. As far back as 1862<sup>1</sup> Congress passed the Homestead Act, which provided that every permanent settler could have 160 acres of land, practically without charge. During the next ten years 28,000,000 acres were given away to settlers.<sup>2</sup> Another act, in 1873, offered land to any settler in the West who would plant a certain number of



A GROUP OF IMMIGRANTS

trees. Under this act, 9,000,000 acres were soon occupied. Large numbers of immigrants poured into the West. For the most part they were either energetic Americans from the Eastern states, North and South, or sturdy foreigners from the North of Europe — Irish, Germans, and Scandinavians.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Bureau of Agriculture was established in 1862. It began at once to assist farmers in many ways. In 1889 it became a department.

<sup>2</sup> Beginning in 1868, treaties were negotiated with several foreign governments to make it easy for immigrants to transfer allegiance from their home government to the United States.

<sup>3</sup> Subsequent to 1870, new types of immigrants began to arrive in greater and greater numbers — Italians, Poles, Bohemians, Russians, Jews, Hungarians, Greeks, Syrians, Armenians. These, as a rule, were of the peasant class. American workingmen began to demand some restriction upon the stream of immigrants.



Very soon the great region between Iowa and California had a considerable and prosperous population. New discoveries of mines gave this population still other means of support. Copper was worked in Montana in 1864; gold in Dakota and Wyoming in 1874; silver in Colorado in 1876. As a result of all this three new states were organized; Nevada in 1864; Nebraska in 1867; Colorado in 1876; also the territories of Dakota, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, and Wyoming.<sup>1</sup>

**698. Indian Wars.** This new movement of population westward renewed the ancient struggle between the white men and the Indians, though the latter were mainly confined, in 1866, to special "reservations." Sometimes, however, through one cause or another, they left their reservations and came into conflict with the immigrants. As the population increased on the borders of the reservations, conflicts between the two races became frequent. In 1872 and 1873 the little Modoc tribe in northern California waged a spirited war with the United States. A much more serious war involved the powerful tribe of the Sioux, led by their famous chief, Sitting Bull. In 1876 General Custer, with his whole force, was surrounded by the Sioux in the Black Hills of Dakota, and every soldier was killed. General Miles at length subdued the Sioux, and the West was freed, for several years, of its dread of Indians.

**699. The West and the Corporations.** Through the settlement of the West, the trusts and the railroads found a new field of enterprise and because of the great number of immi-

In 1868 Congress had repealed an act of 1864, which allowed employers to engage laborers in foreign countries.

In 1882 Chinese laborers were excluded; also lunatics, paupers, and convicts.

In 1885 the Alien Contract Labor Act positively excluded all foreign laborers coming over under contract, if their labor would compete with American labor.

In 1903 a new immigration act excluded anarchists and laid on every immigrant a head tax of two dollars.

Another act, in 1907, increased the head tax to four dollars, gave the President power to exclude Japanese laborers, and created a commission to study immigration. See Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigration Problem*, 305-313.

<sup>1</sup> In this same period two famous explorations were made; the Colorado River was explored in 1869; the Yellowstone country, in 1870.

grants, the trusts could generally secure labor at low rates. The immigrants assisted the railroads by developing the lands given to the roads by the government. Both the railroads and the trusts steadily planned to develop those communities founded on their lands, or those that were friendly to their interests. They planned to retard those communities where they had no influence. Thus these powerful corporations, managed by a few men, took part everywhere in the life of the West. Through their attempts to make the mass of the population subservient to their own commercial interests, they revived the question whether the country should be ruled by the few or by the many. Therefore, we say that their policy amounted to a resurrection in American politics of the aristocratic factor — an organized attempt by the few to control the many.

**700. Labor Troubles.** This increase of power in the hands of a few alarmed the workingmen of the country, especially since the capitalists took advantage of the immigration laws to bring over numbers of European laborers who would work at very low rates, while Chinese, accepting incredibly low wages, were also encouraged to come to America.<sup>1</sup> Though the law which permitted capitalists to import labor was repealed in 1868, the coming of the Chinese<sup>2</sup> was not yet forbidden.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1869, in Philadelphia, was organized an association of wage workers called the Knights of Labor.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By the Burlingame Treaty, 1868.

<sup>2</sup> They had appeared in California about 1850. The Burlingame Treaty guaranteed them the protection of American law.

<sup>3</sup> Many similar societies have since been formed. The American Federation of Labor was organized in 1881. Some of these societies include workers in various trades. Many (the "Unions") confine themselves to a single trade or occupation. Of the latter type is the American Railway Union, organized in 1893. In general, the aim of these societies is to offset the consolidation of capital by a corresponding consolidation of labor. The most recent of them, the Industrial Workers of the World, differs from the earlier ones in being frankly a class organization in distinction from a trade organization. It seeks to organize the working class in a world-wide struggle against the capitalist class.

Their purpose from the beginning is best stated by one of their subsequent publications, which denounced "the alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of money and corporations under the present industrial and political systems." The labor societies, like the corporations, were brought into prominence by the business troubles that began with the panic of 1873. Thus we see that even at the opening of the twenty-year period following the centennial, our country was already bitterly divided between capital and labor.

During nearly fifty years there had been practically no conflict between classes in the United States. Such conflicts as had taken place were between localities, or sections, or political parties, over questions of general policy. In this twenty-year period conflicts between classes reappeared. What is called by an eminent authority<sup>1</sup> the "first great labor revolt in our history" may be said to have ushered in the twenty-year period. It took place in 1877. A strike on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway was followed by other strikes designed to prevent a general reduction in wages. At one time 100,000 men were on strike and more than 6000 miles of railroad were out of use. At Pittsburg there were desperate riots. Much property was destroyed and many people killed. Federal troops were sent to Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Illinois, and Maryland in response to appeals from the governors of those states. The strike was unsuccessful. It is supposed to have cost the country nearly \$100,000,000.

**701. The Insistent Problems.** From this time forward the "labor problem" and the "trust problem" have always been present in American politics. They have grown steadily more insistent because of the enormous development of American manufactures.<sup>2</sup> By degrees these two questions,

<sup>1</sup> Carroll D. Wright.

<sup>2</sup> Beginning with the laying of the first Atlantic cable, in 1866, there has been a long succession of remarkable inventions. To mention only the most conspicuous: the electric light, the telephone, the electric trolley, all previous to 1880; the typewriter, 1874; the bicycle, 1876; the typesetter, 1890. Lately the gasoline motor and wireless telegraphy have opened new possibilities.

and the questions growing out of them, pushed aside all others, and at the end of the twenty-year period they were the main questions of politics. That condition in which these two form the main political contention is what we know as "industrialism." Therefore, the period from 1876 to 1896 may be designated accurately by the phrase the "rise of industrialism."<sup>1</sup>

**702. The Silver Question.** At the same time the monetary question was developing. In 1878 the owners of silver mines were urging the government to remonetize silver.



JAMES A. GARFIELD

The large supplies of silver recently mined had brought down the price, and the owners hoped that if the government resumed coining silver dollars the prices would go up. Their demand was endorsed by a popular movement which revived the old arguments against paying the bonds in gold (section 692). A "greenback" party<sup>2</sup> figured in the elections of 1878 and polled 1,000,000 votes. The Greenbackers and the mine owners had little in common

otherwise, but on this one point they agreed. Their joint influence was sufficient to induce Congress, in 1878, to pass over the President's veto the Bland-Allison Act, which required the secretary of the treasury to coin each month not less than two million, nor more than four million, silver dollars, at the old ratio of 16 to 1 (section 692, note).

**703. The Government in Business.** In this act, as in others which are to follow, we should observe the frankness of

Two great engineering feats, in which Americans have applied the new science, are the Brooklyn bridge, 1870-1883, and the Eads jetties at the mouth of the Mississippi, 1870. Of late years, American engineering of all sorts has attained the highest excellence.

<sup>1</sup> All this time parallel questions were gradually coming clearly before the country. What they were will appear in Chapters XXX and XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> It developed largely out of the Granger movement. (See section 694, note.)

the demand to get aid from the federal government in solving economic problems. This is one of the tendencies of the period we are now studying. It springs from the discovery that the federal government, in certain respects, has the welfare of us all in its hands. One of the matters that brought this home to the working classes was the federal control over immigration. A demand for the exercise of that control was made in 1877, in California, where it took the form of a popular agitation against the Chinese. A leader of the movement, Dennis Kearny, closed every speech with, "The Chinese must go!" At length Congress passed a bill to restrict their immigration. President Hayes vetoed it, on the ground that it violated existing treaties, but promptly negotiated a new treaty with China that gave Congress the right to do what it pleased. Eventually, Chinese laborers were excluded from the country.<sup>1</sup>

**704. Election of 1880.** The exclusion of the Chinese was endorsed by both parties in their platforms of 1880, but neither party took decided ground upon any significant issue and there was little excitement. The Republican candidate, James A. Garfield of Ohio, defeated Winfield S. Hancock of New York.

**705. The United States and South America.** The months from March to September, 1881, are notable chiefly because of the South American program of James G. Blaine, who was Garfield's secretary of state. Blaine has often been compared with Clay. In one respect, at least, the two followed similar policies. Neither cared much about economic questions and both were haunted by dreams of imperial greatness. Blaine's chief desire was to unite all American republics in a close league presided over by the United States. However, he was not as tactful as he might have been and created an impression in South America that the United States might easily become an international tyrant. His scheme for practical

<sup>1</sup> The Chinese treaty was drawn up in 1880. In 1882 Congress suspended Chinese immigration for ten years. The suspension was repeated in 1892 and 1902. In 1904 Chinese laborers were excluded indefinitely.

free trade with South America — through reciprocity treaties lowering duties on both sides — was rejected by Congress. He failed to rouse public interest in his advocacy of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. Altogether, the episode is remembered for what he designed, not for what he did.<sup>1</sup>

**706. Assassination of Garfield.** In July, 1881, the country was shocked by the news that a disappointed office seeker, Charles J. Guiteau, had assassinated the President, who lingered between life and death until September 19. His death was followed by the accession of the vice president, Chester A. Arthur of New York.

**707. Civil Service Reform.** The murder of President Garfield aroused interest in the civil service. The murderer was probably of feeble mind and had become deranged through vain petitioning for undeserved office. Thoughtful people felt it would be a benefit to the country if all such men were made to realize that public office was beyond their reach. A Civil Service Act was introduced into Congress by Senator Pendleton, a Democrat, of Ohio. It was supported by both parties and signed by President Arthur. This act created a bipartisan Civil Service Commission and provided for a "classified" list of offices to which, henceforth, appointments should be made as a result of competitive examination. About 14,000 offices were at once "classified." The number has steadily increased.

**708. The Return of the Democrats.** President Arthur's administration was on the whole an uneventful one politically. The tariff was revised in 1883 but was only slightly changed. The one great event was the split in the Republican party in 1884 when the national convention nominated Blaine, who was identified, in the minds of many people, with the old-style "spoils" politics. Believing that he would throw all his influence against the growing tendency to increase the

<sup>1</sup> After a war between Peru and Chile, he instructed our ministers to attempt to restrain the victor, Chile. This interference in their affairs was misconstrued by the Chileans.



“classified” civil service, many Republicans left the party and supported the Democratic candidate, Grover Cleveland, of New York. Cleveland carried all the Southern states, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Indiana. He received 219 electoral votes against 182 for Blaine.

**709. Renewed Labor Troubles.** However, the Republicans retained control of Congress and consequently very little was accomplished by either party.

President Cleveland vetoed 301 bills, and Congress was not able to pass them over the veto.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it was an important administration during which great events took place. Chief among them was a great series of strikes in 1886. Chicago<sup>2</sup> was the center of disturbance, but other parts of the country were affected. Six thousand miles of railway were out of use during seven weeks. To prevent such occurrences in the future, President Cleveland advised Congress to appoint a commission with power to settle all difficulties between capital and labor, but Congress shrank from such an extreme measure. Two years later it established a commission for voluntary arbitration.



GROVER CLEVELAND

**710. The Growth of the West.** While the Eastern states had been distracted by labor troubles, the West had con-

<sup>1</sup> Two interesting laws, not strictly party questions, were the act regulating the succession to the presidency (1886) and the act putting all questions of the electoral count into the hands of the several states (1887).

<sup>2</sup> A small body of anarchists took advantage of the excitement of the time to attack the Chicago police with bombs. Four anarchists were taken and executed for murder. All were foreigners.

tinued its rapid development. This was aided by the successful termination of the last notable Indian war. The powerful tribe of the Apaches were subdued in 1886. Two years afterwards, by the Severalty Act, Congress sought to induce the Indians to leave their reservations and become regular citizens.

Six new Western states were admitted to the Union<sup>1</sup>: North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana, in 1889; Idaho and Wyoming, in 1890.

In the latter year the new territory of Oklahoma was organized out of part of the Indian Territory. When the Oklahoma country was opened for settlement, April 22, 1889, a host of settlers poured into it. Towns sprang up as if by magic.

These changes gave the West increased influence in Congress and made possible some of the measures which are now to be discussed.

**711. Favoritism of the Railroads.** During fifteen years the reorganized railroads that resulted from the troubles of 1873 had been using their great power as they saw fit. We have seen that they deliberately favored those who were willing to advance their interests (section 694). Their policy was to encourage large shippers at the expense of small ones, and large towns at the expense of small towns. By what was known as "rebating," large shippers received back a percentage of what they paid, while small shippers received no such favors. Rates to small towns were higher in proportion than those to large cities. Moreover, a group of roads would often "pool" rates, — that is, make an agreement among themselves to keep rates up and divide all the proceeds of traffic according to a stipulated scheme. We have seen that the Grangers began the agitation against the favoritism shown by railroads

<sup>1</sup> Utah was not admitted because the Mormons tolerated polygamy. By the Edmunds-Tucker Act, 1887, Congress prohibited polygamy, and confiscated the property of the Mormon Church. In 1890 the Mormon Church officially repudiated polygamy. In 1893 the confiscated property was restored. In 1896 Utah was admitted under a constitution forever prohibiting polygamy.

almost as soon as it appeared (section 694, note). By 1887 the feeling on the subject had grown so vehement that Congress passed an Interstate Commerce Act which forbade railways doing interstate business to form pools, or to have different rates per mile for different distances — for “long hauls” and “short hauls”<sup>1</sup> — or to indulge in “rebating.” Congress also created the Interstate Commerce Commission to put the law into effect.

### 712. The Tariff Question

**Revived.** About the same time President Cleveland came to the conclusion that the real need of the country was a reduction of the tariff. In his message to Congress in 1887 he used the now famous words, “It is a condition that confronts us, not a theory.” He alluded to the fact that the revenues of the government were \$50,000 000 in excess of its expenditures.

He advocated a reduction of

the tariff, which he thus made the main issue in the campaign of 1888. The Democrats accepted his views and renominated him on a platform urging tariff reduction. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana; they accepted President Cleveland’s challenge and declared that a high protective tariff was their cardinal principle. Though Cleveland got the larger popular vote, it was so massed that the majority in the electoral college was for Harrison.

**713. The Harrison Administration.** Harrison appointed Blaine secretary of state. Therefore, in foreign affairs the



GRANT'S TOMB

<sup>1</sup> The commission was authorized to make exceptions in special cases.

United States resumed the policy attempted in 1881 (section 705). But now as then there was little actual accomplishment except the holding of a Pan-American congress, at Washington, in 1889. The same year a controversy with England and Germany, relative to the Samoan Islands, ended in a joint German-American protectorate (June 14, 1889).<sup>1</sup>

The Republicans maintained that the one solution for the financial troubles of the country was the creation and maintenance of a "home market." To that end, the new tariff of 1890, which was largely framed by William McKinley of Ohio, aimed to exclude as far as possible European competition. It raised the average of the duties charged to some 49 per cent.

**714. Congress and the Trusts.** Meanwhile, the business corporations had combined and recombined, forming larger and larger corporations whose power was now enormous. The "trust problem" was forced upon the attention of Congress by popular clamor, much as the railway question had been three years before. The trusts were creating monopolies which undersold and broke up the small dealer. They did so by putting down prices and selling at a loss until the small dealer was ruined. Their immense wealth enabled them to bear the loss much longer than he. As soon as he had failed and was out of the way, they could, if necessary, put prices up and thus get their money back. The popular demand for an end of all this led Congress, in 1890, to pass the Sherman Antitrust Act. It made many forms of combination illegal and punished with fine and imprisonment "conspiracies in restraint of trade,"—that is, attempts to establish monopolies.<sup>2</sup>

**715. Silver.** By 1890 the new states of the West were beginning to make themselves felt in federal legislation. Again, as in 1878 (section 702), the mine owners and the farm-

<sup>1</sup> It lasted ten years. (See section 741.)

<sup>2</sup> For many years the Sherman Act did not produce results. In spite of it, in 1901 the United Steel Corporation was formed with a capital of \$1,000,000,000, probably the most powerful industrial corporation known to history.

ers joined hands in another attempt to force up the price of silver. These "silver men" induced Congress to pass the Silver Purchase Act, by which the secretary of the treasury was directed to purchase each month, at market rates, 4,500,000 ounces of silver which, under certain conditions, were to be converted into coin.<sup>1</sup> It had been expected that these great purchases would cause the price of silver to rise, but the effect was only temporary. Very soon the price of silver began again to fall. The discussion over silver had only begun. We shall hear much more of it presently.

**716. The Tariff Again.** In 1892 both parties evaded the "silver question," but took firm ground on the question of the tariff. The Republicans reaffirmed "the American doctrine of protection," while the Democrats pronounced it "a robbery of the great majority . . . for the benefit of the few." The Republicans renominated President Harrison; the Democrats, for the third time, nominated Cleveland. A national People's party, better known as "Populists," nominated James B. Weaver; their platform demanded free coinage of silver, and denounced both the great parties as being in politics for the sake of "power and plunder." The Populists secured 22 electoral votes; the Republicans, 145; the Democrats, 277.<sup>2</sup>

**717. The Homestead Strike.** It was plain to all observers that the country was in a dangerous, unsettled condition.



BENJAMIN HARRISON

<sup>1</sup> The treasury was to issue "treasury notes" (paper money) redeemable in gold or silver and was to coin the silver purchased by the government in order to redeem these certificates.

<sup>2</sup> There was also a Prohibition ticket and a Socialist ticket. Neither received any electoral votes.

On three great questions — the tariff, the currency, and the relations of capital and labor — there was bitter difference of opinion and an event of the presidential year showed that the temper of the time might easily produce war. There was a great strike, at the Homestead Iron Works in Pittsburg, over a reduction of wages. For a time the strikers, on the one hand, and the owners, on the other, took the law into their own hands. The strikers practically formed an army. The Pinkerton detective agency supplied a small but active army to the owners. The result was a "private war," not unlike those which were carried on in the Middle Ages between great barons and their revolted tenants. To restore peace the governor of Pennsylvania had to call out the entire militia of the state.

**718. Hawaii.** In his second administration President Cleveland was beset by difficulties from the day he was inaugurated. First of all, his convictions compelled him to take an unpopular course with regard to the republic of Hawaii. One of the last acts of the preceding administration was the negotiation of a treaty annexing Hawaii.<sup>1</sup> But this treaty was made by Hawaiian revolutionists who had recently dethroned the native ruler, and President Cleveland believed that the revolutionists had had secret assistance from the United States. He refused to continue the negotiation, and the American flag, which had been raised at Honolulu, was hauled down. The Senate, however, insisted upon the recognition of the Hawaiian republic.

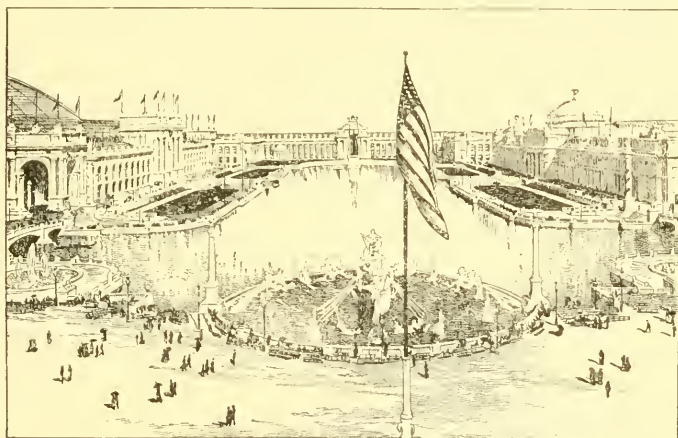
**719. Venezuela.** Only one other foreign complication of importance<sup>2</sup> arose during this administration. It was caused

<sup>1</sup> Originally, Hawaii was a monarchy, under native kings. Early in 1893 a revolution took place. The reigning sovereign was deposed and a republic proclaimed. Most of the revolutionists were Americans, or of American descent.

<sup>2</sup> An outstanding contention as to Bering Sea was settled by arbitration in 1893. The sea was declared a part of the open ocean. The United States had claimed exclusive control in order to restrain seal hunters. The treaty gave us special rights as to seals.



by a dispute of long standing between England and Venezuela with regard to the boundary of British Guiana. The President tried to persuade them to arbitrate, but in 1895 England declined. Thereupon, in a message to Congress, the President asked for a special commission to compel a settlement. The secretary of state, Richard G. Olney, declared that "to-day the United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon subjects to which it confines its interposition." Apparently England had not appreciated that



COURT OF HONOR, COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION

Americans regarded her course as a defiance of the Monroe Doctrine. The eagerness with which the action of the President was commended in America led England to reconsider the matter. At length it was adjusted satisfactorily by arbitration.

**720. Repeal of the Silver Act.** Shortly after his inauguration, President Cleveland felt it necessary to call a special session of Congress. What is known as "the panic of 1893"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the same time the vast Columbian Exposition was in progress at Chicago. The year previous, the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America had been generally celebrated. The exposition, also designed as a celebration, was not opened to the public until May 1, 1893.

had thrown the business world into confusion. Numbers of banks had failed and many railroads had gone into the hands of receivers. One of the chief causes of the panic was a general movement among European investors to get rid of American securities. The various disorders in the United States had impaired their confidence in their American investments, with the result that American securities were thrown upon the market at low prices and loans to Americans were refused by European bankers. President Cleveland, who was an ardent believer in the gold standard, thought he could restore confidence by making the United States unconditionally a "gold" country. Therefore, he urged Congress to repeal the Silver Purchase Act. A majority of Congress, made up of members of both parties, took the same view and the act was repealed November 1, 1893. The repeal gave deep offense to the silver men. They accused the President of disloyalty to his country. Another turning point had been reached in the political battle over silver. The next phase of the contest will soon appear.

**721. The Wilson-Gorman Tariff.** The Democrats had come into power as the friends of low tariff and now they set to work to put their beliefs into practice. What is known as the Wilson-Gorman tariff<sup>1</sup> went into effect in 1894. It made a sweeping reduction of duties, bringing down the average from 49 per cent to 40 per cent.<sup>2</sup>

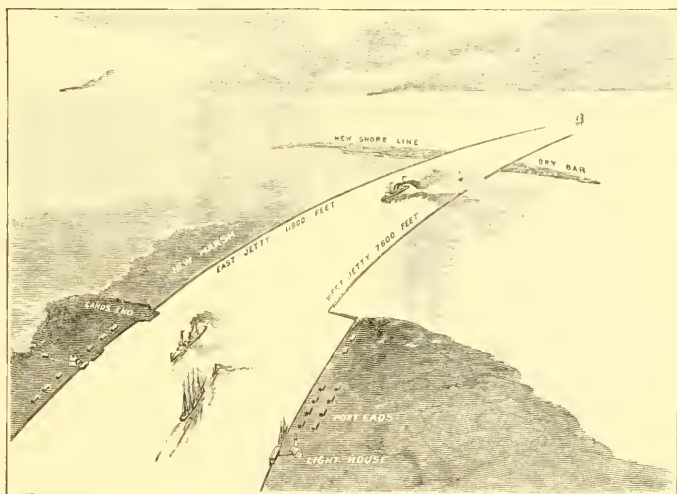
**722. The Great Strike.** Meanwhile there was general distress. The troubles in the business world had thrown great numbers of workingmen out of employment and in their desperation some of them formed peaceful "armies"<sup>3</sup> to tramp

<sup>1</sup> The bill also provided for an income tax, which, however, the Supreme Court pronounced unconstitutional.

<sup>2</sup> As finally passed, his act was a compromise measure which was so unlike the bill as first introduced that President Cleveland refused to sign it and it became a law without his signature (see Constitution of the United States, Article I, section 7).

<sup>3</sup> The most noted case was that of "Coxey's army." A band of the unemployed marched from Massillon, Ohio, to Washington, where they were dispersed by the police without much difficulty.

to Washington to demand aid from the government. The distress and excitement of 1894 culminated in a great strike begun by the employees of the Pullman Car Company of Chicago, who refused to work on the company's terms. Thereupon a powerful labor society, the American Railway Union, took up the matter and demanded the right to conduct negotiations with the company on behalf of the strikers. The company refused to negotiate except with its own employees.



THE MISSISSIPPI JETTIES

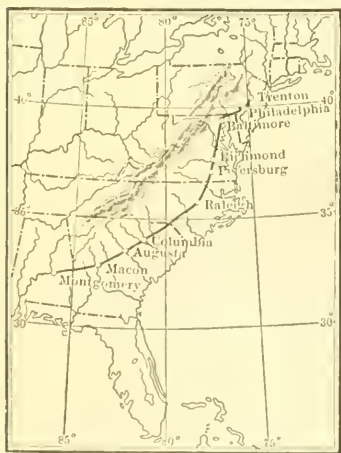
The union contended that the interest of any workingmen were the interests of all workingmen, and when the company refused to let it act for the strikers, it took a step that began a new era in the relations of capital and labor. The president of the union, Eugene V. Debs, ordered a "sympathetic" strike; that is, railway employees went on strike not because of their own troubles but in order to embarrass the railroads and force them to use their influence with the Pullman Company on behalf of the Chicago strikers. During most of the summer of 1894 the railway service of the

country was in confusion, while at Chicago there was virtual civil war. The Pullman Company attempted to replace the strikers by non-union men nicknamed "scabs," whom the strikers were determined to keep from working. In the conflicts between the two groups of workmen the local police authorities were barely able to maintain their authority.

At length the President interfered. As the strike was obstructing the mails, he made use of United States troops to secure the regular operation of mail trains. An injunction was served on Mr. Debs, forbidding him to interfere with interstate commerce. He ignored the injunction. The federal authorities then arrested him and sent him to prison.

The Pullman Company carried its point, so far as the union was concerned, and privately came to a new understanding with its own workmen.

**723. The New South.** In 1895, however, there was sufficient prosperity to sustain the "Cotton States and International Exhibition" at Atlanta. Piedmont Park, where the buildings stood, was the very ground on which, thirty years before, Sherman planted his batteries to shell the city. This exhibition was a remarkable monument to the change which had taken place in the South during those thirty years. It



THE FALL LINE

All along this line, the abundance of water power has led to profitable manufacture.

showed that the South was once more rich and powerful. The cotton industry was still its chief concern, but the sugar industry in Louisiana was also of great importance. Agriculture, however, was no longer the sole material interest

of the South. Cotton mills in the Carolinas, iron mills in Alabama, had begun to compete with the mills of the North. The Atlanta exhibition marked the point at which the ravages of the great war had, at last, been repaired. The year 1895 is thus an important date in national history, as well as the birthday of the "New South."

**724. The Rearrangement of Parties.** The growth of manufactures in the South has had a direct effect upon politics. It introduced a movement away from the traditional Southern policy of free trade and toward the idea of protection. The movement has progressed slowly, but it has contributed to make still more complex the question of the tariff and its effects upon different parts of the Union.

However, the effects of this movement revealed themselves slowly and it is doubtful whether, in the election of 1896, they played a part. That election turned, not on protection — though the Republicans renewed their endorsement of protection — but on silver. The silver men in both parties had not forgiven the repeal of the Silver Purchase Act (section 720). They were resolved not to support any party that would not declare for free coinage of silver. They put the question to the Republicans at their national convention. The Republicans answered by declaring themselves "opposed to free coinage of silver except by international agreement." Thereupon the silver men in the convention, led by Senator Teller of Idaho, seceded from the Republican party. In the Democratic party, on the other hand, the silver men had a majority.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY



The gold-standard men seceded. At their head was President Cleveland.<sup>1</sup>

The election of 1896 is further marked by the appearance of a new and very remarkable Democratic leader, William J. Bryan of Nebraska. He was one of the most conspicuous of the "free silver" champions and was nominated for President both by the Democrats and the Populists. Nevertheless,

Mr. Bryan received only 176 electoral votes, while the Republican candidate, William McKinley, of Ohio, received 271.



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN

#### 725. The Dingley Tariff.

As the Republicans also got control of Congress, legislation in favor of silver was, for the moment, out of the question. The victorious Republicans now set to work to reverse the action of the Democrats in relation to the tariff. The Wilson-Gorman tariff was repealed and a new one—known as the Dingley tariff—was

established. It brought duties back to about where they stood under the tariff of 1890, and in some cases put them still higher (July 24, 1897).

**726. End of the Twenty Years.** We have now reached the end of the twenty-year period (section 696). We have traced the rise of industrialism and have watched its effect upon conditions. They may be briefly summed up as follows:

*First.* The South, having recovered prosperity and developed manufactures, began to divide upon the question of

<sup>1</sup> Many of the "gold Democrats" voted for the Republican candidate. Others supported a "National Democratic" ticket. Their candidates were John M. Palmer of Illinois, and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky.



protection, while on the question of free silver most of the South combined with most of the West. As a result of this shifting of interests, a number of Southern Democrats had gone over to the Republicans, while many Northern and Western Republicans had joined the Democrats. In a word, neither "Republican" nor "Democratic" meant the same thing as in 1860. How far this shifting of parties would go was one of the problems of 1897.

*Second.* Industrial development and increased immigration had revolutionized the relations between capital and labor. On the one side, there had grown up great corporations, aristocratic in their attitude, and, on the other, workingmen had formed powerful associations to oppose capital. During the twenty-year period the two forces had grown more and more hostile. At the close of the period one of the chief problems was how to adjust their clashing interests.

*Third.* A succession of business troubles had produced deep dissatisfaction with the American system of coinage. This dissatisfaction, being largely sectional, threatened to divide the Union, not into North and South, but into East and West. How to consolidate the interests of the whole country so as to make such a division impossible was also one of the chief problems of the day.

To deal with all these problems was the formidable task of the victorious Republicans in 1897. The boldest statesman might well have shrunk from the magnitude of the undertaking. However, it was now suddenly complicated in a new and surprising way. American history was drawn into a new current; our affairs became entangled with European affairs, and all internal problems were temporarily thrust aside. When, after a momentous interruption, they were again taken up, they had developed new forms. What it was that arrested them we shall now see.

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**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. Effects of the War on American Life. 2. Causes of the Formation of Great Corporations. 3. The Development of the Power of Corporations. 4. The Immigration Problem. 5. Labor Organizations in America. 6. American Relations with South America, 1877-1898. 7. The Silver Question. 8. Favoritism of the Railways. 9. The Hawaiian Episode. 10. Strikes, 1877-1898. 11. The New South. 12. Conflicting Interests of the East and the West.

## CHAPTER XXX

### RETURN INTO WORLD POLITICS

**727. The Cuban Revolt.** In 1895 an insurrection broke out in Cuba. It was aided by a "Junta," or council, of wealthy Cubans living in the United States. The sympathy of the Americans was enlisted and many adventurous men joined the Cuban revolutionists in their struggle against Spanish authority. The fighting was exceptionally merciless. The Spaniards kept control of the western part of the island, but seemed powerless to put down the rebellion, though they forced the country people to leave their farms and come into "reconcentrado" camps, where there was great suffering due to insufficient food. Many Americans, some of them revolutionists, some legitimate traders, were arrested and imprisoned.

As early as 1896 a committee was appointed by the Senate to investigate the situation in Cuba. No serious action was taken, however, until 1898, when a private letter of the Spanish ambassador found its way into print. In the published translation, this letter of Ambassador De Lome appeared to be an insult to President McKinley. It aroused violent indignation. His recall was demanded and Spain promptly acceded to the demand.

**728. The Destruction of the *Maine*.** At Havana, about the same time, there were public demonstrations of ill-will toward resident Americans. Thereupon the battleship *Maine* was ordered to Havana as an intimation that the Americans would be protected by their own government. The explosion of a submarine mine,<sup>1</sup> on the night of February 15, 1898, destroyed

<sup>1</sup> The Spanish government maintained that the ship was blown up through some defect in its own magazine. A commission investigated the wreck and reported that it had been blown up from without. In 1911 a second investigation confirmed the report of the first.

the *Maine* and 260 of its crew. In response to an instant demand for explanation, General Fitzhugh Lee, consul-general at Havana, reported: "I do not think it (the mine) was put there by the Spanish government. I think it was the act of four or five subordinate officers." Nevertheless, the American people generally held the Spanish government responsible. Intense anger took possession of the United States. Everywhere the popular watchword was, "Remember the Maine!"

The excitement during the next five weeks can hardly be overstated. It was stimulated by a vote of Congress, March



THE DEWEY MEDAL

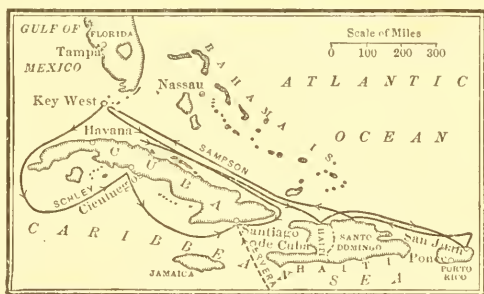
9, placing \$50,000,000 at the disposal of the President "for national defense." Senator Proctor of Vermont, on March 17, made a speech in which he described the horrors he had recently seen while visiting Cuba. This speech still further incensed the American public. At length, on March 28, President McKinley sent a message to Congress with the report of the commission which had investigated the *Maine*. From that moment there was no resisting the general demand for war.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On April 11 the President had asked for authority to intervene in Cuban affairs. On April 20 he was authorized to do so, and the Cuban republic was recognized as an independent power by the United States. On April 22 a blockade of the Spanish part of the island was ordered. On April 23 the President called for 125,000 volunteers. On April 25 he announced the withdrawal of the Spanish minister from Washington, and Congress passed a joint resolution declaring that war existed.

**729. Battle of Manila.** The first event of the war took place in the Orient. Commodore Dewey with the Pacific squadron of our navy was off the coast of China. With six warships, — the most powerful being the cruiser *Olympia*, of but 5870 tons, — he sailed at once for the Philippines. At Manila, under the guns of the Spanish forts, lay a fleet of four cruisers, together with other ships of antiquated type. On May 1, 1898, Dewey entered the harbor and opened fire. A short but brilliant engagement ended in the destruction of the Spanish fleet.

**730. War on the Atlantic.** In the Atlantic, Admiral William Sampson was the chief naval commander. Associated with him was Admiral

W. S. Schley. They established a blockade of the Cuban coast and made preparations to meet a Spanish fleet, under Admiral Cervera, that was known to have sailed from the



Cape Verde Islands. This fleet was sighted off Martinique, May 12. Both the American admirals were then roving the seas, in the vicinity of Cuba, on the lookout for Cervera. On May 27 Admiral Schley got word that Cervera had anchored in the harbor of Santiago. The next day he blockaded that port. Admiral Sampson joined him and a naval siege of Santiago was begun.

**731. The Invasion of Cuba.** Meanwhile, an army of invasion under command of General Shafter had been organized at Tampa.<sup>1</sup> It landed in Cuba, not far from Santiago, June 22.

<sup>1</sup> Only a small part of the United States forces were employed in Cuba. The bulk of the volunteers were gathered in various camps of instruction. These camps were badly managed, and typhoid fever proved far more fatal to our

Advancing westward, the Americans found themselves, July 3, with the fortifications of El Caney upon their right and San Juan Hill upon the left. They struck right and left at the same time. El Caney was taken by General Lawton. At the same time San Juan Hill was stormed, while Colonel Theodore Roosevelt<sup>1</sup> carried the neighboring Kettle Hill. The Americans now had Santiago at their mercy.

**732. Battle of Santiago.** Meanwhile, in the hope of securely "bottling up" Cervera, Lieutenant Hobson had performed a daring feat. Accompanied by only seven seamen, he took the collier *Merrimac* into the entrance of the harbor, and there sank the vessel. As the American successes on land had now made the capture of the city only a question of time, the Spaniards decided upon a last attempt to save their fleet. On July 3 Cervera made his way past the wreck of the *Merrimac* and steamed out of the harbor. The American fleet, however, was fully prepared for his attack and in the sharp fight that followed took or sank every one of his ships.

**733. The Round Robin.** The Americans now pushed their operations against Santiago city, which surrendered July 17. There was still a Spanish army at Havana, but the Americans were in no condition to advance against it. Local conditions, bad food, and improper equipment had resulted in so much sickness that the officers decided upon a singular course. They signed a "round robin" to General Shafter, declaring "this army must be moved at once or it will perish." Ac-

soldiers than were the Spanish bullets. In fact the inadequacy of the War Department formed a public scandal. The soldiers at the front were supplied with impure food and heavy clothing unfit for tropical service. This disgraceful mismanagement was redeemed by private energy. No one was more conspicuous in counteracting the inadequacy of the War Department than the noted millionaire, Miss Helen Gould.

<sup>1</sup> At the opening of the war he was assistant secretary of the navy. Resigning his office, he organized the Rough Riders, a cavalry command composed in part of cowboys, in part of Eastern university men.

Another distinguished officer who joined the United States army at the outbreak of the war was the Confederate cavalry general, Joseph Wheeler. He served with distinction throughout the Santiago campaign.



cordingly, the army was transported to a camp of recuperation on Long Island, August 7.

**734. End of the War.** Two other campaigns were going forward during the siege of Santiago. General Miles landed in Porto Rico, July 25, and quickly subdued the island. In the Philippines General Merritt, accompanied by a Philippine exile, Aguinaldo, besieged Manila. The city was taken August 13.

Even before the capture of Manila, Spain had made overtures for peace. On August 12 a "protocol," or preliminary agreement, was signed at Washington. The negotiations which followed were not entirely concluded until December 10. In the final agreement Spain recognized the independence of Cuba, and consented to its temporary occupation by the American forces; Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands were ceded to the United States; Spain was to receive, in return, \$20,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

**735. The Anti-imperialists.** This treaty gave offense to certain Americans who felt that the war, which had been undertaken to set free an oppressed people, had been converted unfairly into a war of conquest. They also maintained that a republic like ours should not undertake to govern a subject country — as we should have to do if we retained the Philippines. They denounced the course of the administration as "imperialistic" and were known, themselves, as "anti-imperialists." However, this opposition was not sufficient to prevent the ratification of the treaty, February 6, 1899.

**736. The Philippine War.** The anti-imperialists grew still more bitter against the administration when war broke out between the Filipino revolutionists, led by Aguinaldo, and the American troops. In fact the fighting had begun (February 5, 1899) before the treaty was ratified. Anti-imperialists both in and out of Congress now made vigorous attempts to persuade the government to make peace, acknowledge the

<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that the war cost the United States \$842,000,000. See Dewey, "Financial History," 467.

Philippine republic, and withdraw from the islands, but they were unable to shape the course of events. The administration pushed on the Philippine War, which continued during 1899 and was still raging at the time of the presidential election in 1900.

**737. Election of 1900.** The Republicans renominated McKinley; for vice president they named Colonel Roosevelt. The Democratic candidate was again Mr. Bryan. The matter which was most discussed in this campaign — the one which was uppermost, probably, in the minds of the voters — was the new issue of “imperialism.” On the old issue of the currency the two parties reiterated their platforms<sup>1</sup> of four years previous. Now, as then, almost all the gold-standard men supported McKinley. He also received the support of all ardent imperialists, who brushed aside the Democratic protest against the “seizing of distant islands . . . whose people can never become citizens.” The personal popularity of Colonel Roosevelt, who had captured the popular fancy by his gallant action at San Juan, was also a great source of strength to the Republicans. McKinley was reelected by an electoral majority slightly larger than his previous one.<sup>2</sup>

**738. The Problem of Dependencies.** The Philippine War was pushed on with unceasing vigor, and in 1901 Aguinaldo was captured. Detached bands of revolutionists, however, held out during another year. Eventually the islands were reduced to obedience.

Through the acquisition of Porto Rico<sup>3</sup> and the Philippines

<sup>1</sup> A bill establishing the gold standard had passed Congress and was signed by the President, March 14, 1900. In their platform of 1900 the Republicans stated, “We renew our allegiance to the principles of the gold standard.” The Democrats in their platform declared for “free and unlimited coinage of gold and silver at . . . the ratio of 16 to 1.”

<sup>2</sup> There were ten other parties in the field. Six of them nominated presidential candidates. Of these the Prohibition candidates received the largest popular vote. None of them secured any electoral votes.

<sup>3</sup> A government had been provided for Porto Rico by an act of Congress which was passed in April, 1900. The island was treated as a subject dependency separate from the United States. A tariff against imports from Porto

a new constitutional question had arisen. What power did Congress have over these new possessions? Were they part of the United States, or were they subject countries? The anti-imperialists made a last stand upon this issue. They maintained that if we were to hold these countries at all, we must include them in the Union and give them the full protection of American law. One of the chief events of the year 1901 was a decision of the Supreme Court which laid down the principle that Congress might rule the new possessions as it saw fit.

**739. Colonial Government in the Philippines.** Under the authority of Congress the President set up a civil government in the Philippines. William H. Taft, of Ohio, a distinguished federal judge, became their first civil governor, July 21, 1901. As the islands form a difficult problem in government — many of the inhabitants being Mohammedans with local customs utterly different from ours — a complete scheme of government was not worked out until a year later. Meanwhile (March 8, 1902), a special tariff was enacted for the Philippines. The Philippine Government Act (July 1, 1902) created a full system of administration and guaranteed to Filipinos most of the civil rights of American citizens. An excellent school system was established. At length, in 1907, they were allowed to have an elective assembly closely supervised by the American governor and his executive council.

**740. The Cuban Problem.** The affairs of Cuba were also put on a new basis. The military governor, General Leonard Wood, accomplished wonders in the way of revolutionizing its sanitary conditions and putting an end to yellow fever. A convention was called to provide the island with a constitution. But before the constitution went into effect the United States formulated the attitude it would henceforth maintain with regard to Cuba. The Platt amendment to the Army Bill of March, 1901, laid down three propositions: (1) Cuba

Rico was established. The act was defended by the Republicans and condemned by the Democrats in the campaign of 1900. It went out of force, 1901.

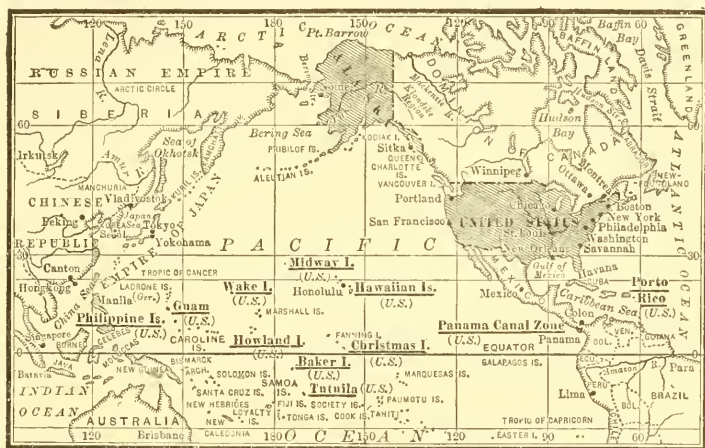
must bind herself not to part with any of her territory; (2) she must not contract debts she cannot pay; (3) she must acknowledge the right of the United States to intervene, should her government fail to preserve order. The Cuban constitutional convention agreed to these terms, June 12, 1901. Less than a year afterward, Cuba's first president was inaugurated and the American troops were withdrawn from the island.<sup>1</sup>

**741. Effects of the War.** The ardor of war had given a new turn to American politics. The chief significance of the events we have been following lies in this: they waked Americans to a consciousness that their country was enormously powerful and might, if it chose, play the rôle of a first-class power. Eagerness to play such a rôle led to general support of another annexation which was effected by President McKinley. The little republic of Hawaii was annexed by the United States, July 7, 1898. If our country is to hold the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands are of immense advantage as a naval stepping-stone between San Francisco and Manila. Other stepping-stones are also needed. Therefore, President McKinley concluded treaties with Germany and England which allowed the United States to occupy several Pacific islands, notably the most desirable one of the Samoan group (section 713).

**742. "The Open Door."** When the Spanish War began, few countries except England understood the United States. The continent of Europe still looked upon Americans with a sort of kindly tolerance. But their eyes were opened by the efficiency of the American navy and when, in 1900, the United States took a hand in general diplomacy, there was no longer any disregard of our opinion. The issue which signalized our

<sup>1</sup> In 1903 the United States assisted Cuba to recover prosperity by reducing the sugar tariff 20 per cent and thus opening our market to Cuban sugar. However, the relations between the two countries are still of an equivocal sort. In 1906, owing to the political disorders in Cuba, the United States intervened and for some time controlled the government. Subsequently Cuba was again made independent.

return into world politics concerned China. That great but feeble empire was in danger of dismemberment. There was a tendency among the European powers to advocate a policy that would end by dividing China into distinct countries, each dependent upon a government in Europe. Our secretary of state, John Hay, in 1899 proposed to the powers that, instead of partitioning China, all should unite to maintain its integrity and open its trade to all on equal terms. This was known as the "open-door" policy.



THE AMERICAN POSSESSIONS

**743. The Boxer Episode.** At first the European powers, with one exception, made evasive replies to Secretary Hay's proposal. England was the exception. The British ministry indorsed the plan. However, circumstances very soon put a new aspect on the American proposal. The Chinese naturally were bitterly hostile to dismemberment, and a Chinese patriotic society, the "Boxers," in 1900 stirred up an insurrection. The German ambassador was assassinated. Foreigners who had taken refuge in their legations were besieged, for nearly two months, by furious mobs. The gratitude of the Chinese for the friendship of the United States now be-



came apparent, and presently the imperial government communicated to Secretary Hay the hopeful news that while it was unable, for the moment, to suppress the insurrection, the legations at Peking were still safe. Acting on this information, an international expedition marched from the coast to relieve them. On August 1, 1900, the Boxer revolt ended with the arrival of the foreign soldiers at Peking.

**744. Triple Agreement.** This episode reinforced the American argument against attempting to dismember China. The United States and England were now joined by Japan in a vigorous assertion of the open-door policy. The three were said to hold the "moral balance of power" in Chinese affairs. For the time, at least, the scheme of dismembering China was set aside.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese imperial government agreed to pay indemnities to all the Western nations for the harm done their people by the Boxers.

**745. Revival of Internal Issues.** With the close of the year 1900 the United States may be said to have taken its place among the great powers of the world. Feeling that they had done so, and that they were secure in their new position, the American people turned their attention again to internal conditions. The currency question was allowed to drop.<sup>2</sup> The tariff question was for the moment at a standstill, because neither the Republicans nor the Democrats were all of one mind on the subject, and both parties felt safer in taking up other problems. The obvious question of the hour was the condition of business. From 1901 until now an overshadowing question in American politics has been the relation of business to legislation.

**746. "The Business Man's Party."** The purpose of the supporters of McKinley in 1900 was to make the Republican party preëminently the "business man's party." The special

<sup>1</sup> A further check was the defeat of Russia, one of the chief advocates of dismemberment, in her war with Japan, 1905-1906.

<sup>2</sup> As a consequence of this tacit dropping of the currency question, both parties at the next election nominated candidates fully committed to the gold standard.



champion of that purpose was McKinley's campaign manager, Marcus A. Hanna of Ohio. It was to strengthen such a policy that the Republicans in their platform had asserted "the necessity and propriety of honest coöperation of capital to meet new conditions of business and especially to extend our rapidly increasing foreign trade"; they condemned, however, all "combinations to restrict business" or to "create monopolies." Upon the question of trusts — soon to become the chief issue in politics — the Republicans, as late as 1900, were comparatively noncommittal. The Democrats, on the contrary, had made the trusts their especial object of attack, and had proclaimed "an unceasing warfare" against them. As the foreign complications were now cleared away, the chief question became — what is the real aim of Hanna in demanding a "business man's party"?

**747. The Hanna Policy.** The answer of Hanna and his following was prompt and clear. They pointed out that the United States had lately increased its volume of business in a way that staggered the imagination. American wealth was piling up with immense rapidity. The country was more prosperous, they argued, than ever before. They attributed all this to two causes: (1) the tariff, and (2) a general attitude on the part of the government that inclined it to shape legislation so as to benefit the large investors. Such was Hanna's conception of the country's needs.

**748. The Distribution Policy.** His enemies took a view of the situation utterly different. The great increase in the volume of business in late years they did not deny. They admitted that American wealth was becoming fabulous. None the less they maintained that the country was in a dangerous condition. They said to Hanna, in substance: Your policy takes no thought of the small business man, only of the large one; the great investor is tenderly cared for in your policy; while the small investor is crowded out. What you are aiming at, is not truly a "business man's party," but a "rich man's party." In a word, they demanded less thought about the

volume of business and more thought about the way its benefits were distributed. They raised the cry that the rich were getting richer and the poor were getting poorer.

**749. Hanna's Influence Declines.** President McKinley had a sure instinct for what the people wanted. He appears to have perceived, in the course of 1901, that a strong opposition to Hanna was growing up inside the Republican party. His extraordinarily sensitive nature divined, when the movement was just beginning, a tendency in his own party to call Hanna's policy a return toward aristocracy. He knew that it would never do to let the "business man's party" become the "rich man's party." He knew, also, that in the vice president, Mr. Roosevelt, the enemies of Hanna inside the party might find a powerful leader. Therefore, in the course of the year, he began cautiously to intimate that the time had come to "reform" the commercial and economic system of the country.

**750. Assassination of McKinley.** What reforms he had in mind we do not know. On September 6, at the opening of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, President McKinley was shot by an anarchist named Czolgosz. He died September 14. His amiable and sympathetic nature caused him to be universally lamented.

*Selections from the Sources.* MACDONALD, *Select Statutes*, Nos. 128-131; HART, *Contemporaries*, IV, Nos. 180-196; MOORE, *Digest of International Law*, I, 48, 243; IV, 611; V, 213, 375; VI, 105; RICHARDSON, *Messages and Papers*, X; CALDWELL, *Territorial Development*, 213-255; WHEELER, *Santiago Campaign*; HOAR, *Autobiography*, II, 304-329; ROOSEVELT, *Rough Riders*; FUNSTON, *Memories of Two Wars*; SCHLEY, *Forty-five Years under the Flag*, chaps. xxiv-xxvi; LONG, *New American Navy*.

*Secondary Accounts.* COOLIDGE, *The United States as a World Power*, chaps. v-viii; FOSTER, *American Diplomacy in the Orient*, chap. xiii; CHURMAN, *Philippine Affairs*; WILLIS, *Our Philippine Problem*; SPARKS, *The Expansion of the American People*, chap. xxxvi; LATANE, *America as a World Power*, and *United States and Spanish America*, 174, 175, 214-220; WILSON, *American People*, V, 269-300; Cambridge

*Modern History*, VII, 674-686; LARNED, *History for Ready Reference*, VI, 65, 171, 225, 258, 367, 583; ELSON, *Side Lights*, II, 352-401; DEWEY, *Financial History*, secs. 197-202; CARPENTER, *American Advance*, 288-331; CALLAHAN, *Cuba*, 453-496; MACLAY, *United States Navy*, III, 39-440; TITHERINGTON, *Spanish American War*; BROOKS, *War with Spain*; MAHAN, *Lessons of the War with Spain*.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The Cuban Revolt. 2. The American Army in the Cuban War. 3. The Anti-imperialist Movement. 4. American Rule in the Philippines. 5. America in the Orient. 6. The Issues of 1900.

## CHAPTER XXXI

### THE NEW AGE

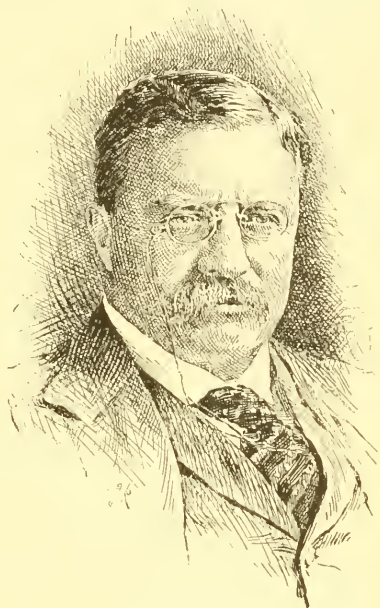
**751. Theodore Roosevelt.** The remarkable man who now became President had already revealed himself as one of those highly distinctive natures that inspire their followers with unlimited devotion and arouse in enemies fierce dislike. In the eyes of his followers he was his country's greatest good; in the eyes of his enemies, its greatest evil. In whichever category we place him, we shall all agree that his tremendous forcefulness profoundly affected his time.<sup>1</sup>

One of his first conspicuous achievements was the settlement of the anthracite coal strike of 1902. This strike, in which the coal miners were led by John Mitchell, was a particularly bitter one. The mine owners took an uncompromising position. Coal ran short and a large part of the country was threatened with coal famine. The President, though without any legal warrant to do so, intervened. He brought the miners and owners together and secured the appointment of a commission by which the strike was settled.

It is possible that his success in that connection gave a new turn to his thoughts. At any rate, it was the beginning of a course he followed steadily thereafter. Because of it, his enemies sometimes accused him of being a socialist. His great rival, Mr. Bryan, declared that he had "stolen the thunder" of the reforming group which Mr. Bryan himself

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps his most valuable achievement previous to his succession to the presidency was accomplished as commissioner of the civil service. Largely through his endeavors about 100,000 offices were withdrawn from politics and opened to competitive examination. Continuing this reform while President, he secured the enlargement of the classified civil service so as to include some 234,000 offices.

represented. The course in question consists in using the vast influence of the government to break down whatever appears to be tending back toward a revival of aristocracy. That there is such a tendency to-day is freely admitted. Both the soil of the United States and its business interests are concentrated in the hands of comparatively few people. The large business concerns tend to combine and crush out the smaller ones, reducing their owners to dependent positions. One of Mr. Roosevelt's popular achievements consisted in frustrating such an attempted combination. The Great Northern Railway, the Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy were contemplating a "merger." The President caused his attorney-general to bring suit under the Sherman Antitrust Act of 1890 to prevent the merger. In 1904 the Supreme Court sustained the President and held the merger to be illegal.<sup>1</sup>



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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

**752. The Panama Canal.** A project which appealed to the ardent imperialism of the President was the Panama Canal. We have seen that as far back as 1846 the United States made a treaty on this subject with Colombia (section 532). At that time two routes were under consideration. The alternative route crossed the state of Nicaragua. England held the key

<sup>1</sup> The year previous a stringent antitrust act had been passed requiring corporations that do an interstate business to open their books to government inspection.

to the Nicaragua route, which was then more popular than the Panama route. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, negotiated in 1850, provided that whichever route should be chosen, both England and America should control it jointly. Subsequently both parties lost interest in the canal. When a French company, under Ferdinand de Lesseps, stepped in and went to work building a canal at Panama, Americans took no notice. President Hayes tried in vain to rouse them, saying that the



JOHN MITCHELL

President of the United Mine  
Workers of America.

proposed canal would be "part of the coast line of the United States." However, De Lesseps failed, his company went bankrupt, and the canal question again came to a standstill. It was revived by an incident of the Spanish War. The battleship *Oregon*, in 1898, was at San Francisco. In order to join Sampson's fleet it had to steam 13,000 miles, rounding Cape Horn. Immediately there was a demand to cut the isthmus by a canal.

Two complications had to be straightened out. One was the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; the other was the French company of De Lesseps. England showed her friendly feeling toward the United States by consenting to a termination of the treaty. By the new Hay-Pauncefote Treaty,<sup>1</sup> November, 1901, England gave up all claim to take part in the management of the canal. The French company offered to sell its property and rights to the United States government for \$40,000,000. Congress, June 28, 1902, authorized the President to buy out the Frenchmen and build the canal.

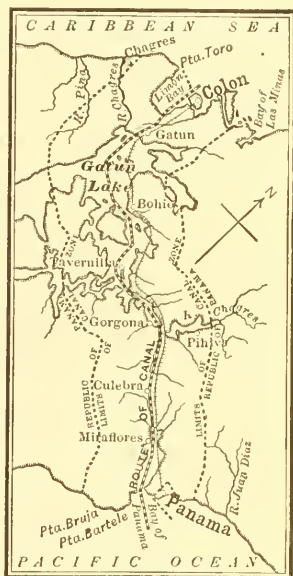
Thereupon a new problem arose. After a treaty had been negotiated with Colombia, that country refused to ratify it

<sup>1</sup> In force, February 22, 1912.



(September 14, 1903). However, Colombia, like ourselves, is a federation. The canal would lie entirely within the borders of the state of Panama. Knowing that it was practically sure of the support of the United States, Panama seceded from Colombia and declared itself a separate republic, November 3, 1903. It was promptly recognized by the United States,<sup>1</sup> and Colombia made no attempt to recover the seceded state by force. On February 26, 1904,<sup>2</sup> a treaty was made between Panama and the United States giving the latter full control of a strip of land from sea to sea, across the isthmus.<sup>3</sup>

**753. Election of 1904.** The masterful President encountered much opposition inside his own party. Those Republicans who wished, before all else, to make their party "the business man's party," were alarmed at his desire to bring business within the scope of national legislation. However, the sudden death of the anti-Roosevelt leader, Senator Marcus A.



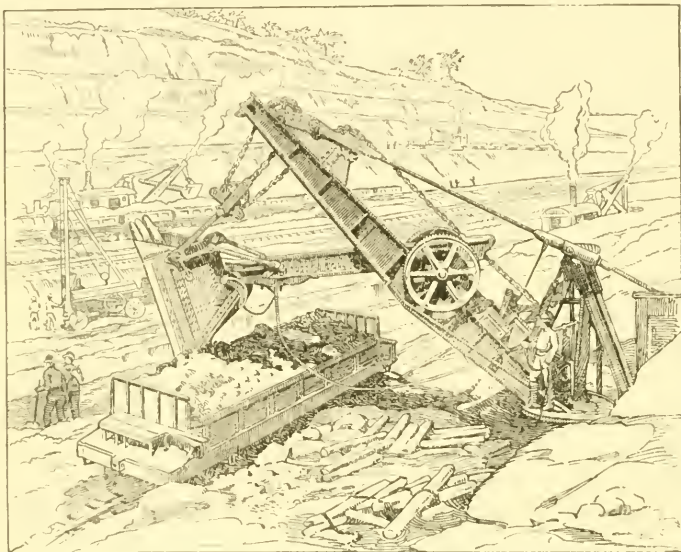
THE CANAL ZONE

<sup>1</sup> There was a rival plan. A company had been formed to utilize the Nicaragua route, and Congress instructed the President that if he could not secure satisfactory agreements with Colombia "within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms" he was then to go to work on a canal through Nicaragua. One reason why the matter was pressed upon Colombia so urgently was the fear that Congress might reconsider its action and adopt the Nicaragua route after all. The revolution in Panama is supposed to have been hastened by this fear. Enemies of the President have not hesitated to say that he was informed of the revolutionary movement in advance.

<sup>2</sup> Negotiated towards the close of 1903.

<sup>3</sup> By an act of Congress, March 4, 1911, the United States has undertaken to fortify the canal. It is thus, as President Hayes prophesied, "part of the coast line of the United States."

Hanna of Ohio, disorganized his faction. President Roosevelt was renominated. The Republican platform declared for protection but laid especial stress on the belief that corporate business should be regulated by Congress. The Democrats nominated Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. The



MODERN INVENTION

A steam shovel used in digging the Panama Canal.

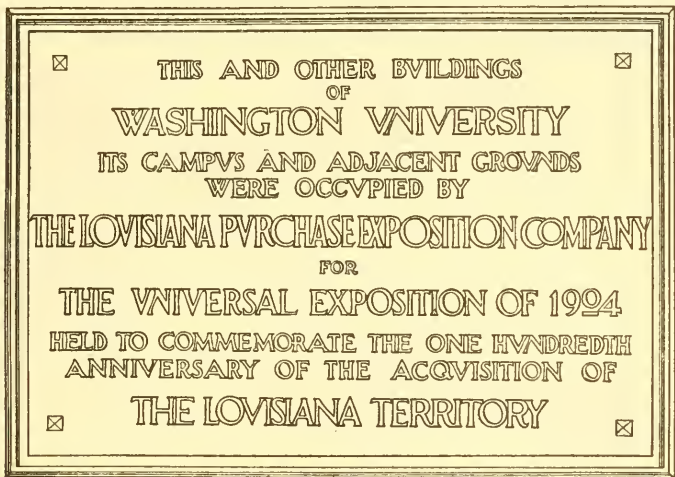
real issue of the campaign was whether or not the country had confidence in the President.<sup>1</sup> The event showed that it had. The President received 336 electoral votes against 140.<sup>2</sup>

**754. The Roosevelt Policies.** The President now increased

<sup>1</sup> There is more than a fanciful similarity to the election of Jackson in 1832. In each case, economic and administrative questions, though they counted for much, were subordinate to the strictly personal question of confidence in a man.

<sup>2</sup> Three other candidates received each a considerable popular vote: Eugene V. Debs, Socialist, 402,000; Thomas E. Watson, Populist, 113,000; Silas Swallow, Prohibitionist, 259,000.

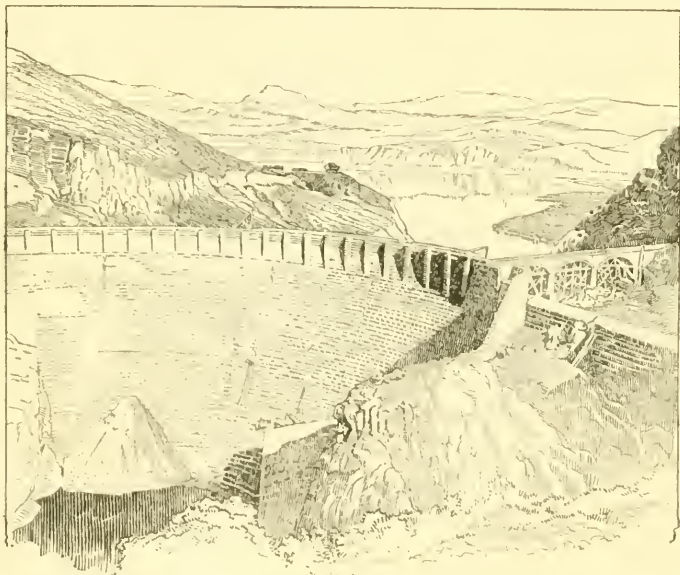
his hostility to the trusts. During his second term of office he lent his influence to support a variety of measures designed to reduce the power of capital. Incidentally, the phrase "malefactors of great wealth" was coined by the President, accepted by the popular fancy, and fixed upon his opponents as a damaging label. Among the conspicuous measures of this period were the Elkins Act (1903), designed to abolish rebating (section 711); the Hepburn Act (1906), to strengthen the Interstate Commerce Commission; and the Pure Food



Law (1906), to protect the public against the adulteration of foodstuffs.

The President also gave his support to a movement of recent origin that is as significant as any of these others. What is known as "conservation" is an attempt to counteract the recklessness with which Americans have squandered their natural resources, especially their forests. Popular agitation to save the forests led to a conference on conservation called by the President at Washington, in May, 1908. Shortly afterward the National Conservation Commission was established.

It drew up the first thorough report upon the natural resources of the United States. At the close of 1908 a joint Conservation conference, composed of the governors, or official representatives, from 22 states and territories, met at Washington and discussed this report. Vigorous action to save the forests of the country has been brought about by this new inter-



THE ROOSEVELT DAM, ARIZONA

A monument of the conservation policy.

est in conservation. As a result vast areas have been set apart as forest reserves.<sup>1</sup> There is now a national Bureau of Forestry headed by the national forester.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the end of 1912 there were 163 national forests with an acreage of 187,000,000. Among them are the Appalachian forest and the White Mountains forest. Both of these were reserved by act of Congress in March, 1911, with a view to protecting the watersheds of streams.

<sup>2</sup> The same impulse that led to forest reserves has also led to great works of irrigation to reclaim western "deserts." The Roosevelt dam, in Arizona, is one of the most famous instances.

The masterful temper that made President Roosevelt, in some respects, a kind of second Jackson, made him also a bold and resourceful administrator of foreign affairs.

As early as 1901 Germany was brought to make acknowledgment of the Monroe Doctrine. Germany did so when she refrained from collecting by force of arms debts due the Germans from Venezuela. To offset this self-restraint of Germany, President Roosevelt in 1902 sent to Congress what has sometimes been called the "big stick" message. He maintained that the United States ought to exercise a sort of police authority over our southern neighbors, and not allow them to use the Monroe Doctrine as an excuse for repudiating obligations.

In 1905 the President put his views into practice. As San Domingo, though heavily in debt, would not satisfy its creditors, the United States intervened, appointed a receiver of customs for San Domingo, and effected its deliverance from debt. A treaty with San Domingo, confirming the course of President Roosevelt, was eventually ratified by the American Senate.

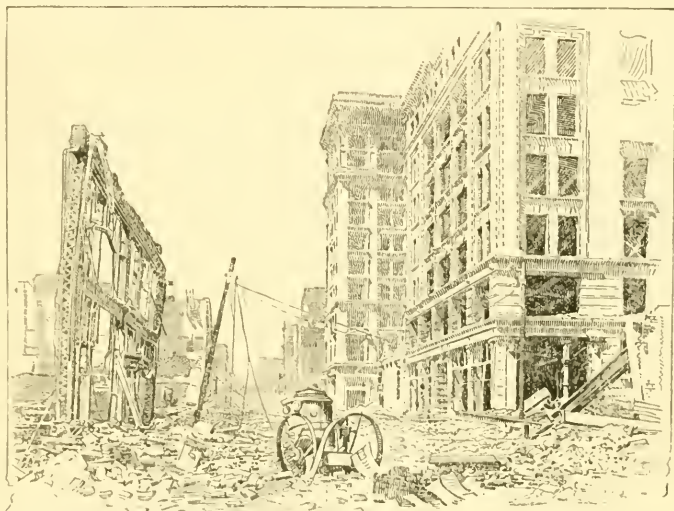
A permanent understanding between the United States and Latin America was effected in 1907. Our secretary of state, Elihu Root, had recently made a tour of South America and convinced its peoples of the good intentions of the northern republic. As a consequence, in a session of the Hague Conference<sup>1</sup> the representative of the United States, together with most of those from Latin America, advocated a plan which was formulated by the foreign minister of the Argentine Republic, Señor Drago. This was the proposition that all members of the Hague Conference should submit their financial claims to arbitration.

**755. Resurrection of an Old Problem.** Meanwhile the United States had become involved in other foreign compli-

<sup>1</sup> The International Court of Arbitration, commonly known as The Hague Conference, consists of representatives of forty-three governments to promote the cause of arbitration as a substitute for war. It meets periodically at The Hague, where it was instituted July 29, 1899.



cations which came upon us as a surprise. In October, 1906, the emperor of Japan<sup>1</sup> complained to Washington that the San Francisco schools were discriminating against Japanese children. Japan pointed out that the United States, by a treaty made in 1894, had guaranteed to Japanese in this country the same treatment accorded to American citizens.



EFFECTS OF THE FIRE IN SAN FRANCISCO FOLLOWING THE  
EARTHQUAKE OF 1906

One of the greatest catastrophes in our history was the earthquake at San Francisco (1906), which destroyed property valued at \$300,000,000 and rendered homeless half a million people.

This Oriental difficulty revealed to Americans that their federal system might yet, if rudely administered, cause trouble. The old problem of how to adapt foreign policy to the wishes of all parts of a diverse country sprang again to life.<sup>2</sup> It was resurrected through a disagreement of East and West

<sup>1</sup> During the recent war between Japan and Russia, Americans had openly sympathized with Japan. By invitation of the American President, envoys of the two powers met at Portsmouth, N.H., in 1905, and made peace.

<sup>2</sup> Review the Mississippi Controversy, chap. xvi.



over the question of the Japanese school children — the East wishing to grant the emperor's demand; the West opposing it. The first impulse of the President was to say that the will of the majority must prevail — which in this case meant that California must not be allowed to do as it pleased with regard to its own public schools. Here, again, was that old question of the possible despotism of a majority of states over a minority;<sup>1</sup> here was the threat of a possible separation between East and West more dreadful even than the earlier separation between North and South. The California protest brought to mind, in all thoughtful people, the Hartford Convention and all similar incidents in our history. The President was no exception. Second thought led him to change his position. He began negotiating with Japan, used persuasion with the Californians, and at length effected a compromise. The San Francisco authorities changed somewhat their attitude toward the Japanese; and the emperor of Japan himself forbade the lower classes of his subjects to emigrate to America. Friendly relations were completely restored in November, 1908, when the two governments pledged themselves to assist in maintaining the integrity of China.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

**756. Chinese Friendship.** Meanwhile, the Chinese had come to appreciate that America was their genuine friend. In 1907 William H. Taft, who had become secretary of war, made a tour of the Orient. His reception in China marked

<sup>1</sup> Review the Hartford Convention, chap. xx.

a new era of cordial friendliness between East and West. Not long after his return, the President recommended to Congress that it remit the portion of the Boxer indemnity (section 744) not yet paid. Congress did so.

**757. Election of 1908.** The great personal popularity of President Roosevelt at the end of his second term enabled him to dictate his party's choice of presidential candidate in 1908—the secretary of war, William Howard Taft of Ohio.

The Democrats returned to their former allegiance to Mr. Bryan, whose relation to his party during the eight years between 1900 and 1908 is one of the strange things in our history. In 1900 he was called “the peerless leader” and followed with utmost enthusiasm. In 1904 he appeared to have lost his hold upon the party; he hardly seemed to be one of the leaders. But in 1908 he was again incontestably the chief Democrat in America. It is probable that his new popularity was firmer than the old. Disinterested observers noted in him a maturer strength of character, a better knit intellectuality, and concluded that time and responsibility had ripened his powers. As of old, he had the gift of inspiring great numbers of men with absolute confidence in his judgment.

The campaign was little more than a trial of strength between the influence of President Roosevelt on the one hand, and the influence of Mr. Bryan on the other. Both platforms attacked the trusts, and in each party there was a loud demand for a revision of the tariff. To judge from the result of the election, President Roosevelt was still the dominant power in America. His candidate received 321 electoral votes against Mr. Bryan's 162.<sup>1</sup>

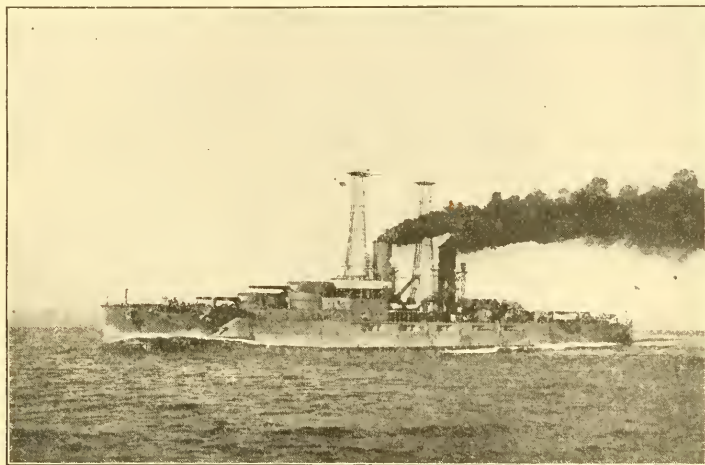
**758. The Division of the Republicans.** As soon as the masterful personality of Mr. Roosevelt was withdrawn from politics<sup>2</sup> it became plain that the Republican party was divided against itself. On the one hand, there was a group of capital-

<sup>1</sup> The new state of Oklahoma, admitted in 1907, took part in this election.

<sup>2</sup> See section 760.

ists who wished to resurrect the "business man's party" of McKinley's day (section 746); on the other hand, certain younger Republicans who demanded a broadly popular policy definitely antagonistic to the large capitalists. Conspicuous as the leaders of this group were Robert M. La Follette, senator from Wisconsin, Gifford Pinchot, chief forester, and James R. Garfield, formerly secretary of the interior.

President Taft appears to have thought that his first duty was to effect a compromise between these hostile factions of



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UNITED STATES STEAMSHIP *DELAWARE*

his party. Being of a conciliatory disposition, he attempted, in 1909, to harmonize his party on the subject of the tariff. What is known as the Payne-Aldrich tariff had been framed chiefly by Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, the confessed leader of the capitalistic wing of the Republicans. It was vehemently opposed by the insurgents, who stood for a sweeping reduction of duties. President Taft, however, signed the Payne-Aldrich bill. Doubtless he thought it as good a measure as could be passed through Congress at that moment, and he shrank from encouraging strife inside his party. But

the insurgents never forgave him for his "surrender," as they termed it, to the capitalists.

Two measures heartily approved by President Taft were incorporated in the bill which established the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The result was the establishment of a Tariff Board <sup>1</sup> (1) for scientific investigation of the subject, and (2) the Corporation Tax Law, which laid an annual tax of 1 per cent on the earnings of all corporations.

A later measure of the Taft administration, akin to the Corporation Tax Law, was the law creating a permanent court of commerce authorized to try all cases that involved the commerce legislation of the federal government. However, this measure roused again the anger of the insurgents. They held that the President had secured for the court so little power as to render its establishment scarcely significant.

In fact, the breach between the President and the insurgents overshadowed for the moment all other political questions. It was further widened by a lamentable scandal in the Department of the Interior. The secretary, Richard A. Ballinger, was accused by the chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, of improper connection with large deals in public lands. After a long trial the charges were held to be not proven. Thereupon, the accuser, Mr. Pinchot — to the great wrath of the insurgents — was dismissed from the public service <sup>2</sup> (1910).

**759. Coalition of Insurgents and Democrats.** An incident of the spring of 1910 increased the confidence of the insurgents in their fighting strength. The opposite wing of their party — nicknamed the "stand-patters" — were the main-

<sup>1</sup> The Tariff Board continued until 1912 when Congress refused to make further appropriations for its support. In 1911 the President had opposed Congress when it sought to revise the tariff without consultation with the board. Three bills were passed making large reductions of duties. President Taft vetoed all three on the ground that Congress should wait until the board had determined how, and to what extent, American conditions were actually affected by the tariff. That same year, the board made a voluminous report on the woolen industry.

<sup>2</sup> Subsequently, under pressure it would seem, Mr. Ballinger resigned.

stay in Congress of the speaker of the House, Joseph Cannon, of Illinois, who had ruled it with a firm hand since 1903. Most of his power was taken from him by a coalition of insurgents and Democrats; the coalition named a special nomination committee to appoint the regular committees of the House.

This event foreshadowed a political change in 1910. The elections of that year returned to Congress increased numbers of insurgents and Democrats. The latter secured control of the House and elected as speaker, Champ Clark of Missouri.

And now, through a singular turn of events, the insurgents, for a brief period, became the President's supporters, while the other wing of his party opposed him. In January, 1911, President Taft informed Congress that he had negotiated a treaty with Canada providing for closer trade relations between the two countries.<sup>1</sup> He asked Congress to make certain reductions in the tariff in order to enable the treaty to take effect. The request was resolutely opposed by the tariff men. However, a combination of insurgents and Democrats finally passed through both Houses a bill which met the President's wishes and made reciprocity<sup>2</sup> with Canada possible. It was Canada herself that eventually brought the plan to nought by turning out of office the Liberal ministry which had negotiated the treaty and choosing a Conservative ministry which promptly broke off negotiations.<sup>3</sup>

**760. The Arbitration Treaties.** Two other measures that commended themselves to the President's strong desire for peaceable and harmonious courses, were devised that same year. On August 13, 1911, treaties of arbitration were signed at Washington, one with France, the other with England. The treaties were practically identical. In each case the con-

<sup>1</sup> In the previous March the President began negotiations by inviting Canada to send delegates to Washington for a conference.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, concessions made by both sides so as to produce a close commercial relation between the two countries.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Liberal premier, decided in hopes of ratifying the treaty to dissolve Parliament and hold a new general election. This election revealed unexpected strength in the Conservative party.



tracting powers declared that they were "resolved that no future difference shall be a cause of hostilities between them or interrupt their good relations and friendship." Therefore, they agreed in future to submit all their differences to arbitration.

The consideration of the arbitration treaties was signalized by the return to national affairs of ex-President Roosevelt.<sup>1</sup>



WOODROW WILSON

He threw all his influence against the treaties, arguing that situations were bound to arise in which no nation would submit to arbitration. In all other situations, he reasoned, we do not need such treaties. However, in spite of his great influence, the treaties were eventually ratified (1912).

**761. New States.** Another important event of 1911 was the passage of a joint resolution of Congress admitting to the Union Arizona and New Mexico. A previous act of Congress admitting them had been vetoed. The President had refused

his consent because New Mexico did not accept the boundary now existing between herself and Texas; and because Arizona favored the plan of allowing the voters, at any moment, to "recall" an elected judge and compel him to stand for reelection. Congress sustained the President and required the new states to make an end of their offending laws before entering the Union.

**762. The Judiciary under President Taft.** Conspicuous among the later events of the administration of President

<sup>1</sup> Following his retirement from office he spent a year abroad; returning, he took active interest in the state politics of New York. Thereafter, for some time, he confined his attention to editorial writing in the *Outlook*.



Taft, was the government's prosecution of the Standard Oil Company as a combination in restraint of trade. In 1911 a verdict was obtained dissolving that great trust. This was nearly, if not quite, the last gratifying experience that befell the President. A man of tact, a believer in graciousness, he had been called upon to deal with fierce movements and harmonize forces that were incompatible. His administration was destined to close in bitterness, as will be seen when we glance at the events of 1912. Before turning to that year of political revolution it is well to linger an instant upon President Taft's appointments to the federal judiciary. They were characterized to an unusual degree by a disregard of party lines. This large-minded policy of nonpartisanship in judicial appointments culminated in the choice of a former Confederate, Edward D. White, of Louisiana, to be supreme justice.

**763. Election of 1912.** During most of President Taft's administration it was taken for granted that he would be renominated by the Republicans in 1912. But as the presidential year approached, the opposition to him within his party gained strength. A demand arose for ex-President Roosevelt to take his old place in politics and become the leader of the insurgents. At length he decided to do so, and early in 1912 announced himself a candidate for the Republican nomination. There resulted a very bitter struggle between the two wings of the Republican party for control of the national convention. The faction of the President was successful and secured his renomination. Thereupon the followers of Mr. Roosevelt, taking "Progressive" for their party name, effected a separate organization and nominated their leader for President.<sup>1</sup>

The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey, formerly president of Princeton University. Though a newcomer in politics who had passed with startling

<sup>1</sup> Some of the original insurgents did not take part in this movement; notably, Senator La Follette.

suddenness from private to public life, he had in a brief period made a name for his fearless and able opposition to political corruption. The platform on which he stood promised "immediate downward revision" of the tariff; committed the party to the establishment, as soon as possible, of an income tax;<sup>1</sup> advocated the election of senators by direct popular vote;<sup>2</sup> and declared its antagonism to all those political and economic views commonly spoken of as "capitalistic."<sup>3</sup>

In November Governor Wilson gained a sweeping victory. He received 435 electoral votes against 88 for Mr. Roosevelt and only 8 for President Taft. The Democratic popular vote numbered 6,293,120; the Progressive, 4,119,582; the Republican, 3,485,082. The Socialists cast 901,839 ballots for Eugene V. Debs, but failed to secure any votes in the electoral college.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In 1909 a Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution authorizing the national government to tax incomes was proposed by Congress and sent to the states for ratification. It received the necessary number of ratifications, and became part of the Constitution (1913). When the Democratic Congress assembled in April, 1913, an Income Tax Law was part of its program.

<sup>2</sup> In 1912 Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution, altering the phraseology of Article I, section 3, so as to permit the election of senators by the people. It was ratified in 1913.

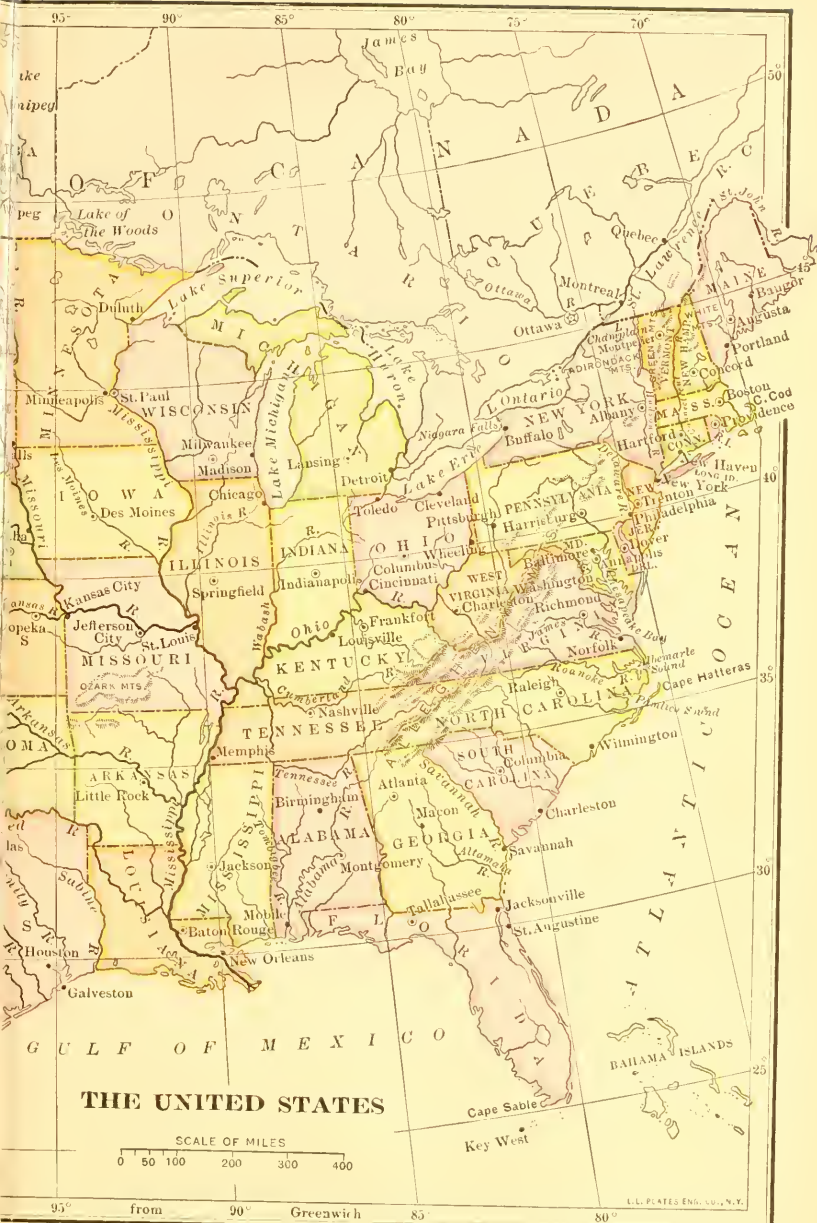
<sup>3</sup> The Democratic platform also declared: "We favor the exemption from tolls of American ships engaged in coastwise trade passing through the Panama Canal." This statement referred to a contention that had grown out of the Panama Canal Act (1912), which provided that American ships passing through the canal on their way from one American port to another need not pay toll. England promptly protested that this exemption was in violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1902, which stated that "the canal shall be free and open to . . . of all nations . . . on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation or its citizens or subjects in respect to the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise." There resulted sharp differences of opinion as to the interpretation of this provision of the treaty. What to do about the Panama tolls was one of the problems confronting the victorious Democrats in 1913.

For the platforms of the three parties, as well as those of the Socialists and Prohibitionists, see the "World Almanac" for 1913, 687-699.

<sup>4</sup> The campaign of 1912 will be notorious in our annals because of an attempt to assassinate a presidential candidate. A lunatic named Schrank fired on Mr. Roosevelt as he was leaving his hotel in Milwaukee. Fortunately, the wound inflicted was not serious.











**764. The Political Situation in 1913.** The inauguration of President Wilson, followed by the calling of a special session of Congress to reduce the tariff,<sup>1</sup> marked a revolutionary moment in the history of American politics. Incidentally, it may be noted that President Wilson revived a practice which had been in disuse for more than a hundred years, and instead of sending to Congress a written message, appeared before a joint session of the two Houses and read them his message, advocating an immediate lowering of duties.

But the great significance of the year 1913 is found in matters infinitely more profound than any detail of official procedure. First of all, the election of a Southerner<sup>2</sup> to the presidency was but one of a number of indications that the separation between North and South had at last passed away. In the thirty-six years between 1876 and 1912, the country had advanced from a nominal reunion to an actual one. The American nation had developed from a promise to a reality.

It was largely by the votes of Northerners and Westerners that the Southerner became President. He appointed a Westerner, Mr. Bryan, secretary of state. However, these were not the only significant events of the political revolution — for such it deserves to be called — of 1912-1913. The split in the Republican party was even more positive evidence that old issues had passed away, old allegiances had lost their appeal, old organizations were crumbling. We ask ourselves — what had caused this breaking up of political tradition, this regrouping of men, and rearrangement of parties?

In any period of political transition the causes of events are likely to be numerous and usually hard to trace. The present age is highly complex. Many forces working subtly together have compounded the American nation and awakened it to

<sup>1</sup> The management of a new tariff bill concerning duties was intrusted to Oscar L. Underwood of Alabama, while Champ Clark was again elected speaker of the House.

<sup>2</sup> President Wilson was born at Staunton, Virginia (1856), and spent much of his early life in South Carolina.

the consciousness that a new day has dawned, that great problems unknown to our fathers demand immediate solution. To trace all these forces in detail is here impossible. We cannot even attempt to review all the political movements through which they have expressed themselves. But among those various movements, three stand forth as of especial significance, destined, sooner or later, to exert upon the life of the nation a profound influence. These are: the movement for woman's

suffrage; the reform of cities; and the labor movement.



JANE ADDAMS

### 765. Woman's Suffrage. In

America, as we have seen, women have always played a great part. A natural result of their general activity was the movement in the middle of the nineteenth century to enlarge the education of women. In connection with it antiquated laws inherited from the feudal ages, which restricted the holding of property by women, were swept away. These reforms were followed by a demand to extend the suffrage to women. Woman's suffrage was first accomplished, in

a limited way, in Kansas in 1861.<sup>1</sup> It was gradually extended until, in 1912, the women of a number of states possessed the ballot on precisely the same footing as men. This extension of the suffrage was not approved, however, by all women and gave rise to a vigorous campaign of discussion. The forces in favor of change were organized by

<sup>1</sup> In 1861 in Kansas women could vote on school matters only. By 1913 school suffrage had been accorded to women in thirty-two states. In 1869 the women of Wyoming received the suffrage on equal terms with men. Five other states made the same extension — Colorado, 1893; Utah, 1896; Idaho, 1896; Washington, 1910; California, 1912. In several states women taxpayers were given the suffrage on questions of taxation.

the National American Woman Suffrage Association, having for president the Reverend Anna Howard Shaw; for first vice president Miss Jane Addams, of Chicago. Chief in opposition stood the New York State Association opposed to Woman Suffrage, the president being Miss Alice H. Chittenden. The great event of 1912, from the point of view of the suffragists, was the extension of the ballot to women by California.<sup>1</sup>

**766. Municipal Problems.** Foreigners have pointed out that our system of government has one great defect: we do not manage our cities well. Long ago Jefferson said that with the development of great cities, the test of our democracy would come. The explanation appears to lie in two facts: city politics are not always attractive and they involve the use of great sums of money. Because, as a rule, city politics do not attract the most ambitious men, many cities have fallen under the control of "rings" of professional politicians. As these rings administer vast sums, they are enabled in various ways, both direct and indirect, to make profit for themselves. To-day a third of the whole American people live in cities. If these cities are corrupt politically, the politics of the nation cannot possibly be kept pure. To recover the cities from corruption is one of the most pressing needs of the time, and recently various schemes for reorganizing city government have been tried in various parts of the country. One of these is known as the "commission plan." In the old-fashioned plan, the city was a miniature state, with a mayor instead of a governor, and a common council corresponding to the legislature. Commission government<sup>2</sup> aims to replace this cum-

<sup>1</sup> In 1912 the Progressives, in their national platform, declared themselves in favor of "equal suffrage to men and women alike." Some of the presidential electors named by the Progressives were women.

With the opening of Congress, in 1913, began an agitation to secure an amendment to the Constitution establishing equal suffrage.

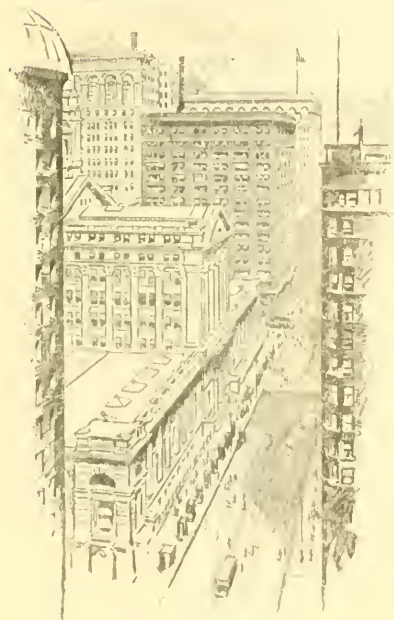
The entire movement is treated at length in the official suffragist publication, "History of Woman Suffrage," and briefly but effectively in "A Study of the Woman Suffrage Movement in America" by Miss Sarah Barnwell Elliott.

<sup>2</sup> It was devised at Galveston, 1901. The original scheme has been varied by several cities, notably by Houston, in Texas, and Des Moines, in Iowa.

bersome machinery, for which under modern conditions the city has little real use, by a commission, or board, composed of a few members who shall be answerable for the management of the city, much as a board of directors is answerable

for the management of a railway. This simple plan has been approved by a large number of cities from one ocean to the other. Many people are convinced that it has solved the city problem and that the bad features of American politics will speedily disappear.

**767. Initiative, Referendum, Recall.** Underlying commission government is the belief that the mass of the people should have direct connection with the government. This idea has taken hold of multitudes of Americans. There appears to be a growing conviction that we should have, on the one hand, fewer officers, so as to



IN CHICAGO

be able easily to fix the blame for mistakes, and, on the other hand, larger legislative groups so as to make it impossible to bribe a majority of the voters, either directly or indirectly. To bring about the latter result various innovations have been devised. For one thing, there is the new method of choosing senators: namely, by popular vote instead

of by the votes of legislatures.<sup>1</sup> The "recall," to which President Taft objected in connection with the Arizona judiciary, is a still more drastic measure which has been adopted in a number of places. It enables the electors to recall from office an official with whom they are dissatisfied, and replace him by another. Two measures which are generally thought of together are the initiative and the referendum. The former has been defined as "the giving to the people the right of pro-

	Dist.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
Date	Representative	H. A. Cooper	J. M. Nelson	A. W. Kopp	W. J. Cary	W. H. Stafford	C. H. Weise	J. J. Esch	J. H. Davidson	G. Kuestermann	E. A. Morse	J. L. Lenroot	Vote
Mar. 15, 1909	I						⊙						Old Rules
Mar. 15, 1909	II						⊙						Fitzgerald Resolution
Jul. 31, 1909	III												Payne Tariff Bill
Jan. 7, 1910	IV												Ballinger Committee
Mar. 19, 1910	V												Norris Resolution
Jun. 7, 1910	VI												Lenroot Railroad Motion
Jun. 7, 1910	VII												Postal Gag Rule



"Progressive"



"Standpat"



Democrat



No-Vote

#### HOW WISCONSIN KEEPS A WATCH ON ITS CONGRESSMEN

Published record of votes of each representative on important bills.

posing legislation to be acted upon"; the latter as "the referring of legislation to the people for final rejection or acceptance." Where the initiative is established, the voters may state their views to the legislature in a petition, and the legislature is bound to consider any measure thus proposed. Where the referendum is established, every important act of the legislature must be approved by popular vote in order to become law. The initiative and referendum have been established in many cities and in not a few states.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See section 760, note.

<sup>2</sup> In 1897 Iowa applied the referendum to franchise grants, while Nebraska made initiative and referendum optional in cities. During the next eight years

**768. The Labor Problem of To-day.** All these questions of popular government are complicated by the labor problem. An enormous number of Americans depend for existence on their wages as laborers. It is estimated that some thirty million Americans own almost no property and that some ten millions do not have enough food to make them efficient workmen. One of our most imperative questions is: what shall be done for these people? In a Democratic country where the people are sovereign, such a state of things cannot long endure. But will it be remedied peaceably and wisely, or will it be allowed to grow worse and worse, and finally end in revolution? <sup>1</sup> It is chiefly to better the condition of the mass of the people that the enemies of the trusts persist in their attack.<sup>2</sup> They maintain, as we have seen, that by consolidating capital into large holdings we are practically returning to a system of aristocracy. They insist that the natural resources of the country are in the hands of a few people who virtually control the thirty millions of the poor. Our society embraces: these 30,000,000 that are practically without property; an-

both measures were introduced in several Western states. In 1906 the first adoption of them in the East was made by Delaware. Since then the progress of sentiment in favor of initiative and referendum has been rapid in all parts of the country.

<sup>1</sup> The presidential year was signalized by two portentous incidents of the conflict between capital and labor.

At Lawrence, Massachusetts, a strike of textile workers focused the attention of the country not only because of the numbers involved but also because it was led by a powerful new organization, the Industrial Workers of the World. This association has introduced into America a new tendency which has been fully developed in France and is known as "syndicalism." The Industrial Workers of the World seek to consolidate the entire class of wage workers, irrespective of occupation, in solid opposition to the capitalistic class.

At Indianapolis, forty-five members of labor organizations were indicted for "conspiracy," that is to say, on the charge of being indirectly responsible for an action committed by some one else. The action in question was the dynamiting of the property of certain capitalists. Most of the accused were eventually sentenced to imprisonment.

<sup>2</sup> Late in 1912 the Supreme Court ordered the dissolution of the merger of the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railways as a violation of the Sherman Antitrust Law.



other enormous body who hold dependent positions under control of the capitalists; a very much smaller body, fairly independent; and less than a million who are rich.

**769. The General Situation in 1913.** Such are the groups into which modern Americans might be divided from the point of view of economics. But there is another way of grouping them which is equally significant. They might be grouped according to the attitude they take toward the problems of the time. Thus considered, they might be classified as follows: (1) the frankly capitalistic group, who have revived the aristocratic idea, and hold that the few are entitled to the earth and that the many are born to be their servants; (2) a great number of moderates of all ranks, from millionaires to mechanics, who still hold the ideals of democracy, who repudiate the reactionary doctrine of the aristocrats, but also refuse to go to the extreme advocated by the Socialists; (3) these latter believe that all our troubles could be legislated away if the government would but abolish private property and take into its own hands the administration of the entire wealth of the country; (4) that powerful group of wage workers represented by the society of the Industrial Workers of the World, who oppose the Socialists on the ground that they are not sufficiently radical, and whose social philosophy, known as "syndicalism," (section 768, note) is the relentless antithesis of "capitalism."

Though Americans may be thus distinctly classified, this classification breaks down when we turn from economics and social theory to politics. Only one of these groups has an organized political party that is its acknowledged vehicle of expression. The Socialist group forms also the Socialist political party. On the contrary, the syndicalists have refused, so far, to take part in politics, maintaining that our whole political system is wrong and needs to be overthrown. As to the capitalistic group, they are represented in both the Democratic and Republican parties, while even the Progressives are accused by their enemies of harboring the "malefactors of great wealth." There can be no doubt that the

great group of the moderates is distributed among all the three parties that cast electoral votes in 1912.

In such a condition of affairs all men must inevitably ask themselves: how will this division of Americans into distinct economic groups affect in time the political parties? Sooner or later those political groups which form the parties will gradually alter their composition, until, at length, each such group will be dominated by some one of the social groups. How this might come to pass, how the different parties would be transformed in the process, was the absorbing question before the student of American history in 1913.

The forecasts of the future made by various observers were widely different. But in one respect all agreed. The American people had reached a parting of the ways. In some form or other, American society would have to be reorganized so as to strengthen the forces for good and weaken the forces for evil. In all imaginative spirits there was a great sense of approaching change which led them frequently to have recourse to Tennyson's lines, written at a moment not dissimilar:

"E'en now we hear mid inward strife  
A motion toiling in the gloom,  
The spirit of the years to come  
Yearning to mix himself with life.

"A slow developed strength awaits  
Completion in a painful school,  
Phantoms of other forms of rule,  
New majesties of mighty states:

"The warders of the growing hour,  
But vague in vapor, hard to mark,  
And round them sea and air are dark  
With great contrivances of Power."

*Selections from the Sources.* Same as for chapter xxx. Also, the abstract of recent legislation (coming down to February 1, 1913) in RAY, *Introduction to Political Parties and Practical Politics*; and *Who's Who in America*.

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**Bibliography.** CHANNING, HART, and TURNER, *Guide to the Study of American History*, 545-585; *Writings on American History* (now issued by American Historical Society in its Annual Reports); *Annual Library Index*; DEWEY, *Financial History*, 476-477, 491-492; COMAN, *Industrial History*, 415-417, 426-427; LARNED, *History for Ready Reference* (revised edition).





THE REPUBLIC

Designed by Daniel Chester French for the Columbian Exposition

## THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

FRANCIS SCOTT KEY

Oh! say, can you see by the dawn's early light

What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming —  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,

O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming!  
And the rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air,  
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there.  
Oh! say, does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On that shore, dimly seen through the mists of the deep,

Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,  
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,

As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?  
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,  
In full glory reflected, now shines on the stream;  
'T is the star-spangled banner; oh, long may it wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave!

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore

That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion  
A home and a country should leave us no more?

Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps' pollution.  
No refuge could save the hireling and slave  
From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave;  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Oh! thus be it ever, when freemen shall stand

Between their loved homes and the war's desolation!  
Blest with victory and peace, may the heaven-rescued land  
Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.  
Then conquer we must, for our cause it is just;  
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust,"  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave  
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.



## APPENDIX A

### DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

(AGREED TO JULY 4, 1776)

[From a facsimile of the original parchment]  
IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

#### THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

*When* in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. — We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shewn, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter

their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world. — He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. — He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them. — He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only. — He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures. — He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people. — He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within. — He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands. — He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers. — He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries. — He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance. — He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislatures. — He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power. — He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: — For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: — For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: — For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world: — For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: — For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury: — For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences: — For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: — For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments: — For suspending our own Legislatures, and declar-

ing themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever. — He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us. — He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the Lives of our people. — He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation. — He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands. — He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends. —

*We, therefore*, the Representatives of the *united States of America*, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, *free and Independent States*; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed and signed by the following members :

## JOHN HANCOCK

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOSIAH BARTLETT  
 WILLIAM WHIPPLE  
 MATTHEW THORNTON

## MASSACHUSETTS BAY

SAMUEL ADAMS  
 JOHN ADAMS  
 ROBERT TREAT PAINE  
 ELBRIDGE GERRY

## RHODE ISLAND

STEPHEN HOPKINS  
 WILLIAM ELLERY

## CONNECTICUT

ROGER SHERMAN  
 SAMUEL HUNTINGTON  
 WILLIAM WILLIAMS  
 OLIVER WOLCOTT

## NEW YORK

WILLIAM FLOYD  
 PHILIP LIVINGSTON  
 FRANCIS LEWIS  
 LEWIS MORRIS

## NEW JERSEY

RICHARD STOCKTON  
 JOHN WITHERSPOON  
 FRANCIS HOPKINSON  
 JOHN HART  
 ABRAHAM CLARK

## PENNSYLVANIA

ROBERT MORRIS  
 BENJAMIN RUSH  
 BENJAMIN FRANKLIN  
 JOHN MORTON  
 GEORGE CLYMER  
 JAMES SMITH  
 GEORGE TAYLOR  
 JAMES WILSON  
 GEORGE ROSS

## DELAWARE

CÆSAR RODNEY  
 GEORGE READ  
 THOMAS M'KEAN

## MARYLAND

SAMUEL CHASE  
 WILLIAM PACA

## THOMAS STONE

CHARLES CARROLL, of Carrollton

## VIRGINIA

GEORGE WYTHE  
 RICHARD HENRY LEE  
 THOMAS JEFFERSON  
 BENJAMIN HARRISON  
 THOMAS NELSON, JR.  
 FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE  
 CARTER BRAXTON

## NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM HOOPER  
 JOSEPH HEWES  
 JOHN PENN

## SOUTH CAROLINA

EDWARD RUTLEDGE  
 THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.  
 THOMAS LYNCH, JR.  
 ARTHUR MIDDLETON

## GEORGIA

BUTTON GWINNETT  
 LYMAN HALL  
 GEORGE WALTON

*Resolved*, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

# APPENDIX B

## CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA<sup>1</sup>

(SUBMITTED SEPT. 17, 1787; IN FORCE APRIL 30, 1789)

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

### ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. [§ 1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

[§ 2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[§ 3] Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons,<sup>2</sup> including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, [three fifths of all other Persons].<sup>3</sup> The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each

<sup>1</sup> There is no title in the original manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Modified by Fourteenth Amendment.

<sup>3</sup> Superseded by Fourteenth Amendment.

State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.]<sup>1</sup>

[§ 4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

[§ 5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION 3. [[§ 1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.]<sup>2</sup>

[§ 2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year [and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.]<sup>2</sup>

[§ 3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

[§ 4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

[§ 5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

[§ 6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[§ 7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION 4. [§ 1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legis-

<sup>1</sup> Temporary clause.

<sup>2</sup> Superseded by Seventeenth Amendment.



lature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

[§ 2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION 5. [§ 1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

[§ 2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for Disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

[§ 3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

[§ 4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. [§ 1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

[§ 2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION 7. [§ 1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[§ 2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at-large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by

which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[§ 3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have Powers [§ 1] To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

[§ 2] To borrow Money on the credit of the United States;

[§ 3] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

[§ 4] To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

[§ 5] To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

[§ 6] To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

[§ 7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

[§ 8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

[§ 9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

[§ 10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations;

[§ 11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

[§ 12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

[§ 13] To provide and maintain a Navy;

[§ 14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

[§ 15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

[§ 16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribe by Congress;

[§ 17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings; — And

[§ 18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION 9. [§ 1] [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.]<sup>1</sup>

[§ 2] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[§ 3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.<sup>2</sup>

[§ 4] No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

[§ 5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

[§ 6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

[§ 7] No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

[§ 8] No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.<sup>3</sup>

SECTION 10. [§ 1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of

<sup>1</sup> Temporary provision.

<sup>2</sup> Extended by the first eight amendments.

<sup>3</sup> Extended by Ninth and Tenth Amendments.

Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

[§ 2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

[§ 3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.<sup>1</sup>

## ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. [§ 1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

[§ 2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballots one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of

<sup>1</sup> Extended by Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]<sup>1</sup>

[§ 3] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[§ 4] No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[§ 5] In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation, or Inability, both of the President and Vice President declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[§ 6] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[§ 7] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—

“I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of “President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, “protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION 2. [§ 1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

[§ 2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

<sup>1</sup> Superseded by Twelfth Amendment.

[§ 3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

SECTION 2. [§ 1] The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party; — to Controversies between two or more States; — between a State and Citizens of another State; <sup>1</sup> — between Citizens of different States, — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

[§ 2] In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

[§ 3] The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION 3. [§ 1] Treason against the United States, shall consist only in

<sup>1</sup> Limited by Eleventh Amendment.



levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

[§ 2] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

#### ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. [§ 1] The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.<sup>1</sup>

[§ 2] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

[§ 3] [No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.]<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 3. [§ 1] New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

[§ 2] The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot to convened) against domestic Violence.

#### ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and

<sup>1</sup> Extended by Fourteenth Amendment.

<sup>2</sup> Superseded by Thirteenth Amendment so far as it relates to slaves.

Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided [that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and]<sup>1</sup> that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

## ARTICLE VI

[§ 1] All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.<sup>2</sup>

[§ 2] This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

[§ 3] The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

[Note of the draughtsman as to interlineations in the text of the manuscript.]

Attest

WILLIAM JACKSON.  
*Secretary.*

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September and the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth *In Witness* whereof We have hereunto subscribed our names.

Go WASHINGTON —  
*Presidt and deputy from Virginia.*

## NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON  
NICHOLAS GILMAN

## MASSACHUSETTS

NATHANIEL GORHAM  
RUFUS KING

## PENNSYLVANIA

B FRANKLIN  
THOMAS MIFFLIN  
ROBT. MORRIS  
GEO. CYLMER  
THO. FITZ SIMONS  
JARED INGERSOLL  
JAMES WILSON  
GOUV MORRIS

## VIRGINIA

JOHN BLAIR  
JAMES MADISON, JR.

## NORTH CAROLINA

WM. BLOUNT  
RICHD. DOBBS SPAIGHT  
HU WILLIAMSON

<sup>1</sup> Temporary provision.

<sup>2</sup> Extended by Fourteenth Amendment, Section 4.

## CONNECTICUT

WM. SAM'L. JOHNSON  
ROGER SHERMAN

## NEW YORK

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

## NEW JERSEY

WIL: LIVINGSTON  
DAVID BREARLEY  
WM.: PATERSON  
JONA: DAYTON

## DELAWARE

GEO: READ  
GUNNING BEDFORD, JUN.  
JOHN DICKINSON  
RICHARD BASSETT  
JACO: BROOM

## MARYLAND

JAMES MCHENRY  
DAN OF ST. THOS. JENIFER  
DANL CARROLL,

## SOUTH CAROLINA

J. RUTLEDGE  
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY  
CHARLES PINCKNEY  
PIERCE BUTLER

## GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW  
ABR BALDWIN

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary*

## [AMENDMENTS]

ARTICLES in addition to and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth Article of the original Constitution.<sup>1</sup>

[ARTICLE I]<sup>2</sup>

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

## [ARTICLE II]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

## [ARTICLE III]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

## [ARTICLE IV]

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

<sup>1</sup> This heading appears only in the joint resolution submitting the first ten amendments.

<sup>2</sup> In the original manuscripts the first twelve amendments have no numbers.

## [ARTICLE V]

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

## [ARTICLE VI]

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

## [ARTICLE VII]

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

## [ARTICLE VIII]

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

## [ARTICLE IX]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

## [ARTICLE X]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Amendments First to Tenth proclaimed to be in force, Dec. 15, 1791.

[ARTICLE XI]<sup>1</sup>

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

[ARTICLE XII]<sup>2</sup>

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. — The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Proclaimed to be in force Jan. 8, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> Proclaimed to be in force Sept. 25, 1804.

ARTICLE XIII<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV<sup>2</sup>

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States,

<sup>1</sup> Proclaimed to be in force Dec. 18, 1865. Bears the unnecessary approval of the President.

<sup>2</sup> Proclaimed to be in force July 28, 1868.



or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

#### ARTICLE XV<sup>1</sup>

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### ARTICLE XVI<sup>2</sup>

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment, among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

#### ARTICLE XVII<sup>2</sup>

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

<sup>1</sup> Proclaimed to be in force March 30, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> Ratified, 1913.

# APPENDIX C

## STATES OF THE UNION

		ADMISSION	PREVIOUS STATUS	REPRESENTATIVES 1910 <sup>1</sup>
22	Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	Territory	10
48	Arizona	Feb. 14, 1912	Territory	1
25	Arkansas	June 15, 1836	Part of Arkansas Territory	7
31	California	Sept. 9, 1850	Unorganized territory	11
38	Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	Territory	4
5	Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	5
1	Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	1
27	Florida	March 3, 1845	Territory	4
4	Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	12
43	Idaho	July 3, 1890	Territory	2
21	Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	Part of Illinois Territory	27
19	Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	Indiana Territory and part of Michigan Territory	13
29	Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	Part of Iowa Territory	11
34	Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	Part of Kansas Territory	8
15	Kentucky	June 1, 1792	Part of Virginia	11
18	Louisiana	April 30, 1812	Territory of Orleans	8
23	Maine	March 15, 1820	Part of Massachusetts	4
7	Maryland	April 28, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	6
6	Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	16
26	Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	Part of Michigan Territory	13
32	Minnesota	May 11, 1858	Part of Minnesota Territory	10
20	Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	Territory	8
24	Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	Part of Missouri Territory	16
41	Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	Territory	2
37	Nebraska	March 1, 1867	Part of Nebraska Territory	6
36	Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	Territory	1
9	New Hampshire	June 21, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	2
3	New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	12
47	New Mexico	Jan. 6, 1912	Territory	1
11	New York	July 26, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	43
12	North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	10
39	North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	3

<sup>1</sup> A reapportionment of representatives among the states in proportion to population, follows each census.

<sup>2</sup> Date of ratification of the Constitution.

		ADMISSION	PREVIOUS STATUS	REPRESENTATIVES 1910
17	Ohio	Feb. 19, 1803 <sup>1</sup>	Part of Northwest Territory	22
46	Oklahoma	Nov. 16, 1907	Oklahoma Territory and Indian Territory	8
33	Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	Part of Oregon Territory	3
2	Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	36
13	Rhode Island	May 29, 1790 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	3
8	South Carolina	May 23, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	7
40	South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Part of Dakota Territory	3
16	Tennessee	June 1, 1796	Territory South of the Ohio	10
28	Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	Independent state	18
45	Utah	Jan. 4, 1896	Territory	2
14	Vermont	March 4, 1791	Semi-independent state	2
10	Virginia	June 26, 1788 <sup>2</sup>	Original state	10
42	Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	Territory	5
35	West Virginia	June 19, 1863	Part of Virginia	6
30	Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	Part of Wisconsin Territory	11
44	Wyoming	July 10, 1890	Territory	1

<sup>1</sup> Congress passed an enabling act for the admission of Ohio, April 30, 1802. Formerly, it was held that the admission of Ohio was completed November 29, 1802. The date given in the table is the one now accepted by the United States Census authorities.

<sup>2</sup> Date of ratification of the Constitution.

## APPENDIX D

### PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

NO.	PRESIDENT	POLITICS	INAUGURATED	YEARS SERVED
1	Washington	Federalist	1789	7 y. 10 mo. 4 d.
2	J. Adams	Federalist	1797	4
3	Jefferson	Republican <sup>1</sup>	1801	8
4	Madison	Republican	1809	8
5	Monroe	Republican	1817	8
6	J. Q. Adams	Republican	1825	4
7	Jackson	Democrat	1829	8
8	Van Buren	Democrat	1837	4
9	Harrison	Whig	1841	1 mo.
10	Tyler	Democrat	1841	3 y. 11 mo.
11	Polk	Democrat	1845	4
12	Taylor	Whig	1849	1 y. 4 mo. 5 d.
13	Fillmore	Whig	1850	2 y. 7 mo. 26 d.
14	Pierce	Democrat	1853	4
15	Buchanan	Democrat	1857	4
16	Lincoln	Republican	1861	4 y. 1 mo. 11 d.
17	Johnson	Republican	1865	3 y. 10 mo. 19 d.
18	Grant	Republican	1869	8
19	Hayes	Republican	1877	4
20	Garfield	Republican	1881	6½ mo.
21	Arthur	Republican	1881	3 y. 5½ mo.
22	Cleveland	Democrat	1885	4
23	B. Harrison	Republican	1889	4
24	Cleveland	Democrat	1893	4
25	McKinley	Republican	1897	4 y. 6 mo. 10 d.
26	Roosevelt	Republican	1901	7 y. 5 mo. 18 d.
27	Taft	Republican	1909	4
28	Wilson	Democrat	1913	

<sup>1</sup> It must be remembered that the four Presidents calling themselves "Republicans," in the early nineteenth century, were members of the party now known by the name "Democratic."

## APPENDIX E

### CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SECTIONS 1790-1860

YEAR	SENATE		HOUSE	
	Free States	Slave States	Free States <sup>1</sup>	Slave States
1790	14	12	35	30
1792	16	14	57	48
1796	16	16	57	49
1800	16	16	57	49
1804	18	16	77	65
1808	18	16	77	65
1812	18	18	103	79
1816	20	18	104	79
1820	24	24	105	82
1824	24	24	123	90
1828	24	24	123	90
1832	24	24	141	99
1836	26	26	142	100
1840	26	26	142	100
1844	26	26	135	98
1848	30	30	139	91
1852	32	30	144	90
1856	32	30	144	90
1860	36	30	147	90

NOTE: To find the Electoral Votes, add together the number of Senators and Representatives.

## APPENDIX F

### GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY

The thirty-one special bibliographies contained in this volume form together an adequate working list of books on American history. In almost every case the full title of a work, the place and date of publication, may be found in the indispensable \*\* *Guide to the Study and Reading of American History* by Channing, Hart, and Turner (1912. \$2.50. Ginn). However, this extended list includes books not absolutely necessary to the young student, while some of the works mentioned are not to be found except in the large historical collections. The following briefer list is suggested as the basis of a school library. Of almost all the books named below, short but authoritative criticisms will be found in a recent work, of great value to teachers, the \*\* *Bibliography of History for Schools and Libraries*, by Andrews, Gambrill, and Tall (1911. \$0.60. Longmans). The titles marked with two stars are recommended as a minimum reference group. To these it is desirable to add as rapidly as possible the volumes marked with a single star.

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SUPPLEMENT TO  
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BY

NATHANIEL WRIGHT STEPHENSON

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# SIXTH PERIOD (1914- )

## THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

### CHAPTER XXXII

#### READJUSTMENT OF POLICIES

**770. First Administration of Woodrow Wilson.** The pressing questions of 1913 which seemed, so plainly, to forecast immediate changes in American life, were not destined to be the chief matters of President Wilson's administration. History is full of surprises. Perhaps the greatest surprise in our history was the new turn given to the thoughts of the whole nation by the terrible events which began, in Europe, just about a year after President Wilson's first inauguration. From March, 1913, to August, 1914, he was able to concern himself with the problems that were under discussion when he was elected. Then, with the sudden opening of the War of the Nations, unforeseen issues sprang to life and thrust those others aside.

**771. Domestic Legislation: 1913, 1914.** During the first sixteen months of his administration President Wilson showed remarkable skill in forcing his ideas upon Congress. In October, 1913, the tariff was revised and duties were lowered. This was followed by the Federal Reserve Act, which reorganized the National Banking Laws and aimed to make it easier for business men to borrow money by permitting banks to lend it under conditions which had hitherto been forbidden. In January, 1914, the President submitted to Congress a sweeping plan for the control of trusts and the abolition of unfair practices in business. This plan was



worked out, later in the year, by the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Antitrust Act. The aim was to do for national business what the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission (sections 711, 754) had done for transportation.<sup>1</sup>

**772. President Wilson and Panama.** The Panama Canal figured in this period in two ways. It approached completion and the President brought about new legislation upon the subject of canal tolls.<sup>2</sup> Though the Democratic National Convention had declared in favor of discriminating between American and foreign ships using the canal, the President held this to be a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (section 752). The Panama Canal Act of 1912 which laid tolls on foreign ships but exempted American coastwise ships was now repealed and all ships were placed on the same footing.

In September, 1913, the first water was let into the canal locks at Gatun. In October President Wilson touched an electric button at Washington. A spark resulted at Panama causing the explosion of an immense mine which blew up the Gamboa Dyke, the last important obstruction in the path of the canal.<sup>3</sup>

**773. The Mexican Complication.** Meanwhile serious complications arose with Mexico. In the last days of President Taft's administration a revolution overturned the government of Mexico and set up a dictator, General Victoriano Huerta. The dictator was regarded by many Americans as a mere usurper. President Wilson refused to recognize him. The followers of Huerta bitterly resented the refusal. Their ill treatment of American sailors at Tampico led President Wilson to order the dispatch of ships and soldiers to Vera Cruz.

<sup>1</sup> For previous history of the movement to regulate trusts and corporations, see sections 694, 699, 701, 714, 745, 746, 751, 754, 758.

<sup>2</sup> See page 548, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> The canal was opened to navigation August 14, 1914. It is estimated that the total cost was in the neighborhood of four hundred million dollars. The canal is fortified but we are bound by treaty to keep it open to all nations in time of war, even to our enemies.

After sharp fighting the city was taken by the Americans (April 22, 1914) and for some time garrisoned by American troops. Our soldiers were not withdrawn until after the collapse of the Huerta government (November 23, 1914).

**774. The "A. B. C. Diplomacy."** Though Huerta, beaten in a civil war, resigned in July, 1914, the Mexican quarrel was not at an end. Two factions, one led by Venustiano Carranza, the other by Francisco Villa, had coöperated against Huerta. The Carranza faction now got control of the government and the Villa faction raised rebellion. Each denounced the United States for not taking its side, and attributed to our government sinister motives. There was reason to suppose that Latin America, generally, feared and distrusted us.<sup>1</sup> To put an end to these fears, to prove that we had no secret designs against Mexico, President Wilson, while Huerta was still in power, had accepted the offer of Argentina, Brazil, and Chili to attempt to reconcile the Mexican factions and establish amicable relations with this country. The resulting negotiations were jestingly styled the "A. B. C. Diplomacy." Nothing permanent was accomplished at that time. The next year, however, the Mexican problem was taken up, in conference, by Argentina, Brazil, Chili, Uruguay, Guatemala, and the United States. On the advice of this conference, President Wilson recognized the Carranza government.

**775. The Pan-American Union.** These events gave new prominence to the Pan-American Union. This is an official organization of the twenty-one American republics. Its headquarters are at Washington. It was formed as far back as 1890, but was not important until reorganized in 1906. All the republics contributed to its expenses in proportion to their population. At its head is a governing board composed of the American secretary of state and the diplomatic representatives, at Washington, from the other republics. So far, the Union is little more than a society for the promotion of friendship. However, because of the A. B. C. Diplomacy,

<sup>1</sup> For previous attempts to conciliate Latin America see page 539.

and the common interest of the republics in the great events now to be narrated, the hope has arisen that here is the germ of a great amphictyony — like those of ancient Greece — for the maintenance of peace and good will among its members.

**776. The Monroe Doctrine as a Cause of the War of the Nations.** The need of close coöperation among the Western republics came home to us through reflecting upon the way in which we ourselves had contributed to bring on the terrible War of the Nations. That is to say : during the twenty years previous to the war, the nations of Europe might be classified in two groups — the “land-rich” nations and the “land-poor” nations; the former (either because of their European territories or their colonies) were Russia, England, and France; the latter were Germany and Austria. The great aim of the latter was to secure land for colonization; but there were only two regions fit for European settlement which were not already in the hands of great powers; these were lower South America and the Euphrates valley. The “land-poor” nations seem to have hesitated, for some time, whether to attempt colonizing in South America or in Mesopotamia; the determined attitude of the United States in maintaining the Monroe Doctrine <sup>1</sup> at length determined them to turn eastward. Thus our own country was a remote cause of a regrouping of the powers of Europe; and out of that regrouping came the world-wide war.

**777. “Advance to the East.”** We must understand just what is meant when we say that our country indirectly caused a regrouping of the powers of Europe. Before the time when the land-poor nations — the great “Central Empires” of Germany and Austria — turned their eyes from the West to the East, the three land-rich nations were not in alliance; France and Russia were allied but England stood aloof from both. In Germany now arose the cry “advance to the East.” This meant: let Germany and Austria act together, make Turkey their dependency, occupy Western Asia, and build a great

<sup>1</sup> See page 539.

empire extending from the North Sea to the Indian Ocean. Part of the plan was the construction of a railroad from Constantinople to Bagdad, and beyond.

When the other nations perceived this plan, — Russia, England, and France, — all took alarm. Russia had long coveted Constantinople: if the Central powers succeeded in their “advance to the East,” she would lose it forever. England feared that the “advance to the East” would menace her communications with India. France, besides a long-standing dread of Germany, had also an idealistic impulse. She was committed heart and soul to republicanism. Germany, since Bismarck, has stood for a magnificent revival of the belief in monarchy. A great Eastern empire under German leadership seemed to France to menace republicanism throughout the world.

For all these reasons the three great powers which had seldom before coöperated, Russia, England, and France, drew together in the alliance known as the Triple Entente.

**778. The Ominous Summer of 1914, Panama-Pacific Exposition.** When the summer of 1914 began, the Americans did not suspect that they were on the eve of a sweeping change in their relations to world-problems. There was talk of what would be done the following winter to carry out the President's ideas upon trusts and finance. There was much speculation about Mexico. There was the revival of interest in Pan-Americanism. There was universal interest in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which was to open the next year at San Francisco in celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa.<sup>1</sup> But not until war suddenly broke upon the world, was the dark war

<sup>1</sup> The first spadeful of earth in preparation for the exposition was turned by President Taft, at San Francisco, October 14, 1911. The city of San Francisco officially contributed \$5,000,000; the citizens unofficially subscribed \$7,000,000; the state of California \$5,000,000. Large sums were raised in other ways. The total cost of the exposition was about \$50,000,000. After four years in preparation, it presented, in 1915, perhaps the most beautiful spectacle yet seen among American expositions.

cloud hanging over Europe perceived in America. Even the murder, by a fanatical Serbian, of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, did not awaken us to what was coming. Thousands of Americans in Europe continued to take their pleasure, — thronged the galleries, or loitered in high Alpine meadows, — without a thought that history had already entered on one of its sternest episodes.

**779. Our Attempt to stand Neutral in the War of the Nations.** It is not in point, here, to trace out the jealous diplomacy which followed the murder of the Archduke. Austria demanded virtually that Serbia become her vassal. This demand was construed by the Triple Entente as the first step in the "advance to the East." Austria's ally, Germany, and her enemies, Russia, England, and France, all took part in the negotiations. We can now see that all through July the European nations were moving steadily toward war. On July 28, 1914, Austria declared war upon Serbia. Other declarations followed in quick succession. A great German army poured suddenly into neutral Belgium; swept on into France, almost to the gates of Paris; thence was driven back by the Anglo-French armies, in the battle of the Marne. Meanwhile Russia invaded Austria. The War of the Nations had begun.

Our government at once assumed an attitude of official neutrality. This attitude President Wilson maintained with scrupulous — his enemies said with excessive — care during two years and a half. Meanwhile Americans contributed enthusiastically to an international attempt to heal the ravages of the war in Belgium. That unhappy country had been devastated. A relief commission under the auspices of the American minister took charge of the distribution of aid to the starving population. From America contributions of supplies and money were poured into the depots of the commission.

**780. First Movement for Preparedness.** The suddenness of the breaking of the war cloud shocked Americans into a realization of the defenselessness of their own country.

Military men had long been endeavoring to rouse us to an appreciation of how defenseless we were. General Homer Lea, in a book called "The Valor of Ignorance," had labored in vain to persuade us that a sudden attack by any great power might humble us to the dust. But we would not listen. Now, the country began to listen. In the autumn of 1914 there sprang up, both in Congress and throughout the country, a movement for an enlarged army system. One of its active leaders was ex-President Roosevelt. The movement was checked by the opposition of President Wilson, who in his speech at the opening of Congress pronounced it unnecessary.

**781. The Issue of the Continuous Voyage.** With 1915 our country drifted into a tangle of negotiations which involved it, now this way, now that, with both belligerents. The sea, and the right to use the sea, was the bone of contention. To understand what followed, we must revert to our own experience in the War of Secession<sup>1</sup> because it was a principle laid down in that war, by the Supreme Court of the United States, which we were now obliged to observe — often to our own inconvenience. This was what is known in international law as the principle of the continuous voyage: that is, if goods in time of war are shipped from one neutral to another, with a view to being sent on from the second neutral to a belligerent, they are considered as making a "continuous voyage," no matter how many times they change hands, and are liable to capture from the moment they leave their home port. This principle was asserted by the Supreme Court in four celebrated cases during our own great war. Under it American cruisers seized British merchantmen and confiscated their cargoes while they were sailing between the British port of Liverpool and the British port of Nassau, in the Bahamas. When the owners complained to the British government, the latter sustained the American government.

The same situation now arose, but with the positions reversed. Our ships carried merchandise to neutral countries,

<sup>1</sup> For foreign relations in the war see page 436.



like Holland, to be sent on to the Central Empires. England claimed the right to deal with them as we had dealt with the British ships in 1864. Our government had to abide by its own precedents. Consequently many American ships were searched by British cruisers and in some cases their cargoes were condemned. This caused annoyance to trade, vexatious delays, irritation, and in some quarters bad feeling.

**782. The Issue of Submarine Warfare.** Germany seems never to have appreciated the obligation of this country to abide by its own precedents. The Germans could see in our course nothing but weakness or duplicity. This is, in part, the explanation of their attitude when, early in 1915, Washington and Berlin began a debate upon the rights of submarines. It grew out of a German decree proclaiming a "war zone" around the British Isles and warning neutrals that belligerent ships met by submarines in those waters would be sunk without notice. Neutrals were warned to avoid the designated waters.

The United States considered this decree a defiance of international law. Our government held it to be settled international law that a suspected ship must be examined — "visited and searched" — and that if it proved to be liable to destruction, arrangements must be made for the safety of the passengers and crew. This being the official American view, President Wilson notified Germany (February 10, 1915) that in case Americans were lost on a ship sunk without warning, he would hold the German government to "strict accountability."

**783. The *Lusitania* Case. Resignation of Mr. Bryan.** On May 7, 1915, the great liner *Lusitania*, one of the largest ships on the seas, was approaching Ireland, from New York. Suddenly, a German submarine rose from the waters and without warning attacked the *Lusitania* with torpedoes. The liner sank with a loss of 785 lives, among them those of 124 Americans. President Wilson promptly demanded satisfaction. The tone of his note was such that, for a moment, war seemed at hand. So near did it seem that Mr. Bryan could not find it in his heart to continue secretary of state. He

resigned. His successor in the State Department was Robert J. Lansing, who had made his reputation as the department's legal adviser.

**784. The *Sussex* Case.** There ensued many months of diplomatic correspondence. Other Americans lost their lives through the activities of the submarines. At last, on March 24, 1916, the channel steamer *Sussex*, with Americans on board, was sunk without warning. On April 18, President Wilson sent to Germany his "*Sussex* note." It reminded the Imperial government of his many protests against sinking ships without providing for passengers and crew; asserted that it was impossible to carry out Germany's plan of submarine warfare without violating the laws of nations and of humanity; and warned Germany that if she persisted in this course, diplomatic relations between Washington and Berlin would be broken off.

This note led to the cessation for some nine months of the more extreme forms of submarine warfare. Germany attempted, indeed, to secure a promise that President Wilson would induce England to relax her blockade of the German coasts. But the President stood firm for the idea that he was demanding a right, and refused to mix up his dealings with the two countries. Germany then announced her intention to comply with his demands, though reserving full liberty to reconsider the matter whenever she thought best. Little was heard of the submarine issue from May 4, 1916, to February 1, 1917. At the latter date, as we shall see, it was suddenly and startlingly revived.

**785. The Munitions Issue.** Meanwhile the United States had taken a position with regard to another international question. This was the munitions issue. It was forced upon us by the action of Austria, demanding that the American munitions makers be forbidden to sell arms to the Entente. Here, again, the action of the United States must be seen in the light of our own experience during the War of Secession. That war caught both sides unprepared. What happened to the

Federal government during the first year of war is conclusive evidence of the importance to unprepared nations of free trade in munitions. The Federal government, in spite of every effort, could buy in America only 30,000 rifles. In Europe it bought 720,000 rifles. Remembering such incidents in our own history, ex-President Taft and others protested that the right of trade in munitions was essential to the safety of the country. We could not prohibit it without taking the risk of being caught ourselves in another such situation as that of 1861. Secretary Lansing returned a dispatch to Austria (1915) defending the freedom of the munitions trade.

**786. Further Agitation for Preparedness.** What underlay our insistence on the right to buy and sell arms, underlay also a vast amount of discussion with regard to the army, in 1915 and 1916. Almost universal was the admission that we were in a very bad way and that something ought to be done. Many remedies were suggested, not excepting the adoption of universal, compulsory military service. But it seemed impossible to get a general agreement upon any plan. The President wanted one thing; the secretary of war wanted another; Congress something else. Early in 1916 the secretary of war, Lindley M. Garrison, resigned in protest.

**787. The Pursuit of Villa.** Our inadequate military system revealed its weakness in 1916, when the government attempted to punish the Mexican, Villa, for atrocious raids into American territory, and for the killing of American citizens. Militia were called into service from every state. An army invaded Mexico. There were a number of small but fierce engagements. But Villa was not caught. He disappeared into the wilds of the Mexican mountains. Thereupon Carranza demanded the withdrawal of the American troops. Negotiations resulted in a joint commission that provided for the peace of the border (November 24), and our troops were withdrawn.

**788. The Election of 1916.** In the political campaign of 1916 the only real issue appeared to be confidence, or lack of

confidence, in President Wilson. The Republicans nominated Charles E. Hughes, of the Supreme bench, who had made a great name as a fearless executive when governor of New York. The Progressives split. A large faction, led by ex-President Roosevelt, joined the Republicans. Others supported President Wilson. The President's victory, in November, has generally been attributed to two things — his personal popularity, and his prevention of a general railroad strike in the summer of 1916.

The various unions of trainmen had united in demanding an eight-hour work day. They threatened to tie up the whole transportation system of the country, — starve all the great cities, — if the demand was refused. The railway managers insisted that the demand was unfair, that the eight-hour claim was a subterfuge, and that what was really aimed at was an unjustifiable increase in wages. The President undertook to mediate. So grave was the situation that when the men would not give way, he decided to take their side rather than permit the national strike. Congress passed the Adamson Law which virtually secured them in their demands.<sup>1</sup>

**789. The Danish Islands.** Something which took place, almost unnoticed, in January, 1916, would have seemed a great event in less troublesome times. Denmark sold us for \$25,000,000 the Danish West Indies. They contain one of the finest harbors in the Caribbean Sea, and are immensely desirable as a naval base.

**790. The Peace Plan of 1917.** In January, 1917, the President surprised Congress by addressing it on the subject of universal peace. Shortly before then, he had communicated to the warring powers an inquiry with regard to possible terms of peace. The replies did not seem to bring peace any nearer. In his address he reviewed the correspondence, stated his hope for a generous peace doing justice to the needs of all, and then outlined a plan for a sort of universal federation, to be set up after this war with a view to preventing similar wars in the

<sup>1</sup> Compare President Roosevelt's course in the anthracite strike, page 532.

future. Four hundred years before, the great French king, Henry IV, made a somewhat similar proposition to Elizabeth of England and other European sovereigns. Though poets and philosophers, notably the great German, Immanuel Kant, have advocated "the parliament of man, the federation of the world," it had received no such formal sanction, from a great ruler, since the days of Henry IV, as was given it by President Wilson.

**791. The "Prohibited Zone."** However, those Americans who fancied that their country had solved its problems with regard to the War of the Nations, were destined to receive a great shock. On January 31, 1917, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, handed Secretary Lansing an official note. It informed the United States that, beginning on the following day, German submarines would sink without warning any merchant ship bound to, or from, the ports of England or France. A "prohibited zone" was marked out bordering England, Holland, France, and including parts of the Mediterranean. All neutrals were warned not to allow their ships to enter this area. A slight exception was made in the case of the United States. We were to be allowed to send one ship a week, on a prescribed course, to England.

**792. The Break with Germany.** President Wilson's reply was the dismissal of the German ambassador. At the same moment, on February 3, Secretary Lansing sent Count von Bernstorff his passport and President Wilson appeared before Congress to explain his policy. After reviewing the long contention over submarines, he informed Congress of the dismissal of Count von Bernstorff. "This government has no alternative," said he, "but to take the course which in its note of the 18th of April it announced that it would take" if unrestricted submarine warfare did not cease.

The President's action was met almost universally by the assurance that whatever happened the country would stand behind him. All the governors of the states telegraphed assurance of support. Naturally, there was sympathy with

those Americans of German descent who could not but be unhappy over the prospect. A notable feature of the occasion was their prompt expression of loyalty. The German-American press, almost without exception, though hoping that the break would soon be healed, declared its readiness to stand by the President, whatever happened. The Senate endorsed his action by a vote of 78 to 5.

**793. The Scheme to dismember the Country. The Senate Filibuster.** During February, American business was severely hampered because many ships lay at their docks afraid to go to sea. With the President's sanction, bills were introduced into Congress to authorize the government to supply these ships with cannon and gunners as defense against submarines. The plan was opposed by a small but determined group in Congress.

While Congress deliberated, the President made public (February 28) an intercepted dispatch from the German foreign secretary to the German ambassador in Mexico, who was directed, in case the United States declared war upon Germany, to "propose an alliance on the following basis with Mexico; . . . That we shall give general financial support and it is understood that Mexico is to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona." Japan was to be invited to join the alliance.<sup>1</sup> Four days afterward, the American newspapers informed the country that Dr. Alfred Zimmerman, the German foreign secretary, acknowledged the authenticity of the intercepted dispatch.

The publication of the dispatch had caused intense excitement. The Senate had taken up with renewed zeal the President's request for increased authority. He wished not only to arm ships but to be free to use the military forces, during the coming adjournment of Congress, in any way that occasion might demand. Nine tenths of both Houses were with him.

<sup>1</sup> Japan as an ally of England was at war with Germany. The Japanese government promptly made a declaration of friendship toward the United States.



And now occurred perhaps the most singular case of "obstruction" in our history. The Senate had no rule which permitted the limiting of debate. The session would come to an end on March 4. A little group of obstructionists determined to "filibuster" — that is, keep up discussion until the session closed — and thus kill the bill by preventing a vote on it. So great was the indignation against the filibusterers that party lines disappeared. Both Republicans and Democrats strove to down the opposition and bring the bill to a vote. But they were unsuccessful. Twelve men had blocked the whole Senate by insisting on their right, under the Senate rules, to talk indefinitely. The hour for adjournment came without a vote on the bill to arm the ships.

**794. Last Word of President Wilson's First Term.** The President immediately gave out a statement describing the Senate as "the only legislative body in the world that cannot act when its majority is ready for action." He described the situation of the country as "a crisis fraught with more subtle and far reaching danger than any other the government has known, in the whole history of its international relations."

**795. The Change in American Policy.** We miss the significance of these four stirring years if we do not see that the American people, while hardly conscious what was taking place, had passed through a complete change in their relations with Europe. As late as 1913, they still believed that the western hemisphere and the eastern were separate worlds. The War of the Nations opened their eyes. The first effect of that war, in America, was a ruinous collapse of prices. Cotton, especially, sank to next to nothing. It rose, later, to a price all but incredible, only to go down again with a suddenness that caused financial disaster. Every fluctuation of the war, every rumor of peace, had its effect on American business. Whole lines of business disappeared and new ones sprang into existence. The cost of living rapidly increased.

**796. War with Germany.** The American people had reached a crisis more momentous than any they had faced

since 1861. We must not fail to understand the issue. It was nothing less than our right to act as an independent, sovereign power, in our dealings with the rest of the world. As long as we remain independent, we need ask no one's permission for our citizens to exercise, under international law, these rights: (1) to sail with immunity as passengers on merchant ships of belligerent countries (sections 782-783); (2) to trade in munitions without interference from their own government (section 785); (3) to sail where they choose on the high seas, subject only to the recognized restrictions of international law (sections 781, 782). Of these three, Germany denounced us for not giving up the second, and commanded us, purely in her own interest, to give up altogether the first and third. In other words, she proposed to degrade us to the position of a dependent state that dared not exercise its sovereign rights, but should wait upon the pleasure of the Emperor at Berlin. This demand brought the whole nation to its feet ready to fight for its independence.

Furthermore, in the course of the war Americans, gradually but very generally, had come to regard it as at bottom a struggle between monarchy and democracy for the control of the world. This idea was greatly emphasized by an event of March, 1917, which is likely to prove the greatest single event since the French Revolution. The people of Russia rose against the Romanoff dynasty, compelled the Czar to abdicate, and set about forming a republic. Their motive, in part, was the belief that the ruling class in Russia secretly sympathized with Germany and was afraid that the defeat of monarchical Germany (section 777) would be followed by the downfall of the monarchy in Russia. The American people sympathized with the Russian people. Our government was the first to recognize the new republic.

In this month of crisis, as in the previous month, Germany carried out her threat to wage submarine war without restraint. German submarines sank ships of all sorts wherever met in the "prohibited zone" — ships of belligerents and

ships of neutrals; trading ships, hospital ships, even relief ships carrying food to the starving Belgians (section 779). Among these were several flying the American flag. Though, in some cases, the crews escaped in their boats, a number of American sailors lost their lives.

Early in the month, President Wilson called Congress to meet in special session in April. About the same time, the attorney-general advised the President that he might arm merchant ships, under an old law that had been overlooked, without waiting for further action by Congress. On March 14, the President announced his intention to do so, and the arming of ships at once began. The day Congress met (April 3) news was received that an armed American ship, the *Aztec*, had been sunk by the Germans.

In his speech to Congress the President denounced "the Prussian Autocracy" as a government that had lost its sense of right and wrong, that had undertaken to wage war against all mankind. He insisted that our quarrel was not with the German people but with their despotic rulers. Speaking of the revolution in Russia, he described the world war as a gigantic struggle between democracy and absolutism. After reviewing the indignities our country had endured in the vain hope of preserving peace, he called upon Congress to declare that the Imperial German Government was making war on the government and people of the United States, to provide for raising an army of 500,000 men, and to authorize him to prosecute the war in conjunction with the other free peoples that were battling against the tyranny of the Hohenzollerns.

A joint resolution passed by overwhelming majorities — in the Senate, April 5, in the House April 6, — declared that the Imperial German Government and the United States were at war.

*Selections from the Sources.* There are various annual publications that are valuable, such as the *Statesman's Yearbook*, *International Year Book*, and the admirable *World Almanac* which costs only thirty-five cents. Among magazines which should be mentioned are the *World's*

*Work, Review of Reviews, the Outlook, the Independent, the Literary Digest, Current Opinion, and Current History.* All these make a specialty of contemporaneous events, month by month. Documentary history of the questions of blockade, continuous voyage, and contraband (munitions, etc.) will be found in Moore, *Digest of International Law* (see Index).

**Secondary Accounts.** It is too early for satisfactory secondary accounts. The numerous critical articles found in the publications named under Sources should not be taken as definitive history. But in many cases they are very suggestive.

**Topics for Special Reports.** 1. The Federal Reserve Act. 2. Recent wars in Mexico. 3. Commercial Progress of South America. 4. Recent European Alliances. 5. Continuous Voyage. 6. The Law of Contraband. 7. Unpreparedness in the War of Secession. (See official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series III, Volume I and Series IV, Volume I.) 8. The Danish West Indies. 9. Our case against Germany.

## CHAPTER XXXIII

### THE WORLD AT WAR

**797. America's Response to the German Challenge: The New Army.** Never has a peaceful nation transformed itself more suddenly, more completely into a military nation than did the United States in 1917. A passion of patriotic service swept the country. The first of many stirring evidences of this spirit was the universal acclaim of a national conscription act signed by the President May 18, 1917. On one day, under this law, every male citizen between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one was enrolled in the national forces, which were increased that day by ten million men. In this "selective draft," as it was called, each man was assigned a number drawn by lot. Subsequently, the men were called to the colors in the order of their numbers as occasion demanded.

Enormous camps of instruction sprang up as if at the command of a wizard. These were not the old-style tented camps of tradition. They were cities of streets, with houses, hospitals, huge administrative buildings, and a population of forty or fifty thousand men. To equip this gigantic new army, all the industrial resources of the country were pressed into service.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately, there were already many great plants that had adapted themselves to the production of munitions, and had worked at high speed supplying England and France during the early part of the war. Meanwhile England and France had built new plants of their own. Thus the output of our own workshops could now be absorbed by our own army without imperiling our Allies. In all this immense endeavor there was enthusiastic coöperation with

<sup>1</sup> See "America's Munitions 1917-1918" (report of the Director of Munitions), Government Printing Office.

the government. The need of an improved light engine for aircraft led to a conference of engineers representing all the most successful makers of automobiles. Their combined experience was expressed in a design that was named the Liberty Motor.<sup>1</sup>

**798. Civilian Organizations behind the Army.** The United States profited in many ways by the experience of England and France since 1914. The chief lesson of that experience was the necessity to combine all the energies of the nation in just one all-engrossing purpose — the maintenance of the army. Practically the entire nation realized this obligation. Great and small, rich and poor — all but a few disloyals who secretly wished our enemies to succeed — conceived of themselves, their business, their abilities as part of the national military establishment. “What can I do to help win the war?” was the one universal question. It was answered in a thousand ways. People of means gave their services as government workers without pay. Among these were many of the most noted experts in many lines of endeavor. People who despite the nation’s peril must still work for the support of their families found innumerable things to do, in extra hours, sharing the gigantic task of caring for the army. Everywhere local societies were formed for the purpose of raising funds, or making army clothes, or caring for the welfare of the men in hospitals or when off duty. Women knitted socks for the army. They carried their knitting around with them and

<sup>1</sup> Inventions played a great part in this war. The first successes of the Germans were due in part to their movable heavy guns whose existence had been kept a secret. Later they invented a “super gun” which could fire an incredible distance but did not prove to be altogether practical. The French field piece, the “75-millimetre gun” was a masterstroke. Most important of all was the British invention nicknamed “the tank.” It was an armored motor car, based on the idea of the American farm tractor. For crashing through barbed wire entanglements and scattering machine gunners, it was invaluable. The Germans introduced the use of poisonous gas, which compelled the Allies to invent gas masks. Finally, the British invented a new sort of mine, the “depth charge,” which was the main weapon of the destroyers against the submarine. (See section 803.)



worked at it in every odd minute. There was a time when you could hardly go into a street car without seeing a row of women busy with their long steel needles. The Red Cross Society formed Chapters in every town and village. These Chapters kept their members at work making surgical dressings and preparing countless articles for the use of the army medical service. Women were conspicuous in all these undertakings. They also formed associations for service as volunteer automobile drivers. The government recognized their value by enrolling them as part of the national forces. Such organizations as the Motor Corps of America and the National League for Women's Service trained their members as ambulance drivers, and formed an invaluable adjunct to the great military hospitals, especially when, in the heavy fighting of 1918, shiploads of wounded came home from France.<sup>1</sup>

**799. The Money for the War.** Behind all these stirring activities lay the grim and cheerless duty to pay for the war. While the young men of the nation were being enrolled in the army, subscriptions began for the first of four Liberty Loans. The government asked, in this first loan, for two billion dollars. During May and June, 1917, the nation oversubscribed the loan by a billion. The second Liberty Loan in the autumn of 1917 was similarly oversubscribed. The third and fourth loans — the third for three billion, the fourth for six — in 1918 demonstrated in the same way that the patriotism of the country, measured in dollars and cents, ran ahead of the demands of the government. The four loans called for fourteen billions; eighteen billions were offered.

The loans were supplemented by War Savings Stamps, which were virtually loans in very small sums. The smallest War Savings Stamp had a value of twenty-five cents. Two

<sup>1</sup> These organizations were also of the greatest value during the epidemic of influenza which began in the autumn of 1918 and continued through the winter. As a large proportion both of nurses and doctors had gone with the army to France the American situation became extremely grave. The women's motor corps took up the work of bringing stricken and helpless victims of influenza to the hospitals.

billion dollars in these stamps were loaned to the government in 1918.

**800. Privations.** In a great number of ways, some direct, some indirect, the nation was called upon to submit to privation in order to carry the burden of this enormous war. Food was the first subject of concern. A singular fatality was the relative failure of the cereal crops in 1917. To meet the needs of all the Allied countries, there was utmost need of economy and coöperation. In America a Food Commission was created and a Food Administrator appointed. A system of rationing was established, especially in the use of flour and sugar. Bakers were required to mix other flours with wheat flour in making bread.

Quite as serious was the problem of fuel. The Germans were using the coal mines seized from the French and Belgians. To make up for this loss to our great continental Ally, to provide transportation for men and supplies, to keep the vast munition plants going at full speed, there was needed from America a vast quantity of fuel. A Fuel Administrator regulated the distribution. Industries necessary to the war were given full supply; others were reduced. All unnecessary use of fuel and the products of fuel, light and power, were forbidden. Ornamental electric signs disappeared. Street cars were required to make less frequent stops. During the winter of 1917-1918, one day each week was a "heatless day," when heat was shut off in many classes of buildings. Similarly, there were "gasless Sundays," when no automobiles were used for private purposes. To lessen the use of artificial light, Congress adopted a "daylight saving" plan, which was already in use abroad and had been under discussion here. From the last Sunday in March to the last Sunday in October all clocks were required to be set forward one hour.

The use of intoxicating liquors was very generally given up "for the duration of the war,"<sup>1</sup> so as to encourage temperance

<sup>1</sup> At the same time the prohibition movement acquired new momentum. There was an increase of interest in the proposed amendment to the National

among the soldiers and also to release the maximum quantity of grain for food and of alcohol for use in munition making.

**801. Nationalization of Business.** The same cheerful acceptance of whatever burden the war imposed characterized American business. Though no people had had more of traditional hostility to governmental control of business, the Americans made no complaint when, in December, 1917, the President took possession of the railways, gave orders for a single consolidated management of them all, and appointed the secretary of the treasury, William G. McAdoo, director general.

Subsequently, the government also took over, for the duration of the war, the telephone and telegraph lines. These were placed under the control of the postmaster general.

Among a number of boards and commissions, all intended to make the production of war necessities as swift and economical as possible, none was more notable than the United States Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation, commonly called the "Shipping Board." Its purpose was to rush through the construction of ships, great numbers of which were now in instant demand. Partly by utilizing the existing shipyards in all parts of the country, partly by building new yards, the Board succeeded in turning out ships with wonderful rapidity.<sup>1</sup> And yet, when the final crisis arrived in the spring of the next year, — so terrible and unforeseen were the events of 1917! — American shipping was inadequate for carrying our reënforcements to France. For a moment it looked as if the war would be lost through this inadequacy.

**802. The German Plan of 1917.** This situation was exactly what the Germans had carefully schemed to bring about. They had attacked us because they wanted to shift the theater

Constitution, making the manufacture of alcoholic beverages illegal. Proposed in 1917, it was ratified by a sufficient number of states in 1919 to go into force in 1920.

<sup>1</sup> The American navy was also increased by the confiscation of German ships interned in American waters.

of their submarine warfare (sections 782, 791) from the British territorial waters to the Atlantic. There were from the beginning two vital points in the system of allied communication. One was the British Channel. Across that narrow sea, in the course of the war, the British navy moved twenty million men. For a long time Germany cherished the hope that her submarines would cut this floating bridge between England and France. Her attempt was a total failure. As long as there was hope of separating England and France, Germany preferred to have the United States neutral in order to be able to resume trade with us promptly when she had crushed the Allies. The moment she gave up hope of cutting her way through the Channel, she determined on war with the United States. That is, she aimed at the other vital point in the Allied communications. Across the Atlantic came the food and a large part of the munitions that made possible the heroic battle of the French and British lines. England's fleet, for all its vastness, was unable to guard the "sea-lanes" followed by the supply ships across the ocean. There was absolute need for the British navy to discharge three other obligations: (1) to keep the powerful German battle fleet shut up in its home port; (2) to keep the Channel absolutely safe for Allied transports and hospital ships; (3) to keep the Mediterranean free of submarines and thus prevent a separation of the eastern from the western Allied armies, as well as to prevent the blockade and starvation of Italy.

Doing all this, England had left only fifteen destroyers. These were the whole force she could use for the enormous task of policing the Atlantic. Under international law, American ships, being neutrals (sections 781-784), did not need protection. Therefore, the cynical German government made war on the United States, seeking a free hand to destroy our ships. In April, 1917, the Germans were perfectly confident that their submarines could do this; that our entrance into the war would be followed by the swift obliteration of

our commerce; that England would be quickly starved out; that the German conquest of the world had begun in earnest.

**803. The Battle of the Atlantic.** It was a piece of international good fortune that one of the clearest-sighted American seamen, Admiral W. S. Sims, was sent to England immediately upon our entrance into the war. He perceived at once the gravity of the situation. His urgent dispatches to Washington were, perhaps, the cause of a line of policy that characterized the American government in all its subsequent course. "I early took the stand," says Admiral Sims, "that our forces should be considered chiefly in the light of reënforcements to the Allied navies, and that, ignoring all question of national pride and even what at first might superficially seem to be national interest, we should exert such offensive power as we possessed in the way that would best assist the Allies in defeating the submarine."

Hitherto there had not been sufficient unity of action among the Allies. Broadly speaking, each nation had conducted its own war, as it thought best. The United States led the way in demanding closer coöperation. The first fruit of this new policy was the formation of a joint Anglo-American fleet of destroyers, with its base at Queenstown, for an ocean-wide battle with the submarines. During the summer of 1917 — in many respects the darkest summer of the war — the most crucial event was the slow, tremendous Battle of the Atlantic.

**804. The Grand Fleet.** However, the destroyers, for all their immense importance, were not the whole — not even the backbone — of the Allied naval defense. Throughout the war, a large fleet of battleships — the Grand Fleet, it was called — lay somewhere off the British coast, ready at any moment to strike the German battle fleet, should it venture out to sea. Twice, before our entrance into the war, the Germans had attacked the Grand Fleet, and had been driven back to their home ports. Though stronger than the German fleet, the Grand Fleet was not overwhelmingly so. How best to reënforce it by an American contingent was one of the

first thoughts of the American navy. For a time, this could not be done. The super-dreadnaughts burn oil. In 1917 there was a dangerous shortage in the supply of fuel oil. The Grand Fleet, unreinforced, was barely able to supply itself with oil. Under the conditions of the moment, our ships could not have been fueled in European waters. Not until the oil situation had improved could Admiral Hugh Rodman join the Grand Fleet with an American battle squadron. Admiral Rodman's reinforcement made the Grand Fleet overwhelmingly powerful.

**805. The American Expeditionary Force.** Meanwhile, when the Battle of the Atlantic had scarcely begun, such veterans as we had were hurried to France. June 26, 1917, is a memorable day in American history. On that day, for the first time, troops of the United States set foot on the continent of Europe, as belligerents. Of this American Expeditionary Force, the commander was General John J. Pershing. It was General Pershing who expressed the American sentiment toward France, as he stood at the tomb of that brilliant Frenchman, who was once a member of the American army — "Lafayette, we are here."

**806. The Collapse of Russia.** In the early days of the Battle of the Atlantic, before there was any certainty that it would be won, all the Allied nations were staggered by the news from Russia. The Revolution (section 796) took a startling turn that threatened to upset all the Allied plans. In those plans, an essential factor was the Russian army, by which a great part of the German army was held on the Eastern battle front. The wise and temperate leaders of the Revolution, in its first stage, were eager to see Russia do her full share in crushing the German autocracy. But the Revolution now passed, with bewildering suddenness, into a second stage. New leaders appeared. New ideas were put forth. Extreme socialists began preaching the doctrine of peace-at-any-price. A violent party of ultra-extremists, the Bolsheviki, denounced the revolutionary government as no better than the old



imperial government, clamored for the abolition of all law, of all authority, for the nationalization of property, and for immediate peace. It is possible that these fanatics believed all they said. But it is known to-day that some, at least, of their leaders were in collusion with the Germans, and that their movement was financed by German money. The rapidity with which the ideas of the Bolsheviki made their way through the Russian army astounded the world. Almost before the danger was realized, the Russian army had lost its striking force. To be sure, Alexander Kerensky, one of the new leaders who was not a Bolshevik, seemed for a moment about to bring the Revolution back to sanity. For a moment, he restored the fighting spirit in the army. But he was not equal to his terrible opportunity; his hold on the army did not last; before the end of the summer the Russians were giving up the fight. Two sinister figures, Nicolai Lenin and Leon Trotzky, who are supposed to have been secret agents of Germany, now emerged as leaders of the Bolsheviki. They headed a rebellion, drove Kerensky from power, and declared for an immediate peace.

**807. The "Peace Drive" of 1917.** Germany, making every effort to corrupt the Russian Revolutionaries, saw quicker than the Allies that the latter part of 1917 might prove a turning point—one of those "psychological moments" when men pass through changes of heart. Thereupon she began what was known as the "peace drive." She meant to use the dismay created by the collapse of Russia as a means to intimidating the Allies into negotiating peace. She had not given up hope of getting aid from that small group of American visionaries who thought a shameful peace more honorable than a valiant war, who were willing to play into the hands of the still smaller group of American disloyals. But the United States proved a barren field for such propaganda. A prime mistake of the German sympathizers and the no-war fanatics was their attempt to create a peace-at-any-price sentiment among American workingmen. Practically

the whole body of American labor was impervious to the arguments, and scornful of the trickery that had deceived the Russians. Their attitude was the death of the last German hope in America. Their chief spokesman, Samuel Gompers, denounced with equal severity the Germans and the Bolsheviks.

**808. The Pope's Proposal.** A very different appeal for peace was made that same summer (August 1). The Pope besought the warring nations to put an end to their conflict. In refusing to consider this appeal, President Wilson paid a tribute to the "generous motives that prompted it," but added that "our response must be based on stern facts and nothing else." The Pope had proposed that all nations return to the status quo before the war, that they should all disarm and settle all their differences by arbitration. President Wilson pronounced the proposal impractical because "we cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure," and because "no man, no nation, could now depend on" any promises they might make.

**809. The Reorganization of the Allies.** Autumn had now come. At Petrograd Lenin and Trotzky were in control. It was plain that they were working for Germany, that all the German forces in Russia would soon be released for service elsewhere. A new conviction took possession of all the Allies: they must reorganize their relations; they must make better use of their resources. In all the Allied countries momentous changes swiftly followed. In France, for example, there was a change of ministry, and one of the boldest of men became Premier, Georges Clemenceau. When that happened (November 18), the Austrians were conducting a great drive into Italy and the Italians were in full retreat. The military situation of the Allies seemed extremely dark. But there was not the slightest wavering of their spirit. In the dreary days of the great Italian retreat, a momentous step was taken toward unity of Allied command. In conference at Repallo, representatives

of Italy, France, and England drew up a tentative scheme for a Supreme War Council. A war mission from the United States, headed by Colonel E. M. House, was then upon the sea. Immediately upon their arrival, the Americans heartily concurred in this plan. President Wilson cabled his approval. Thereafter, the Allied military policy was directed by this Supreme Council, sitting generally at Versailles.

**810. Renewed Allied Confidence.** In spite of the Russian collapse, in spite of the Italian disaster, in spite of the submarines, the spirit of the Americans, as of all the Allies, was more determined than ever. Shortly after joining the Supreme War Council, when all northwestern Italy was overrun and the conquerors had almost reached Venice, we declared war upon Austria (December 7, 1917).

In the first week of the new year President Wilson delivered a speech destined to become famous as "the speech of the Fourteen Points." He laid down fourteen propositions as a basis on which peace might be discussed. Several of them reached far out into the future, and touched the world that was to come at the war's end. Five dealt with immediate conditions in a way to serve notice to Germany of what she might expect. These were: Russia to be freed from German domination; Belgium to be completely restored; France to have complete restitution for losses both in the present war and in the Franco-Prussian War; the Austrian Empire to be broken up; Poland to be restored.

So widely was the speech applauded that it may be considered the Allied challenge to Germany at the opening of the fateful year 1918.

**811. The Allied Control of the Seas.** A change of incalculable significance had taken place since the previous April. The Battle of the Atlantic had been won. Gradually, with superb audacity, the Anglo-American Destroyer Fleet had mastered the submarine. They had made the Atlantic almost as safe for Allied ships as the Channel. The Germans, horrified by the reversal of their expectations, nevertheless

had to admit the fact. As early as November, 1917, a noted German naval critic, Captain Persius, pronounced the submarine campaign a failure. As the new year began, with Allied destroyers in control of the Atlantic, with the Grand Fleet holding the German battle fleet in its ports, the Allies were masters of the sea.

**812. The Final Policy of the Germans.** The Germans did not deceive themselves as to what had happened. They saw that all their boasting of a year previous was vain. Their hopes upon the sea were gone. To starve England was now impossible. To keep American reënforcements from reaching France was also impossible. But still Germany had one last chance. Even at the close of 1917, the Allies were doing things slowly. They had not yet learned to be swift and sure in all their movements — as Germany was. The Americans were sending over their men in dribblets. Three months later, on the anniversary of our entrance into the war, we had only about a quarter of a million men in France. From all this, Germany drew two conclusions: first, the war, now that the submarine had failed her, must be decided on land. Second, she must take advantage of the slowness of the movement of American reënforcements, gather all her strength on the western front, hurl it against the French and British, and crush both armies before the Americans in adequate number should come to their aid.

Of course, the possibility of such a western concentration was due to Russia; Lenin and Trotzky, now in full control of the Revolutionary Government, were brazenly serving Germany's ends. While the eastern German armies were being shifted to the west, the German government dictated terms of peace to the Russians. Though Lenin and Trotzky made a great pretense of protest, they promptly demobilized the Russian armies, and on March 3, 1918, consented to the Peace of Brest-Litovsk. Russia was dismembered, and practically all her industrial and economic life was placed under German domination.

Though the Allies knew what was happening in Russia and guessed what Germany was about, there was no adequate preparation for the blow that was impending. The Supreme War Council did not prove to be particularly useful. There was no material quickening in the movement of American reinforcements. At nightfall, on March 20, the Allies seemed still to have had no adequate realization that there was a possibility they might yet lose the war.

**813. March 21, 1917.** By what happened in the next twenty-four hours, the whole Allied world was stunned, horrified. A tempest of artillery fire, the most terrible yet known, burst upon the British line at its point of juncture with the French, and tore it apart as if before the lava streams of a volcano. Into the breaches thus made, dense masses of "shock" troops were poured in successive waves. By nightfall, March 21, parts of the British front line were gone; others were wavering. At these points the assailants outnumbered the defenders three to one. On the 22d, the German torrent of fire and steel, pouring through the gaps of the front, was surging onward against the British reserves. On the 23d the magnitude of this disaster became known throughout America. A gloom not to be exaggerated settled upon the country. But it was not the gloom of fear. The expression heard on every side was, "If only we were there!"

The drive of March 21 began the battle of Picardy, one of the fiercest ever known. The German purpose was to capture Amiens, and thus separate the British and French armies. On the part of the Allies the battle was a miracle of defensive fighting. Though the British and French lines bent far back, surrendering precious territory to the Germans, they did not break. To the anxious watchers in America it was some consolation to know that Americans took part in the splendid last stand that brought the invaders to a halt a few miles east of Amiens (April 1). The knowledge that the Americans were but a few thousand in a battle employing over a million, filled the country with a fury to be up and doing.

**814. Foch.** There was immediate recognition of the need for a single supreme commander of all the Allies. General Pershing, like Admiral Sims, had always believed this. The Americans were very influential in bringing about the appointment of Marshal Ferdinand Foch, of the French Army, as Allied Generalissimo. A congratulatory cablegram from President Wilson at once informed all the world that we heartily accepted him as our super-commander. General Pershing instantly placed at his disposal all the American forces in France to be used wherever, in whatever capacity, he thought best.

**815. The Dark Days of 1918.** During three and a half months under the skillful leadership of this great soldier, we played our part in a sternly retreating defense. During those terrible months — perhaps the darkest days of the whole war — the Germans made four other terrific drives. They had an immense superiority in numbers. They also had the “interior line.”<sup>1</sup> Each drive gained additional territory. When the last was checked in the middle of July, the Germans were dangerously close to Paris.

But while the Allied line bent and retreated, it never broke. This one fact, that all the fury of the onslaught with superior numbers never quite broke the line, was the sole consolation of the anxious Americans during those appalling months of the final crisis. Meanwhile they had stirring news of their countrymen who had been hurried into the front line and who did valiant service now here, now there: at Seicheprey, in our first serious clash with the Germans (April 20); at Cantigny, in a brilliant counter attack (May 28); at Château Thierry — the first battle of Château Thierry — where we helped materially in stopping the third German drive (June 1); in an homeric combat which cleared Belleau Wood of Germans (June 11) and led the French government to give the place a new name, “The Wood of the Marine Brigade”; the storming of Vaux (July 1); above all, in our second battle

<sup>1</sup> See Section 642.



of Château Thierry (July 15), where with furious hand-to-hand fighting we did our full share "stone-walling" the last German rush.<sup>1</sup>

**816. What Foch Waited For.** Foch had maintained his long defensive battle, despite the agony of hope deferred among the Allied nations, because he had not reserves sufficient to justify an attack. The possibility of defeating Germany was now a question of reserves. Where were they to come from? England and France had put their last men into the field. In England alone, sixty per cent of the male population were soldiers. No reserves could be called up except from America. The United States had two million men in camp, but they were four thousand miles from the field of battle, and the Shipping Board, though it had done well, had not done well enough. It was unable to provide ships to rush these men to France; and yet Foch's one chance to assume the offensive lay in these men, four thousand miles away. At this crisis, the British Merchant Marine came to the rescue. "We'll find the ships," said the English, "if America will find the men." It was agreed.

The largest number of Americans sent to France in any one month previous to March, 1918, was about 50,000. In April, we sent over 117,000; in May, 224,000; in June, 276,000. On the Fourth of July appeared a statement of the secretary of war, Newton D. Baker, informing the American people that our "First Million" was on French soil. The situation during the Dark Days when the Germans were thundering against Foch's lines, and the American War Department was speeding reinforcements across the Atlantic, was tersely summed up by the British Premier, Lloyd George, "It is a race," said he, "between Field Marshal Von Hindenburg and President Wilson."

<sup>1</sup> In all this heavy fighting great honor was won by America's "four pioneer divisions," the First, Second, Twenty-sixth, and Forty-second. The Third Division is especially associated with Château-Thierry. The Twenty-eighth was heroic in its first battle, July 15.

**817. Second Battle of the Marne.** On the eighteenth of July, Foch at last had sufficient power for a counter offensive. He massed his forces along the Marne, where the Germans had driven a huge wedge into the Allied line with its point at Château-Thierry, only 44 miles from Paris. In the attacking army were nearly 300,000 Americans.<sup>1</sup> Dispensing with the bombardment that usually preceded a battle, — the “artillery preparation” in technical language, — the Franco-American army burst upon the Germans with such suddenness, such irresistible fury, that in one day the relation of the combatants was reversed. The Germans were thrown upon the defensive. The Allies were tearing gaps in their front line much as the Germans had done in the Allied line three and a half months before. Only swift retreat back toward their position of early March — the famous “Hindenburg line” — saved the Germans of the Marne region from destruction.

**818. The Joyful Summer.** The news of this great victory dispelled the cloud that had hung over the Allied world since March. But there was no reaction to overconfidence. The lesson of the Dark Days had been learned. The war might last a long time; the utmost power of the Allies must be organized and brought into action. Among many new plans formulated that summer, three, in America, deserve particular attention.

A new draft was decided upon. The age of service was extended to include all males from eighteen to forty-five. When the enrollment took place under this law (September 12) about fourteen million men were added to the national forces.

Ever since the war began, all the great welfare associations of the country had worked zealously, looking after the good of the soldiers. A unique arrangement was now decided upon. The same principle of voluntary acceptance of unified command — the principle that was saving the cause at the front — was now to be applied at home. For the first time,

<sup>1</sup> The divisions engaged were I, II, III, IV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXXII, XLII, LVI, LXXVII.

Catholic and Protestant, Jew and Gentile, came together in a cordial coöperation under a really joint organization. Seven associations, representing all phases of American religious belief, with the hearty support of the government, undertook a United War Work Campaign. Their aim was to raise, by voluntary subscription, 120 million dollars, to be expended behind the lines in France. Each Association was to receive a stipulated percentage of the sum raised, and all were to work together raising it.<sup>1</sup> The success of this coöperative movement was a further evidence of the basal idea for which the Allies stood — tolerant liberty, both for men and for nations. It culminated in a great meeting in New York, presided over by a distinguished Baptist, Charles E. Hughes, with religious exercises in which took part a Roman Catholic archbishop, a Protestant Episcopal bishop, and a Jewish rabbi.

The third innovation of the summer of 1918 was the Student Army Training Corps. Under the new draft, all college students were enrolled in the army. The colleges, almost without exception, combined with the government in the creation of the most enormous Military Academy ever known. Temporarily they became part of the War Department. Their ordinary courses were suspended. New courses were laid out designed to educate officers. It was this immense body of college students in training to become officers that formed the Student Army Training Corps.

**819. "America in France."** No part of our achievement in the war was more remarkable than the welfare work behind the lines in France. To keep up the morale of the soldiers under fire, to supply them with opportunity for recuperation when they were withdrawn from the firing line, was the duty of great numbers of workers, both men and women. Time and again the last person whom the soldier left behind as he

<sup>1</sup> The seven associations with the percentages they were to receive were as follows: Y. M. C. A., 58.65; Knights of Columbus, 17.60; Y. W. C. A., 8.80; War Camp Community Service, 8.80; Jewish Welfare Board, 2.05; American Library Association, 2.05; Salvation Army, 2.05.

started forward to go "over the top" was some brave woman volunteer who had come from America to assist in keeping "the boys" cheerful amid the hardships of the trenches. The government formed recreation centers at various places in France and Switzerland, to which were sent the exhausted men who came from the inferno of the firing line, and where their shattered nerves were restored. The government went still further. It planned an educational system for the fighting men; and when the war closed it was establishing an enormous army university.

However, the most remarkable American exploit in France was, perhaps, the work of our service of supply, — the S. O. S. France, already overburdened in caring for her own army, could not be expected to transport ours. American engineers, American architects, American railway men, American administrators of all sorts, were hurried to France, on our entrance into the war. When the time came to flood the country with American reënforcements, these men had constructed gigantic docks so as to receive American ships without congesting the French docks; they had built railroads to carry the extra traffic that might have jammed the existing roads; in certain "training areas," they had created little American cities from which the American host was to be supplied. The impression of seriousness, efficiency, capability, which they made on the observant French, created a new respect for the American nation. "America in France," says Frederick Palmer, "was America at its best."

**820. Our World-wide War.** Having fully committed itself to the idea of a unified war, the United States government, in the autumn of 1918, did not hesitate to send its soldiers to the ends of the earth. Literally, from the American point of view, that was what happened when American soldiers were dispatched to Siberia. There, some Russians who despised Lenin and Trotzky were fighting the Bolsheviki. To their aid went Allied forces, partly American. Other Russians, not debauched by German gold, were fighting the Bolsheviki

on the Arctic coast in the vicinity of Archangel. To them, an Anglo-American force brought vital assistance. One of the dramatic events of the war was the arrival of the American deliverers at Archangel.

Italy formed another distant field where, in this turn of the tide, American aid was a factor. French and British forces helped stiffen the Italian line after the disaster of the previous year. Americans now contributed to the complete recovery of Italy's power to strike.<sup>1</sup>

**821. The Battle of St. Mihiel.** Meanwhile, our Generalissimo was perfecting his vast design which eventually brought the war to an end. As a preparatory step, he assigned to the Americans a great undertaking.<sup>2</sup>

The Germans were still westward of their Hindenburg Line and the coming death grapple would be an effort to shatter that line. First of all, a long German salient southeast of Verdun that thrust itself westward beyond the town of St. Mihiel must be blotted out. This salient, roughly speaking, formed a right-angled triangle, the base running eastward from St. Mihiel, the altitude north from St. Mihiel, the hypotenuse starting at Pont-a-Mousson and running northwest nearly to Verdun. Swiftly, with utmost secrecy, moving only by night, the bulk of the First American army was assembled along the southern side of the salient. Theirs was

<sup>1</sup> For complete understanding of our share in the war, the entire military history of 1917 and 1918 is desirable as a background. However, it can hardly be incorporated in a text of American history, but it should be considered in special reports. Such matters as the British occupation of Palestine, late in 1917, the Italian attack on Austria in 1918, and the great Balkan offensive, 1918, are of especial importance. It must not be forgotten that after March, 1918, *all* Allied movements were part of Foch's plan of campaign.

<sup>2</sup> Hitherto the Americans had formed parts of French or British commands. Though many of them were retained in such commands, there was now formed the "First American Army," General Pershing commanding, with no superior but Foch himself. With General Pershing was French artillery. One evidence of our great difficulty in raising an army on short notice is the fact that even at the end of the fighting our own artillery was not equipped with American field guns. It used guns supplied us by the French. Some American naval guns moved forward by rail reached the front.

to be the main attack driving straight north parallel with the altitude of the salient until they reached its hypotenuse. When they did that, their left wing was to touch the town of Vigneulles-les-Hattonchattel.<sup>1</sup> There they were to be met by the Twenty-sixth American Division, which was to cut into the salient from the top of the west side. The nut of the salient was to be cracked by a pair of pincers. And with brilliant daring it was accomplished exactly as planned. The attack began in a rainy dawn, September 12. Early in the morning of September 13, the advance guard of the Twenty-sixth entered Vigneulles from the west. Only a little later, the advance of the First Division entered from the south. The Americans, victorious in their first independent battle on European soil, drew the new Allied line along the hypotenuse of that German salient which they had obliterated.

**822. The War in the Air.** Among the events of the summer and autumn which stirred the blood of Americans, were the exploits of our "airmen." In this war, for the first time, the aviator played a leading part. The Germans used him to bomb peaceful towns far behind the battle line, and to destroy women and children. Along the front on both sides the flying men formed the "eyes" of the armies. That was why army movements had to take place at night. Part of the American plan of reënforcement was the construction of an enormous fleet of airplanes. This, however, could not be assembled upon the battle front before 1919. But many gallant feats were performed in British and French planes by airmen of the American army in 1918. It was in one of these that the daring young Lieutenant Roosevelt, son of the ex-president, lost his life.

**823. The Battle of the Hindenburg Line.** The time had now come for the execution of the grand design of the Generalissimo—the breaking of the Hindenburg Line. That line was a marvelous system of fortifications stretching across France and Belgium from Lorraine to the North Sea. Just

<sup>1</sup> The divisions in the main attack were the First, the Second, the Fifth, the Forty-second, the Eighty-second, the Eighty-ninth, the Ninetieth.



behind the line — its main artery of supply — lay the important railway which links together Strasbourg, Metz, Sedan, and Lille. On the holding of this railroad the life of the Hindenburg Line depended. If the Line should be penetrated so as to cut this railway, the portions would not be able to communicate except by roundabout routes far in the German rear. Foch's aim was to drive through the Line at several points, and cut the railway; thus, he would make it impossible for the Germans in the different parts either to retreat with rapidity or be reënforced with rapidity; he would then crush the parts separately. This gigantic design involved a whole system of battles all depending on each other, and forming in reality one battle — the greatest in history — in which were engaged some four million men.

Foch paid the Americans the compliment of allowing us to open the battle. On September 26, along a front westward of Verdun, between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest, began the largest action yet fought by an American army under its own command (The Battle of the Argonne).

The same day the French struck on our left flank. The next day the British struck furiously in Belgium. While these attacks were grinding their way forward through some of the most terrific fighting of the war, another British attack was pressed in the region of Cambrai. Lastly, the supreme French attack struck the center of the line, in the valley of the Aisne.

Though this battle series must be thought of as a whole, two episodes in it are, for Americans, inevitably, of surpassing interest. In the South, our Battle of the Argonne was a sustained epic that gave imperishable renown to the American army.<sup>1</sup> It developed into a drive straight through the German defenses, and on through the vital railway. On November 7 we entered Sedan. The American forces employed, included twenty-one divisions, about 750,000 men.

<sup>1</sup> The battle opened with a great rush by these divisions — Fourth, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-third, Thirty-fifth, Thirty-seventh, Seventy-seventh, Seventy-ninth, Eightieth, Ninety-first.

However, the American army in the South, having a long way to go, were not the first to cut the famous Line. That honor fell to members of the gallant army which struck the Line between St. Quentin and Cambrai. Though known as the British Fourth Army, and mainly English, it included Australians and Americans. On September 29, a column was sent forward, consisting of three divisions — the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth, American, with the Forty-sixth, British. What these men had to do is best understood by this description of "The Hindenburg Line," given by the Chief of Staff of the Thirtieth Division. "The Hindenburg Line, at this point, curves in front of *the Tunnel St. Quentin*. This was considered impregnable by the Germans for the following reasons: The Hindenburg Line, curving west of the tunnel, consisted of three main trench systems protected by vast fields of heavy barbed-wire entanglements, skillfully placed; this wire was very heavy and had been damaged very little by artillery fire. The dominating ground enabled them to bring devastating machine-gun fire on all approaches. The lines had been strengthened with concrete machine-gun placements. It contained at this point a large number of dugouts, lined with mining timbers, with wooden steps leading down to a depth of about thirty feet, with small rooms capable of holding from four to six men each. In many cases these dugouts were wired for electric lights. The large tunnel through which the canal ran was of sufficient capacity to shelter a division. This tunnel was electrically lighted and filled with barges. Connecting it with the Hindenburg trench system were numerous tunnels. In one case a direct tunnel ran from the main tunnel to the basement of a large stone building, which the enemy used for headquarters."

Through these complicated defenses, the Anglo-American assault burst its way. The breaking of the Hindenburg Line was begun. During the next three weeks,<sup>1</sup> it was penetrated

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the most furious fighting was done by the British Fourth Army, Americans still participating, early in October.

at several points. The vital railway was seized. Before the end of October, the defensive system of the Germans was dislocated. Foch had them at his mercy.

**824. The Armistice.** In the last days of this greatest battle in history, the men behind the armies in Germany and Austria saw that their cause was lost. They began to take thought how they might escape destruction. Austria led the way by withdrawing her regiments on the French front, and asking for terms of peace. The withdrawal of these regiments made slightly easier the advance of the victorious Americans to Sedan. The Austrian peace overtures, addressed to President Wilson, were rejected.

The German government also addressed itself to the American President. The Germans, who had regarded pity as contemptible in connection with its enemies, now cited "The Fourteen Points," and appealed to the American generosity toward enemies. The President replied in substance, that no one could trust the German government, and that no terms would be granted that diminished the "present military supremacy" of the Allies.

The Hohenzollern despot, whose "shining sword" was to have terrified mankind, now showed himself the least heroic figure in this awful tragedy. Abandoning his army, he fled across the border into neutral Holland.

Revolution had broken out in Germany. On November 11, the representatives of a new government, at Foch's headquarters, signed an armistice. They agreed to the surrender of so much war material that the German army was thereby made incapable of further resistance; to the withdrawal of all their forces beyond the Rhine; to the surrender of the entire German Fleet; to the occupation, by the Allies, of portions of the east bank of the Rhine.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These comprised three bridgeheads with half circles beyond, having a radius of 30 kilometers. The bridgehead of Coblenz with adjoining area was given in charge to an American army of occupation. For many months, the "Stars and Stripes" flew over conquered German territory along the historic Rhine.

**825. The Concluding Triumph.** The final event of the war is without parallel. In the later hours of a bright moonlit night, the Grand Fleet left its anchorage off the coast of Scotland, and steamed forth into the North Sea. At eight o'clock, on the morning of November 21, it was drawn up in two lines, three miles apart, forming a majestic avenue. The ships flanking that avenue were all in battle trim. All of their mighty guns were shotted; every gun crew was in position; every commander, sweeping the horizon with his binoculars, was prepared to give the word to fire. They were expecting the vanquished German fleet, and no man knew what the German promise to surrender was worth. Said Admiral Rodman, whose American dreadnaughts formed a part of the waiting fleet: "There is not the slightest possibility of any trouble, but we are overlooking no chances."

Presently, a little British cruiser which had been sent out to meet the Germans was sighted to the eastward; then, behind her, in squadron after squadron, the enemy ships. On they came, following their pilot, — great dreadnaughts, powerful battle cruisers, destroyers in columns, five abreast. They passed along that avenue of the Allied triumph, while from the ships of the victors not a sound was heard. When the last German ship had passed, the Grand Fleet closed up behind them. They were conducted to the Firth of Forth, where the formalities of surrender were completed. The close of what had truly become a "World War," was this order signaled from the Admiral of the Grand Fleet: "The German flag will be hauled down at 3.57 and is not to be hoisted again without permission."

**826. The Peace Congress.** And now arose the complicated problem of concluding a peace that would start the world over on a new basis. A Peace Congress was held at Versailles. To it came representatives of all the Allied nations, all those among the free peoples that had taken part in the struggle for democracy against autocratic Germany. Russia, to be sure, was not officially represented, for Russia was still

in the grip of Germany's henchmen, Lenin and Trotzky. Nevertheless, the assembly represented all the great races of mankind, all quarters of the globe. The Premier of France presided, but the hero of the hour was the President of the United States.

**827. Problems of the Congress.** So numerous and so difficult were the problems of the Congress that it is impossible to discuss them briefly. A great many did not directly involve the United States. But indirectly, they involved all nations. The aim of the Congress was to remove the causes of future war. The Fourteen Points (section 810) were generally regarded as a basis on which to begin readjusting the world. The principle of national freedom for the subject states of our enemies was at once accepted by all parties. The influence of the American delegation was thrown in favor of a free Poland; of a free Bohemia (now Czechoslovakia); of the gathering together of all the Serbian race into the new state of Jugoslavia; of the enlargement of Greece and Roumania so that each should include all its kinsmen then under other governments. Many clashes of interest occurred, some of which had to be compromised — much to the disappointment of the Americans.<sup>1</sup>

Nevertheless after many compromises, a treaty was drawn up which the American delegation was willing to sign.

**828. The Germans Sign the Treaty.** Then for the first time, the Germans were called in. The treaty was delivered to them. They protested and demanded a joint discussion of it — which was refused. They were to accept it, or the war was to begin again. As the treaty involved an acknowledgment by the Germans of responsibility for the war, the return

<sup>1</sup> Chief among these, from the American point of view, was the question of Shantung. The Chinese province of Shantung had been virtually appropriated by the Germans. Japan during the war drove out the Germans and claimed that she was entitled to all the privileges Germany had held. The traditional American policy is friendship with China. But the Allies before our entrance into the war had made a secret agreement with Japan which tied their hands, and in which President Wilson eventually acquiesced. (See "China, the United States, and the War" — World Peace Foundation, issue of July, 1919.)

of Alsace and Lorraine to France, and the payment of heavy indemnities, there was loud threatening in Germany of a renewal of hostilities. But it was not genuine. On May 7, 1919, in the Hall of Mirrors, in the Palace of Versailles, — the hall in which the robber Prussians completed the humiliation of France forty-eight years before — the delegates of the Allied nations and the delegates of Germany signed the document which it was hoped — at least among the Allies — would prove the foundation of a new world.

**829. The League of Nations.** Even before the treaty was signed strong opposition to some of its provisions had developed in America. To many Americans it seemed that some of its compromises had been unnecessary. But one issue immediately overshadowed all others. The treaty bound us to combine with our Allies in a permanent League of Nations,<sup>1</sup> designed to preserve the peace of the world and incidentally to protect the new national governments that were created by the treaty. Was the time ripe for such a plan? Were the American people prepared to enter any sort of international union? Was the particular form of union described in the treaty a desirable one? These questions were hotly discussed throughout America during the six months following the close of the Peace Congress.<sup>2</sup> Fanatics on either side of the dispute lost all sense of propriety and denounced their opponents in unmeasured terms. To the

<sup>1</sup> The arguments for and against the League, together with a clear understanding of the nature of the League, should be enlarged upon in special reports. See bibliography at the end of the chapter. For the pro-League argument see also the publications of the League to Enforce Peace (130 West 42d Street, New York City). For the anti-League argument, see chiefly the speeches in Congress, of Senators Lodge, Borah, and Johnson.

<sup>2</sup> When the treaty came before the Senate for ratification, the abstract question of the desirability of the League was involved in bitter partisan antagonism. This hinged upon an action of the President in the late Congressional elections. Though, in the support of the war, the party lines for the moment had broken down; though Republican votes in Congress had assisted the President to secure some of his most important measures, he took part in the elections of 1918 with an appeal to the country to return a strictly Democratic Congress. In spite of that appeal, the Republicans had carried the elections.



fanatical "leaguer," the opposition to the League was all, at bottom, pro-German. To the fanatical "anti-leaguer," belief in the League was a base desire to surrender the sovereignty of the United States. Among temperate people, the argument was, on the one hand, that the proposed League was a safe experiment which would almost certainly work for peace, and on the other hand, that it was an ill-devised scheme which would almost certainly fail and thus discourage further attempt at international union.

The extreme opposition demanded amendments to the treaty that would virtually reject it. The moderate opposition called for "reservations" that would limit the treaty by stating how America interpreted it. The defenders of the treaty were also in two groups: those who demanded unconditional acceptance, and those who were willing to meet the moderate opponents in a statement of reservations.

Besides President Wilson, the chief leaders of the League forces were Ex-President Taft and President Lowell of Harvard University. Chief among the enemies of the League were Senator Lodge of Massachusetts, Senator Borah of Idaho, and Senator Johnson of California.

*Selections from the Sources.* (See bibliography to Chapter XXXIII.) Every school library should contain the valuable pamphlets published by the National Committee on Public Information during the War, particularly, the "War Information Series," and the "Red, White, and Blue Series." No. 1 of the former series, "The War Message and Facts behind It," and of the latter series, No. 9, "War, Labor, and Peace," are particularly valuable. A number of documents have been printed in the bimonthly pamphlets of the World Peace Foundation (40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston), which may be had for the nominal sum of 25 cents a year. Most useful among many useful ones are, "The Supreme War Council" (October, 1918) and "China, the United States, and the War" (July, 1919). A series of monthly pamphlets issued at the same nominal price by the American Association for International Conciliation (407 West 117th Street, New York City) includes the full text of the Treaty of Peace (No. 142).

Two histories of the war that are almost documentary have been prepared (1) by the *New York Times*, based on its Magazine *Current*

*History*, and (2) by *The Literary Digest*. Of American magazines for 1917 and 1918, with those mentioned already, *The Independent*, *The Atlantic*, and *The Historical Outlook* are especially useful. It should be unnecessary to mention the Annual Reports of the War and Navy Departments.

**Secondary Accounts.** Perhaps the most readable general narrative of the war is that of Frank H. Simonds. Frederick Palmer, a noted war correspondent, who was given a commission and attached to American headquarters, has published "America in France." It is semiofficial and gives a most interesting survey of the life and adventures of the American Expeditionary Force. More exact and scientific is "The American Army in Conflict," by two French officers, translated by Madame de Chambrun. The Story of the Navy, and of the Battle of the Atlantic, are admirably told in the Memoirs of Admiral Sims. As a compact manual of the problems confronting the Peace Congress, "The Roots of the War," by Davis, Anderson, and Tyler, is excellent. Good things in the same connection are "The New Map of Europe," by H. A. Gibbons; "From Isolation to Leadership," by J. H. Latané; "The Stakes of the War," by S. Stoddard and G. Frank; "The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson," by Robinson and Beard; "The League of Nations," edited by S. P. Duggan.

For the contrast of ideals, see "Conquest and Kultur" by Notestein and Stoll (issued by Committee on Public Information); "American and Allied Ideals" (War Information Series No. 12); Gauss, "The German Emperor as shown in his Public Utterances"; "The German War Code contrasted with the War Manuals of the United States, Great Britain, and France" (War Information Series No. 11); Giese, "German Autocracy and Militarism" (University of Wisconsin War Pamphlet No. 15); and a remarkable Danish book by J. P. Bang, translated by Jessie Bröchner, "Hurrah and Hallelujah."

Already the histories of particular divisions and regiments have begun to appear. Of individual experiences there is no end. By way of explaining modern methods of warfare, there is the "National Service Library," edited by Major Charles E. Kilbourne.

**Bibliographies.** So prodigal has been the output of war literature, that what both teacher and pupil will need most is reliable bibliographical aid. Of first quality is "Collected Materials for the Study of the War," by A. E. McKinley and others. Very useful is the "Handbook of the War," issued by The National Security League. "The United States at War, Organizations and Literature," compiled by H. H. B. Meyer, is an invaluable government publication. Excellent is the "War Cyclopedia" compiled by Paxon, Corwin, and Harding, "Red, White, and Blue Series." Every teacher should have "History and the Great War:

Opportunities for History Teachers" (Circular of the Bureau of Education, September, 1917, prepared by The National Board for Historical Service). A bibliography to be recommended is "Peace and Reconstruction" (World Peace Foundation, Vol. II, Special Number).

**Subject for Special Reports.** 1. Contrast of German and American Ideals. 2. The Military Situation in March, 1917. 3. The Submarine in this War. 4. Decisive Inventions of the War. 5. Modern Military Methods. 6. Trenches. 7. American Preparations in 1917. 8. Conscription in America. 9. American War Finance. 10. American Food Problems. 11. Welfare Organizations. 12. Life in the Trenches. 13. Life behind the Trenches. 14. The War in 1917. 15. The Russian Collapse. 16. The Italian Defeat. 17. The Supreme War Council. 18. The German Attack in 1918. 19. Shipping Our Army to France. 20. Foch's Strategy. 21. An American Action in France (detailed study of some one event, such as Belleau Wood). 22. A Problem of the Peace Congress (detailed study of some one issue, such as Shantung). 23. The Nature of the League of Nations. 24. President Wilson as a Diplomat.











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