

UNITED STATES
ITS PAST AND
PRESENT



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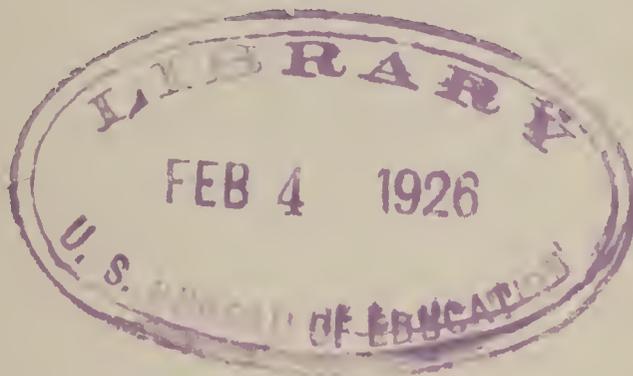
THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

UNITED STATES

ITS PAST AND PRESENT

BY
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AMERICAN BOOK COMPANY

NEW YORK

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PREFACE

A history must by all means be an accurate and dependable narrative; but it is perhaps of equal importance, if written for young readers, that it have the quality of instilling into the reader's mind a love of the subject.

History should be a life-long study; it is one of the few subjects that no one can afford to drop on leaving school, and yet it is a strange fact that many people dislike history because they had it in school. Neither text nor teacher had made it a living thing. It is not difficult to compile a dry-as-dust history text, but it is no easy thing to make a condensed narrative interesting. The author of this book has tried to do this, but must leave to others the verdict as to his success.

He has aimed to emphasize human interests and human action for the purpose of interesting the young reader, giving at the same time adequate treatment for a book of this grade of the more mature subjects such as tariffs, finances, foreign relations, and governmental problems. That the pupil may find it interesting to read and that the teacher may find it adaptable to class work is the sincere hope of the author.

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UNITED STATES ITS PAST AND PRESENT

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

It is a notable fact of history that but little more than 400 years ago nearly half the land area of the world was unknown to the inhabitants of the other half. To-day you can read in your morning newspaper what happened yesterday on the opposite side of the globe.

Shape of the Earth. — The ancients did not think of the earth as a vast globe swinging through space in endless revolutions. They believed the earth to be a flat surface, the land being surrounded by water, as it seems to be. It is true that a few learned men, even in ancient times, believed the earth to be a globe; but the masses of the people did not accept this view.

It was a Polish astronomer, Coper'nicus (1473-1543), who first taught that the sun is the center of our system and that the earth is a planet flying round the sun — at the rate, as discovered later, of nineteen miles a second, or ten times the speed of a cannon ball. When people came to believe in the spherical form of the earth they were confronted with other problems that were very puzzling indeed, such as how men could live on the opposite side of the world and walk with their heads “downward.”¹ It was thought that if the earth is a ball,

¹ The law of gravitation, according to which all bodies attract all other bodies, was taught by Isaac Newton (1642-1727). This law explains not only why loose objects do not fall away from the earth, but also why the moon revolves around the earth, and the earth around the sun.

Europe must be on the top and that the sides must slope downward in all directions. If, therefore, a ship should venture too far down the slope, the people believed, it would never be able to return. Other beliefs were that in the tropics the sea was so hot that the water boiled, that the ocean was the home of



OLD MAP OF NORTHWESTERN EUROPE

The picture illustrates the belief that in the Sea of Darkness there were monsters large enough to destroy a ship.

dreadful monsters, and that a gigantic bird hovered over the waters, a bird so powerful that it could carry a ship away in its talons.

Such fantastic beliefs no doubt had something to do with keeping sailors from venturing far out into the unknown seas, but they had for the most part been given up before the time of the discovery of America.

The Atlantic Ocean was known in the Middle Ages as the Sea of Darkness. For ages there had been a current belief, preserved in song and story, that there were lands unknown,



THE KNOWN WORLD AND TRADE ROUTES ABOUT 1490

somewhere, far away, beyond the rolling western seas, but no one had attempted to find them or to measure that boundless expanse of water. Man had only played, with his little craft, along its eastern shore.

I. AWAKENING OF EUROPE

Trade with the East. — A desire of the Europeans for closer relations with Asia gave them America. For centuries there had been various trade routes between Europe and the Far East, known as the Indies. The Indies at that time included India, Indo-China, the East Indies, and the two great countries called Cipan'go and Cathay' (Japan and China).

Two Italian cities, Ven'ice and Genoa (jĕn'ō-a), were the chief centers of European trade with the Orient. One of the

routes of trade was by way of the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to India; another was across the continent to Cathay, a route followed by caravans, the journey requiring several months.

Europe sent to Asia by these trade routes linen and woolen goods, coral, glass vessels, and wine. From the East the traders brought many things highly prized by the people of Europe — spices from the Molucca Islands, diamonds from Golconda; rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones, ivory and pearls; rich tapestries and silks from Cipango and Cathay.

The people of Europe believed that the Orient was a region of boundless wealth and that Cathay was a vast empire of towered cities and mighty rivers. One reckless writer declared that the greatest river in the world was in China and that on it there were more wealth and merchandise “than on all the rivers and seas of Christendom.”

Marco Polo. — Various travelers wrote accounts of their visits to the Orient; the most famous of whom was Marco Polo



A CARAVAN, OR COMPANY OF TRADERS, USED CAMELS FOR CROSSING THE DESERTS OF ASIA

of Venice. When still a boy Marco accompanied his father and his uncle on a journey across Asia. Over deserts and mountains they traveled with their camels and after many months reached Cathay. Here they remained for twenty years. As Marco grew to manhood he rose to great favor with the emperor, known as the Grand Khan, and became an official of the government.

When Marco returned to his native city of Venice he told to eager listeners again and again the story of his travels. At length the tale was put into writing and his book was called *The Book of Marco Polo Concerning the Kingdoms and Marvels of the East*. It told of the rivers and mountains, the wonderful cities, and the priceless treasures of the Orient; but the most important information it gave was, perhaps, the fact that a great ocean washed the eastern shore of Asia, for this knowledge had much to do, as we shall presently see, with the discovery of America.

Mohammedanism. — The prevailing religion in Europe was Christian, but in the seventh century a rival religion had come out of Arabia. Mohammed, the Arabian prophet, had founded a new religion and had advocated making converts by the sword. The Mohammedan armies, true to the doctrine of their master, swept over Arabia, forcing the people to accept the religion of Islam, as Mohammedanism is called. Next they conquered Palestine, then Egypt and all North Africa and Spain. Even France was sorely pressed until in the year 732, at the battle of Tours (tōōr), a Mohammedan army suffered a fatal defeat at the hands of Charles Martel'.

Europe was saved from Mohammedan conquest and gradually the followers of the prophet were driven out of Spain. But they never ceased to harass Christian pilgrims to the Holy Land and Christian traders with the Orient.

The Turks in Europe. — One of the most barbarous of the Mohammedan races was the Turks, an Asiatic people who sent armies across the narrow seas from Asia Minor to Europe.

They conquered Greece and most of the Balkan region. In 1453 the beautiful city of Constantinople, capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, was captured by the Turks. It has remained in their hands during all the centuries from that time to the present.

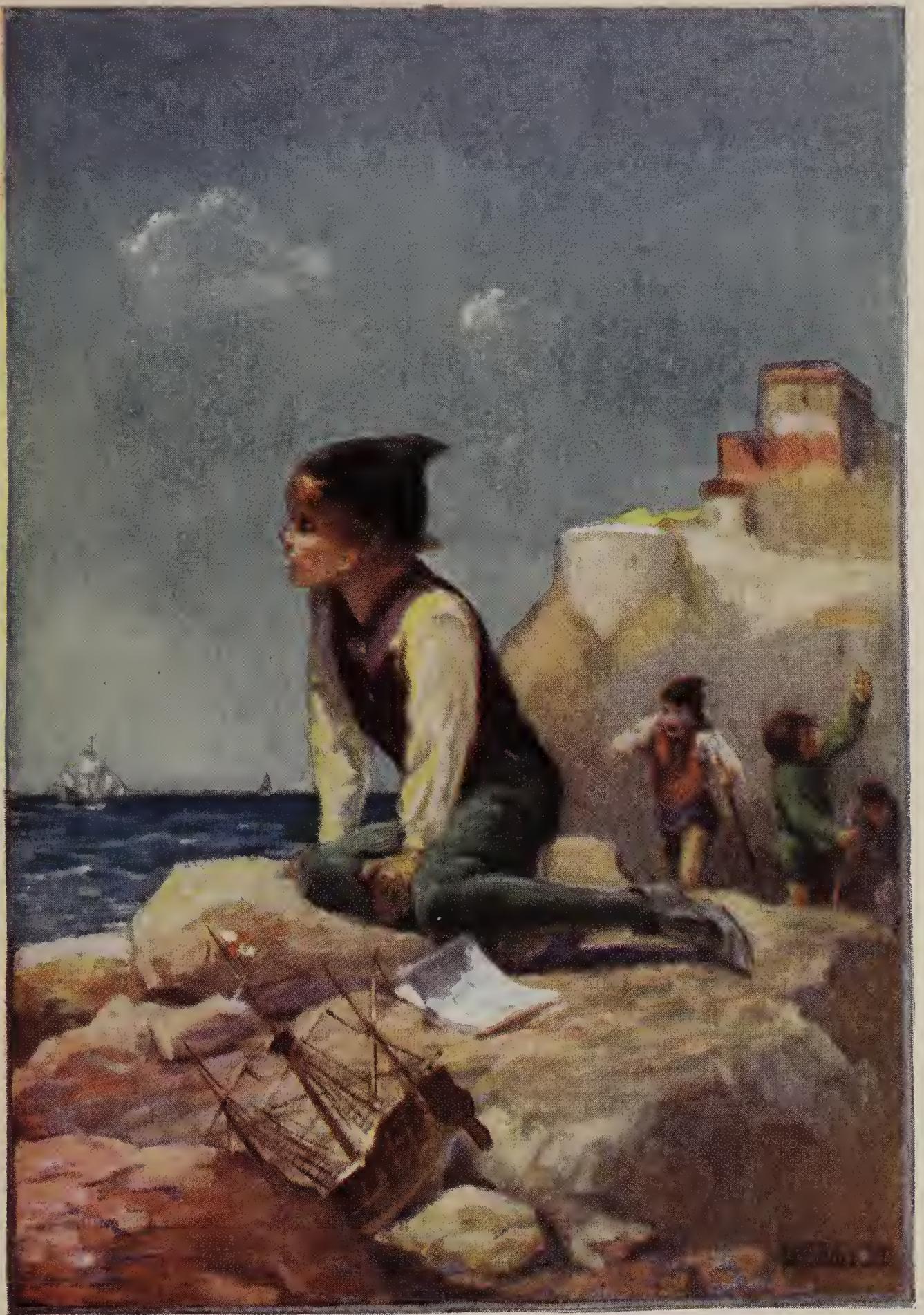
Having taken the city of Constantinople, the Turks cut off some of the trade routes to the Indies. The Europeans had become fond of the nutmegs and cinnamon, of the ornaments of gold and rubies and sapphires, of the beautiful rugs and tapestries that came only from the East. But what could be done? The terrible Turk stood in the way and refused to let the trader pass.

The Great Question. — Then rose the great question, “Can the East be found by going westward?” The wise men declared that the earth is a round ball and that the tale of Polo must be true that there is an ocean east of Asia. Might not this be the same ocean that was west of Europe? If so, surely the East could be reached by sailing westward. But who could be found so daring as to venture to cross the tempestuous Sea of Darkness? This brings us to the story of the most famous navigator in history — Christopher Columbus.

II. COLUMBUS

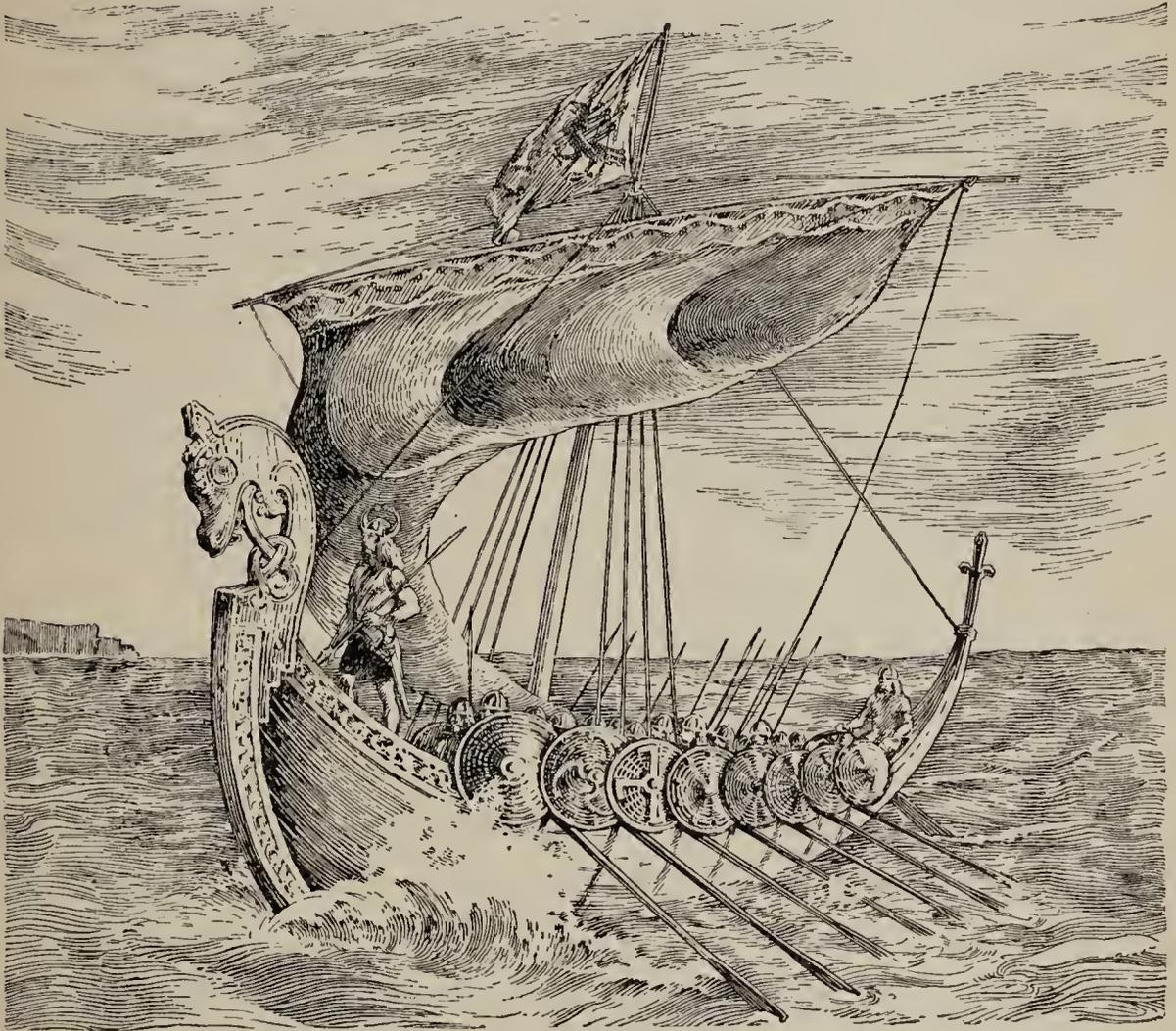
Early Life of Columbus. — In the beautiful Italian city of Genoa, on the northern shore of the Mediterranean, in the year 1446, Christopher Columbus was born. Many a time when a child he sat on the shore and watched the rolling billows, gazing at the ships as they came out of the far-off horizon and glided over the dark blue waters until they were lost again in the dusky haze. Christopher decided that he would be a sailor when he became a man; but he did not wait so long. By the time he was fourteen he was sailing upon the sea, and he was a skillful mariner before he reached manhood.

Columbus was not content with confining his voyages to the Mediterranean, great as it is; he sailed out into the broad



THE BOY COLUMBUS

Atlantic. He made a voyage down the African coast, and others to England and to the Canary Islands. On one occasion it is said he sailed far to the north, reaching the coast of Iceland.¹



A NORSE SHIP

¹ More than four centuries before Columbus was born the continent of North America was discovered by Leif Er'icsson, a Norseman, son of Eric the Red, who had planted a colony in Greenland. He was known as Leif the Lucky because he had rescued a shipwrecked crew.

In the year 1000 Leif Ericsson, with a crew of thirty-five men, made an exploring voyage in which he discovered the mainland of North America. His first landing was probably on the coast of Newfoundland. From here he cruised southward, touching, it is supposed, the coast of Nova Scotia and landing perhaps on the New England shore. Here he and his crew spent the winter and named the place Vinland (Vineland) because they found grapes growing wild. The exact spot where these Norsemen landed is not known. Some think it was in the vicinity of Cape Cod. For two centuries or more after Leif's voyage the Norsemen are said to have made voyages to the coast of America, where they traded with the Indians. At length these voyages ceased and were forgotten. But an

Besides being a dreamer and a daring seaman, Columbus was a diligent student of geography and navigation. He studied the winds and the seas and he read all the books he could get on geography. He was convinced that the earth is a sphere, and he came to believe that the ocean east of Asia must be the same as that which washed the western shore of Europe. If this were true, could there be any doubt about reaching Asia by sailing westward? Then came to him a great thought — why should not he be the one to make the first voyage to the Indies by sailing across the Atlantic? Perhaps it never occurred to him that the distance across this vast expanse of water might be too great; in reality it was thousands of miles greater than any one supposed, and in the midst of the ocean lay an unknown continent several times larger than all Europe, and extending unbroken from the icy waters of the Arctic Ocean across the world to the southern seas.

Columbus in Portugal and Spain. — Portugal at that time was the home of the greatest navigators in the world, and Columbus had left his native city and had become a resident of Lisbon. Before the king of Portugal Columbus laid his project of making a western voyage, but failing to secure the aid he needed, he went to Spain. For years Columbus tried to enlist the interest of the high officials of Spain in his proposed route to the Indies. He needed money to fit out vessels and the protection of a flag of some country under which he could sail with the feeling of safety. After nearly eight years of toil and discouragement Columbus decided to quit Spain and offer his plan to the king of France. He had already sent his brother to lay the project before the English king, but without success.

Spain at this time was under the rule of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. Again and again they had heard of the ambitious plans of the Italian navigator; but being in the midst

account had been kept of them in the Sagas, or legends, of Iceland, and these were published about a hundred years ago. If Columbus ever made a voyage to Iceland, it is doubtful if he heard of the discovery of Leif Ericsson.

of a long war with the Moors, — the Mohammedans in Spain, — they had given little heed. But at last the war was over. Early in the year 1492 the last of the Moorish cities, Granada (gra-nä'da), fell into the hands of the Spaniards and the Spanish flag was unfurled over the ruined walls of the Alham'bra. The whole Spanish people, including the sovereigns, were in a delirium of joy. Queen Isabella now signified her willingness to listen to the friends of Columbus. What glory it would bring to Spain if Columbus were successful; how slight would be the loss in case of failure! Here was the last opportunity. He was leaving the country to lay his plans before another sovereign. The queen was converted. She sent for Columbus to return, and raised money to fit him out for the voyage.

The Great Voyage. — Three small ships or caravels, — the *Niña* (nēn'yä), the *Pinta* (pēn'tä), the *Santa Maria* (sän'tä mä-rē'ä), — frail little craft that would hardly be called ships now, were fitted out; and with a crew of ninety men, on August 3, 1492, Columbus started from the Spanish seaport of Palos (pä'lōs) on the great voyage to find a new road to the Indies across the Sea of Darkness. He had the advantage of directing his course by means of the mariner's compass, a recent invention.

It was a weird scene on board those famous vessels, among the nondescript seafaring men, as they wept and prayed while the dim shore line faded in the distance and passed from view.

The truth began to dawn upon these simple-minded men, many of them forced into the service, that they were breasting a strange and boundless ocean, perhaps never to return. And so it proved for many of them. Repeatedly during the voyage the superstitious sailors fell into a state of hopeless dejection. On these occasions Columbus sought to fire their imagination with vivid pictures of magnificent cities in the Indies, the lands of riches and honor, of gold and jewels, the world's treasure house of wealth and splendor.

When they noticed that the trade wind was blowing them

steadily westward, their terror knew no restraint. But the crews and pilots realized that their only hope was to trust in Columbus, the great mariner. This alone doubtless saved him from fatal mutiny. Only the stern and masterful authority of Columbus, the courage that nerves a strong leader to stand inflexible and alone, saved the expedition from failure.

Land. — The strain was finally broken on the morning of October 11. Shore fish and land birds and floating plants proved



THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

that they were approaching land. All kept watch that night. About ten o'clock Columbus from the highest post of his ship beheld a light. It could only be on land. They sailed on until two o'clock in the morning, when a shore was clearly visible. The ships cast anchor to wait until morning.

What a glorious dawn was that of October 12, 1492, to Columbus and that little group of men about him, after weary weeks afloat in an unknown sea, as they rowed their little boats to the shore of this strange new land! But the scenes on the

island shore were amazing and mystifying. Columbus expected to find a civilized land with populous cities and cultured inhabitants. He found, instead, aromatic, primitive groves, fruits of strange varieties, vegetation of remarkable beauty, birds of rich and rare plumage, and above all, a strange race of men who covertly gazed in amazement at these visitors from another world.

On landing, Columbus knelt and kissed the ground, with tears of gratitude to God. Clothed in a rich scarlet robe and bearing the sacred cross and the colors of his adopted country, he took formal possession of the land in the name of the Spanish sovereigns. He named the place San Salvador.

The Indians, as Columbus called the natives because he believed he was in the Indies, soon emerged from their woodland shelter and approached nearer and nearer to these visitors from the white-winged birds (as the ships seemed to them), and even passed their hands over the clothing and arms of the white men, in wonder and astonishment.

After Columbus had cruised about for a time, discovering the islands of Cuba and Haiti, one of his ships was wrecked. Leaving about forty of his men, he returned to Spain to tell the news of his wonderful discovery.¹

Disappointment of Columbus. — Before leaving Spain Columbus had exacted a contract from the sovereigns, making him admiral of the sea and securing to him one tenth of the wealth that might be obtained by his discoveries. His title of admiral did him little service and the wealth he never gained. Instead, he won immortal fame, though he himself had no idea of the glory that would in future be attached to his name as the discoverer of a great new continent. After making three later voyages to America, Columbus died in 1506, believing to the end that the lands he had found were on and near the eastern shore of Asia.

¹ The men had a fort, and firearms, but they were killed by the Indians. Columbus never set foot on the soil of what is now the United States.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Describe the various beliefs in the Middle Ages concerning the shape of the earth. Name the trade routes from Europe to the Orient; the articles of trade. In what way did the Turks block the way? Who was Marco Polo?

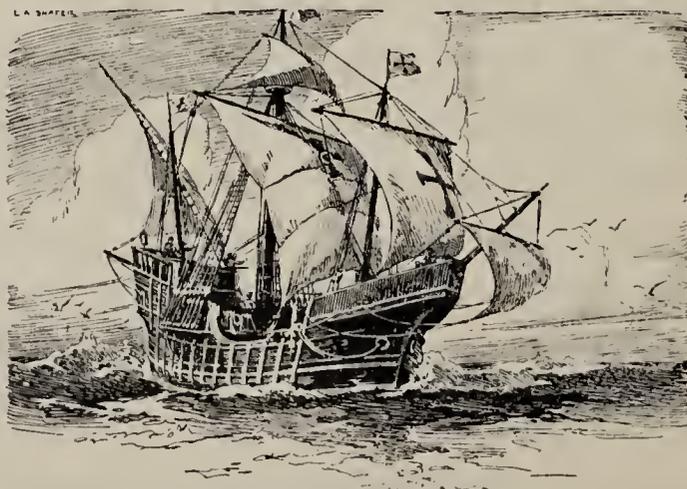
II. Give an account of the early life of Columbus; of his nautical training; of his experience at the courts of Portugal and of Spain. Tell something of Queen Isabella; of the Alhambra. (See cyclopedia, or other reference book in the library.) Write a comparison between ocean travel in the time of Columbus and at present. How did Columbus manage his crew? Describe the landing.

Events and Dates. — Discovery of America (West Indies) by Columbus, 1492.

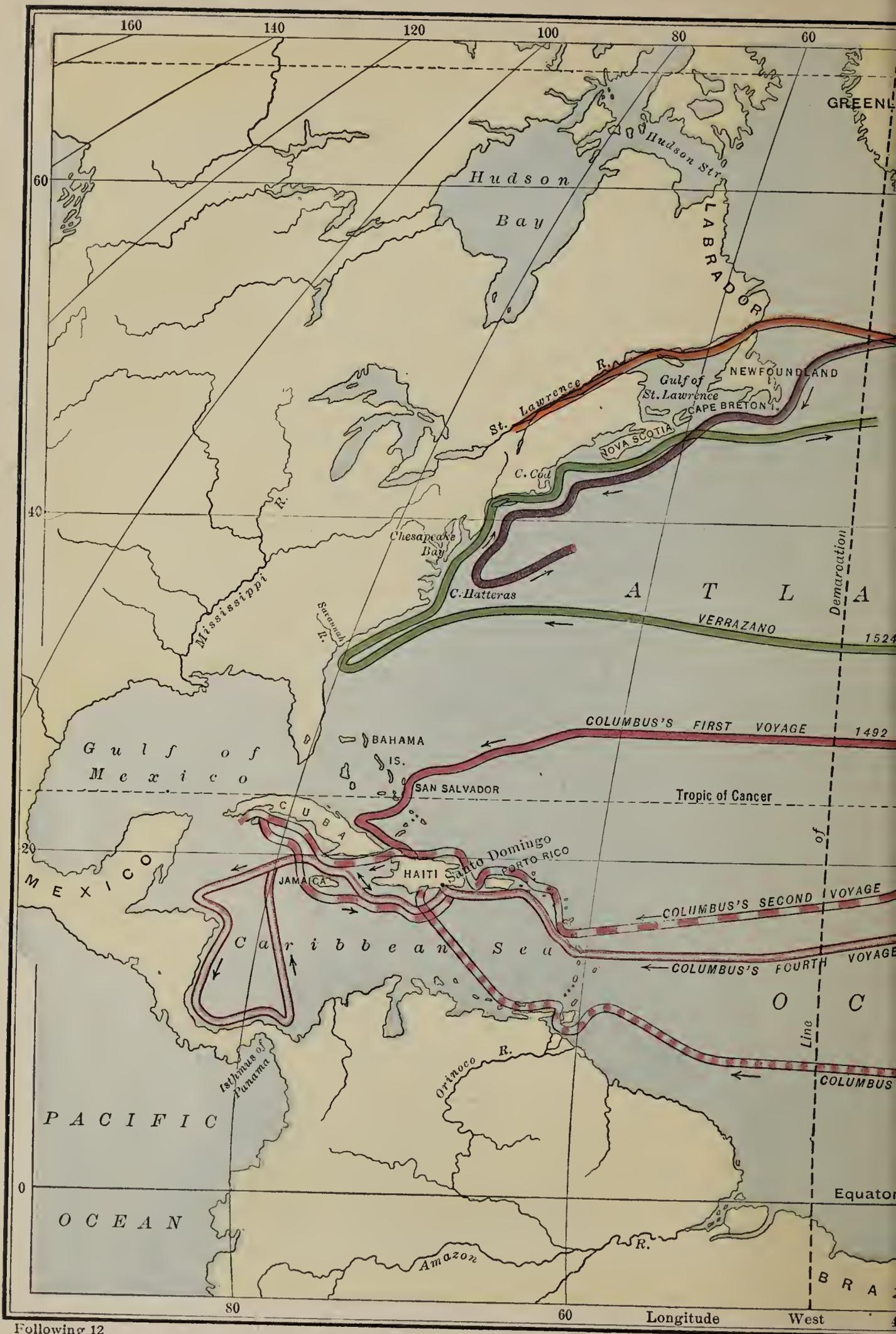
Further Reading. — Under this heading are cited books and articles that are most likely to be found in the school or home library. The chapter and page will usually be omitted because it is not difficult to find a subject by means of the index or table of contents.

FOR THE TEACHER: Fiske, *The Discovery of America*; Bourne, *Spain in America*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; HARRISSE, *The Discovery of North America*; Adams, *Christopher Columbus*; Avery, *History of the United States and Its People*, Vol. I; Cheyney, *European Background of American History*; Elson, *Modern Times and the Living Past*. The teacher should have in the library *American History Leaflets*, or *Old South Leaflets*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Coe, *Founders of Our Country*; Archer, *Stories of Exploration and Discovery*; Pratt, *Discoverers and Explorers*; Brooks, *Story of Marco Polo*.



A CARAVEL





IMPORTANT VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION 1492-1536

SCALE OF MILES

0 200 400 600 800 1000 1200

from Greenwich 20 0 Longitude East

CHAPTER II

EXPLORATION AND CONQUEST

THE serious geographic error of Columbus lay in his belief that the earth was smaller than it is, and that Asia was much larger than it is, so that a voyage westward from Europe to Asia would be only 3000 miles; and he did not know that a great unknown continent blocked the way. Other voyagers were equally ignorant of the facts.

During the years following 1492 many other voyages were made across the broad Atlantic, only a few of which need be mentioned here.

I. EXPLORING AND NAMING OF AMERICA

John Cabot. — John Cab'ot was the first to discover the mainland of America. He was a citizen of England, although, like Columbus, he was born in Genoa. With his son Sebastian he was sent out by the English king, Henry VII, in 1497. He reached Labrador and explored the Atlantic coast as far south perhaps as Cape Cod. On his return to England great honors were heaped on Cabot and crowds of people followed him about the streets of London. The king rewarded him for his discovery, by a present and a pension. It was this voyage and a later one by Sebastian Cabot that formed the basis of the English claim to North America, on which the English colonies there were founded.

Da Gama. — One of the famous voyages of the time was that of Vasco da Gama (väs'kō dä gä'mä), a young Portuguese. He sailed around Africa and through the Indian Ocean to India (1498), and returned with his ship laden with silks and spices and other precious things of the Orient. Da Gama had found what the western voyagers were seeking — a passage

by water to the Indies — and for a time he attracted more attention than any of them.

Voyage of Americus. — In 1500 Cabral, a Portuguese navigator, in a voyage to the Indies, swung too far westward and touched the coast of Brazil. This was a real, though accidental, discovery of America. There is thus no doubt that America would have become known to Europe even though Columbus had never lived. The next year, the king of Portugal sent out three ships under Amer'icus Vespu'cius to explore the coast which Cabral had reported. Reaching the coast of Brazil, Americus sailed southward along it for several hundred miles, and to the mouth of the Plata River. The long coast line south of the Equator convinced Americus that he had found a new continent. His description of it was published in Europe and created a great sensation. He was hailed as the great discoverer of the time. Columbus, who was supposed to have discovered only small islands and poor parts of Asia, was almost forgotten.

Naming the New World. — A few years later a German professor issued a book on geography in which he suggested that the new continent be called America in honor of its discoverer. The name was applied at first only to Brazil, later to all South America, and still later to North America also. In the midst of the excitement over the new continent, Columbus died, neglected and alone. It was left for a later age to award to him the honor of being the true discoverer of the New World.

Balboa. — In one of the Spanish voyages in the western world, a young man named Balbo'a had stowed himself away in a barrel. When he emerged from his hiding place a few days out at sea, the irate captain threatened to leave him on the nearest island. But Balboa was spared and later we find him at the head of a colony in the Isthmus of Panama'. Here the colonists received many trinkets of gold from the Indians, who knew nothing of using the metal as money.

The Spaniards melted the trinkets and quarreled over the division of the metal. The son of a chief then told them that



BALBOA CLAIMING THE PACIFIC OCEAN

Bronze tablet in the building of the Pan-American Union, Washington, D.C.

since they put so high a value on the yellow stuff they had better go to a land in the far south across a great wide sea where gold was so plentiful that it was used for dishes. Balboa was thrilled. He crossed the isthmus and beheld from a hill the “great wide sea,” a boundless watery plain.

It was the Pacific Ocean, the greatest body of water on the globe, that Balboa had discovered. As he was looking southward at the time, he called it the South Sea, and this term came into common use, so that it appears in our early colonial charters.

Magellan’s Ship Sails round the World. — Of all the voyages of that period of discovery, the most wonderful, unless we except that of Columbus, was the voyage of Magellan (ma-jěl’an). With five small ships, Magellan set out under the Spanish flag, in September, 1519, in an attempt to reach the Indies by sailing west. Reaching Brazil, he cruised southward along the coast to Patagonia and spent a southern winter in that remote region.

The little fleet encountered frightful storms as it made its way through the long passage now known as the Strait of Magellan; but on reaching the vast expanse of water that Balboa

had called the South Sea, Magellan found it so calm and peaceful that he named it the Pacific Ocean. For months he sailed westward upon it. The food supply gave out; the men ate the leather rigging of the ships, and many of them died of starvation. At length they sighted a group of islands, where they could get food and water.

They discovered also the Philippine Islands, where they had a fight with the natives, and their intrepid commander was among the slain. Magellan, however, won undying fame because one vessel of the five, and fifteen of the 254 men, succeeded in returning to Spain, thus circumnavigating the globe for the first time. Never after this voyage could an intelligent person doubt that the earth is a globe.

II. CORTES AND MEXICO

For a hundred years after the discovery of America, Spain took the lead in New World activities. The chief objects of the Spaniards were three — to seek adventure and glory, to obtain gold, and to convert the native Indians to Christianity.

Cortes in Mexico. — One of the most remarkable expeditions in history was that of Cortes against Mexico in 1519. Cortes was a Spanish soldier of fortune, a man of steel nerves and intrepid leadership.

With a little army of 450 men, fifteen horses, and a few cannon, this man conquered an Indian nation, one of the most advanced among the nations of the New World. The Aztecs of Mexico were making a beginning of civilization. It is true that they oppressed their neighbors and offered human sacrifices, but they had built goodly cities and were learning to express their thoughts in a rude form of writing.

Landing on the eastern coast of Mexico, Cortes scuttled his ships to remove from his men all hope of return. He then started on his perilous march toward the city of Mexico. The native tribes along the mountain route gazed in wonder and superstitious dread, especially at the horses and the firearms, never

having seen such things before. When the Spaniards arrived before the city of Mexico they were received with great pomp. The Aztecs believed that the Spaniards were gods and fell in adoration at their feet. Taking advantage of the simple confidence of the people, the treacherous Cortes planned their conquest and destruction. By false pretense he secured the person of Montezuma, their sovereign, and put him in irons. He burned alive many who revolted against him.

Mexico was a splendid city of perhaps 60,000 people. They deposed Montezuma and, under his succes-

sor, revolted. Cortes and his handful of Spaniards with their firearms, including a few cannon, slew thousands of the natives. In a few years the whole country was subdued and its wonderful treasures of gold and precious stones were seized.

This was the beginning of Spain's supremacy in Mexico, which was to continue for three hundred years. Cortes became the first Spanish governor, but later fell into disfavor with the Spanish king and ended his days in solitude in Spain.

III. EXPLORING THE UNITED STATES

As this book is to be a history of the United States we must not dwell too long on events in other parts of the New World. The United States as it is now, comprising the heart of North



AZTEC CALENDAR STONE

A huge stone dial by which time was calculated very accurately. It was discovered in Mexico city in 1790 and was placed in the outer wall of the Cathedral.

America, extending from ocean to ocean and from the Canadian border to Mexico, presented a wonderful field for the explorer.

Ponce de Leon. — One of the first to explore our coasts was Ponce de Leon (pōn'thā dā lā-ōn'), who had been with Columbus on his second voyage. Hearing that there was a spring of magic waters, a fountain of youth, somewhere among the Baha'ma Islands, De Leon spent many weeks in quest of it. On Easter Sunday (*Pascua Florida* in Spanish), 1513, he reached the mainland and named the country Florida. But he grew old and died as other men and never tasted the waters of the fabled fountain.

De Soto. — Far more picturesque and dramatic than the expedition of De Leon was that of Hernan'do de So'to, nearly thirty years later. De Soto, the son of a Spanish nobleman, was a daring and reckless adventurer, trained in all the chivalry of the Middle Ages. In the spring of 1539 with an army of nearly 600 men and more than 200 horses, he sailed from Cuba in search of a land of gold. The men were armed with swords and muskets and steel armor. Many of them were of rich and noble families. The decks of their ships were a scene of music and gayety as they plowed the southern waters to their landing place, at Tampa Bay, little dreaming of the hardship and disappointment that were before them.

Three and a half years they traversed the great forested southern plains; they crossed rivers, they waded swamps, they fought many a battle with the red warriors. Through sickness and war their numbers dwindled month by month until more than half of them had found graves in the wilderness. They lost their horses and continued their journey on foot; their clothes wore to tatters and they dressed themselves in skins.

Battle of Mauvila. — One of the battles fought by De Soto and the Indians was among the greatest that ever occurred on American soil between the two races. It is known as the battle of Mauvila (mou-vē'lä). It was fought probably on the banks of the Alabama River. Great numbers of the Indians were slain; but a large number of the Spaniards also were killed or wounded.

The Great River. — After the battle of Mauvila De Soto was a changed man. No longer the blithe step and the proud bearing of the cavalier; he was dejected and morose. Some of his men urged that he turn back and give up the fruitless search for gold; but he seemed to be determined to find the treasure that he sought or die in the attempt. His army was crippled and every hope seemed blasted, but, strange as it seems, De Soto was yet to do the one thing that gave him a permanent name in American history — to discover the Mississippi River.

The Spaniards first saw the great river at a point where it was a mile and a half in width, with logs and whole trees floating on its surface. But they cared nothing for the great discovery; they were seeking gold. Making rafts, they crossed the river and wandered beyond it for more than a year.



SPANISH EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Death of De Soto. — When they returned to the river, De Soto's health was undermined, and he soon passed away. To prevent his body from being disturbed by the Indians, his men sank it at midnight in the depths of the great river which he had discovered.

The survivors floated down the Mississippi on rude rafts, forlorn, dejected, penniless. In September, 1543, they reached a Spanish colony in Mexico.

SIDE TALKS

Other Explorers of the United States. — In 1528 Pan'filo de Narvaez (dā nār-vä'āth) with four ships and about 400 men, explored the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. The expedition was most unfortunate. Many were killed by the Indians; Narvaez was drowned near the mouth of the Mississippi River. At length but four were left, Cabeza de Vaca (kā-bā'thä dā vä'kä) and three companions. These wandered about for eight years, traveling over two thousand miles, crossing the continent, and finally reaching a Spanish settlement on the western coast of Mexico.

De Vaca and his companions told wonderful stories of their travels. One of these stories was of seven cities of Cib'ola, of which they had heard, said to contain vast treasures of gold. Coronado (kō-rō-nä'thō), governor of a province in Mexico, raised an army of over a thousand men, two thirds of whom were Mexican Indians, and went in search of these cities. He discovered many Indian Pueblos of the Southwest, the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and penetrated as far northeastward as the Kansas River, or perhaps as the valley of the Platte. But he found no gold, lost many of his men, and returned to Mexico broken-hearted.

The fact that the Spanish explorers of what is now the United States found no gold will probably account for the fact that no important Spanish settlements were made within it.

Story of Pizarro. — Francisco Pizar'ro was another of the Spanish gold-seekers, daring and adventurous to the last degree. He could not read or write. With Balboa he had stood on the hill and gazed with wondering eyes on that vast expanse of water that came to be called the Pacific Ocean (p. 15). Pizarro had also heard the son of the chief tell of the wonderful country far away in the south where gold was used in making dishes.

Fired by the great success of Cortes (p. 17), Pizarro determined to make an expedition to that far-off land of gold. The country was called Peru, and was owned by a rich Indian tribe, the Incas. In spite of incredible hardship, Pizarro and a band of men armed to the teeth ascended the

Andes to the home of the Incas. One of his followers was De Soto, who later discovered the greatest of North American rivers (p. 19).

When the Indians heard of the coming of the strange white visitors, clad in shining armor and wielding deadly "thunderbolts," they were amazed. They believed that the newcomers were descendants of the gods.

The Spaniards were heartily welcomed by the Inca emperor. A day or two later they seized him and imprisoned him in a room twenty feet long by seventeen feet wide. When asked how much gold he would give for his freedom, he made a mark on the wall as high as he could reach, declaring that his people would fill the room to that mark.

Pizarro accepted the offer and for months thereafter the Indians scoured the country and brought in thousands of ornaments and vessels of gold. The room was filled almost to the mark — more than fifteen million dollars' worth — and the Spaniards divided the plunder among themselves, after sending a share to the king of Spain.

Would that this were the end of the story! Pizarro and his men decided that the emperor should not have his freedom, but should be burned at the stake for certain crimes they alleged against him, one of which was that he had not accepted the Christian religion. The emperor, now utterly subdued, consented to be baptized. For this his sentence was commuted: he was choked to death with a bowstring in the public square.

Laden with gold, Pizarro returned to Spain. By the king he was appointed governor of the conquered Peru. He proved a tyrannical ruler and in 1541 was killed by some of his own men whom he had oppressed.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Who sent John Cabot on his famous western voyage and what were the results? To what dynasty did Henry VII belong? What is a dynasty? (See dictionary.) How did this western continent get its name? Why is Balboa remembered? Write an account of the voyage of Magellan — in about 150 words.

II. Describe the expedition of Cortes and its results; of Pizarro. What was the chief object of these men?

III. What was the quest of Ponce de Leon? Why did he name the country Florida? Why is De Soto remembered in American history? Name a few other explorers and their expeditions.

Events and Dates. — Cabot's discovery, 1497. Naming of America. Ponce de Leon in Florida, 1513. Magellan's voyage begun, 1519. Cortes conquers Mexico, 1519-1521. De Soto discovers the Mississippi, 1541.

Further Reading. — Same as in preceding chapter.

CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

I. A NEW RACE OF MEN

OF all the discoveries made by the Europeans when they first came to this western world, the most wonderful was the new race of their own human kind. The Indian race was probably as old as any other; we call them a new race because they were hitherto unknown to civilized man.

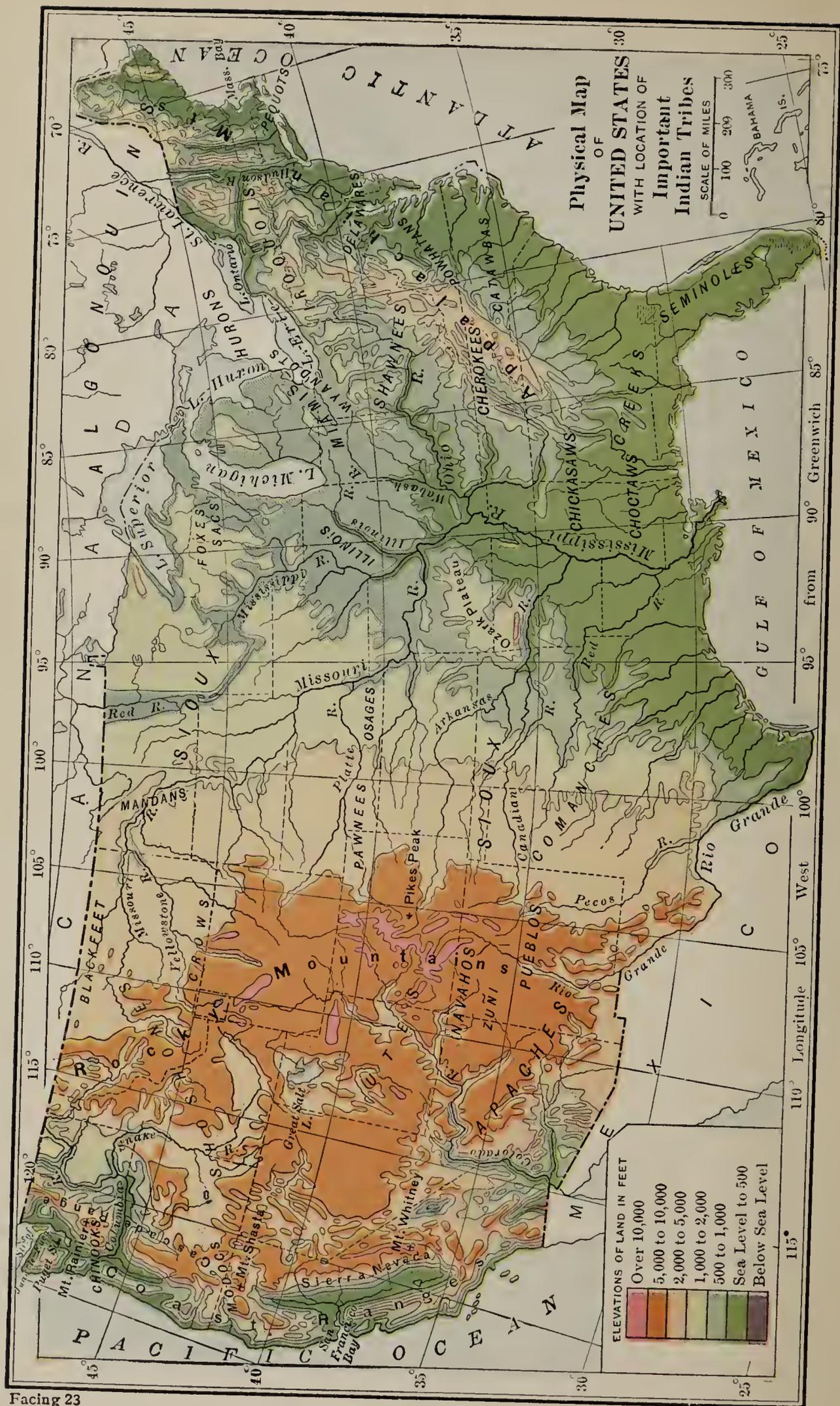
A Prehistoric People. — The Indians were a race of barbarians, living in prehistoric times. They had not written their own history. How many hundreds or thousands of years they had occupied the land, or where their ancestors had come from, they did not know. And to this day these questions remain unanswered.

For a long time it was believed that the Indians were preceded by a race called the Mound Builders, because of the many strange mounds found in Ohio and other states. But it is now believed that these mounds were built by the ancestors of the Indians.

In color the Indians, excepting the Eskimos, differed from all other peoples. They are often called the Red Men; but they are rather copper-colored, or cinnamon-brown. They are tall and athletic, with high cheek bones, deep-set eyes, scanty beards, and coarse, straight, raven-black hair.

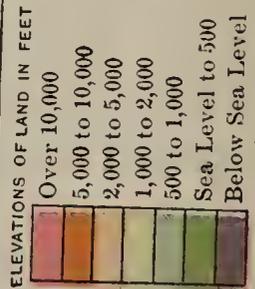
The Indians were scattered thinly over all America — from ocean to ocean, and from the Arctic seas to Patagonia. In what is now the United States, probably there were never at one time more than half a million Indians — less than one tenth the present population of Ohio.

Nations and Tribes. — The Indians of North America were divided into a large number of national groups, known from

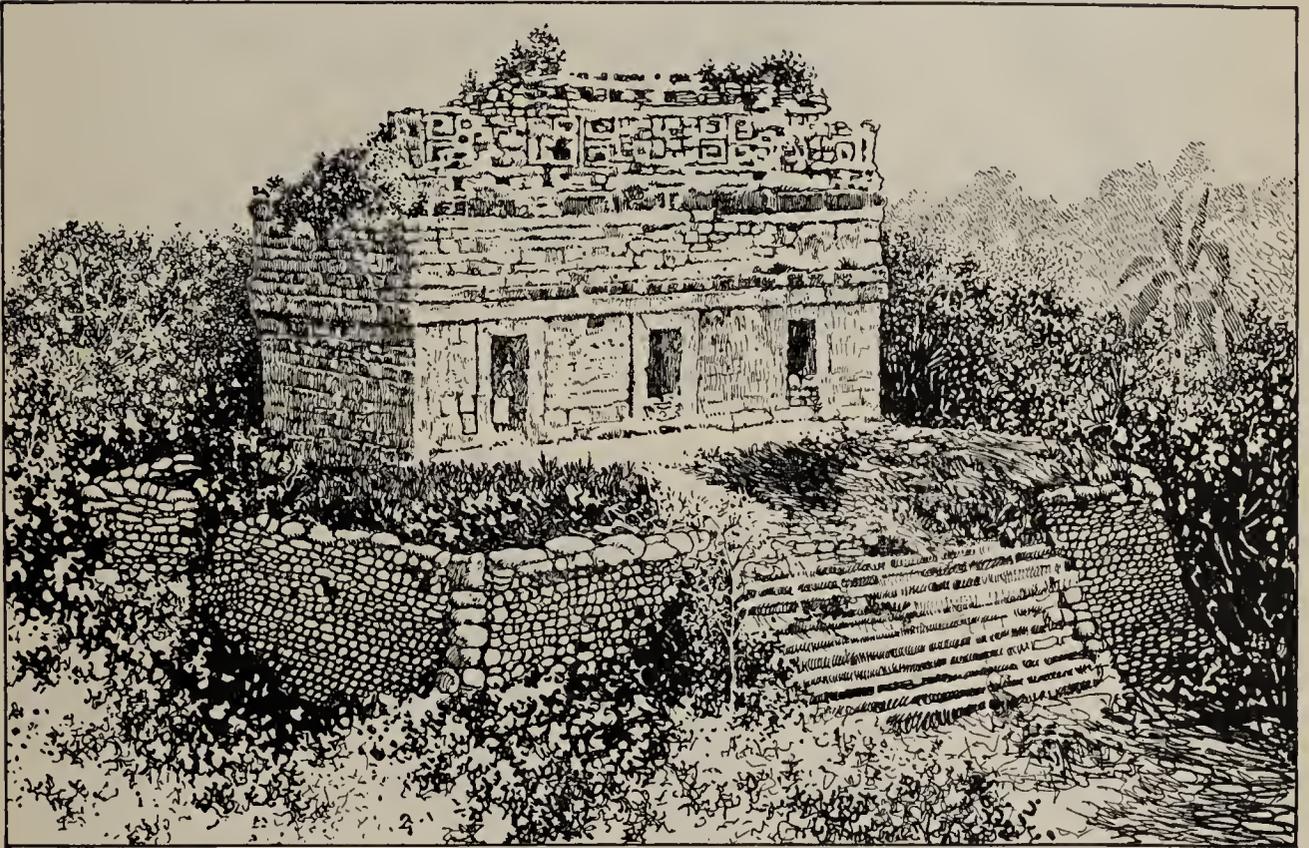


Physical Map
OF
UNITED STATES
WITH LOCATION OF
Important
Indian Tribes

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300



one another by differences in language. These groups were divided into tribes, and each tribe was made up of several clans. A clan was composed of related families. Each clan was known by the sign of a fox, a wolf, a bear, or other animal, called its totem. The clan had two leaders — the sachem in time of peace, and the chief who led in war.



CHICHENCHAT (THE RED HOUSE) AT CHICHENITZA, YUCATAN

An ancient Maya dwelling in excellent preservation. The Mayas, as well as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, had a civilization higher than that of the Indians in what is now the United States.

One of the great Indian national groups was the Iroquois (īr-ō-kwoi') whose chief dwelling place was central New York, though some of its tribes extended into Canada, the Ohio Valley, and the South. The famous Five Nations — the Mo'hawks, the Oneidas (ō-nī'daz), the Ononda'gas, the Cayu'gas, and the Sen'ecas — were Iroquois. Later they were joined by another tribe, the Tuscaro'ras from the South, and were then known as the Six Nations.¹ The Iroquois were fierce and warlike. They

¹ The pupil should not try to remember the names of all the tribes.



TEPEES OF THE SHOSHONES, A WESTERN TRIBE

lived in long houses, each accommodating several families, and cultivated the soil.

The Iroquois were surrounded on nearly all sides by the Algon'quins, the most widely extended of the Indian national groups. They occupied New England, a great portion of Canada, and large sections of the Mississippi Valley and the South. Among them were the Pequots, the Delawares, the Shawnees', the Sacs, the Foxes, and the Blackfeet. To the Algonquin group belonged many of the famous Indians of history — including King Philip, Pon'tiac, and Tecum'seh.

The Muskhoge'an group occupied a large portion of southeastern United States. Its leading tribes were the Creeks, the Choc'taws, the Chick'asaws, and the Sem'inole. West of the Mississippi River lived the Dakotas or Sioux (sōō), the Shosho'nes, the Zuñis (zōō'nyēz), and many tribes of many other groups.

The Indians of the various parts of the continent had little or no knowledge of those in distant parts. Even the tribes of the same national group were usually strangers and hostile to

each other. Here and there we find an exception. The Six Nations, for example, formed a loose union and acted in harmony in war and peace.

II. INDIAN HOME LIFE

Wigwams; Dress; Customs. — Most of the Indians lived in movable tents, called wigwams or tepees. These were made by setting up a circle of saplings, bending them so as to meet at the top, and covering them with skins or bark. The floor of the wigwam was the bare ground. There were no chairs or tables or beds. The family slept on the ground on a bed of leaves or grass, wearing the same clothing that they wore during the day.

Not all Indians lived in wigwams. The Iroquois built long houses of wood and bark. The Mandans constructed circular



PUEBLO DWELLINGS

A small part of a great apartment house. The word "pueblo" means village. Most of the Pueblo dwellings were of clay, but some were of stone.

houses of wooden framework, covered with hardened earth. The Pueblos in the Southwest built strong houses of sun-dried brick, several stories in height; a single house was occupied by many families.

Men and women dressed in the skins of animals taken in the chase. The women, or "squaws," dressed the deerskins, planted and cared for the corn, beans, and pumpkins, gathered wild berries, and prepared the meals. The only kind of work the men did, aside from the stern business of war, was to hunt and fish, and to make bows and arrows and tomahawks. But the men accepted the meals, however scanty, without murmur, for the women ruled the wigwams. Sometimes the man would sit in his tent or near it and gaze on the ground for many hours without speaking. Again, he would talk freely of the chase or the battlefield, or would retell the stories and legends that had been handed down in his tribe from generation to generation.

The squaws, while gathering berries or working in the fields, carried their babies, or "papooses," strapped on their backs, and in case of danger they could flee without delay. The Indian girls as they grew older became a help to their mothers; while the boys soon learned to imitate their fathers, to disdain all work except the chase and the making of bows and arrows. With wonderful skill the Indian boy could send the swift arrow into the tree tops and bring down birds and small game. By the time he reached manhood he was well trained for his life-work — that of hunter and warrior.

Religion. — The Indians believed that there were invisible spirits all about — in the trees and rocks and animals. Some were good and some were evil, and the Indians prayed to both. They believed in a Great Spirit who brought the thunder and the rain, who made the grass and corn to grow and the water to flow. But this belief is said to have been acquired by them after they met with the white people.

Games and Sports. — An Indian village or camp was a lively and noisy place. The children ran and chased one another among

the wigwams, laughing and shouting in their glee. Sometimes the boys engaged in sham battles, using switches and mud balls for weapons. They divided into two parties who attacked each other with mock ferocity, with shouts of terror and fury, often keeping up the battle for hours, until both sides were exhausted.

The little girls made rude dolls, out of scraps of deer-skin perhaps, and they often made little tents of sticks and played housekeeping. The boys and girls seldom played together, each having their separate games.

One of the most common games among all classes was the ring and stick game. A large ring made of rawhide was rolled swiftly along a straight course. The players had sticks about five feet long. The game was to start at the point from which the ring was hurled, run after it, overtake it, and throw a stick through it while running. Each time the ring was thrown it was followed by two runners representing opposing sides.

The dance was a popular ceremony among the Indians, and one of the few in which both men and women engaged. To attend the dance they painted their faces and wore their best clothing. If a man had no fine robe, he painted his body with vari-colored mud and wore only a breech-clout and moccasins in the dance. The music was a weird, monotonous song often pitched in a minor key and accompanied by a drum and rattles. The men sat on one side of an open space and the women on the other. Sometimes a man or woman would dance alone for



SQUAW WITH PAPOOSE



GHOST DANCE OF INDIANS IN 1890

This dance, as practiced by Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull, led to the Messiah War — the last Indian war in the United States.

an hour or two, leaping and twisting the body in all shapes and always in harmony with the music. Others would at length join, one at a time, until the space was covered with dancers.

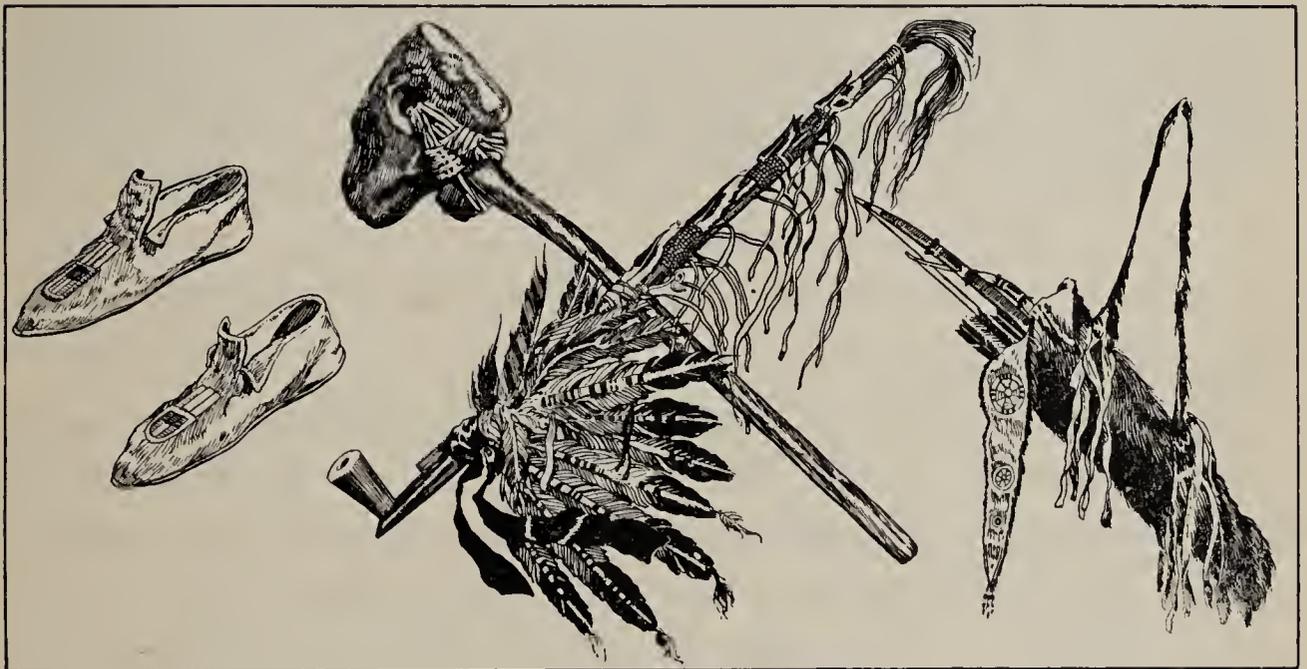
One of the most hideous of the Indian dances was the snake dance, common to some tribes, in which each dancer held a live snake between his teeth. Another was the scalp dance, held to rouse enthusiasm before going to war. The scalps of enemies killed in battle were arranged on a pole and around it the warriors would leap and yell like madmen.

The wrestling game was widely practiced. A whole village would gather in an open place. At first the small boys would wrestle. The victor would then join in a match with the next larger boys. So the match progressed until the strongest men had measured their strength with one another. The girls and

women would then go through the same process until one woman stood forth as the victor of her sex.

Weapons and Tools. — Most of the Indian tribes knew nothing of the use of metals and little of making pottery before the coming of the white man. They made the bow and arrow, as all primitive races do. They made a stone battle-ax, called a tomahawk; they also used wooden spears. Their knives were made of bone or sharpened flint. They cooked their food in the open fire or in wooden pots in which the water was heated by putting in hot stones. But much of their food was eaten raw.

The Indians were fond of ornaments. They wore strings of beads made of shells or seeds and adorned themselves with plumes and feathers. Their moccasins and leggings were often beautifully ornamented with beads and fringes.



INDIAN EQUIPMENT

Moccasins, pipe, tomahawk, bows and arrows in a quiver.

Where the Indians cultivated the ground their implements were crude indeed. The plow was nothing but a sharpened or forked stick. They could uproot weeds, but without a plow or spade they were powerless, in the northern parts of the United States, against encroaching grass. Many a village migrated

from their home of years because the grass took possession of their corn patches.

Perhaps the finest single product of the Indian was the birch bark canoe. It was very efficient and so light that it could be carried from one river to another. It has been improved but little to this day.

III. MAKING A LIVING; PEACE AND WAR

Products of the Soil. — The chief source of Indian livelihood was hunting and fishing, but many tribes cultivated the soil in a rude way. Three products of the soil, then unknown to the rest of mankind, now used all over the world, are purely of Indian and American origin. These are corn or maize, potatoes, and tobacco.

The Indians also raised beans, pumpkins, and squashes, picked berries and dried them for winter use, and gathered wild rice and acorns; but many a time a tribe on the verge of starvation in winter would eat roots and weed seed.

The lakes, rivers, and small streams furnished an abundance of fish and the Indian had various ways of catching them. But the great source of food for the Indians was the wild game of the forests and the plains.

The Indian Hunter. — The Indian surpassed all other men in his knowledge of the woods and of the habits of animals. His skill in capturing wild animals without firearms was astonishing. He could imitate the gobble of the wild turkey, the bark of the fox or wolf, or the whistle of a bird, and deceive those creatures in their own abodes. He could disguise himself with the antlers and skin of a deer and approach within easy arrow shot of a herd of deer.

A herd of buffalo was often captured in the following way: The Indians would make a V-shaped stockade on the edge of a precipice. Gradually they would round up the herd within the stockade and then suddenly the whole tribe, men, women, and children, would set up an unearthly yelling and with stones

and clubs rush toward the stupid animals, driving them over the cliff. Perhaps nine tenths of them would be killed in the fall. The Indians would then skin the animals and “jerk” the meat, that is, peel it off in thin strips and dry it in the sun for future use.



INDIAN LIFE

Seneca Hunter Group in the New York State Museum, Albany.

The Indian as a Warrior. — The wild Indian considered the art of war the noblest of his accomplishments. From childhood he was trained, even in his play, to become a warrior. The Indian was unsurpassed in his power of endurance, his capacity for suffering. Without food or rest or sleep he could travel on foot a hundred miles over plains and mountains. If captured by an enemy and tortured to death, he uttered no cry of pain, he was defiant to the end, he chanted his death-song with his last breath. While kind and faithful to a friend, the Indian was fierce and terrible in war.

Here and there various tribes lived in friendly relations as did the Five Nations of Iroquois; but these were exceptions. The usual condition of most of the tribes was a state of war, though years might pass without their meeting in combat.

An Indian battle was not a carefully planned meeting of two armies; it was rather a series of skirmishes, of hand-to-hand encounters. A warrior would not meet his foe in the open if he could attack him by surprise. Lurking in a copse or ravine or at night in a dark shadow, he would wait till his enemy came near and then spring upon him with a piercing war-whoop. Prisoners taken in war were usually put to death, as with all barbarous peoples. Some of the captives, however, especially women and children, were adopted into the tribe of the victors, not as slaves but as equals.

Slavery among the Indians was almost unknown for the reason that they had not reached a stage of civilization at which slavery could be profitable.

The Indians were at almost constant war with one another and this fact was the cause of their final defeat at the hands of the white men. Had the Indians been united and determined to retain their possession of the land, it would have been very difficult indeed for the whites to gain a foothold in America. No settlement could have succeeded unless accompanied by an army.

IV. INDIAN CIVILIZATION

The Indians of North America were not savages, except in a few regions, as about Hudson Bay. They were barbarians, having risen above the savage state. Many of the tribes had no fixed home; they wandered about in search of better food supplies, though seldom more than a few hundred miles.



INDIAN PICTURE WRITING

Many tribes had devised a crude form of picture writing and had made a few implements and ornaments, but their stage of civilization was not high. How long it had taken them to reach it may never be known. It is

Many tribes had devised a crude form of picture writing and had made a few implements and ornaments, but their stage of civilization was not high. How long it had taken them to reach it may never be known. It is

uncertain whether the Indians, if left to themselves, would have risen, as Europe rose, to a highly civilized state. They did not seem to be an aspiring people. What was good enough for their fathers was good enough for them.

When the white man came and offered the Indians what he had, they accepted his guns and knives and ornaments; but they rejected his books, his schools, and his machinery. Four centuries of contact with the white man have not wrought a great change in the Red Man. Even the civilized Indians of to-day do not seem to possess that sleepless desire for progress that characterizes the Caucasian race.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What can you say of the origin of the Indians? Of the Mound Builders? Describe the Indian as to color and physique. Why was the country so thinly inhabited? Name a few of the great Indian groups of tribes.

II. Describe an Indian wigwam. How did the Indian men spend their time when not at war? The women? Name and describe some Indian sports. What weapons and tools did the Indians make?

III. What products now widely used are of Indian origin? Describe the Indian as a hunter; as a warrior. Why did not the Indians hold slaves?

IV. What is the difference between a savage and a barbarian? What is meant by civilization? What did the Indians readily accept from the whites? What did they reject?

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Eastman, *The Indian To-day* (Doctor Eastman is a Sioux Indian who writes intelligently of his own people); Morgan, *American Aborigines*; Brinton, *The American Race*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Eggleston, *Stories of American Life and Adventure*; Eastman, *Indian Boyhood*; Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*; Brinton, *American Hero Myths*; Wilson-Driggs, *The White Indian Boy*. The last-named is the story of a boy (Wilson) who spent several years with the Shoshone Indians. It is one of the most fascinating Indian books ever written.

CHAPTER IV

THE SOUTHERN ENGLISH COLONIES

I. ENGLAND AND SPAIN

FOR nearly a century after the discoveries of Columbus and Cabot the people of England gave little heed to the New World. They were busy at home with great questions of religion and government; it was in this century that the Protestant Reformation took place in western Europe, resulting in the withdrawal of the Protestants from the Roman Catholic Church, of which the Pope was (and is) the head. France also, rent with religious wars, for a time took little interest in exploration.

Spanish Claims. — Spain meantime had almost full sway in the New World. The Pope had drawn a Line of Demarcation, giving all the new lands west of a certain line to Spain and all east of it to Portugal; and it happened that by this division (as altered by treaty between Spain and Portugal) Spain received all of America except Brazil. On this ground and on the discoveries of Columbus and others, Spain laid claim to almost everything in sight and a great deal that was not in sight.

Francis Drake. — Both France and England later disputed the extravagant claims of Spain to the New World. For many years Spain and England had been rivals and at times enemies. Even when they were at peace the English did not hesitate to plunder and destroy Spanish vessels and settlements. The England of that day was noted for her reckless rovers of the sea, chief of whom was Sir Francis Drake, who thought it not robbery to capture Spanish vessels laden with treasure from Mexico and Peru. Drake made a voyage around the world, ending in 1580, and eight years later he took a prominent part in that momentous event, the defeat of the Spanish Armada (är-mā'da).

The Spanish Armada. — Great was the consternation in England when, in July, 1588, it was known that the Armada, the greatest fleet ever yet seen in Europe, was approaching the coast of Cornwall. One hundred and thirty-two ships, bearing 30,000 men and 3000 heavy guns, came in a grand crescent several miles in extent.

The English rose to the occasion, Catholic and Protestant alike. But no army was needed. Not a Spanish ship made a landing and not a Spanish soldier set foot on British soil. The English fleet, commanded by such "sea dogs" as Drake, Martin Frob'isher, and Lord Howard, was composed of smaller vessels, but they were swifter and had better guns than the clumsy Spanish men-of-war, many of which were sunk. The remainder sailed up the North Sea and around Scotland in their effort to return to Spain, but a terrific gale sent some to the bottom. Only half of them returned to Spain, battered and hopeless.

The defeat of the Armada marked the beginning of the end of Spanish greatness. It has been called the opening event in American history, for it broke the Spanish dominion of the sea and enabled the English to plant colonies in North America.

Walter Raleigh. — The father of English colonization was Sir Walter Raleigh (rô'lî). Raleigh was a great favorite with Queen Elizabeth. As a youth he won her favor by throwing his cloak in the mud for her to step on while walking down a street. The ambition of Raleigh's life was to plant a successful colony in America, and the queen granted him a charter for the purpose.

In 1585 Raleigh sent out a colony of men who settled on Roanoke (rō-a-nōk') Island, off the coast of North Carolina. But they fell into distress and would have perished had not Francis Drake happened to come their way; he carried them back to England. They brought back with them, as Spanish explorers had already done, potatoes and tobacco, both unknown in Europe before the discovery of America.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

An engraving from a painting by Zuccherò. Note the finely pleated lace ruff worn at the neck, the embroidered doublet, and the sash. These garments were the fashionable dress of a gentleman of Queen Elizabeth's time.

be sent to Roanoke. Then it was too late, for not a member of the colony was ever again seen or heard of. It is known as the "Lost Colony."

II. FOUNDING OF VIRGINIA

Raleigh had shown the way and his efforts had awakened a desire to colonize the new lands of the West.

English Motives. — The motives of the English for colonization were various. Their own little island was overpopulated and the coming of peace with Spain had thrown numbers out of employment. Like the Spaniards, they hoped to find gold and hoped to convert the Indians to Christianity. To them also a romantic love of adventure appealed and there was a patriotic desire to build up a great new empire beyond the seas. A

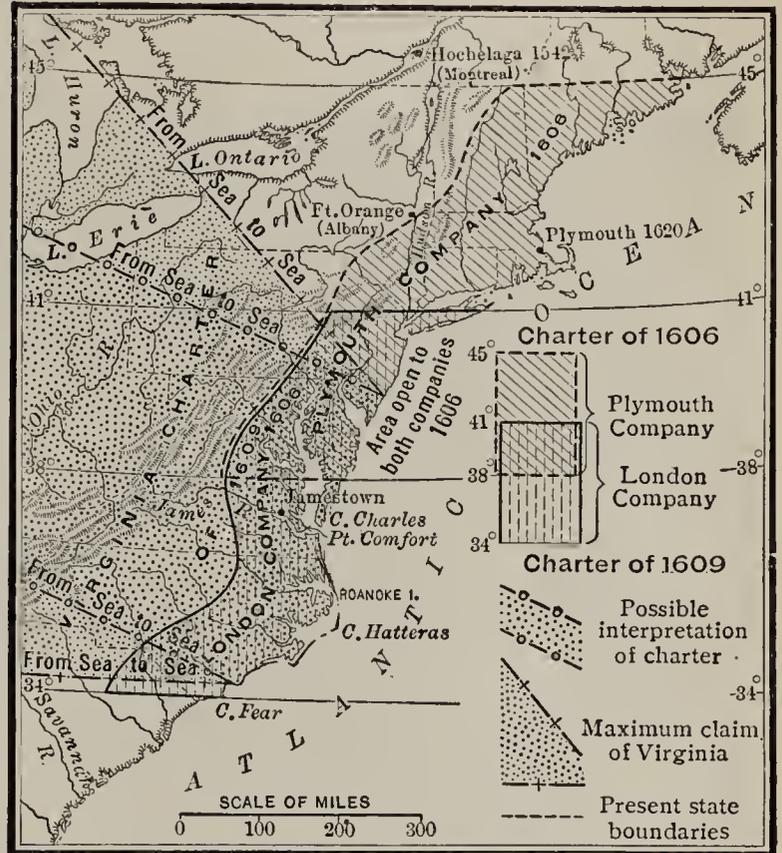
The Lost Colony. — A second colony, of 108 men, women, and children, was sent out by Raleigh in 1587. They settled on the same island. John White was the governor of the colony. Here was born Virginia Dare, a granddaughter of Governor White, the first English child born on the soil of the United States.

Governor White found it necessary to go back to England for supplies. Then came the Spanish war and the Armada. Three years passed before a relief ship could

little later one of the mainsprings of colony-building was a wish to escape religious persecution at home.

The new land had been named Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, called the virgin queen, and the name applied at first to nearly all the eastern part of what is now the United States.

In 1606, King James, who had succeeded Queen Elizabeth on the English throne, granted a charter for colonizing America to two great companies, known as the London Company and the Plymouth Company. Each had permission to plant a colony, but their settlements were to be at least one hundred miles apart. It was the London Company that settled Virginia.



GRANTS UNDER THE CHARTERS OF 1606 AND 1609

Founding of Jamestown. — In December, 1606, in three small sailing vessels, one hundred and five men embarked for the land they had never seen, beyond the wide Atlantic. They spent four months battling with the wintry sea. In April, 1607, they landed at the mouth of a beautiful river to which they gave the name of their king. Thirty miles from its mouth they founded a town which was also named for their king, Jamestown.

John Smith. — Few of the colonists were fitted for the new conditions of life. They suffered from illness, from want of food, and from the hostility of the Indians. Before six months had passed, two thirds of them had died. All would have perished but for the vigor and energy of John Smith, a picturesque figure in the early history of America. Smith put the

men to work, secured food from the Indians, and for two years governed the colony in a masterly way. (Side Talk, p. 48.)

The colony of Virginia increased from time to time by the coming of other settlers, and when John Smith returned to



· CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

From an engraving in Smith's
Description of New England.

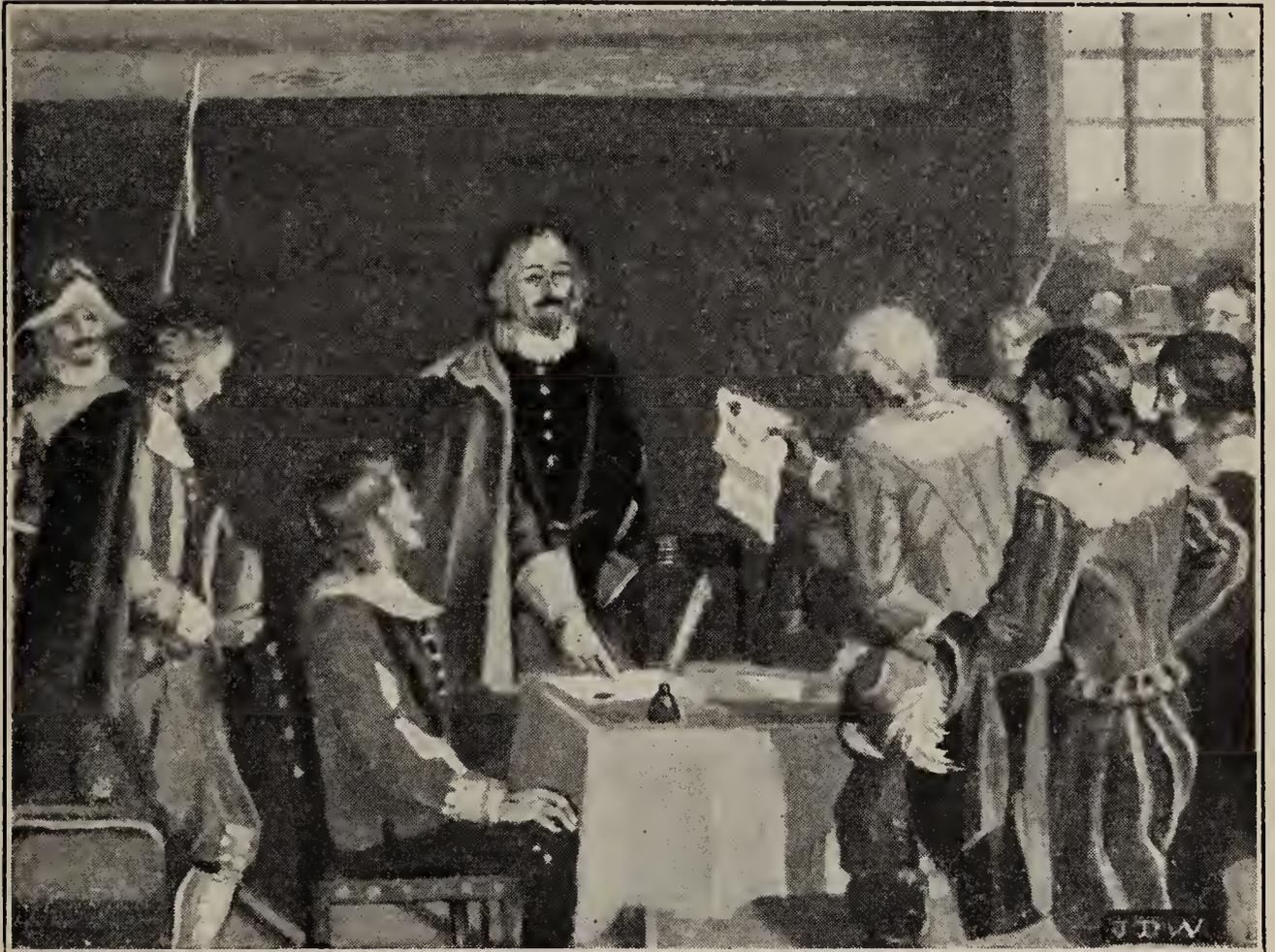
England in 1609 he left 500 people in the colony. But the most trying time in the life of Virginia was yet to come. The winter following Smith's departure was the "starving time." The people ran out of food and in half a year 440 of the 500 people died of illness and starvation.

Lord Delaware. — The remaining sixty, utterly discouraged, decided to make an effort to reach England in four pinnaces that were left them. They bade good-by to Jamestown and floated sadly down the river. They spent the night on a small

island. Imagine their astonishment next morning when they saw three ships sweeping into the river. It was the fleet of Lord Delaware, who had been made governor and was bringing with him a year's supply of food and many new colonists. Had he come a day or two later, Virginia might have been another "lost colony," for it is doubtful if the colonists could ever have reached England in their little pinnaces. Now they went back with Delaware, and Virginia, whose life had hung on a thread, began to thrive.

A few years later many wise reforms were introduced by Sir Thomas Dale, one of the best governors the colony ever had.

Virginia was governed at first by a governor and council of colonists who were under a higher council in England. Jury trial was guaranteed and the death penalty limited to a few of the worst crimes. The charter was changed twice and made more liberal, but for the first twelve years the people had no part in their own government.



THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES, VIRGINIA, 1619

The first colonial legislature in America met in the chancel of the church at Jamestown, July 30, 1619.

Events of 1619. — A very important change came in the year 1619, a great year in the history of Virginia. It was decided that the people, now numbering about 4000, should have a hand in making their own laws. A legislature was elected by the people; it was composed of 22 men and was called the House of Burgesses. This was the beginning of self-government, a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

And the same year, but a few weeks after the burgesses met, a Dutch vessel brought some negro slaves and sold twenty of them to the colonists. Thus began the baneful institution of slavery in English America. It spread to the other colonies as they were founded, and for more than 200 years it increased until it became a menace to the unity of the nation.

Flourishing Virginia. — The Virginia or London Company lost its charter in 1624 and Virginia became a royal colony; that is, the king appointed the governor, who, with the burgesses, made the laws. The colony flourished, surviving two dreadful Indian massacres. It was the home of a happy and prosperous people. Tobacco came to be the staple product and was even used instead of money. Europe quickly acquired a taste for tobacco and there was always a good market for it.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the ancestors of George Washington, James Madison, James Monroe, John Marshall, and, a little later, of Thomas Jefferson, came from England and made their homes in Virginia.

Virginia prospered greatly as the years passed. By the end of its first century more than 100,000 people had made their homes in the colony — and others were still coming, not only English, but also in later years Germans, French, Irish, and Scotch-Irish. The people lived a simple rural life, most of them being tobacco planters.

III. MARYLAND

The second of the permanent southern colonies to be founded was Maryland, so named in honor of Henrietta Maria, the wife of King Charles I. The founder was Cecilius Calvert, known as Lord Baltimore. Maryland was the first of the proprietary colonies; that is, it was founded by a man instead of a company and he was called a proprietary, or, as we should now say, a proprietor.

Lord Baltimore. — The whole plan for the founding of Maryland was conceived by the first Lord Baltimore, George Calvert.

But before his charter was issued he died. His son Cecilius inherited the title of Lord Baltimore, and the charter was granted to him (1632).

Two years later, Leonard Calvert, the first governor, appointed by his brother Cecilius, arrived with the first colonists, about two hundred in number.

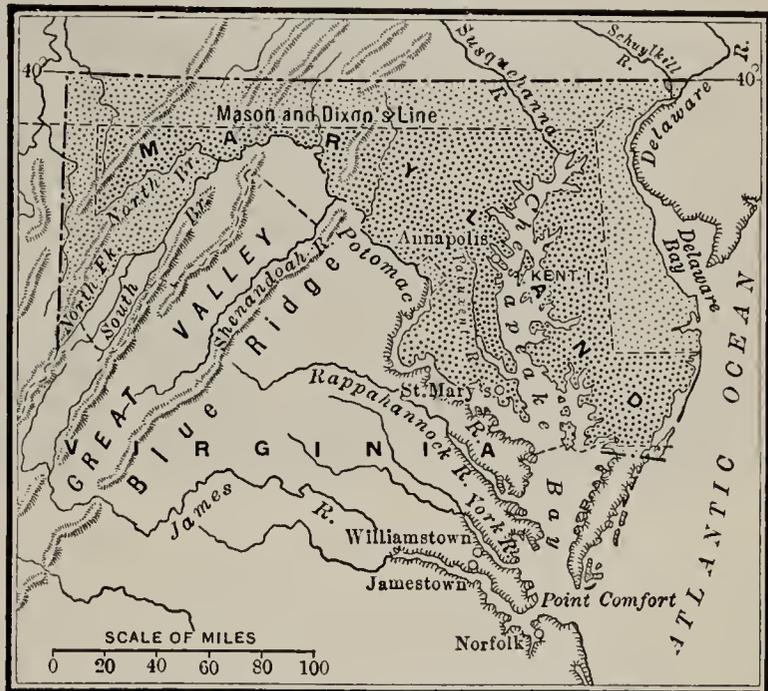
They settled near the mouth of the Potomac. Thus Maryland was founded (1634).

The Maryland Colony.

— Lord Baltimore, like his father, was a Roman Catholic, and one of his objects in founding the colony was to secure a refuge for those of his own faith, who were persecuted in England at this time. But he invited Protestants to join the colony also, and many of the first settlers were Protestants.

The charter had given Lord Baltimore almost kingly power in the new colony. He could declare war and make peace, appoint officers and pardon criminals. To show that he was still a subject of the king and not a sovereign, he was required to send the king two Indian arrowheads each year; and if gold was mined in Maryland, one fifth of it was to be sent to the king. But none was ever found.

One clause in the charter would have prevented the proprietor from becoming a tyrant or absolute monarch if he had been inclined to be such. It provided that in making laws and laying taxes he must have the consent of the freemen, or citizens. This was a long step in advance as compared with the first government of Virginia.

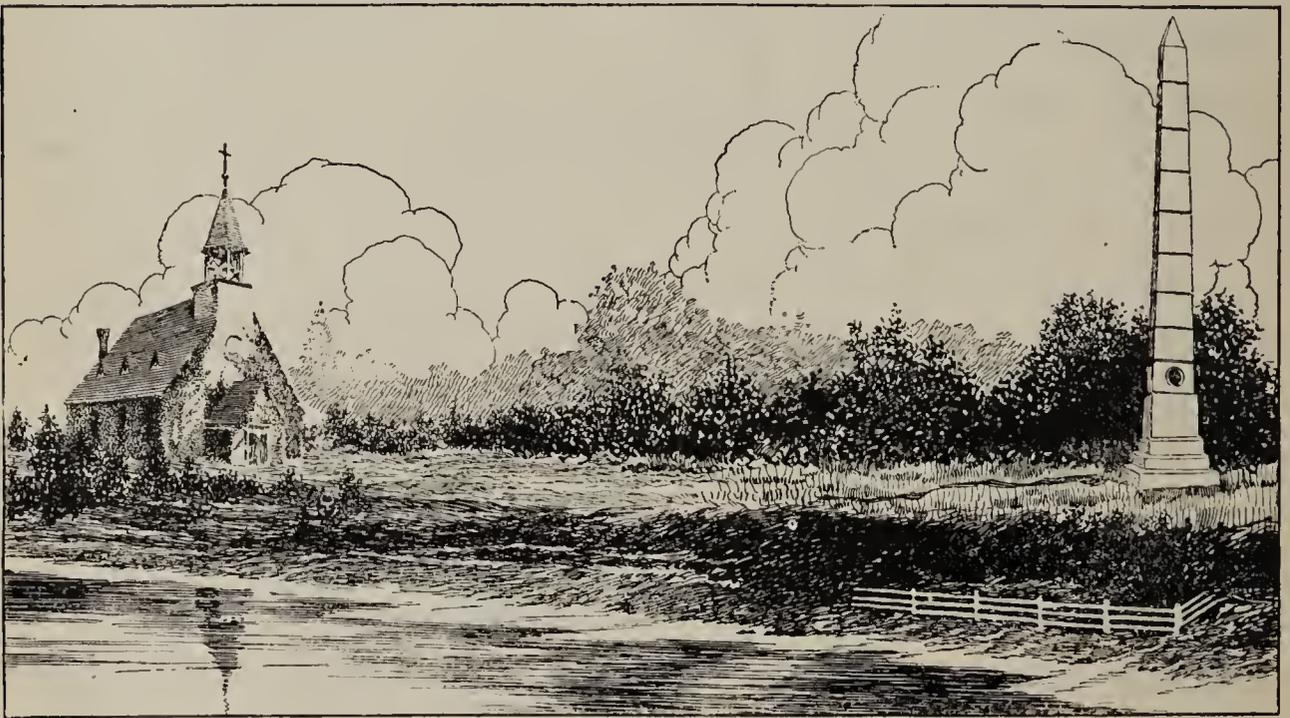


MARYLAND

Baltimore was a man of stanch character and humane principles. His treatment of the Indians was similar to that of William Penn of a later date, and the result was that Maryland was for a generation free from Indian wars and massacres.

Maryland grew and prospered. The Protestants came to have a majority in the colony. During the civil war in England, in which the king was defeated and put to death, and Oliver Cromwell was made master of the country, Lord Baltimore might have lost his charter had he not been careful to appoint a Protestant governor of Maryland.

The Toleration Act. — The year in which the king of England was beheaded, 1649, witnessed the passing in Maryland of one of the most famous and important laws ever enacted in colonial America. It is known as the Toleration Act. Intol-



SITE OF ST. MARY'S, THE FIRST SETTLEMENT IN MARYLAND

Trinity Church was built here in 1824, of the bricks of the first State House, which stood almost on the spot. The monument is to Leonard Calvert.

erance was the rule in Europe and in America. No one seemed to know, as we know, that it is possible for people to live together in peace and harmony even though they do not have the same beliefs and forms of worship. The Toleration Act was a

new thing to America and almost to the whole world. It forbade any persecution of Christians — either Catholics or Protes-



GREAT SEAL OF MARYLAND

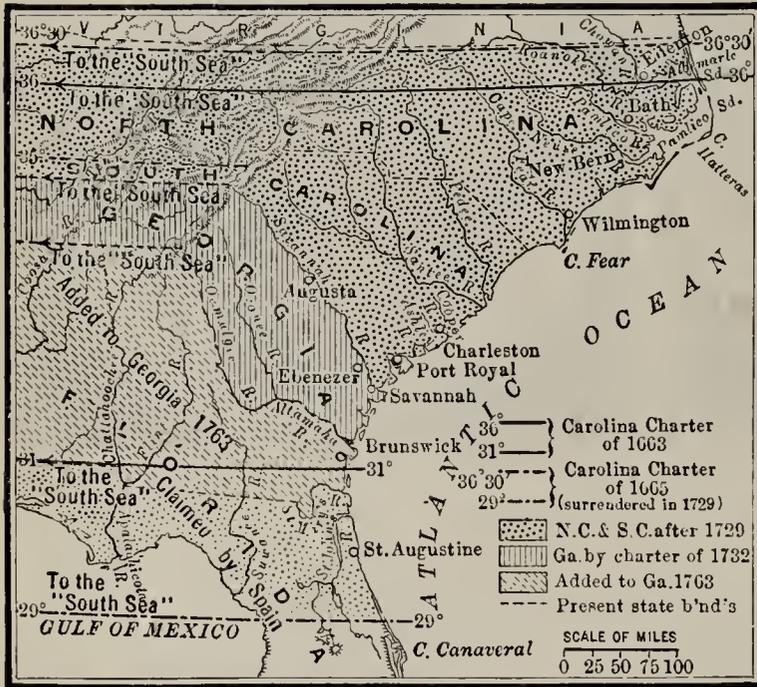
The seal was sent out by Lord Baltimore; it was used by the colony, and since 1876 the state has used the same design. The Latin inscriptions read "Cecilius, Absolute Lord of Maryland and Avalon, Baron of Baltimore" and "Thou hast crowned us with the shield of thy good will." The Italian motto means "manly deeds, womanly words."

tants — on account of their religion. It did not apply to Jews or others who were not Christians; but it was a long step in the right direction, in the direction of complete religious liberty such as is now enjoyed in nearly all civilized countries.

By the end of the century Maryland had nearly 40,000 inhabitants. But alas for the dream of the Calverts! They had founded the colony chiefly as an asylum for oppressed Catholics; but the time came when only one twelfth of the people were of that faith and they were refused the right to hold office. Lord Baltimore was deprived of the colony by the Protestant sovereigns, William and Mary (1691), and later it was restored to the Calvert family only after the fourth Lord Baltimore had become a Protestant. Maryland meantime had adopted a law making the (Protestant) English Church the established church of the colony.

IV. THE CAROLINAS

Early Settlements. — The immense region between Virginia and Florida was called Carolina. In early times the French had attempted to settle along the coast of Carolina; the Spanish had driven them out, but could not themselves occupy the land. Nearly a century had passed when the English came and made it their own by planting colonies upon it.



THE CAROLINAS AND GEORGIA

The first permanent settlement was made by Virginians on the banks of the Roanoke and Chowan' rivers in a district called Al'be-marle, in 1653. A few years later a band of New Englanders settled at the mouth of the Cape Fear River. This colony was broken up after a few years, and the Albemarle colony increased very slowly.

Far more important was the colony founded by Englishmen in 1670 on the banks of the Ashley and Cooper rivers (so named after Lord Ashley Cooper). The colony was in the same year increased by the coming of a group of English settlers from Barba'dos, in the West Indies. This settlement, some three hundred miles south of Albemarle, was destined to grow into the city of Charleston, one of the leading cities of colonial America.

The Grand Model. — King Charles II in 1663 gave a charter for the vast region known as Carolina, to a number of his favorite noblemen. These men attempted to introduce there a new and strange form of government called the Fundamental Constitutions. It is also known as the "Grand Model." It

provided that an American class of nobles be created to have the entire control of the government of Carolina; and that the common people were to have no voice in making the laws. But the liberty-loving Americans would have none of it, and every attempt to introduce such a government proved a failure. One of the objects of the colonists in coming to America was to get away from the system by which one man is born into a higher class than another.

People of Carolina. — The inhabitants of Carolina increased slowly in numbers. They had great obstacles to contend with. They had to battle with hostile Indians at times, and with the dense frowning forests with its wild animals. Only a brave and vigorous people could have succeeded at all. But the soil was fertile, the climate was mild even in winter, the forests furnished game, and the rivers abounded in fish.

Charleston and other towns along the coast built up a fine sea trade with Europe, New England, and the West Indies. The ships that sailed into Charleston harbor brought manufactured articles and sailed out laden with raw materials, such as furs, indigo, rice, and the products of the forest. As time passed the back country came to be settled. The hills and mountain slopes were dotted here and there with the clearings and log cabins of the hardy pioneer.

Before the end of the century many Quakers and other English settlers came to Carolina; also many Scotch-Irish, and Germans. Strong, industrious farmers they were, who came for the purpose of making permanent homes for themselves. Most of them avoided the coast towns and scattered through the wilderness.

The Huguenots. — Then came the French Protestants, called Huguenots (hū'gē-nōts). Their king had decreed that they



HUGUENOT MERCHANT



HUGUENOT MERCHANT'S WIFE

Note the quaint head-dress.

should not practice their religion in France and even forbade them to leave the country. But many of them escaped and some found their way to Carolina. Like the German Lutherans, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and the Quakers, the Huguenots were sturdy, industrious, and deeply religious, and many people of our country to-day are proud to be their descendants.

For more than half a century Carolina was a single colony. In 1729 the proprietors surrendered their rights to the king, and the colony was divided into two parts — North Carolina and South Carolina.

V. GEORGIA

The Youngest Colony. — The last of the thirteen colonies to be founded was Georgia. It is noted here because it belongs to the southern group. The British Parliament voted ten thousand pounds to aid in founding this colony, though it gave no help to any of the others. There were two reasons for this: first, the colony was intended to relieve the poor and unfortunate; and second, the founder was himself a member of Parliament and a man of great influence — James O'glethorpe.

A great portion of Carolina south of Charleston and north of Spanish Florida was wild and uninhabited. What a fine opportunity for planting a new colony! So thought James Oglethorpe, who, while serving in Parliament, had become greatly interested in prisoners for debt. Why not release a number of these unfortunates, take them across the sea, and give them another chance?

A company of men secured a charter for twenty-one years; they gave the new country the name Georgia in honor of the king, George II, and they made Oglethorpe the first governor. With thirty-five families he embarked upon the stormy sea.

They reached Charleston in 1733 and proceeded southwards to the Savannah River, where, on a beautiful bluff not far from the sea, they founded the city of Savannah.

Slaves; Liquor; Newcomers. — The charter excluded slaves and liquor; it granted religious liberty to all except Catholics; but it denied the settlers the right to vote. The year after the landing of Oglethorpe about forty families of Salz'burger from southern Germany, persecuted for their religion, sailed up the Savannah and joined the new colony. They built a town farther up the river and called it Ebene'zer. Still later came Scotch Highlanders and Moravians, the latter a sect of German Protestants.

Oglethorpe himself brought more than two hundred new settlers from England (1736). Among them was John Wesley, the future founder of the Methodist Church, who came as a missionary to the Indians; but he did not remain long in Georgia.

Changes in the Colony. — In 1743, Oglethorpe returned to England. The colony was hard to manage. The people wanted slaves and rum. They soon had a trade with the West Indies in rum. And as to slavery, when at the close of the century there were about 50,000 people in Georgia, about half of them were negro slaves. In 1752 Georgia became a royal province.



STATUE OF OGLETHORPE, SAVANNAH,
GEORGIA

SIDE TALKS

The Story of Pocahontas. — The Indian tribe nearest the Jamestown settlement was the Powhatans'. The white settlers soon came to know the chief and his little daughter, a comely lass named Pocahon'tas, who often visited the colony. Now the chief had a brother who hated the whites and, through his influence, John Smith on one of his exploring trips to the Indian country was arrested. The warriors held council and decided to put Smith to death. The day came and he was bound and his head laid on a block where they were to beat him to death with their war clubs.

Pocahontas begged her father to spare the prisoner. The moment came for the execution while the child was still pleading. The men raised their clubs to strike, when the forest rang with a piercing scream. The Indian girl had thrown herself across the body of the prostrate man and was imploring her father to save him. The chief, in spite of the fierce looks of his brother, declared that the child should have her way and Smith was spared.

This is the story as Smith told it, but some doubt it, because he is known to have been careless about giving exact facts in writing about his own adventures. It is true, however, that the adoption of prisoners was a common practice among the Indians, and Smith tells of the ceremony by which he was then made a member of the Powhatans. It is known, moreover, that Pocahontas was very fond of the white settlers and when she grew to be a young woman she married one of them, John Rolfe, a widower. He took her to London, where she was received with great favor by the king and queen. She died in London. Her little son was taken back to Virginia, where he made his home; some of the best people of Virginia have been descendants of Pocahon'tas.

Oglethorpe's Strategy. — Oglethorpe was not only a statesman and a colony builder; he was a renowned soldier as well. In 1742 he saved his colony from disaster by very clever strategy. England was at war with Spain. The Spanish commander at St. Au'gustine made an expedition against Georgia. With a fleet bearing 5000 armed men he appeared off the mouth of the Savannah. Oglethorpe had scarcely one tenth as many; but he sent the Spaniards flying home without a battle. Here is the way he did it:

He knew that in the Spanish ranks there was a French deserter. To this man Oglethorpe wrote a letter asking him to do what he could toward detaining the Spanish army just a few days longer, because an English fleet was coming, while 2000 Englishmen were rushing down from Charleston. This letter he gave to a captive Spaniard, handing him a fat bribe and offering him his liberty if he would return to the Spanish army and give the letter to the Frenchman. But as Oglethorpe hoped and expected, the man

handed the letter to the Spanish commander. He read it with amazement and believed every word of it, though not a word of it was true. The Spanish commander quickly put to sea and rushed his army back to St. Augustine as fast as his ships could carry them.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. On what ground did England lay claim to North America? Write a short account of the defeat of the Armada. Why is it called the opening event in the history of America? Why is Raleigh remembered in our history?

II. Name three motives for English colonizing. Of what class of people were the first Virginians? What happened in 1619? What is democracy? The ancestors of what great Americans settled in Virginia?

III. What was Lord Baltimore's object in founding Maryland? Show the difference between the early governments of Virginia and Maryland. Who was Oliver Cromwell? (See cyclopedia.) What was the Toleration Act? Would it be acceptable in our time? Why?

IV. Describe the early settlements of the Carolinas; the Grand Model. What other peoples joined the English in the Carolinas? When were North and South Carolina separated?

V. Find in the library something not given in the text about James Oglethorpe. In what way did the charter for Georgia differ from the other charters? Who was John Wesley? How did Oglethorpe prevent the Spaniards from capturing Georgia?

Events and Dates. — Defeat of the Armada, 1588. Raleigh's Lost Colony. The founding of Jamestown, 1607. Meaning of the date 1619. Baltimore founds Maryland, 1634. The Toleration Act, 1649. Separation of North and South Carolina, 1729. Founding of Georgia, 1733.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Greene's *Foundations of American Nationality* is a college text, excellently written, covering the colonial and revolutionary periods. Green's *Short History of the English People*; Doyle, *The English Colonies in America*; Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*; Fiske, *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*; Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*; Cambridge *Modern History*, Vol. VII; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. I; Avery, *History of the United States and Its People*, Vol. I.

FOR THE PUPIL: Blaisdell, *Short Stories from American History*; Gordy, *Colonial Days*; Hart, *Source Readers in American History*; Coe, *Founders of Our Country*; Henty, *Under Drake's Flag*; Otis, *Richard of Jamestown*; Otis, *Calvert of Maryland*.

CHAPTER V

BEGINNINGS OF NEW ENGLAND

I. THE PILGRIMS AT PLYMOUTH

The Pilgrim Fathers. — The second permanent English colony in America was founded by the Pilgrim Fathers. They came not to hunt gold nor to seek adventure, but to find a place in which they might worship God according to their consciences.

England was one of the most enlightened countries of that time, but she did not grant liberty of worship to the people. When the country broke away from the Roman Catholic Church, the Church of England was reorganized as the Episcopal Church. All the people were required to conform to it and those who did not were imprisoned or punished in other ways.

There was an increasing number of people who did not like the Episcopal worship. They wished to “purify” it and were called Puritans. Most of them remained in the church, but a small number separated from it and were called Sep'aratists or Independents. The Pilgrims were of this class. A small congregation of them left their own country and went to Holland, where there was freedom of worship. Here they remained for twelve years. They were called Pilgrims because of their wanderings.

They were not satisfied to remain in Holland, because if they did they would in the course of time lose their language and customs and cease altogether to be Englishmen. They had heard of the colony in Virginia and their thoughts turned toward the New World across the wide ocean. Why should they not go to America, the land of promise, and there build up a community all their own? With dauntless courage they determined to do so.

The Mayflower. — Borrowing a little money from some London merchants, they embarked with other colonists in the *Mayflower*, in the fall of 1620 — one hundred and two in all. One died and one was born on the sea. After battling with the billows for a hundred days, they landed on the shore of Cape Cod Bay at the beginning of winter. The place was called Plym'outh — a name given by John Smith of Virginia fame, who had explored that coast some years before.

No braver band of pioneers ever made their way to the American shores than this little company of men and women. When they waved good-by to their friends few if any of them ever expected to see their native land again. Upon the bleak New England coast there was no one to give them welcome. They had to make their way as best they could. The men went ashore and the women and children remained for some weeks in the ship. The snow was half a foot deep and the spray from the sea froze upon the men until their "clothes looked like coats of iron."

Plymouth. — With ax and saw and hammer they worked day after day, returning to the ship at night until they had built



THE *MAYFLOWER*

Replica of the original *Mayflower*, sent from Boston to Plymouth, England, for the Tercentenary Celebration in 1920.

rude cabins. Then, early in January, the women went ashore and began their dreary task of housekeeping. They were not troubled much by Indians because of a pestilence that had swept off the natives of that part of the coast a few years before. But the winter was long and severe; many of the devoted Pilgrims fell ill; and by spring half the little band had perished. And yet so determined were the survivors to stay and win that when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring not one of them went back with her.

The Compact. — Among the leading men who came in the *Mayflower* were William Brewster, William Bradford, John Carver, and Edward Winslow. Before landing the men had drawn up a compact for their government, by which they pledged themselves solemnly, “in the presence of God and of one another” to make and to obey such laws as they might need. John Carver was chosen governor for the first year, but he soon died. William Bradford was then chosen governor and he held the office for many years. Miles Standish was the military leader of the colony. (Side Talk, p. 61.)

The Government. — The governor was aided by chosen “assistants,” also by town meetings of the voters. So the government continued for sixteen years, when representative government was begun. By this time there were several towns and each sent delegates to represent it. The same year also they drew up a code of laws, the first written code in America.

One day in the first spring after the Pilgrims arrived, an Indian entered their village crying, “Welcome, Englishmen.” His name was Sam’oset. He had learned a little English from fishermen on the coast of Maine. Later he came again and brought a friend named Squan’to, who greatly loved the English because he had once been rescued from pirates by Englishmen. He taught the Pilgrims many things about catching fish and raising corn. Also he informed them that his chief Mas’sasoit wished to make a treaty with them. The treaty was made and was kept for fifty years, as long as Massasoit lived.

Pilgrim Character. — The Pilgrims were all “plain men.” Not one of them had come from the so-called upper classes in



STATUE OF A PURITAN, BY ST. GAUDENS, IN SPRINGFIELD,
MASSACHUSETTS

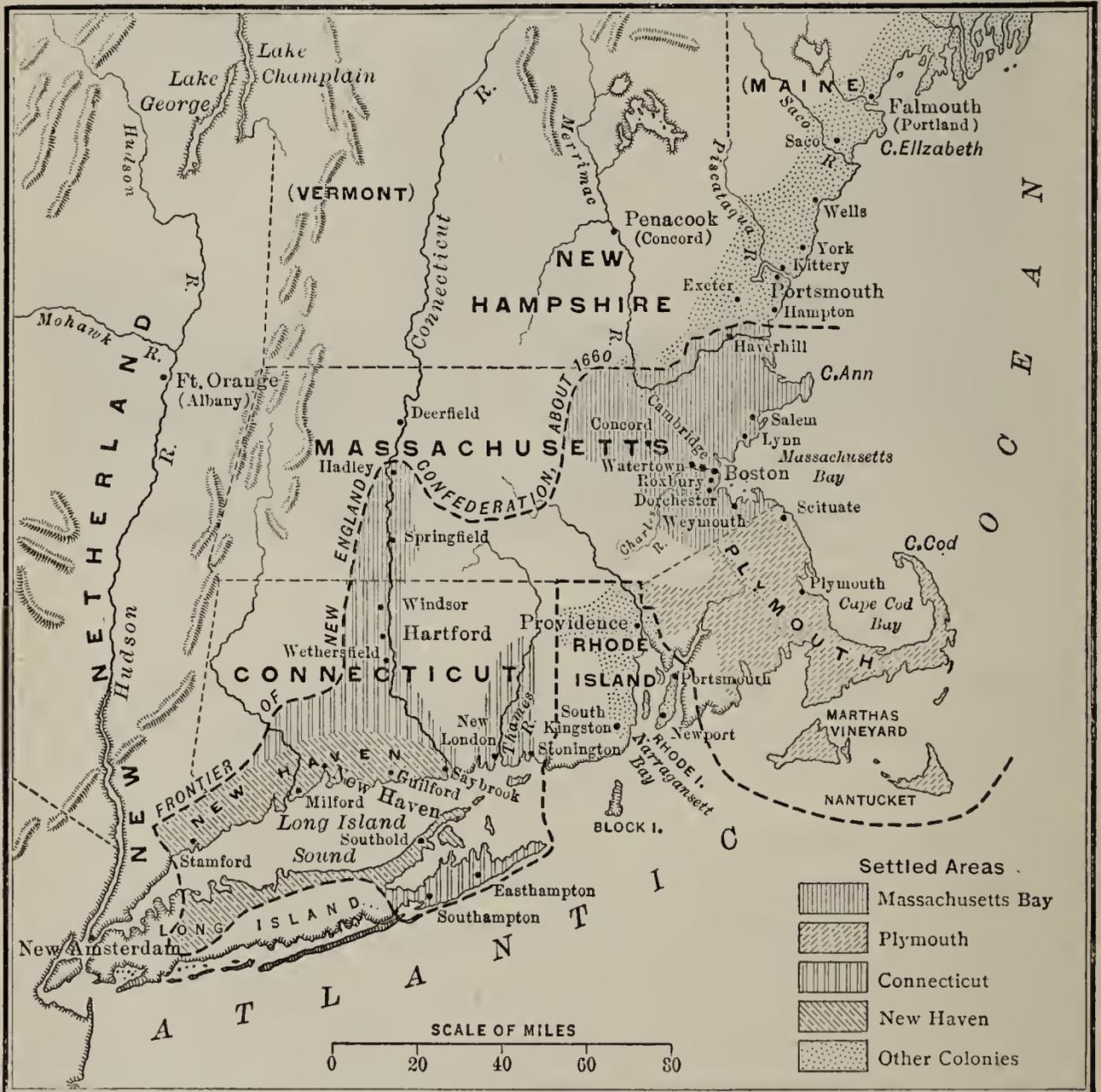
England. They came for a noble purpose and they lived their simple life, hewing away the timber and raising their food from the soil.

Plymouth never grew into a great colony and did not become a separate state. But for heroic self-sacrifice and unbending devotion to an ideal it holds to this day a high place in the American heart. After existing as a separate colony for seventy-one years it was joined to the great colony of Massachusetts in 1691. Its identity as a colony was lost but its influence upon the character of the American people is felt to this day.

II. MASSACHUSETTS

Next to Virginia the greatest of the early English colonies was Massachusetts, called Massachusetts Bay for about 150 years. The people who founded the colony were Puritans, but they

were not Separatists until after they had settled in America. Many of them, unlike the Pilgrims, were men of fame and fortune. King James I had said of the Puritans, "I will make them conform or I will harry them out of the land." His son Charles I was equally hostile to the Puritans and the result was the building up of Massachusetts.



EARLY NEW ENGLAND COLONIES — ABOUT 1660

The Great Migration; John Winthrop. — The great Puritan migration began in 1630¹ and continued for ten years. During this decade more than 20,000 people came to New England.

¹ John Endicott had settled at Salem two years earlier and various fishing settlements had been planted along the coast before 1630.



COINS OF MASSACHUSETTS

Note the pine tree on two of the coins.

The first governor of Massachusetts Bay was John Winthrop, a man of fortune and education. Receiving a charter from the king, he and a few friends brought it with them to America and thus the colony, unlike Virginia, had self-government from the first. The great migration began with the coming of eleven shiploads bearing more than a thousand people, and still others came before the end of the year.

Several towns were founded — Watertown, Dorchester, Salem, Roxbury, and Boston, the last-named destined to grow into a great city. Winthrop was strolling over a peninsula when he found a spring of clear sparkling water, and there he decided to build the town, which he named Boston, after a town of that name in England.

Winthrop, a man of forty-two, was one of the most lovable and admirable characters in the early history of America; but he was not a good democrat; that is, he believed in a government by the classes rather than by the masses. At first the making of the laws was entirely in the hands of Governor Winthrop, his deputy, and his assistants, usually twelve. But the people rebelled and demanded that they have a hand in making the laws and laying the taxes. In 1634 their demands were granted and from that time on they had representative government. What in Virginia was called the House of Burgesses was called the General Court in Massachusetts.

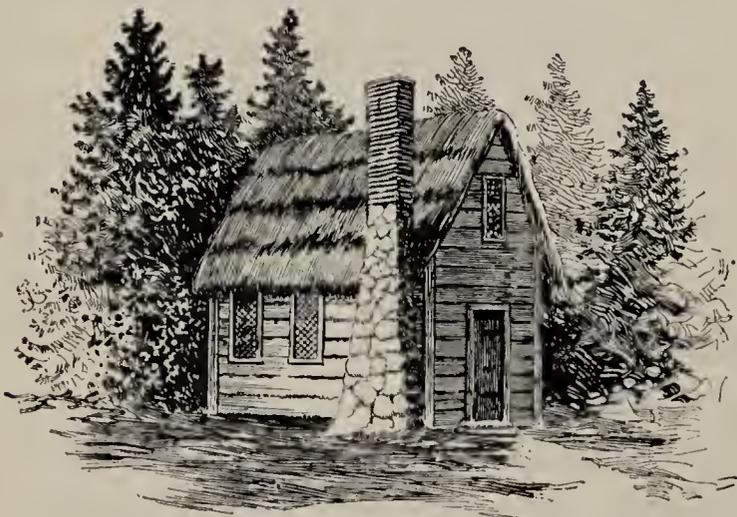
Roger Williams. — The people of Massachusetts had an

abundance of trouble as the years passed. Not only had they to contend with the frowning forest, the wild beast, and the wild Indian; they had also dissensions among themselves. One of the earliest of their trials came in their contest with Roger Williams, a young clergyman who did not agree with the Puritans at all points in their religious practice.

It must be remembered that the Puritans came to America for the purpose of building up a religious society according to their ideas of what it ought to be. They did not offer religious or political liberty to others who did not believe as they did. They knew nothing of religious freedom as we know it.

Williams was a man of rare kindness of temper, scholarly and eloquent; but he was a reckless critic and wanting in tact and judgment. He was pastor of the church at Salem. He opposed the practice of forcing people to attend church; he publicly called his brother ministers "false hirelings," and spoke of their churches as "ulcered and gangrened." Williams declared also that the king had acted a lie in granting a charter to lands he did not own, as the only rightful owners were the Indians.

The General Court decreed that Williams must return to England. Instead, he escaped to the forest and, after many weeks' wandering, sleeping in hollow trees or in Indian huts, he



ROGER WILLIAMS'S CHURCH
First meeting-house in Rhode Island. Redrawn
from an old print.

settled (1636) with a few followers in a place which he named Providence, believing that Providence had guided him. This is the story of the beginning of Rhode Island and the founding of its capital city.

Anne Hutchinson.
— The next disturber

with whom the Massachusetts colonists had to deal was Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, "a woman of ready wit and bold spirit," as Winthrop puts it. Mrs. Hutchinson resented the practice of the men in holding meetings to discuss public questions, excluding the women. She thereupon held meetings in her own home. In religious matters she did not agree fully with the Puritan system and openly said so. She had many more followers than had Williams and indeed almost succeeded in splitting the church. She also was banished by the General Court, but it was many years before the influence of her teaching died out. She made her way to a settlement near Providence, but some years later, after moving farther west, was killed by the Indians.

The Quakers. — The next to disturb the peace of the Puritan colony were the Quakers, or Friends, as they called themselves, followers of George Fox, who had founded the sect in England. They thought that God still spoke to the individual heart as he did to Abraham. A few of them found their way to Massachusetts. They were utterly opposed to the Puritan form of worship. They would even enter a church during service and denounce the preacher and all his works.

The Quakers were banished by the Court, but they refused to stay away. They came back and continued their reproaches against the Puritan religion. A law was then made to put any Quaker to death who, having been once banished, should return to the colony. But lo! they came again. They boldly walked the streets and denounced the cruel law. The General Court then met and solemnly considered whether to repeal the law or to enforce it. By a majority of one they decided to enforce it, and four of the Quakers were hanged.

Then the law was repealed. The Quakers won their victory; but they did not disturb the churches as before; they settled down and became quiet citizens.

Salem Witchcraft, 1692. — Still later came the worst of all the disturbances in Massachusetts — known as the Witchcraft Delusion. A belief that one person could bewitch another

was a common belief in Europe as well as in America, and for hundreds of years people had been put to death for witchcraft.

Suddenly a wave of superstitious fear swept over the colony of Massachusetts Bay. It began when some foolish young girls at Salem accused an old Indian woman of bewitching them. The crazy delusion spread like an epidemic. A special court was created to try witchcraft cases. Most of the witnesses were children. Their testimony was flimsy in the extreme, but it was received as "proofs of holy writ" and many were thrown into prison for witchcraft. Twenty were put to death.

After the craze had continued for some months it died away almost as suddenly as it had come. The people recovered their senses and deeply repented of their dreadful folly. Judge Sewall (sū'al), one of the court who condemned the victims, made a confession before a large congregation, as only a hero could have done. He begged the people to pray "that God might not visit his sin upon him, his family, or upon the land."

III. OTHER NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

Three New England colonies — Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire — came into existence very soon after the founding of Massachusetts, and they were swarms from that parent hive; they were settled, for the most part, not directly from England, but by people from Massachusetts.

Rhode Island. — We have noticed that Roger Williams, sent into exile, founded Providence; this was at the head of Narragansett Bay. Williams received a grant of land from Canon'icus, chief of the Narragansett tribe of Indians. On an island near by, another settlement was made, led by William Coddington. These two and several other settlements in the neighborhood came to be Rhode Island as we now know it.

Williams in 1643 went to England to secure a charter. He received it from a commission set up by Parliament; but later when Charles II came to the English throne, this charter was not considered good and Williams went back to secure another

(1663). Rhode Island was governed under the charter of 1663 for 180 years.

Connecticut. — Connecticut was founded in 1635, just before Rhode Island. The father of the colony was Thomas Hooker, one of the most eloquent preachers of New England. His church and congregation were at Cambridge (kām'brīj), then called Newtown, near Boston. Hooker did not agree with Winthrop that the few ought to govern the many. He believed that all the people should have a voice in the government. This was true democracy as we understand it; but Winthrop and his Puritans could not tolerate such ideas. Hooker thereupon decided to leave the colony and found a new one.

He had heard of the beautiful, fertile Connecticut Valley and there he would go and pitch his tents. Taking his entire congregation with him, he made the journey to the new home in the wilderness. Driving their cattle before them, they tramped through the forests and waded the streams. It was leafy June and we can imagine the joy and delight, especially to the young people, of the long journey through the woods.



HOOKER'S HOUSE AT HARTFORD

Redrawn from an old print. The house is still standing.

Reaching the river valley, they founded the town of Hartford. Other congregations soon followed Hooker's and in less than a year 800 people had made their home in the new colony. The

people drew up a constitution for the government of the Connecticut colony, and this, more than any other produced in colonial times, became a model for our present Constitution of the United States.

The New Haven Colony. — Meantime the Reverend John Dav'enport led a company of emigrants to the shore of Long Island Sound, where they found a haven of rest after their long wanderings, and they named the place New Haven. Another settlement was made at the mouth of the Connecticut River and was named Saybrook. The New Haven colony was later (1662) joined to Hooker's colony under a single charter for the whole of Connecticut.

The New England Confederation. — The Connecticut colony soon after its founding began to feel the need of support from the older colonies. The Indians were restive and the Dutch laid claim to the Connecticut Valley. The people of Hartford thereupon suggested that a league of the colonies be formed for common defense. The result was the New England Confederation, formed in 1643 by Connecticut, New Haven, Massachusetts, and Plymouth.

Each colony was to continue managing its own affairs; but a commission of eight men, two from each colony, was given the power to manage matters of common interest, especially conflicts with the Dutch and the Indians. Here was the first experiment at union in the colonies and it became a model for colonial union in later times.

New Hampshire and Maine. — It would be difficult to name a date for the beginnings of New Hampshire. A number of little towns had been founded before the founding of Boston, one as early as 1623, on the soil of New Hampshire. If all the land grants and charters covering this territory were to be given here, the reader would find them very confusing.

A grant of a very large tract was made in 1622 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges (gôr'jës) and John Mason. In later years this was so divided that Gorges received the part that became Maine

and Mason the portion that became New Hampshire. The territory of New Hampshire was claimed by Massachusetts and in 1641 the various towns came under the rule of that colony, each being permitted to send representatives to the General Court at Boston. Fifty years later (1691) New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts and became a separate royal colony. Maine early became a possession of Massachusetts and so continued until long after the Revolution.

SIDE TALK

Captain Miles Standish. — The Pilgrim Fathers were as unwarlike as any people could well be when they sought a new home in the wilderness of America; but it was necessary for them to be prepared for self-defense. Miles Standish was a young soldier who joined the Pilgrims before they left Holland and came with them on the *Mayflower*, though he was not a member of the congregation. For many years he was the military leader of the colony. Soon after the *Mayflower* reached Cape Cod Bay, Standish took fifteen of the strongest men of the colony and made an excursion into the woods. They saw half a dozen Indians in the distance, and would gladly have made friends of them; but the red men fled and were soon lost in the forest. As the white men were walking through the forest one of them, William Bradford, was suddenly swung into the air. He had stepped into a deer trap set by the Indians. He was not hurt and they all enjoyed a hearty laugh.

On another excursion they were attacked with bows and arrows by a band of Indians; and Standish, seeing which was the chief, shattered his arm with a bullet, whereupon they all fled howling into the forest. One day, as tradition tells us, a messenger from Canon'icus, chief of the powerful



AN INDIAN'S CHALLENGE TO WAR

Narragansett tribe, brought to the colony a rattlesnake skin filled with arrows. This was a challenge of war. Standish sent the skin back filled with powder and bullets. Canon'icus had heard enough about bullets to understand, and he decided to keep the peace. Once a hostile chief tried

to kill Standish with his tomahawk, but Standish leaped on him, took the tomahawk from him, and struck him dead with his own weapon.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. In what way did the Pilgrims differ in their aims from the Virginians? Why did they not wish to remain in Holland? Read in class Hemans's *Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers*. Name a few of the leading Pilgrims. What can you say of the compact they drew up, and of their first government? What is a constitution?

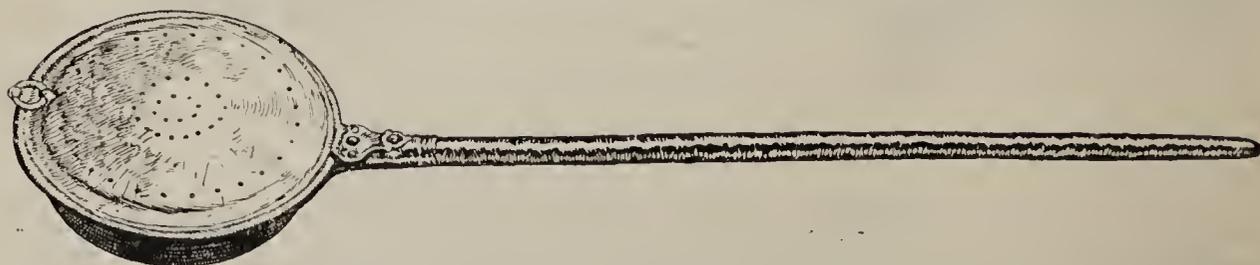
II. Show the difference between the Pilgrims and the Puritans who founded Massachusetts. Write a short biography of John Winthrop. What is meant by representative government? Can you justify Roger Williams for attacking the church? or the Puritans for banishing him? Why? Which more nearly resembles our conditions to-day, the position of Williams or of the Puritans? Relate the Quaker episode; the witchcraft delusion. Write a contrast between the Virginia and the New England settlements.

III. Relate the founding of Rhode Island; of Connecticut. What remarkable thing can be said of the constitution of Connecticut?

Events and Dates. — Founding of Plymouth, 1620; of Boston and Massachusetts, 1630; Connecticut, 1635; of Rhode Island, 1636. Separation of New Hampshire from Massachusetts, 1691.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: For the study of colonial history as well as of our later history the teacher should have access to state histories, as the American Commonwealth Series, or the Story of the States Series. See also Avery, Vol. I; Channing, Vol. I; American Nation, Vol. IV; Fiske, *Beginnings of New England*; Eggleston, *Beginners of a Nation*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Eggleston, *Stories of American Life and Adventure*; the books given at the end of Chapter IV; Hawthorne, *Twice Told Tales*; Austin, *Standish of Standish*; Austin, *Betty Alden*; Otis, *Mary of Plymouth*; Otis, *Ruth of Boston*.



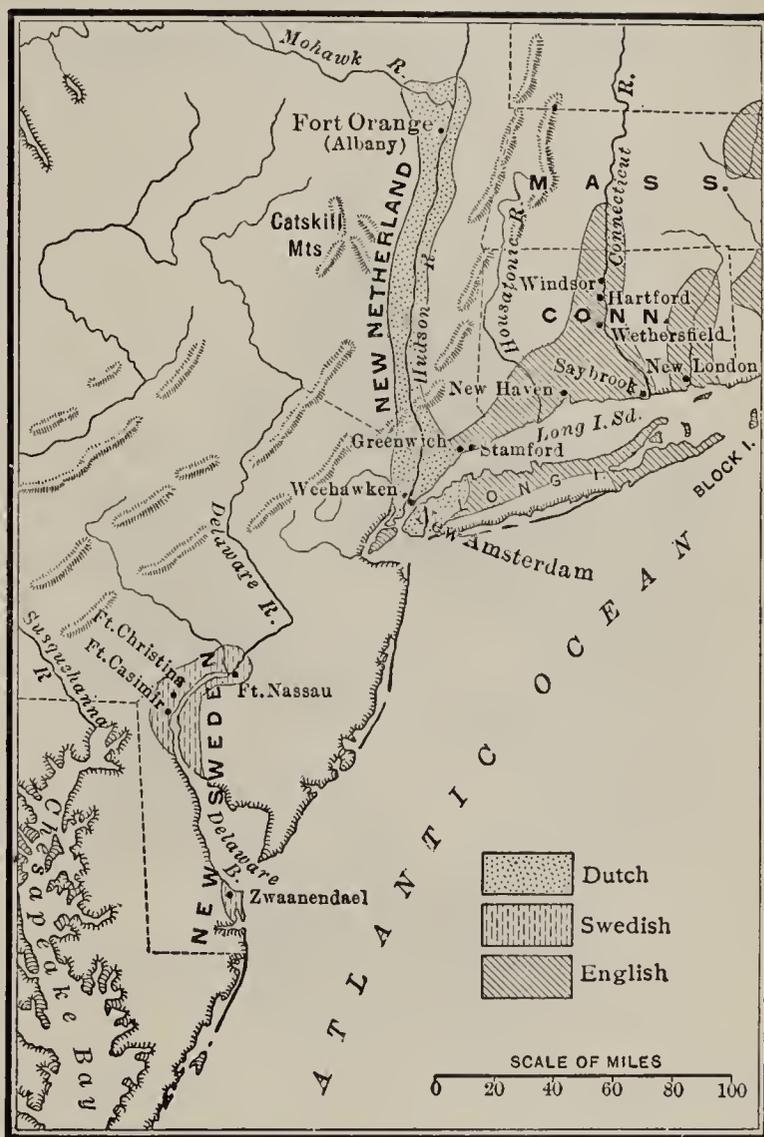
WARMING PAN

This was filled with live coals and used for warming a bed.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

WE have traced the beginnings of the five colonies of the southern group — Virginia, Maryland the two Carolinas, and Georgia; also, the four comprising the New England group — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. Of the original thirteen, the four yet remaining are known as the Middle Colonies — New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Two of these — the only two of all the thirteen colonies — were founded by other than English people. One of them, New York, is to-day the most populous and the richest of all our states, and the other, Delaware, is one of the smallest and least populous.



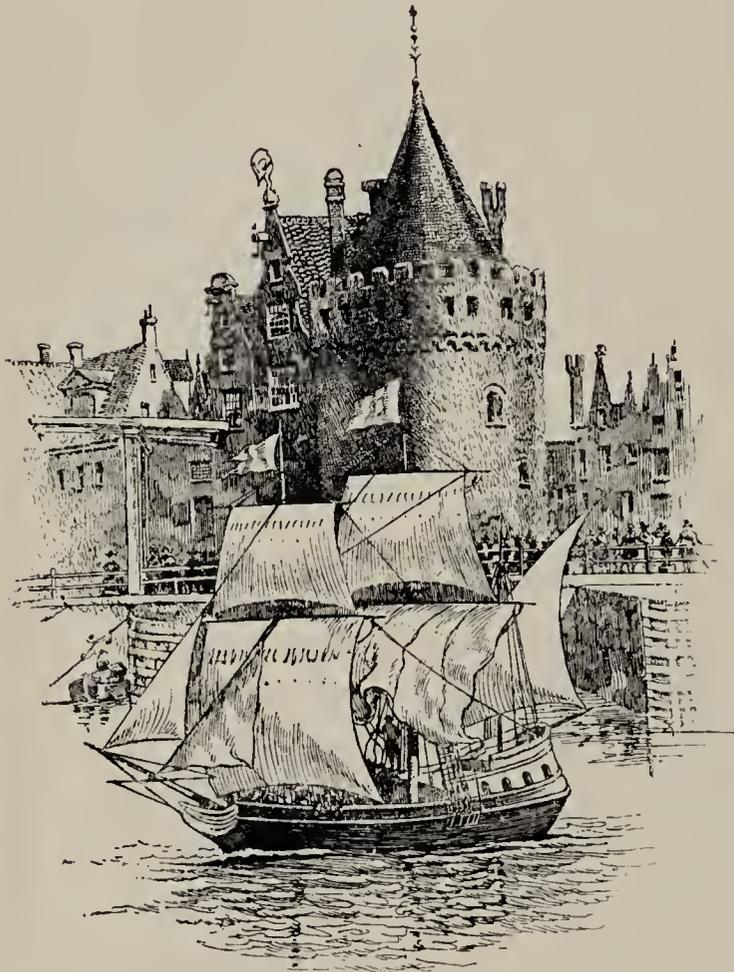
NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW SWEDEN,
ABOUT 1650

I. NEW NETHERLAND

Dutch Sea Rovers. — The people of Holland or the Netherlands, called the Dutch, laid claim to the great section of country between the Connecticut River and Chesapeake Bay, which they

called New Netherland. The town they founded on Manhattan Island, now the heart of the city of New York, they named New Amsterdam.

The decline of Spanish sea power after the defeat of the Armada was followed by the rise of the British on the sea and also of the Dutch. Dutch sea rovers controlled the navigation of the Indian Ocean and occupied the Molucca Islands; they



THE *HALF MOON* LEAVING AMSTERDAM

The tower in the background was called the Weepers' Tower, because here friends bade each other farewell.

discovered Australia and New Zealand and in the far North they plowed the icy waters of the Arctic seas. It was a Dutch company that sent Henry Hudson, an Englishman, in the *Half Moon*, to find a northeast passage to China. But Hudson sailed westward instead and in 1609 discovered the beautiful river gliding at the foot of the Palisades. Following it to the site of Albany, he wrote that it flowed through "as fair a land as was ever trodden by the foot of man."

The next year Hudson sailed into the far North under the English flag. In Hudson Bay a rebellious crew set him adrift with his son and a few others and they were never again heard of.

Founding of New Amsterdam. — A few years later Adrian Block, a Dutch navigator, explored Long Island Sound and discovered the Connecticut River. It was through the dis-

coveries of Hudson and Block that Holland laid claim to New Netherland. There were various trading posts here and there in this region before 1623, but that was the year in which the settlement of New Amsterdam really had its beginning. In that year came a number of Protestants called Walloons', some of whom settled on Manhattan Island. They were sent by the Dutch West India Company, chartered two years before.

Their leader and first governor was Peter Min'uit. In 1626 he purchased the whole of Manhattan Island from the Indians, about 22,000 acres, paying for it in beads, ribbons, and other trinkets worth in all about \$24. This would be about \$1.09 for each thousand acres. No equal area in the world is now worth so vast a sum of money as Manhattan Island.

The Patroons. — The Patroon system was established in 1629. By it any member of the company might secure a tract extending sixteen miles along a bay or river (or eight miles along both banks of a river), and as far inland "as the situation of the occupiers will admit." A patroon had to bring in at least fifty tenants above fifteen years of age and to stock a little farm for each. The patroon had full control of the government of his domains, and the tenants were obliged to remain on his farm for ten years and after a time to pay a small rent. Under this system the Hudson Valley was soon dotted with those great land-holding estates.

But the Dutch colony did not attract many independent settlers, and the company decided to throw the colony open to all classes. This had the desired effect. People poured into New Netherland from all sides — from New England and from Virginia, more Dutch from Holland, and peasants from other parts of Europe. In 1643 it was said that eighteen languages were spoken in New Amsterdam.

Government. — Of the four Dutch governors the last was Peter Stuyvesant (stī've-sant), an old soldier with a wooden leg, of whom Washington Irving has given us a vivid picture.

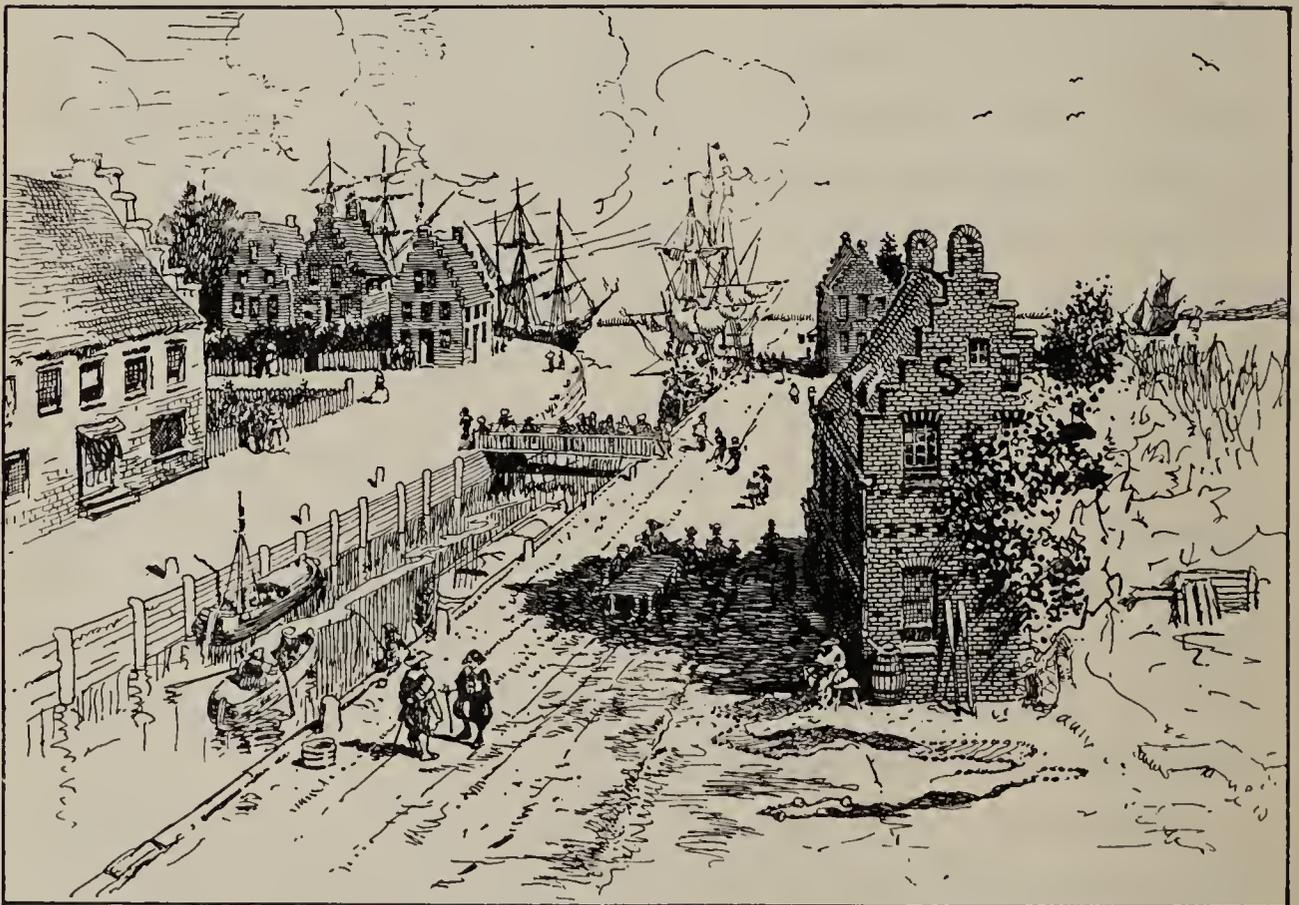
The people had no share in the government of the colony, and

they clamored for a voice in making their own laws. Stuyvesant called an assembly, but he always sat with them, and the vigorous stamping of his wooden leg on the floor gave notice if things were not going to suit him.

After an existence of forty years the course of Dutch rule in America was over, and the growing city on Manhattan took another name and came under a different government.

II. NEW YORK

The English Capture New Amsterdam. — For many years England and Holland had been at peace and the Dutch colony on the Hudson was free from English attack. But it was galling to the English that this wedge of New Netherland separated entirely their southern colonies from New England, and contained at the same time the best harbor on the entire coast. Then came a less friendly feeling between the two countries, which settled the fate of New Netherland.



THE CANAL, BROAD STREET, NEW AMSTERDAM (NEW YORK), 1659
Redrawn from an old print.

In 1664 Colonel Nicolls with a small English fleet sailed up the bay and demanded the surrender of New Amsterdam. Governor Stuyvesant fumed and swore and declared that he would rather go to his grave than yield. But he had no choice.



GOVERNOR STUYVESANT AT FIRST REFUSED THE ENGLISH SUMMONS
TO SURRENDER

The people, some of whom were English, were sick of his tyrannical rule and in spite of his protests they raised the white flag and yielded without a battle.

Colony of New York. — King Charles II had given the country to his brother, the Duke of York, and the name New York was given to the city and also to the colony embracing the Hudson Valley.¹

Nicolls, the new governor, aided by a convention of the settlers, drew up a set of laws, known as "the Duke's laws."

¹ Eight years after Nicolls's conquest the two countries were again at war and a Dutch fleet recaptured New York; but fifteen months later, it was ceded back to England.

The people elected an assembly and thus came into self-government. Some years later, while Thomas Dongan was governor, the assembly adopted a declaration of rights called "The Charter of Liberties." When the Duke of York came to the English throne as James II (1685), New York became a royal province.

The Dutch Farmers. — New York grew steadily and prospered greatly under English rule; but did not overtake Massachusetts or Virginia until after the Revolution. The Dutch were not molested by the English in their customs and home life, and they continued to speak their own language in the Hudson Valley for two hundred years. They were an honest, sturdy race of farmers. Clusters of farmhouses resembling small villages dotted the wilderness for great stretches of country up the Hudson. The men at evening, after their day's work was over, would sit on the high stoops of their homes, smoking long Dutch pipes and chatting with their neighbors. No place in America afforded a scene of greater contentment than the Dutch settlements of the Hudson Valley.

Under Dutch rule, common schools had flourished; but the English, fearing the influence of a dissenting church, allowed them to fall into decay. Little by little English settlers crowded in, the Dutch children learned to speak English, and after many years the time came when the Dutch language disappeared altogether. Except in the names of towns and rivers and in the few quaint buildings that have survived, there is little now to remind the traveler of the Dutch settlements of long ago. Among the many family names indicating descent from the Dutch are Van Buren, Vanderbilt, and Roosevelt.

III. NEW JERSEY

In the English Channel there is an island called Jersey. Sir George Car'teret was at one time governor of that island and when later he became the founder of a colony in America he named it New Jersey.

American Names. — It is interesting to note that many of

our names of the early period, states, counties, towns, and rivers, are borrowed from England. Of the original thirteen colonies more than half bear English names. Of the others two are Indian — Massachusetts and Connecticut, and a few are names made to order, as Virginia and Pennsylvania. In later times Indian names, especially of the rivers, were more freely retained and were often extended to a state, as Ohio, Tennessee.

First Settlement. — The beginning of New Jersey dates from 1665. In that year Sir George Carteret, whose wife's name was Elizabeth, sent his

nephew, Philip Carteret, with a company of settlers who founded Eliz'abethtown. A farm free from tax for five years was offered to any one having a good musket and six months' provisions, if he joined the colony at its founding. A little later Puritans from New England founded New'ark and a few other towns.

The territory of New Jersey was included in the grant of Charles II to the Duke of York (p. 67), and the duke sold the right to settle it to Carteret and Lord Berkeley (bûrk'li). But the latter sold his share to two Quakers. One of these became a bankrupt and his part went into the hands of trustees, one of whom was William Penn — and thus we are introduced to the most famous of all the colony builders in America.

New Jersey had been divided into two parts, East Jersey and West Jersey. Later the whole colony came under the rule of New York and not until 1738 were New Jersey and New York finally separated. The settlers of New Jersey were nearly all English and nearly all farmers. They were industrious and



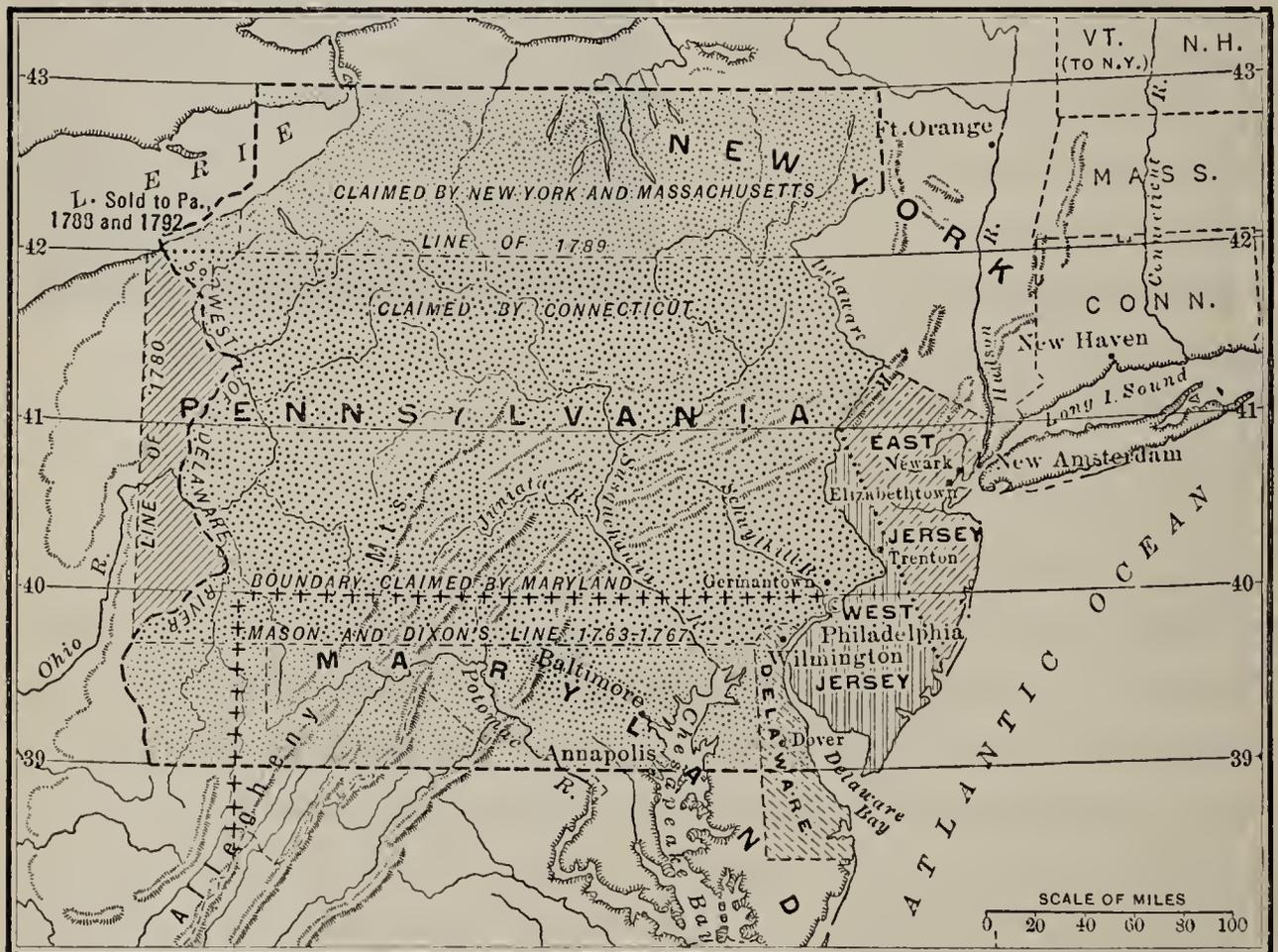
FIRST SEAL OF NEW JERSEY

The Latin reads: "Seal of the province of New Jersey." GC is for George Carteret, and BB for Baron Berkeley.

contented; their towns were little else than centers of farming communities.

IV. DELAWARE

The Swedes were the founders of Delaware. The greatest of all the Swedish kings was Gustavus Adolphus. Under his leadership Sweden became for a short time one of the first-class powers of the world.



PENNSYLVANIA, NEW JERSEY, AND DELAWARE

Claimants to Delaware. — The Swedish king conceived the idea of building up a new Sweden in America and he chose Delaware because the land was unoccupied, except by straggling settlers here and there. But Delaware had many claimants. It was part of the Spanish claim of all America, and of the English because of the Cabot voyages. Among the English, it was a part of the Virginia grant and it was later included in Baltimore's grant. And the Dutch claimed Delaware because

their explorations extended along its coast. All these disregarded the Indian claims.

Gustavus spoke of his American project as the “flower of his kingdom.” But before his plan could be carried out, he was slain in battle (1632) in the Thirty Years’ War.

New Sweden. — Six years later the Swedes carried out the purpose of their departed sovereign — they founded a colony in New Sweden, as they called it, on the site of Wilmington, Delaware. It was led by Peter Minuit, who had been the first Dutch governor of New York. The Swedes purchased land of the Indians as far up the river as Trenton and built a town on the site of Philadelphia. They excluded slavery. In religion they were Lutherans, but they invited Christians from



SWEDES' CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA

From a photograph. This church, called Gloria Dei, is still standing. It is one of the oldest landmarks in Philadelphia.

all parts. The Swedes on the Delaware were a thrifty and intelligent people.

But there was trouble ahead. The Dutch declared that the Swedes had no right on the Delaware. After some years of bickering Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor of New York, sailed up the Delaware Bay and demanded the surrender of New Sweden (1655). He received it without bloodshed.

Delaware. — Later, when New Amsterdam fell to the English, Delaware went with it and became part of the possessions of the Duke of York. It was later acquired by William Penn but in 1703 was recognized as a separate colony, although under the same governor as Pennsylvania.

V. PENNSYLVANIA

Penn's Purchase. — The supply of land in the New World seemed almost boundless. Great slices had been cut out of North America by the colonists, but only the eastern border had been settled. When William Penn offered to accept a tract in America in payment of a large sum of money Charles II had borrowed from Penn's father, the king gladly agreed to discharge the debt in that way, for he had plenty of land — if we agree that he owned the American lands that he claimed.

Penn's father was an admiral in the British navy. He was a close friend of the king and had great hopes for the future of his son William. Imagine his fury when he learned that the son had joined, and had been expelled from college at Oxford for joining, the hated sect of Quakers. But the father became reconciled and on his death left William a snug fortune besides this claim on the king's purse, which came to be paid in western land.

In honor of the deceased admiral the new land was named Pennsylvania. It was a vast domain of 40,000 square miles, extending from the Delaware River over the Alleghenies (ă'l'le-gă-niz) into the Ohio Valley. Pennsylvania was the last of the thirteen colonies to be founded, except Georgia.

Penn published broadcast his project for the new settlement. He invited people of all religious sects; he promised them self-government, and he offered to sell them a hundred acres of land for ten dollars. Great numbers responded to the invitation and within a few years more than thirty shiploads had embarked for Pennsylvania.



WILLIAM PENN'S HOME IN PHILADELPHIA

Redrawn from an old print. The house is now in Fairmount Park.

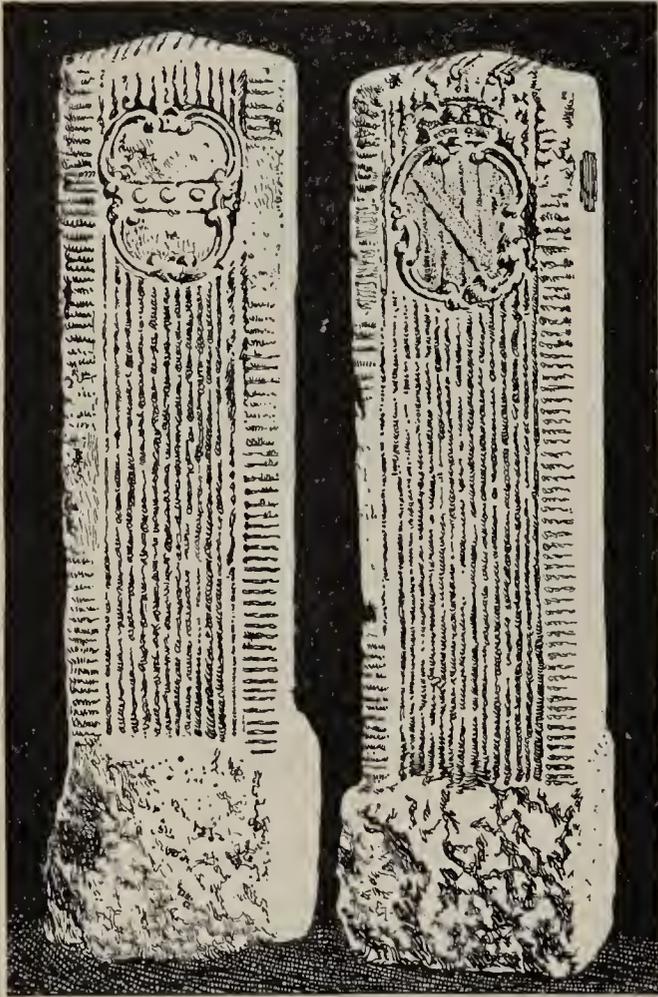
Founding of Philadelphia. — In 1682 Penn crossed the Atlantic in the ship *Welcome*, following three shiploads he had sent the year before. Of the one hundred emigrants on board the *Welcome* one third died of smallpox on the sea. Penn was received with a royal welcome on landing. He chose the peninsula between two rivers, the Delaware and the Schuylkill (skōol'kīl), for his capital city and named it Philadelphia — the city of brotherly love. Here already stood a Swedish Lutheran church, which still remains, a precious monument of those early days.

In the government of the colony Penn was most liberal.

“You shall be governed by laws of your own making,” said he, “and live a free, and if you will, a sober industrious people.” A representative government of the people was soon in full sway and continued to the Revolution.

Penn purchased Delaware from the Duke of York, so that he might be sure of an outlet to the ocean; but in 1703, as we have seen, Delaware was given a separate government.

Mason and Dixon’s Line. — The boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland was in dispute for many years, and Penn had much trouble with Lord Baltimore about it. A compromise was agreed to, but the boundary was still in dispute long after both had passed away. In 1760 two English surveyors named Mason and Dixon surveyed the land and fixed the boundary line which to this day is known as Mason and Dixon’s Line.



A FIVE-MILE STONE, MASON AND DIXON’S LINE

Milestones were set up along the boundary and every five-mile stone bore the arms of Penn (picture at left) on the northern side and the arms of Baltimore (picture at right) on the southern side.

Penn’s Treaty. — The one thing for which William Penn is remembered more than for anything else is his famous treaty with the Indians. He had purchased the land from the king, it is true, but the true owners, he declared, were the Indians and he always made terms with them. Under a great elm tree at Shack-

amax’on near Philadelphia (since absorbed by the city) he met the Lenni-Len’ape tribes. The chiefs sat around in a semicircle, so says tradition, while

Penn, standing in front of a few of his Quaker friends under their broad-brimmed hats, spoke to them in a most friendly way. He called them brothers and they responded in the same spirit, declaring they would "live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon give light."

For many years thereafter there was harmony between the Indians and Penn's colony. It was said that a Quaker hat was more of a protection than a musket among the Indians. When an Indian wished to pay the highest compliment to a white man, he would say, "He is like William Penn."

People of Pennsylvania. — Pennsylvania grew as no other colony had done. In less than twenty years it had surpassed all the colonies except Virginia and Massachusetts. The success of the colony was largely due to the steady industry and peace-loving disposition of the Quaker settlers. It was due also to the good qualities of many other settlers. The year after Penn landed, a shipload of Germans arrived at Philadelphia led by Daniel Pasto'rius, a college graduate and a most admirable character. He and Penn soon became very friendly, and from Penn he purchased 30,000 acres of land and secured the right to build a town six miles from the present Philadelphia, which he called Germantown. This was the advance guard of the present large German population in Pennsylvania. Later the Scotch-Irish came in large numbers, and they too were industrious and very religious.

William Penn lived thirty-seven years after the founding of Pennsylvania, but owing to his large interests in England, he spent only about four years in America.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Name the Southern colonies; the New England group; the Middle Colonies. What can you say of Dutch navigators? of Hudson and his discoveries? Who were the Walloons and in what way did they settle the Hudson Valley? Write a paper on the Walloons. (See fuller histories in library.) Describe the purchase of Manhattan Island.

II. Why did the English desire to possess New Netherland? Why did the people refuse to aid Governor Stuyvesant in opposing the English? Why was the name of the town and the colony changed to New York? Write a short essay showing the difference in government in Virginia, New England, and New York. Describe the early Dutch settlers of the Hudson Valley.

III. How did New Jersey get its name? What can you say of the names of other colonies, towns, and rivers? What inducements did the Carterets offer farmers to settle in New Jersey?

IV. What was the object of the Swedish king in desiring to plant a colony in the New World? Who had the best right to Delaware?

V. Give a biography of William Penn. Why did Penn succeed so well with the Indians? Why the dispute with Maryland? What was Mason and Dixon's Line? Describe the coming of the Germans.

Events and Dates. — The settlement of the Hudson Valley. Founding of the city of New York (New Amsterdam), 1623; of Philadelphia, 1682. The Swedes colonize Delaware, 1638. New Jersey settled, 1665. Mason and Dixon's Line, 1760.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*; Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies, in America*, and various histories mentioned in preceding chapters.

FOR THE PUPIL: Coe, *Founders of Our Country*; Irving, *Rip Van Winkle*; Irving, *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*; Otis, *Stephen of Philadelphia*; Otis, *Peter of New Amsterdam*; Earle, *Colonial Days in Old New York*. This is one of a series by Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, quite as suitable for the teacher as for the pupil. The entire set will be useful in the school library. Here follow the titles of some of the remaining books in the set: *Colonial Dames and Goodwives*; *Customs and Fashions in Old New England*; *Home Life in Colonial Days*; *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*; *Stage Coach and Tavern Days*; *Two Centuries of Costume in America*.



A POKE

The poke was a yoke with a pole pointing forward, put on a cow to keep her from jumping fences.

CHAPTER VII

ODDS AND ENDS OF COLONIAL HISTORY

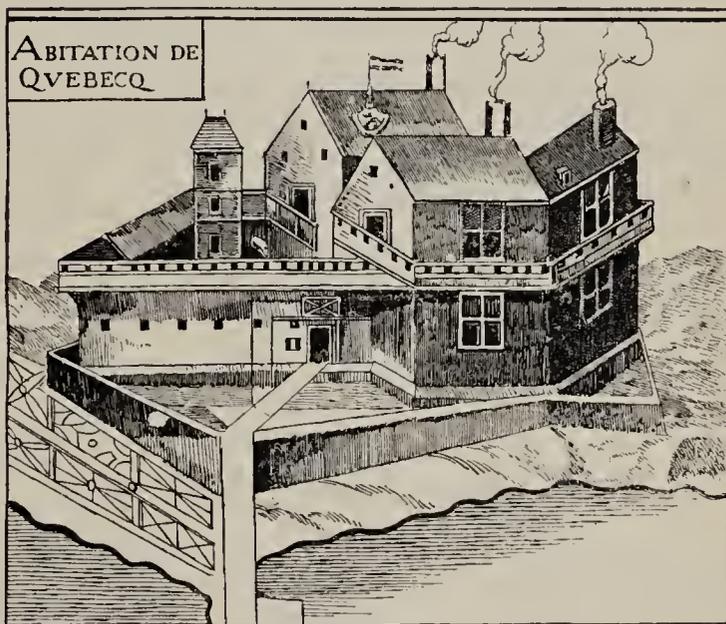
I. THE FRENCH IN AMERICA

FRANCE was not long behind Spain and England in turning her attention to the New World. In 1524 Verrazano (vē-rät-sä'nō) an Italian sailing under the French flag, coasted along the Atlantic seaboard from Cape Fear to New York Harbor and Narragansett Bay. The first of the French explorers to make a record was Cartier (kär-tyā') who entered the St. Lawrence River in 1534 and the next year sailed up it as far as the site of Montreal.

The French later made an attempt to colonize Florida. A French colony was founded on the banks of the St. Johns River in Florida (1564). But Philip, king of Spain, claimed the whole country and he sent a force to destroy the French colony.

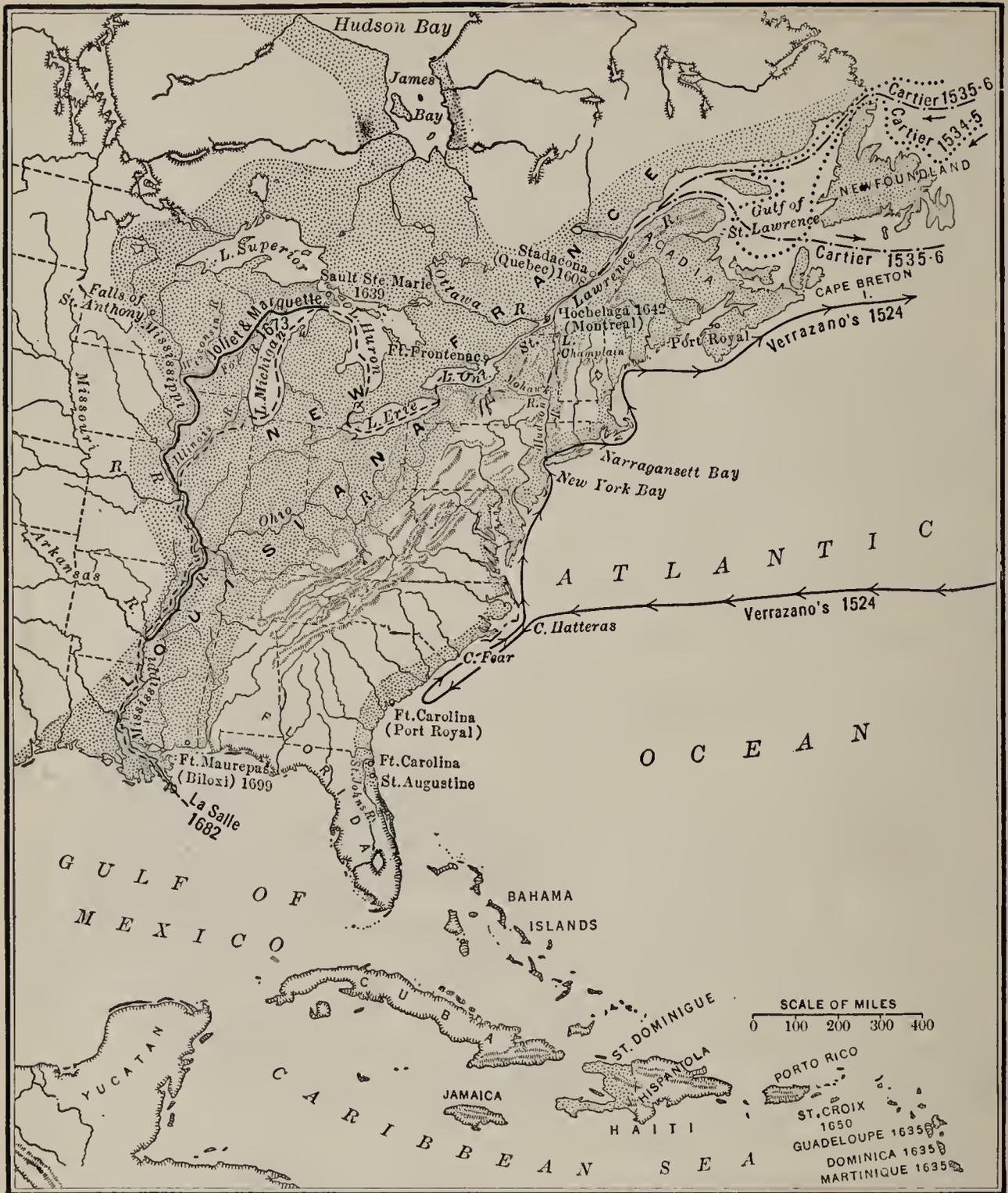
It founded St. Augustine in 1565, marched against the French settlement and destroyed it. Two years later a French force came over and took revenge by destroying the Spanish settlement on the St. Johns River.

Champlain. — The great Frenchman in America in the early period was Samuel de Champlain (shām-plān'), the founder of New France. On the banks of the noble St. Lawrence he



QUEBEC IN CHAMPLAIN'S TIME

After a drawing by himself.



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

founded the city of Quebec' in 1608. The next year, on the shore of the beautiful lake that bears his name, Lake Champlain, he fought a little battle which may be regarded as a turning point in American history.

In order to explore the wilderness, Champlain needed the friendship of the natives, and he therefore allied himself with

the Algonquin and Huron Indians. These tribes were bitter enemies of the warlike Iroquois, and when they begged Champlain to help them, he did so. He won the skirmish on Lake Champlain, but in so doing he created an implacable enmity of the Iroquois nation against the French.

But for this incident the French would no doubt have occupied the great valley of the Hudson and the Mohawk and possibly parts of New England. But the hostile Iroquois blocked the way. The French thereupon turned westward and took possession of the Great Lake region and later of the Mississippi Valley. New France, or Canada, grew to be a strong French colony.

Marquette and Joliet. — One of the first Frenchmen to explore the great Mississippi River was the missionary Father James Marquette (mär-kět'). He and a trader named Joliet (zhō-lyā'), with a few companions, voyaged down the Wisconsin and the Mississippi for hundreds of miles — as far as the mouth of the Arkansas. Then all returned to Canada, except Marquette, who remained to preach to the Indians. While making another voyage on Lake Michigan he fell ill; his friends found his lifeless body kneeling at a rude altar of his own making.

La Salle. — Fired by the story of Marquette's discoveries, a young Frenchman named La Salle (lä-säl') determined to carry them still farther, and to take possession of that vast mid-continent region in the name of his king. He reached the Mississippi with a party of French and Indians in February, 1682, the year in which William Penn founded Philadelphia.

At the moment when La Salle laid his eyes on the river it was like a surging sea, bearing logs and trees and floating ice. With courage undaunted he floated for weeks with the current. Gradually the wintry blasts gave way to soft southern breezes; the ice disappeared and the shores were lined with tropical plants and flowers. La Salle floated to the mouth of the great river. Then he declared the basin of the Mississippi and all its tributaries a possession of France. He named it Louisiana in

honor of his king, Louis XIV, and hastened to France to tell his story. On a later expedition La Salle was murdered by one of his own men and his body was left in the wilderness. In connection with the Mississippi his name stands second only to that of De Soto.

The French and English colonies in America were rivals and often enemies. They competed with each other in the fur trade and in trade with the Indians. The wars between them will be taken up in Chapter IX.

II. INDIAN WARS

The relations of the English settlers with the Indians were threefold: they traded with the Indians, they preached Christianity to them, and they fought them.

Indian Lands. — The Indians at first regarded the whites with wonder and amazement, often believing them superior beings, descendants of the gods. At length they found them to be merely people and were inclined to be friendly, until they discovered that the very thing the whites wanted was the thing they did not want to give — land. This brought the Indian wars. Most of us would fight for our homes. That the Indians had far more land than they needed did not occur to them. For a thousand years and more perhaps the tribes had fought one another for the same cause — land. Could they be expected to yield placidly when the newcomers from Europe ordered them to give up their homes?

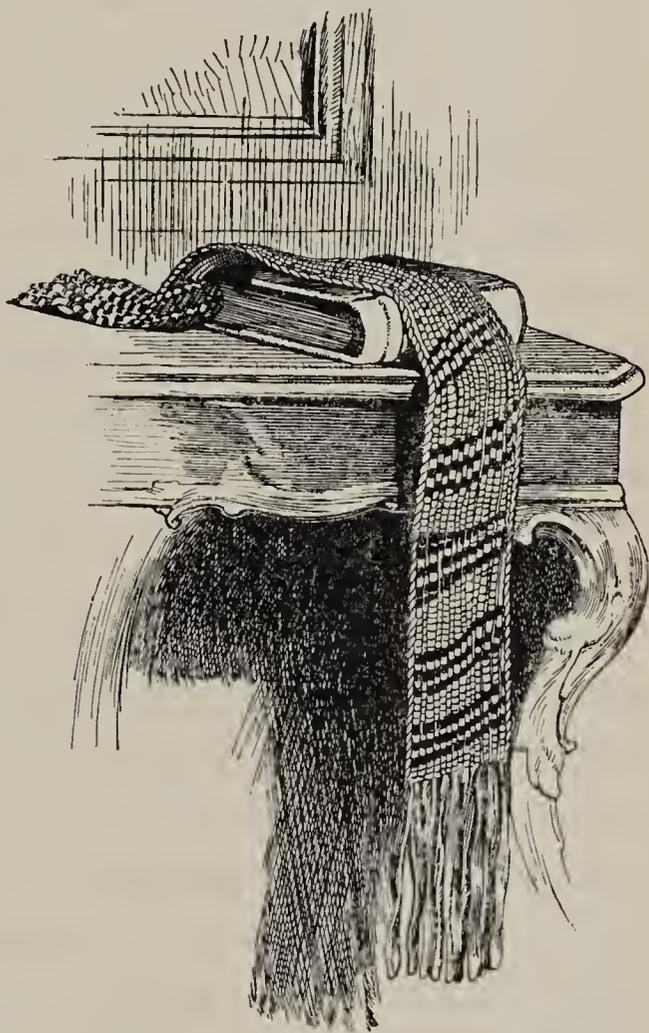
Sometimes the Indians by a carefully planned massacre sought to exterminate the whites; at other times there was regular warfare covering several months or even years. The result was always the same — the Indians killed many of the settlers, but lost the war in the end. How could it be otherwise? At first it was the bow and arrow against the musket; it was barbarism against civilization. When the Indians later obtained firearms, they were outnumbered by the white men.

The Pequot War. — One of the earliest of the Indian wars

was the Pequot War in 1637. The Pequot tribe occupied most of Connecticut. They resented the coming of Thomas Hooker and his colony into their territory (p. 59). They tried to enlist their late enemies, the Narragansetts, in a war against the whites. But Roger Williams, noble soul, labored to save those who had banished him, and his influence prevented the union of the tribes. The Pequots then decided to act alone, and it was a fatal decision. During the months that followed, the tribe was almost annihilated.

War in New Netherland. — In New Amsterdam the Indians welcomed the Dutch fur trader, but when the Dutch farmer who wanted land came, trouble soon came also. In 1643 a widespread Algonquin uprising was put down with a ruthless hand. More than a thousand Indians perished in that war, and the border settlements were left in ruins.

King Philip's War. — Of all the Indian wars in colonial times the greatest was that waged by King Philip, who was the son and successor of Massasoit, the friendly chief who had made and kept a treaty of peace with the Pilgrims. Philip, unlike his father, was not friendly to the settlers and he enlisted the Narragansetts and several other tribes besides his own in a general uprising in 1675. His purpose, no doubt, was to clear New England entirely of the white settlements.



WAMPUM BELT

Beads made from shells were strung on dried animal sinews and used as ornaments or as money. Belts of wampum were sent as tokens of respect from one chief to another and were used to ratify treaties.

The war lasted for two years. The Indian war whoop and the crack of the musket resounded through the New England forest from day to day. Many a lonely farmhouse was the scene of a heart-rending tragedy. In a fortress at South Kingston, Rhode Island, a thousand Indians met death in one night. King Philip was at last run down and was slain by one of his own race. Three thousand Indians had been slain and hundreds sold into slavery in the West Indies.

But the cost to the colonists was very heavy. Many were the massacres of women and children. Thirteen towns had been destroyed, many others partly destroyed. Nearly a thousand white men had been killed and there was mourning in every home. Still greater might have been their losses but for the New England Confederation (p. 60), which enabled them to act in unison.

Wars in the South. — The colonies of the South had also their troubles with the Indians. Virginia survived two serious conflicts with the red men, one in 1622 and another in 1644. Both were led by the same chief, the uncle of Pocahontas. In the second of these the aged chief was captured and was later killed by one of his own race.

North Carolina suffered a terrible Indian massacre in 1711. This was followed by a war in which the South Carolinians rushed to the aid of their neighbors. In one battle 400 of the Indian warriors were slain and in the end the Indians were completely defeated. Four years later South Carolina passed through a similar experience. Various Indian tribes, urged on by the Spaniards of St. Augustine, made war upon the settlers. The war continued for ten months and, though the whites lost 400 men, the Indians were utterly defeated.

III. GOVERNOR BERKELEY AND BACON'S REBELLION

Virginia had good and bad governors during the colonial period, as had all the colonies. Let us briefly notice one of them — Lord William Berkeley. Berkeley was governor for

about thirty years. He was a royalist to the core, a flint-headed old tyrant.

Bacon's Rebellion. — Berkeley oppressed the people until they could endure it no longer. They rose in rebellion against him, led by a young planter named Nathaniel Bacon, rich, eloquent, patriotic. Berkeley had secured a House of Burgesses to his liking — men that he could twist around his finger — and kept them in power for fifteen years. The people called for a new election and he refused to heed. At last, when he agreed to a new election, Bacon was one of the new representatives elected. He was the leader of the new house, which passed a series of laws called "Bacon's laws." The cross old governor did not like them, pronounced Bacon a rebel, and tried to arrest him. He refused, furthermore, to defend the colonists against an Indian attack, and when Bacon raised an army and fought the Indians, Berkeley again called him a rebel. This was in the year 1676, when there was war between white men and Indians in New England as well as in Virginia.

The governor raised an army to arrest Bacon, but Bacon promptly marched upon Jamestown and burned it to the ground. The governor had fled. But soon a deadlier foe than armed men — the swamp fever — ended the career of the brilliant young Bacon. His followers, without a leader, were soon scattered. The governor wreaked his vengeance on Bacon's followers; he hanged about twenty of them, including a Presbyterian minister.

"The old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I have done for the murder of my father," said the king, Charles II. Berkeley sailed for England to make his peace, but the king refused to see him and he died, broken-hearted, a few months later.

IV. EDMUND ANDROS AND NEW ENGLAND

For more than half a century after Winthrop had brought the charter for Massachusetts Bay to America (p. 55), the

people of that colony had self-government. It is true that they had troubles of their own: They expelled Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, they hanged a few Quakers and a few persons accused of witchcraft, and they had their bickerings among themselves, as others have. But they governed themselves and enjoyed this delicious privilege.

Massachusetts Loses Its Charter. — Charles II did not like Massachusetts. For various reasons he had a grudge against the colony and determined to get possession of its charter. He wanted those independent Puritans to understand that they had a master on the other side of the ocean. He succeeded and the famous charter was canceled in 1684. The next year Charles died and his brother, James II, came to the throne.

The new king conceived the purpose of annulling all the colonial charters and bringing all the colonies directly under



SEAL OF NEW ENGLAND UNDER GOVERNOR ANDROS

The Latin inscriptions read: "Seal of New England in America. James II by God's grace king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith."

the control of the crown. He made a beginning when he sent Sir Edmund Andros to be governor of all the New England colonies and a little later of New York and New Jersey also. The dominion of Andros extended from the Delaware to the valley of the St. Lawrence.

The Charter Oak. — Andros, as well as his royal master, was a tyrant, and he began in a reckless and high-handed manner his destruction of American liberty. He abolished the General Court in Massachusetts; he demanded that the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut be given up. Rhode Island handed over hers, but Connecticut hesitated. Andros then went to Hartford in his wrath; an angry meeting was held, when, as the story goes, a lover of liberty deftly seized the precious document in the darkness (the lights having been suddenly put out) and hid it in a hollow tree, ever afterward called the Charter Oak. Andros was inflexible and though he did not secure the charter, he pronounced Connecticut liberty at an end.

One historian says, "All those devices of tyranny which England had resisted, even where they were rare and exceptional, were now adopted as part of the regular machinery of government." The American colonists were dismayed. As loyal Englishmen they had for half a century been building up their institutions and rejoicing in their liberty. Was it now to be snatched away from them by a tyrant?

Fall of Andros. — But it happened that the people of England were also oppressed by the tyrannical king that had sent Andros. They stood this treatment but a few years when they broke forth in rebellion and James II was obliged to flee from the kingdom (1688). William and Mary became the sovereigns of England. When the news of the Revolution in England reached America the power of Andros was over. His downfall was sudden and he was sent a prisoner to England.

In 1691 the charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were restored and a new one was granted to Massachusetts. The General Court was restored and the suffrage was extended to citizens outside the church, who had not the right to vote under the old charter; but the king appointed the governor. It was at this time that Plymouth was joined to Massachusetts and its existence as a separate colony was ended.

In New York the rule of Andros was replaced by that of a German-born business man named Jacob Leisler (līs'ler), who seized the government for William and Mary. His action was not approved by the home government and after ruling the colony for two years, he yielded to a newly appointed governor. His enemies, not content with his downfall, brought about his execution on the charge of treason.

A generation later another bold New Yorker, Peter Zenger, won a great victory for the liberty of the press when he stood trial and was acquitted for attacking the governor in his newspaper (1735).

V. THE NAVIGATION LAWS

During the colonial period of nearly two hundred years the relation between the mother country and the colonies was for the most part pleasant. It is true that England never exploited her colonies as Rome did in ancient times or Spain in modern times. But a series of laws known as the Navigation Acts passed by Parliament at various times served to irritate the colonists and to widen a slowly growing chasm between them and the mother country.

Navigation Acts. — The first of these famous acts, passed in 1651, was aimed more at the Dutch carrying trade than at the colonists. It provided that all goods brought to England or the English colonies from Asia, Africa, or America must be shipped in English (or English colonial) vessels; also that three fourths of the crew of each vessel must be English subjects. Goods from Europe had to come either in English ships or in ships of the exporting country. A few years later Parliament passed an act forbidding the colonies to ship such goods as tobacco, sugar, and cotton to any other than an English port. Finally, in 1663, through prohibitory duties, the colonies were forbidden to import goods, with few exceptions, from any but an English port.

Such regulations, it will be clearly seen, would have hampered colonial trade very much indeed, had they been strictly observed.



EARLY SHIPBUILDING IN NEW ENGLAND

But they were not. Many shippers evaded the unjust laws whenever they could, by smuggling; that is, bringing goods into the country without reporting them to the customs officers.

Restrictions on Colonial Trade. — Another series of laws, for the restriction of manufacturing in America, is usually classed with the Navigation Acts. These could not have been evaded by smuggling. Parliament forbade the colonies to manufacture for export lest they should cripple the British manufacturer at home. New York had been making fur hats for export in large numbers, but a law shut off this trade and even forbade the selling of hats from one colony to another.

The colonists could not sell much grain to England because of the “corn laws” which taxed imported grain to protect the English grain grower. They were refused the right to manufacture lest the English manufacturer be hurt by competition. And their trade was greatly curbed in the interest of English shipowners.

The trade laws aimed to make England and the English colonies produce everything needed in the empire, and they gave some few advantages to the colonists. For example, England

paid a bounty for certain colonial products, and forbade the raising of tobacco in England. The English shipbuilders tried to have Parliament pass a law to suppress shipbuilding in America, but Parliament refused to do this. New England indeed became a great shipbuilding community. Massachusetts alone built as many as 150 ships a year, and since they were considered the same as English-built, many of them were sold to English purchasers.

The Sugar Act. — The worst of the repressive laws was the Sugar Act passed by Parliament in 1733, to benefit the owners of sugar plantations in the British West Indies. It would have been very damaging to colonial trade had it been enforced, for it placed a high tariff on molasses and sugar imported into the colonies from the French West Indies. New England's trade with these islands would have been ruined by this act had it not been constantly evaded by smuggling.

Effect of the Navigation Laws. — The system of Navigation and Trade laws proved, first, that the English producer, and not the colonist beyond the seas, had the ear of Parliament; and second, that the home government believed the chief object in having colonies was to benefit the home country. It is true that Spain and other countries made far more oppressive trade laws than England made; but the English colonist in America was forced to the conviction that as soon as he left the home soil he was regarded somewhat as an alien, certainly as less a full-fledged Englishman than those he left behind. The consciousness of this fact sank slowly but deeply into the colonial heart and played its part in bringing about the Revolution.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Describe the early experiences of the French in America. What were the serious consequences of Champlain's firing on the Iroquois? Describe the explorations of Marquette; of La Salle.

II. What was the chief cause of the Indian wars? Name several of these wars.

III. What caused the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia? How did Berkeley fare when he went to see the king? Who was king of England at this time?

IV. Why was Charles II unfriendly to Massachusetts? What did James II determine with respect to the American colonies? Describe the Charter Oak incident. What event in England saved the colonies?

V. In what way did the Navigation Acts injure the Americans? In what way did they help them? Describe the Sugar Act. What is smuggling? How did these trade laws help bring on the Revolution?

Events and Dates. — La Salle explores Louisiana and takes possession for France, 1682. The Pequot War, 1637. King Philip's War, 1675-1676. Bacon's Rebellion, 1676. The Navigation Acts.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*; Parkman, *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*; Greene, *Foundations of American Nationality*; Earle, the books cited in the preceding chapter.

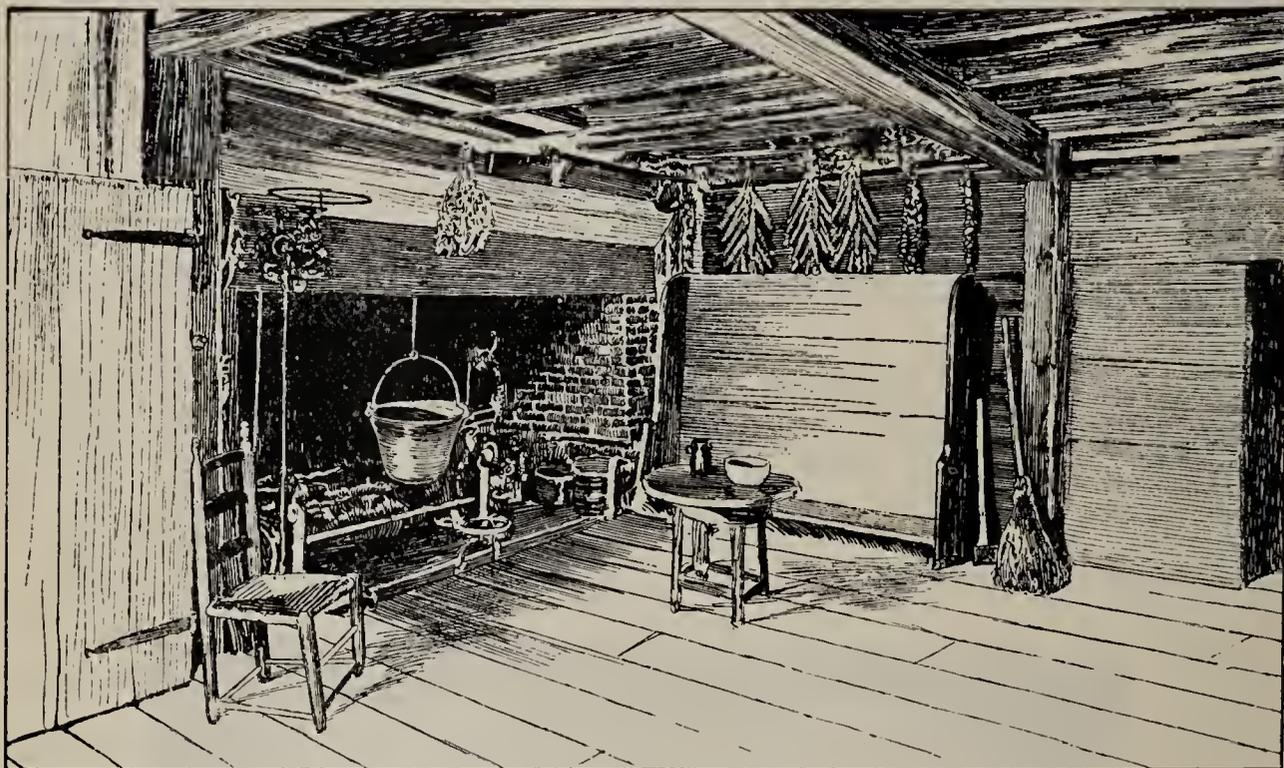
FOR THE PUPIL: Eggleston, *Our First Century*; Coe, *Founders of Our Country*; Baldwin, *Discovery of the Old Northwest*; Catherwood, *Romance of Dollard*; Hasbrouck, *The Boys' Parkman*.



STRONG BOX, OF COLONIAL TIMES

CHAPTER VIII

COLONIAL LIFE



KITCHEN IN A COLONIAL HOUSE

In the grounds of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts. Note the corn and other vegetables drying in one corner; and the primitive means of cooking.

THE American colonies started with the civilization of the European countries from which the first settlers came. Their ships, tools, clothing, and habits of life came from Europe, chiefly from England. But at once their ways of life began to change under the new conditions in their forest home, thousands of miles from the Old World; and they have been slowly changing ever since.

I. HOME LIFE AND CUSTOMS

Houses. — When the pioneers first came to America they found an immense supply of timber and of stone, but they had no sawmills or stone cutters. Their early homes were made

chiefly of bark, pinned on a light frame, after the style of Indian wigwams. Of the first thirty houses built on Manhattan Island, twenty-nine were made of bark. But the pioneer had his ax and he knew how to use it. The bark home soon gave way to the log cabin.¹ Nails were scarce and costly and the cabin was put together by means of wooden pegs. Later the cabins were replaced, especially in the towns, by strong houses of wood or stone, or sometimes of brick imported from England or Holland.

Putting Out Fires. — In a town or city there was no fire department; but every householder kept a fire-ladder and several leather fire-buckets with his initials stamped on them. In case of fire the alarm was given and the men and boys of the



FIGHTING A FIRE IN COLONIAL DAYS

whole neighborhood rushed to the scene, each carrying his fire-buckets. Two lines of men were formed from the burning building to a well or stream — a “wet line” along which the

¹ See picture of one on page 238.

filled buckets were rapidly passed to the man at the top of the ladder, and a "dry line" for returning the empty buckets.

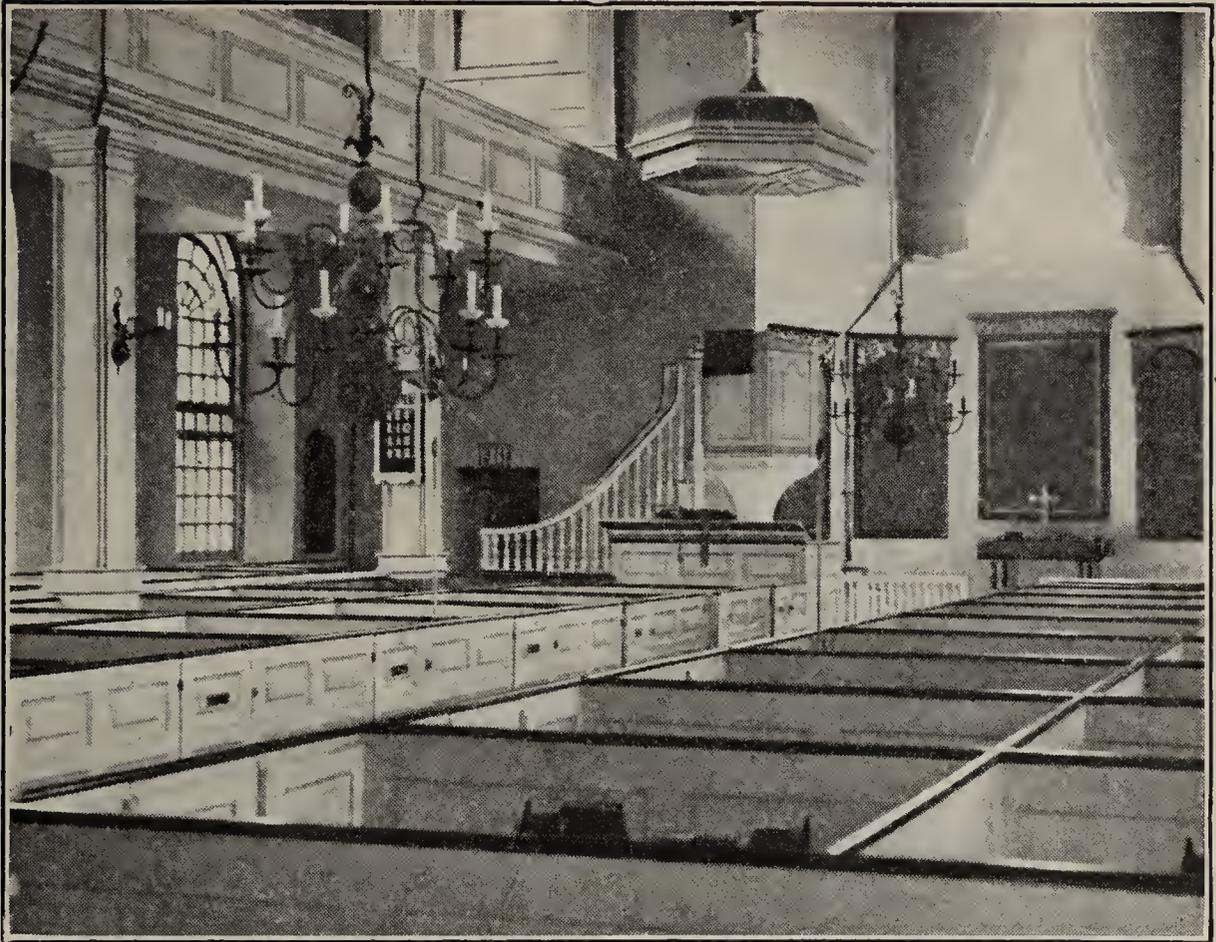
Some of the houses built for defense were called blockhouses. The second story extended over the first so that the occupants could fire down on a besieging enemy. A few of these are still standing.

Means of Lighting. — No electric or gas lights were known to our forefathers of colonial days. For many years their chief means of lighting their homes were pine knots, which made a fairly good, but a flickering light, and of which they found an abundant supply in the forest. The pine knot was followed by the tallow dip and the candle, made of animal fat or wax from the bayberry bush. Sometimes the only light was from the great open fireplace over which hung the pots and kettles.

Styles of Clothing. — All the people, men and women, wore homespun clothing of flax or wool. The cleaning and carding and spinning and weaving of wool was a long and tedious process, requiring great patience and industry. It was done mostly by women and girls, while the men and boys worked on the farms, cleared away the timber, built the ships, and at times fought the Indians.

In New England in the earlier period there was a great deal of prejudice against wearing fine clothes. In some colonies the government tried to regulate the dress of the people. Massachusetts made a law forbidding the purchase of garments with silver, gold, silk, or thread lace on them. Even "slashed clothes" were forbidden, except one slash in each sleeve and one in the back. Many a young woman was arrested and brought before the magistrate for wearing too rich finery, or for wearing her hair "fluffed and rolled." Hannah Lyman of Connecticut was arrested for "wearing silk in a flaunting manner." Even in Virginia a young man was taxed according to the kind of clothes he wore.

Going to Church. — In every colony the people were extremely religious. Laws for the observance of Sunday were



©Keystone View Co.

INTERIOR OF THE OLD NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON

Still kept as it was in Colonial times.

very strict, but they were not enforced except in New England, where every one in the early period had to go to church. There the church was a wooden building, unpainted and unheated. Some brought with them foot warmers—small metal boxes filled with live coals. The people were summoned to church by the beating of a drum or the blowing of a horn or conch-shell. On the inside the church was very plain. The seats were high, resembling shelves, and each seat turned up against the back on hinges; by turning them up the people had more room to stand during the long prayers. The prayer in the New England churches was sometimes actually two hours long, and the psalm-singing, during which also the people stood, often lasted three quarters of an hour. When the standing period was over the seats were let down with a loud clatter.

Life in the South. — Life in the southern colonies was very different from the stern, almost gloomy life in New England.

The great landowners belonged for the most part to the aristocracy of old England and tried to reproduce in America the social customs of the homeland. Agriculture, which depended largely on slave labor, was the chief industry. The plantations



OLD DRAWING SHOWING BOYS AT SCHOOL AND AT PLAY

were almost independent communities, many of them shipping their products directly to England and to the other colonies from their own landings. Horse-racing, gambling, and wrestling were the favorite sports of the men. The southern gentleman possessed a keen sense of honor and devotion to his country. In the great struggle for independence, the South

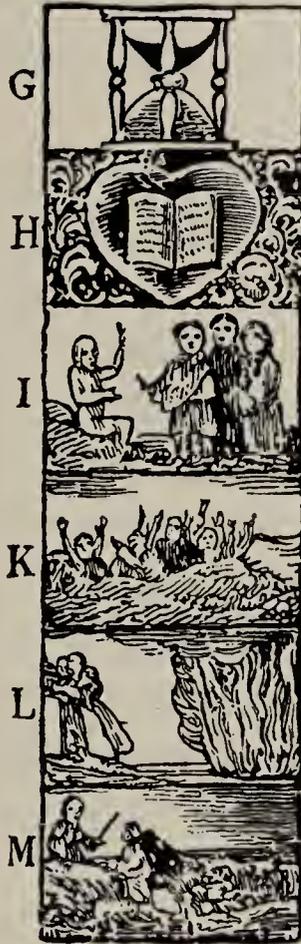
furnished many leaders, including George Washington, who was born and bred on a Virginia plantation.

Schools. — In the matter of educating the young, the colonists, with all their disadvantages, measured up with the most enlightened countries of Europe.

Their schoolhouses were as crude as their churches, and their textbooks fell far short of the excellent textbooks in our schools to-day. The teacher was often the minister, some young student, or possibly the innkeeper. On rough seats without backs the children pored all day long over the *New England Primer* or other dry texts of the time.

The New England colonies established schools in town and country, but in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania only the towns had schools, while in the greater part of the southern colonies there were neither towns nor schools. The poor were not educated at all and the rich usually hired private tutors or sent their children to the North or to England.

Social Rank. — In our free America of to-day we do not consider one person better than another on account of birth and station. But the colonists brought over from Europe their notions of social rank and for a long time observed them. People sat in church and even the children in school according to rank. It was a serious offense for any one to take a seat reserved for his “betters.”



G As runs the Glass,
Our Life doth pass.

H

My Book and Heart
Must never part.

I

J o b feels the Rod,—
Yet blesses GOD.

K

Proud Korah's troop
Was swallowed up

L

L o t fled to Zoar,
Saw fiery Shower
On Sodom pour.

M

M o s e s was he
Who Israel's Host
Led thro' the Sea.

A PAGE OF THE NEW ENGLAND
PRIMER

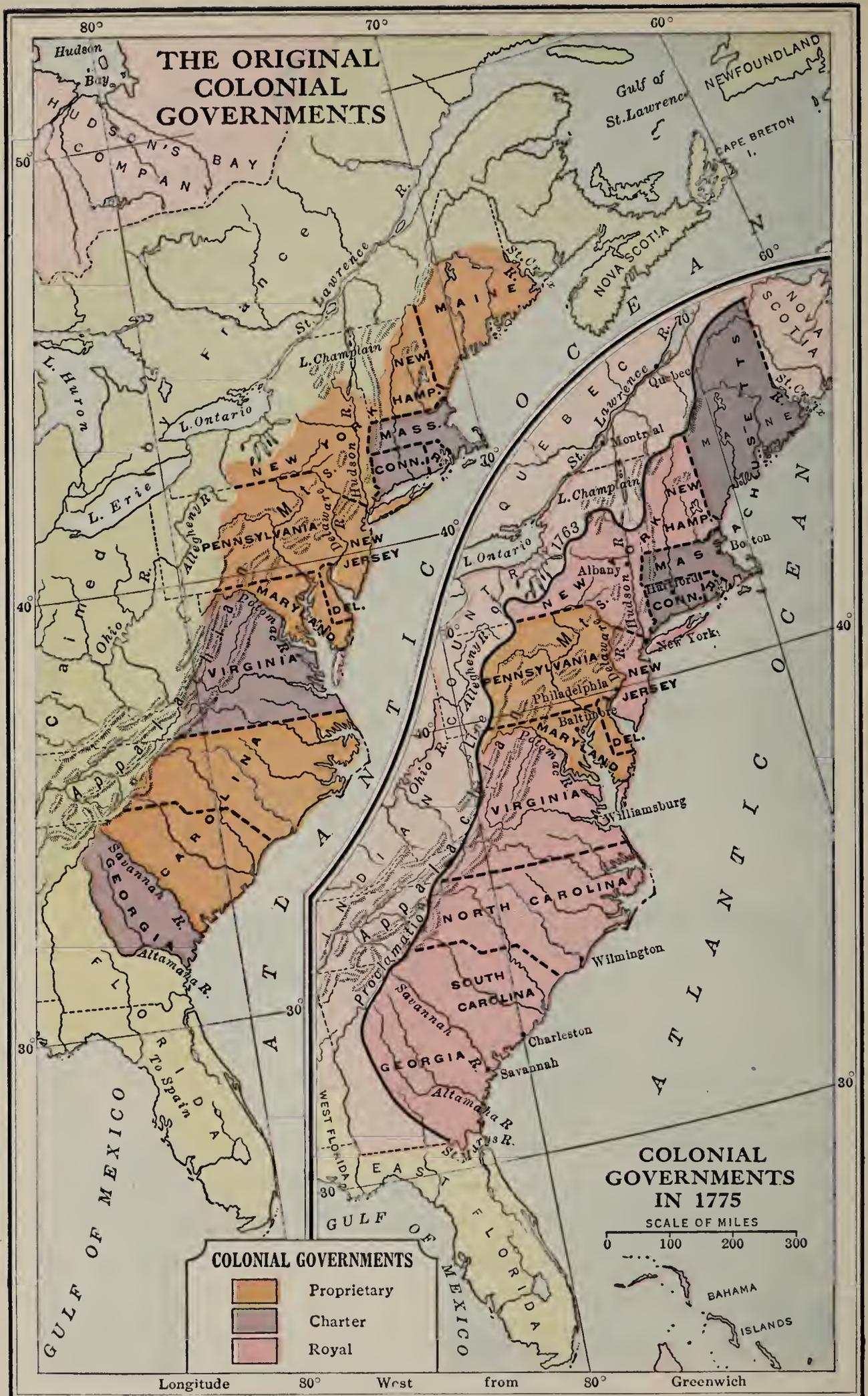
Notice the “long s,” looking much like “f,” in “blesses,” “swallowed,” “Host”; this style of letter continued in use until about 1800.

In New England the ministers and magistrates held the highest rank and everybody else was expected to look up to them. In New York the patroons (p. 65) stood at the top, while in Virginia and the South the great landowner came first. Next below these stood the traders and small farmers, who constituted the majority of the people, the bone and sinew of the land.

Indentured Servants. — Among the white men, the lowest in rank were the “indented” servants, a class unknown to the world except in America. There were several classes of these. Some jailbirds and criminals sent to the colonies by the mother country, thus by a long service escaped death or imprisonment. Others, known as redemptioners or freewillers, sold their services for a term of years in order to pay their passage to America; and still others were children stolen by kidnapers. When a shipmaster arrived with such servants on board, he would advertise and the farmers and merchants would buy the servants, each for the term of work agreed upon. The agreement or contract was called an indenture, from which came the term “indentured” or “indented” servant. It usually required from four to seven years for a young man to pay his passage in this way. After he was free he would usually settle down and become an industrious citizen. For many years there were more indented servants than there were negro slaves in the American colonies. During their terms of service, many of the indented servants were treated like slaves.

II. COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

All of the American colonies were planted without aid from the English government, with the exception of Georgia, which received a grant from Parliament. As they were left to themselves in the founding, they were also left to themselves in a large measure in the matter of government. This was especially true in the early period. Later the sovereign took more interest in colonial government.

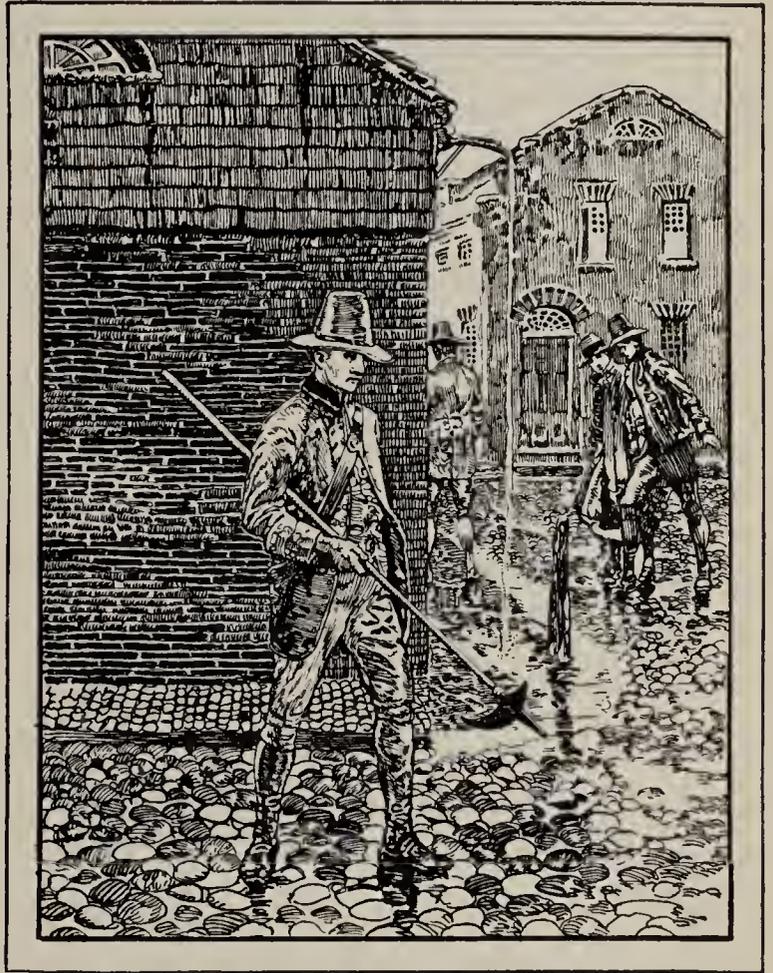


Three Forms. — As usually given, there were three kinds of colonial government — the Charter, the Proprietary, and the Royal. A charter was a grant of certain powers or rights, and such a grant by the English sovereign included the right to plant and govern a colony. Virginia and Massachusetts were at first charter colonies, as were several of the others. Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were proprietary colonies; that is, they were planted and controlled by a proprietary or proprietor, as Lord Baltimore and William Penn. The royal colonies were under the control of the king.

As the colonies grew in importance the king decided that he must have greater control, and a charter-breaking campaign was attempted late in the reign of Charles II (p. 84). At the close of the colonial period seven of the thirteen were of the royal type. Only three, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, still had their charter government.

Governor and Assembly. — In each of the colonies there was a governor and an assembly. The governor was elected by the people in Rhode Island and Connecticut. In Massachusetts and in the royal colonies the king appointed the governor, and in the proprietary colonies the proprietor did so.

The people elected the assembly in all the colonies, and the assembly had control of the purse; that is, it had the sole



A NEW YORK POLICEMAN IN 1693
Redrawn from an old print.

power of taxing the people. This power was of the greatest importance and was the chief means of insuring to the people self-government. The governors and the assemblies often failed to agree. Sometimes their quarrels became serious, but they were usually ended by the yielding of the governor. The assembly had the power to force him and often did so by refusing to vote needed supplies or even by withholding his salary.

The governor could call the assembly to meet when he chose, could dissolve it, and could even veto any law that it enacted; but he could not force it in the matter of taxation. And the real power of government is the power of taxing. Thus it is proper to say that the colonies were self-governing. In various ways the British government tried to secure an American revenue at the disposal of the king, but never succeeded. Its final attempt brought on the Revolution.

The Council. — Besides the governor and assembly there was in each of the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Georgia, an upper house of the legislature usually called the council. The council was smaller than the assembly. Its members were appointed by the king in the royal colonies and by the proprietor in the proprietary colonies. The council was a board of advisers to the governor and frequently it formed the highest court.

Voting. — Only a small part of the people had the right to vote. The women did not vote; and great numbers of men were excluded, some through a religious test and others through a property qualification. Elections were held in a very different way from elections nowadays. No pains were taken to make the voting secret. Indeed the voting was generally by word of mouth, not by ballot.

III. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

The greatest character of colonial America was Benjamin Franklin. He was born in Boston in 1706, went to Philadelphia at the age of seventeen, and made that city his home, dying in 1790 at the age of eighty-four years.

From Boston to Philadelphia. — As a boy Franklin worked in a printing office owned by his brother, in Boston; but as they did not get on well together he left home, without notice even to his parents. Reaching New York and failing to find work there as a printer, he crossed New Jersey to Philadelphia, where he had heard of a vacancy in one of the two printing offices in the city. In his autobiography, one of the most permanently popular books ever published in America, Franklin tells how he landed from a boat on the Delaware, weary, hungry, and unkempt, with only a few shillings in his pocket. He spent three pence for three loaves of bread, though he could not eat more than one. As he walked up the street nibbling at one loaf and holding another under each arm, people noticed him and laughed at him. One of them was Deborah Read, a young girl who afterward became his wife.

After Franklin had been seven months absent from home, hearing that his parents were grieved at his absence, he made a trip to Boston to see them, wearing good clothes and carrying a watch, he tells us. With his father's consent he returned to Philadelphia and a little later he went to London, where he remained working at his trade for eighteen months.

Poor Richard's Almanac. — Returning to Philadelphia, he



YOUNG BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
ENTERING PHILADELPHIA

Statue in Philadelphia.

established a newspaper and soon became the most prominent printer in America. In 1732 (the year in which Washington was born) Franklin began to publish an almanac, which he called *Poor Richard's Almanac*, and continued it for twenty-five years. This almanac came to be well known in the colonies. In it he printed many quaint sayings which no ordinary person could have composed. Some of them are still quoted and seem to have become fixtures in our language. Most of them deal with the subject of thrift — improving your time and saving your money.

Here are a few samples:

“One to-day is worth two to-morrows.”

“Sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labor wears; the used key is always bright.”

“Little strokes fell great oaks.”

“Fools make feasts and wise men eat them.”

“Keep thy shop and thy shop will keep thee.”

“Industry need not wish; he that lives on hope will die fasting.”

Statesman and Inventor. — When Franklin was forty years old he had made money enough to enable him to give his time



MEDAL AWARDED TO FRANKLIN FOR HIS DISCOVERIES IN ELECTRICITY

This Copley Medal of the Royal Society of London was awarded to Franklin in 1753. Such a medal is given each year for the greatest contribution to science, made by either an Englishman or a foreigner.

to higher things than money-making. He devoted his time to public affairs and to the study of science and philosophy. He held various public offices; he was sent to London to represent several of the colonies. When the war of the Revolution came he was sent to Paris and it was he that induced the French nation to declare for the American cause. He helped write the treaty of peace at the end of the war and helped frame the Constitution near the end of a great career.

Franklin was also an inventor. He invented the "Franklin" stove and bi-focal lenses for spectacles. His studies in electricity, of which so little was known in his day, were of the greatest importance. By drawing electricity from a cloud by means of a kite in a thunderstorm, he discovered that lightning and electricity are one and the same thing. At the time of Franklin's death he was known throughout the civilized world and his fame continues to this day.

SIDE TALK

The Ax and the Whistle. — We are indebted to Franklin for the expressions "paid too much for his whistle," and "an ax to grind." Here are the stories in brief:

When Franklin was a child of seven he took a great fancy to a whistle that another boy had and inquiring in what shop such whistles were sold, he ran to the store and offered the storekeeper all the money he had for a whistle. The man handed him one and took the money, though it was four times the real price. The lad ran home blowing the whistle. But when he told the older members of the family all about it, they made fun of him and said he had paid too much for his whistle. In later years when he became a famous man he often related the story and applied it to many things in life for which we pay too much. We make false estimates of the value of things and often pay too much for our whistles.

The other story is that when Benjamin was going to school one day he met a man carrying an ax. The man praised him and called him a very nice boy. He asked the boy to turn a grindstone for him and kept saying nice things to him while he tugged away at the grindstone. When the ax was ground, the man told him brusquely to hurry on to school. Franklin drew a lesson from this. When one cajoles and flatters you, the chances are that he has an ax to grind.

LESSON HELPS

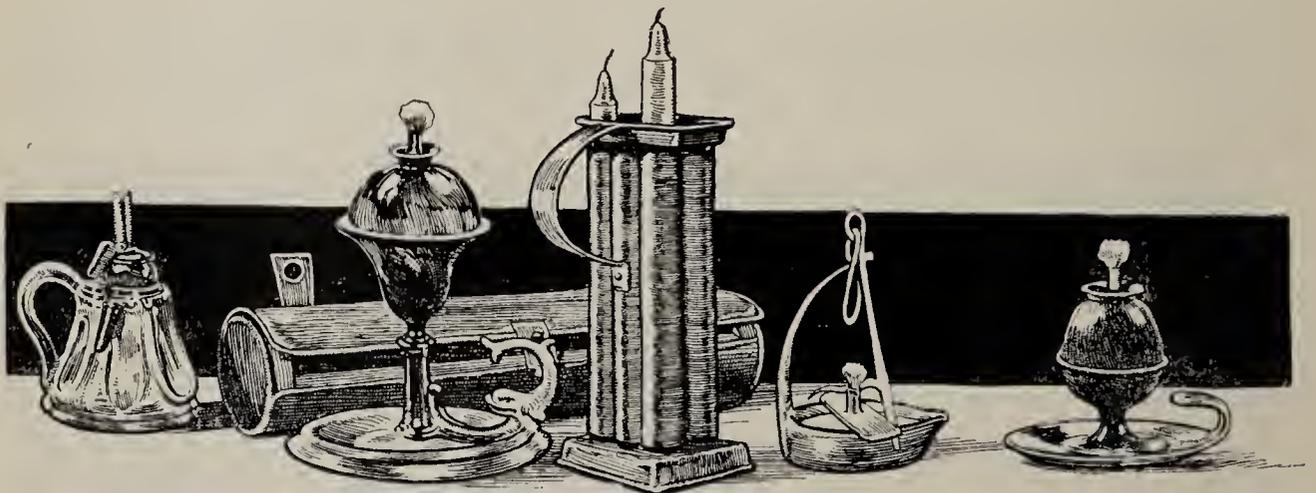
Questions and Topics. — I. Describe the first houses in which the colonists lived. How did they fight fires? What is a blockhouse? How did they light their homes? How did the people clothe themselves? Describe a church service; the school advantages in the different sections. What is meant by social rank? Describe life in Virginia.

II. What was the difference between a charter colony and a royal colony? Between a proprietary colony and a royal colony? Name the colonies in each group. How were the members of the assembly chosen?

III. Write a short biography of Franklin, giving a few points not mentioned in this book. Can you name any other American who excelled in both literature and science? Did you ever pay too much for a whistle?

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Greene, *Foundations of American Nationality*; Elson, *History of the United States*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Johnson, *Old Time Schools and School Books*; Hart, *Colonial Children*; Baldwin, *Four Great Americans*; Eggleston, *Stories of American Life and Adventure*.



EARLY IMPLEMENTS FOR LIGHTING

Four whale-oil lamps, a candle holder (lying on its side), and mold for making candles (a half dozen at a time).

CHAPTER IX

COLONIAL WARS

France and England. — During the great World War in Europe ending in 1918 France and England fought side by side and shoulder to shoulder in the same cause. But they had not always been friends. In fact no two other nations in the history of the world ever fought each other so often and so long as these two. In the late Middle Ages they had what is known as the Hundred Years' War, which ended in 1453 — the same year as the fall of Constantinople. Then they fought at intervals for nearly a hundred years more, partly for the possession of North America; and after that still again, harder than ever, until the fall of Napoleon at Waterloo in 1815.

Before the American Revolution there were four wars between the French and the English in America.

I. THE THREE EARLY WARS

The first three wars between the English and the French colonies were fought because England and France were at war in Europe, and not because of colonial disputes.

King William's War. — The first of the conflicts is called King William's War because William III was king of England. The Algonquin Indians sided with the French, and the Iroquois with the English. This accounts for the fact that there were Indian massacres from beginning to end in this war and those that followed it. Many a lonely settler and his family were brained by the merciless tomahawk. Whole towns were wiped out, even within thirty miles of Boston. The English sent a fleet against Quebec, and a land force, chiefly colonists, against Montreal, but both failed. The war dragged on for seven years (1690–1697) and brought no gain to either side.



INDIANS MAKING AN ATTACK

Queen Anne's War. — A few years later came another war, known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession and in America as Queen Anne's War because Anne was then queen of England. This war lasted for eleven years (1702–1713), bringing danger and disaster to many frontier settlements.

At the peace of Utrecht (ū'trēkt), which ended the war, Acadia was ceded by France to Great Britain; it was renamed Nova Scotia. France also ceded Newfoundland and the country around Hudson Bay. The peace now made was unbroken for thirty years; but they were years of preparation. The bounds of Acadia were not defined and the future of Louisiana was yet to be determined. (Maps following page 116.)

During this interval of peace the French built a mighty fortress on Cape Bret'on Island at the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, with the purpose of defending the great river valley against all comers. They built a chain of forts down the Mississippi and on the Great Lakes, and placed another fort on Lake Champlain at Crown Point.

New Orleans was founded in 1718 and France had now two heads to her great American possessions, one in the tropical south and the other amid the Canadian snows; but two thousand miles of unbroken wilderness lay between them.

King George's War. — Another war broke out in 1741. It was a great struggle involving most of the nations of Europe, where it was called the War of the Austrian Succession. In America it was called King George's War, as George II was king of England.

On this side of the water there was one great event in this war — the capture of Louisburg, the fortress that France had built on Cape Breton Island. This victory was due almost wholly to American effort; yet when peace came with the treaty of



MEDAL FOR THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG

Aix-la-Chapelle (sha-pěl') in 1748, the British handed it back to France without consulting the colonists. This led many to feel that American affairs ought to be managed in America and not by diplomats three thousand miles across the sea.

Thus ended King George's War, leaving great problems still unsolved. It was left for a future and greater war to determine whether the civilization and language of North America should be English or French.

II. BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

Nothing was clearer than that Great Britain and France, with greatly overlapping claims to North America, would some-

time appeal to the sword to settle the question as to which should rule the continent. France laid claim to New France, comprising the region of the lakes and the St. Lawrence, and also to the great basin of the Mississippi with all its tributaries, known as Louisiana (p. 79). The claims of England were almost as extravagant, and the dispute was finally settled by the French and Indian War (1754-1763) in America, together with the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) in Europe.

Advantages of Each Side. — French land claims in America were about twenty times as great as the territory held by the British; but the French population in America, about 60,000, was only one twentieth as great as the British population, which was estimated at 1,200,000.

The French had the advantage of being a unit. They enjoyed the wild freedom of the forest, it is true, but in government they had no will of their own; the word of their king was law and to a man they were ready to plunge into the war when he decided they should.

The English colonies, on the other hand, were self-governing, and each was connected separately with the motherland. Their interests were so unlike that it was very difficult for them to act in unison in a common cause. In 1754 seven of the colonies sent commissioners to Albany to make a common treaty with the Iroquois Indians. This Albany Congress also approved of a plan for a confederation, or federal union, of all the colonies, which was proposed by Benjamin Franklin; but the plan was rejected both by the colonies and by the home government. The colonists therefore plunged into this war, as in those preceding, without concerted action. The colonial assemblies voted money grudgingly and in small amounts; some of them refused to act at all. It required two years for the colonists to awaken to a sense of the danger and during those two years they met with disaster on all sides.

The Indians. — The war was sure to involve the Indians, and much might depend on them. On the whole, the French were

far more pleasing to the red men than the English. The French wanted furs, which the Indians were glad to sell; the English wanted land, which the Indians were loath to give up. The French sought to convert the Indians and make Frenchmen of them; the English came to build up homes for themselves and they did not flatter the red men or make companions of them. When a Frenchman wanted a wife, he might marry a squaw; an Englishman wanting a wife found her among the settlers or imported her from England.

It is easy to see why the native race fell in more readily with the French. But there was one notable exception to this rule. As we have seen (p. 78), Champlain had mortally offended the Iroquois and made them enemies of the French. In the French and Indian War, therefore, most of the Iroquois refused to join the French and remained neutral.

The Ohio Valley. — The occasion of this war was a dispute over the ownership of the Ohio Valley. Each side made a move toward securing the possession of it. In 1749 the governor of Canada sent Céloron de Bienville (sā-lō-rōN' dē byǎN-vēl') down the Ohio River with lead plates to be buried along its banks. Each contained an inscription declaring that all the land drained by that river belonged to the king of France. The French also erected forts in the Allegheny Valley. The British made a counter move. They formed the Ohio Company and received a grant from the British king of half a million acres along the Ohio on condition that settlements be made on the land and a fort be maintained.

Washington's Journey. — Governor Dinwid'die of Virginia, alarmed at the French activities, decided to make a protest to the French officials against their occupation of the Allegheny Valley, and to carry his message he chose a young surveyor and officer of the Virginia militia named George Washington. The journey was one of great peril, through the unbroken forest in midwinter. With great courage and fidelity Washington made the trip to Fort Le Boeuf (lē būf') and brought back a courteous



SULGRAVE MANOR

The home of Washington's ancestors in England. In 1914 this manor was purchased by the British Peace Centenary Committee.

answer from the French commander, refusing to withdraw. (Side Talk, p. 115).

Washington had selected the site of the present Pittsburgh as a good place for a fort, but the French drove away the men who were beginning to build it. The French then built there a fort of their own, called Fort Duquesne (dōō-kān').

Meanwhile Washington was on his way to the place with a small army. He met a French force

near Great Meadows, and in a skirmish their leader and several others were killed. Washington then built Fort Necessity, but a larger French force came upon him and forced him to surrender the place. This was the opening campaign (1754) in one of the great wars of history.

General Braddock. — In the following year General Braddock was sent out from England with an army of regulars to take command in America. He was a brave man, doubtless an honest man; but he was haughty and self-willed. It was planned that he lead his army of about 1400 men, regulars and American colonials, through the forest to attack Fort Duquesne. Washington was the leader of the Virginians in Braddock's army.

There was no road, and to move the baggage and artillery a way had to be cut through the woods. Hundreds of men with axes were employed in making a road about twelve feet wide. Slowly over stumps and roots and through ravines the cannon

and wagons were dragged along. Winding among the hills and up the mountain slopes, across rivers and swamps, the army made its way in a line four miles long. The men made the woods ring with their shouts and songs.

The Battle. — When within eight miles of Fort Duquesne the army was suddenly attacked by several hundred French and Indians who began a murderous fire. The British and Americans squared themselves for a fight, but the enemy quickly disappeared in the underbrush, behind logs and trees, and fired



BRADDOCK'S DEFEAT

Redrawn from an old print.

from their hiding places. The American troops knew what to do, and that was to adopt Indian methods and find hiding places. But Braddock would have none of it. Dignified British commander that he was, he refused to permit his regulars to adopt such cowardly methods, and he actually struck men with the flat of his sword for hiding behind trees.

For three long hours the regulars huddled together, firing aimlessly into the woods, while a hail of bullets poured into their ranks from the invisible foe. Two horses were shot under

Washington and four bullets pierced his clothes, but he escaped unharmed. Braddock had four horses shot under him and mounted a fifth. When more than half of his army had been killed or wounded he ordered a retreat, but it was scarcely begun when Braddock received a mortal wound.

Death of Braddock. — The ruined army, leaving its dead and its artillery and bearing its wounded as best it could, retreated from this deathtrap over the same road that had brought it. Braddock was borne on a litter. After a silence of a whole day he said, “ Who would have thought it? ” On the fourth day he passed away and, as he had requested, his body was buried in the middle of the road and the army marched on its way over his grave in order that no trace of it might be visible to the prying eyes of the Indians.

Lake George. — In the north another expedition was planned under General William Johnson, to take Crown Point on Lake Champlain. While in camp on Lake George his army was attacked by the French and Indians, and won a hard-fought battle. But the expedition went no farther that year.

Acadia and the Acadians. — Acadia had been settled by Frenchmen before the founding of Jamestown, but had passed to the British in the treaty of Utrecht of 1713.

Before the British had it the French had claimed that Acadia included not only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, but also what is now New Brunswick and a part of Maine. The English said it meant only what is now Nova Scotia. When they became its owners, however, they were quite ready to accept the French boundary. But the French now declared that it meant Nova Scotia and nothing more. What were the true boundaries of Acadia? Nobody knew. The two nations disputed over the question and finally fought over it as well as over the Ohio Valley.

When the British received Acadia, the peninsula of Nova Scotia was peopled with thousands of French. Their new rulers required that they take an oath of allegiance to the British

sovereign, but promised them freedom in their religion, which was Roman Catholic, and in their language, which was French.

Most of them took the oath within twenty years, but at heart they remained entirely French. Many years passed and after King George's War, when a new generation had grown up, the British again required that they take the oath. The Acadians were a frugal, industrious, simple-minded people; but under the influence of French leaders, they stubbornly refused.

Removal of the Acadians. — Exasperated at last, the British government decided on drastic measures. It decided to give the Acadians one more opportunity to take the oath and in case of refusal to deport them. As most of them again refused (1755), the men were summoned to assemble in their churches to hear the decree of the king: Their houses and lands and herds were forfeit to the crown, and they with their families and household goods were to be borne away by sea to lands unknown. Thereupon they were loaded into English ships and carried away, in spite of their cries and lamentations; but pains were taken to keep families together wherever possible. Some of the Acadians escaped to the forest and could not be found.

The scenes at Grand Pré (grän prā') have been made famous by Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*. The English commander there, John Winslow, a great-grandson of a Mayflower Pilgrim, confessed that his work was the most painful duty of his life.

The Acadians were scattered among the British colonies from New Haven to Georgia, strangers in a strange land. As the years passed many of them returned to Canada, some to their old homes. But the great majority never again saw their native land.

III. THE DEFEAT OF FRANCE

Between the defeat of Braddock and the end of the war eight years intervened and many things happened, but few of them were of such importance as to require our notice here.

Montcalm. — France sent a great commander to America in

the person of the Marquis de Montcalm'. He took Oswego (1756) and then Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George (1757), and he beat off a British assault at Ticonderoga (1758) where the slaughter was greater than in any other engagement during the war. Had Montcalm been properly supported from home it is possible that he would have won the whole war for his nation.

William Pitt. — On the British side the greatest event was the appointment of William Pitt — later Lord Chatham (chăt'am) — to a place in the Cabinet that gave him control of the war. Pitt was the greatest English statesman of his time, and his masterly touch quickly turned defeat into victory. By the end of 1758 the great French fortress of Louisburg and Fort Duquesne had been captured by the British.

James Wolfe. — At the siege of Louisburg, which covered several weeks, the British were commanded by General Amherst (ăm'erst) and in his army was a brilliant young officer named James Wolfe. The unerring eye of Pitt selected him for the most important expedition yet undertaken in the war — that against Quebec, the great French stronghold on the St. Lawrence.

In the early summer of 1759 Wolfe sailed up the great Canadian river and anchored near the city. During the summer months Wolfe made several attacks, but was always checked by the ever vigilant Montcalm.

The Plains of Abraham. — Beyond the city was an extensive plateau known as the Plains of Abraham, but the ascent from the river was so steep and rocky that a goat could scarcely climb it. Montcalm believed it inaccessible and left it unfortified, but Wolfe determined to attempt it.

The ceaseless activity of the British kept the French under great tension. Finally, on September 12, Wolfe made such demonstrations below the city that Montcalm prepared for an attack from that quarter. But in the dead of a moonless night sixteen hundred men in boats rowed to the foot of the plateau and began the ascent. First a small party scrambled to the

summit and scattered the French sentinels. The path was cleared, other troops followed, and at six o'clock the sun shone on the brilliant uniforms and bayonets of 5000 British soldiers drawn up in battle array on the plateau overlooking the city.



WOLFE'S ARMY TAKING POSITION ON THE PLATEAU NEAR QUEBEC
Redrawn from an old print.

Death of Wolfe and Montcalm. — Wolfe had a strange presentiment of impending death. As his men were rowing to the shore he repeated with deep pathos the lines of Gray's *Elegy*, ending with "The paths of glory lead but to the grave." He took from his bosom a miniature of the lovely girl in England who had promised to become his wife, and asked a friend to return it to her.

Montcalm was amazed to find that his enemy had outwitted him. He decided to give battle. Then came the conflict — the roar of artillery was followed by the volleys of musketry and then by a hand-to-hand encounter with bayonet and sword. Wolfe was mortally wounded by a bullet in his breast, and he sank pale and helpless to the ground. Then he heard the shout, "They run." Raising himself on his elbow, he asked, "Who run?" "The enemy, sir. They give way everywhere." The

dying commander then turned upon his side and said in a low voice, "Then God be praised, I die in peace," and the next moment his soul had taken flight.

Equally heroic was the death of the great French commander. As he was guiding his retreating troops in their flight an English bullet was buried in his body; and when his physician told him that his wound was mortal, he replied, "I am glad of it; I am happy that I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." His body was laid to rest beneath the floor of a convent in a grave partly made by the bursting of a shell.

Fall of Quebec. — Montcalm's successor did not have the means to defend Quebec. Five days later it surrendered: the victorious army marched into the city and unfurled the British flag over the citadel, where it waves to this day.

Before the fall of Quebec, the greatest French stronghold in America, the British had taken Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point; soon after it, Montreal surrendered to General Amherst. The long war was over and French dominion in America was ended. But the treaty of peace was not signed until 1763 because the Seven Years' War still raged in Europe. Spain had entered the war on the side of the French and in consequence lost to the British, for a time, the possession of Cuba and the Philippine Islands.

Treaty of Paris (1763). — At the signing of the treaty of peace the land cessions were greater than at the close of any other war in the world's history. France handed over to Great Britain all Canada,¹ Cape Breton Island, and all her possessions east of the Mississippi except New Orleans and the island on which it is situated. Great Britain traded Cuba and the Philippines to Spain for Florida, and France compensated Spain for

¹ It is a curious fact that England preferred the island of Guadeloupe (gô-dê-lôop') in the West Indies to Canada, "an unprofitable and barren country." But France, while willing to cede Canada, protested against giving up Guadeloupe owing to its great sugar production. Franklin wrote a pamphlet declaring that though the island was of the greater value it might be best to accept Canada because it was contiguous territory.

her aid and for the loss of Florida by giving her New Orleans and the vast region west of the Mississippi.¹

Aside from the land cessions the results of the French and Indian War were great and far-reaching. It not only added Canada to the British Empire, of which it is still a part; it was no doubt the chief factor in deciding the future of the new nation that was soon to be born, deciding that the language and customs of the United States should be English rather than French.

SIDE TALKS

Washington's Journey. — It was a fine compliment to a lad of twenty-one to be chosen by the governor of Virginia for such a dangerous and responsible task as carrying a message through hundreds of miles of untrodden wilderness to the French commander at Fort Le Boeuf. Washington's companions were Christopher Gist, a well-known woodsman of the western country, an Indian chief known as Half-King, a Dutchman who knew French as interpreter, and a few Indian guides and white men with pack horses.

The French officer, Saint Pierre, took three days to frame an answer. In his answer he agreed to lay the matter before the governor of Canada and spoke highly of the young man who was to be its bearer.

The return trip was full of peril and adventure. Leaving the horses and guides, Washington proceeded to return on foot with only Gist as his companion. Each carried a pack on his back and a gun in his hand. As they were passing an Indian hamlet called Murdering Town an Indian shot at them, but missed. They walked all that night in the fear of an Indian pursuit. Next day they came to the Allegheny River, which was full of floating ice. They made a raft of logs and attempted to cross, but they only reached an island where they were obliged to spend the night. That night the river froze and next morning they crossed on the ice. It was on the 16th of January when Washington returned to Williamsburg, the town from which he had started seventy-eight days before. A great and responsible duty had been well performed by the young Virginian, and it proved him a youth of superior mold.

Regina Hartman. — At the time of Braddock's defeat a German farmer named John Hartman was living in the frontier of Pennsylvania. He had

¹ The only possessions retained by France in North America were a few islands in the West Indies and two very small islands — St. Pierre (sǎn pyâr) and Miquelon (mē-k'-lôn) — just south of Newfoundland.

a wife and four children — George, who was almost a man, Barbara, aged twelve, Regina, ten, and Christian, a boy of four years.

They were a deeply pious family and every morning had family prayers. One of the hymns they sang seemed fitting to their life in the forest. It began: "Alone and yet not all alone am I."

One morning Mrs. Hartman took little Christian on horseback and went to a mill several miles away to get a bag of flour. Mr. Hartman and George went to the fields to work, and the two girls remained in the house to get dinner. At the blast of the tin horn the men came to the house. As they sat at the table the family dog made a strange noise and Mr. Hartman stepped to the door to see what was the matter. Next moment there was the sharp crack of a rifle and John Hartman fell dead across the doorstep. George leaped up, and another shot laid him dead across the body of his father.

Fifteen painted warriors finished the dinner the family had begun. They set fire to the house and barn and took the two girls with them.

A journey of many days through the wilderness was now begun. After a day or two Barbara fell sick and was unable to walk. Regina was ordered to carry her, but sank under the burden. Then a warrior split the head of the sick girl with a tomahawk and left her body by the way. When Regina reached the end of her journey, she was put in the home of an old Indian woman who often beat her, but was sometimes very kind. Here she remained for nine long years, until she had grown to womanhood and until she had forgotten the language of her childhood.

When Mrs. Hartman returned from the mill she was appalled at the scene that met her eyes. For nine years she lived in a little house built by the neighbors, longing and praying for her lost Regina. Barbara's body had been found.

Then came the end of the cruel war and a condition of peace was that the Indians should return all the stolen children. Many of them were brought to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and thither Mrs. Hartman went in the hope of finding her lost one. For days she passed along the line of the returned children, but without success. Then she prepared with a breaking heart to return home.

"Is there no mark on her body by which you might recognize her?" asked the officer in charge. "No, not one." "Are there no songs you used to sing together? Songs linger long in the mind." "Yes," said the mother. "Try it," said the officer. Then Mrs. Hartman walked again along the line and sang in a low, tremulous voice, "Alone and yet not all alone am I."

Instantly a tall Indian-looking girl joined in the song, leaped from the line, and fell into her mother's arms.



EUROPEAN CLAIMS in NORTH AMERICA
 SCALE OF MILES
 0 200 400 600 800 1000

- English
- French
- Spanish
- Dutch

Conflicting claims are indicated by bands of color



Conspiracy of Pontiac. — At the end of the French and Indian War the Algonquin Indians, who had always been friends of the French, found in the British, their new masters, a people very different from the French in their attitude toward the red men. At length the Indians formed a great conspiracy, the object of which was to massacre all the English garrisons and settlers in the Great Lake region and on the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The leader was Pontiac, who had fought against Braddock at Fort Duquesne, one of the greatest Indian warriors known to the white race. Every British post was to be attacked on a certain day in June, 1763, the date to be determined by a change of the moon. Pontiac visited many tribes and roused the warriors to a frenzy of enthusiasm by his persuasive eloquence. So adroit was the management of the plot that the attack was made on the garrisons everywhere almost at the same time. Many of the British were killed and every post was captured by the savages except Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt.

At Detroit the plan was for the warriors to enter the fort on a pretended friendly visit, as they sometimes did, each with a concealed weapon, and at a certain signal to fall upon the garrison and murder them to the last man. But an Indian girl revealed the plot and when the Indians entered the fort they found the white men armed and ready. No attack was made. At one of the forts the Indians arranged to play a game within the fort; the squaws were to stand by with concealed weapons. At a signal the men seized the weapons and began their bloody work. The whites were taken by surprise and few of them escaped alive.

The war continued for three years and many frontier settlers were massacred. At length Pontiac, deserted by many of his followers, made peace. The treaty was signed at Oswego, New York. A few years later Pontiac wandered to the West and was slain by one of his own race. He was buried on the spot where St. Louis now stands, and, as Parkman says, "the race whom he hated with such burning rancor trample with unceasing footsteps over his forgotten grave."

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Note the past relations of France and England.

II. Write a paper on the French and English overlapping claims in America. Give brief statements of the colonial wars. What was the one momentous question to be decided by the long struggle in America between France and England? and how does the final outcome affect the United States to-day?

III. Why were the French in better condition than the English at the beginning of the war? What was the Albany Congress? Why did most of the Indians side with the French?

IV. What moves were made by each side toward securing the Ohio Valley? Why did Braddock refuse advice from the colonists? What great city occupies the site of Fort Duquesne?

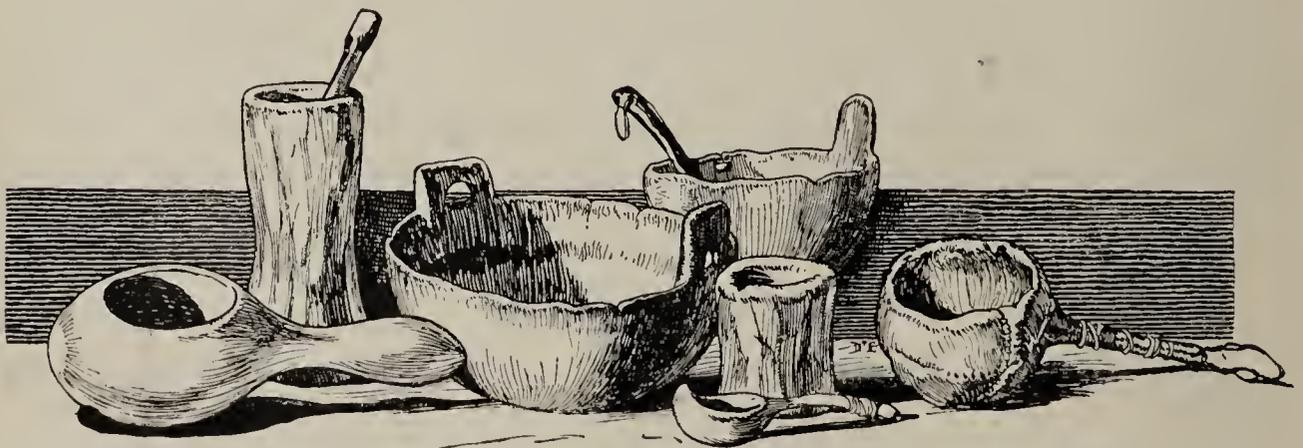
V. What were the conflicting boundaries of Acadia? Had the English any right to Acadia? the French? Have you read *Evangeline*?

VI. Write a paper on the life work of Pitt. (See cyclopedia.) Write a comparison between Wolfe and Montcalm. Of what great significance to the future United States was the outcome of the French and Indian War?

Events and Dates.—King William's War, 1690-97. Queen Anne's War, 1701-1713. King George's War, 1744-48. The Albany Congress, 1754. Braddock's defeat and the dispersion of the Acadians, 1755. Fall of Quebec, 1759. Treaty of Paris, 1763.

Further Reading.—FOR THE TEACHER: The best account of this war and of the relations of the French and English in America is found in the works of Francis Parkman, twelve volumes. At least four of these, *A Half Century of Conflict*, two volumes, and *Montcalm and Wolfe*, two volumes, should be in every school library.

FOR THE PUPIL: Higginson, *Young Folks' Book of American Explorers*; Longfellow, *Evangeline*; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*; Eggleston, *Our First Century*; Coe, *Founders of Our Country*; Baldwin, *Conquest of the Old Northwest*; Cooper, *Last of the Mohicans*; Seawell, *The Virginia Cavalier*; Henty, *With Wolfe in Canada*.



COLONIAL VESSELS OF GOURD

CHAPTER X

THE REVOLUTION IMPENDING

I. CAUSES

The Motherland and Her Children. — The conquest of Canada removed from the colonists the fear of the old French enemy on the north and gave them a greater feeling of safety. They had become strong and self-reliant in fighting Indians, and the late war had given them a further military training. They were conscious of their own strength, but they were not planning for independence; they were content to remain a part of the fast-growing empire.



BOSTON IN 1768. From an old print.

It is true that there were forces working in the direction of separation. Some of the American people were not English — the Dutch, Irish, Germans, and others — and these did not

inherit a filial love of the motherland; and the great majority of English descent had been born on this side of the water and had never seen England. Furthermore, the colonists had long chafed under the irritating Navigation Laws and the transportation to the colonies of many criminals from the British prisons. These things did not show the fond affection of a parent for a child; but they were not enough to bring about a separation. That was brought about by a series of official blunders covering a dozen years.

King George and Grenville.—A century of warfare had left Great Britain with an enormous debt. The cost of supporting the British army and navy, for the defense of the whole empire, was heavy. Why should not America help in bearing this burden? So thought the British authorities. The power of William Pitt had waned. Then came into office a set of men led by Lord Grenville, who did not understand America, and above all, by the king, George III, who had recently come to the throne. He was a young man full of ardor, and anxious to show that he was a king in power as well as in name.

He and Grenville decided on two things about the American colonies. First, they would raise a revenue from that rich young country, and second, they would impress the Americans, who seemed a little too self-important, with the fact that they were not free, that they were under the control of the British Parliament.

To raise revenue it was first decided to enforce the Navigation Laws, especially the Sugar Act of 1733; and to show the colonists their dependence on the mother country it was decided to keep 10,000 British troops in America, to protect the colonies from the Indians. Franklin, who was in London at the time, told Grenville that the colonies when young and weak had protected themselves and certainly they ought to do so now.

Writs of Assistance. — But Grenville, urged on by the king, would listen to nothing. He had Parliament recast the Sugar

Act, lowering the duties somewhat, and then determined to enforce it. In order to do so the king's officers asked for "writs of assistance," or general search warrants, enabling them to enter any house, warehouse, or store in search of smuggled goods.

The colonists, believing that "every man's house is his castle," as the old saying went, resented deeply such interference in their private affairs; and also they believed that if the hateful law were enforced, their trade would be ruined. The Boston merchants petitioned the court not to issue writs of assistance.

James Otis. — One of the king's colonial officers, James Otis, a brilliant young lawyer, resigned his office and argued the case of the merchants. In a fiery speech he declared that the Parliament had no right to infringe thus on the liberties of the people. His speech was a clarion call on the people to resist, and it was the first of its kind in British colonial America. It has been also called the opening event of the Revolution. John Adams, then a young law student, heard the speech and many years later he wrote, "Otis was a flame of fire. Then and there the child Independence was born."

The writs of assistance were issued, and were deeply resented in New England, but in the South little notice was taken of them, because there was little foreign trade there. Something more general was necessary to rouse the whole country, and it soon came.

The Stamp Act. — When it was fully decided to keep a body of soldiers in America and to tax the colonies for their support, Grenville cast about for some time before deciding how the tax should be raised. When a stamp tax was suggested he asked the colonists to suggest a better plan and waited a year for the answer. The colonists freely condemned the proposed tax, but offered nothing to take its place. In fact, the colonists took the ground that Parliament had no right to tax them at all, because they had no representatives in that body. And the cry "Taxation without representation is tyranny" spread over the land. If George III and Lord Grenville had possessed a

little wisdom and foresight they might have saved themselves great trouble and humiliation; but they rushed on.

When the stamp tax was debated in Parliament Pitt (who had said, "I would not burn my fingers with an American stamp tax") was absent, and Colonel Barré (bâ-râ'), who had fought by the side of Wolfe at Quebec, became the champion of American rights. One speaker referred to the colonies as "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms." Barré quickly retorted in a famous outburst of eloquence:

"They planted by your care! No; your oppression planted them in America. Nourished by your indulgence! They grew up by your neglect of them. Protected by your arms! Those sons of liberty have nobly taken up arms in your defense."



BRITISH STAMPS OF 1765

The stamps were not the adhesive type common now. Some were stamped in red ink by a hand stamp. Others were impressed on blue paper (glued to the document) by means of a machine such as is used by notaries public to-day. On the back of the paper on a white square was engraved in black the design shown in the center, the monogram "GR" meaning Georgius Rex or King George.

In spite of all objections the law passed. It required that newspapers, contracts, wills, shipping bills, and many other documents should be written or printed on stamped paper to be sold by officers of the British government. Perhaps some protest was expected, but no one in England dreamed of the fierce opposition that rose in all the American colonies.

There is no doubt that American protest was more against the principle than against the special tax. The colonists had long enjoyed liberty and self-taxation, and now if Parliament assumed the right to tax them, where would it end? The American principle was and still is that the people who lay a tax should be a part of the people to pay the tax. They are therefore taxing themselves as well as their fellows. This is the only safe principle. We have stamp taxes now and pay them without a murmur. Why? Because they are called for by laws made by our own Congress, who are a part of us. Years later an old veteran of the Revolution said:

“It was not the stamp tax nor the tea tax; it was that we had always governed ourselves and we always meant to. They didn’t mean we should.”

The Stamp Act was passed in May, 1765, and before the end of that month two things happened on the same day that would have frightened George III had he been a man of fine sensibilities and capable of seeing straight. One was the introduction of a set of resolutions in the Virginia legislature by Patrick Henry; the other was an invitation by the legislature of Massachusetts, led by Otis, to all the other colonies to hold a general congress in the following autumn.

Patrick Henry. — Patrick Henry is known as the orator of the Revolution. As a lad he was not very enterprising. He was married at the age of eighteen and became an assistant of his father-in-law in keeping a tavern. The future seemed to promise him little, but he played the violin and was happy. At length he read law for a short time and was admitted to the bar. He was nearing the age of thirty when he burst forth as the finest American orator of his time.

In May, 1765, he was a member of the Virginia legislature, and the resolutions he offered, on the occasion of the Stamp Act, declared that the colony had the exclusive right to tax its people and that they were not bound to obey any law not of their own making. In support of his resolutions he made one



PATRICK HENRY IN THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE
Speaking in favor of his resolutions in 1765, he is interrupted by the cry of "Treason!"

of his great speeches in which he said, "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III" — at this point the cry of "Treason!" arose, but Henry went on — "George III may profit by their example. If this be treason make the most of it." The resolutions were published broadcast, making a sensation in all parts of the country.

Stamp Act Congress (1765). — The invitation of Massachusetts resulted in the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York in October, 1765. It was a movement of the utmost importance, for it showed a tendency toward union. The colonies had lived apart up to this time, having little in common. The New England Confederation (p. 60) lasted only about forty years; and the colonies had rejected Franklin's plan of union (p. 106). Now they began to see the necessity of drawing together and presenting a united front. This congress, representing nine colonies, passed a declaration of rights and framed petitions to the king and Parliament. One of the speakers declared that "there ought to be no New England men, no New Yorkers, but all of us Americans."

Opposition. — The Stamp Act was to go into operation on November 1, but before the day arrived every distributor of stamped paper had been "persuaded" to resign. All through the summer the people had been greatly agitated, breaking forth in riots in many places. The stamps and stamped paper were seized and destroyed as fast as they were landed.

The wild clamor from America was heard across the Atlantic and with a change of the ministry Parliament repealed the Stamp Act. It also immediately passed the Declaratory Act, asserting that it had the right to tax the colonies "in all cases whatsoever"; but this awakened little interest in America.

If now the British rulers had been wise in their day and generation, if they had discerned the signs of the times, they would have dropped all attempts to tax America. Surely they had discovered that the Americans were a proud people and would fight rather than be humiliated. They must have noted

also that the thirteen colonies were ready to unite and act as one against the mother country — a very serious thing from the English point of view. A majority of the British people were no doubt in favor of treating America fairly; but a few unwise ministers, who controlled Parliament, smarting under the stamp tax defeat, decided on another plan.

The Tea Tax and a Tea Party. — Parliament put a tax on glass, lead, paper, and tea imported into the colonies. This “Townshend Act” (1767) was no worse than the Navigation Laws, but its purpose was more to show authority and to raise revenue than to regulate trade. The Americans were in no mood for such a lesson and again their fury rose.

Parliament, fearing the loss of American trade, repealed the law, but to maintain the principle, to prove its right to tax the colonies, it retained the duty on tea. Several years later, in order to aid the British East India Company, other duties were taken off tea until that company could sell tea cheaper in America than in England. But the Americans were fighting for a principle; they refused to be tricked; they resolved to use no tea and even to prevent the tea ships from landing.

At Charleston the tea was seized and put in storage where it lay for years. At Annapolis, New York, and Philadelphia the tea ships were stopped and sent back to England. The sensation was reserved for Boston. Three tea ships lay in the harbor. The people said the tea should not be landed. The governor, a supporter of the king, said it should. In Faneuil (fě'n'el) Hall or Old South Church the people met nightly, led by Samuel Adams, one of the great characters of the Revolution. After one of these meetings, it was resolved that the tea should not be landed.

About fifty men, thereupon, dressed as Mohawk Indians, ran to the harbor, boarded the vessels, and threw the tea overboard — about ninety thousand dollars' worth (December 16, 1773). Who these “Indians” were is not known; but Samuel Adams knew and it has been said he “could speak with them



THE BOSTON TEA PARTY

without an interpreter.” For a third time Parliament had grappled with the colonists and had lost.

II. THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

George’s Mistake. — Parliament had been floored; no doubt about it. Then in stepped King George. He had urged Parliament on in its course, but now he did more; he practically managed American affairs from this time on, in the name of Lord North, his pliable prime minister. How easy now it would have been for George to settle the whole trouble! Had he had half the wisdom of Pitt he might have said to Parliament, “You have been rather reckless and too drastic in dealing with my subjects over seas. I also believe in our right to tax them, but if they object, what is the use of forcing the matter and making trouble? Let us show the Americans that we like them and hope they will ever be true to the Empire.”

What a popular sovereign George could have made himself in America had he taken such a course! America would have been happy and loyal and the troubles with Parliament would have been forgotten in a year or two. But the king could not rise to such heights. He took the opposite course. He



THE BOSTON MASSACRE

Redrawn from an engraving by Paul Revere.

decided first to punish Boston for its disrespect in dealing with his tea. It was in the same city that the "Boston Massacre" had occurred three years before (1770). His majesty's soldiers had been jeered at and pelted in the streets, and had fired on the crowd, killing five and wounding six; and in consequence

of the vigorous objections of the people were obliged to remain in their quarters outside the city. Doubly the city needed punishment, thought the king.

The Boston Port Bill. — The Boston Port Bill was the result.¹ By it the port of Boston was closed: not a ship was allowed to go into or out of the harbor, until the city should pay for the tea destroyed. The Bostonians had depended greatly on their shipping for their daily bread; but they were in no danger of starving. From all parts came grain and cattle to supply the people of Boston. From Maine to Georgia the people were ready to aid the city. George Washington offered to arm a thousand men at his own expense and lead them to the aid of Boston.

An Awakening People. — Had George III been able to take a look over America at this time (1774), what would he have seen? He would have seen not only the people rushing to the aid of Boston, he would have seen “Sons of Liberty” societies, — a term borrowed from Barré’s speech, — in all parts of the country; he would have seen committees of correspondence in most of the colonies by which they kept in close touch with one another; he would have seen “minutemen” by thousands drilling with their guns and making ready to defend their country on a minute’s notice; and above all he would have seen the creating of the First Continental Congress. In short, King George would have realized that there were but two courses open to him — to recede from his position, or to make war on a continent.

First Continental Congress. — What was this Continental Congress? It was a creation of the provincial congresses. And what were they? It will be remembered that most of the gov-

¹ The Boston Port Bill was one of five acts of Parliament called the Intolerable Acts. Another almost annulled the charter of Massachusetts; it made the governor all-powerful and forbade town meetings without his consent. Another of the acts provided for quartering British soldiers wherever ordered; another, for removing to Great Britain for trial any soldier or officer accused of murder in Massachusetts. The Quebec Act extended the boundaries of Canada to the Ohio River, including great tracts claimed by Massachusetts and other colonies.

ernors of the colonies were appointed by the king, and during this period of trouble with Great Britain they were true to the king and refused to allow the legislatures to meet. The people thereupon called provincial or colonial congresses, and these chose delegates to a general congress that was to represent the continent and hence was called the Continental Congress.

Powers of the Congress. — The First Continental Congress is a famous body in our history, but it was merely a revolutionary body; it had no power to make laws. All the colonies were represented except Georgia. Among its leading members were George Washington and Patrick Henry of Virginia and Samuel Adams and John Adams of Massachusetts.

Addresses to King and People. — This Congress made no move toward independence. It framed a bill of rights, mild, but deeply sincere. It prepared addresses to the king and to the people of Great Britain. When the addresses reached Eng-



CARPENTER'S HALL, PHILADELPHIA, WHERE THE FIRST CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS MET
From an old print.

land, William Pitt, now the Earl of Chatham, declared that their decency, firmness, and wisdom commanded respect. Of the Continental Congress he said that "no nation or body of men would stand in preference to the Congress at Philadelphia." He further said that "all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be vain, must be fatal."

After sitting for nearly seven weeks and appointing the following May for the meeting of a second congress in case another were needed, the First Continental Congress adjourned.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. In what way did the French and Indian War make the independence of America more probable? What forces worked for and what against separation? Give an estimate of King George. Why do we now pay stamp taxes without protest? Give an estimate of Otis and Henry and Samuel Adams. Describe the Stamp Act Congress.

II. How might the king have made peace? What were the powers of the First Continental Congress? What did it do? Write an essay on its importance.

Events and Dates. — Stamp Act, 1765. Townshend Act, 1767. Boston Massacre, 1770. Boston Tea Party, 1773. First Continental Congress, 1774.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: In addition to the general histories heretofore mentioned there are several excellent histories of the Revolution: Fiske, *The American Revolution*, two volumes; Fisher, *Struggle for American Independence*, two volumes; Trevelyan, *The American Revolution*, four volumes. Trevelyan is an Englishman, but his sympathies are clearly with the Americans.

FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*; Cleveland, *Stories of Brave Old Times*; Hawthorne, *Grandfather's Chair*; Jenks, *When America Won Liberty*; Coe, *Makers of the Nation*.

CHAPTER XI

WAR AND INDEPENDENCE

MORE than ten years had passed since the trouble with Great Britain had begun, and there were many signs of a coming conflict, but thus far there had been no bloodshed. The year 1774 was one of excitement everywhere and especially in Massachusetts, where the people forced the king's officers to resign, and met for military drill on every village green.

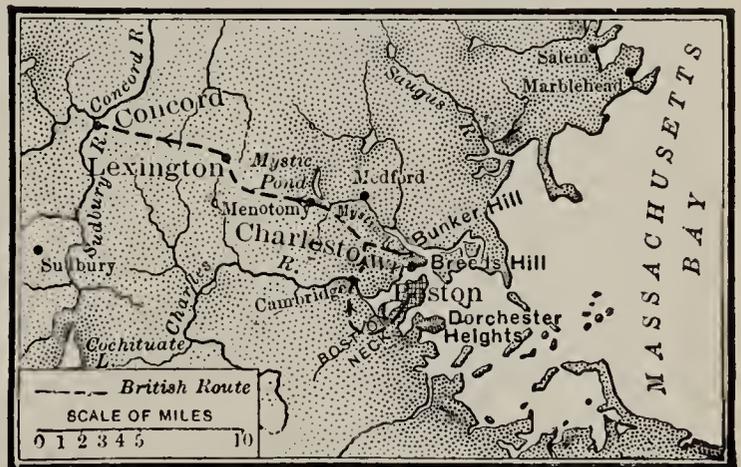
Lord Chatham had made a noble effort to bring about reconciliation. He offered a resolution declaring that the colonies had the sole right to tax themselves and proposed to make the Continental Congress a permanent body; but his proposal came to nothing. The short-sighted king refused even to receive the address of the Continental Congress; he pronounced Massachusetts in a state of rebellion and sent more troops to Boston. Every sign pointed in the same direction — toward war.

I. LEXINGTON AND BUNKER HILL

Paul Revere. — General Thomas Gage had said that the colonists, though they were as roaring lions, would be meek as lambs in the presence of a British army. He was the commander of an army sent to Boston to overawe the people, and he was also appointed governor of Massachusetts. Were the people overawed and “meek as lambs”? One day a rumor spread that Gage's troops had fired on a crowd near Boston, and within two days 20,000 farmers were marching toward Boston. The rumor proved false and they returned to their homes. But another rumor soon spread that did not prove false.

General Gage discovered that military stores were being collected at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, and he determined to destroy them. On the night of April 18, 1775, he sent 800 men for the purpose. Silently they slipped out of Boston, expecting to reach Concord by daybreak, do the job, and march gayly back to the main army. But there were other things in store for them.

The purpose of the British was discovered, and Paul Revere, one of the Sons of Liberty, stood ready with his horse to receive a lantern signal from the belfry of the Old North Church. This was to inform him in which direction the British had gone. As soon as he saw it he leaped on his horse and began his "midnight ride." As he dashed along he shouted at every door the news that the British were coming. At Lexington, between Boston and Concord, some one warned him against waking people with his noise. "Noise!" shouted Revere, "you'll soon have noise enough; the regulars are coming."



VICINITY OF BOSTON

Lexington and Concord. — The British commander had sent Major Pitcairn ahead with a band of infantry to secure the bridge at Concord. He reached Lexington at daybreak and here on the green stood Captain Parker with fifty minutemen. Parker said to his men, "Don't fire unless you are fired on, but if they want war, it might as well begin here"; and there indeed began the war of the Revolution.

The British opened fire, and seven of the patriots lay dead and ten wounded on the village green. The patriots, greatly outnumbered, soon dispersed.

A few hours later the British entered Concord and destroyed the stores that had not been removed. But their position was perilous. The patriots were gathering from all the countryside for miles around. About 400 of them encountered a British force guarding the Concord bridge and it was there that the "embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard round the world."

The British, seeing their great peril, began a retreat toward Boston; but it was already too late. The minutemen had gathered in hundreds and from behind trees and fences and shrubs they poured an incessant fire into the fleeing men. The British were exhausted with their all-night march and they could make little defense. Many of them fell dead or wounded along the roadside. The whole band would have been killed or captured had not Lord Percy with 1200 regulars coming to their rescue met them at Lexington. He opened his ranks and the men ran in and fell to the ground in sheer exhaustion.

The battle of Lexington stirred the colonies like an electric flash. The minutemen did not go home; they encamped near Boston and founded an army. Thousands of others joined them. John Stark came down from New Hampshire with 1200 men and Nathanael Greene brought a thousand from Rhode Island. Benedict Arnold brought a force from Connecticut, and Israel Putnam from the same colony left his plow in the furrow to lead his fellow farmers to join the gathering thousands at Boston.

Shortly after the battle of Lexington, Ethan Allen with a hundred "Green Mountain Boys" captured Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. Asked by what right he demanded the surrender, he answered, "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress" (which met on that day, May 10). Seth Warner captured Crown Point a few days later.

Bunker Hill. — Soon after the battle of Lexington, General Gage was greatly reënforced from England. With a new army came Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne (bur-goin'), all to become

famous in the war. When the Americans heard that Gage was about to fortify Bunker Hill, on a peninsula near Boston, they determined to forestall him. Colonel William Prescott was sent with 1200 men to occupy and fortify the hill. Reaching Breeds



THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

Hill, near Bunker, at midnight, the American forces spent the rest of the night hurriedly throwing up intrenchments, and at daybreak their work was revealed to the astonished gaze of the British.

Gage determined to capture the works and he sent General Howe with about 3000 men for the purpose. As they surged up the hill the Americans waited. "Don't fire till you can see the whites of their eyes," cried Putnam. When they opened fire at short range the British were rolled back down the hill. A second attack the enemy made with great bravery, but with the same result. The third succeeded only because the Americans ran out of powder. The British won the coveted hilltop, but it was a dear victory. A thousand and fifty-four of their men had fallen.

This battle was better than a victory to the Americans, for a victory might have given them overconfidence. The saddest thing about the battle was the death of Joseph Warren, one of



SADDLE BAGS AND MUSKET

Saddle bags in which Mrs. Ruth Perley Curtis carried food and powder to her husband, Lieutenant John Curtis, fighting at Bunker Hill.

the leading Boston patriots. When his comrades retreated, he lingered behind and fell dead with a bullet in the brain.

II. THE GREAT DECLARATION

Second Continental Congress. — The Second Continental Congress met on May 10, 1775, in Philadelphia. Most of the leaders who had been members of the first Congress were re-



PAPER MONEY ISSUED BY THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

turned to this one. To these other leaders were added: Benjamin Franklin, who had arrived from England a few days after the battle of Lexington; Thomas Jefferson, a young Virginian who was yet to make a great name in his country's history, and

John Hancock, a Boston merchant, who was chosen president of the Congress. It authorized the issue of paper money, it adopted the army at Boston as the "Continental Army," and

it appointed George Washington chief commander. It also framed another address to the king of England.

Washington Chosen Commander. — Washington was beyond a doubt the best man that could have been found for the position of commander in chief. He was a very modest man and he seldom spoke in public, but his cool-headed judgment and his stalwart manliness attracted the attention of all. When John Adams in a notable speech proposed his name, Washington left the room. The historian Lecky said of this great American: “In the despondency of long-continued failure, in the elation of sudden success . . . he was always the same calm, wise, just, and single-minded man pursuing the course which he believed to be right.”

Fate of the Olive Branch. — Congress sent its “olive-branch” petition to the king by the hand of Richard Penn, a Tory, as those loyal to the king were called, and waited the answer. It came in October and a stunning blow it proved to be. King George had refused to read the petition or to see the messenger that brought it. But he railed against the colonists and declared them rebels no longer under his protection. Then came almost at the same time another bit of news equally shocking — that King George had employed an army of foreigners, Germans called Hessians because most of them were from Hesse-Cassel (hēs-kās’el), to fight his subjects in America.

Trend toward Independence. — From this time, October, 1775, Congress assumed a bolder tone and made no more efforts toward reconciliation with the British monarch. The people began to talk independence. All through the fall and winter the idea of complete separation from Great Britain grew steadily.

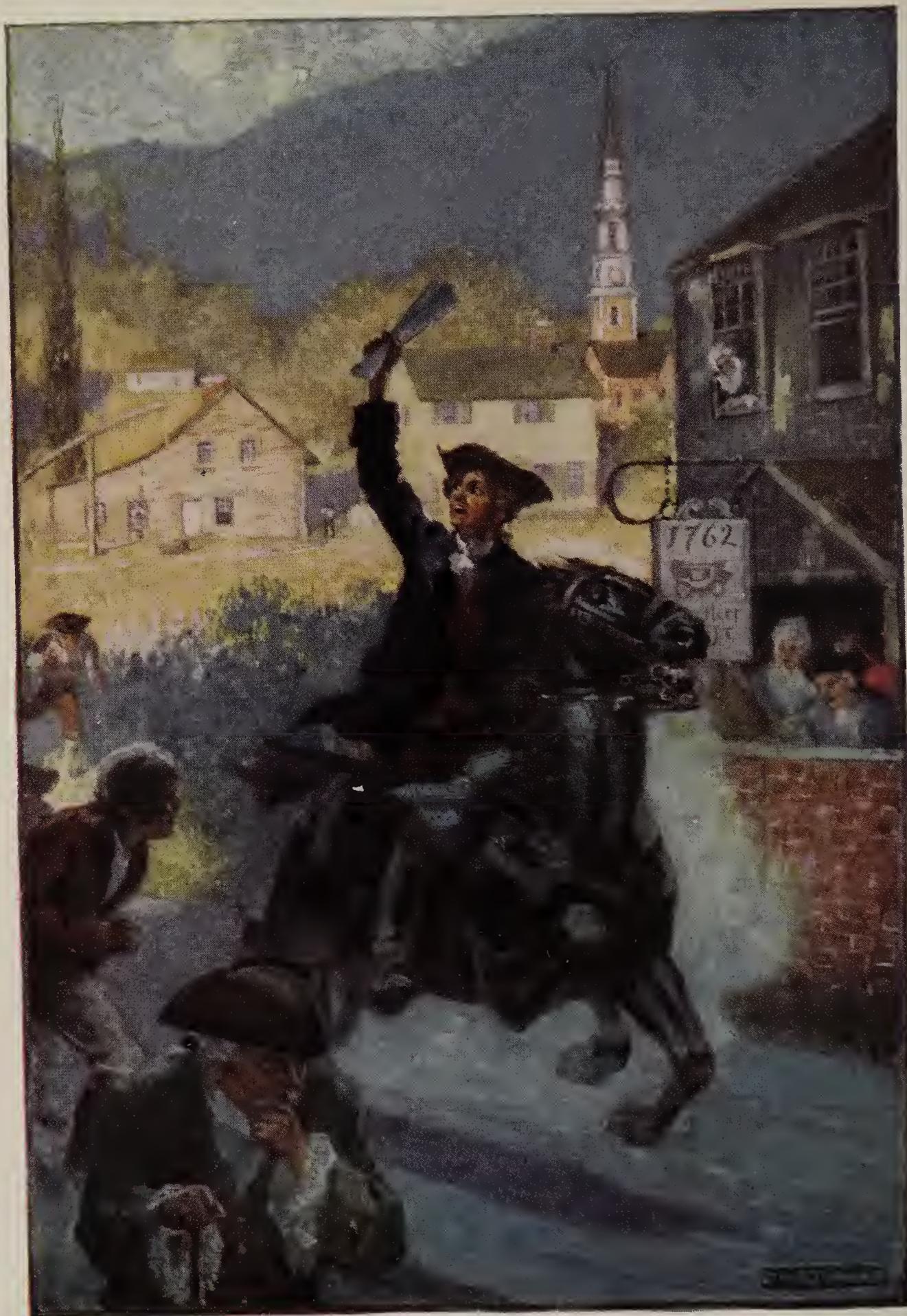
In January a pamphlet called *Common Sense*, written by Thomas Paine, created a sensation. In it he attacked monarchies in general and the British monarchy in particular. With great force he argued that America should stand alone as an independent power.

Another matter that had great weight with the leaders was the hope of aid from France. The latest railings of King George had driven Congress to open correspondence with foreign nations, especially with France, and it was fondly hoped that she could be enlisted in the American cause. But as long as the Americans were mere subjects and had not declared their independence France held back, for she feared that the Americans might at any time become reconciled with Great Britain and both might then turn against her.

Battles in the South. — North Carolina was the first of the colonies to make an official move toward independence. The king had hoped to hold that colony through the aid of loyal Scotch settlers. A force of 1600 Highlanders was raised to welcome Clinton, who had been sent south, but they were met at Moores Creek by 1000 patriot militia and were utterly routed. The effect on the people was immediate; 10,000 militia gathered to oppose the British, and Clinton decided not to land. In April the legislature of North Carolina instructed its delegates in Congress to concur with other delegates in bringing about a declaration of independence. Rhode Island and Massachusetts soon followed.

In Virginia the governor, Lord Dunmore, offered freedom to slaves or indented servants who would arm themselves against the colonists. The proclamation served only to enrage the people of Virginia. Fearing an attack on Norfolk by the "rebels," the governor fortified the approach to the city. The patriots captured the town, while Dunmore fled to a British ship in the harbor. From this position, he shelled the town until it caught fire and was entirely destroyed. This act helped greatly to decide the attitude of Virginia. In May, a convention chosen to consider independence instructed the Virginia delegates in Congress to propose a declaration of independence and rushed a special messenger to Philadelphia with the instructions.

Declaration of Independence Passed. — Soon after he arrived, one of the Virginia delegates, Richard Henry Lee, rose and



BRINGING NEWS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

offered the resolution "That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent States." After a short debate the resolution was laid on the table until more of the colonies could be heard from. By the first of July all except New York had given their consent to the declaration and the question was taken up again. On July 2 the resolution was passed. Meanwhile the declaration in the form which we know was being prepared by a committee. Thomas Jefferson was the chairman of this committee, and thus he became the writer of the immortal document. It was adopted on the Fourth of July, and that day became our national birthday and a holiday in all the states. A few days later New York added her vote and the action was unanimous.

From the old Liberty Bell in the cupola of the State House in which the Declaration was adopted, the glad news rang out over the city. Post riders were sent in all

directions to carry the tidings to every colony. The Tories were dismayed, but the patriots rejoiced in prolonged, enthusiastic jollifications. The Declaration was read at the head of



every brigade in the army and the soldiers, young and old, took courage as never before.

The student should study the Declaration of Independence in its complete form, which is as follows:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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 shown, 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 meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored 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 offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring 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 declaring 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 complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and 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 endeavored 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.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire

Josiah Bartlett,
Wm. Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay

Saml. Adams,
John Adams,
Robt. Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island

Step. Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Connecticut

Roger Sherman,
Sam'el Huntington,
Wm. Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New York

Wm. Floyd,
Phil. Livingston,
Frans. Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey

Richd. Stockton,
Jno. Witherspoon,
Fras. Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania

Robt. Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benja. Franklin,
John Morton,
Geo. Clymer,
Jas. Smith,
Geo. Taylor,
James Wilson,
Geo. Ross.

Delaware

Cæsar Rodney,
Geo. Read,
Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland

Samuel Chase,
Wm. Paca,
Thos. Stone,

Charles Carroll of Car-
rollton.

Virginia

George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Th. Jefferson,
Benja. Harrison,
Thos. Nelson, jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee,
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina

Wm. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

South Carolina

Edward Rutledge,
Thos. Heyward, Junr.,
Thomas Lynch, Junr.,
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia

Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
Geo. Walton.

Meaning and Effect of the Declaration. — The Declaration of Independence has often been criticized by shallow critics for saying that “all men are created equal,” whereas we know that

we are created very unequal, in mind and body. The intended meaning was that we are equal or should be equal in our rights before the law. Among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, as stated further on in the Declaration.

The adoption of the Declaration was a great event. It meant the founding of a nation. But it did not bring immediate independence, and the men who passed it knew that it would not. Long years of bloody warfare were still before them — more soldiers' graves, more mangled cripples, and more widows and orphans. What, then, did the Declaration do for America? It set a goal before the people and the army. It defined what they were fighting for — absolute self-government. "America was never so great," said a later English writer, "as when she declared her independence."

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Read aloud in class Longfellow's *Paul Revere's Ride*. Who wrote "fired the shot heard round the world"? What does it mean? Why would a complete American victory at Bunker Hill probably have proved unfortunate? What does Mr. Lecky say of Bunker Hill? Why are towns, counties, and townships named Warren?

II. Tell what you can about the Second Continental Congress. Had it power to make laws? How did the king treat the petition? Who were the Hessians? Trace the growth of the idea of independence. Write an essay on the Tories or loyalists; see Trevelyan's *American Revolution*.

In the Declaration of Independence point out the introductory statement of principles; the grievances; and the concluding declaration.

Events and Dates. — Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775. Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Frothingham, *Rise of the Republic of the United States*, the best account of the Declaration of Independence and what led to it. Lecky, *The American Revolution*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, Series I; Scudder, *George Washington*. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*; several stories in this book belong to the period and to the Revolution. Tomlinson, *The War for Independence*; this is not a history of the war, but a series of true stories and heroic incidents. Baldwin, *Four Great Americans*; Stratemeyer, *Minute Boys of Lexington*; Coe, *Makers of the Nation*.

CHAPTER XII

PROGRESS OF THE WAR

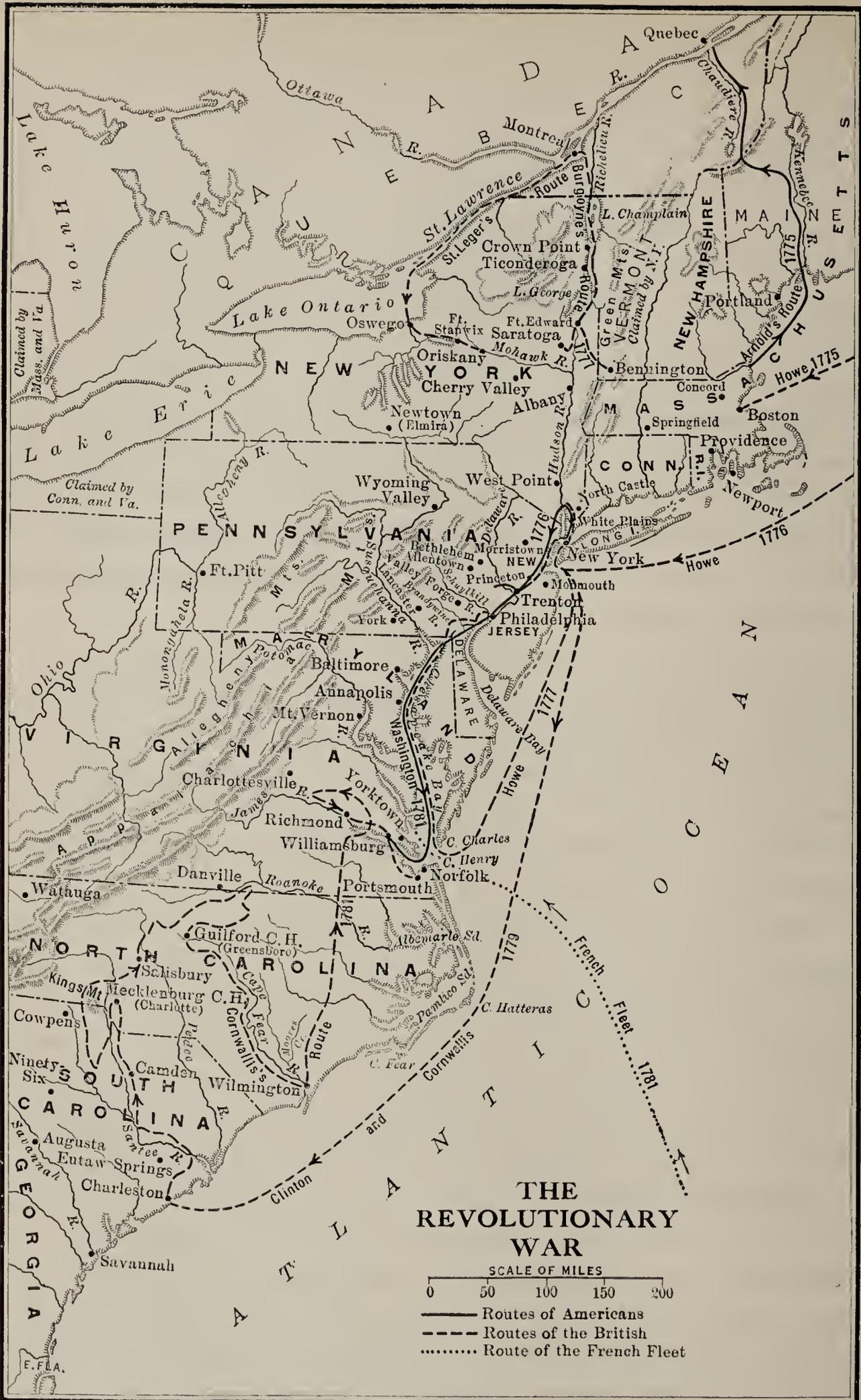
I. GENERAL WASHINGTON'S FIRST YEAR

Washington at Cambridge. — About two weeks after the battle of Bunker Hill the new commander reached Cambridge near Boston and under a great elm tree (which remained standing until 1923) assumed control of the Continental Army. General Artemas Ward, who had been in command, gracefully took second place.

It was here that Washington made the acquaintance of some of the leading men of the Revolution. Among them were Nathanael Greene, who was later to prove himself second only to his chief in his splendid service on many a battlefield; and John Stark from the hills of New Hampshire, whose fierce patriotism and dashing vigor marked him as one of the most heroic figures of the war.

The excitement of Lexington and Bunker Hill subsided and many of Washington's soldiers went home. Enlistments were slow and it was with great difficulty that he kept his army together. On the British side General William Howe had succeeded Gage. For more than half a year the two armies glared at each other, neither making an attack. Then Washington decided on a move that proved to be of great importance.

Dorchester Heights. — He surprised Howe by planting cannon on Dor'chester Heights near Boston, from which he could shell the British shipping. All night, on March 4, 1776, two thousand men labored in dragging the cannon and field guns up the heights and, to drown the noise, the incessant boom of cannon from other parts was kept up.



When Howe saw with amazement that Washington had outwitted him and was now in position to destroy every British ship in the harbor, he was at a loss whether to storm the heights or to save his fleet and army by flight. Remembering his costly experience at Bunker Hill, he decided on flight. Packing up bag and baggage, with fleet and army he sailed for Halifax. Boston was at last free, after six years of constant annoyance.

Montgomery in Canada. — A few months earlier an expedition under Richard Montgomery had been sent to Canada. Though at first successful, Montgomery later met death when, with Arnold, he tried to take Quebec. In this attempt Arnold was wounded, and the expedition ended in utter failure.

New York and Brooklyn. — Washington's clever deliverance of Boston and all New England from the clutches of the enemy brought him unstinted praise from all parts of the country. From South Carolina, also, had come news of the defeat of the British fleet under Clinton at Fort Moultrie. But these successes were followed by many months of unbroken disaster with scarcely a bright spot in the darkened sky.

The plan of the British was to capture New York and the Hudson Valley and thus to cut New England off from the Middle Colonies and the South. Washington divined all this and moved his army to New York, where he supposed Howe would strike next. Howe landed on Staten Island in August while his brother, Admiral Howe, commanded a large British fleet in the harbor.

Battle of Long Island. — Washington occupied the city of

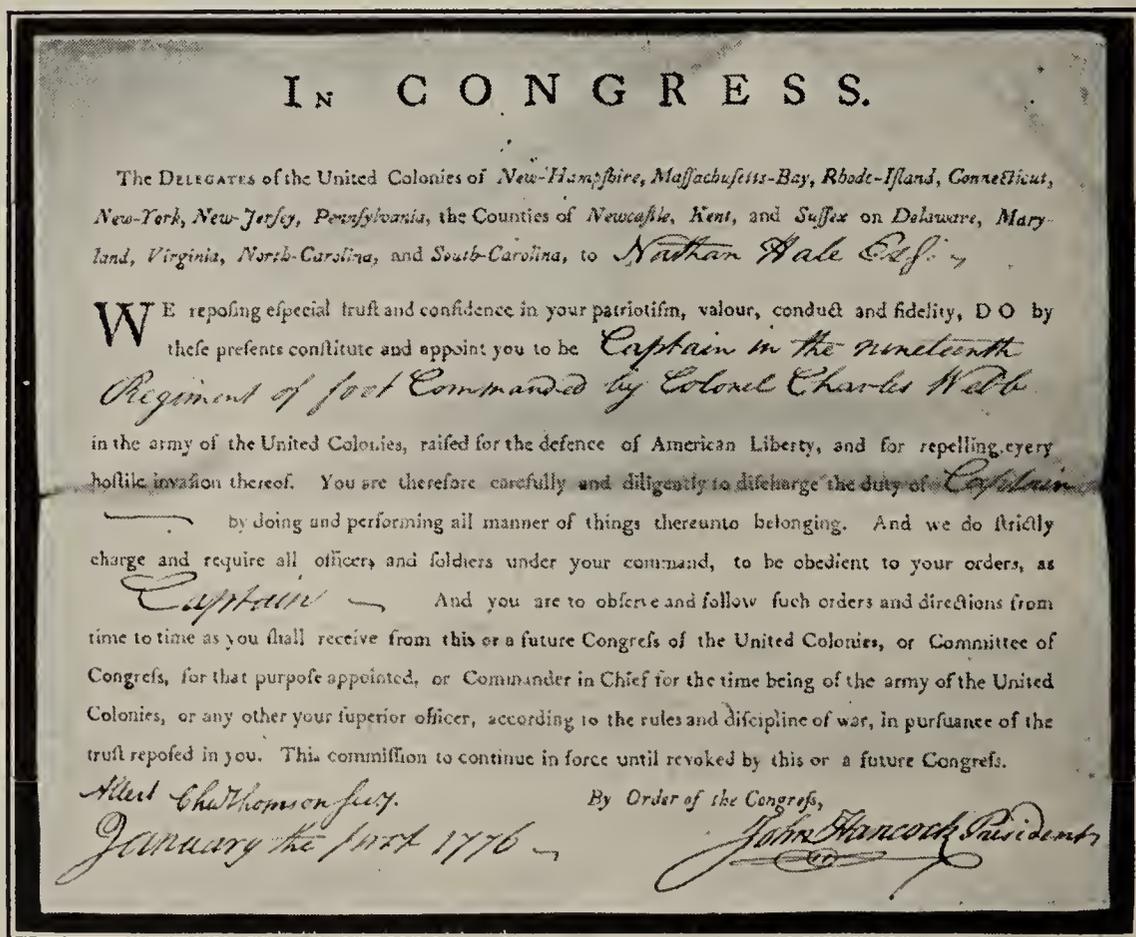


VICINITY OF NEW YORK

New York and Brooklyn Heights across East River, but his army was far inferior to Howe's. About half the American force was attacked and defeated by Howe near Brooklyn Heights and more than a thousand were taken prisoners. Howe might have captured the whole American force had not Washington, during a densely foggy night, moved the army back to Manhattan and thus saved it from capture.

After losing Brooklyn Heights Washington saw that he could not hold New York and he moved up to Harlem as Howe crossed East River and occupied the city. Howe might have captured a large section of the American army under General Putnam but for the strategy of Mrs. Murray, a wealthy woman of the city. To delay the British commander, she invited him to dinner and he, believing her a Tory, accepted and spent two hours at her home, while Putnam was escaping.

Nathan Hale. — It was at this time that the noble patriot, Nathan Hale, gave his life for his country. Hale was a young



NATHAN HALE'S COMMISSION

Connecticut school teacher, a graduate of Yale. Being sent to spy out the enemy's plans, he was pointed out by a Tory who knew him, and he was captured and put to death. His dying words will never be forgotten: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The history of the next few months presents a dark and discouraging picture for the patriot cause. Howe pushed up to the Harlem River and beyond, and a little later captured Fort Washington with its 3000 men and large stores of ammunition. The fort had been held by the order of Congress, contrary to Washington's judgment.

Flight across New Jersey. — Washington was now obliged to flee across New Jersey, pursued by Lord Cornwallis, whom Howe had sent to capture him. About half of the patriot army was held at North Castle in New York under General Charles Lee. Washington ordered Lee to join him with his part of the army, but Lee argued and dissembled and delayed marching. The fact is that Charles Lee, who had served many years in the British army and had only recently espoused the American cause, was a traitor to the country. He intrigued against Washington, and pronounced him in a letter to Gates "damnably deficient." Lee wanted to be commander in chief, and did all in his power to induce Congress to give him the appointment. But suddenly Lee was captured by the enemy and his army was thus released from a baneful influence.

Congress gave its answer to Lee's intrigues by making Washington military dictator for six months. Washington fled before the pursuing enemy entirely across New Jersey and crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. This is a dark picture indeed, but here is a darker one still: Thousands of the people of Jersey, believing the American cause was lost, swore allegiance to the British crown and hundreds of the men joined the British army. On the other hand Washington had the greatest difficulty in keeping his army from breaking to pieces. Deeply dejected the great commander was at times, as his

letters show, but with unswerving devotion to the cause of his country he bore his trials with infinite patience and hoped for brighter days.

Crossing the Delaware. — Reënforced by a part of the army Lee had held back, and by 1500 volunteers from Philadelphia, Washington decided on a brilliant stroke. Knowing that more than a thousand Hessian troops were spending their Christmas in Trenton, he determined to steal across the river by night and surprise them in the morning. Cold was that Christmas night of 1776, and the river was full of floating ice. At four in the morning the army had crossed the river without the loss of a man. Nine miles down the river was Trenton and at daybreak the army was there. On two sides the attack was made. The enemy was unprepared for such a morning greeting. Its commander soon fell mortally wounded and almost his whole army was captured, with 1200 muskets and a few cannon.

A few days later the captured army was marched through the streets of Philadelphia that the people might see that the cause was not lost, and the excitement in the city was intense. More good news was soon to follow.

Lord Cornwallis, believing the war about over, was preparing to sail for England; but hearing of the Trenton disaster, he hastened back to that city. Arriving with a strong force on January 2, Cornwallis decided to attack next morning. He retired in high spirits, saying, “At last we have run down the old fox and will bag him in the morning.” But the old fox was too wily to be bagged so easily.

Battle of Princeton. — Washington saw that his force was not strong enough for a battle with such an army, and decided to escape. Keeping his campfires burning to deceive the enemy, he slipped away in the night and at daybreak was far on his way toward Princeton, where Cornwallis had left 2000 men. Washington met them and put them to flight in what is known as the battle of Princeton, after which he went into winter quarters at Morristown.

With his small, half-trained army Washington had made a wonderful showing. Frederick the Great pronounced this three-weeks campaign one of the most brilliant in the history of warfare. It had a magical effect on the country. Great numbers saw that they were wrong in believing that the cause was lost.

II. BURGOYNE AND THE HUDSON VALLEY

Failing to capture Washington's army in New Jersey, the British now determined to carry out their earlier plan of taking possession of the whole Hudson Valley and severing the country into two parts. To command an expedition from Canada General John Burgoyne, a member of Parliament as well as a trained commander of armies, was chosen.

Burgoyne's Progress. —

With an army of 8000 regulars, Canadians and Indians, Burgoyne moved from the north in the early summer of 1777. He soon occupied Lake Champlain and captured Ticonderoga, which Ethan Allen had taken two years before. This capture was thought to be a great victory. It is said that King George on hearing the news ran to the queen's chamber and shouted, "I have beat them; I have beat all the Americans." But the fort proved worse than useless to the British, for a good fraction of the army had to be left behind to guard it.

The American army in the north was commanded by General Philip Schuyler (skī'ler).



GENERAL SCHUYLER

Statue in Battle Monument at Saratoga.

As Burgoyne moved on toward the Hudson Schuyler obstructed his path by destroying bridges and felling trees across the road, so that in twenty-four days the British marched but twenty-six miles.

Meantime Schuyler's army was rapidly increasing. The men from New York and New England were roused as they had not been since the battle of Lexington. They poured into the American camp by thousands. Then, Schuyler was replaced by Horatio Gates, who had obtained the ear of Congress. Schuyler had set the stage for a victory and Gates, a much weaker commander, stepped in to receive the applause.



MRS. SCHUYLER SETS FIRE TO THE GRAIN ON THE SCHUYLER FARM
So that it might not be reaped by the British.

Oriskany and Bennington. — Two events now made a final victory for Burgoyne impossible. One of these was the defeat of a thousand of the British under St. Leger, who had led an army from Oswego and laid siege to Fort Stanwix on the Mohawk River. In the battle of Oriskany a detachment of Tories

and Indians met the old German, Nicholas Herkimer, who had hastily gathered 800 men. The battle took place in a deep ravine in the midst of a fierce thunderstorm and it was the most desperate and savage battle of the Revolution. Herkimer, mortally wounded, sat against a tree, smoked his pipe, and continued cheering and directing his men. Hearing the sound of the battle, the garrison at the fort sallied out and defeated the part of St. Leger's army that had remained there. Soon after this, St. Leger fled back to Canada. (Side Talk, p. 159.)

The second disaster to Burgoyne happened in Vermont. The British army was suffering from a shortage of food, and hearing that both food and ammunition were stored at Bennington at the foot of the Green Mountains, Burgoyne sent 600 men to capture them. But John Stark, who had fought splendidly at Bunker Hill and Trenton, happened to be in the neighborhood. With several hundred Green Mountain Boys Stark made the attack, shouting, "Boys, they are ours to-night or Molly Stark is a widow." The entire British force was killed or captured, with several hundred others who had been sent to their rescue.

Surrender at Saratoga, Oct. 17, 1777. — The British army had dwindled greatly but the American army was swelled till it reached 20,000 men. The British were being hemmed in on every side. Two battles, in which Arnold led the patriots, were fought near Sarato'ga, resulting in more losses and no relief. Burgoyne was longing for help from Howe, but Howe had gone southward instead. Howe was expected to move from New York up the Hudson and coöperate with Burgoyne; but, upon the advice of the captive Lee, he had sailed away to take Philadelphia. Burgoyne saw that nothing could save his army from destruction except surrender, and he asked Gates for terms. He surrendered his whole army, 5800 men; but the campaign as a whole had cost the British 10,000 men.

This great American victory is considered the turning point in the war. It was the one thing above all else that caused France to cast her lot with the Americans.

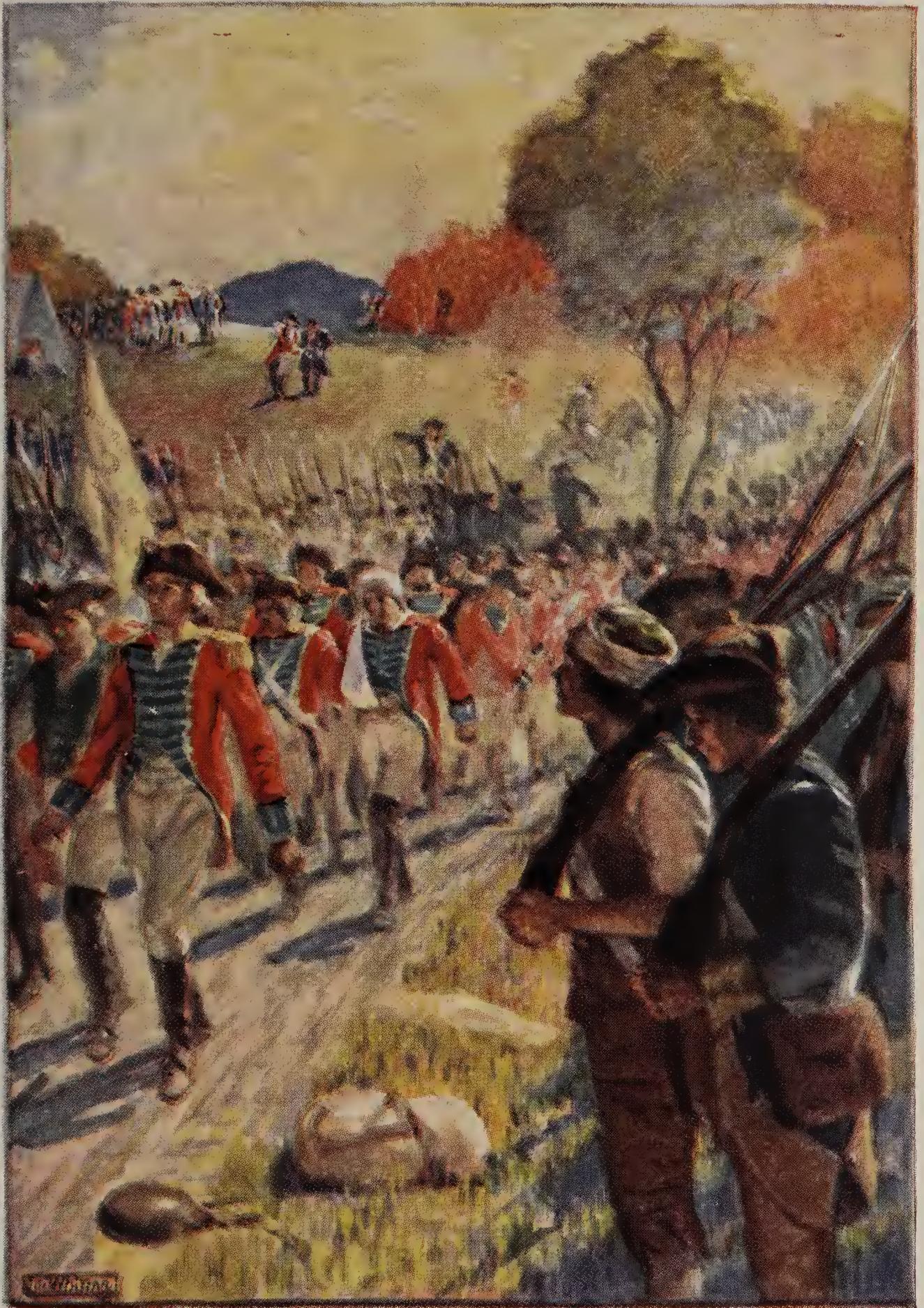
III. FOREIGN AID

For several reasons France from the beginning hoped for American success in the war. First, because France would be glad to see England, her enemy for ages, who had recently taken Canada from her, humiliated and weakened; second, she could expect far better trade relations with an independent America than with a British America; and third, the French feared that if the colonies remained a British possession, they might help England in the future to deprive France of her West Indian islands. A fourth reason, underlying the others, was that the sympathy of the French had been won to the cause of American independence.

Secret Aid from France. — Almost from the beginning of the war France sent secretly to America shiploads of cannon and other supplies and also later loaned the Americans large sums of money. Soon after the Declaration of Independence was adopted Franklin was sent to Paris for the purpose of enlisting the aid of France and securing a treaty.

Franklin was received with great honor in the French capital. For years he had been famous in Europe because of his quaint sayings and his discoveries in science. Now this philosopher of the western world, as he walked the streets of Paris in his homely dress, with his long hair and sage appearance, attracted the enthusiastic attention of all classes of people. The great French statesman, Turgot (tür-gō'), spoke of Franklin as the man who could "snatch the lightning from the sky and the scepter from tyrants."

The French Treaty. — Through the influence of Franklin and the news of Burgoyne's surrender, the French government was finally won over and on February 6, 1778, a treaty was signed between the king and the new-born republic of the west. A condition France exacted was that no peace should be made with Great Britain except on the ground of American independence. This alliance meant war between France and Great Britain;



THE SURRENDER AT SARATOGA



THE FIRST MEETING BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE

and it was not long before Spain and Holland were brought into the war as allies of France.

Lafayette. — Meantime Lafayette, a young French nobleman, had come to our shores to offer his services in the cause of liberty. (Side Talk, p. 159.) He landed a few months before the making of the great Declaration of Independence. Congress appointed him a major general and he served under Washington valiantly to the end of the war.

Other Foreigners. — A few other foreigners whose names must never be forgotten by a grateful people came also and offered their lives for the cause of freedom. Among these was Thaddeus Koscius'ko, a Polish patriot, whose services proved of great value; and Count Pulas'ki, also a Pole, a brave cavalry leader who gave his life for American liberty at the siege of Savannah; and Baron Steu'ben, a German nobleman who had served in the wars of Frederick the Great. Steuben was a military expert and Washington found him of great service in drilling and training the patriot army.

England Offers Peace. — Never perhaps in the history of England had her fortunes been lower than in the spring of 1778. Everything everywhere seemed to have gone wrong. And she made the most humiliating proposal perhaps that she ever made. Lord North, the mouthpiece of the king, secured the passage by Parliament of a bill yielding everything for which the British armies had been fighting. This remarkable measure renounced all right of Parliament to tax the colonies, yielded, indeed, every point the colonies had ever demanded, except one — independence.

The commissioners sent to America with this offer even went further: they promised that British troops should never again be sent to the colonies without the consent of their assemblies, and they offered American representation in Parliament.

For two reasons America could not yield to the proposal; first, because it was in honor bound by the French treaty, and second, because the men that made the proposal were the very men who had always been the rancorous enemies of the colonies and they were not to be trusted. Congress rejected the proposal by a unanimous vote.

IV. FROM MORRISTOWN TO MONMOUTH

After the brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton, at the holiday season, Washington spent the remainder of the winter at Morristown, New Jersey. He was amazed that Howe made no move toward relieving Burgoyne (p. 153), but seemed rather bent on capturing Philadelphia, the “rebel capital,” though the city could be of little use to him. After some fruitless maneuvers in New Jersey, Howe sailed to Chesapeake Bay and approached Philadelphia from the southwest.

Battle of Brandywine. — Washington hastened southward and met Howe on the banks of the Brandywine. Washington’s army was much inferior, but he offered battle because he knew that public opinion would have been outraged had he given up the capital without striking a blow. The British won a victory

and then slowly followed the retreating Americans toward Philadelphia. Howe occupied the city late in September, not long before the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga. (Side Talk, p. 160.)

Germantown. — A large portion of Howe's army was stationed at Germantown, on the edge of the city of Philadelphia, and here Washington made an attack and would have won a victory but for the fact that two of the sections of his army fired on each other by mistake in a dense fog. A few weeks later Washington led his army to Valley Forge, twenty miles up the Schuylkill, and encamped for the winter, while Howe settled snugly in Philadelphia.

What advantage Howe gained by occupying Philadelphia has never become apparent. Many of the inhabitants were Tories and his army was fêted and demoralized with luxury and idleness. Franklin put it tersely when he said that Howe had not taken Philadelphia, but Philadelphia had taken Howe.

Valley Forge. — A hard winter the patriots spent at Valley Forge, living in log huts of their own building. Many were without shoes or sufficient clothing. Some of them died for want of necessary food. At the same time hogsheads of supplies were lying about in the woods, but for want of teamsters they could not be obtained by the suffering soldiers. During this fateful winter Washington's heart was wrung, not only because of the suffering of his men, but because of a dastardly conspiracy, known as the "Conway Cabal," to depose him and put Gates in his place. But fortunately this came to nothing.

One great and good thing came out of Valley Forge. It hardened the men and made them better soldiers. Steuben, the sturdy German, trained and drilled them day after day and by spring it was said that Washington's army, for the first time since the war began, could measure up man for man with the British regulars.

Sir Henry Clinton was made British commander in the spring of 1778. Howe had not met the expectations of the authorities

in London during the preceding year. Criticism for his failure to support Burgoyne caused him to resign that he might defend himself at home. Clinton left Philadelphia in the early summer for New York — marching his army across New Jersey.

Battle of Monmouth. — Washington broke camp at Valley Forge and hastened to catch Clinton. His army was now almost equal to the British army and he was eager for a fight. He overtook the enemy on June 28, the hottest day in the summer, when the battle of Monmouth (mon'muth) was fought. The Americans would have won a great victory that day had it not been for the treachery of Charles Lee, who had been exchanged as a prisoner and had resumed his command. Washington had placed Lee in a strong position with a large division of the army, when suddenly Lee ordered a retreat across a swamp.



GENERAL WASHINGTON IN ACTION

From the battle monument at Freehold, New Jersey, the site of the battle of Monmouth.

Washington was amazed to hear of Lee's order and galloping to the front met Lee and demanded in a terrible voice the meaning of the order. Lee quailed before the fierce attitude of his chief, who was usually so calm and self-possessed.

Washington ordered Lee to the rear and himself took direct charge of the battle, and his men fought nobly to the end of the day. In spite of the misfortune the Americans won the battle. Their losses were lighter than the British and Clinton hurried off during the night, refusing to stay and fight it out. It was in this battle that Molly Pitcher fought as a cannoneer, taking her husband's place after he was wounded.

Monmouth was the last important battle in the North. Washington moved his army to White Plains, east of the Hudson, while Clinton occupied the city of New York. Here they remained for about three years while the seat of war was transferred to the South.

SIDE TALKS

A Clever Strategy. — The hasty flight of St. Leger back to Canada was made still more hasty by a strategy of Benedict Arnold, whom Schuyler had sent with a force to the rescue of Fort Stanwix. Arnold captured several Tory spies, among whom was a half-witted youth named Cuyler. All were condemned to death. The mother and brother of Cuyler came to the camp to plead for his life. Arnold told them that the young man could have his freedom if he would aid him in playing a trick on the British commander. Cuyler was to go to St. Leger and tell him that Burgoyne had been defeated and that a large American army was on its way to the rescue of Fort Stanwix. Cuyler agreed and Arnold retained his brother as a hostage, who was to be put to death in case Cuyler failed to keep his promise. With several bullet holes through his clothes he ran to the British camp and did his part so well that by next day the whole army of St. Leger was in full flight to Canada.

Lafayette's Escape. — When Lafayette, a young French nobleman, became acquainted with the fact that the American people were fighting for their liberty, he determined to go to their assistance. He applied to the French king for permission, but the king, wishing not to offend England, refused it. Lafayette thereupon determined to go without the king's consent. Being a man of wealth, he purchased a ship and had it fitted out on

the coast of Spain. He knew very well that at heart the king did not object, for his sympathies also were with the Americans.

Lafayette was on the way to board his ship when he was arrested by the king's officers, on complaint of the British minister at Paris, for the matter of his going had leaked out. He was thrown into prison in southern France.

A few days later a man with a shock of false hair, a blackened face, and in a workman's garb, walked past the guards, out of the prison door. He leaped into a waiting carriage and was soon speeding for the boundary of Spain, which was but a few miles away. In a short time riders on swift horses were in hot pursuit, but they were just too late to catch their prey before he crossed the boundary line. The ship was soon launched upon the Atlantic, but the captain did not know where they were going. When well out at sea Lafayette ordered him to steer for America. The captain at first refused, declaring that they would be captured by British cruisers. But he changed his mind when Lafayette said in a stern voice, "This is my vessel. I command you to steer for the American coast, and if you do not, I will put you in irons."

Just before sailing, Lafayette in a fond farewell letter to his young wife said, "For love of me, become a good American. The welfare of America is closely bound up with the welfare of mankind."

The Liberty Bell. — The Liberty Bell, a precious historic relic, is kept in Independence Hall, the old State House in Philadelphia. The bell was cast in England in 1752, but being defective was melted down and recast the next year in Philadelphia. The inscription on it seems strangely prophetic: "Proclaim Liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants Thereof" (from Leviticus 25: 10).

Several times the Liberty Bell has been loaned by Philadelphia for exhibition in other cities, in one case its journey being as far as to San Francisco; but its strangest journey was taken in a farm wagon the year after it had pealed forth the news of the Declaration of Independence. When it was seen that General Howe was about to occupy Philadelphia after his victory at Brandywine, Congress hurriedly fled from the city to Lancaster and later to York (towns in southern Pennsylvania). The government records were loaded in wagons, also much of the baggage of the Continental Army, and carried to various towns, chiefly to Bethlehem and Allentown (towns in eastern Pennsylvania). A train of 700 wagons reached Bethlehem late in September and in one of them was the Liberty Bell. It was carried away, not because of any sentiment attached to it as at present, but in the fear that it would fall into the hands of the enemy and be melted down and cast into cannon or bullets. About a

dozen other bells were taken also for the same reason. The Liberty Bell was secreted beneath the floor of Sion's Reformed Church in Allentown and there it remained for nearly a year — until the British had left Philadelphia, when it was returned to that city.

The last time the famous bell was rung was at the funeral of John Marshall, the great Chief Justice, in 1835. While ringing, it suddenly cracked from top to bottom and from that time to the present it has held its tongue in silence, a mute and priceless reminder of the strenuous days of the Revolution.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Write out an imaginary view of Washington's meeting the army at Cambridge. Why did Washington quickly move to New York when Howe sailed to Halifax? How did Congress answer Lee's intrigue against Washington?

II. Why was it important for the British to obtain control of the Hudson Valley? Why was the surrender of Burgoyne considered the turning point in the war?

III. What motives brought France into the war against Great Britain? What can be said of England's offer of peace? Why was it impossible for the Americans to accept the offer? Trace the careers during the war of Lafayette, Kosciusko, Pulaski, Steuben. (Consult the library.)

IV. Relate the incidents of Brandywine and Germantown. What advantage was it for Howe to capture Philadelphia? Write an essay on Valley Forge. (See library.) For what is the battle of Monmouth noted?

Events and Dates. — Washington takes charge of the Continental army at Cambridge soon after Bunker Hill. Surrender of Burgoyne, Oct. 17, 1777. Winter at Valley Forge, 1777-78.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Every school library should include biographies of all the leading historic characters and these should be consulted along with the histories. Gilmore, *Rear Guard of the Revolution*; Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*.

FOR THE PUPIL. — Coffin, *Boys of '76*; Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*; Baldwin, *An American Book of Golden Deeds*; Mitchell, *A Venture in 1777*. Books mentioned in the last two preceding chapters.

CHAPTER XIII

LAST YEARS OF THE WAR AND VICTORY

IT would seem that with the surrender of Burgoyne the cause of American freedom was won, but in truth there were dark years to pass through and more than once the fate of America trembled in the balance. The war became a series of murderous raids with a real battle only now and then.

I. INDIAN AND BORDER WARFARE

There were Indians on both sides in the war, but the great majority of them sided with the British. The primitive custom of the Indians of slaying women and children as well as captured soldiers was well known, and it is an undisputed fact that some of the British commanders in America encouraged them in this fiendish business.

The Wyoming Valley. — The scene of one of the most heinous of the Indian massacres was the Wyoming Valley of northern Pennsylvania. It is a beautiful valley nestling between two mountain ranges, with the sparkling Susquehanna winding through it. People from Connecticut, claiming this valley by right of their charter, according to which their grant extended to the Pacific, had settled here to the number of 3000.

In midsummer, 1778, a few days after the battle of Monmouth, a Tory named John Butler swooped down on this peaceful settlement with a band of a thousand men, Tories and Indians. As the young men were away, in the Continental Army, the people at home had little power of defense. Many were slain in battle, or in cold blood; some escaped to the woods and mountains, some perished in crossing a swamp.

The whole settlement was broken up and this charming valley became a scene of desolation.

A little later another massacre took place at Cherry Valley in New York. Here the scenes of Wyoming were reënacted, though the number of victims was much smaller.

Sullivan's Raid. — General Washington determined to put a stop to these bloody raids. He selected General John Sullivan to lead an army into the Indian country in the summer of 1779. Sullivan from the time that he had met Washington under the elm tree at Cambridge had been one of his most faithful lieutenants and had figured in nearly all the battles.

With 5000 picked men Sullivan moved northward into the Indian country. On the site of Elmira, New York, he met an army of Tories and Indians and defeated it with great slaughter. He then marched through the country of the Iroquois, who had been the chief offenders, and spread ruin on every hand. He burned forty villages, destroyed the growing crops, and left the whole country as desolate as the Tories and Indians had left the Wyoming Valley. Never from that day did the Iroquois nation recover strength enough to attack the Americans.

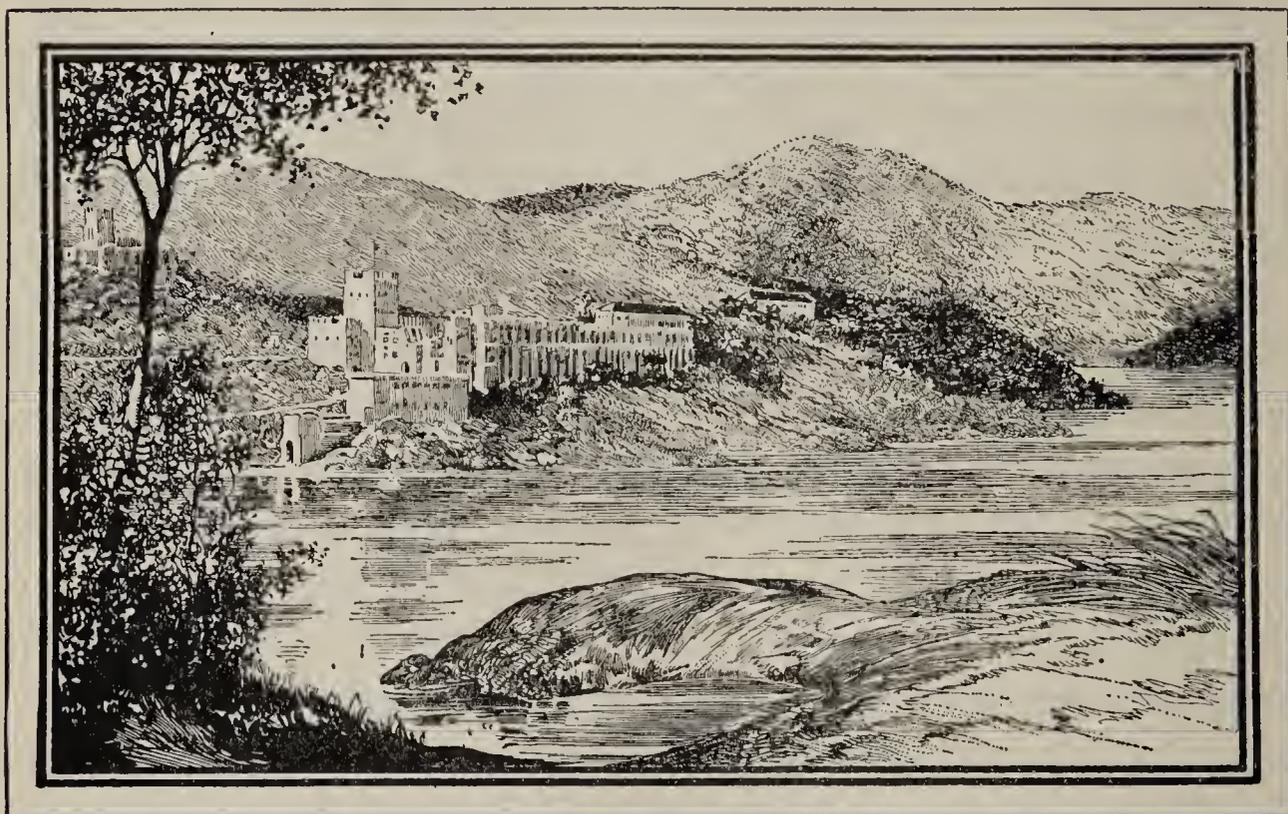
II. BENEDICT ARNOLD

There is nothing more distressing in the story of the Revolution than the account of one of the most able and trusted of Washington's commanders going over to the British and attempting to betray the cause for which he had long been fighting.

West Point. — West Point was the gateway of the Hudson Valley.¹ The Americans had held it since the beginning of the war. It was strongly fortified and contained stores of ammunition and many heavy guns. General Clinton believed that if he could gain possession of this fine fortress he could still, in

¹ The British built a fort at Stony Point, a few miles below West Point; but this was captured by General Anthony Wayne in a brilliant dash on the night of July 15-16, 1779.

spite of the Burgoyne disaster, gain control of the whole valley and win the war. And he came very near doing so through the treachery of Benedict Arnold.



WEST POINT TO-DAY

From a photograph. The site of the old fort is now occupied by the West Point Military Academy, which was founded in 1802.

Arnold. — Arnold had been a brave soldier and was very popular in the army. Twice he had been wounded in battle. But he was a man of coarse fiber and violent ambition. He made numerous enemies among the officers and in Congress. When Congress promoted others of lower rank and placed them above him, he was justly resentful; and Washington shared his resentment.

Arnold was placed in command at Philadelphia. Here he lived high and went deeply into debt. He married a beautiful Tory wife and associated much with loyalists. For an offense a court martial sentenced him to a reprimand. He brooded over the disgrace, small as it was, and he began to hatch treason in his heart.

Arnold was neither a patriot nor an honest man. Getting

into correspondence with the British commander, he bargained to sell his country, to betray the cause in which the Americans had fought for nearly seven years, for thirty thousand dollars in British gold and a command in the British army — against the comrades by whose side he had fought. And to do this Arnold had to betray the confidence of the one great soul who had always befriended him and who believed in him still. Could human perfidy go much farther?

At Arnold's request Washington put him in command at West Point. He took immediate steps for its betrayal, knowing that it meant the entire Hudson Valley and perhaps Washington's whole army, now scattered in the various forts in the country round. Had the plan succeeded, it might have ended the war.

André Meets Arnold. — On a dark night in September, 1780, some distance below West Point, a little boat with muffled oars bore a young man from the British ship *Vulture* to the shore, where he found Benedict Arnold among the trees. The young man was Major John André (än'dră), a brilliant young British officer who had carried on the correspondence between Arnold and Clinton. The two men sat all night making plans for the surrender. Daylight came before they had finished and as André found it dangerous to return to the *Vulture*, he decided to return to New York by land; and he went in disguise, though carrying a pass signed by Arnold. In safety he made more than half the way, when suddenly three men with muskets stood in the path and ordered him to stop.

In spite of his protests and offers of heavy bribes the men refused to set André free. Instead they disarmed and searched him and found inside the soles of his stockings important papers written by Arnold. The men took André and the papers to the nearest American station. The commander there, never suspecting Arnold, sent him a letter telling of the capture, but the papers he sent to Washington, then returning from a trip to Connecticut.

Arnold Escapes. — The letter stupidly sent to Arnold saved the traitor's life. He was sitting at breakfast with some officers when the messenger brought it. Turning pale for a moment, he soon recovered himself and left the table, saying he was suddenly called to the fort, but would soon return. In an upper room he told his young wife that he was ruined and must fly for his life. Under a flag of truce, a handkerchief tied to a cane, he was rowed out to the *Vulture* and was soon on his way to New York.

When Washington knew the story he said with deep emotion, "Arnold is a traitor; whom can we trust now?"

*Head Quarters Robinson
Horn Sep^r: 22^d. 1780*

*Permit M^r. John Anderson to pass the
Grounds to the White Plains, or below
if the Chances. He being on Public
Business by my Direction*

B. Arnold M^g Genl

PASS GIVEN TO ANDRÉ BY ARNOLD

André was one of the most promising young officers in the British army. Washington might possibly have spared his life; but the patriot cause had been snatched from the very brink of a fatal abyss and the whole country was looking on. It was not a time for leniency. Washington refused to interfere. André was tried by fourteen officers, two of whom were foreigners,

Lafayette and Steuben, and their decision was unanimous that André must die the death of a spy.¹ His fate was regretted on both sides of the Atlantic.

Arnold on the other hand received the price of his perfidy; he commanded a force against the Americans in New England and Virginia, but won no special distinction. He died in England some years later, after suffering all the tortures of remorse and broken friendships.

III. WAR ON THE SEA

The Privateers. — The naval warfare of the Revolution was not extensive compared with the land operations, and yet, strange as it seems, there were more men engaged on the sea than on the land. It is estimated that at one time 70,000 men were engaged against the enemy on the sea. America had no navy at the beginning and the warships that were built were captured by the enemy. But the colonies had hundreds of merchant ships. Many of them were changed into privateers, that is, armed merchant vessels, and sent against the enemy's shipping. They played havoc with the British merchantmen, taking prizes worth many millions of dollars.

American ships upon the ocean went sometimes singly and sometimes in small squadrons. These daring rovers braved all perils; they captured hundreds of merchant ships, in West Indian waters, along the coasts of South America, in the Mediterranean, and even in the English Channel.

John Paul Jones. — The man who won the greatest fame on the sea in the course of the war was John Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, a Virginian by residence. Jones in the *Bon Homme Richard* (bō-nōm rē-shär') was cruising off the coast of England when, on the night of September 23, 1779, he encountered a small British squadron. The *Sera'pis* and the *Bon Homme Richard* were soon engaged in a deadly duel. For some hours they fought with desperate valor and at times the vessels

¹ British writers agree that the sentence was just.



JOHN PAUL JONES BOARDING THE *SERAPIS*

were so near together that their gun muzzles touched. At one moment when there was a lull in the American firing, the British captain called out, "Have you struck your colors?" Jones shouted back, "I have not yet begun to fight."

The ships were almost torn to pieces and half the crews lay dead or wounded on the decks. A little later the British surrendered. The battle was over and Jones was the victor in one of the most famous naval battles in history. The story of this brilliant victory was told in every language in Europe. It caused the eyes of the world, as nothing except Burgoyne's surrender had done before, to center on the rising nation of the West, and it brought cheer to all parts of America.

IV. WAR IN THE WEST AND SOUTH — YORKTOWN

George Rogers Clark. — Among the few hundred settlers in Kentucky, chiefly from Virginia, was a daring young man named Clark, a born leader of men. Clark conceived the idea of leading an expedition into the western plains, now Indiana and Illinois, capturing the enemy posts in that section, and securing that great territory for the patriot cause.

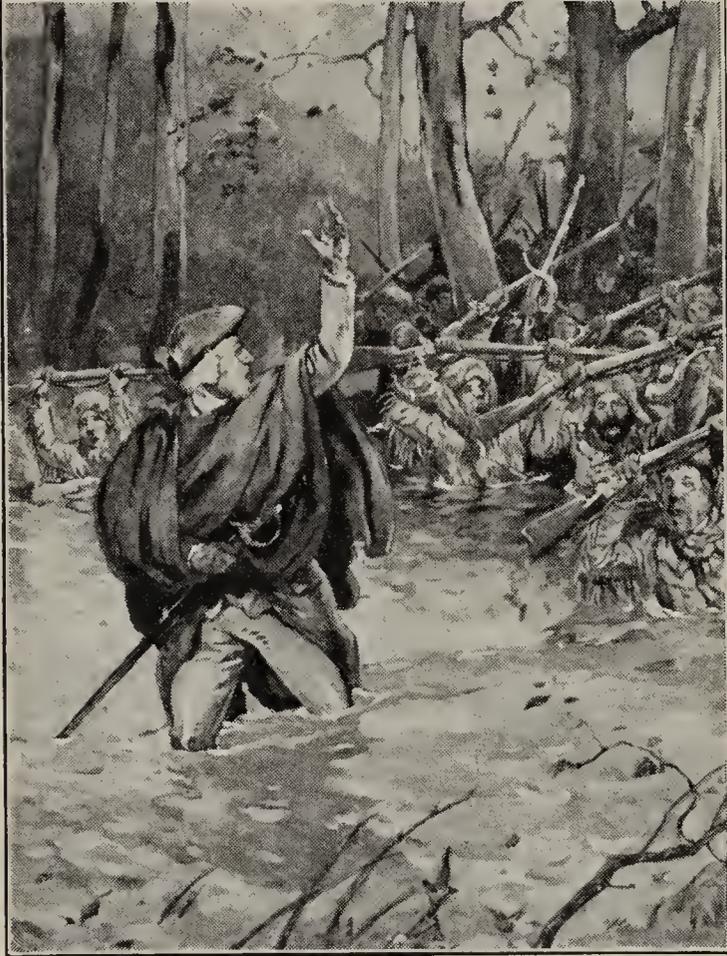
Over the mountains he made the trip to Virginia and laid his plans before the governor, Patrick Henry. He received the command of a few hundred men and about \$1200, returned, and made ready for the expedition.

With a band of about 200 men Clark floated down the Ohio to the site of Louisville and there drilled his little army for the perilous undertaking. When he told the men of the long march that was before them and the perils of the expedition, a few of them deserted, but about 180 chose to go with him. It was 600 miles to their first objective point, Kaskas'kia.

This fort the heroic band captured by surprise, without a battle, on July 4, 1778. Various other enemy posts were soon in the hands of the young Virginian. He told the French and Indians of the treaty with France and won them to the American cause.

Late in the autumn the British commander at Detroit marched upon Vincennes (vĭn-sĕnz') on the Wabash (wô'băsh) (which also had transferred its allegiance to America) and recaptured it.

Clark thereupon determined to march upon Vincennes, a distance of more than 200 miles across the roadless prairies and swamps of Illinois. It



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK LEADING THE WAY TO VINCENNES

was midwinter. A more heroic expedition would be hard to find in the history of any war. The men crossed miles of swamps, wading at times through icy water up to their armpits, cheered and encouraged by their dauntless young commander.

On February 20, 1779, Vincennes was captured by the intrepid patriots. The British commander was sent as a prisoner of war to Virginia.

The Clark expedition had tangible results. It won for the American

cause a territory about half as large as the entire thirteen colonies, not counting their western land claims. It enabled our agents, at the peace conference after the war, to claim in a bolder tone the Mississippi River, instead of the Allegheny Mountains, as the western boundary of the United States.

Going South. — During the early period of the long war the South was the seat of conflict. After the defeat at Moores Creek (p. 138), Sir Henry Clinton sailed south to capture Charleston. Colonel Moultrie constructed Fort Moultrie (p. 147) of logs and sand on Sullivans Island, which commanded the harbor.

A British attacking party was almost drowned in the shoals in front of the fort; the shots from the fleet passed over the low fort, while the American fire did great damage to the ships. Clinton finally sailed for New York, and for nearly three years the South had comparative rest. But the British had no better success in the North. Burgoyne's army had been lost, Arnold's plot had failed, and with all their years of effort the British now held not a foot of land in the North except the city of New York and Newport in Rhode Island. Again they transferred their operations to the South, which became the seat of the final scenes of the war.

Fall of Savannah. — Late in the year 1778 Clinton sent an expedition by sea to Savannah, the capital of Georgia. The city was weakly defended and it was soon captured. An inland march was soon begun and Augusta became an easy prey. Before the end of December the British proclaimed the conquest of the entire state of Georgia.

In September, 1779, a French fleet under Count D'Estaing appeared in southern waters, and this fleet, aided by an American land force under General Benjamin Lincoln, made a desperate effort to recapture Savannah, but failed. It was here that the brave Count Pulaski gave his life in the patriot cause.

Fall of Charleston. — The British next determined on the conquest of South Carolina and it was first necessary to secure Charleston, the greatest stronghold in the South. Greatly reënforced from the North, the British fleet and army closed in about the city and in May, 1780, General Lincoln, who was in command, was forced to raise the white flag. The surrender included his whole army of 7000 men. It was a great but not a fatal blow to the American cause. The fall of Charleston gave the enemy control of the entire state of South Carolina. Clinton, who had come from New York, now returned thither and left Cornwallis in charge in the South.

Marion and Sumter. — For many months thereafter there was no American army in the South. But there were many

murderous conflicts between the patriots and loyalists. The patriot cause was kept alive by such men as Andrew Pickens, Thomas Sumter, and Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox." These men with bands of kindred spirits would lie hidden in the mountains and forests and would sally forth to strike the enemy a deadly blow and then disappear as stealthily as they had come.

Camden. — In the summer of 1780 Washington sent Gates to the South with an army, but in the battle of Camden in South Carolina he was defeated by Cornwallis. But the time for a change had come. The British suffered greatly from the activities of Marion and Sumter and Daniel Morgan, the leader of the Virginia sharpshooters. Then came the battle of Kings Mountain on the borders of North and South Carolina.

Kings Mountain; Cowpens. — Cornwallis sent Major Ferguson with 1200 men to raid the back country. But the backwoods-



WESTERNERS ON THE MARCH TO KINGS MOUNTAIN

men, farmers and hunters, rose to the number of 1300, surrounded Ferguson on Kings Mountain (October 7, 1780), and killed or captured the entire force. In January the British raider Tarleton with more than a thousand men encountered

Daniel Morgan with a smaller army at Cowpens, not far from Kings Mountain. Tarleton's army was almost annihilated, he and a few followers alone escaping through the swamps on horseback. Things began to look brighter in the sunny South.

Guilford Courthouse. — Nathanael Greene had succeeded Gates, and the American army was soon again in a fighting condition. Cornwallis was greatly weakened by the defeats at Kings Mountain and Cowpens. He saw that he must strike an effective blow quickly to revive the spirits of his army and of the loyalists. He pursued Greene, and near Guilford Courthouse a drawn battle was fought. Cornwallis then hurried back to the seacoast. Greene marched his army through South Carolina and Georgia and recaptured nearly every post held by the British. In this campaign Greene proved himself almost equal to Washington as a general.

Cornwallis, instead of following Greene, moved into Virginia and laid waste a large section of the state. He was held in check by Lafayette, whom Washington had sent to watch him. Lafayette's army was too small to offer battle to the British general, but large enough to harass and annoy him. Cornwallis tried in every way to capture the French commander. "The boy shall not escape me," he declared. But the boy, long schooled under Washington, was too elusive to be caught. On the peninsula of Yorktown, Cornwallis made his headquarters and threw up strong redoubts. Soon Lafayette was joined by Wayne with a thousand men. Slowly they began tightening the coils around Yorktown.

Surrender of Yorktown. — Then came a startling bit of good news — Count de Grasse was sailing from the West Indies to the Chesapeake with a powerful French fleet and army. The news reached Washington in New York, where his army had been joined by a French force of 4000 men under Count Rochambeau (rō-shän-bō'). They quickly decided to rush to Virginia by forced marches for the purpose of surrounding and capturing Cornwallis.

For more than a month the British works were shelled by the allied cannon, while the French fleet cut off any rescue by



THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN

From an old print. The British troops are marching out of the town to lay down their arms. The ships are the French fleet.

sea. On October 17, four years to a day after the surrender of Burgoyne, the white flag was seen waving over the parapet at Yorktown. Two days later Cornwallis and his entire army of over 8000 men were prisoners of war.

Thus ended the war of the Revolution. For two years longer Clinton continued to hold New York, until a treaty of peace could be made, but hostilities between the regular armies ended at Yorktown.

The Americans had won a noble victory, had won liberty, independence, and self-government, and we to-day are enjoying the fruits of their sacrifice.

The news of the victory at Yorktown was sent by post-riders in all directions. It reached Philadelphia at three o'clock in the morning and the old German night-watchman, going his rounds and calling out the hour, added, "und Gornvallis ist dakendt, Gornvallis ist dakendt." At the coming of daylight the streets

were alive with a cheering, yelling, rejoicing multitude. Congress repaired to a church near by to give thanks to God for the victory. When the news had crossed the sea, Lord North exclaimed, "Oh, God, it is all over, it is all over." In Paris the rejoicing was as wild and unrestrained as in Philadelphia.

V. A BACKWARD GLANCE

The Loyalists. — The most surprising and distressing fact about the war was that the Americans were so divided among themselves and that the two parties were so bitter toward each other. Perhaps one third of all the people were loyalists, often called Tories. In most communities they were in a minority and the patriots hunted them down with a ruthless hand. They were driven from their homes, tarred and feathered, ridden on a rail, or forced to make apologies to the people.

Every state made laws against the loyalists, with penalties of imprisonment, banishment, confiscation of property, or even death. As the war drew to a close thousands of them found their way to England, to Nova Scotia, or to New Brunswick.

Had the American people been united, they could have driven the British into the sea in one year. The first upflaring like that at Lexington soon subsided and it was very difficult to keep the ranks of the army filled. Congress had no power to enforce its decrees and none of the states came up to the requirement. Many people thought that it was a mere matter of taxation they were fighting for and they refused to be roused as they might have been if they had been defending life and home and family.

French Aid. — French help amounted to little before the last campaign, but in that campaign the French rendered great service. Cornwallis could not have been captured without French aid, and the war might have continued several years longer. In another respect the French alliance proved a wonderful asset — in the matter of loans. It is doubtful if Washington could have held his army together during the latter years but for French gold.

Treaty of Peace. — The treaty of peace was made in Paris and was finally signed in 1783. Our commissioners were Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay. The one great and lasting victory won by them, aside from independence, which was a foregone conclusion, was the securing of the Mississippi River, instead of the Allegheny Mountains, as our western boundary.

Great Results of the War. — The war of the Revolution has proved one of the great events in history. It resulted not only in the founding of the United States, it proved also a priceless boon to Great Britain in spite of her defeat. It reëstablished real democracy in England by taking the governing power from the hands of the king and giving it back to Parliament, where it still remains. It also taught that country a most wholesome lesson in the art of governing colonies. In a speech in New



SIGNING THE TREATY OF PEACE IN PARIS

The faces seen are those of Jay, Franklin, and Adams. Notice the furniture and the men's clothing. Knee breeches were worn by gentlemen until after the French Revolution of 1789.

York, October, 1923, Lloyd George, the British premier during the World War period, said: "The real founder of the British Empire as we know it was George Washington. He taught us to become a democratic Empire."

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What object could the enemy have had in encouraging Indian massacres? Write a comparison between Generals Sullivan and Wayne. (See library.)

II. Give an estimate of the character of Arnold. Why is a spy put to death if caught though he is merely acting for his government? Compare André with Nathan Hale.

III. What are privateers? Is privateering a good practice in war? Why? Relate the exploit of John Paul Jones. Write a comparison between warships of that day and ours.

IV. Why did the British transfer the seat of war to the South? From library references write the story of the "Swamp Fox"; of French aid in the Revolution. Describe the surrender at Yorktown.

V. What important victory did the Americans win at the peace conference in Paris?

Events and Dates. — The Wyoming massacre and Sullivan's raid. Jones's victory on the sea, 1779. Arnold's treason, 1780. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781. The Peace Treaty, 1783.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: In addition to the various books already mentioned for the study of the Revolution the following are recommended: Gilmore, *Rear Guard of the Revolution*; Chase, *The Beginnings of the American Revolution*, three volumes; Garden, *Anecdotes of the Revolution*; Riedesel, *Memoirs*. This last, from the diary of the wife of General Riedesel, a Hessian under Burgoyne, who accompanied her husband in the campaign, furnishes a delightful side light.

FOR THE PUPIL: Coffin, *Boys of '76*; Hawthorne, *Grandfather's Chair*; Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*; Jenks, *When America Won Liberty*; Tomlinson, *The War for Independence*; True, *Morgan's Men*; Seawell, *Paul Jones*; Coe, *Makers of the Nation*.

CHAPTER XIV

A VIEW OF AMERICA

I. THE LAND

A Vast Continent. — Nearly three hundred years had passed since Columbus and Cabot and Vespuccius had discovered the vast continents, hitherto unknown to civilized man, west of the rolling Atlantic. During those centuries explorers and adventurers from many lands braved the perils of sea and land, encountered the wild beasts and wild men of forest and mountain and plain, yielding up their lives in the lonely wilderness, or returning to tell eager throngs of their wanderings and to give needed information to those who would seek permanent homes in the new lands beyond the sea.

Then came the settlers seeking to establish homes in the hope of finding better conditions of life than they could enjoy in crowded Europe. The settlements that dotted the wilderness here and there grew as the centuries passed until some of them had become great colonies with hundreds of thousands of people. Then came the long war for liberty and the victory won by the thirteen colonies broke all political ties that bound them to the mother country and threw upon them the responsibility of founding a new nation.

Extent of the United States. — The great expanse of the new United States was a striking feature when compared with the countries of Europe. With the exception of Russia, the European countries were small in comparison. This new country of the west was a princely domain, extending from the Great Lakes on the north to Florida on the south, and from

the Atlantic seaboard over the Appalachian Mountains, far across the western plains to the Mississippi. Certainly here was an opportunity for a virile people to build a nation on a large scale. But no one in that day seemed to dream that little more than a half century would pass before the new country would be so vastly enlarged as to embrace the whole central part of the continent, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.

The Northern States. — New England was not a very fertile section. There were hills and valleys innumerable, with many little rivers and waterfalls, but only in spots was the soil richly productive. New York was the only state that touched both the Great Lakes and the Atlantic. Much of it was more fertile than New England; but great sections of the central and northern parts were covered with forest, and inhabited only by Indians and fur traders. It is a singular fact that both New England and New York had only small mineral wealth. Pennsylvania, on the other hand, was wonderfully rich in minerals. Under its surface lay billions of tons of anthracite, great fields of bituminous coal and iron ore, and, as the future was to disclose, vast wealth in petroleum and natural gas. The chief products of the northern states were wheat, corn, and potatoes from the soil, timber in endless amount from the forests, and great quantities of furs for the European markets.

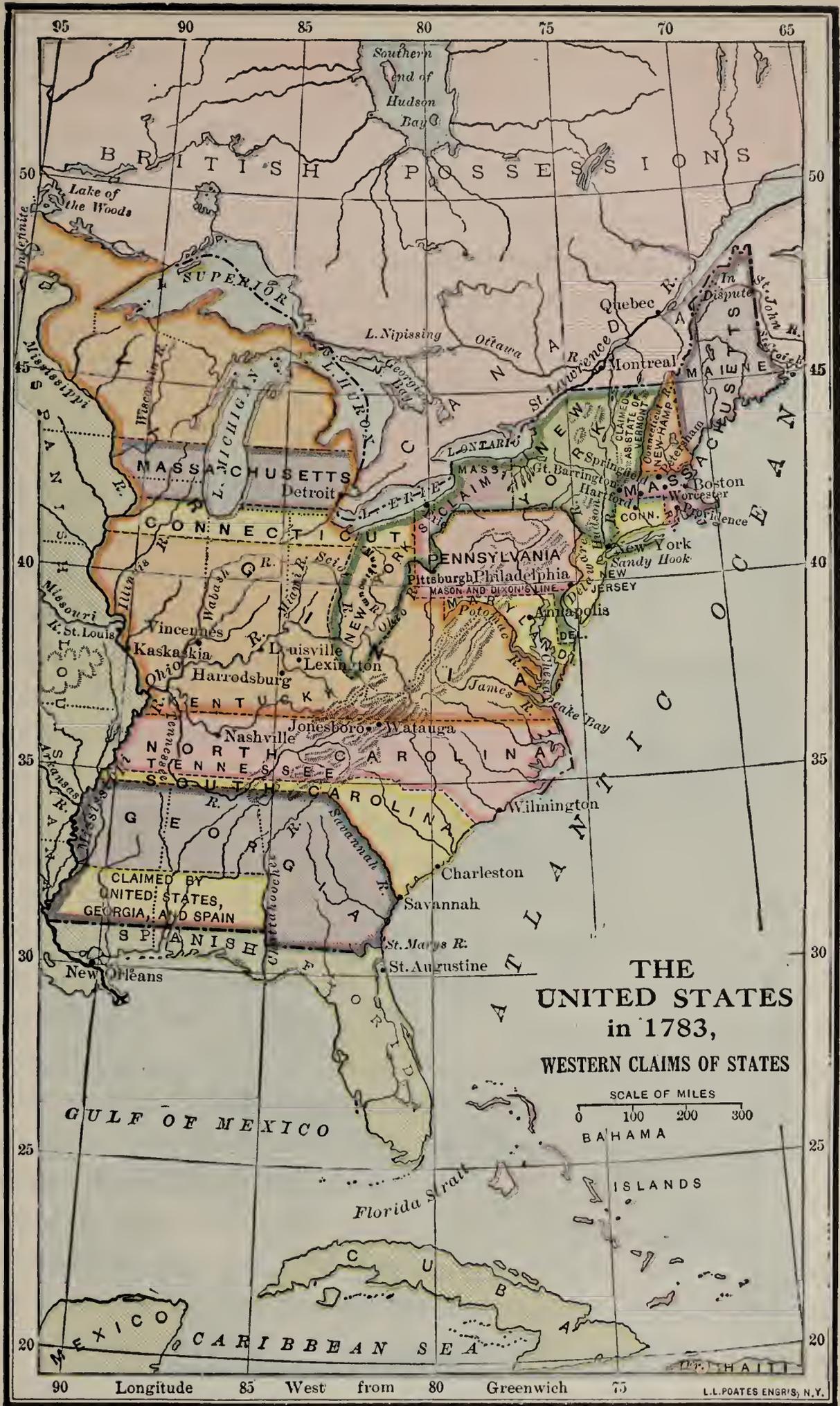
The South. — South of Mason and Dixon's Line the climate becomes milder, the winters shorter and less severe. Maryland and Virginia produced immense quantities of tobacco with which they supplied most of Europe. Tobacco, like Indian corn, was unknown in Europe before the discovery of America; but once the Europeans got a taste of the weed, its use spread from one country to another with marvelous rapidity and never to this day has the demand for it diminished. Some of the Virginia plantations were of immense extent. One landowner named Carter had an estate of 60,000 acres and owned 600

slaves. Farther south indigo and rice were the chief products; and the higher land bore a boundless wealth of cedar and pine.



FIELD OF GROWING TOBACCO IN VIRGINIA

Land Claims. — Most of the great extent of territory lying between the Appalachian Mountains and the Mississippi River was claimed by seven of the thirteen states. These claims were based for the most part on the colonial charters and there were various conflicts, several of the claims overlapping each other. Here, indeed, were the seeds of serious future trouble. Many a nation would have fought over such conflicting claims. The early American people were possessed of moderation and a high degree of good sense. The land question was settled happily without endangering the union of the states. Those not having western land claims suggested, almost demanded, that the states having such claims should give them up and that the lands should become the property of the nation as a whole. At length all did so, or at least gave up the greater part of their claims, and thus the United States came into possession of immense territories extending westward to the Mississippi.



Ordinance of 1787. — An ordinance for governing the territory north of the Ohio River was passed in 1787. It provided for religious freedom and the “encouragement” of education. It also provided that slavery should not be permitted in the territory. Later the territory was divided up into the great states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. The Ordinance of 1787 was enacted by Congress, then sitting in New York. It was in the same year that another body of men met in Philadelphia to frame a Constitution, as we shall see.

II. THE PEOPLE

Though the thirteen colonies before the war were all under British control and all except New York and Delaware had been founded by English settlers, the people were by no means all of English descent.

English, Dutch, Swedes. — In New England the people were almost wholly English, and in Philadelphia, Virginia, and the Carolinas, the English were in a great majority. The valley of the Hudson River, settled by the Dutch more than a century before the Revolution, had long ago passed under the control of the English, when New Netherland had become New York; but the Dutch continued to speak their own language and to follow their own customs until long after the close of the eighteenth century. Swedes came to Delaware soon after the Dutch settled New York, but they had never come in large numbers, and years before the Revolution they had been absorbed by the English and had lost their language. After the English Restoration in 1660 there was little immigration to America from England, Holland, or Sweden.

Other Races. — Then followed the immigration to America of three other peoples, who kept coming for nearly a hundred years — almost to the time of the Revolution. These were the French Protestants called Huguenots, the Scotch-Irish, and the Germans. The Huguenots who fled from France to America, to escape the oppression of their tyrannical king, settled chiefly

in the Carolinas. The Scotch-Irish and Germans made their home for the most part in Pennsylvania, and there was an overflow from that state into Maryland and Virginia. The Swiss, the Irish, and a few other peoples came in smaller numbers. The American people were of many races and many languages and the task of the future was to blend these into one people and one language. The immediate problem was to establish a government adapted to all classes — to the Puritan of New England, the fur trader of New York, the Quaker and the German farmer of Pennsylvania, and the plantation owner of the South. How this was done we shall see in the next chapter.

Population. — The estimated population of the new nation at the close of the war was a little more than three million, though an actual census was not taken till nearly ten years later (1790), when the people numbered 3,929,214. The great majority were of English descent.

The most populous of the states was Virginia, the home of almost three quarters of a million people in 1790. Next came Massachusetts (including Maine) with about 475,000; Pennsylvania came third with almost 435,000; and North Carolina was fourth. New York in our time leads all the states in population, but in that day it came fifth.

The seacoast from Maine to Georgia, more than a thousand miles long, was occupied by a few cities and by many villages and thousands of farms cut out of the forest. Away from the coast the people were scattered thinly over valleys and hills and mountain slopes. Beyond the Alleghenies the wilds of Kentucky and Tennessee were still more sparsely settled. Explorers like Daniel Boone and Christopher Gist had spent many months traversing the lonely expanses of woodland beyond the western slope of the mountains.

Daniel Boone. — Boone is the most renowned of all our early pioneers. A modest man he was, who perhaps never dreamed of leaving a permanent name in the annals of his country. Boone chose the lonely life of the wilderness, where

he spent many years because he loved it. He loved the lonely campfire among the giant trees, the chase of the deer and the buffalo, even the battle with the Indian foe, it would seem, and he was more skilled in woodcraft than the red men of the forest with all their centuries of training. Settlement and civilized life in the great west would have been impossible but for the early adventures of such dauntless pioneers as Daniel Boone.

III. WHAT THE PEOPLE DID

Farmers and Farm Implements. — The people of the United States, at the time they won independence, were a nation of farmers. A great majority of the people worked on farms. But they had no mowing machines or self-binders or farm tractors. The work had to be done by hand. Even in manufacturing and in transportation the power had to be furnished by horses or oxen or human muscle. James Watt, the inventive Scot, had produced the steam engine, but it had not yet come into general use. Its triumph was in the future.

Farm Life. — The wooden parts of the farmer's plow and harrow, his sled and wagon, were usually made by himself;



DANIEL BOONE

From statue by Enid Yendell.

also his harness, perhaps made of ropes. Division of labor and of occupation as we now have it was scarcely known in those days. The northern farmer and his sons did their own work, but in the South most of the farm labor was done by slaves. All the northern states had slaves also at the time of the Revolution, but by no means so many as were found in



FARMER'S IMPLEMENTS, ABOUT 1790

Scythe, hoe, fork, plow, flail, wooden pail, spade, and ox yoke.

the South; and soon after the war the northern states began to free their slaves. In the South slavery remained until the time of the Civil War.

One of the chief articles of food was wild game. Every farmer was an adept with the gun. If he did not live in the woods, certainly he was not far from them, and when the meat supply was low, he had little trouble in replenishing it.

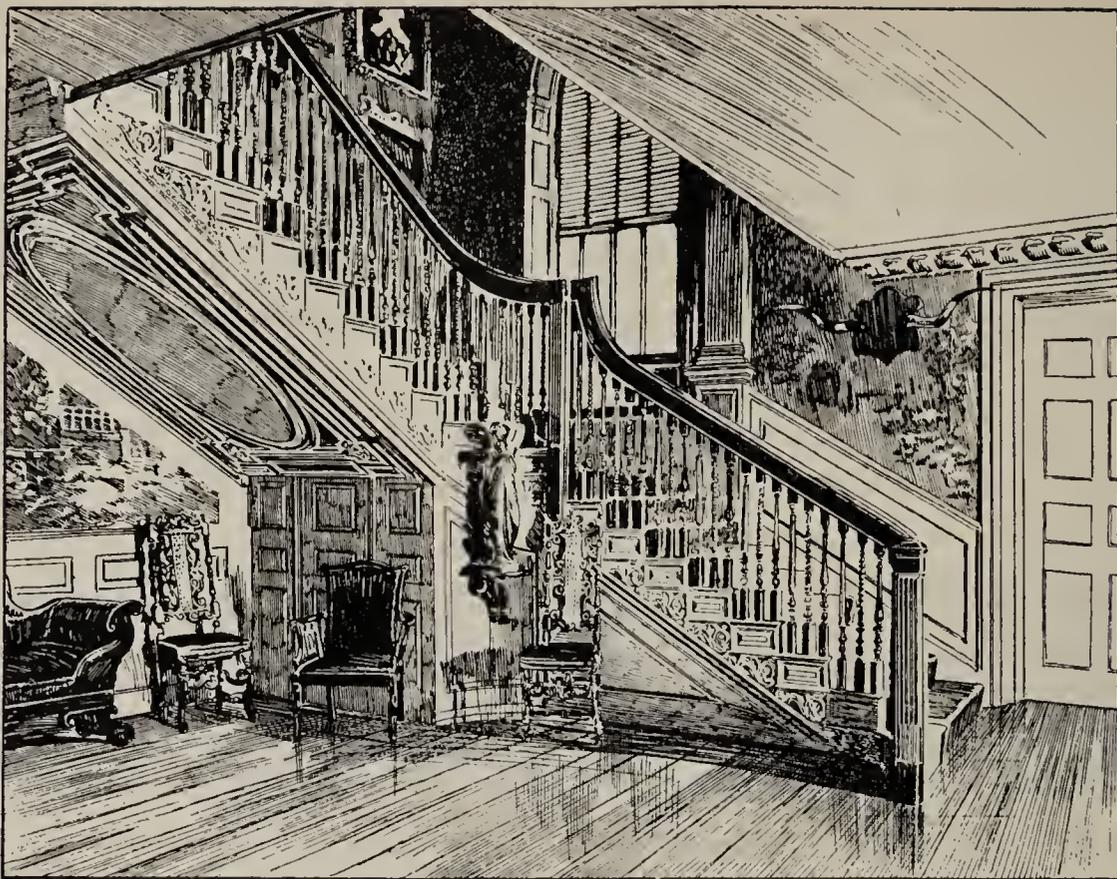
Other Occupations. — Not all the people were farmers. In the growing cities were many business men, lawyers, doctors, preachers, and workers in small mills or factories. Such great manufacturing plants as we now have, with their thousands of toilers, their great engines and dynamos, and the endless hum of turning wheels, were unknown to our fathers of that day. In New England, where farming was poor, the people took to the sea. Thousands of them were fishermen and sailors and

shipbuilders and lumbermen. In New York and other states there were many hunters, trappers, and fur traders. The forests abounded in fur-bearing animals. Great numbers of peltries were purchased from the Indians, often paid for in guns and ammunition, or in beads, ribbons, and other ornaments with which the red children of the forest delighted to adorn themselves. The furs were then sent in rude boats down the rivers to the coast, chiefly to New York or Philadelphia, and loaded on ships for Europe.

Factories. — While there were no great factories in the country, there was much home manufacture and there were small mills or factories, large numbers of which sprang up soon after the war. Before the end of the century flour mills, woolen, linen, and cotton factories, also nail and iron foundries, glass, carriage, cable, and cordage mills were to be found in many parts. Perhaps the greatest industry next to farming was shipbuilding. The supply of timber for shipbuilding was boundless, and the shipyards at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other ports resounded with the continuous hum of thousands of busy workmen. American ships plied the waters of every sea, and American foreign commerce was reaching out to every land. A prominent French writer after a visit to America wrote:

“The nature of things invites the Americans to become the first carriers in the world. They build ships at two thirds the expense that they are built in Europe; they navigate with fewer seamen, and at less expense, although they nourish their seamen better; they navigate with more safety, with more cleanliness, and with more intelligence because the spirit of equality, which reigns at home, attends them likewise at sea.”

Rich and Poor. — The American people were divided into rich and poor, as people are in all countries, but there were no colossal fortunes and there was little poverty. Among the richest men in America were George Washington, whose wealth was in land and live stock and slaves, and John Hancock, the Boston merchant and ship owner. A rich man usually lived in a substantial



INTERIOR OF A COLONIAL MANSION

Ladd House Hall, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

two-story house of wood or stone, and the “colonial style” of the time is still imitated.

Dress. — A man of fashion wore knee breeches, striped stockings, and long pointed shoes mounted with silver buckles. His coat was long, with large silver buttons, his hat was three-cornered and covered with lace, his hair was long and heavily powdered. A man on our streets to-day in such a garb would attract as much attention as a Wild West show.

The middle class, mostly farmers, wore homespun clothing made of wool or flax, spun and woven and made into garments at home by wife and daughters. In most homes an important adjunct to the furniture was a spinning wheel, and its merry hum could be heard all day long. In some homes we still find an old spinning wheel, kept as an interesting relic of the past.

Laborers. — The only really poor class was the common laboring class, and their lot was much worse than is the lot of the same class to-day. Though there were no great industrial

plants and no railroad building, there were many things for the unskilled workman to do, — building roads and mending streets, mixing mortar and hewing timbers. His wages were scarcely enough to keep his family above want. The walls of the hovel in which he lived were bare, and the coarse food on which the family lived was served by the faithful wife on wooden or pewter dishes. Above all, the menace that hung over him like a dark cloud was the danger of imprisonment for debt, and should he become a victim of this inhuman law, who then would provide the scanty living for his family?

Imprisonment for Debt. — Nothing was more barbarous among the customs of our forefathers than imprisonment for debt. If a poor man was unfortunate, if he met with accident or lost his health and, unable to work, was forced to borrow money or buy supplies on credit, and if he was unable to pay



EARLY COLONIAL DWELLING

Austin House, 1657, oldest in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

afterwards, he was often cast into a filthy prison, sometimes a dungeon under the ground, and there among the vilest criminals he might languish for months or years, unless his creditors spoke the word for his release. Imprisonment for debt was not abolished throughout the country until about half a century after the Revolution.

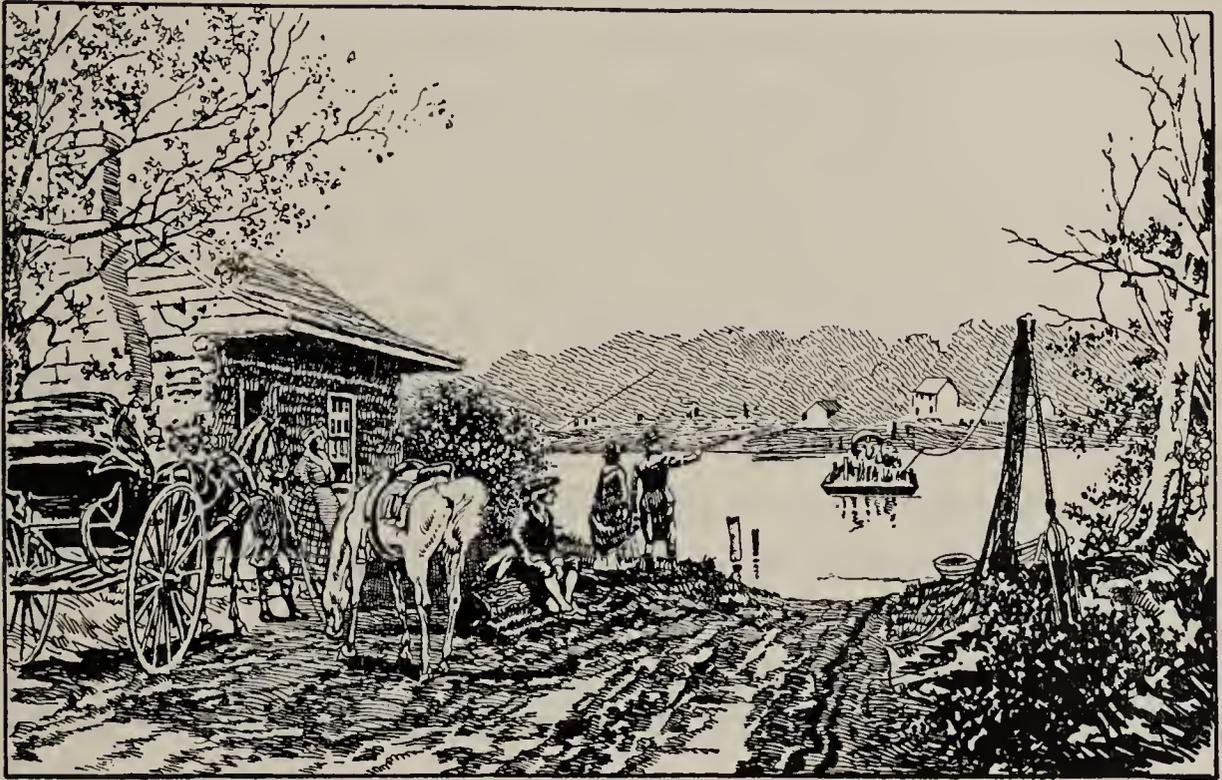
IV. ROADS AND TRAVELING

Traveling, Then and Now. — Suppose you want to go from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. You take a fine upholstered Pullman and go to bed; the rumbling of the train will rock you to sleep; in the morning you wake up and there you are, in the smoky city that bears the name of the great Englishman. Or instead you may spin over the Lincoln Highway in an automobile; or you may even go in a flying machine, far above the mountain tops, and in a few hours reach your destination.

In the old days people had no such means of travel. They made the journey in two or three weeks in a stagecoach, a rickety affair that trundled along thirty or forty miles a day, drawn by two or four horses. The roads in all the states were dreadful in most places. Mudholes and stumps of trees made them in places almost impassable. The roads winding through forests often followed the Indian trails, and the Indians in making their trails had followed the buffalo paths. Many of our roads to-day and even some of our city streets were first buffalo paths and Indian trails.

Discomfort of Traveling. — A journey in those days from New York to Boston required six days, a longer time than is now required to travel from New York to San Francisco. Great was the discomfort of the traveler. The passengers were crowded together on seats that were often without backs, on a coach without springs. Sometimes the coach stuck in the mire and the passengers had to alight and help lift it out. Most rivers had to be forded, as there were few bridges. Eighteen hours was the usual day's travel, the horses being changed about every

fifteen miles. After supper at a tavern the travelers went to bed, to be awakened by the driver's horn before daylight the next morning. People often traveled long distances on horseback. In this way the mails were usually carried by post riders.



· MODES OF TRAVEL, BEFORE 1800

The fact is, few of the people traveled much in those days; the great majority lived and died in the neighborhood in which they were born. Two or three stagecoaches a week took care of the passenger traffic between New York and Boston, and it is probable that the amount of traveling between those two cities and between New York and Philadelphia is greater now in one day than it then was in a whole year.

What Would Washington Think? — Wonderful have been the changes in the means of travel in the past hundred years. Suppose General Washington could come back and ride on his horse through the country to-day; if he should see a boy approach on a bicycle, with what curiosity would he observe it! Next, his attention might be caught by the flash of a trolley wire or the roar of an express train going at sixty miles an hour. With what astonishment the Father of his Country might have con-

sidered these things! But he might have reasoned thus: Ah, yes, here is the electric spark such as Franklin caught from a thunder cloud, put to human service, and this is Watt's engine greatly enlarged and perfected. That explains it all. But lo, here is something utterly new — an automobile rushing by with almost the speed of the express train, men, women, and children sitting complacently among the cushions! Who ever heard of such a thing? Where is the old stagecoach now? While gazing in speechless wonder he hears a strange, whirring sound above him. Who can imagine his amazement when he beholds a great four-winged airplane, sailing with its human freight like a gigantic bird a thousand yards above the trees! Had Washington such a vision he might have believed himself transported to another planet. And yet, though little more than a century has passed since his time, we see all these things every day and think little about them.

V. NEWSPAPERS AND BOOKS

The great daily newspapers of our time, turned out by the cylinder press through steam or electric power at the rate of more than 50,000 an hour, show an immense improvement over those of long ago. At the close of the Revolutionary War there were but forty-three newspapers published in the United States. They were printed on coarse paper, and few were issued more than twice or three times a week.

Contents of Newspapers. — There was little real news in the newspapers of the time. The news of the town in which the paper was published it was thought needless to print, as everybody knew it, and news from a distance was hard to get, as telegraph, telephone, and railroads were not yet in existence. The columns were often filled with long essays on morals and discourses on theology. Frequently also we find long letters printed in the papers, written by distant friends to subscribers who then had the kindness to turn them over to the editor for the benefit of the public. In this way accounts of many events

of importance were preserved and have been given to us by historians, or may be read in the files of old newspapers in our large libraries. If an editor had a quarrel with the editor of another paper, he would write up an account of it for his paper. One Philadelphia editor published an account of a fist fight he had had on the street with a rival and used language such as we seldom or never see in public print in our time. Much of the paper was taken up with advertisements, not only of things for sale, but often of stray horses and cows, and of runaway slaves.

Circulation. — The circulation of the newspapers was very limited, and few of them ever reached a point a hundred miles from the place where they were printed. One reason for this was the difficulty of sending them. They were not carried in the mails as now. A publisher, in order to send copies of his paper to a distant town, had to pay a fee to the post rider, or to make terms with the stagecoach driver or some other traveler. In many a village none but the postmaster received a paper, and when it came, perhaps two or three times a week, the people would gather about him and eagerly hear him read the news such as it was. Indeed, the farmers and villagers were so eager for news that any traveler through the country was sure to be plied with numberless questions about happenings in other parts of the country or in Europe.

The Family Library. — Books read by the masses of the people in colonial times were few indeed. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was, next to the *Bible*, perhaps the most popular book. Addison's *Spectator* was to be found in many homes, also the poems of Milton and of a few other English poets. Shakespeare and other dramatic poets were not popular because of the general opposition to the theater.

Franklin's *Almanac* was widely read in all the colonies. But popular literature as we understand it, and even historical and scientific works, were almost unknown. It is true that the colonists themselves produced a large amount of literature, beginning with the histories of the early settlements by John Smith,

William Bradford, and John Winthrop; but little of it was widely read at the time or had any permanent literary value.

The Revolutionary period produced an immense amount of prose and verse which the people read and enjoyed and soon forgot. *Yankee Doodle* is the only song of the time that has survived to our day. The greatest of American poets before 1800 was Philip Freneau, of Huguenot descent. Freneau was scarcely inferior to the great New England poets of the next century; but for some reason his poetry has almost entirely fallen out of the public mind.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What was the western boundary of the United States at the close of the Revolution? In what respect was Pennsylvania richer than any of the other states? Name the chief products of the South. Give an account of the western land claims; of the Ordinance of 1787.

II. Where had the Dutch settled? the Swedes? the French? the Germans and Scotch-Irish? What was the great problem of the future? What was the population? Name the five greatest states in the order of population.

III. Write a paper comparing farming in 1781 and at present. Write a story of the imaginary experience of a hunter and trapper of that day. What do you think of imprisonment for debt? About when was it abolished in this country?

IV. Write up an imaginary trip in the stagecoach from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Write on improvements in traveling.

V. Describe the newspapers and their contents. What were the principal books read by the colonists? Have you ever read a poem by Freneau?

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Fish, *Development of American Nationality*; Greene, *Provincial America*; Doyle, *English Colonies in America*, five volumes. This work is very complete and covers nearly all subjects mentioned in this chapter. Tryon, *Household Manufactures in the United States*; Fisher, *Men, Women, and Manners in Colonial Times*; Halleck, *History of American Literature*; Earle, the various volumes on colonial life and customs, referred to on page 76. These are also suitable for the pupils.

CHAPTER XV

THE CONSTITUTION AND SELF-GOVERNMENT

I. THE GREAT PROBLEM

The long war was over. The victory for the Americans was one to be remembered for all future time, not because of the magnitude of the war (for there have been many wars greater than the Revolution), but because of the lasting results that were to follow. It brought about the founding of one of the great nations of the world's history, the great nation which we are so proud of calling our own.

Pulling Down and Building Up. — But if the people thought that their struggles were over with the surrender of Yorktown, they were sadly mistaken. Their work thus far had been destructive, a work of tearing down; in future it needed to be constructive, a work of building up. A man who tears down an old building because it does not suit him is worse off than before unless he puts a better one in its place.

The tie that had bound the colonies, now called "states," to the mother country since the founding of Jamestown and the coming of the Pilgrims, had been severed. The great problem now before the American people was that of government. What sort of government should they establish?

If the people meet to make their laws and elect officers, they have self-government and their country is called a democracy. A pure democracy is possible only where the people are few. If they make the laws through representatives, they have a republic. If the government is controlled by a king or other ruler, the people are not self-governing and such a country is usually called a monarchy.

What Kind of Government. — At the close of the Revolution nearly all the nations of the world were monarchies. It was therefore a bold and brave thing for the American people to decide on self-government. But they were not all agreed at first. Some thought that the states should remain apart and that each should manage its affairs in its own way; others thought that the only road to safety from foreign conquest lay in union. A few favored setting up a monarchy. One army officer wrote to Washington and suggested that he accept the crown and become king of America. That great commander answered that the subject was obnoxious to him and requested the writer as his friend to mention it no more.

It was absolutely necessary for the American people to grapple with the problem of government — the greatest problem that any people ever have to solve. An honest beginning had been made some years before the close of the war.

The Articles of Confederation. — In 1777 a constitution had been adopted by Congress for the government of the new-born nation, but it was four years later before the last of the states had accepted it. This first constitution of the United States was called the Articles of Confederation. A constitution is a body of fundamental or supreme laws; its purpose is to define the plan of the government, to furnish a foundation on which ordinary laws are to be based, and to define the powers and duties of the officers of the government.

The Articles of Confederation were very defective; they created a weak government, so weak that it could hardly hold together. The reason for this weakness was that the people feared that a strong government would rob them of their liberties; and the states also were jealous of their newly won powers and did not want to give them up. During the war the states had worked together in harmony, but the war over, each thought of its own interests rather than the good of all.

Defects in the Articles. — Let us notice a few of the weak spots in this first American constitution: It provided for a

Congress of one house in which each state had one vote, regardless of its size or population; but there was no president to enforce the laws and no supreme court to interpret them. Congress could make laws but it had no power to enforce them.

It requires a great deal of money to carry on a government, but under the Articles Congress had no power to collect taxes. It called on the states for a certain amount from each. Some of the states responded fairly well, but most of them did not pay half of what they were expected to furnish. Congress was powerless. It could not defray ordinary expenses, to say nothing of paying off the national debt brought on by the war. It could not even pay the soldiers what was still owed them. One day a band of them marched upon the hall in Philadelphia where Congress was sitting and at the point of the bayonet demanded their back pay. The members escaped through a back way and fled from the city to Princeton, New Jersey. The states quarreled with one another over boundary lines and land claims; they laid tariffs on one another's goods; there was much disorder in various parts of the country.

But with all this, the Articles of Confederation served a good purpose by teaching the people that a strong government was necessary. Sensible men saw that unless a better government were secured, anarchy would prevail and the condition of the people would be far worse than it was before the Revolution. This brings us to the Constitutional Convention.

II. THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the United States, made in 1787, created the government under which we live and is the supreme law of the land. Many years later Mr. Gladstone, the British statesman, pronounced it the greatest document ever struck off at one time by the mind and purpose of man, thus placing it above the famous English Magna Charta.

The Men Who Made It. — The convention which made the Constitution was held in Philadelphia, in Independence Hall,



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

where eleven years before Congress had adopted the Declaration of Independence. The members of the convention, fifty-five in number, were picked men, sent by the various states, and an abler body could not have been found anywhere. The governing of the colonies before the war and the experience during the war had developed real statesmen in America.

The oldest man in the convention was Benjamin Franklin, the only American who had been famous in Europe before the Revolution. For his homely sayings in *Poor Richard's Almanac*, his discoveries in electricity, his noble record at the French court during the war, and now for his great service in the evening of his days in this convention, Franklin will ever be remembered by the American people. From Virginia came George Washington, the strong man who had led the patriot army to victory, who was yet to receive high honor from the people and to live in history as the Father of his Country. Among the ablest men of the convention were the two young statesmen, James Madison of Virginia, who, a quarter of a century later, was to receive, like Washington, the highest honor his countrymen could bestow, and Alexander Hamilton of New York, who, after a brilliant career, was to fall a victim of a duelist's bullet. Madison had more to do in making our Constitution what it is than any other man, and he has been called the Father of the Constitution. One of his fellow members wrote of him, "Every person seems to acknowledge his greatness . . . in the management of every great question he took the lead in the convention."

Other strong men at this convention were James Wilson, the most learned lawyer in America, of whom a fellow member wrote, "Government seems to have been his peculiar study, all the political institutions of the world he knows in detail"; George Mason and Governor Edmund Randolph of Virginia; and Robert Morris, the Philadelphia merchant who had advanced a large sum of money to save the patriot cause in the darkest days of the Revolution.

Organizing. — Washington was chosen to preside; the convention began its work on May 25; the doors were closed and the public was not admitted. For refusing to do its work openly, the convention received many a jibe; but perhaps it was best to keep out the public, for a knowledge of the disputes and wrangles in that convention would have distracted the people. At first it was thought to amend the Articles of Confederation, but that “rope of sand,” as it was often called, was hardly worth mending and the delegates threw it aside and set out to frame a new instrument altogether.

Three Great Departments. — One of the first proposals was that the government should be composed of three great departments, Executive, Legislative, and Judicial; that is, there should be not only a Congress, as under the Articles of Confederation, but also a President and a system of United States courts. It was also decided that the Congress should be composed of two houses. These came to be called the Senate and the House of Representatives (or simply the “House,” or the “Lower House.”)

Large States and Small States. — When the subject of creating a new Congress came up, trouble began. There was a fight on the floor of the convention — not a fist fight, but a war of words — that lasted several weeks. It was between the large states and the small ones. State boundary lines meant a great deal more in those days than they mean to us now.

The small states declared that they should have the same representation in Congress as the large ones, or else their liberties would be swallowed up and their voice would never be heard. It is undemocratic, answered the large states, for a small number of people to have as much voice in the government as a large number. “Can we forget,” said Mr. Wilson, “for whom we are forming a government? Is it for men, or for the imaginary beings called states?”

There seemed no hope of breaking the deadlock. The convention came near dissolving. One of the members afterwards

wrote, "We were on the verge of dissolution, scarce held together by the strength of a hair." But at length the convention agreed to compromise. It was decided that the states should be represented in the House of Representatives according to population — a victory for the large states — and that in the Senate all the states, large and small, should be represented equally, two senators from each state — a victory for the small states. So it continues to this day; and New York, for example, has 43 times as much voting power in the House as Delaware, while the two states have the same power in the Senate. It was decided also that the members of the House should be elected by direct vote of the people and that the senators should be elected by the state legislatures.¹

Free and Slave States. — Another important compromise of the convention was between the free and the slave states. When it was decided to base representation in the House on population, the question arose whether the slaves should be counted in making up the quota of members from each state. In other words, were the slaves population or merely property? The southern delegates contended that the slaves ought to be included, for representation of the southern states in Congress would thereby be increased. The delegates of the northern states took the ground that as the slaves were bought and sold like other property, and could not vote, they should not be counted in the census. After some debate the convention decided to compromise by counting three fifths of the slaves. This arrangement continued to the time of the Civil War.

A Third Compromise. — Still another compromise involved the slavery question. Most of the states wanted the further importation of slaves from Africa forbidden by the Constitution. Others objected, declaring that they would not enter the Union unless the slave trade was left open. The compromise finally

¹ This provision was changed 126 years later when by an amendment to the Constitution, 1913, the people assumed the right to elect the senators also.

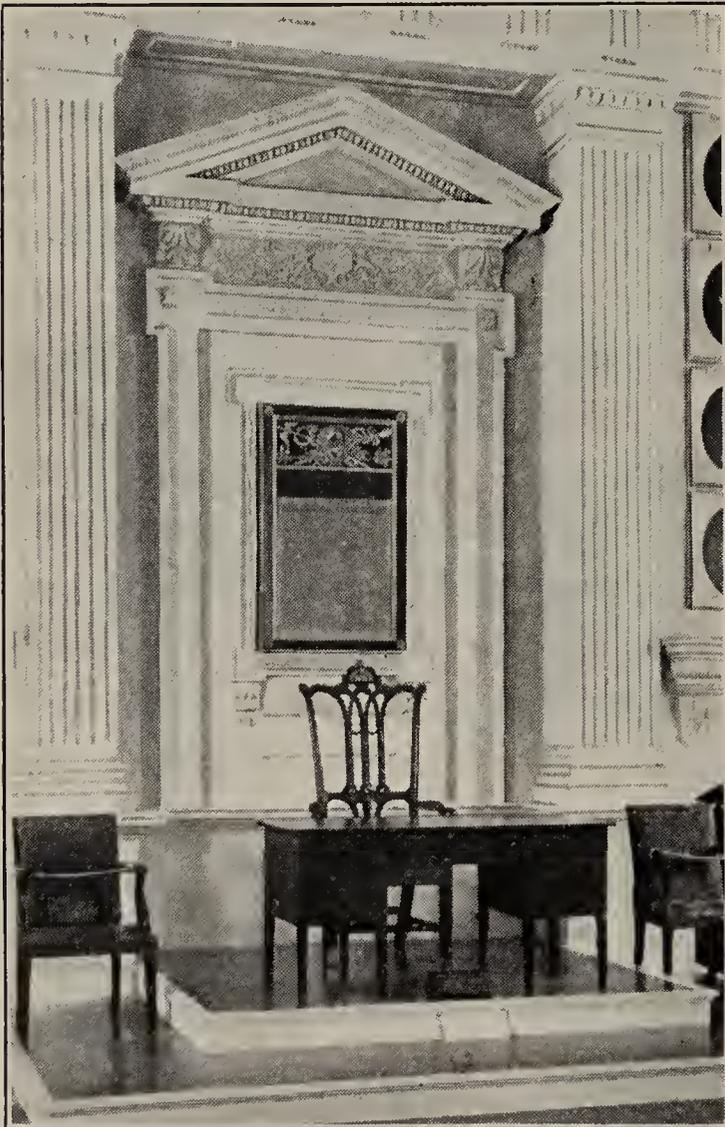
reached was that Congress should have power to prohibit the importation of African blacks, but not until 1808.¹

How to Elect a President. — Before the convention adjourned many other matters had to be decided; such as, how the President should be elected and for how long a term, what the powers of Congress should be, and how the courts should operate. One of the difficult problems for the convention to solve was how to elect the President. Some advocated that he be elected by Congress, others by the state legislatures. But would he not then be under such obligations either to Congress or to the state legislatures as would deprive him of the independence that an executive should enjoy? Finally it was decided that the President should be chosen by electors chosen for the pur-

pose from the various states. When these electors in each state have done their work of voting for a President and Vice President, the electoral college, as they are called, ceases to exist; thus our President is responsible only to the people.

Signing the Constitution. — When the Constitution was completed it was signed by thirty-nine members of the convention, September 17, 1787; most of the others had gone home in disgust,

¹ In 1807 Congress enacted a law forbidding the further importation of slaves and the law went into effect on the first day of the year 1808.



WASHINGTON'S CHAIR, INDEPENDENCE
HALL

believing that the work of the convention was a failure. Perhaps few if any of the members were really pleased with the new document; each one had yielded to the judgment of others at some points. Franklin urged them to sign the Constitution in spite of the fact that they did not approve the whole of it. He related the story of the old Quaker who said to his wife, "Rebecca, I don't see why it is that nobody is always in the right except thee and me — and I sometimes think thee's a little queer."

On the back of the chair on which Washington sat was the picture of a rising sun; it can still be seen in Independence Hall. As the members were signing, Franklin remarked, "I have often wondered, during these debates, whether that was a rising or a setting sun. Now I know that it is a rising sun."

III. A VIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION

Let us take a glance at this remarkable document, which, with its amendments, is still the supreme law of our land; turn to pages xi–xxiii, near the end of this book.

Powers of the Nation. — The Constitution on which our government is based strikes a balance between the powers of the nation and the powers of the states that compose it. The nation is given control of matters that concern all the states, among the most important of which are the following: The power to create and sustain an army and a navy, to maintain a postal system, to coin money, to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states, and to declare war and make treaties. All these powers are denied the several states.

Powers of the States. — But the powers reserved to the states (often called State Rights) are very important and very extensive. A state elects its own governor and other officials, makes laws governing business, voting, marriage and divorce, and maintains its own school system. If a state law comes into conflict with national law, it must give way. But in fact there is little conflict. The national and state governments

have been compared to a number of small wheels revolving within the circumference of a large one, and all running together in one grand harmony.

Powers of the Houses of Congress. — Our Congress is two-chambered, or bicameral, a feature borrowed from the British Parliament and from some of the Colonial governments. The powers of the two houses are almost the same. The distinctive powers of the Senate are that it ratifies (or rejects) treaties proposed by the President, confirms or rejects presidential appointments to office, and conducts trials for impeachment. The House originates bills for raising money (which the Senate may amend), proposes impeachments, and chooses the President in case the electoral college fail to do so, while it is the duty of the Senate to choose a Vice President.¹

The President and Vice President. — The Constitution gives the President of the United States large powers. He is commander in chief of the army and navy, he sees that the laws made by Congress are executed, he may call extra sessions of Congress, he advises Congress and reports to it on the state of the country; also, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the President appoints cabinet officers, foreign ministers, judges of the Supreme Court and other federal courts, and many other officials, and makes treaties with foreign nations.

The Vice President has little to do except to preside over the Senate, unless, in case of the President's death, disability, or resignation, he becomes President.

The Courts. — The Constitution provides for a system of courts apart from the courts in the various states. This system is headed by the United States Supreme Court with its seat in the nation's capital, and includes such inferior federal courts as Congress may establish from time to time. The courts interpret the laws when cases are brought before them, and sometimes

¹ Twice has the House chosen a President — Thomas Jefferson in 1801 and John Quincy Adams in 1825 — and once has the Senate chosen a Vice President — Richard M. Johnson in 1837.

they pronounce a law unconstitutional. The power of the federal courts extends to all cases arising under the Constitution, laws, and treaties of the United States, cases in which the United States is a party, and also disputes between states.

A Strong Government. — The government thus created is efficient and strong, quite able to take care of itself at home and



SHRINE FOR HOLDING THE CONSTITUTION

In the Congressional Library, Washington. The Declaration of Independence is kept here also.

among the nations of the world. It is a great improvement, indeed, over that created by the Articles of Confederation.

The most fundamental change effected by the adoption of the Constitution was that it was made to act directly on the individual as in laying taxes and enforcing laws, whereas under the Articles the citizen's relations were wholly with his state and not at all with the general government. The nation under the Articles, if we may call it a nation, was composed of thirteen

units. Our nation at present is composed of more than a hundred million units — as many as there are people in the United States.

The Constitution also made provision for its own amendment, through the action of Congress and three fourths of the states.

IV. THE CONSTITUTION BEFORE THE PEOPLE

It was provided that if nine of the thirteen states ratified the new form of government it should go into effect upon those that had ratified. A majority of the people, calling themselves Federalists, favored the new Constitution, but many, called Anti-Federalists, opposed it; and the contests in the various states were violent and bitter. A special convention was chosen in each state to decide whether or not to ratify it.

Contest in Pennsylvania. — In Pennsylvania, for example, a fierce and noisy campaign was carried on for six weeks. Everything good and bad about the new Constitution that could be thought of was printed in the newspapers and shouted from the rostrum. The Federalists won by a good majority and the Constitution was ratified by the state convention on December 12, 1787.

But Pennsylvania was not the first state to ratify. Little Delaware won this honor by ratifying on December 7. New Jersey followed on the 18th of December, Georgia on January 2, 1788, and seven days later Connecticut. Five states had ratified — more than half the needed number. The Federalists rejoiced greatly.

How Massachusetts was Won. — The attention of the country was now riveted on Massachusetts. The people of the Bay State seemed almost equally divided and the fight was as bitter as it had been in Pennsylvania. The Anti-Federalists contended that the whole plan of the new government was a plot and scheme of the rich and “well-born” (to borrow a term from John Adams) to get control and to oppress the common people: “They mean to get all the money into their hands,” shouted one member of the Massachusetts convention, “and then

they will swallow up us little folk like the great leviathan, Mr. President; yes, just as the whale swallowed up Jonah.”

Samuel Adams, one of the most famous of the Revolutionary fathers, was at first opposed to the new Constitution. But a great meeting of artisans met at the Green Dragon Hotel in Boston and passed resolutions in favor of the Constitution, asking Adams to vote for the new government. These resolutions were carried to Adams by a committee headed by Paul Revere, known for his famous midnight ride of thirteen years before. Adams was moved by the petition of these men he knew to be his admirers. “How many of you were there?” asked he. Revere, pointing upward, answered, “More than the stars in the sky.”

From that time Adams favored ratifying. The vote was taken on February 7 and the Federalists won by a narrow margin. That night Boston was the scene of wild rejoicing — bonfires in the streets, the boom of cannon and the clang of bells all night long.

Virginia and New York. — Six states had now decided to enter the sisterhood and late in the spring Maryland and South Carolina became the seventh and the eighth. Only one was now needed to make the necessary nine. Which would it be? In the Virginia convention there was great opposition. Patrick Henry, the orator of the Revolution, railed against the new Constitution in thunder tones, but all to no purpose. Led by Washington and James Madison, the convention ratified in June, and New Hampshire did the same thing in the same month. The new government was now assured.

New York still hesitated and her approval was important, because without her the country would have been divided. The opposition in that state was implacable. Men denounced the new plan as a “wicked conspiracy,” and “a triple-headed monster,” referring to the three heads of the government, the President, the Congress, and the Supreme Court. In spite of all opposition New York ratified in July under the superb

leadership of Alexander Hamilton. Two states, North Carolina and Rhode Island, did not join the Union until after the first President was inaugurated.

Never before in history had any people brought about so great a change in government without bloodshed. Never have the American people done a greater act than when they adopted the Constitution.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What was the one great result of the Revolution? Define monarchy and republic. Under what conditions can people govern themselves? What is a constitution? Define its three-fold purpose. Describe the weak spots in the Articles of Confederation.

II. Name a few leaders of the Convention. In what did each excel? Name the three great departments of the government and give the functions of each. Why was there a quarrel between the large and small states? How did they compromise? What were the second and third compromises? Describe the electing of a President. Why did some of the members refuse to sign the Constitution?

III. What powers were given the new nation? Why? What powers are reserved for the states? Why were the states forbidden to coin money or wage war? What powers has the Senate that the House has not, and vice versa? Name the chief powers of the President.

IV. Why did many of the people oppose the Constitution? Who was its champion in New York? What two states remained out of the Union for a time?

Events and Dates. — Finishing the Constitution, Sept. 17, 1787. Adoption by eleven states, 1787-1788.

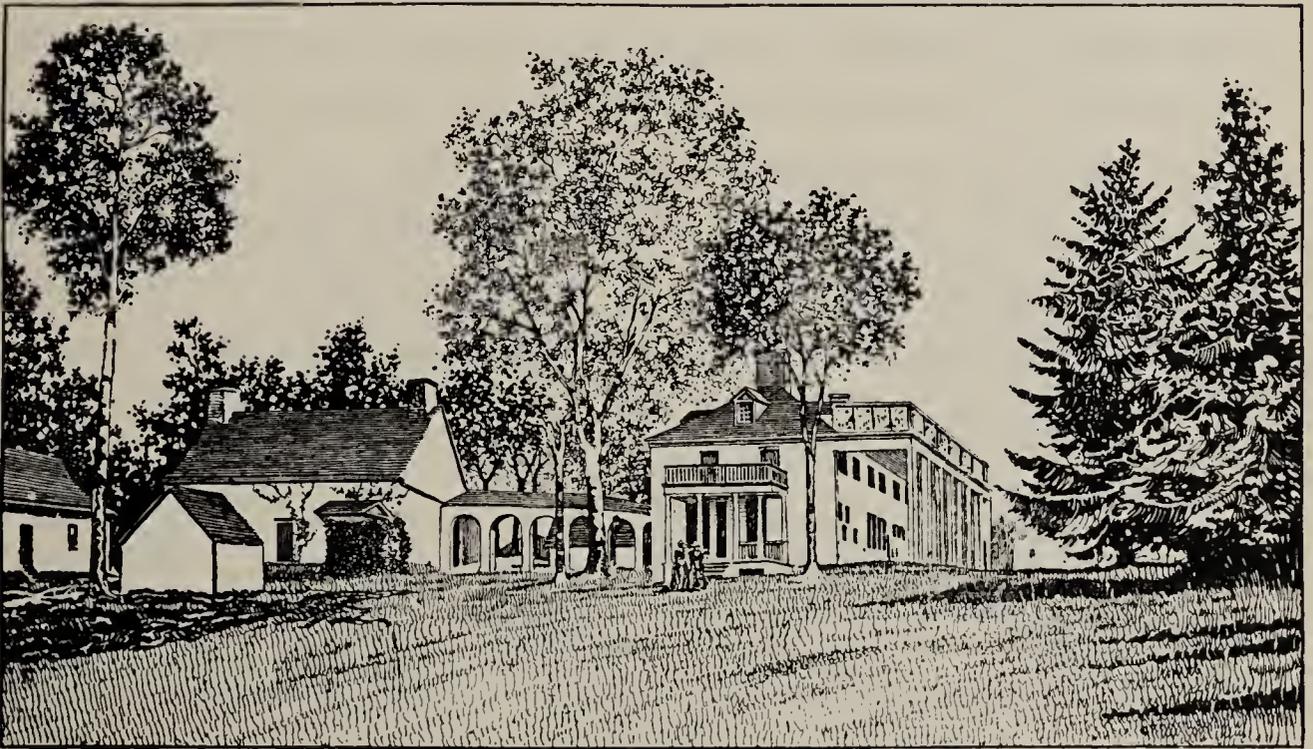
Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: The general histories mentioned — Channing, Avery, Bancroft, the Nation series, and others — give good accounts of the making of the Constitution. To these must now be added McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. I; Schouler, *History of the United States under the Constitution*, Vol. I. Both these important histories begin at the close of the Revolution and continue through the Civil War. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*; McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*; Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*. Biographies of the leading members of the Constitutional Convention should be in the library and should be freely consulted.

CHAPTER XVI

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN MOTION

By a decision of Congress the new government was to go into operation on the first Wednesday in March, 1789. This chanced to fall on the fourth and hence March 4 afterwards became the regular inauguration day. When inauguration day falls on Sunday the ceremonies are held on the following day.



MOUNT VERNON, THE HOME OF WASHINGTON

I. THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon. — At the close of the Revolutionary War, Washington handed back to the Continental Congress the power it had given him and retired to his ancestral estate at Mount Vernon on the banks of the Potomac River. The estate comprised some 2500 acres of field and woodland, hill and dale, with a fine colonial mansion on a wooded hill overlooking the river,

and with many huts for the colored slaves. Here, after long years of public service, Washington hoped to spend the evening of his life amid the quiet scenes of his rural home. But when his country called him because it needed him, he could not refuse to heed the call. First he went to Philadelphia to help frame the Constitution. Later when the electors met to choose the first President for the new government, he received the unanimous vote of the electors of ten states.¹ No other man held so high a place in the hearts of the people as this man who had led the patriot armies to victory, and it is doubtful if the Constitution could have been adopted but for the universal belief that he would become the first President.

New York. — The city of New York had been chosen as the first temporary capital. When the 4th of March came, the knell of the old government and the ushering in of the new were celebrated with the ringing of bells, but the new President was not inaugurated on that day. Because of long distances and bad roads the members of the new Congress were slow in reaching New York. It was the 6th of April before they met and counted the electoral votes and declared the election of Washington. When apprised by a messenger of his election, Washington, to use his own words, “bade adieu to Mount Vernon, to private life, and the domestic felicity” and set out for New York.

Washington's Journey. — The journey was one continuous ovation. Thousands of people gathered along the route to shout their welcome to the new President. Especially impressive were the ceremonies at Philadelphia and Trenton. A wooden arch of thirteen pillars erected at Trenton was decorated with evergreens and flowers. This arch is still preserved by the city as a priceless relic. As Washington passed beneath it a number of school girls dressed in white and crowned with garlands, while singing an ode, strewed his path with flowers. Two days later,

¹ It will be remembered that two states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, had not yet joined the Union; and New York, owing to a dispute in its legislature, failed to vote for the first President.

cheered by bands of music and saluted by the firing of thirteen guns, he was rowed up the bay in the New York harbor in a barge built for the purpose. When the barge landed, Washington, tall and stalwart, with the stately tread of a soldier, stepped from it and was met by Governor Clinton.

Never had the city put on such gala attire — flags and bunting everywhere, soldiers in bright uniform along the sidewalks, mounted aids prancing among the crowds.

The Inauguration. — The inauguration took place April 30 at Federal Hall, at the corner of Broad and Wall streets. John Adams, who had been elected Vice President, had been sworn into office before Washington reached the city. About noon on April 30 Washington, with a deeply serious countenance, stepped out on the balcony of Federal Hall and faced a great multitude which filled the streets and covered the roofs of the



FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK, WHERE WASHINGTON WAS
INAUGURATED, 1789

From an old print. The site is now occupied by another building.

houses. Again and again he bowed to the cheering multitudes. Chancellor Livingston pronounced the oath of office. Washington replied in solemn, scarcely audible words, "I swear — so help me God." He then bowed and kissed the open Bible, and Livingston, stepping forward, shouted, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!"

Strange Customs. — The new administration was launched under the most favorable conditions. Washington was a man of great sincerity of purpose, but in some respects he was at a loss as to what sort of custom to establish in the new republic. In fact, he did some things which would seem out of place in our time. When driving through the streets he sat in a stately coach, drawn by four or six white horses and accompanied by footmen in bright uniform. Every Tuesday afternoon the President held a public reception. On such occasions, to use the words of a writer of the time, "He wore his hair powdered and gathered behind in a silk bag. His coat and breeches were of plain black velvet; he wore a white or pearl-colored vest and yellow gloves, and had a cocked hat in his hand; he had silver knee and shoe buckles, and a long sword with a finely-wrought and glittering steel hilt." He bowed formally to the people, and shook hands with no one.

Such practices remind one of European monarchy; but the country was new, no customs had been established, and most of the people, including President Washington, believed that this aloofness was necessary to uphold the dignity of the office. Mrs. Washington held receptions on Friday evenings, and at these receptions her husband mingled with the people without his gilded sword and fine uniform.

II. CONGRESS AND CABINET

Leaders. — The new Congress, unlike the old, was composed of two houses. In the Senate of the first Congress under the Constitution we find such leaders as Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, Oliver Ellsworth, and Rufus King. In the House

James Madison, who had done so much in making the Constitution, was the most interesting figure and the leader on the floor. The Speaker, as the presiding officer is called, was Frederick Muhlenberg, son of the famous Lutheran patriarch of Pennsylvania and brother of the "fighting parson" of Virginia.

The First Tariff. — One of the great needs of the country was more money with which to pay the expenses of the government and to pay the interest on the public debt. Under the old government any state could refuse to pay its share and most of them did refuse. But now things had changed. Among the powers of the new government was the power to lay a tariff on foreign imports without the consent of any state, and that is just what Congress proceeded to do.

The making of this tariff law was the first important act of the new Congress, as it was thought the easiest and quickest way to provide the needed money. The duties agreed on were not very high, none more than fifteen per cent, but in a short time they were producing \$200,000 a month, which proved a wonderful stimulus to the new government. This tariff of 1789 became a law on July 4.

First Amendments to the Constitution. — Another important step taken by the first Congress was the proposing of twelve amendments to the Constitution, ten of which were ratified by the states. These amendments are often called a "bill of rights" because they guarantee our civil and religious rights.

The First Cabinet. — The Cabinet is not provided for in the Constitution or in the laws of the United States. All the Presidents, however, have consulted with the chief officers under them, the heads of the departments of state, war, the treasury, etc., who constitute the Cabinet. Washington's first Cabinet consisted of only four men — Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Knox, and Edmund Randolph. Jefferson was known throughout the country as the writer of the Declaration of Independence, and later as minister to France. He became the first Secretary of State, having charge of foreign affairs.

Hamilton was one of the most brilliant lawyers in America, chief author of the *Federalist*, an able series of articles advocating



DESK USED BY PRESIDENT WASHINGTON IN PHILADELPHIA

From a photograph of the original in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

the adoption of the Constitution. Washington chose wisely in making him Secretary of the Treasury, and from that day to this the country has not produced a greater financier.

Henry Knox, who became Secretary of War, had been a commander in the Revolution. Edmund Randolph, the new Attorney-General, had a notable career. His parents were Virginia Tories; Edmund was a patriot. As a boy of sixteen he ran away from home, joined the revolutionary army, and fought through the war.

Returning to his native state, he rose in public life, became governor of the state, and later a member of the Constitutional Convention.

Jefferson and Hamilton. — The two strong men in Washington's Cabinet were the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Treasury. Both were statesmen of a high order. But they did not agree. Jefferson was an extreme democrat; that is, he believed in the largest possible control of the government by the people and he was very much afraid that the government would become too strong and would suppress the liberties of the people. Hamilton cared less for personal liberty. He favored a strong government that could enforce its will.

The Public Debt. — One of Hamilton's methods of strengthening the government was to fund the public debt. To fund a debt means to issue bonds and sell them to the people, to be redeemed sometime in the future, instead of trying to pay off the

debt at once.¹ How, it may be asked, would funding the debt strengthen the government? In this way: If the people buy the government's bonds, the government becomes their debtor and they are the more anxious for it to be strong and permanent because their money is invested in it. It is this desire of the people that the government be strong that makes it strong. No government can endure unless it is supported by public opinion. Jefferson did not seem to understand, as Hamilton did, that a public debt is not a source of weakness, but a tower of strength, in a new government.

During the war of the Revolution many of the states had incurred heavy debts by helping the Continental Congress to support the armies. Hamilton now believed that the government should take over these state debts, that is, should assume them and relieve the states from paying them. This plan was called assumption. Jefferson opposed assumption and he had so many followers in Congress that Hamilton could not get his measure through without Jefferson's consent.

Locating the Capital. — Before this question was settled another one came up — the location of the nation's capital. It was agreed that it should be a separate city, a new city built for the purpose and governed by Congress. Some years before, a handful of soldiers, clamoring for their back pay, had driven the old Congress out of Philadelphia and neither the city nor the state had lifted a finger to prevent the outrage. To prevent any conflict of authority, the new nation needed to have its own capital, not subject to any state or city government. But where should it be? That question had to be decided. It was agreed that it should be on the banks of a river, not too far from the seacoast. Three rivers were seriously considered — the Delaware, the Susquehanna, and the Potomac. Jefferson preferred the Potomac, perhaps because he lived in Virginia.

¹ The public debt of the United States at this time was about \$54,000,000, of which nearly \$12,000,000 was owed to foreign creditors. The debts incurred by the various states in the war amounted to about \$21,000,000, making a total war debt of about \$77,000,000.

Hamilton did not care much which of the three was chosen; he was more interested in the assumption of the state debts.

One day Jefferson gave a dinner and invited Hamilton as his guest. As they sat at the table these two subjects came up for discussion and Hamilton said to Jefferson, "If you will have your friends in Congress vote for assumption, I'll have mine vote to place the capital on the Potomac." "All right," answered Jefferson, "I'll do it." The two men thereupon shook hands over their pledge, and each kept his word. Not long afterwards both measures passed Congress. The state debts were assumed by the nation and the capital was located on the banks of the broad and beautiful Potomac and was given the name of the Father of his Country. It was decided to remove the temporary seat of government from New York to Philadelphia and there to retain it until the new city could be built.



OLD MINT, PHILADELPHIA

Bank and Mint. — Two other measures favored by Hamilton were of importance. A United States Bank was created by Congress to take care of the government money and to do a banking business. A mint for coining money was established at Philadelphia in 1792.

III. BEGINNINGS OF POLITICAL PARTIES

President Washington was wrong and the members of the Constitutional Convention were wrong in their belief that the government would move on smoothly without the people dividing into political parties. It seems impossible for a self-governing people to continue long without dividing into parties. And perhaps it is all the better that it is so. The party out of power is a kind of watchdog on the party in power and no doubt the government is the better on account of the divisions.

The Two Great Rivals. — It was in Washington's Cabinet that parties first had their rise. Jefferson opposed Hamilton's measures in strengthening the federal government; he even thought that Hamilton was trying to destroy the republic and set up a monarchy. Jefferson had many followers, chief of whom was James Madison. The new party they formed was first called Republican. Later it came to be called Democratic.

Hamilton did believe that a strong central government was necessary, though he made no effort to change the republic into a monarchy. He wanted the upper class to govern the country, and he cared little whether the masses of the people had the ballot or not. He was an aristocrat rather than a democrat. Such a man might be a real statesman, as Hamilton certainly was, but he could never be popular with the masses of the people. That party of which he was the chief retained the name Federalists, the name that had been used by those who supported the Constitution when it was adopted.

Jefferson, though he was born rich (his father owned thousands of acres of land in Virginia), was a democrat by choice and his life was spent in working for the welfare of the masses. He had a sublime confidence in the good intentions of the people. "If things go obviously wrong," he said, "the good sense of the people will interpose and correct them."

Both Jefferson and Hamilton were sincerely honest and patriotic, but each believed that the other was wrong in his

ideas of what the government ought to be. Both were extremists, and the American people have wisely chosen a middle course. We are Hamiltonian in giving large powers to Congress and in maintaining a strong and efficient government; but we are Jeffersonian in educating the masses and recognizing their right to vote and take part in making the laws.

The Whisky Rebellion. — One more of Hamilton's financial measures must be noticed, that which resulted in the Whisky Rebellion. To raise more money and to prove to all the people that they had a real national government that could make laws which they must obey, he proposed a tax on liquors. This law was passed by Congress.

But what a storm was raised! Many of the farmers were condensing their corn and rye into whisky by means of stills on their farms. The reason was that it was far easier to get their grain to market in that form over the long distances and rough roads. "We refuse to pay such an unjust tax," was declared in many sections. In western Pennsylvania two thousand farmers rose in arms against the government. President Washington sent an army to the seat of the trouble, but there was no bloodshed. The people of western Pennsylvania decided very quickly that it was best to lay down their arms and obey the law. Hamilton had proved to the whole country that the government was strong enough to enforce its own laws; but in doing so, he alienated great numbers of the people from his party.

IV. FRANCE AND AMERICAN NEUTRALITY

The French Revolution. — The year in which Washington was first inaugurated President witnessed a convulsion in France, the most remarkable of its kind in the annals of history. It is known as the French Revolution. The common people of France, oppressed for ages by a tyrannical government, rose in their fury, dethroned their king, put him to death, and took the government into their own hands.

France also awakened the hostility of her neighbors and it was not long before she was at war with several of them. The French in their need called on America for help. The American people had not forgotten the splendid aid France had rendered us in our own Revolution, and most of them, especially the followers of Jefferson, were ready to rally to the aid of the new Republic of France. But the far-sighted Washington clearly saw that it would be dangerous for the young American republic to become involved in European wars. He came out therefore with a Proclamation of Neutrality, declaring that we would hold aloof and remain friendly to both sides.

Neutrality. — France had sent a young man named Edmond Genêt (zhě-ně') as minister to the United States. Very indiscreetly he began to fit out vessels in American waters against the enemies of France. Washington chilled the enthusiasm of the ardent Frenchman with a rather cold reception. Genêt wrote to his government that the American President was "a weak old man under British influence," and he threatened to appeal over the President's head to the people. This was enough. Washington asked for his recall, which was the same as dismissing him.¹ The American government, following the lead of Washington, adopted the policy of neutrality, that is, hands off as regards the wars and broils of Europe, and never before 1917 did an American army fight on European soil.

Friction with Great Britain. — The trouble with France subsided for the time, but was soon followed by a threatened break with Great Britain. The American people thought that Great Britain, though she had lost the war, ought to show a friendly spirit toward the new nation, her own kindred, speaking her own language. The king had said to John Adams, our first minister to London, that he would be among the first to extend the hand of friendship to his former subjects.

But the British did nothing of the kind. They still held some

¹ His successor brought orders for his arrest, but Washington refused to permit this. Genêt married a daughter of Governor Clinton and settled in America.

of the northern posts, as Oswego, Niagara, and Detroit, because some of the American debts to British subjects had not yet been paid; they impressed some of our sailors and forced them into their own ships because they had been British subjects. A great many of the American people flared up at these insults and were ready to go to war again with the mother country. But President Washington determined to try peaceful measures; he sent John Jay to the British capital to make a treaty.

The Jay Treaty. — Jay resigned his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and hastened to London. He agreed to a treaty, the best he could get, a sort of compromise, settling some of the questions in dispute and leaving others unsettled. After a fierce debate in the Senate the Jay treaty was ratified (1795) and it served its great purpose of averting immediate war with England. The treaty provided that Great Britain should give up the northern posts and that the debts should be settled; it was silent on the subject of impressment of American seamen.

A treaty with Spain in 1795 was more gratifying to the United States. It fixed the northern boundary of Florida, which still belonged to Spain, and it opened the lower Mississippi and the port of New Orleans to our trade. This was especially pleasing to the people of the Ohio Valley, as it gave them an outlet to Europe without the necessity of crossing the Alleghenies.

V. WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL

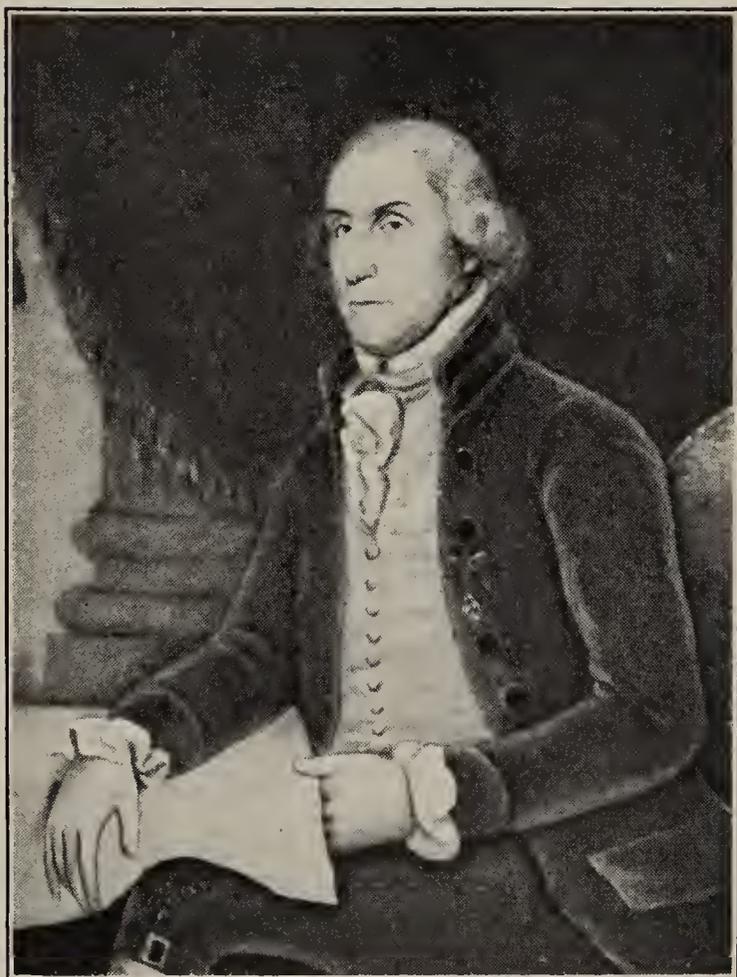
A Second Term.— Washington had fully intended to retire from public life at the end of his first four-year term and he even began to prepare for his departure. But both Jefferson and Hamilton urged him to accept a second election, as he alone could command the support of all classes and the country was not yet ready for a partisan contest, which was sure to follow his retirement. Washington consented and a second time he was elected by a unanimous vote of the presidential electors. John Adams was again chosen Vice President. Even a third

time Washington might easily have been elected; but the matter was settled by his absolute refusal.

Estimate of Washington. — In the history of America no one else has ever won the universal esteem and homage in which Washington's memory is still held. As an historic character, noted especially for his unselfish devotion to his country, only a few men would be named in the same class, such as Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, St. Louis, and William the Silent. On various occasions when the new republic seemed tottering to its fall, it was the steady hand of Washington that prevented a catastrophe.

At the close of the Revolution when he might have retained his hold on his devoted army and dictated his own terms to the new nation, he handed back his power to the people and refused even to accept pay for his long and faithful services. When the Constitution went before the people there is little doubt that it would have found its way into the scrap heap but for the fact that it was known throughout the land that Washington favored it and had helped to frame it. When the country was on the verge of war with England, it was the decision of this same man, firm and unswerving as adamant, that saved the people from a bloody conflict, for which they were not prepared.

For more than forty years — ever since he had made his excursion for the governor of Virginia into



PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON
Painting by Joseph Wright.

the wilds of western Pennsylvania — he had been in public life most of the time. Certainly he deserved a rest. His Farewell Address is full of sound advice and is cherished as a precious document. In that notable address he enjoined the people to preserve the Union as the safeguard of their liberties, and to foster religion and education.

Death of Washington. — Washington retired to his plantation on the Potomac, but he was not long to enjoy the sweet retirement of his rural home. One day in December, 1799, not quite three years after his return from the presidency, he took a long horseback ride over his farm, as was his custom, and was chilled to the bone by a storm of rain and hail. He caught a severe cold that settled in his throat and two days later he died. Thus passed away the greatest figure in American history. The record of his deeds will not fade from the minds of men so long as they cherish a love of human rights and human liberty.

VI. JOHN ADAMS, PRESIDENT

Adams followed Washington as President of the United States. But he was not elected without a contest. Jefferson, his opponent, came within three electoral votes of winning. Adams, a Massachusetts lawyer, born in 1735, had served his country ably in the Continental Congress and as minister to Great Britain. When the Declaration of Independence came up for consideration in Congress he made the one and only great speech in its favor. He was a true patriot and statesman; but he was not always tactful and he had little power to win and hold friends. He and Hamilton belonged to the same party, but they heartily disliked each other. Adams's four-year administration was not harmonious. Even the members of his Cabinet were more friendly to Hamilton than to himself.

John Marshall, Chief Justice. — President John Adams did a wise thing when he appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. There is no doubt that Marshall was the greatest jurist in the history of the country. His impor-

tant decisions during the thirty-four years he held the office tended to give strength and authority to the national government rather than to the states. (Side Talk, p. 251.)

A Tilt with France. — The Jay treaty averted war with Great Britain, but it nearly brought on war with France. The newly-formed French republic was sorely displeased with the treaty that we had made with her enemy, and when President Adams sent Charles C. Pinckney as minister to France, he was rejected and sent out of the country. When the facts became known in America, a storm of indignation swept over the country. “War, war with France,” was the cry everywhere. Congress voted to create an army of 80,000 men and work was speedily begun on harbors and battleships.

Meanwhile Adams, in the hope of averting war, sent three envoys to France. One of these was the rejected Pinckney; another was John Marshall, the future Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; and the third was Elbridge Gerry, a future Vice President. These men were informed that in order to assure peace with France, the United States would be obliged to pay large sums of money in the form of bribes. The American envoys were indignant at such a proposal and Pinckney is said to have exclaimed, “Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute.” This became a kind of slogan in the United States.

When their correspondence was published, the outburst of anger in the United States was fierce and unrestrained.¹

France Wants Peace. — The fact is, France did not want to fight America; she had her hands full in Europe. Her treatment of the United States may properly be termed a “bluff.” She hoped to frighten us into doing what she wanted. But failing in that and seeing that America flared up defiantly, she changed her tone. She made it known that she would withdraw all objections to the Jay treaty, that we need not loan her money, and that if another minister were sent to Paris, he would be

¹ This correspondence was known as the XYZ papers, because these letters were used instead of the names of the French agents.

respectfully received. But the war spirit in America did not subside. The people declared that after France had so insulted our envoys, it was her turn to send a minister if one were to be sent. But the decision on this great question did not rest with the people; it rested on one man and that man was John Adams.

Heroic Action of Adams. — Adams grappled with the question heroically. He decided to appoint another minister to France (1799), in defiance of public opinion, because he knew he could save the American people from a disastrous war and he had the courage to do it. He no doubt foresaw also that by so doing he would widen the rent in his own party and render his own reelection to the presidency improbable. In later years he declared that the only inscription he desired on his tombstone was this: "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of the peace with France."

Fall of a Great Party. — The Federalist party fell, to rise no more, at the end of Adams's four-year term. It was the first of the four political parties in American history that have grown strong enough to get control of the government. The Federalist party had enjoyed a season of real popularity at the time when war with France was expected. But this popularity waned when war was avoided, especially after it enacted some very unpopular laws, among which were the famous Alien and Sedition laws.

Alien and Sedition Laws. — The Alien Law, aimed at Frenchmen under suspicion, empowered the President to send out of the country any alien whom he might consider dangerous to the public welfare; but the law was never put into operation.

Very different it was with the Sedition Law. This made it an offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment, to publish or utter anything with intent to defame the government, the President, or the Congress of the United States. An instant outcry against this law arose from the Republican press and people; they said, "It is a violation of the right of free speech and the liberty of the press." The Federalists gave no heed

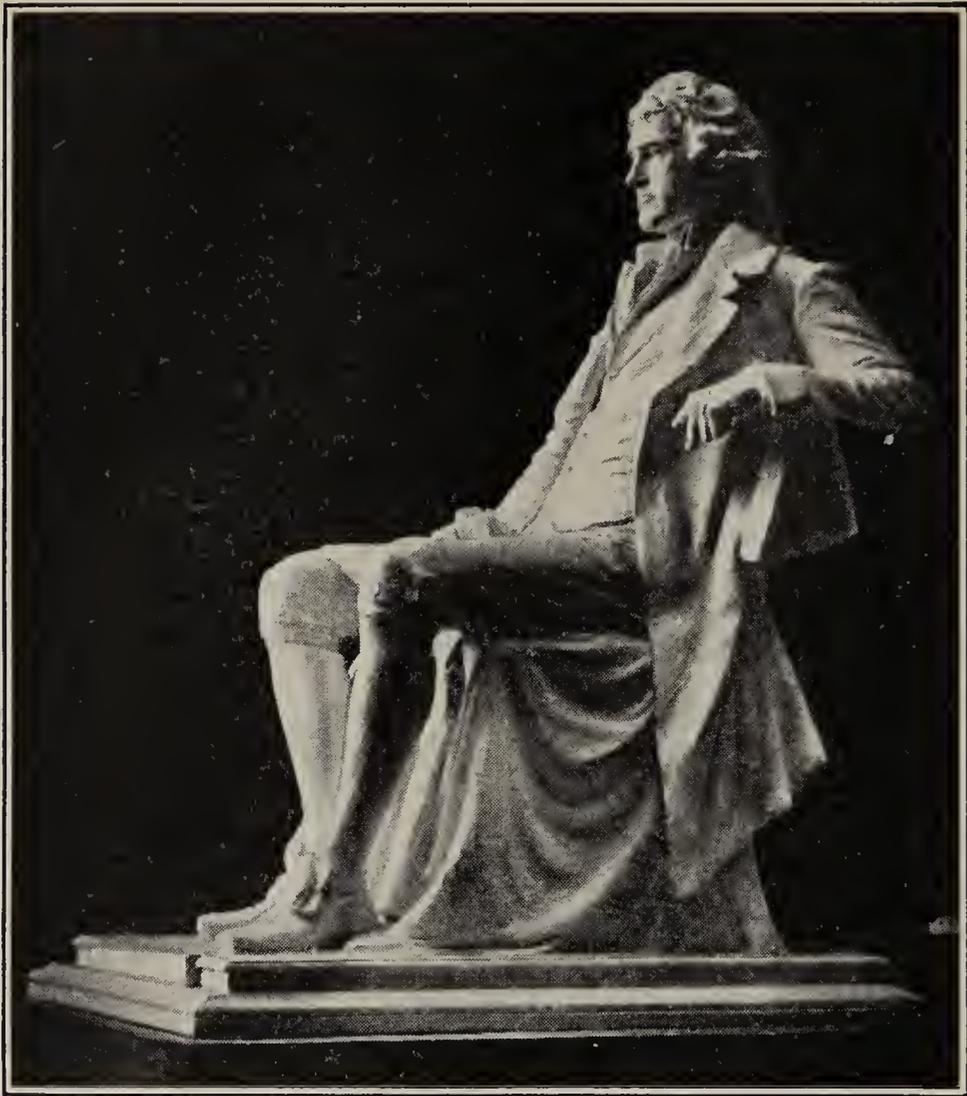
to the angry protests. They set to work enforcing this law and it was not long before a number of the protesting editors were in jail.

The Alien and Sedition Laws called forth "resolutions" from Kentucky¹ and Virginia which asserted that these acts were contrary to the Constitution, and therefore null. Though Congress did not repeal the laws, only ten persons were ever tried under the Sedition Act.

Election of Jefferson. — The Federalist party had successfully organized a new government and had placed its financial affairs on a firm basis, but it had alienated the people in various ways. Hamilton had done a worthy act in putting down the Whisky Rebellion and so had Adams in sending a minister to France; but in so doing each had contributed heavily toward weakening the party. The Alien and Sedition laws proved still more disastrous; and at the election of 1800 the Republicans swept the country, winning the presidency and both houses of Congress.

Thomas Jefferson was the Republican candidate for President and Aaron Burr for Vice President. The Constitution, however, provided that each elector vote for two candidates without stating which he preferred for President and which for Vice President; and it happened that in this election there was a tie, Jefferson and Burr each receiving 73 votes. The choice therefore had to be made by the lower house of Congress, as the Constitution provided. In the House the Federalists had the balance of power and they decided on a very unworthy course — they attempted to prevent the election of Jefferson and to elect Burr, against the wishes of his own party. Their motive was unpatriotic and was based on their chagrin at their defeat at the polls. Hamilton, however, advised against such a thing and at last Jefferson was elected President on the thirty-sixth ballot in the House.

¹ Vermont was admitted as a state in 1791; and Kentucky in 1792, as is told in the following chapter.



JEFFERSON

Statue by Karl Bitter, in the University of Virginia, of which Jefferson was the chief founder.

Before the time of the next presidential election the Twelfth Amendment¹ was added to the Constitution. This amendment provides that the members of the electoral college shall vote separately for President and for Vice President and thus prevents all such deadlocks as that of 1800.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Write a description of Washington's retirement to Mount Vernon; of his inauguration.

II. Name some leaders in the First Congress. What can you say of the Tariff of 1789? Why are the first ten amendments to the Constitution

¹ The Eleventh Amendment was adopted in 1798. It provided that a state could not be sued in the federal courts by a citizen. A state, however, may be sued by another state.

called a "bill of rights"? What is the Cabinet now? What was it in Washington's time? Explain how a public debt may strengthen a new government. Why was the capital placed on the Potomac?

III. Give a clear statement of the difference in opinion between Jefferson and Hamilton. Which of the two men do you admire more? In what way was the Whisky Rebellion a test of the Constitution?

IV. What caused the French Revolution? What was Washington's chief reason for proclaiming neutrality? Why was there such opposition to the Jay Treaty?

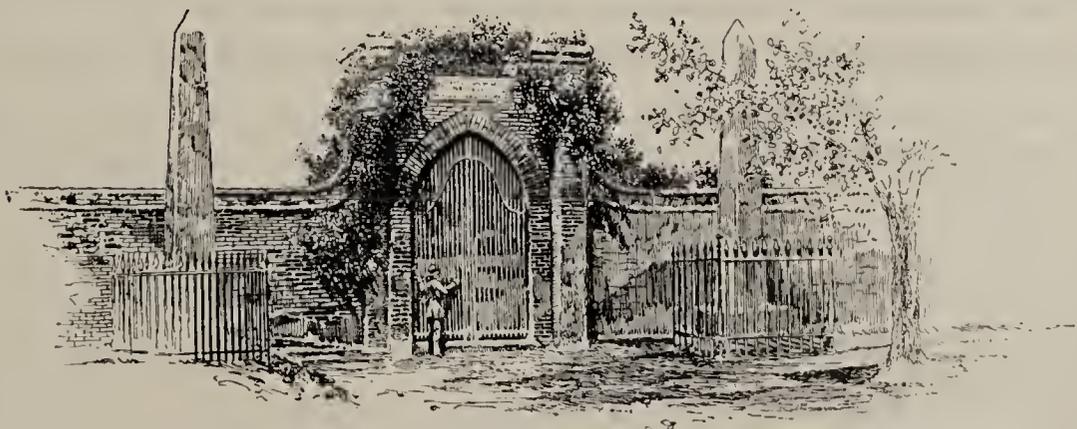
V. Why is Washington held in such high esteem by the people?

VI. What brought John Adams first into prominence? Name his strong points as a public man; his weak points. What caused the trouble we had with France? Why was France offended by the Jay treaty? What was Adams's motive in appointing a new envoy? What was the purpose of the Alien and Sedition laws? Name the various causes of the weakening of the Federalist party.

Events and Dates. — Inauguration of Washington, April 30, 1789. Meeting of the First Congress, creating of the Cabinet and of the Supreme Court, 1789. Adoption of first ten amendments, 1791. Locating the capital. Contest between Jefferson and Hamilton. Jefferson founds a new party about 1793. Washington proclaims neutrality. The Jay treaty adopted, 1795. Trouble with France. Defeat of the Federalist party.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Schouler, *History of the United States under the Constitution*. This work is valuable for its estimate of public men and events. Among college texts Fish and Bassett are recommended. Fish begins with the close of the Revolution. Bassett covers our entire history in one volume.

FOR THE PUPIL: Every school library should contain *American History Leaflets* and *Old South Leaflets*. These should often be referred to or even read in class, chosen of course to illustrate the lesson in hand.



TOMB OF WASHINGTON, AT MOUNT VERNON

CHAPTER XVII

THE GREAT WEST OF THE EARLY DAYS

I. MOVING TO THE WEST

The Far West. — The War of the Revolution had scarcely closed when the population of the states of the East began to swarm across the mountains into the great fertile expanse of woodland beyond. In those days the “Far West” was the



MICHILIMACKINAC, OR MACKINAW, AT THE HEAD OF LAKE HURON

From a drawing by George Catlin. Here the Indians traded furs for muskets, first under French, then under British, and finally under American control.

Ohio Valley and Tennessee. Long before the war the adventurous explorer, pioneer hunter, fur trader, and Indian fighter had here and there traversed these western wilds. French and British rival claimants to that great country had established outposts in spots, each claiming that the entire domain belonged

to his nation. Then came the French and Indian War that gave it to the British, followed by the Revolution that gave it to the Americans.

Pioneers. — The early American hunters and Indian fighters were the most reckless and daring of all men of their time. They were as well versed in woodcraft as the red men of the forest with all their generations of training, and they could outwit the Indian at his own game. They had their own style of dress. They wore hunting frocks and leggings made of deerskin, a leather belt, a cap of coonskin with the bushy tail dangling over the left ear. The long-barreled rifle they carried in the hand ready for instant use; the powder horn was suspended from the shoulder, and in the belt at the left side was a long, keen-bladed hunting knife.

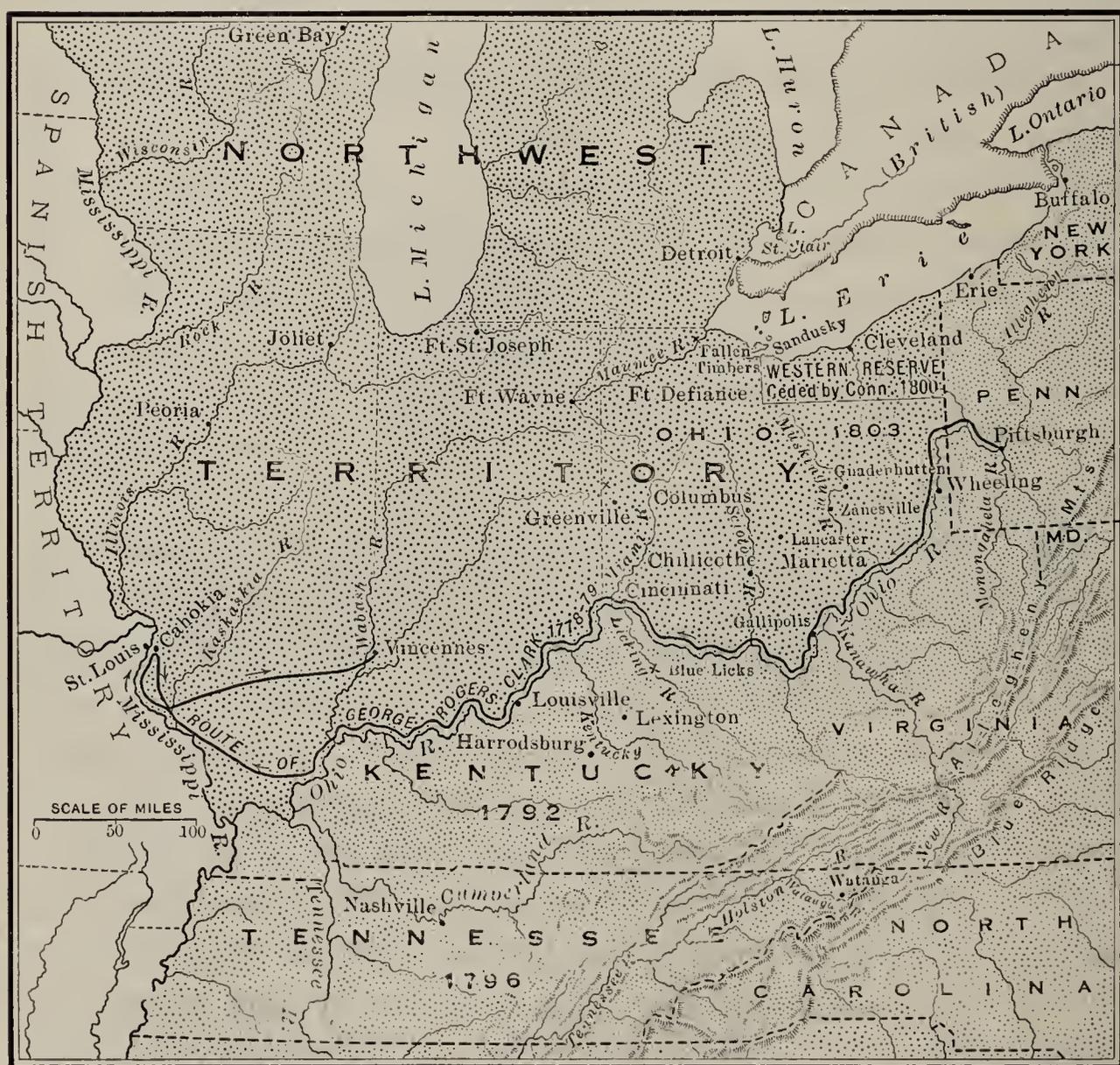
Squatters. — After the hunter and trapper, came the temporary settler, often called a “squatter.” He built a rude cabin in the deep forest, far from other human habitation. He pastured his meager flocks on the wild range, cultivated the ground but little, and secured most of his living with his rifle. When the real settlers seeking permanent homes came into his neighborhood, the squatter, preferring to live alone, akin in his instincts to primitive man of prehistoric times, sold his few belongings and moved farther on into the wilderness.

The Settlers. — The permanent settlers were soon busy clearing the land and building homes. They were not like the squatter, fleeing from civilization; they brought it with them. They were thrifty and industrious, and not many years passed before they lived in comfort and prosperity. As other settlers came a village would be founded and then came still other classes — doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants, blacksmiths. Within a few decades the wilderness was made to blossom as the rose; where the wild man and the wild beast had roamed at will, civilized man now lived in happy and prosperous communities.

II. KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE

Early Kentucky. — The first of the trans-mountain communities to become a state in the Union was Kentucky. At the close of the Revolution the estimated population of Kentucky was about 3000. The settlers lived scattered through the forest along the streams, often in straggling villages. One of these was Lexington, named in honor of the first battle of the Revolution.

Hostile Natives. — Though the buffalo had disappeared from the land of Kentucky, bears and wolves were still plentiful. But the most dangerous foes were the wild men of the forest.



THE WESTERN COUNTRY, ABOUT 1800

For many years the early settlers of Kentucky were never safe day or night from the hostile native. The Indians in little bands would traverse the country and with their blood-curdling war whoops would fall upon the pioneer and his family. So watchful were the settlers for the lurking red man, that every family was armed; women as well as men learned the use of the rifle; the children dared not stray far from the house; and even the dog was taught not to bark when following his master through the woods.

Battle of the Blue Licks. — One of the most disastrous of the battles with the Indians of that period took place in Kentucky in August, 1782 — the battle of the Blue Licks. Near the site was a salt spring (of which there are many in Kentucky), where for ages the deer and the buffalo had gathered to “lick” salt water, and from which the river that runs by received its name, the Licking River. With a far inferior force the Kentuckians fought bravely in this battle and lost, leaving half their number on the bloody field.

This roused the whites to fury. In a short time nearly every man in Kentucky was hurrying to meet the dusky foe. The Indians were wise enough to know what to do. They scampered back and recrossed the Ohio as quickly as they could. Soon after this an army of Kentuckians led by George Rogers Clark crossed the Ohio, laid waste the Indian country along the Miami, and thus avenged the fearful defeat of the Blue Licks.

Kentucky a State. — Kentucky, it will be remembered, was a part of Virginia in colonial times. But the war was scarcely over when the people of Kentucky clamored for separate statehood. Virginia at length consented and in 1792 Kentucky became the fifteenth state in the Union, Vermont having become the fourteenth the year before.

Tennessee. — South of Kentucky stretched a vast country of wooded hills, of mountains and river valleys. It was the western extension of North Carolina, to the banks of the Mississippi, and bore the beautiful Indian name of Tennessee. Like

Kentucky it was filling rapidly with people from the east. Like other frontiersmen, the white people of Tennessee were generous and good-natured, but rough and uncultured, fearless and quick to resent an injury.

In Tennessee as in other frontier communities there was little money in the early days — not enough indeed to carry on business. The legislature thereupon devised a currency. It decided that a pound of sugar must pass for a shilling, a raccoon or fox skin for a shilling and three pence. The beaver, deer, or otter skin, it was decreed, must pass for six shillings each. The governor, other public officers, and school teachers had to accept this frontier money as salary.

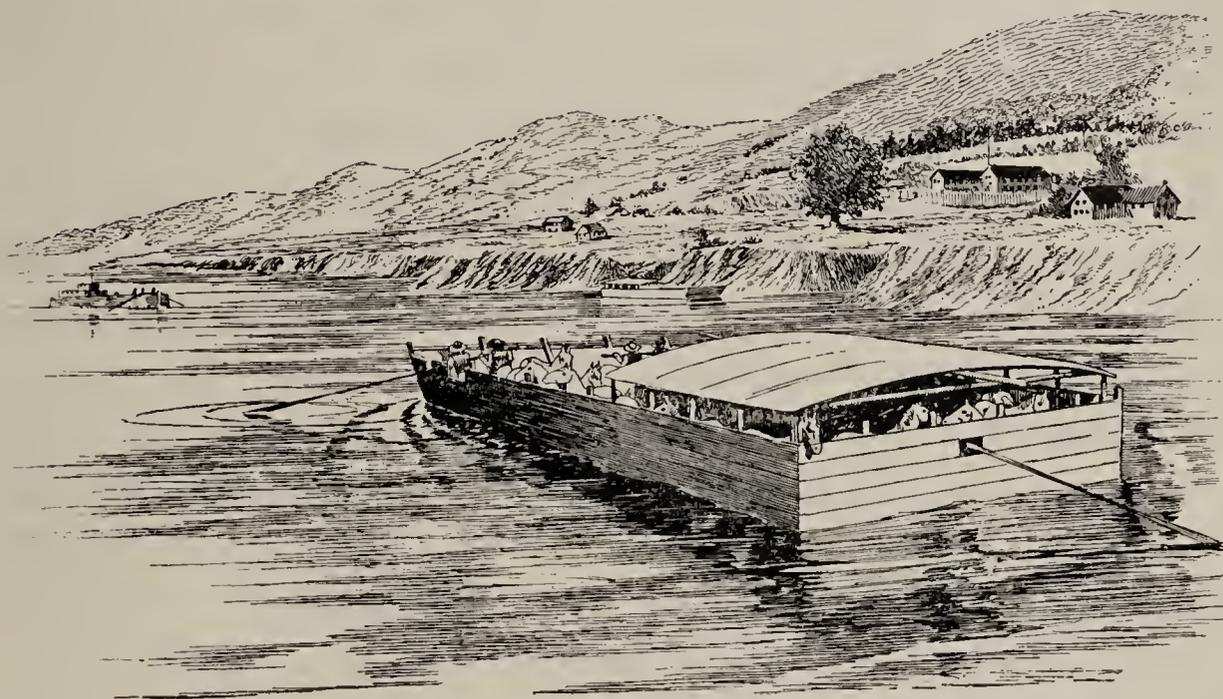
By the time Kentucky became a state the people of Tennessee numbered many thousands and they also aspired to statehood. They had founded villages and built churches and schoolhouses, and the forests were dotted with cabins, each in the midst of a clearing of a few acres. At first it was proposed to name the state Franklin or Frankland; but the name Tennessee at length prevailed. The new state was admitted to the Union in 1796.

III. LIFE ON THE OHIO

Many American rivers bear Indian names, the same no doubt that they had borne for centuries before the white men came. The Indian word "Ohio" means "beautiful river" and it is not misplaced. Formed at Pittsburgh by the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, the Ohio, winding among the wooded hills, traversing great stretches of plains and valleys, flows into the Father of Waters almost a thousand miles from the place of its formation. A wonderful artery of trade and travel was the Ohio in the early days before the building of the railroads.

Floating down the River. — In settling the Ohio Valley the pioneer, reaching Pittsburgh after a long and tiresome overland journey, usually took the easier method of floating down the river. He would purchase a roughly-made keel boat with a rudder for steering, but often without oars. In this he would

stow his family, with a supply of provisions and ammunition, and would perhaps furnish passage for others awaiting such an opportunity. If he had live stock, he would secure an ark or flatboat also, made of lumber that could be used in building at the end of his journey.



OHIO FLATBOAT

Many a pioneer family used the flatboat in moving to the West.

A trip down the Ohio was full of danger. The boat might shoot into an island or the projecting shore at night or even in the daytime if the weather was foggy. But the greatest peril was that of the bullets and arrows of lurking red men along the shore. If the boat was tied up for the night, the occupants were never safe from attack before daylight next morning.

A Fight on the River. — An example of the perils of the river is found in the following incident:

Captain William Hubbel was floating down the Ohio in a flatboat with a party of eight men, three women, and eight children. They were attacked by a large party of Indians in canoes. Hubbel ordered the women and children to lie flat on the bottom of the boat and the men to stand to their guns to the last. The fight continued for several hours, when the reds, after losing many of their number, were driven off. Three of Hubbel's men were killed and four, including himself, were severely wounded. The women and children were unhurt, except a small boy who had received a

bullet in the arm and another in the scalp, but had kept silent about it till the fight was over. When his mother asked him why he had not said a word about it, the little fellow replied, "Because the captain told us to keep quiet and I thought you would make a noise if you knew of it."¹

In spite of the dangers the people kept floating down the Ohio year after year in all sorts of rude river craft. Town after town was founded and the river became ever more important as the great highway of western immigration.

Marietta and Cincinnati. — The first town in what is now the state of Ohio was Marietta, on the Ohio River. It was settled in 1788, by New Englanders led by Rufus Putnam of Massachusetts, an officer of the Revolution.

Far down the Ohio, the same year, a few men from New Jersey planted a settlement that was destined to grow into a great city, and for many years was to bear the proud title, The Queen City of the West. Two years after its founding it was given the name of Cincinnati.²

IV. INDIAN BATTLES

From the time of the discovery of America down nearly to our own time there has been at some point, often at many points, between Bering Strait and Cape Horn, almost continuous warfare between the white men and the native Indians. The one primary cause of the wars was the occupation of land. The Indians, thinly scattered over all America, resisted the encroachment on their lands. Too primitive and undeveloped to absorb the civilization brought from Europe, they were pressed back by

¹ Drake, *Making of the Ohio Valley States*, p. 172.

² The word Cincinnati is the plural of Cincinnatus. The story is that Cincinnatus, an old Roman commander, was approached one day while plowing in his field by messengers who informed him that the Senate had appointed him to lead an army against an enemy that was threatening Rome. He left his plow, raised an army, defeated the enemy, and in sixteen days after the time he had left the farm was ready to return to it.

Many of the army officers of the Revolution had left their farms to enter the army and when, at the close of the war, they formed an organization, they named it The Society of the Cincinnati. From this society the city on the Ohio took its name.

the stronger race decade after decade and century after century. Often they resisted to the death, but their efforts were fruitless, their successes were temporary, for nothing could stay the irresistible march of civilization.

Massacres. — We read with horror of the Indian massacres of innocent women and children; but we should not forget that it was the status of the Indian's civilization rather than his hatred of the white race that prompted him to such deeds. He practiced the same upon his own race when the various tribes were at war with one another. The Indian was no worse and no better than any other race in the same stage of civilization.¹ He was a barbarian living in what were to him prehistoric times. If we could trace back our own ancestry far enough, we should no doubt find a parallel to the American Indians.

What the Pilgrims had done to gain a foothold in New England now had to be repeated by the early settlers of the Ohio Valley. In later times the racial war was transferred to the great central plain of the continent and still later to the region of the Rocky Mountains. So it continued until the whole land from ocean to ocean was in the possession of the white man.

St. Clair's Defeat. — General Arthur St. Clair was appointed the first governor of the Northwest Territory, which included Ohio. A great confederation of Indian tribes had its home on the Maumee River near the site of Fort Wayne, Indiana. St. Clair offered them peace and friendship, but they refused and he ordered his army to proceed to the Indian country.

President Washington, remembering Braddock's Field of earlier days, had cautioned St. Clair to beware of the danger of a surprise. St. Clair failed to heed the warning, and the result was a fearful defeat of his army by the red warriors, in November, 1791.

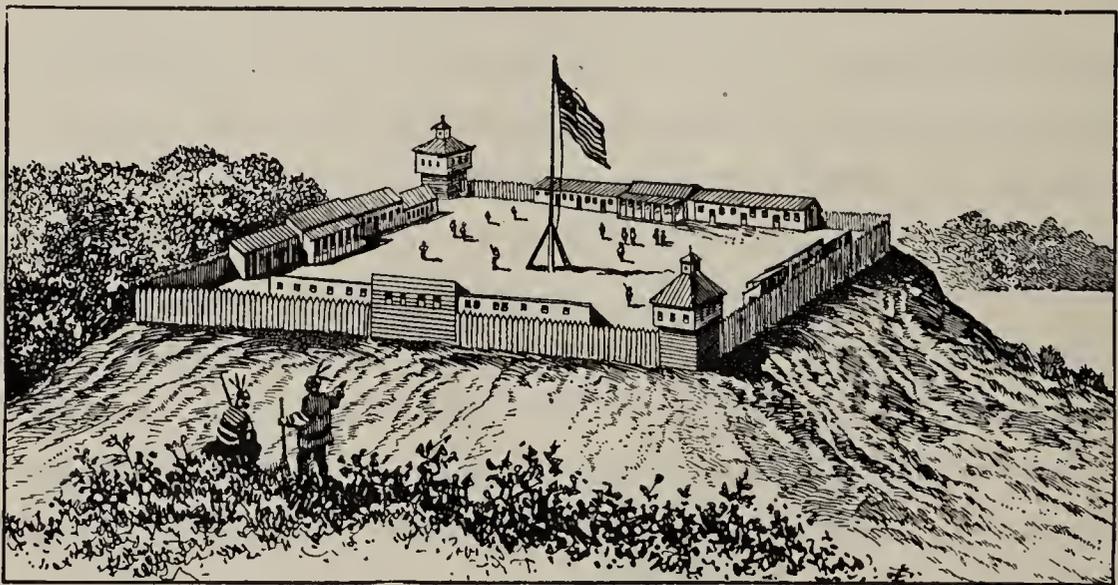
¹ No Indian massacre in our history was more brutal and unprovoked than the massacre by white men of a settlement of unarmed Christian Indians at Gnadenhutzen, Ohio, in 1782.

Anthony Wayne. — The unhappy St. Clair was replaced by General Anthony Wayne, often called “Mad Anthony.” Under Washington, Wayne had commanded at Brandywine, at Germantown, and at Monmouth, and he had captured Stony Point. He was conscious of his own ability and when informed by Washington that he was appointed to command in the West, he is said to have answered, “I am the very man you want.”

But the government was not anxious to fight the western tribes. Even in the face of the humiliating defeat of St. Clair it offered peace and friendship. Flushed with victory, the Indians refused all overtures.

Battle of the Fallen Timbers. — Wayne spent two years in collecting and drilling an army of 3500 men. In the summer of 1794 he led his army to the valley of the Maumee, the heart of the Indian country, and built Fort Defiance. Again he offered the red men peace, but they preferred war.

Near the Maumee Rapids a tornado had leveled the forest. Here the Indians chose their battle ground in the belief that the



FORT WAYNE, ABOUT 1812

Redrawn from Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*.

fallen timbers would furnish them protection. So it might have been in opposing an ordinary foe, but not in fighting Mad Anthony Wayne. He ordered his men to rush forward with a bayonet charge at the very beginning. They leaped from log

to log, and the Indians, astonished at such audacity, scurried from their hiding places and ran like frightened rabbits. The battle was soon over and Wayne's victory was complete. It was known as the battle of the Fallen Timbers.

Wayne then moved up to the forks of the river and built Fort Wayne, and the name was retained by the thriving city that grew up there.

Treaty of Greenville. — The spirit of the Indian confederacy was broken. The great valley of the Beautiful River, on which their ancestors for ages had paddled the canoe, on whose banks they had built their tents and sat around their campfires, where a thousand times they had chased the fleeing deer and the ponderous buffalo — this great valley was to be given up at last and forever to the ever-encroaching, the ever-restless white man from the East.

In the summer of the following year, 1795, the chiefs of the many tribes, with eleven hundred of their followers, met Wayne at Greenville in western Ohio, and signed the Treaty of Greenville. By this treaty the Indians gave up many thousands of square miles of land, and never afterward were the settlers in eastern or central Ohio, nor in the upper Ohio Valley, molested by Indian raids and massacres.

V. OHIO AND THE ROMANCE OF WESTERN MIGRATION

Rapid Settlement of Ohio. — The battle of the Fallen Timbers became a turning point in the settlement of the great region between Lake Erie and the Ohio River. Hitherto the settlers had clung to the river valley; now they began to spread to the interior and to the lake shore. Cleveland was founded on Lake Erie the year after the signing of the Treaty of Greenville, Zanesville three years later in the interior, and these settlements were followed by the founding of Columbus, Lancaster, and many other towns.

Ohio grew rapidly in population. From the lakes the people poured into the north; from Pennsylvania and New England

the central portions were soon aswarm with homeseekers, while great numbers of Virginians settled in the southern parts. Many of the new settlers had been soldiers of the Revolution.



FIRST OHIO CAPITOL, AT CHILlicothe, OHIO
Redrawn from an old print.

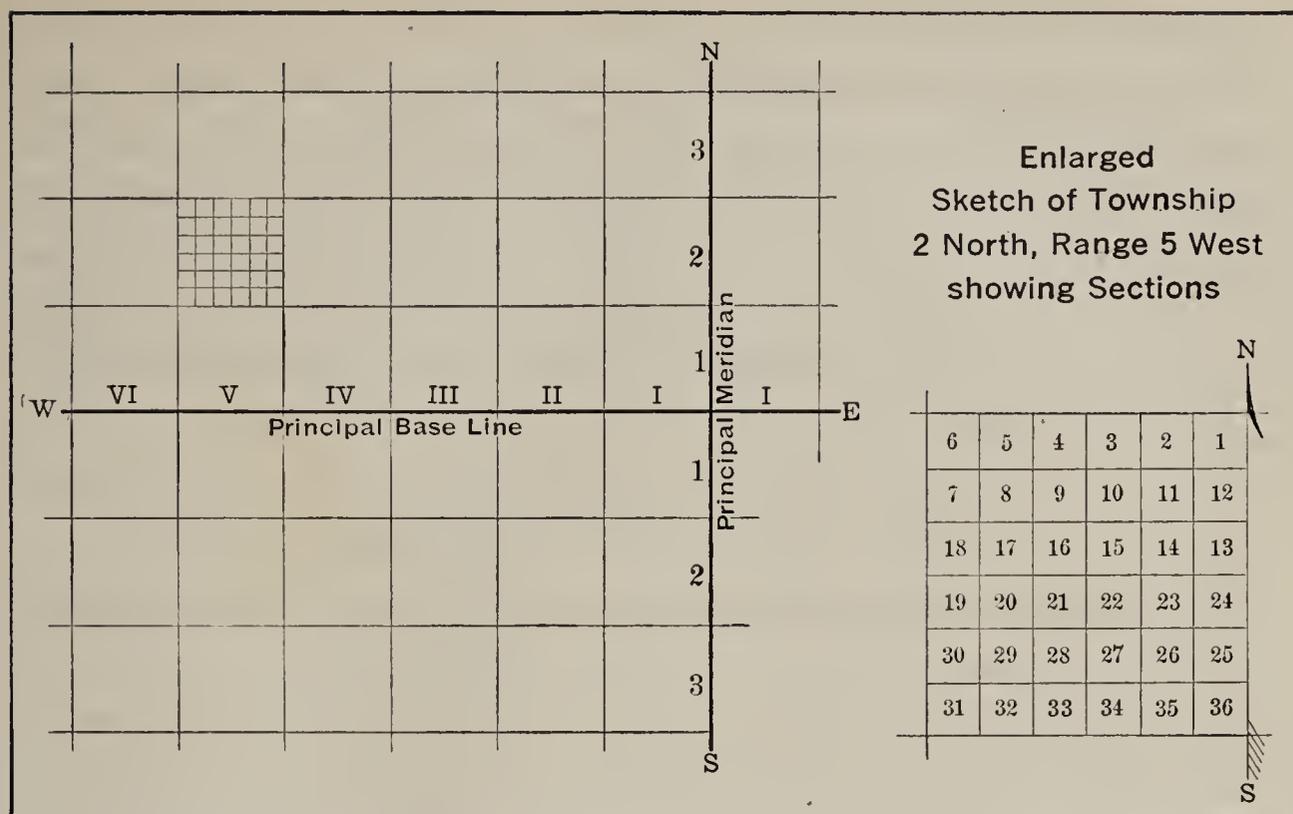
Congress, unable to pay them in coin for their war service, made provision to pay them in western lands. Surveyors laid out the land in ranges of townships. Each township, six miles square, was divided into thirty-six sections each one mile square, embracing 640 acres. Section No. 16 in each township was set apart for the main-

tenance of public schools, and thus Congress laid the foundation of the educational system in the Northwest Territory.

By 1802 the population of Ohio exceeded 40,000 and in the next year it was added to the Union as the seventeenth state.

Moving Westward. — It was a great event in the life of an eastern family to migrate to the wild country beyond the mountains in search of a permanent home. The homeseeker would purchase a small tract of the government or of some land company, paying for it on the installment plan, perhaps a dollar and a quarter an acre or a little more. He would secure a large canvas-covered moving wagon, and after selling all his goods that he could not take with him, would load the remainder on the wagon, leaving only space for himself and his family.

The farewell to their friends was often a sad one; few of the emigrants ever saw or ever expected to see again the friends and neighbors whom they left behind. It was like entering a new



LAND SURVEY SYSTEM

world; but they were ready to brave the perils of the wilderness in order to establish a home on the rich soil of Ohio, where it was said "corn grew so tall that a man had to reach up instead of down, to pluck an ear from the stalk."

The Long Journey. — The journey from New England to the Ohio Valley was long and full of difficulties and hardships. There was little danger from the Indians, it is true, after Wayne's victory at the Fallen Timbers; but roads were poor and in some places little more than Indian trails. All day long the movers would jog along over the rough roads; at night they would unharness the horses, and, after making supper at a campfire, would sleep in the wagon. But the journey was not so lonely as one might think. Many others were making the journey at the same time. It often happened that a number of movers camped for the night at the same spot and one can imagine how in the lonely wilds they enjoyed one another's company. Sometimes thirty or forty wagons would pass a given point in one day.

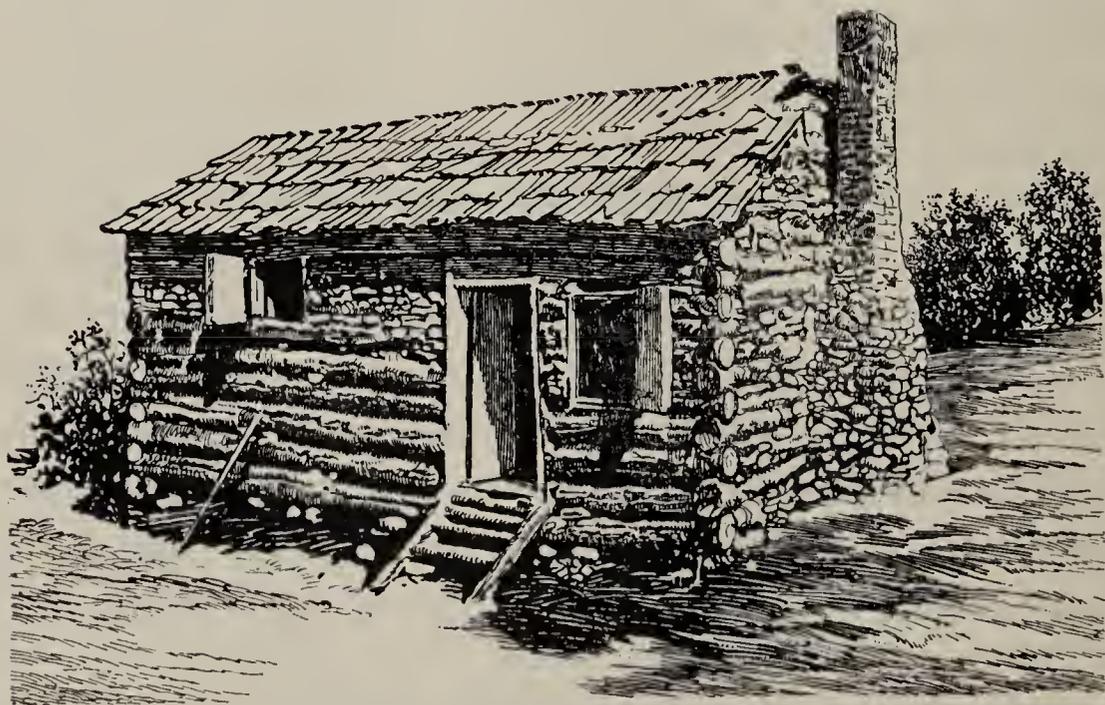
New England was hard hit by the craze for moving to Ohio.

During the first decades of the new century thousands made their way to the beckoning West in spite of all hardships. Some that were too poor to purchase wagons walked the entire distance. One family of twelve walked all the way from Rhode Island. The man drew a cart with two of the smaller children in it, his wife carried a baby, and the other children trudged behind. Another man pushed a wheelbarrow from the Atlantic coast to the Ohio Valley.

VI. LIFE ON THE FRONTIER

The settler might possibly secure a place left by a squatter, in which case he would have a rude cabin and perhaps a cleared acre or two to begin with. But the great majority of the early pioneers settled in the deep unbroken forest among the tall trees. The first year was a most trying one. The family might sleep in the moving wagon until a cabin could be built. The man and the older boys, if there were boys in the family old enough to aid him, began to fell trees. The first task was the building of a cabin, and the next was the clearing of a few acres for spring planting, the seed for which they had brought with them.

The Log Cabin. — The cabin was built of logs notched at the ends, so as to fit at the corners. The roof was made of



LOG HOUSE

clapboards laid on sapling rafters, and the floor was made of rough planks called puncheons. The cabin had only one door and one or two windows. The door swung on leather hinges and opposite it was a great open fireplace; the chimney was built, outside the house, of sticks and clay. Before glass could be had, greased paper was used for window panes.

In a description of a cabin, written by one of the pioneers who helped build it, we find the following: "On the side opposite the window were our shelves, made of clapboards, supported on pins driven into the wall. Upon these shelves my sister displayed a host of pewter plates, basins, dishes and spoons, scoured and bright . . . We daubed the house on the outside, but not on the inside, because my sister, who was very nice, would not consent to 'live right next to mud.'" This cabin was a two-story building. The writer goes on: "A ladder of five rungs stood in the corner and by this we could get to the floor above, which was made of loose clapboards split from red oak. Clapboards resemble barrel staves, but are longer, wider, and thinner; of such our roof and ceiling were composed. Puncheons are planks made by splitting logs to about three inches in thickness and hewing them on one or both sides with a broadaxe; of such our floors, doors, tables, and stools were made."

Home Life. — The perils of the wilderness were not wholly removed with the passing of the Indian menace. There were wolves and bears, "panthers" (pumas) and rattlesnakes yet to be encountered. The stillness of the night was often broken by the shriek of some wild creature, and the family had reason to thank the Lord for the protection of their log cabin. The father and his sons were experts with the rifle and it was not difficult to keep a supply of game birds, venison, and bear flesh for the table. Sometimes in the autumn the whole family would spend the day gathering nuts, strolling miles into the forest and taking their dinner under the trees.

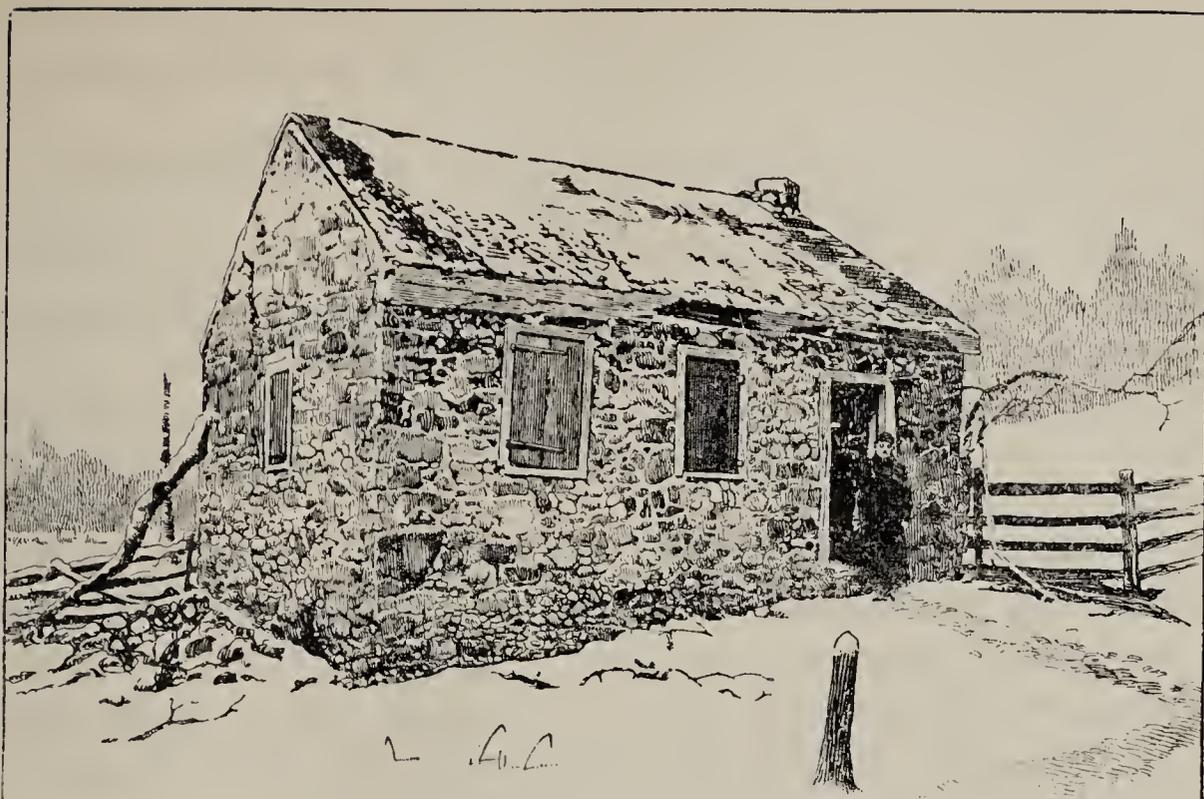
Fun and Frolic. — The pioneer's home might be several miles from the nearest neighbor, ten or even twenty miles from the

nearest sawmill or gristmill. Corn was ground between two stones at home or it was sent on horseback to the nearest mill to be converted into meal. As other settlers secured land in the neighborhood, community life grew. For miles around the men would gather for log rollings and corn huskings, or for the building of a log cabin, called a "raising." The young men were eager to display their strength — wrestling, lifting logs or barrels of flour.

Usually when the men and boys came together thus to help one another the women and girls would gather at the same home and, besides making meals, would spend the day quilting or, in the early spring, making sugar from maple sap. When night came the young people remained and spent the evening, sometimes till after midnight, in merrymaking — dancing to the tunes of the violin, which was always called a fiddle, and in games.

A Wedding. — Families were usually large. The young people married early and a wedding was the occasion of a great frolic, even sometimes a barbecue, with its ox roast. Next came the building of a house for the young couple. This meant another frolic. Men and boys with their axes would come from far and near and it often happened that the trees were felled, the logs cut, and the cabin completed with roof and floor, in a single day. The "raising" was followed by a "house warming" with its feasting and dancing.

The School and the Church. — The first public building in a new settlement was a log schoolhouse, followed by a log church. The schools were in session three or four months in the year and they were not free. The teacher received a small tuition from the parents of the children and if money was not to be had, he accepted corn or poultry or even coon skins as his pay. In the church, services were held perhaps once a month, conducted by a preacher who would have also several other churches to serve. In times of great religious revivals, people from the backwoods came in wagons and camped near the place of preach-



EARLY SCHOOLHOUSE IN EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA

Redrawn from a photograph made about 1895. Only a few of the early schoolhouses were built of stone. Most of them were log cabins.

ing. These meetings, therefore, became known as “camp meetings.” The preachers were usually Methodists or Baptists.

The early settler is a true pioneer, but as others come in, as a village is founded near by, the hard conditions of his early life in the wilderness become greatly softened, the comforts of life are multiplied. His farm has been well cleared and perhaps he has added hundreds of acres to it. His children settle on the farm or enter the business or professional world. The “old settler,” the ancestor of some of the leading men of the future, spends his declining years amid peace and plenty — and he gathers his grandchildren about him and tells of the days of long ago, of the long journey in the moving wagon, and of the time when the forest frowned on every side and the wolves howled about his lonely cabin in the wilderness.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. I. On what grounds did France and England claim the lands of the West? Describe the hunter, the squatter, the settler.

II. Why were the Indians of Kentucky hostile to the whites? Of what state was Kentucky a part in earlier times? What sort of money was used in Tennessee?

III. Why was the Ohio River more important in pioneer days than now? Describe an early boat trip down the Ohio.

IV. Why have there been almost continuous Indian wars? Why were the Indians always defeated in the end? Should the Indians have been left in possession of the whole country because they had it first?

V. How was education provided for in surveying the land? Imagine yourself journeying from New England in a moving wagon and write out your experience.

VI. Name a dozen articles in your home that the pioneers did not have. Are people happier when they have more? Describe the building of a cabin; the growth of a settlement.

Events and Dates. — Admission of Kentucky, 1792; of Tennessee, 1796; of Ohio, 1803. The founding of Marietta, 1788; of Cincinnati, 1788, of Cleveland, 1796. The Treaty of Greenville, 1795.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*; Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce*; Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*; Turner, *The Rise of the New West*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Griffis, *The Romance of Conquest*; Baldwin, *Conquest of the Old Northwest*; Roosevelt, *Stories of the Great West*; Otis, *Hannah of Kentucky*; Otis, *Benjamin of Ohio*.



LAND OFFICE OF THE OHIO COMPANY AT MARIETTA
Redrawn from an old print.

CHAPTER XVIII

INDUSTRIES AND INVENTIONS

Slow Progress for Ages. — It is a very remarkable fact that with all man's progress in the arts of civilization — in education and literature, in government and warfare — he had almost stood still for thousands of years in the means of travel and the methods of getting a living. As late as the time of the beginning of the War of the Revolution the farmer the world over still scratched the ground with a clumsy wooden plow and threshed his grain with a flail; he still spun and wove his cloth by hand, as had been done hundreds of years ago in the days of the Roman Empire, or in the time of ancient Egypt and Babylonia.

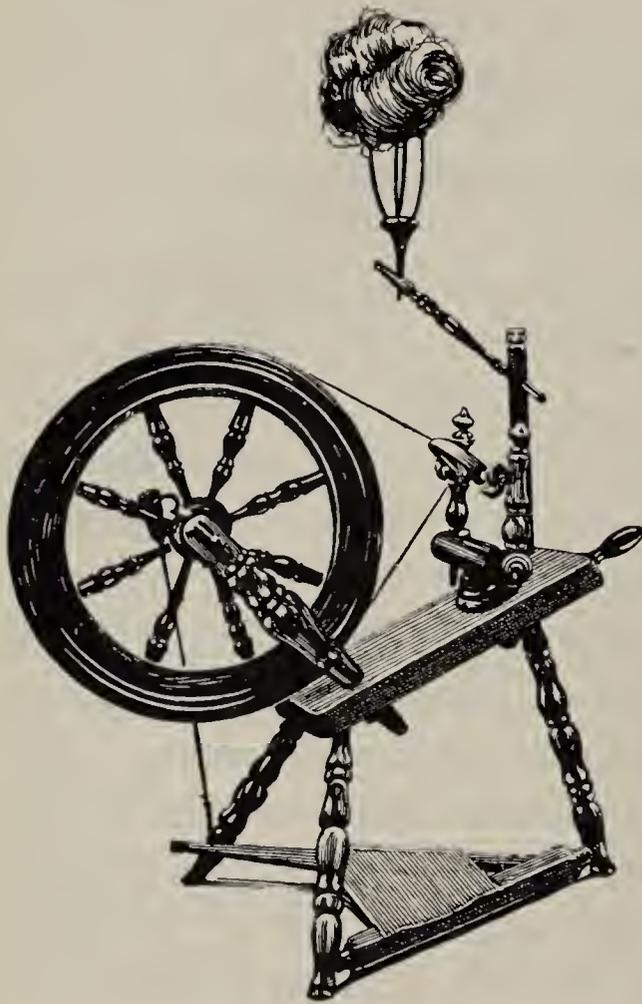
This condition was due to the fact that man had not applied himself to the careful study of the natural sciences. It seems scarcely to have occurred to him that the marvelous and ever-present forces of nature, changeless and eternal, might be bridled and made to work for him. Then, late in the eighteenth century, came a wonderful awakening, and from that time to the present there has been unceasing progress in the invention of machinery.

The most inventive of all people are the Americans; but for the beginnings of our industrial progress we are indebted to Watt's steam engine and a few great English inventions.

I. THE SPINNERS AND THE WEAVERS

Hargreaves, Arkwright, Crompton. — From the dawn of history one of the greatest of human industries has been the spinning and weaving of fiber into cloth, for clothing, sails, and other uses. Until modern times spinning was done by hand by means of a distaff and a spindle and it was a very slow

and tedious process. Sometime probably in the sixteenth century the spinning wheel was invented. This was a great improve-



OLD SPINNING WHEEL

Spinning wheels were used in most homes until long after the Revolution.

With the mule, one spinner could spin 150 threads at a time. The principle of these machines is still employed in all spinning factories and so great have been the improvements that one machine can spin 12,000 threads at a time.

Through these inventions the weavers were left far behind and the great want was a machine by which the weavers could keep pace with the spinners. This need was supplied by Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, who invented the power loom.

The Steam Engine. — These inventions were of immense importance in the industrial world; but one more great step was needed to complete the series — the application of steam power to these spinning and weaving machines. The great

improvement over the distaff and the spindle, but it spun but one thread at a time.

In 1767 James Hargreaves, an illiterate English weaver, invented the spinning jenny, so named because his wife's name was Jenny. Seeing a wheel overturned and continuing to revolve while lying on the ground, he conceived the idea of making a wheel turn several spindles at a time by means of a band. Richard Arkwright made improvements on the jenny in a machine he called the water frame. Still later the jenny and the water frame were greatly improved by the "mule," an invention of Samuel Crompton.

Scotch inventor, James Watt, had perfected the steam engine in 1769, by which the pressure of expanding water into vapor was made to turn wheels. About 1785 the steam engine was first applied to the running of machinery and thus one of the greatest strides in human progress was made.

Great Britain was at first very chary about allowing her inventions to be used in other countries. Parliament passed laws punishing by fine and imprisonment any one who exported the spinning and weaving machines or the plans for making them. But such secrets are not easy to keep, and before many years the machines were made in America as well as in England.



OLDEST COTTON MILL IN THE UNITED STATES

Built at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, by Samuel Slater, in 1790.

The first complete cotton mill in the United States was built in Rhode Island, in 1790, by Samuel Slater, "the father of American manufactures." From that time on cotton and woolen factories sprang up here and there; but America did not become a great manufacturing country till after the War of 1812.

II. ELI WHITNEY AND THE COTTON GIN

Cotton Fiber and Seed. — One of the most useful plants that the earth produces is the cotton plant, and one of the most useful inventions of man is the cotton gin. The fluffy pods in which cotton grows contain not only the snow-white fiber, but also little black seeds to which the fiber sticks. The bane of cotton raising, before the invention of the gin, was the tedious separating of the seed from the fiber. With some varieties it required a whole day for one person to separate one pound from the seed. Cotton clothing was very expensive, and unless some remedy could be found, cotton, useful as it is, would never be widely grown anywhere.

Eli Whitney. — In 1792 a young man named Eli Whitney, a graduate of Yale College, was journeying southward on a ship to become a teacher in the home of a rich planter. On board the ship he made the acquaintance of Mrs. Greene, widow of General Nathanael Greene, the famous commander of the Revolution. She was returning to her plantation in Georgia, which that state had presented to her husband in grateful remembrance of his services in the war. So pleased was she with young Whitney that she invited him to find a home under her roof and he did so.

From childhood he had shown much aptitude for mechanics. On one occasion while still a mere boy Whitney took his father's watch apart to see how it was made, and then put it together so exactly that it went on running as before. While in Mrs. Greene's home he often repaired her children's toys and did other clever things.

One day Mrs. Greene heard some planters saying that if only some one would invent a machine to separate the cotton from the seed, the people of Georgia would soon be rich. She said to them, "Gentlemen, why don't you apply to my young friend, Mr. Whitney; he can make anything." Later it was explained to him what was wanted and he set to work to produce it. The

result was the cotton gin, or engine, — a machine that separates the seed from the fiber by means of a series of revolving cylinders with teeth.

Importance of the Cotton Gin. — Whitney's invention proved a great boon to the South. It enabled one person to clean more cotton in a day than 200 could do by hand.¹ Little cotton was produced outside South Carolina and Georgia before the invention of the gin. Soon after that invention came into use, cotton culture spread with great rapidity beyond the pine hills of Georgia, into Alabama and the great alluvial valley of the Mississippi. Later it spread over almost the whole South. The production of cotton in the South was about 2,000,000 pounds in 1791; in 1807 it had grown to 80,000,000 pounds a year.

One evil effect is often attributed to the cotton gin — it put a value on slave labor that it never had before. Soon after the Revolution the northern states began to free their slaves and the process continued until all of them had done so. Many people of the South felt that the southern states should follow the example of the North and make an end of slavery. One member of Congress from Georgia said on the floor of the House, "Not a man in Georgia but wishes there were no slaves." There were unmistakable signs that slavery was declining in the South and that at length it might have died out.

Then came the cotton gin and the wildfire spread of cotton culture. Slave labor was well suited to the culture of cotton. The price of slaves quickly rose and from that time to the Civil War the institution of slavery tightened its hold on the industrial, the social, and the political life of the South.

III. JOHN FITCH, ROBERT FULTON, AND STEAM NAVIGATION

A long step in the progress of the industrial world was made when steam power by means of Watt's engine was applied to the

¹ The cotton gin was so simple and easy to make that many planters made it and Whitney received little financial benefit from the invention; but later he made a fortune in the manufacture of firearms for the government.

turning of machinery. Could the same power be applied to navigation? For moving vessels on the water, sails and oars had been used since ancient times — since the days of Phœnician galleys and Greek triremes.

Fitch and the First Steamboat. — John Fitch deserves the credit for being the first to solve the problem of steam navigation.¹ The life of Fitch is little short of a tragedy. The son of a Connecticut farmer, he longed for books and an education; but a hard-hearted father refused to give him any advantages. On reaching manhood he married a woman whose temper was such that he could not live with her and he became a wanderer.

In 1787, while the Constitutional Convention was sitting in Independence Hall composing our supreme law, John Fitch was a few blocks away experimenting with his first steamboat on the Delaware. At length he completed a boat that would move up stream three or four miles an hour. At the trial trip thousands of people, including Washington and Franklin, stood on the river banks to see the new wonder. The following year Fitch had a much larger steamer, which for several months carried passengers between Philadelphia and Trenton, running more than 2000 miles in all. Its usefulness was then over. Fitch was penniless and all his efforts to interest men of means to furnish money to build another were fruitless. The curiosity of the public had been satisfied, the project had not been a paying one, and the whole scheme of steam navigation was dismissed as impracticable.

Not so with Fitch. He believed the world on the eve of a wonderful improvement; with prophetic vision he saw steam navigation spread to all seas. But he was heartbroken at his failure to interest the public; he wandered to the West and

¹ Several other men should be named in this connection — William Henry, a gunsmith of Lancaster, Pa., who attached a crude steam engine to a little boat with paddles (1763); and James Rumsey, who experimented on the Potomac in 1787. Both had correct ideas of steam navigation, but as an inventive genius Fitch far surpassed them. John Stevens also made similar experiments in New Jersey. Experiments were also being made in England, where William Symington had built a steamboat in 1802 but abandoned it for fear of injury to the canals.



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT

Built and run by John Fitch on the Delaware River, August 22, 1787.

settled on a farm in Kentucky, where some years later he died by his own hand.

Robert Fulton. — Robert Fulton is known to the world as the inventor of the steamboat. He improved on the plans of Fitch, and twenty years after Fitch had made his success and his failure on the Delaware, Fulton won on the Hudson a victory that was not followed by failure. And as the world forgot Columbus and named the new world America, the public forgot Fitch and awarded the honors to Fulton.

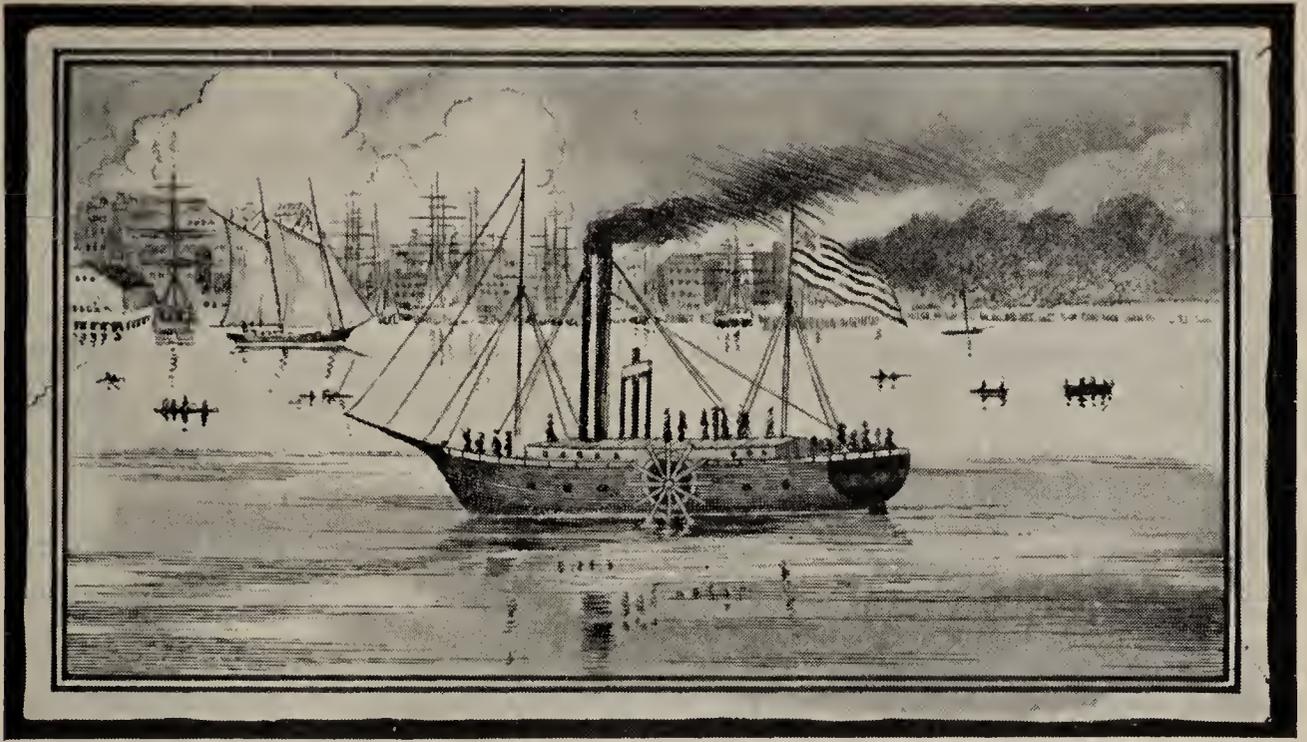
Fulton and Livingston. — At the beginning of the new century we find Fulton studying deeply the subject of steam navigation. He studied the plans of Fitch and others and became convinced that where they had failed he could succeed. In Paris he laid

his plans before Robert R. Livingston, the American minister to France, whom we have met before, at the inauguration of Washington. Livingston became so interested that he furnished the money to enable Fulton to build a steamboat and try it out on the Seine River. It was almost finished and ready for the test when early one morning after a storm in the night Fulton's servant rushed into his room and exclaimed, "Oh, sir, the boat has broken to pieces and has gone to the bottom."

For twenty-four hours, without sleep or rest, Fulton labored to raise the sunken vessel. The engine was not injured, but a new boat had to be built. A few months later it was finished. Imagine the joy the inventor must have felt when the trial on the Seine proved successful (August, 1803). A Paris newspaper thus described it: "At six o'clock in the evening, aided by only three persons, Fulton put a boat in motion and . . . produced the curious spectacle of a boat moved by wheels, these wheels being provided with paddles or flat plates, and moved by a fire engine."

The Clermont on the Hudson. — The elation of Fulton and Livingston was unbounded. They knew, however, that a better and larger boat was necessary, and, good Americans as they were, they decided to make the next effort in American waters. "Clermont" was the name of Livingston's country seat on the Hudson, and the name was chosen for their first American steamer. Arriving in New York in 1806, Fulton, having ordered an engine from England, engaged a famous shipbuilder. In August, 1807, the *Clermont*, 150 feet long, set out on its first trip from the city of New York to Albany.

Crowds of people gathered along the banks to witness what was described as "a monster moving on the waters, defying wind and tide, breathing flames and smoke." On some of the vessels met by the *Clermont* it was said that the crews shrank beneath the decks from the terrific sight and let their vessels run ashore. Against the current the new steamer paddled its way, passing the majestic Palisades and the romantic scenery



THE CLERMONT

Robert Fulton's steamboat on the Hudson, 1807.

of the Highlands and the Catskills, reaching Albany, 150 miles from New York, in thirty-two hours.

The public now awakened to the fact that the great problem of steam navigation was solved at last. The dream of John Fitch was about to come true and not many decades would pass before the seas and the lakes and rivers of the world would be covered with steam craft. In 1819 the *Savannah* became the first steamship to cross the Atlantic. Within a century there were thousands of steamers on the oceans, some of them "ocean greyhounds" of more than 30,000 tons, crossing the rolling Atlantic in less than five days.

SIDE TALK

A Great Decision by Chief Justice Marshall. — We have noticed that Robert R. Livingston was associated with Robert Fulton in the invention of the steamboat. The Livingston-Fulton Company was formed and Livingston secured from the New York legislature the exclusive right for thirty years to carry on steam navigation in all the waters around New York Harbor and three miles out at sea; also, from the legislature of Louisiana the sole right to use steam vessels on the lower Mississippi. According to

these laws not a steam vessel of any sort, unless it belonged to this company, could turn a wheel in the waters mentioned without buying the privilege from the Livingston-Fulton Company. And the New York courts upheld the grant of its legislature. But there was another tribunal. The matter was brought before John Marshall (p. 220); that is, it was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. The case is known as *Gibbons vs. Ogden*. Marshall, supported by a majority of the court, decided that the law was unconstitutional, that the lakes and rivers and bays and harbors belonged to all the people, and that no state could grant their exclusive use to any one. If Livingston was the first trust promoter, Marshall was the first "trust buster."

It is not easy to realize the far-reaching meaning of this momentous decision. Imagine what it would mean if a state legislature had the power to grant the exclusive use of the waters of the state to any one — the highest bidder perhaps. Imagine the condition to-day if some millionaire corporation had secured a perpetual franchise of the sole use of the Ohio River, the Mississippi, Lake Michigan! And it is possible that such might really be the condition but for this great decision of John Marshall in 1824.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Why was there so little progress in inventions for so long a period? Write a paper on the importance of spinning and weaving. How is steam power applied to machinery?

II. Give an estimate of Whitney's cotton gin. In what way did it affect slavery?

III. Relate the story of John Fitch. Why is he not remembered as the inventor of the steamboat? Who was Robert Fulton? Give the experience on the Seine; on the Hudson. Write a paper on the improvements in steam navigation since Fulton's time.

Events and Dates. — The cotton gin patented, 1794. Fitch steamboat on the Delaware, 1787. Fulton succeeds on the Hudson, 1807.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Beard and Beard, *History of the United States*; Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Wright, *Industrial Evolution in the United States*; Knox, *Robert Fulton and Steam Navigation*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*; Perry, *Four American Inventors*.

CHAPTER XIX

JEFFERSON AND THE DEMOCRACY

I. THOMAS JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON was one of the most remarkable figures that America has produced. His life was full of contradictions. He made many enemies, who saw only his faults and seemed to be blind to his better qualities — and so it is with most public men. Any unbiased student of Jefferson's career must be convinced that he was a man of high ideals and sincere motives. We think of him as the writer of the Declaration of Independence and as our third President (1801–1809); but there is much more to his credit. He was governor of Virginia, he was a member of the Continental Congress, and he was minister to France.

Jefferson's Reforms in Virginia. — In the trying times of the Revolution Jefferson brought about some fine reforms in Virginia. He secured the passage of a law to prohibit the importation of slaves, a law to establish religious liberty, and a repeal of the law of primogeniture. This old law, that had come down from the Middle Ages and had been borrowed from England, made the eldest son the heir of his father's estate to the exclusion of his brothers and sisters. In spite of the wails of the landed aristocracy, Jefferson threw the old relic of feudalism on the scrapheap and made Virginia a real American state.

Jefferson the Man. — Jefferson was tall and loosely built. He had red hair and a sunny countenance, was rather slovenly in his movements, and cared little for dress. He was bright and sparkling in conversation, but was quiet and retiring and disliked pomp and show in any form. Jefferson's learning was

scarcely equaled in his times. It was said that "he could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery, plan an edifice, try a case, break a horse, dance a minuet, and play the violin." One writer of the time said, "When he spoke of the law, I thought he was a lawyer; when he talked about mechanics, I was sure he was an engineer; when he got into medicine, it was evident he was a physician; when he discussed theology, I was convinced that he was a clergyman; when he talked literature, I made up my mind that I had run against a college professor who knew everything." Such was the man in whose hands were the destinies of the United States during the first eight years of the new century.



EARLY VIEW OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jefferson was the first of our Presidents to be inaugurated at the new capital on the Potomac. Washington was then a struggling village in the wilderness. (Side Talk, p. 269.)

Only a few of the events of this administration can be noticed in this chapter. These are the Louisiana Purchase, the Lewis

and Clark Expedition, the Burr-Hamilton duel, our little naval war in the Mediterranean, and the Jefferson embargo.

II. THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

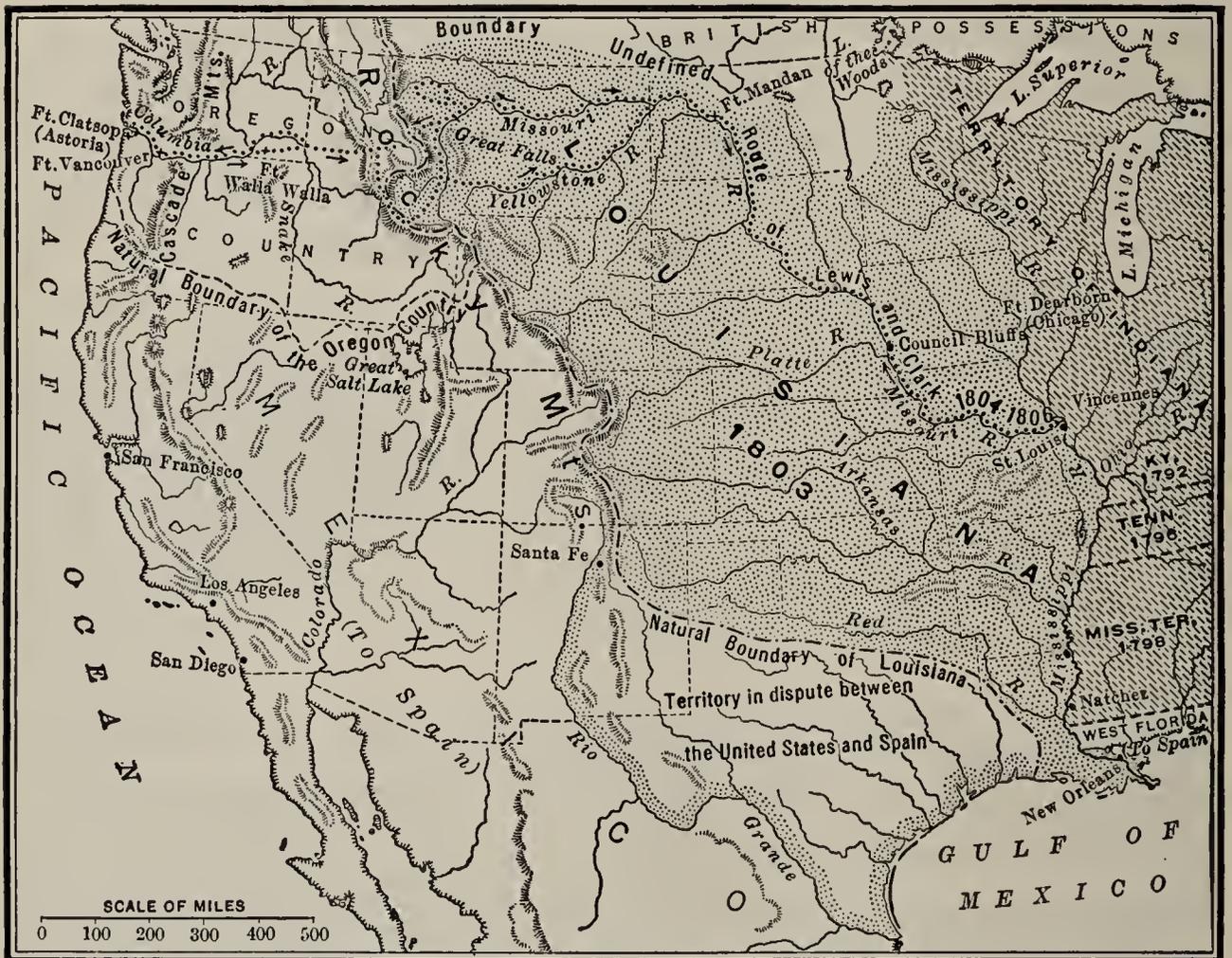
At the close of the Revolution when the treaty of peace was made with Great Britain the Americans won a great victory in securing the Mississippi as the western boundary instead of the Appalachian Mountains.

Napoleon and Louisiana. — West of the great river lay a vast tract of country extending from the Gulf of Mexico northward to the Canadian border and known as Louisiana; this territory included also New Orleans and the mouth of the river. This great domain was first a possession of France through the explorations of La Salle in 1682 and was named in honor of the King of France, Louis XIV. In 1762, at the close of the French and Indian War, it passed into the hands of Spain. In 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte was master of Spain, as well as of France. He forced Spain to cede to him this immense territory, his purpose being to build up a great French colony in these western wilds.

The possibility of securing the whole of the vast domain of Louisiana seemed to occur to no one in America. But there was a wild cry against the possession by France of the mouth of the Mississippi, the great opening to the outside world for the people who lived west of the Alleghenies. Spain was a weak nation and her possession of the mouth of the river frightened no one; but France was the greatest power in Europe and she might make trouble for the people of the valley.

Monroe and Livingston. — President Jefferson saw the gravity of the situation. He wrote to Livingston, our minister at Paris, directing him to purchase if possible that part of Louisiana which embraced New Orleans and the mouth of the river. He sent James Monroe, a future President, to aid Livingston in making the desired purchase. Napoleon surprised them by offering to sell the whole of Louisiana. They had no authority to pur-

chase more than a small part of that territory, but the offer appealed to their imagination. What an opportunity to render a great service to their country! Had there been an Atlantic cable, they could have found out very speedily what the President thought; as it was, it would take three months, and the business could not wait. Monroe and Livingston thereupon



THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE, 1803

The boundaries were fixed later by treaties with Great Britain and Spain; see page 293, and map following page 270.

decided to make the plunge, to go beyond their instructions. They made a treaty by which all that vast tract should be ceded to the United States for \$15,000,000, in the fullest belief that the President, the Congress, and the people would indorse what they had done and rejoice in the great bargain — and so they did. Napoleon declared that this cession gave to England “a maritime rival destined to humble her pride.”

A Great Bargain. — The acquisition of Louisiana, almost doubling the area of the United States, awakened the American imagination as nothing had ever done. It now became a settled conviction that the youthful republic was destined to increase more and more until it should stand among the great powers of the world. Louisiana was a vast wilderness, almost uninhabited except by wild Indians and wild animals. But the imaginative American with prophetic vision saw the future tide of immigration rolling across the western prairies and covering the boundless expanse of hills and valleys with a happy and prosperous population.

The dream has all come true. What was then known as Louisiana has since been carved into many great and populous states of the Union, the southernmost of which retained the original name; and a small corner of any one of them is to-day worth more than the entire first cost of the whole region.

III. THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

One of the most notable exploring expeditions in the history of this western world was that of Lewis and Clark to the far northwest, while Jefferson was President. For years Jefferson had had such a project in his mind, and with the purchase of Louisiana his interest was greatly increased.

Meriwether Lewis, a former captain in the army, and private secretary to President Jefferson, was appointed leader of the expedition. Lewis chose as his associate in command his friend William Clark of the United States army, brother of the famous George Rogers Clark (p. 169). Collecting a company of about thirty men, they procured three boats with large supplies of food, ammunition, tents, medicines, and a stock of trinkets to barter with the Indians.

Up the Missouri. — In May, 1804, they began their ascent of the Missouri River, covering about fifteen miles a day. They met many Indian tribes, most of whom were friendly. The whites traded with them, giving them various trinkets,

knives, and whisky for furs and other products of the woods. One tribe refused to accept whisky, declaring they would not drink that which made fools of them.

In October, they decided to stop and camp for the winter. They had brought a supply of tools with them and they were soon busy felling trees and building log houses. One of the men was a blacksmith and he made spear points and knife-blades, which they traded to the Indians for corn. The Indians thought the bellows the most wonderful thing they had ever seen.

Onward to the Rockies. — With the coming of spring they proceeded across the vast plain to the towering Rocky Mountains. “I saw,” wrote one of the men, “great plains, wider than the thirteen states, swarming with buffaloes and antelopes; mountains stupendous and rough as the ruins of a world, deserts flat as the sea, silent and lonely as the thought of eternity.”

The men were deeply impressed with the great falls of the Missouri, the mighty roar of which they had heard for many



FALLS OF THE MISSOURI

hours before reaching it. One of the grandest spectacles of falling water in the world is this cataract.

The Bird Woman. — One branch of the Missouri was named the Jefferson, after the President, and they followed it, reaching at length the Great Divide, the watershed that separates the vast basin of the Mississippi from the Pacific Slope. The party had found an Indian woman who had been stolen five years before from a mountain tribe, the Shoshones. She was known as the Bird Woman. She went with them in hope of finding her own people. Captain Lewis was very anxious to make friends with the Shoshones so as to secure guides and horses. He felt that he could do this by restoring the Bird Woman to her people; but when after many days' search he found some of them they fled like frightened animals.

At length the white men captured a woman of the tribe. She stood expecting instant death, but was soon convinced that there was nothing to fear. Not long afterwards they were met by sixty armed warriors coming to her rescue. She soon convinced them that the white men meant them no harm, and their hostility was turned to joy. Leaping from their horses, they embraced the white men, besmearing their clothes and faces with paint and grease. The Bird Woman was welcomed by her people, and there was no trouble in securing guides and horses.

The Pacific Ocean. — The party suffered many hardships in crossing the Rocky Mountains, but they were repaid with



STATUE OF THE BIRD WOMAN (SAKAKAWEA) AT PORTLAND, OREGON

many romantic scenes — gigantic mountain peaks covered with snow, luxuriant forests, and cascades of wondrous beauty, sparkling in the sunlight. Reaching the head waters of the Columbia, they floated down that noble stream. In early November, 1805, they reached the Pacific coast and encamped for the winter.

In the spring they began their return journey, following almost the same route by which they had come. They reached St. Louis on September 23, 1806, having been two and a half years on the expedition and having traversed thousands of miles of unbroken wilderness. Congress gave each man in the party a soldier's pay and a grant of land. Lewis became governor of Louisiana and Clark became governor of Missouri. The journal of Lewis and Clark, published in book form, gave much valuable information about the great West. It described the vast plains and mountain systems, the rivers and forests, the animals and plants of that wild and unpeopled region.

IV. AARON BURR AND ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Aaron Burr was Vice President of the United States; Hamilton was the leader of the Federalist party and former Secretary of the Treasury. Both were New York lawyers of commanding ability. They were rivals and they became enemies. Burr might perhaps have been elected President but for the influence of Hamilton; again, he might have been elected governor of New York had not Hamilton thrown his influence into the balance against him. Hamilton did not believe Burr to be a safe and honest man in public life. Burr brooded over his political ruin and blamed Hamilton for all his misfortunes. Determining to get rid of his great rival, he challenged him to a duel.

The Fatal Duel. — Dueling was common in those days and is still tolerated in some countries in Europe. A man who refused to accept a challenge was looked upon as a coward. Hamilton was a courageous man; but with all his physical courage, he

had not the moral courage to refuse to fight a duel. He was not brave enough to endure being called a coward. He accepted the challenge and at daybreak on July 11, 1804, the two men met on the old dueling ground under the heights of Weehawken on the Jersey shore.

Only the year before, on this same spot, Hamilton had lost a son, a victim of the deadly duel. Now he himself, according to the false code of honor of that day, stood undaunted before an antagonist whom he knew to be more skillful than himself in the use of firearms. Burr pointed his pistol with unerring aim and at the word "fire" Hamilton fell, shot through the body. Tenderly he was carried by loving friends back across the river to his home in New York. A few hours later he was dead.

The people of New York denounced Burr as a murderer; and he fled for safety from the city. He went to Philadelphia and found conditions no better. He then escaped to the South and the following year we find him in the Mississippi Valley in a conspiracy to divide the Union and set up a new government in the great valley.

Burr's Conspiracy. — Burr was still popular in the West and he soon gained a large following by pretending that he was raising an expedition, with the consent of President Jefferson, against Spanish Mexico. For more than a year he journeyed down the Ohio and Mississippi displaying great energy in furthering his project. Then his whole scheme was shattered by a proclamation from the President, who called for the arrest of all persons engaged in a plot against Mexico. Burr's air castle fell, his followers deserted him, and he fled into the wilderness of Alabama in the disguise of a river boatman. Later he was arrested and taken to Richmond, Virginia, where he was put on trial for treason. The great Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, John Marshall, presided at his trial. Nearly every one believed Burr guilty, but it was impossible to prove his guilt by witnesses and he was acquitted.

V. WAR IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

In giving a list of the wars in which the United States has been engaged one must not forget to mention our little brush with the Barbary states of North Africa in the early part of the nineteenth century.

North Africa. — The half-civilized Mohammedan people of North Africa, comprising Tripoli, Tunis, Algiers, and Morocco, called the Barbary states, were in the habit of laying tribute on the commerce of the Mediterranean. The nations of Europe paid them annual tribute, perhaps because it was cheaper to buy them off than to fight them. The United States fell into line also and paid for the safety of its merchant ships in Mediterranean waters. But there came a time when the American people rebelled against this humiliating business, and it was left for the rising republic to teach the nations of Europe a lesson in self-respect.

Decatur Destroys the Philadelphia. — The war with Tripoli, which began in 1801, is remembered chiefly for one of the most dangerous and daring feats in the history of the American navy — the destroying of the *Philadelphia* in the harbor of Tripoli. The *Philadelphia*, one of our frigates, pursuing the enemy into the harbor, ran on a reef and was captured with all her crew.

A fine capture it was for the Tripolitans. They floated the *Philadelphia* and added her to their fleet. The Americans could hardly hope to recapture the frigate, but they conceived the plan of creeping into the harbor by stealth at night and destroying her. Stephen Decatur was chosen for the perilous expedition. Decatur was a youth of twenty-five, and a more daring seaman could not be found. He was destined to win high honors in the coming years and, like Hamilton, to meet his death at last at the hands of a duelist.

On a still night in February, 1804, in a small vessel called a ketch, Decatur and his intrepid crew, most of them hidden from view, moved silently into the harbor. The boat appeared



BURNING OF THE *PHILADELPHIA* BY DECATUR, 1804

to belong to fruit sellers, and was permitted to approach the *Philadelphia*. A few minutes later, Decatur gave the signal and his hidden warriors sprang from their hiding places and followed him, clambering upon the deck of the captured frigate. Not a man spoke a word, not a shot was fired, lest the shore batteries be roused. The Americans formed in line and swept across the deck, using their cutlasses with deadly effect.

Ten minutes after boarding the ship the Americans were in control. They then placed combustibles on the deck, set them on fire, leaped down to their waiting craft and rowed away.

A little later the fire on the *Philadelphia* reached the powder magazine and she blew up with a tremendous roar. A handful of heroic sailors had done a wonderful thing, without the loss of a man. The great English commander, Admiral Nelson, who was destined to be the victor and the victim of the battle of Trafalgar the next year, pronounced the destroying of the *Philadelphia* under the guns of the enemy "the most bold and daring act of the age."

For more than a year longer the American fleet remained in the Mediterranean, and in 1805 forced a treaty from Tripoli with the condition that all prisoners should be given up and tribute should no longer be exacted.

Algiers Humbled. — As the years passed the Barbary states renewed their practice of annoying our shipping and their demands for tribute. It was not forthcoming and the dey of Algiers declared war on the United States. In 1815 Decatur entered the harbor of Algiers with a fine fleet of warships and forced the dey to sign a treaty renouncing all demands of tribute money, restoring every American prisoner without ransom, and even agreeing to pay for vessels he had captured.

VI. IMPRESSMENT OF SAILORS; THE EMBARGO

By impressment of seamen is meant the practice of forcing deserters from a navy back into the service, or of seizing new recruits for the navy. In order to do this, the British often stopped the vessels of other nations at sea and marched the crews before the British officers, who picked out supposed deserters or British subjects and forced them into British ships. American vessels were so treated almost from the founding of our government, and it often happened that through mistake, or carelessness, or wanton insolence, American-born citizens were dragged from their own ships and forced into the service of the king. Again and again as the years passed the United States protested against the practice, but did not feel strong enough to make absolute demands. But a time was coming.

It is true that Great Britain had reason to be alarmed at the numerous desertions from her navy, but it was her own fault. She treated her sailors so harshly and paid them so meagerly that great numbers of them escaped when they could. Sometimes a British vessel could scarcely depart from an American port owing to the many desertions of her crew. Better treatment and larger pay in the American ships had greater weight with Jack Tar than his allegiance to his own sovereign.

More than once the American government offered to make a treaty with Great Britain for the return of deserters from both sides, but she preferred to carry on her practice of forcible impressment.

Firing on the Chesapeake. — One day in June, 1807, the people of our coast towns were thrown into a fever of excitement by the astounding report that the British frigate *Leopard* had fired on the *Chesapeake*, a frigate of the American navy, off the coast of Virginia. After a raking fire of twenty minutes, when three of the American crew had been shot dead and eighteen wounded, the *Chesapeake* struck her colors and surrendered. The British officers then mustered the crew and took three of the men, forcing them to board the *Leopard*. All the three men were later proved to be American citizens.

Such a wanton insult to the American flag had not occurred since the nation was founded. In many sections the war spirit reached boiling point, but some advised moderation. President Jefferson made a demand that the British government disavow the act, recall the admiral who had ordered it, and replace the three men on board the *Chesapeake*. After long negotiation these demands were complied with.

The Berlin Decree. — Meanwhile our foreign relations were growing more critical. France and Great Britain were fighting like bulldogs, and they had drawn nearly all the countries of Europe into the great conflict. Neither of the belligerents respected American rights on the sea. Napoleon Bonaparte, having lost his power on the sea at the battle of Trafalgar, in 1805, determined nevertheless to humble the island kingdom if possible. He issued in November, 1806, the Berlin Decree, declaring the British Isles in a state of blockade, and declaring further that no ship touching at an English port should be admitted to any port in France or her allies. The British retaliated by issuing an "Order in Council" forbidding neutrals to trade from port to port under French control, and later by another order requiring every neutral ship trading at a Euro-

pean port from which British ships were excluded to stop first at a British port and pay a duty, and on the return voyage to repeat the same thing. "Neutral" meant American, for every other nation of importance was involved in the war. This order struck at the very foundations of American independence. It was answered by Napoleon's Milan Decree ordering that any neutral ship that paid a tax at a British port should be seized as a lawful prize.

What could American shipping do in the whirl of such adverse winds? Any vessel crossing the sea was liable to seizure by one side or the other, and our whole merchant marine seemed in danger of destruction. Something had to be done without delay. Two ways were open — to declare war on England or on France or on both, or to refuse to trade with them.

Jefferson was an intense lover of peace and he feared also that if the United States joined in the tremendous conflict raging in Europe, its very independence might be endangered. Moreover, he was of the firm belief that the warring nations could be brought to their senses by peaceful means. He believed that they could not get along without American products and he determined to force them to respect our rights by refusing to trade with them. He proposed an embargo.

The Embargo. — Congress accordingly enacted a law, on December 22, 1807, prohibiting American ships from leaving port for any foreign country. This embargo, as later amended, not only forbade all foreign trade, but also put the most burdensome restrictions on the trade on rivers and lakes and bays.

The first to feel the heavy hand were the sailors, who, thrown out of work, paraded the streets of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia demanding work or bread. Ships lay dismantled and idle in the harbors, and many of their owners and great numbers of merchants were brought face to face with financial ruin on account of the embargo. Last to feel the burden were the farmers, but by the end of harvest time in 1808 the prices of grain and vegetables had greatly fallen and in many cases

there was no market at all for farm products. The embargo was in operation less than a year and a half, but in that time many of the American people became smugglers. In the South goods were smuggled into Spanish Florida and thence shipped to Cuba and to Europe. Along the Canadian border for hundreds of miles there were continuous violations of the law.

The embargo bore heavily on the people as a whole; only the few could engage in smuggling. Thousands were ruined and were sold out by the sheriff. Great numbers were thrown into prison for debt (1300 in New York alone), for no crime except that they had been ruined by the embargo.

Jefferson's Popularity. — Jefferson's popularity waned greatly on account of the embargo, especially since it did little good. It brought neither France nor

Great Britain to terms; the American people were the chief sufferers. Nevertheless the voice of Jefferson was still powerful in the land. The Federalists denounced him and all his works, but the great majority of his own party stood by him to the end. He had been elected to a second term in 1804 with only fourteen electoral votes against him. There is no doubt that he could have been elected for a third term had he desired it, but he refused to stand for a third election. Washington had declined a third election because of advancing age and weariness of public life. Jefferson did so for a different reason, as



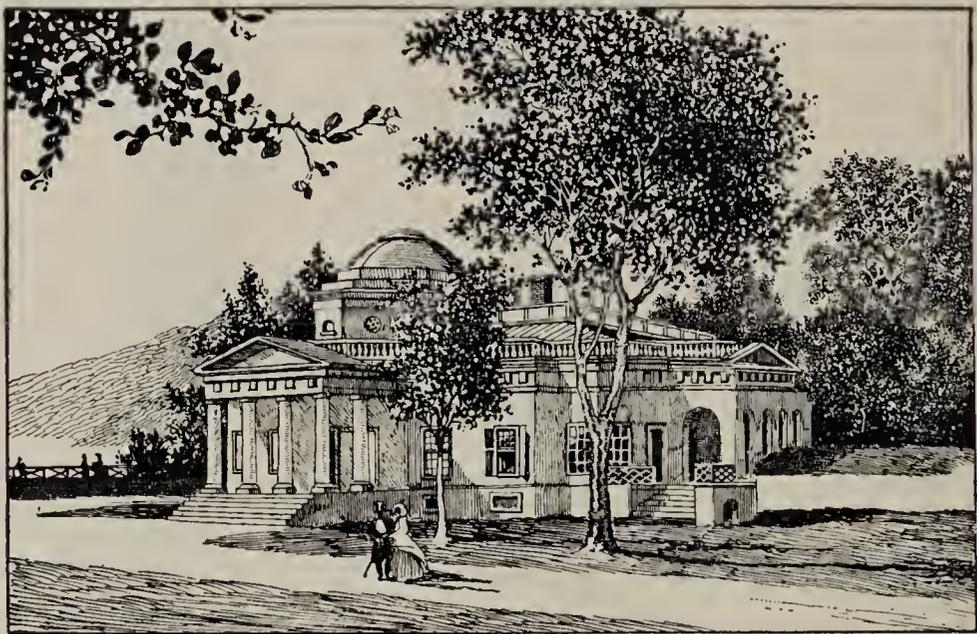
FASHIONS OF 1809

From an old magazine. Fashions in America have usually followed those of England and France.

he said, namely, to establish a precedent. He thought that too long a service in the great office would tend toward monarchy.

Never did Jefferson rise to greater heights of patriotic self-sacrifice than when he declined to accept a third nomination for the presidency. Eight state legislatures had requested him to stand for a third election. Jefferson well knew the strength of his party, also his own powers of leadership. He might have been elected not only to a third term, but also perhaps at every successive election to the end of his life. This he sacrificed for the sake of a principle in which he believed.

Jefferson Retires. — Jefferson's popularity, impaired by the embargo, soon rose again to its normal height and he was the adviser, almost the oracle, of his party as long as he lived. Re-



MONTICELLO, THE HOME OF JEFFERSON
Planned by himself. Near Charlottesville, Virginia.

tiring to his home in Virginia, he passed the remaining seventeen years of his life without again leaving the state. He built a large, peculiar house and called it Monticello (little mountain). It is still standing and is an object of interest to many tourists every year.

Some years after his retirement Jefferson and his old rival, John Adams, then living in Massachusetts, became reconciled and, though they never met again, they kept up a friendly

correspondence as long as they lived. Both died on the same day, a few hours apart, July 4, 1826, fifty years to a day after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence.

SIDE TALK

The Capital and the Capitol. — Nothing was more fitting than that the capital of the United States should be given the name of the Father of his Country. It was also gratifying to him that it be located on the banks of the Potomac only a few miles above his ancestral plantation. Washington city had been planned on a splendid scale by Major L'Enfant, a French engineer. The farmers who owned the land deeded it to the city and received in compensation half the unused lots after the streets, parks, and public building grounds were reserved. When the government moved from Philadelphia to Washington the new city was little else than a wilderness. The President's home was in an open field, and this with the unfinished Capitol, one good hotel, and a few scattered houses along the unpaved streets, constituted the town. But as the city had been laid out on a grand plan, it became more and more attractive. To-day it is one of the most beautiful capital cities in the world.

The Capitol is ideally situated on an elevation overlooking the Potomac. It consists of two great wings and between them the central building with its commanding dome. The cornerstone was laid in 1793, but only the wings were then built and these were burned by the British in 1814. The central building was begun in 1818 and was finished nine years later.

In 1851 an enlarging of the Capitol was begun and was completed after the close of the Civil War. The Central building is very grand and imposing in appearance.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Describe Jefferson's activities; his attainments. Describe Washington city in Jefferson's time.

II. Why did Napoleon want to sell Louisiana? Why did Livingston and Monroe go beyond their instructions? Into what states has Louisiana been carved?

III. Trace on the map the expedition of Lewis and Clark. What benefit came from this expedition?

IV. Why were Burr and Hamilton rivals? What reason can you give for the decline in dueling since that time? What was Burr's object in conspiring to sever the Union?

V. Why did the European nations pay tribute to the North Africans? Describe the burning of the *Philadelphia*. Who was Admiral Nelson? (See library.)

VI. In how far could you justify the British practice of impressing seamen? In what way did France annoy our shipping? What is an embargo? On what grounds did Jefferson refuse to stand for a third election?

Events and Dates. — Jefferson the first President to be inaugurated at Washington, 1800. Purchase of Louisiana, 1803. Expedition of Lewis and Clark, 1804–1806. Burr kills Hamilton in a duel, 1804. War in the Mediterranean. Impressment of seamen. French decrees and British orders in council. The embargo.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Good accounts of the subjects treated in this chapter will be found in the general histories by Schouler, McMaster, Avery, and in the nine-volume *History of the United States*, by Henry Adams. Walker, *The Making of the Nation*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. IV; Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III.

FOR THE PUPIL: Grinnell, *Trails of Pathfinders*; Schultz, *Bird Woman, the Guide of Lewis and Clark*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, I; Lighton, *Lewis and Clark*; Conant, *Alexander Hamilton*; Seawell, *Decatur and Somers*.

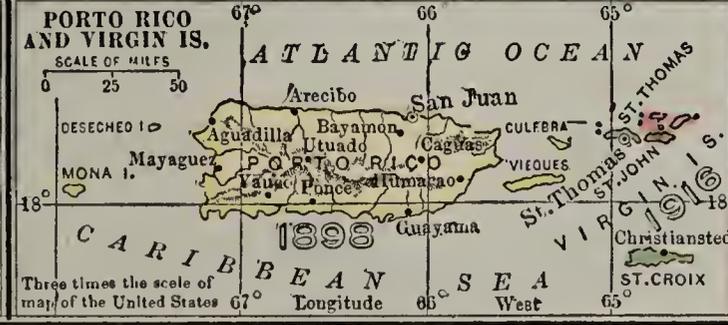
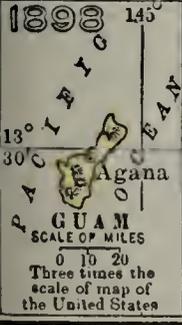
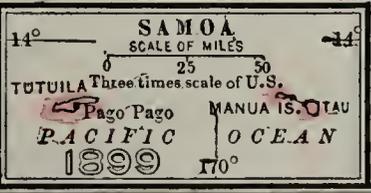




Greenwich 90° 85° 80° 75° 70°

TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SCALE OF MILES
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CHAPTER XX

JAMES MADISON AND THE WAR OF 1812



HOME OF PRESIDENT MADISON, AT MONTPELIER, VIRGINIA

Madison's Election. — While Jefferson refused to be considered for a third election, he did the next thing — he chose as his successor his nearest friend, James Madison, who had for eight years been his Secretary of State. Madison might have become President on his own merit, but with the approval of his great friend he had no trouble in winning the great prize. His party was all powerful and the Federalists, who voted for C. C. Pinckney, had no chance.

Like Washington and Jefferson, Madison was a Virginian; and like them, he retired after serving eight years in the great office. We have met him in the Constitutional Convention, where he took a leading part. No man in the country knew better the inner workings of the government than Madison but his administration does not shine out conspicuously, chiefly,

because the war with Great Britain came within that period and he was not well fitted to be a war President.

In person, Madison was a little man, modest and retiring. When he read his inaugural address he could scarcely be heard.

Dolly Madison. — After reaching middle age Madison had married a young widow, rich, beautiful, and full of wit and vivacity. She is known as Dolly Madison. No woman ever presided over the social functions of the White House more delightfully and gracefully than she.

I. WAR CLOUDS

The first three years of Madison's administration were not very eventful; but war clouds could be seen on the horizon and they presaged a coming storm. The embargo was repealed at the end of Jefferson's administration, but it was replaced by acts forbidding trade with Great Britain or France. The British orders in council and the French decrees were still in force; hundreds of American ships were seized by both the warring powers. Could the American people continue to endure these outrages and do nothing but protest?

The President and the Little Belt. — The impressment of seamen was also still going on and the sting of American pride caused by the firing on the *Chesapeake* had not been forgotten. But in May, 1811, a similar event had a very different outcome. The *President*, a fine frigate, had an encounter with the *Little Belt*, a British vessel smaller than the *President*. At the close of the battle twelve men lay dead and twenty-one wounded on the deck of the *Little Belt*; on the *President* none was killed and only one wounded.

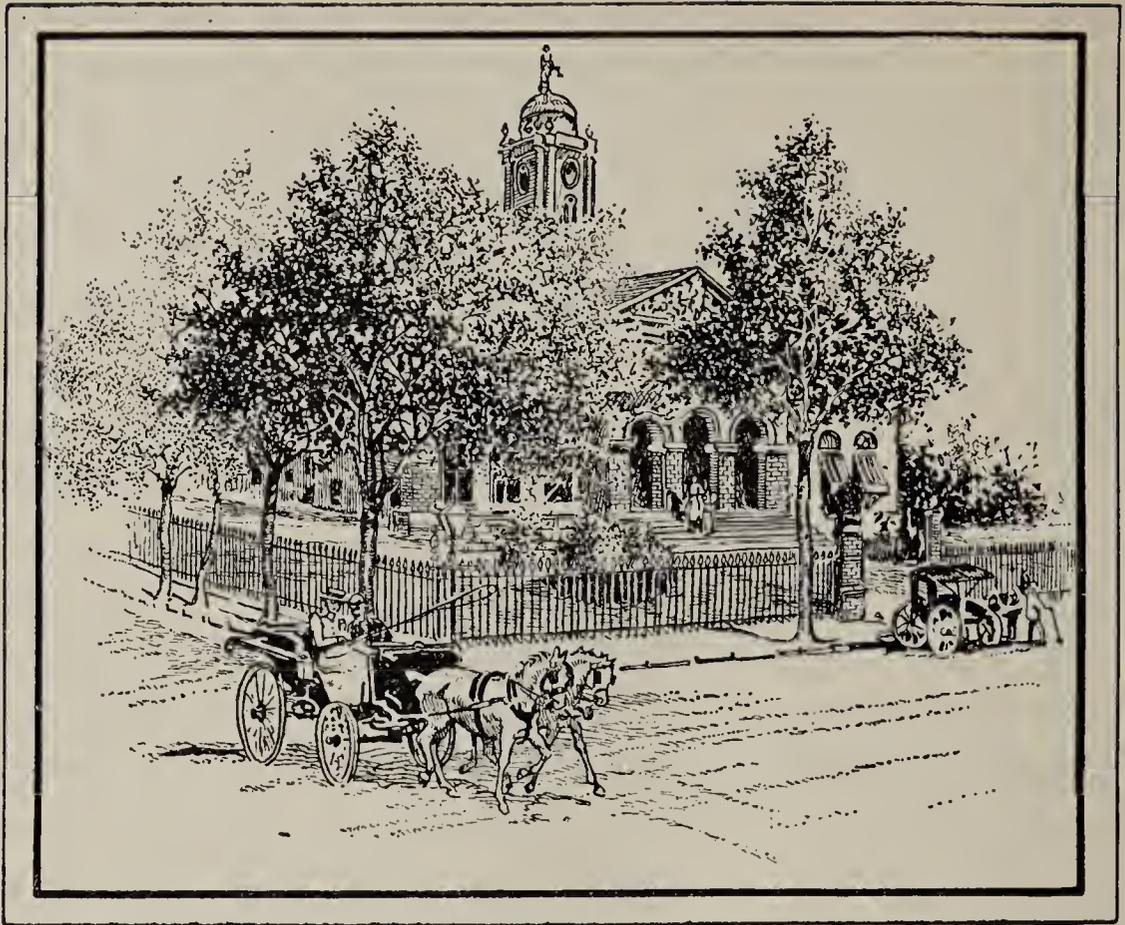
War Declared. — By the spring of 1812 the Americans were fully aroused to the importance of defending their rights with the sword. Madison still hesitated, but in Congress there were several young leaders who refused to submit longer to the indignities to which we had long submitted. First among them were Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South

Carolina, both of whom were to spend many future years in the nation's capital. They were strongly supported by James Monroe, Secretary of State. Madison was devoted to peace; he hesitated long, but finally yielded to the war party and war was declared against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. Two of the causes given were impressment of seamen and the orders in council.

England at this time was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the French emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte; she did not want war with America. She was willing to repeal the orders, and did so just five days before our declaration of war; but it was too late. The news did not reach America for some weeks. Had there been an Atlantic cable it is probable that war would have been averted.

France had robbed and insulted us quite as freely as England had done, but it might have been disastrous for us to make war on both those great nations at once. One reason no doubt for choosing to fight Great Britain instead of France was that Great Britain was far easier to attack owing to her merchant marine and to her possession of Canada. France had nothing on sea or on this side of the sea which could be attacked. Moreover, it was generally believed that British agents in Canada were guilty of stirring up the Indians against our settlements on the frontier.

New England and the Hartford Convention. — The Federalists in Congress and out of Congress opposed the war with all their strength. In New England many of them went so far as to threaten to secede from the Union, and when President Madison called on the states to furnish troops for the war several of the New England governors flatly refused to send them. Many New Englanders had opposed the purchase of Louisiana and Jefferson's embargo. Near the close of the War of 1812 the leaders held a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, known as the Hartford Convention. The doings of this convention were never fully published, but it was known that the



OLD STATEHOUSE, HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

Where the Hartford Convention was held. Redrawn from an old print.

convention opposed the war measures. The coming of peace a little later made the whole affair seem ridiculous.

The country was badly prepared for war in 1812. The treasury was almost empty; we had but twenty warships, while Great Britain could boast almost a thousand (but many of them were engaged in European waters). Most discouraging of all, our people were not enthusiastic about the war.

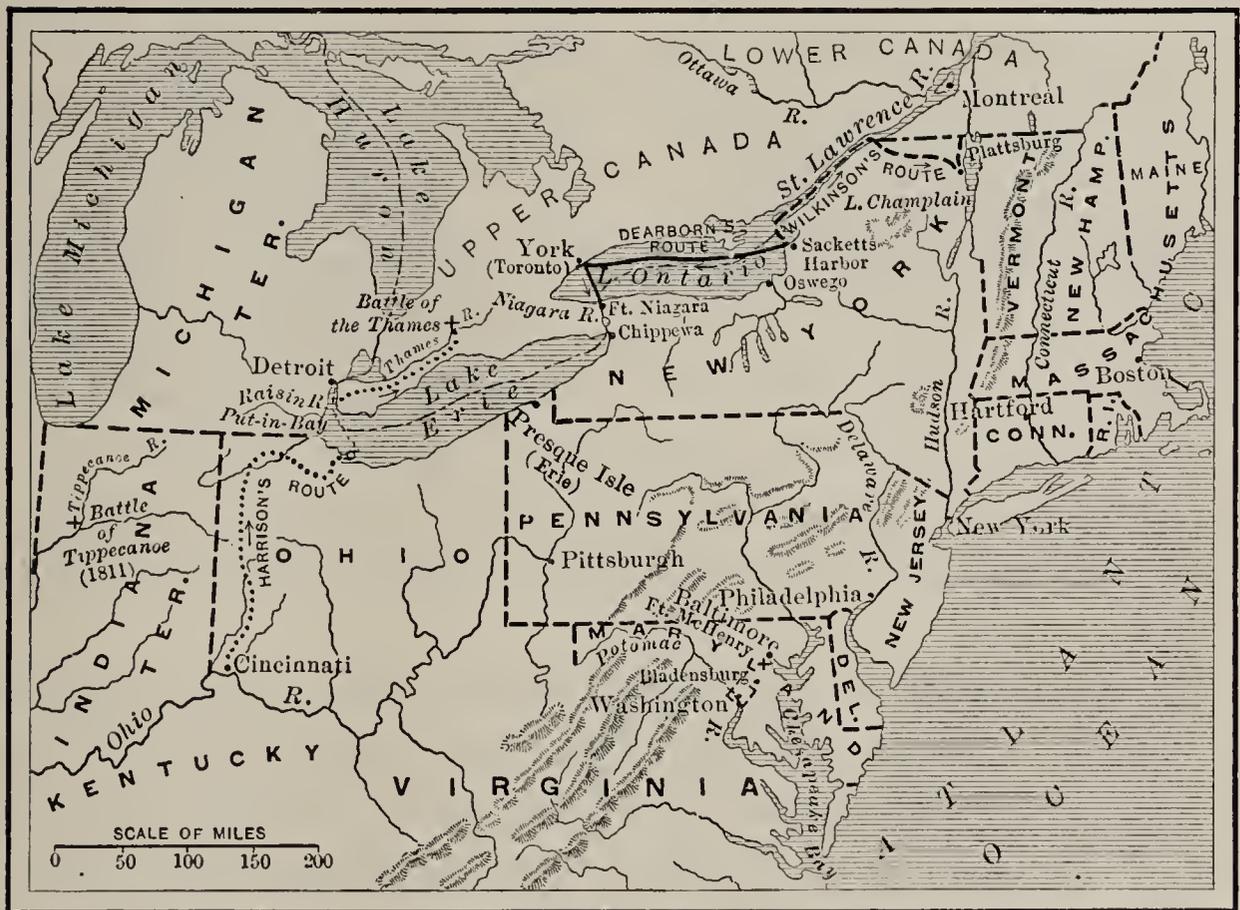
II. WAR IN THE NORTH

Canada. — England had one very vulnerable spot in North America — Canada, that vast country which she had taken from France a half century before and which now contained about one tenth as great a population as the United States. Most naturally the United States planned to invade Canada, and hoped to conquer and annex that great country. It was not so much land-greed that led to desire of the invasion of Canada; it

was more a belief that it would put an end to Indian massacres, supposed to be inspired by British fur-trading interests.

Hull Surrenders Michigan. — Henry Dearborn, an old Revolutionary soldier, was made commanding general. He had never commanded an army and it was not long before he proved himself incapable of doing so. Another of the Revolutionary leftovers was William Hull, who was in command of Michigan Territory and the garrison of Detroit.

It happened that the British had in Canada at this time an able commander in General Isaac Brock. He made a dash to



WAR OF 1812

capture Detroit. Hull had been a brave soldier and was a true patriot. His force was about equal to Brock's, but at this moment when he might have made an immortal name for himself his courage deserted him. He raised the white flag and all Michigan passed to the control of the British.

Battle of Queenstown, Oct. 13, 1812. — General Brock hastened back to Niagara with his prisoners. Two months

later came the battle of Queenstown along the rocky heights on the Canadian side of the roaring Niagara. The British, through superior numbers, won the victory; but they lost far more than they won — they lost General Brock, who was killed by a bullet in his breast. It has been said that it was Isaac Brock who saved Canada to the British Empire. Certainly he was an able commander, and during the remainder of the war there was none to fill his place.¹

The American people were disheartened at these two disasters — Detroit and Queenstown — but the next year was to tell a different story in the lake region. It was very important to the Americans to have control of the lakes, Erie and Ontario. Lake Erie was held by a small British squadron under Captain Robert H. Barclay, who had fought under Nelson in the famous battle of Trafalgar.

Perry's Victory on Lake Erie. — Oliver Hazard Perry was chosen to dispute the possession of Lake Erie with the British commander. Perry was still a young man, but he had seen service in West Indian waters and in the Mediterranean. He arrived at Presque Isle (now Erie, Pa.) in the spring of 1813. A small fleet was built from timbers of the surrounding forest.

The action between the two fleets took place near Put-in Bay on September 10, 1813. Perry had ten vessels, Barclay had six. The two squadrons grappled about noon in deadly combat. Perry had named his flagship the *Lawrence* and on a blue banner was the inscription, "Don't give up the ship." The meaning of this we shall see on a later page. Three of the British ships concentrated their fire on the *Lawrence*. All three were badly torn and crippled, and the *Lawrence* was entirely disabled. When Perry saw that his flagship was put out of action, he leaped into an open boat and, with a few sailors, one of whom was his brother, a boy of twelve years, rowed to the *Niagara*, his best surviving vessel. The Ameri-

¹ A magnificent monument 300 feet in height marks the spot where Brock fell.

cans then closed in and fought at close range until the British surrendered. While the smoke of battle was still in the air Perry wrote his famous message, "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

By the winning of this battle Perry won for himself undying fame. The American people, depressed by the early losses of the war, now rejoiced greatly. The victory gave the entire



THE PERRY MEDAL

The Latin inscriptions read: "Oliver H. Perry, commander, subdued the whole fleet on Lake Erie. Valor finds or makes a way. Between American and British fleets, Sept. 10, 1813."

control of Lake Erie to the United States and above all it rendered the holding of Michigan by the British impossible. Had that great territory remained in the hands of the British to the end of the war, they might have insisted with much reason that it be retained and added to Canada.

William Henry Harrison. — General William Henry Harrison was the man who actually recovered Michigan, after Perry had made it possible. Harrison, a future President of the United States, had become a popular hero two years before by defeating the Indians in Indiana at the battle of Tippecanoe. He was now commander in the Northwest and did not find it difficult to collect a good army. The disgrace of the surrender of Detroit by Hull had stirred the western country to a patriotic fervor.

Tecumseh and the Thames. — The British in that section were under the command of General Proctor, who sought only to save his army and escape. He abandoned Detroit and fled day after day before the oncoming Americans. More than half his army were Indians, led by the great Indian chief Tecumseh, who was no doubt one of the ablest of all Indian warriors ever known to the white race. He upbraided Proctor for fleeing before the Americans. On the banks of the Thames, a little river flowing into Lake St. Clair, he made a stand and declared they would retreat no farther. Then occurred the battle of the Thames, October 5, 1813. "I shall die in battle to-day," said the great Indian chief, as he handed his sword to a friend, requesting that it be given to his son.

This battle was not very bloody, but it was very decisive. The British and Indians were completely routed. Hundreds of them were taken prisoners, and Tecumseh was among the slain.

With the American victory at the Thames the Indians ceased to be a factor in the war and the whole Northwest was henceforth free from the enemy. Harrison sent his Kentuckians home rejoicing and embarked on Perry's fleet to Niagara. The commander here was Jacob Brown, a Pennsylvania Quaker and one of the ablest generals the war produced.

Battle of Lundys Lane. — The desperate battle of Lundys Lane was fought on July 25, 1814, and continued till almost midnight. It was near the great falls of the Niagara, and the roar of the falling water was answered by the boom of artillery. For several hours the armies swayed to and fro, each finding its target by the light of the enemy's fire. Both General Brown and the British commander were wounded. This murderous night battle may be considered a draw as it decided nothing.

Macdonough's Victory. — Later in the summer Sir George Prevost, governor-general of Canada, decided on an invasion of northern New York. Marching from the St. Lawrence Valley at the head of 12,000 men, many of them veterans who had fought against Napoleon at Waterloo, he reached the region

of Lake Champlain in September. But he was speedily defeated and at the same time a British fleet on Lake Champlain was defeated and captured and its commander killed by an American fleet commanded by Thomas Macdonough.

III. WAR ON THE SEA

Our Navy. — Let us now return to the first year of the war and review briefly the struggle on the ocean. America made no pretense of equalling Great Britain on the sea. Our navy was a pygmy compared with hers. But we had a few good ships and a large number of "true blue" seamen. They proved themselves, man for man, better marksmen and better seamen than their antagonists. Only a few of the sea fights can be noticed here.

The Constitution Defeats the Guerrière. — One of our finest warships was the *Constitution*, a 44-gun frigate. It was commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of the man who had



THE *CONSTITUTION* (OLD *IRONSIDES*)

From a model in the Marine Museum in the Boston State House.



NAVAL BATTLES IN THE WAR OF 1812

The first ship named in each battle is the American ship; the second is the British.

surrendered Detroit. While cruising about 800 miles from Boston Hull sighted the *Guerrière* (gër-yâr'), a British frigate of 38 guns under Captain Dacres (dā'kerz). Each recognized the other as a mortal enemy, and here on the rolling deep they both cleared their decks for action.

Captain Dacres had challenged any American ship to a naval duel. A London paper had declared, "There is not a frigate in the American navy able to cope with the *Guerrière*." Another had pronounced the *Constitution* "a bunch of pine boards, under a bit of striped bunting." Here was the opportunity for Captain Dacres to make a name for himself.

"All hands clear the ship for action," cried the boatswain on the *Constitution*, and every man rushed to his place of duty. The battle lasted but half an hour, "but in that one half hour," writes one historian, "the United States of America rose to the rank of a first-class power."¹

The *Guerrière* was a hopeless wreck; every mast was gone; thirty shot had pierced her hull; seventy-nine of her brave crew lay dead or wounded. Dacres had surrendered. Hull took his prisoners on board the *Constitution* and set sail for Boston. Only fourteen of his own crew had been killed or wounded.

Great was the rejoicing in Boston when Hull entered the harbor with the story of the victory and with the prisoners — the crestfallen Dacres and his surviving crew. All over the country Hull was lauded as a conquering hero. Congress voted him a gold medal and fifty thousand dollars, a prize for his valiant crew.

Decatur Captures the Macedonian. — A similar victory was won on October 25, 1812, far out in the Atlantic, near the Azores, by Stephen Decatur, the commander of the *United States*, known to the public for his daring deed in destroying the

¹ Henry Adams. By this he meant that this war raised the rank of the United States to the first class and that this sea fight was a turning point in the war.

Philadelphia in the harbor of Tripoli eight years before. Decatur defeated and captured the *Macedonian*, brought his prize to New York, and was received with the same joyful acclamations that had been given to Hull. Other victories followed.¹

Such successes could not be expected to continue without a break, and no thoughtful American pretended to believe that our little navy could compete in the end with the powerful British navy. But the result of these early victories was not merely an "artificial fillip to American patriotism," as one historian puts it; it broke the spell of British naval supremacy, gave the Americans grounds for much-needed encouragement, and produced consternation in England. For months the London papers were busy trying to explain how it all came about.²

"Don't Give Up the Ship." — The first notable British victory on the sea came on June 1, 1813, and after many of the fine British vessels had been defeated and captured. This victory was the capture of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon*. Captain James Lawrence commanded the *Chesapeake*. Though still a young man, Lawrence was a veteran of the war in the Mediterranean and had been with Decatur in the burning of the *Philadelphia*. He was known to be one of the bravest young commanders in the American navy.

The two vessels met in the Atlantic near Boston. The battle was short and bloody. Lawrence received a mortal wound. As he was carried below he cried again and again, "Don't

¹ Other naval battles resulting in victory for the Americans were those between the *Wasp* and the *Frolic*, the *Essex* and the *Alert*, the *Constitution* (now commanded by Captain Bainbridge) and the *Java*, and the *Hornet* and the *Peacock*. The *Constitution* was renamed "Old Ironsides"; it still remains in Boston Harbor, where it is an object of great interest to those who visit it.

² One London paper said, "Any man who foretold such disasters this day last year would have been treated as a madman or a traitor. He would have been told that ere seven months had gone by the American flag would have been swept from the ocean, the American navy destroyed. Yet not one of the American frigates has struck. They leave their ports when they choose and return when it suits their convenience. They cross the Atlantic, they visit the West Indies, they come to the chops of the English Channel, they parade along the coast of South America. Nothing chases them; nothing intercepts them — nay, nothing engages them but to yield in triumph."

give up the ship." This became a rallying cry of the American people. It explains the motto of Perry a few months later on Lake Erie, and also the name of his hapless flagship (p. 276). The *Chesapeake* was captured and taken to Halifax, and the brave Lawrence, as a prisoner, died on the way.

Before the close of the war all our surviving naval vessels were bottled up in the harbors, guarded by British warships, except three that were roving the oceans at the coming of peace. Our early naval victories had a profound moral effect upon the people and opened the eyes of the English as nothing had ever done, but they did not greatly cripple the British navy. Far different was the case with the privateers.

The Privateers. — A privateer is a privately owned vessel that receives a commission to arm and cruise in time of war against the enemy's shipping. About 250 American ships received such commissions during this war, and their depredations against the British merchant ships proved to be the most damaging blow inflicted on the enemy during the whole period. The privateers were armed with several small guns and with one long gun mounted on a swivel so that it could be turned to shoot in any direction. This was called the Long Tom. Thus equipped, the privateers roved all seas — the Atlantic, the Pacific, and the Indian oceans — searching for British merchant ships and taking them captive whenever possible. They even made captures in the English Channel and around the coasts of Ireland and Scotland. In all about 1600 ships were captured by the roving, reckless American privateers; but many of these were recaptured by British war vessels before reaching port.

Privateering may seem a barbarous means of warfare, but certainly it is not more barbarous to capture property on the sea than to kill men on land or sea. It is doubtful if England would have been ready to make peace when she did had it not been for the fearful wounds she was receiving through these bold and daring rovers of the sea, the American privateers.

IV. CAPTURE AND BURNING OF THE CAPITAL

The humiliation to the American people of seeing their own capital city captured and most of the public buildings burned was a part of their war experience of 1814.

Battle of Bladensburg. — A British fleet under Vice Admiral Cochrane, with an army under General Ross, made a landing, and a march toward Washington was soon under way. At Bladensburg, a village six or seven miles from the capital, a small American army met the British (August 24, 1814) and here a battle took place. President Madison and the members of his Cabinet were present when the fight began, but they were soon galloping back to Washington. Many of the untrained Americans fled at the first fire and the enemy was not long delayed in his march.

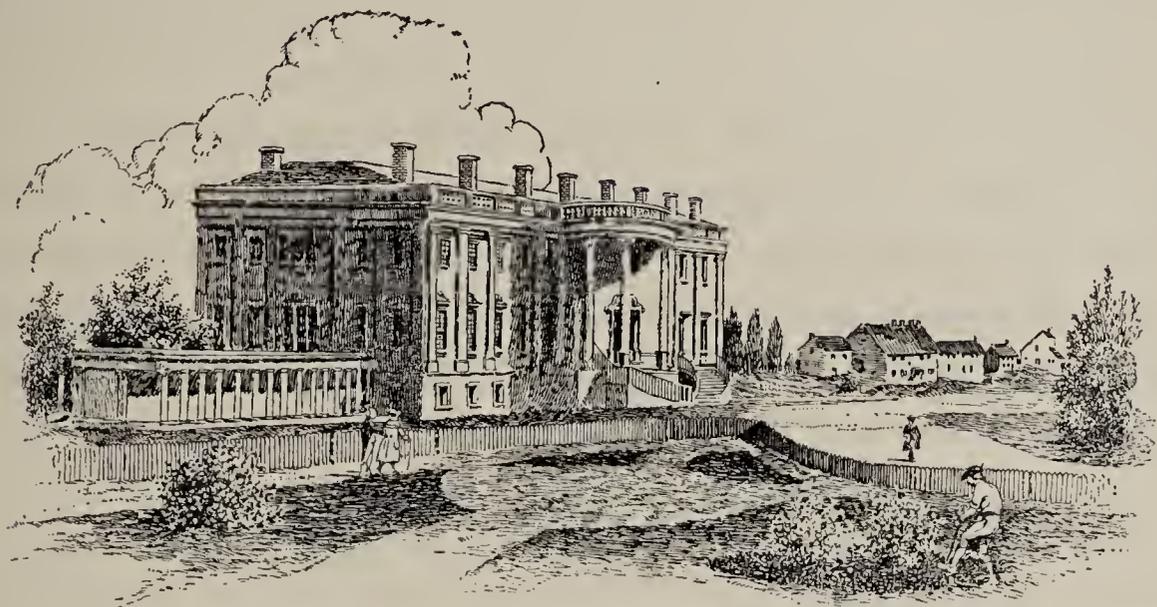
Flight of Dolly Madison. — After this battle the British moved to the edge of Washington, then a village of 8000 inhabitants. The President and his Cabinet had fled in various directions. The President's wife — Dolly Madison as the world knows her — had waited as long as it was deemed safe before she left the White House. At three o'clock in the afternoon she sent a note to her sister:

“Three o'clock, will you believe it, my sister? We have had a battle near Bladensburg, and here I am still, within sound of the cannon. Mr. Madison comes not. May God protect us. Two messengers covered with dust came to bid me fly; but here I mean to wait for him.”

Later in the day, however, she fled from the capital after having many valuable things carried away in wagons. The most precious things she saved were the fine large portrait of General Washington, painted by Gilbert Stuart, and the original parchment on which was written the Declaration of Independence. Not until next day did Dolly Madison know that her husband was safe.

Burning of the Capitol. — That night was a memorable night

in Washington. General Ross and a few other officers, accompanied by about 200 men, entered the town. They set the Capitol building on fire. They then went to the White House, the home of the President, and set that building on fire. The navy yard and all the public buildings except the Patent Office were burned.



THE WHITE HOUSE, BEFORE THE WAR OF 1812

Most Englishmen condemn the burning of Washington by their countrymen, although General Ross announced that it was an act of retaliation for previous destruction of buildings by Americans in Canada. One London paper said, "Willingly would we throw a veil of oblivion over our transactions at Washington." Knight, the English historian, says that the feeling in England was that the act was "an outrage inconsistent with civilized warfare," and he points out the fact that from this time to the end of the war the Americans won in every contest.

Baltimore. — The British made a serious blunder in attacking Washington first and giving the greater city of Baltimore time to fortify and protect itself. At daybreak on September 11 the British fleet was within twelve miles of Baltimore. Next day Ross with a land force began a march toward the city. He was met by a band of a few hundred militia. A sharp skirmish ensued and Ross received a bullet in the breast. He fell to the ground mortally wounded and died within an hour.

The Star-Spangled Banner. — The army was supported by the British fleet, which, coming within two miles of Fort McHenry at the head of the harbor, opened a terrific cannonade. For twenty-five hours the bombardment was kept up, but the fort held out and only four men were killed within it.

This incident furnished the occasion for the writing of our national hymn. The young American poet, Francis Scott Key, a resident of the District of Columbia, in a little boat rowed out to the British fleet under a flag of truce to ask the release of a captured friend. He was not allowed to return till the next day and he spent the night watching the grand spectacle. By the powder flashes he saw the flag waving above the fort and when morning came it was still there. Then he wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner*.

V. GENERAL JACKSON AND NEW ORLEANS

Pakenham. — During the autumn of 1814 rumors were plentiful that a great British fleet and army would soon be sent to our southern coast, for the purpose of turning against us the Spaniards, the French, and the Indians in that region and perhaps of seizing the whole Gulf coast.

The rumors proved true. A fleet of fifty vessels bearing a thousand heavy guns and 16,000 fighting men, many of whom had seen service in the European wars, cast anchor in southern waters early in December. The commander of the army carried by the fleet was General Sir Edward Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, the victor of Waterloo.

Coming of Jackson. — The people of New Orleans were terrified when they knew that the enemy fleet was approaching. They had no leader; they had no means of defending their city. Then came General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, and there was magic in the news that he had come. After subduing the hostile Indians of Tennessee and Alabama he went to New Orleans.

Accompanying "Old Hickory," as Jackson came to be called, were some hundreds of rough and sinewy militia from the wild

frontier of Tennessee — men of hard, determined faces, wearing buckskin or homespun clothes, wolfskin caps, and bearing long rifles on their shoulders.

Jackson made preparation with all his fiery energy to meet the coming foe. When necessary he remained in the saddle day and night, collecting his forces and munitions and directing the throwing up of earthworks.

Slowly General Pakenham moved his army up the river to a point six or seven miles from New Orleans. Jackson had thrown up a strong embankment a mile long and this would have to be stormed and captured before the city could be taken. Pakenham courageously decided to make the assault.

Battle of New Orleans. — No one on this side of the Atlantic knew that the coming battle was unnecessary because peace terms had been signed at Ghent on December 24. The ship that bore the tidings was battling with the wintry tides in mid-ocean.

At break of day on that fateful January 8, 1815, the Americans, crouching behind their embankments, saw the scarlet lines of the British army approaching. Soon the American artillery opened fire on the advancing lines and cut great lanes through their ranks. As the British came nearer they were cut down in hundreds by Jackson's musketry. Driven back, the British rallied and came again and again, only to be mercilessly mowed down.

General Pakenham rode to the front of his retreating columns and cried, "For shame! Remember that you are British soldiers." A musket ball shattered his arm, but he continued to cheer his men. Again he was shot and with him his horse. In a few moments he was dead. General Gibbs, the second in command, took charge of the battle, but he too was killed.

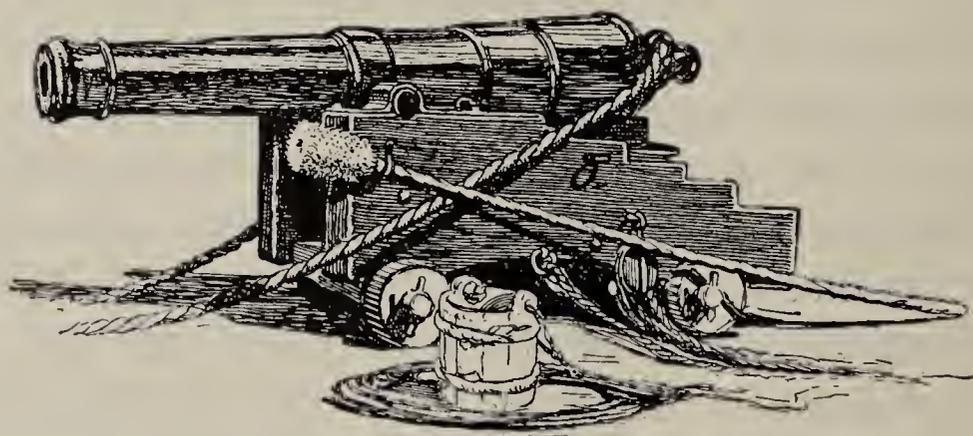
In a few hours the battle of New Orleans was over. The British loss was 2600 men; the Americans lost twenty-one — eight killed and thirteen wounded. At the same time on the other side of the river, where a lesser battle was going on, the British gained some advantage; but on the whole the defeat

at New Orleans was one of the most drastic ever suffered by a British army.

The battle of New Orleans had nothing to do with bringing peace; but it was a great American victory. It made Jackson the most popular man in the country and it strengthened American pride. The British soon embarked in their waiting ships and sailed for Europe. The war was over.

Never since that day at New Orleans have the English and American people come to blows on the field of battle.

Results of the War. — It was not possible for England to point out a single advantage gained by this war with the United States. On the other hand, it proved a source of real gain to America — not in territory, for the boundaries remained the same as before — but in fostering national pride and in cutting us from the leading strings of Europe. That war raised us to the rank of a first-class power and never from that day to this have the nations of the world regarded us in any other light.



NAVAL GUN OF THE PERIOD 1812-1815

An Example of Disarmament. — Soon after the close of the war Great Britain prepared to increase her defense of the Canadian border on the land and on the lakes. President Madison then proposed that both nations agree not to fortify the boundary line at all. After thinking it over for a year or two, the British government agreed to the proposal and the agreement was signed in Washington in April, 1817. Each nation could keep one vessel with one gun on each lake and no more.

The boundary line between the United States and Canada is by far the longest in the world between two nations — nearly 4000 miles, over mountains and valleys, across rivers and through great lakes. Yet for a hundred years the two nations, without a fortress or a soldier or a warship, have developed side by side in the most friendly relations. Why should not other nations learn a lesson from this?

SIDE TALK

Incidents of the Battle of New Orleans. When Pakenham landed his army and moved up the river he occupied the Villeré (vē-l-ērā') plantation. Major Gabriel Villeré, son of the proprietor, was sitting in front of the house when he observed some men in red coats approaching. In the hope of escaping capture, young Villeré rushed through the house and out a back door; but here stood several armed men and he was captured and was confined in a room under guard.

Knowing the great importance of apprising General Jackson of the coming of the British, Villeré determined to escape if he could and carry the news to him. Suddenly he knocked aside several of his guards, leaped through a window, cleared a picket fence with a bound and ran to the cypress forest. Fifty men were soon in hot pursuit and the leader cried, "Catch him or kill him." Villeré was a swift runner and soon left his pursuers far behind. But they surrounded the wood and Villeré climbed a tree and hid in its foliage. Looking down he saw his pet dog, that had followed without his knowledge. Certainly it would betray him. What could he do? Sadly, heroically, he descended, killed the dog with a club, hid its body, and again climbed the tree.

The British failed to find him. A few hours later he crept to the river, crossed, and, securing a fleet horse, rode to the city and told the commanding general of the whereabouts of the enemy. Villeré lived to be an old man and in later years when he told the story his eyes always filled with tears when he referred to the sacrifice of his faithful dog.

After the battle of New Orleans was over, five hundred British soldiers rose unhurt among the dead and wounded. Seeing they were in a death-trap, as they explained, they had dropped down pretending to be shot, and thus saved their lives. The Americans also found a bugler, a boy of fourteen, in a tree, in the midst of the battle ground. This gallant young Briton had sat in the tree blowing his horn when the bullets were whistling past him and the killed and wounded were falling all around him.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. I. In what way can a President "choose" his successor? Relate the incident of the *President* and the *Little Belt*. Who were the leaders in Congress desiring war with Great Britain? Why did we choose to fight Great Britain and not France? Why did the New England governors refuse to send troops?

II. What was the object in invading Canada? What can you say of General Brock? Why did Hull surrender Detroit? Describe the battle of Queenstown; of Lake Erie. Who was Tecumseh? What effect had the battle of the Thames on the rest of the war?

III. Compare our navy with that of Great Britain at the beginning of the war. What effect had our early sea victories on the American cause? Describe the privateering of this war.

IV. Describe the capture of Washington. How were the portrait of Washington and the parchment of the Declaration of Independence saved? Describe the attack on Baltimore; the occasion of the writing of *The Star-Spangled Banner*.

V. What object had the British in sending a fleet to New Orleans? Why was the battle of New Orleans unnecessary? Who was General Jackson? What were the results of the War of 1812?

Events and Dates. — Declaration of war, June 18, 1812. Surrender of Detroit. Battle of Queenstown. Battle of Lake Erie, Sept. 10, 1813. Burning of the public buildings of Washington, 1814. Battle of New Orleans, 1815.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: The general histories already cited. Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*; Johnson, *War of 1812*; Roosevelt, *Naval War of 1812*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*; Brown, W. G., *Andrew Jackson*; Tomlinson, *The War of 1812*; Brady, *For the Freedom of the Sea*.

CHAPTER XXI

LOOKING FORWARD — MONROE AND ADAMS

JAMES MADISON, like Washington and Jefferson, after eight years in the presidential office retired to the rural home of his early life in Virginia. Faithfully for many years he had served his country and for twenty years longer he lived in retirement, enjoying the profound respect of the whole people. He was the last survivor of that band of statesmen who framed the Constitution, dying in 1836 at the ripe age of eighty-five.



WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

The oldest college in Virginia, founded in 1693. Among its graduates were Presidents Jefferson, Monroe, and Tyler, and Chief Justice Marshall.

James Monroe. — The next President was James Monroe, who for some years had been Secretary of State under Madison. Nearly all the people liked Monroe, though no one was

enthusiastic about him. He was not a popular hero, but he was level-headed, safe, candid, industrious.

It is a remarkable fact that one state, Virginia, furnished all our Presidents except one during the first thirty-six years of our national history. Monroe, like Jefferson and Madison, belonged to the Republican, later called the Democratic, party.

Monroe as a youth had left William and Mary College in the year of the Declaration of Independence to join the Continental Army at New York under Washington. He fought in the front ranks at White Plains, at Brandywine, at Germantown, and at Monmouth. After the war he was elected four times governor of Virginia, served in both houses of Congress, was American minister at Paris and at London, and helped to negotiate the Louisiana Purchase (p. 255).

I. "THE ERA OF GOOD FEELING"

Monroe's Tours. — The new President made an extended tour during the summer of 1817, and everywhere, even in Federalist New England, was received with great respect. He went to Boston, to Maine, through New Hampshire and Vermont, to Niagara, and as far west as Detroit, returning through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. Later he made a tour of the South.



VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1815. From an old print.

In these days of rapid transit and frequent presidential tours it is hard to realize what such an event meant in those days when few people ever traveled far from their homes and fewer still ever saw a President of the United States. It is said that farmers left the plow in the furrow and women left the cream in the churn and flocked to the cities and towns to see for the first time a real, live President of the United States.

While the President was in Boston, a Boston newspaper coined the phrase “Era of Good Feeling,” and we still use it to characterize the era of Monroe.

Florida. — Spain still had possession of the southern land in which Ponce de Leon had vainly searched for the fountain of youth. But Spain really had little use for Florida.

For years the United States had looked with covetous eyes on Florida, not because we needed more territory at the time, but because the Spaniards, the Indians, and negroes who had escaped from their masters, were forever stirring up trouble along our southern border.

In 1818 came a short war with the Creek and Seminole Indians in that region — a small affair as wars go, but it paved the way to our acquiring Florida. Also, it brought into great prominence for a second time the hero of New Orleans, General Jackson, who was chosen to command.

Jackson was successful at every turn. The war was soon over. The next year, 1819, on Washington’s birthday, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams and the Spanish minister signed a treaty conveying Florida from Spain to the United States. By the same treaty Texas — the land between the Sabine River and the Rio Grande, the ownership of which had been in dispute — was given up to Spain by the United States, and Spain relinquished all claim to land north of the parallel of 42° north latitude (maps on page 256 and following pages 180, 270, and 294).¹

¹ A treaty with Great Britain in 1818 fixed the northern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase at 49°, and left the Oregon country, west of the Rocky Mountains, under the joint sovereignty of both countries.

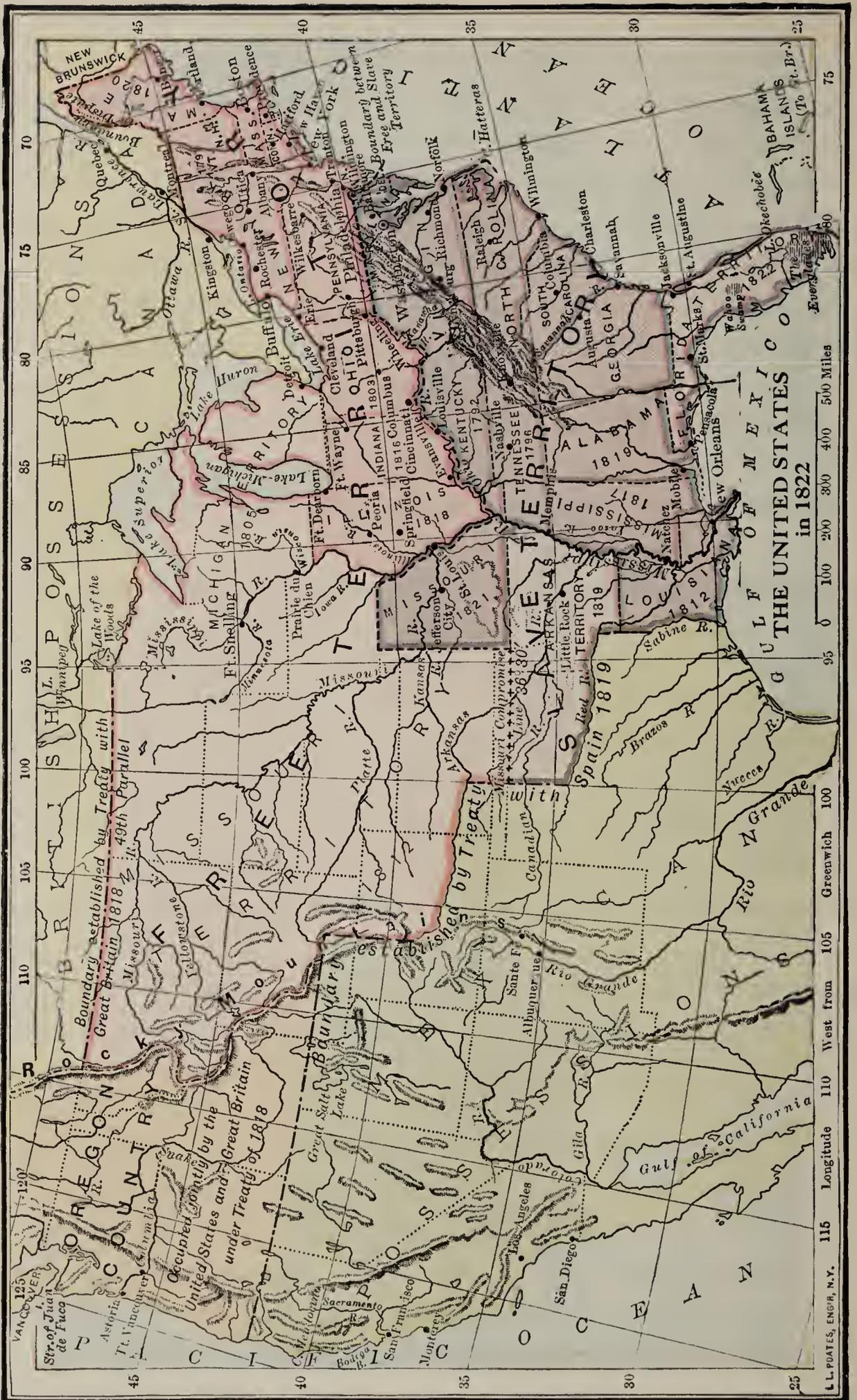
II. THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

The Slavery Question. — For a long period, more than forty years, before the Civil War the one great subject that engaged the public mind more than any other was the slavery question. It was not a political or partisan question, but rather sectional. The North and the South, as the years passed, grew farther and farther apart until at last their quarrel broke into dreadful war.

The cause of the contention lay in the fact that most of the people of the North believed slavery to be an evil and opposed its further extension; the South tried to extend slave territory and resented any interference from the North. The first serious quarrel between the two sections resulted in the Missouri Compromise.

The Louisiana Purchase was a vast region west of the Mississippi, inhabited by Indians and wild animals, with a few white settlers here and there. It was understood from the time of the purchase that sometime it would be carved into states and that these states would join the Union; but nothing was decided as to whether they should be free or slave states. That section of the purchase called Missouri had been settled rapidly and in 1818 it came to the door of Congress and asked for statehood. Then arose the great question, Shall it be a free or a slave state?

Missouri. — The slaveholders had stolen a march by settling in the territory and taking their slaves with them, and when Missouri asked for statehood, it was as a slave state. The North had grown listless on the slavery question. A law passed in 1807 forbade the further transporting of blacks from Africa and great numbers of people believed that the whole institution of slavery would die out in the South as it had in the North. When the Missouri question came up they saw their mistake. A proposal to make Missouri free was carried in the House, but was rejected by the Senate. The proposal to admit Missouri as a slave state was carried in the Senate but not in the House.



Facing 295

The great question was therefore left over to the next Congress. During the interval the people all over the country were deeply agitated over the subject. Immense mass meetings were held, the newspapers took up the matter, and state legislatures took action for or against slavery in Missouri. The country was divided on the great question by Mason and Dixon's line and the Ohio River.

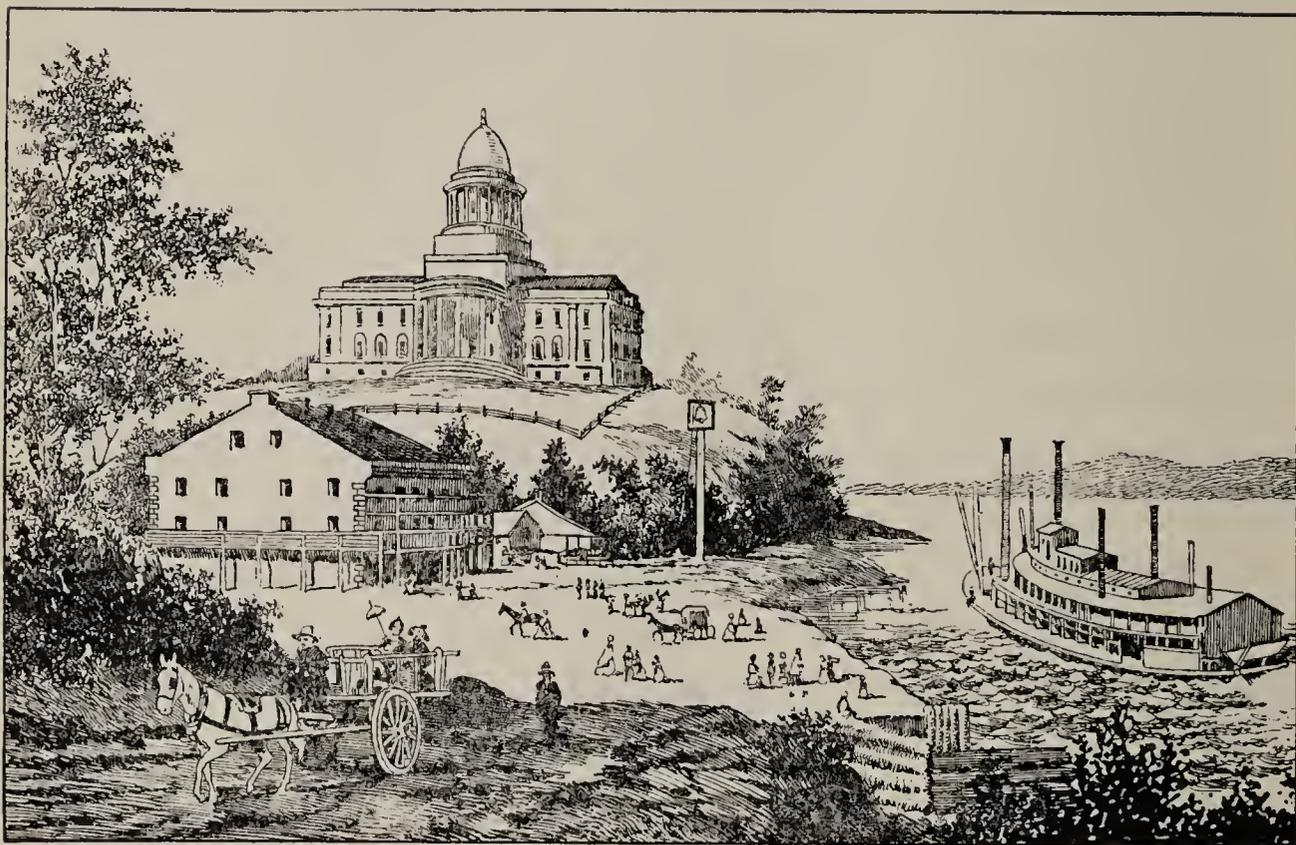
The chief purpose of the South in its determination to make Missouri a slave state was to retain its equal power with the North in the Senate. As there are two senators from each state, the South could prevent the making of any laws unfriendly to slavery so long as there were as many slave states as free states. In the House the South had lost all hope of ever regaining control, because representation in the House is based on population and the North had far outrun the South in that respect. Since the admission of Ohio in 1803, five more states had been admitted to the Union,¹ making twenty-two in all, of which eleven were free and eleven slave states.

Maine. — Before the Missouri question was settled Maine asked for admission as a state. From colonial days Maine had been a part of Massachusetts and that state had now given its consent for a separation. Thus two new states stood seeking admission to the sisterhood. Maine with a free constitution in her hand, stood at the northern gate, and Missouri with slavery at the southern.

The Compromise. — Then it occurred to some one to tack the two together and admit them in one bill. The South quickly agreed to this, but the northern members saw that by agreeing to it they would lose all for which they had contended. At length, however, they did consent to a compromise. This was that while Missouri should be admitted as a slave state, all the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30' north latitude (the southern boundary of Missouri), should be forever free. This

¹ Louisiana was admitted as a slave state in 1812; Indiana, free, in 1816; Mississippi, slave, in 1817; Illinois, free, in 1818; Alabama, slave, in 1819.

was the famous Missouri Compromise adopted by both houses early in March, 1820. Maine was admitted as a free state (1820), and Missouri, after some delay, as a slave state (1821).



CAPITOL OF MISSOURI, JEFFERSON CITY, 1845

Redrawn from a sketch of the time.

For the first time the two great sections of the country had come together in a fierce contest over slavery. It was ominous of the future. Who could then tell what would be the outcome? One of the clearest thinkers in America was the aged ex-President Thomas Jefferson. To a friend he wrote:

“From the battle of Bunker Hill to the Treaty of Paris we never had so ominous a question . . . it sleeps for the present, but is not dead. Like a fire bell in the night it awakened me and filled me with terror.”

The Missouri Compromise brought peace for about fifteen years. Then the slavery question came to the front again as the disturber of the peace of the nation, and henceforth it remained in the foreground winter and summer, day and night, for a quarter of a century — till the coming of the Civil War.

III. THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The name of James Monroe is better known throughout the world to-day than that of any other of our early Presidents except Washington; not because of his greatness, for he was only an average President, but because his name is inseparably linked with the world-famous Monroe Doctrine. How and why this "doctrine" was proclaimed is an interesting story. Let us take a glance at South America.

Spain in the New World. — For three hundred years Spain had claimed a very great portion of the New World through the discovery of Columbus. At the opening of the nineteenth century she still held all of South America except Brazil, all of Central America, and Mexico. But Spanish control of these colonies was greatly weakened when Napoleon took possession of Spain (p. 255). Napoleon was overthrown at Waterloo in 1815, but the Spanish colonies refused to return to their old allegiance; they struck for independence.

San Martin and Bolivar. — Two great leaders arose to pilot them to victory — General San Martin (sän mar-tēn') of Buenos Aires (now Argentina) and Bol'ivar of the north country. In 1817 San Martin made a wonderful passage of the Andes with an army, from the valley of the Plata to Chile, a greater feat than that of Napoleon in crossing the Alps, and liberated Chile and Peru from the yoke of Spain. Bolivar did the same thing for Venezuela and Colombia. The two great generals met in 1822, and in the same year the United States recognized the independence of the South American republics. Spain was loath to give up her colonies, though too weak to subdue them.

At a meeting in Vero'na in 1822 Spain pitifully put the matter before four of the great powers of Europe — Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France. They talked over plans for aiding Spain in subduing her former colonies in South America.

The people of the United States were deeply concerned in the matter. They knew of the long struggle of the South

American patriots, of the great march of San Martin and his army, of the toils and sufferings for many years while struggling to win what we had won in the Revolution. To see all that had been won snatched away from them by these European powers was more than the American people could endure.

The Famous Monroe Doctrine. — President Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, fully understood and shared the public feeling on this subject. England did not wish to see Spanish power restored, and George Canning, of the British Cabinet, proposed that the two countries issue a joint declaration against the designs of the European monarchs. But the United States preferred to act alone in the matter, and the President made a declaration on the subject in his annual message to Congress, December 2, 1823.

Here is the substance of the famous doctrine: “We should consider any attempt on their [the European powers’] part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.”

Thus the doctrine was put on the ground of protecting our own future, but our interest in the South American cause of liberty played its part also. A second object of the Monroe Doctrine was to stop further encroachments on the Pacific coast by Russia, the owner of Alaska. The doctrine was a notice to the powers of Europe that however land hungry they might be, they must keep their hands off the free portions of America, on pain of war with the United States.

The Monroe Doctrine has stood the test. Without bloodshed and with little effort on our part it has effectually guarded the gateway of the Western World for more than a hundred years.

IV. THE ELECTION OF 1824 — JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

By the time of the reelection of Monroe in 1820 the Federalist party had ceased to exist; the old Republican (Democratic) party had absorbed almost the whole people, and Monroe was elected almost without opposition. As there were now no

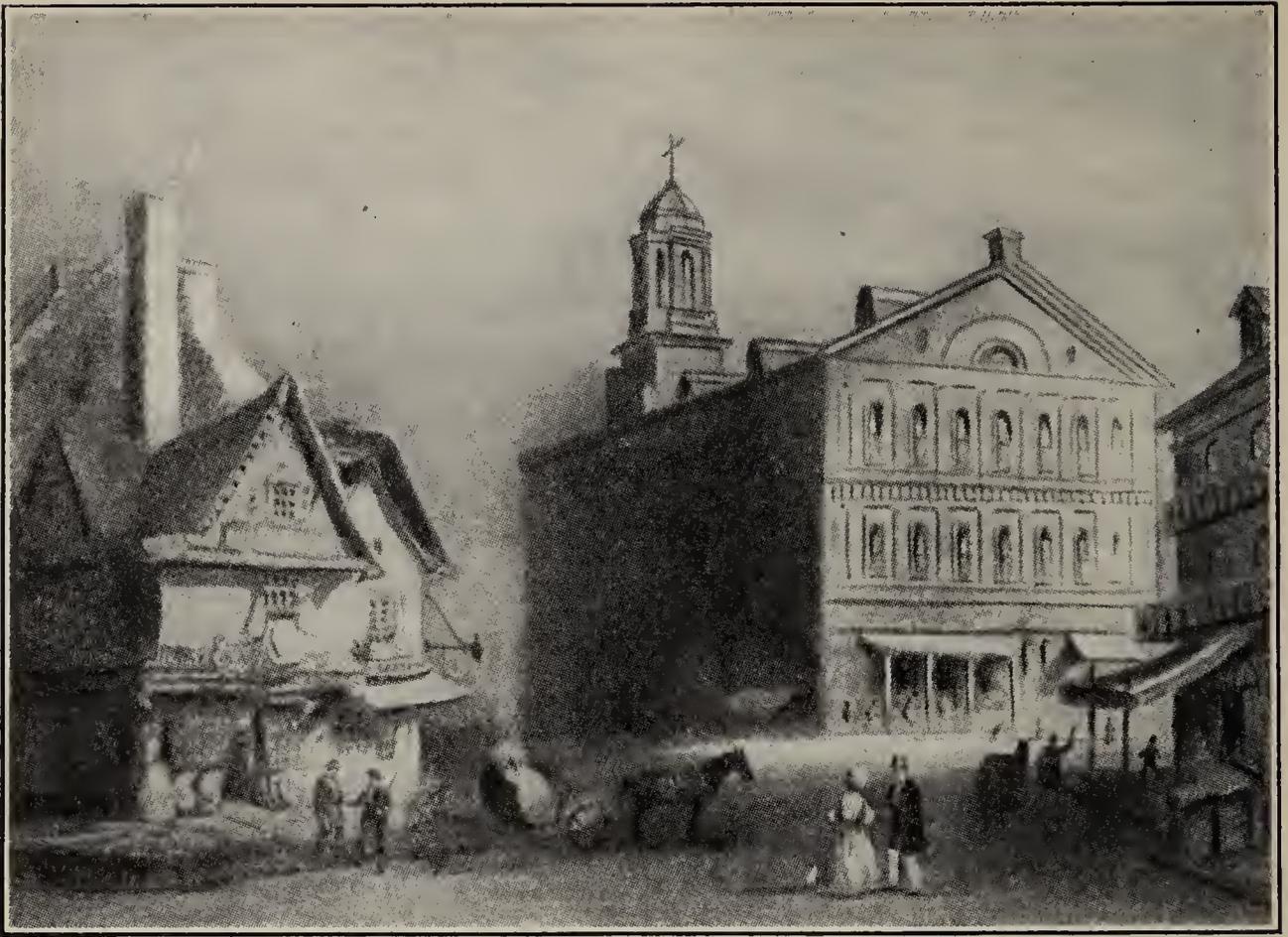
party lines, one would have supposed that the election of 1824 would be a tame affair. On the other hand, it proved to be one of the most hotly contested in our history. There were no party principles at stake. It was a purely personal contest, each candidate claiming to represent the true democracy.

Candidates in 1824. — Five candidates entered the lists two or three years before the time for election. First there was William H. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury in Monroe's Cabinet. Presently John Quincy Adams and John C. Calhoun, both of the same Cabinet, appeared; then came Henry Clay, Speaker of the House, and Andrew Jackson, the victor of New Orleans. All these aspired to the presidency in 1824. But Calhoun soon dropped out, became candidate for Vice President, and in due time was elected.

There were no national conventions to nominate candidates in those days; none in fact before 1830. Men were nominated by state legislatures, by mass meetings, and in various other ways. Crawford was nominated by a caucus, or special meeting, of members of Congress. A great meeting was held in Faneuil Hall in Boston to name Adams; various state legislatures named Clay, and others designated Jackson as their choice.

Both Jackson and Clay had risen by their own force of character from poverty and obscurity; both were tall and athletic; and each had a host of warm friends. Jackson, though a rough product of the frontier, had a dignified bearing that distinguished him from the ordinary man. Clay was ardent and buoyant, and was exceedingly animated in conversation.

John Quincy Adams, the son of a former President, was the only one of the candidates from a northern state and herein lay his greatest strength, for the support of the South was divided among three southern candidates. But Adams, like his father (p. 205), had not the quality of winning friends. He was cold and reserved. With all his great experience he made few or no personal friends. He stood aloof from all men and lived a lonely life. While the other candidates compassed sea and



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, WHERE ADAMS WAS NOMINATED

Presented to the city of Boston in 1742; called the Cradle of Liberty. From a picture made early in the nineteenth century.

land in their successful efforts to win friends and votes, Adams refused to lift a finger in his own behalf.

Adams Elected by the House. — When the returns were all in, it was found that no one had a majority of the electoral votes. Jackson led with ninety-nine; Adams had eighty-four, Crawford forty-one, and Clay thirty-seven. The election of a President, therefore, for the second time went to the House, and according to the Twelfth Amendment of the Constitution only the three highest on the list could be voted for in the House. This shut Clay out, for he was fourth.

The House elected Adams. Clay and his friends voted for Adams and after the election Adams appointed Clay Secretary of State in his Cabinet. The Jackson people declared that there had been a bargain, a corrupt bargain — that Adams had promised Clay this reward for his support. It is not

known that any such bargain existed, but Jackson's followers kept up the cry for many years. Clay perhaps was not wise to accept the position offered by Adams under the circumstances.

On March 4, 1825, James Monroe ended his half century of public life and retired to his home in Virginia. He lived six years longer, dying, as in the case of Jefferson and John Adams, on July 4, the national holiday. None of our Presidents ever retired with more friends and fewer enemies.

The Panama Congress. — The administration of John Quincy Adams presents little of importance, as his friends were a minority and both houses of Congress were against the President.

One of the first matters that came up for decision was the Panama Congress, which was especially favored by Secretary Clay. It had been conceived by Bolivar, the great South American leader, whose object was to extend American influence and offset the alliances of the Old World. President Adams appointed delegates and sent a message to Congress requesting an appropriation for their expenses. After a long and bitter debate the appropriation was made, but it was so late that the Panama Congress had adjourned and the project came to nothing.

The "Era of Good Feeling" had passed, and aside from some tariff legislation Congress spent its time in political intrigue. A new division into parties arose about this time. The Jackson and Crawford forces combined and definitely took the name Democratic. The other party, led by Adams and Clay, called themselves National Republicans, and a few years later were known as Whigs.

Jackson Defeats Adams. — Hundreds of government employees denounced the administration and openly worked for Jackson, but Adams refused to dismiss them and when his friends advised dismissal he froze them into silence and drove some of them to the opposition. He was as cold and unbending as a marble statue and his supporters fell away from him by thousands.

In the election of 1828 Adams stood for reëlection with Jackson as his opponent. Adams was the candidate of the wealthy manufacturers, the commercial class, especially in New England and the Middle States. Jackson was the idol of the "wild and woolly West"; also of the entire South, since the forces of Calhoun had joined his own; and again Calhoun was on the ticket for Vice President.

At the election Adams carried all of New England and received some electoral votes from the Middle States, but not one from the South and not one from west of the Alleghenies. Jackson was elected by a vote of more than two to one of the presidential electors.



THE LAFAYETTE MEDAL

Struck in honor of Lafayette's visit to the United States in 1824.

SIDE TALK

Visit of General Lafayette. — No other foreigner ever came to our shore and received so hearty a welcome as that given General Lafayette in 1824, when he paid his last visit to the land he had aided to win its freedom half a century before.

Returning to his native land after the Revolutionary War was over, Lafayette became a prominent figure in Europe. He spent much of his long life in the turmoil of French politics; he was in the midst of the storm

when the French Revolution swept the king from the throne. But when the violent Jacobin party gained control, he fled the country and later he spent five years in an Austrian prison. When offered his release on certain conditions, he declared that as a Frenchman and an American citizen he could not accept the offer.

To General Washington Lafayette had been greatly attached, and he named his son George Washington.

Lafayette landed in New York on August 15, 1824. When he found that he was to be a public guest and that the people had made the most elaborate preparations to do him honor, he was overcome with emotion. Six thousand citizens with flags and streamers escorted him into the city, his coming having been announced with boom of cannon.

A few of the old soldiers of the Revolution still survived, and the Frenchman took the greatest interest in recalling the scenes of the camp and the battlefield.

Lafayette remained in the country a little more than a year. He traveled in every one of the twenty-four states then existing, and spoke in many cities. Everywhere he was met by great crowds, the cities vying with one another in doing him honor. He visited General Jackson in Tennessee and ex-President Jefferson at Monticello; but the most touching of his visits was to the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon.

Returning from his western tour, Lafayette spent several months in the nation's capital, and he often visited the sessions of Congress. Here a genuine surprise awaited him. Congress voted him a township of land in Florida and \$200,000 in cash, not as a gift, but as "part pay for his Revolutionary services." This gift was welcome, for he had lost his fortune in the various changes of the French government.

Next to the visit to Mount Vernon, Lafayette's most interesting experience was witnessing the laying of the cornerstone of the Bunker Hill Monument at Boston. This took place on June 17, 1825, just fifty years after the famous battle. It was a great day for Boston. One writer says, "Everything that had wheels and everything that had legs used them to get to Boston." The few survivors of the battle were introduced to the French visitor — all privates except one, a Captain Clark, now bending under the burden of ninety-five years. The oration of the day was made by Daniel Webster, and the invocation was by the Reverend Joseph Thaxter, who fifty years before had stood on the same spot, just before the battle, and invoked the Divine blessing on the patriot cause.

In September Lafayette was taken back to his native land on the *Brandywine*, sent for the purpose by the government. He lived nine years longer, dying in 1834 at the age of seventy-eight. No doubt

Lafayette still holds a higher place in the American heart than any other foreigner.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give the early career of James Monroe. Name two members of Monroe's Cabinet. What was the origin of the expression "Era of Good Feeling?" Write an essay on the acquiring of Florida.

II. What great subject disturbed the peace of the country for many years before the Civil War? Why did the North oppose slavery in Missouri? Give the provisions of the Missouri Compromise.

III. Why is the name of Monroe so well known throughout the world? Who were San Martin and Bolivar? What was the Holy Alliance? What brought about the Monroe Doctrine? Write an essay on what in your opinion would be the condition of South America to-day if there had been no Monroe Doctrine.

IV. Name the various candidates for President in 1824. How did they nominate candidates in those days? Why did the selection go to the House? What was the object of the Panama Congress? Why was Adams such a poor vote-getter?

Events and Dates. — Acquisition of Florida, 1819. The Missouri Compromise, 1820. The Monroe Doctrine, 1823. Visit of Lafayette, 1824. The second election by the House, 1824.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Fish, *Development of American Nationality*; Cambridge *Modern History*, Vol. VII; Reddaway, *The Monroe Doctrine*; Woodburn, *Historical Significance of the Missouri Compromise* (Am. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1893); Biographies of Adams, Monroe, and Jackson.

FOR THE PUPIL: Fiske, *How the United States Became a Nation*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*.



OLD GATE AT ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

CHAPTER XXII

GROWTH OF INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION

I. INDUSTRIES AND MANUFACTURES

Inventions. — The first few decades of the nineteenth century did not produce many new inventions. An earlier period, as we have seen, produced the steam engine, the spinning and weaving machines, and the cotton gin; and successful steam navigation came early in the nineteenth century. After 1830 came the sewing machine, the mower and reaper, and the electric telegraph, to be noticed in a later chapter. But the first thirty years of the century were noted more for the application of old inventions than for the production of new ones.

Factories. — One of the good results of the War of 1812 and of the embargo that preceded it was the fostering of American manufacturing. During this period of more than seven years it was not possible to purchase goods from abroad, as foreign commerce was shut off, and the American people were obliged to supply their own wants. The result was that thousands of people turned to manufacturing.

An exception must be made of the great cotton belt of the South. The invention of Whitney had made the growing of the cotton plant most profitable, and in the belief that slave labor was unfit for manufacturing, the South left its great beds of coal and iron ore in the earth and gave its energies to the production of cotton for the markets of the world.

In the North, however, the building of new factories became almost a craze. From Maine to Maryland and on westward across the Alleghenies arose factories of every description — cotton mills, woolen mills, paper mills, tanneries, iron foundries,

salt, glass, and furniture factories. To farming and shipbuilding, the chief industries before the war, was now added the great industry of manufacturing.

Foreign Goods. — The British commercial classes discovered when too late what they had lost by the war. They had lost the greater part of the American market. From far back in the days of the colonies the English manufacturers had supplied the American market and they were loath to lose it.

What could be done? Surely the English would not give up without a struggle. They decided to flood America with cheap goods, cheaper than those made in America, and thus cripple or destroy the new industry by underselling the American rivals.

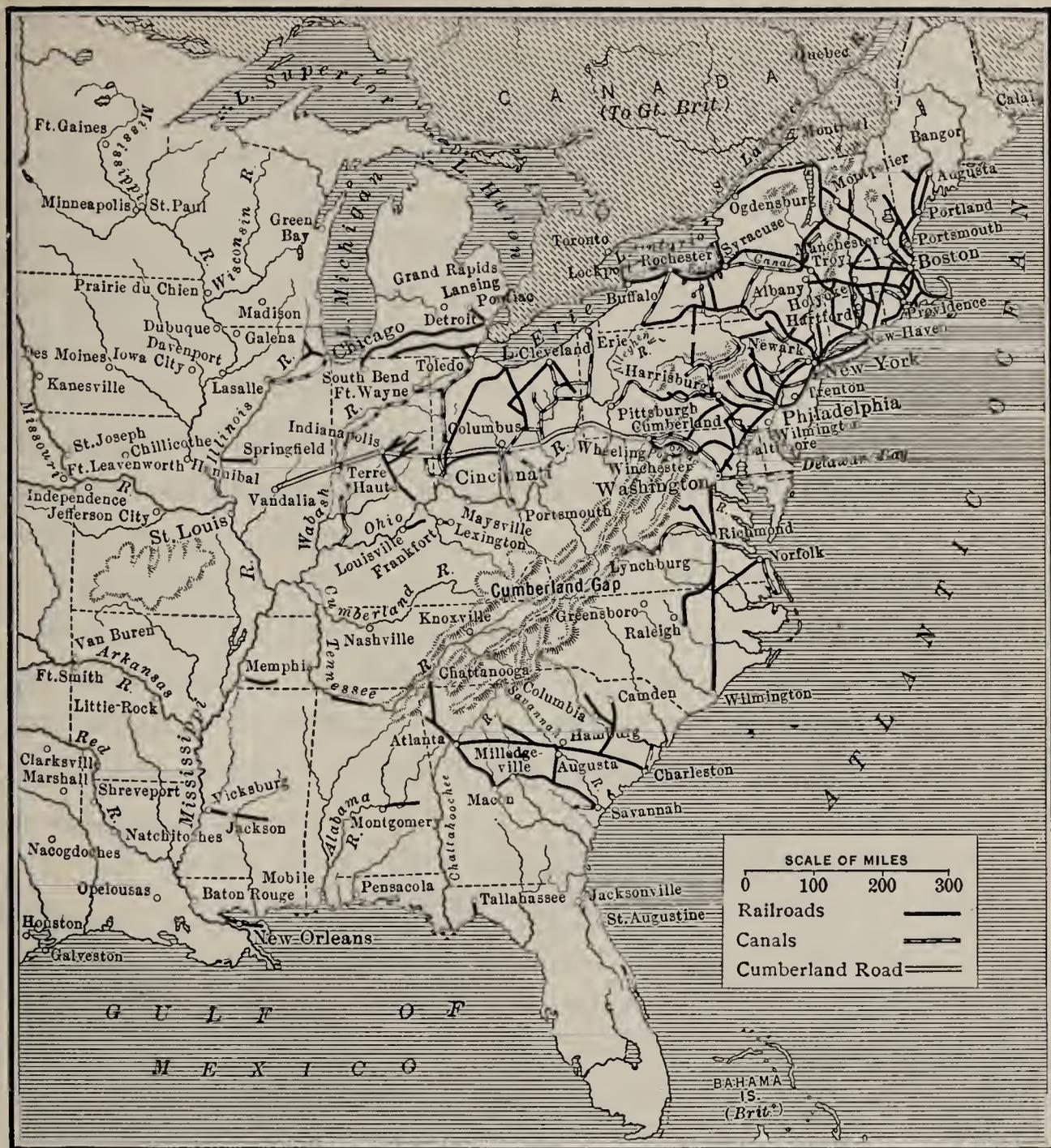
The moment peace was proclaimed the British merchants were ready. They sent to our markets great stores of merchandise that had been stacked in their warehouses. Great quantities of their goods were sold at auction. Within a year or two American goods were almost without a market and our woolen and cotton factories were threatened with ruin.

A Protective Tariff. — Then came the cry for a protective tariff. The woolen mills of New Jersey took the lead, followed by the spinners of Rhode Island; these were joined by the manufacturers of Maine, New York, and other states. The result was the enacting of the protective tariff of 1816, followed by a higher tariff in 1824. These tariffs were very effective. They helped to lay the foundation of our great manufacturing interests of to-day.

A tariff is merely a tax placed on foreign goods before they are permitted to be placed on the home market. It may be very helpful to "infant industries," but it raises the price to the consumer.

II. CANALS AND RAILROADS

Transportation. — As the valley of the Mississippi came to be settled by large numbers of people, a great problem confronted the nation as a whole — the problem of transportation.



CANALS, NATIONAL ROAD, AND RAILROADS, TO 1850

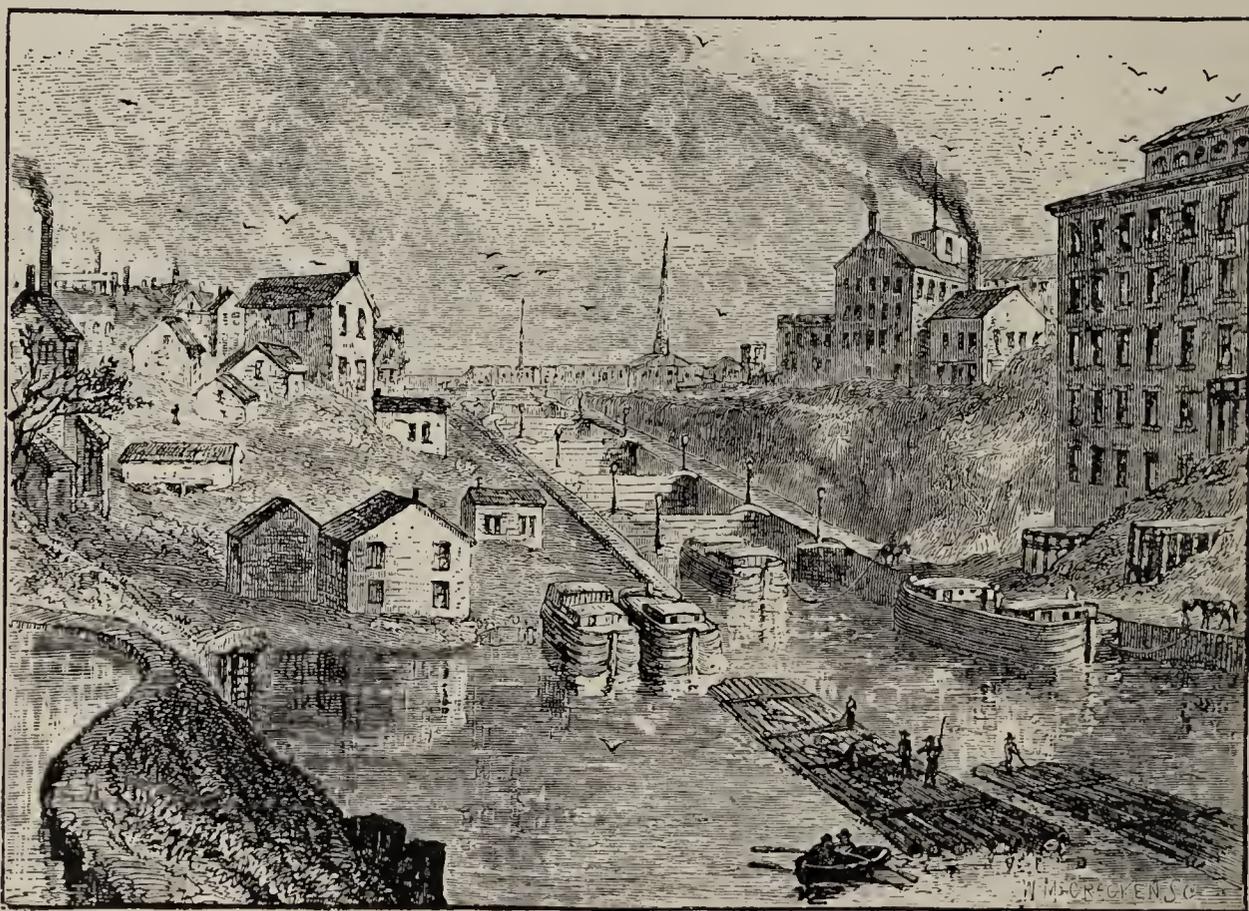
It seemed hardly possible that the East and the West could continue under one flag and one government unless better means of communication between them could be devised. It is true that, after the coming of the steamboat, the Ohio River furnished a great artery of trade between Pittsburgh and the West; but Pittsburgh was more than three hundred miles from the eastern seaboard, with a huge mountain barrier in the way.

Turnpikes and Canals. — Many of the states had built turnpikes, a wonderful improvement over the old dirt roads of

colonial times. Pennsylvania had, at great expense, constructed a turnpike between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, other states invested great sums of money in building such highways, and the national government built the Cumberland Road from the banks of the Potomac to Wheeling on the Ohio. But the turnpike could not solve the problem. The cost of transporting a ton a hundred miles was ten dollars, and at such rates it was impossible to ship corn and wheat from the center of the continent to the East.

Next came the era of canals. George Washington, before the Revolution, planned a canal from the Chesapeake to the Ohio River. It never was constructed; but another that he foretold — between the Hudson River and the Great Lakes — became a reality but twenty-six years after his death.

The Erie Canal. — Many short canals had been built during the early period, but the first great American canal was the Erie, from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, finished



ERIE CANAL: LOCKS AT LOCKPORT, NEW YORK
From an old woodcut.

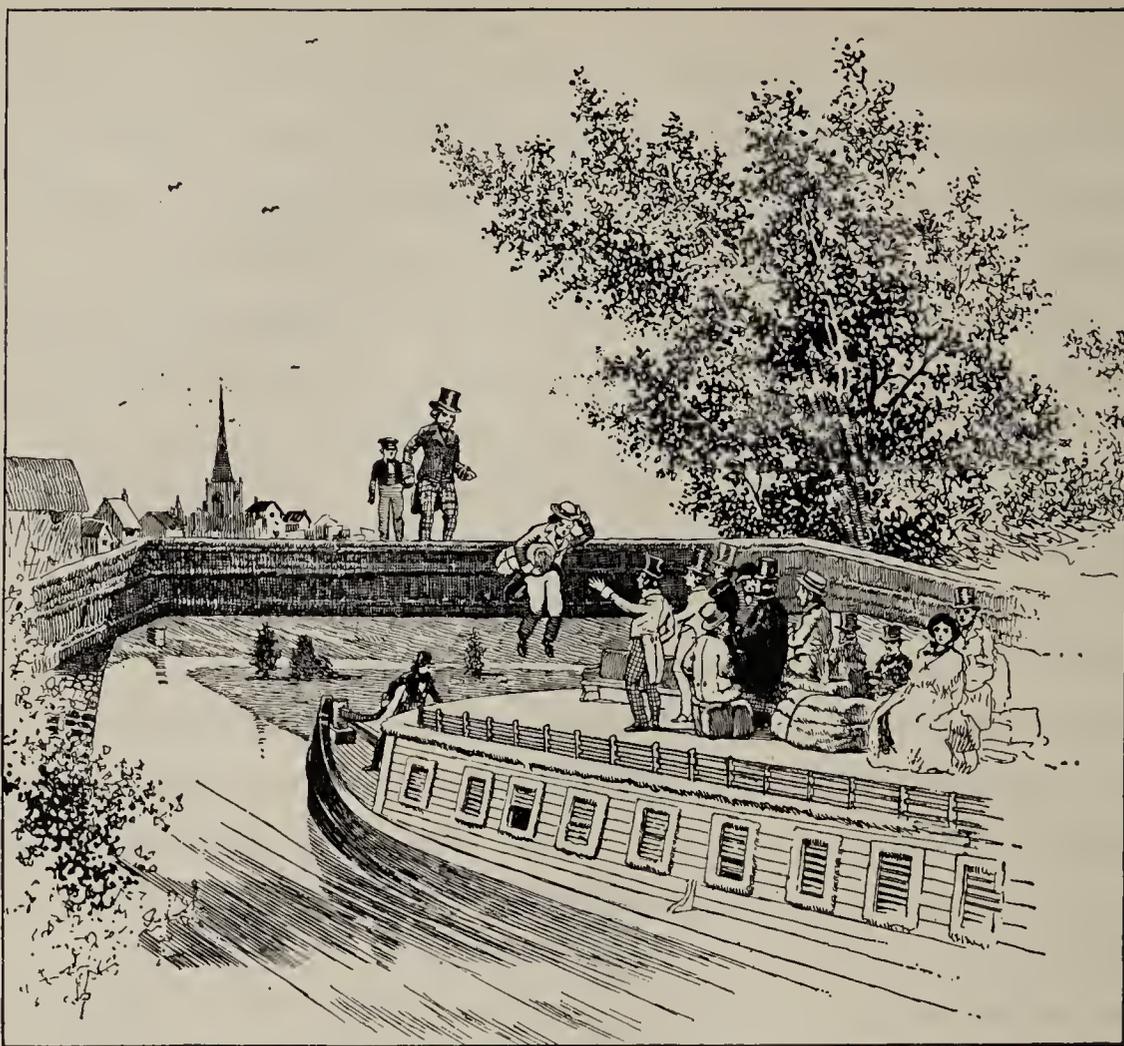
in 1825. It was often called "Clinton's big ditch," because Governor DeWitt Clinton was its chief projector. Begun in 1817, it required the labor of thousands of men, with pick and plow and spade and shovel, for eight years to complete it. The steam shovels of our time were then unknown.

In October, 1825, this great inland waterway was solemnly opened. Governor Clinton and others made the first trip in a small fleet, from Buffalo to Albany and down the Hudson to New York. As there was no telegraph or telephone at that time, the news of the opening was carried by cannon placed a few miles apart along the whole line, each being fired when the sound of the next preceding one was heard.

The progress of the fleet was hailed by thousands of people along the course with flags and music and shouts and the blowing of horns. Clinton poured a keg of water from Lake Erie into the Atlantic as a token of the uniting of the American "Mediterranean seas" and the Atlantic Ocean.

Its Importance. — The Erie Canal proved a wonderful boon to New York and the Northwest. Heavy, nonperishable freight such as grain, lumber, iron, and farm implements were soon moving through the new canal. It greatly increased farm values along the route and even the farmers of Ohio and Indiana were greatly benefited, for now they had an outlet for their grain and they could purchase farm implements for a fraction of their former cost.

Sometimes as many as fifty canal boats would pass a given point in a day. They were long and clumsy structures, each drawn by three mules or horses, walking on the "tow-path," one behind another, making about four miles an hour. Some of them carried passengers as well as freight, and in fine weather the passengers would stroll or sit on the roof until the helmsman would cry "Low bridge," when they would quickly scurry below. Sometimes a passenger would vary his journey by jumping ashore and walking to the next bridge. From it he would jump back upon his boat as it passed beneath.



PASSENGER CANAL BOAT

Redrawn from an old engraving. Passengers sometimes waited on a bridge and jumped from it as the boat passed beneath.

Other Canals. — The Erie Canal did wonders for the city of New York, but it worked hardships for Philadelphia, Baltimore, and many other towns. It took away a great part of the trade across the mountains which they had before enjoyed. Pennsylvania thereupon determined to have its own canal. It built one from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, except for a space of about forty miles over the mountains. Ohio cut a canal entirely across the state, from Cleveland to Portsmouth, joining Lake Erie and the Ohio River.

In fact there was a mania for canal building in many of the states, but while this was at its height a far swifter and more efficient means of transportation caught the public eye.

Canals were as old as the civilization of Egypt and Babylonia. Railroads were a great new factor in the course of human

progress, unknown before the nineteenth century. They were soon to revolutionize transportation, to connect with iron bands the Atlantic Coast and the great central valley of the continent, and to rob the canals of much of their value.

The First Railroads. — The first public railroad in the United States was the Baltimore and Ohio, begun in 1828 and opened for traffic in 1830. A little later the Pennsylvania Railroad was begun at Philadelphia, and in 1833 a railroad 137 miles in length was opened in South Carolina. One between New York and Philadelphia was opened in 1839.

The railroads, like the canals, were at first owned by the state, and any one having a car had the free use of the road, just as one now has of the public highways. But the states had already spent so much money for turnpikes and canals that there was an outcry against the heavy taxes. For this and other reasons the railroads soon passed into private hands, and so they remain to this day.

The rails at first were made of wood with iron straps or bands nailed on them. Horses and even sails were used to move the cars — single cars, not trains as at present. There were frequent turnouts, or switches, and whenever two cars met one had to turn out and let the other pass. Now and then there was trouble. When each driver of a car thought the other ought to be the one to turn out, a parley ensued and sometimes ended in a fist fight.

Soon after the first railroads were in operation steam engines began to be used to draw the cars and they proved so satisfactory that within a few years they replaced horses and sails altogether. (Side Talk, p. 315.)

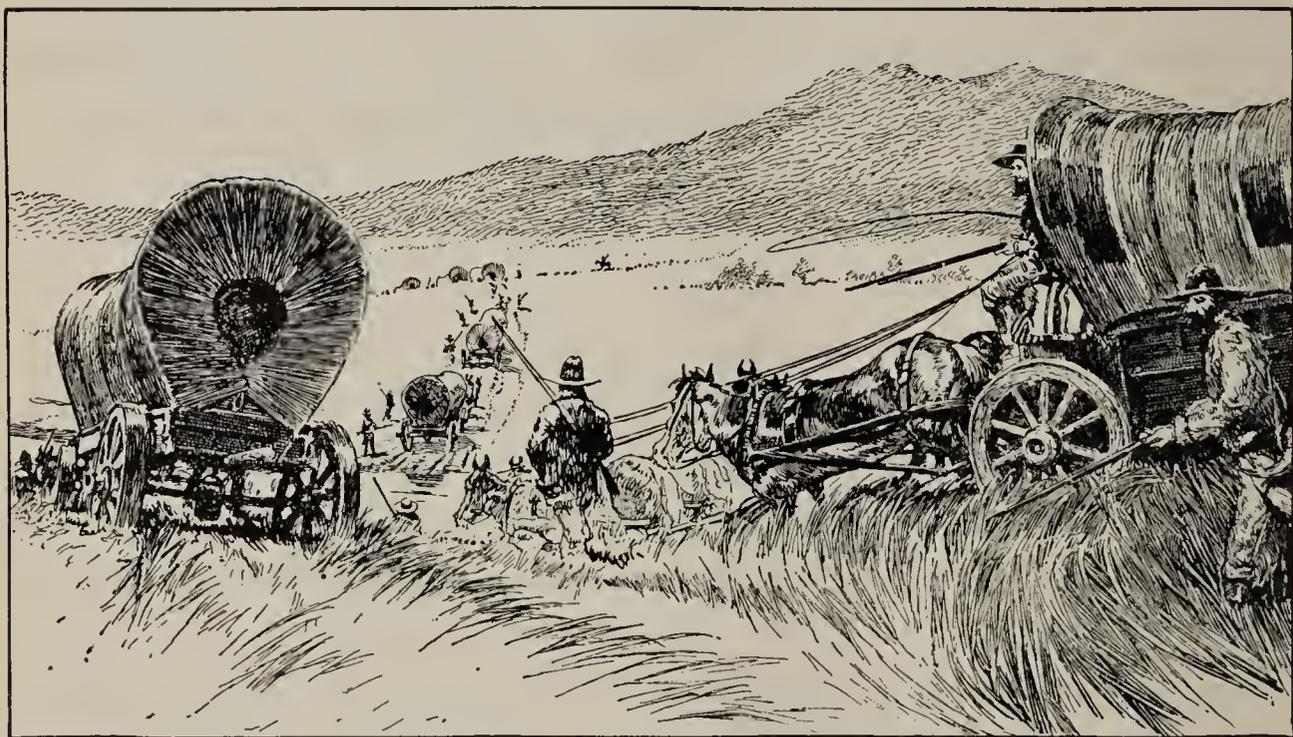
III. THE RISING WEST

In an earlier chapter we have studied the flow of population from the older settlements of the East across the Appalachian Mountain system into the Ohio Valley and Tennessee. We

must now take note of the still greater human wave flowing farther westward into the valley of the Mississippi after 1814.

Three main causes will account for the extensive westward movement of the people during the period following the War of 1812; first, the excellent land laws enacted by Congress; second, a period of hard times in the East when many factories were closed (p. 306); and third, a great, sudden influx of foreigners from Europe.

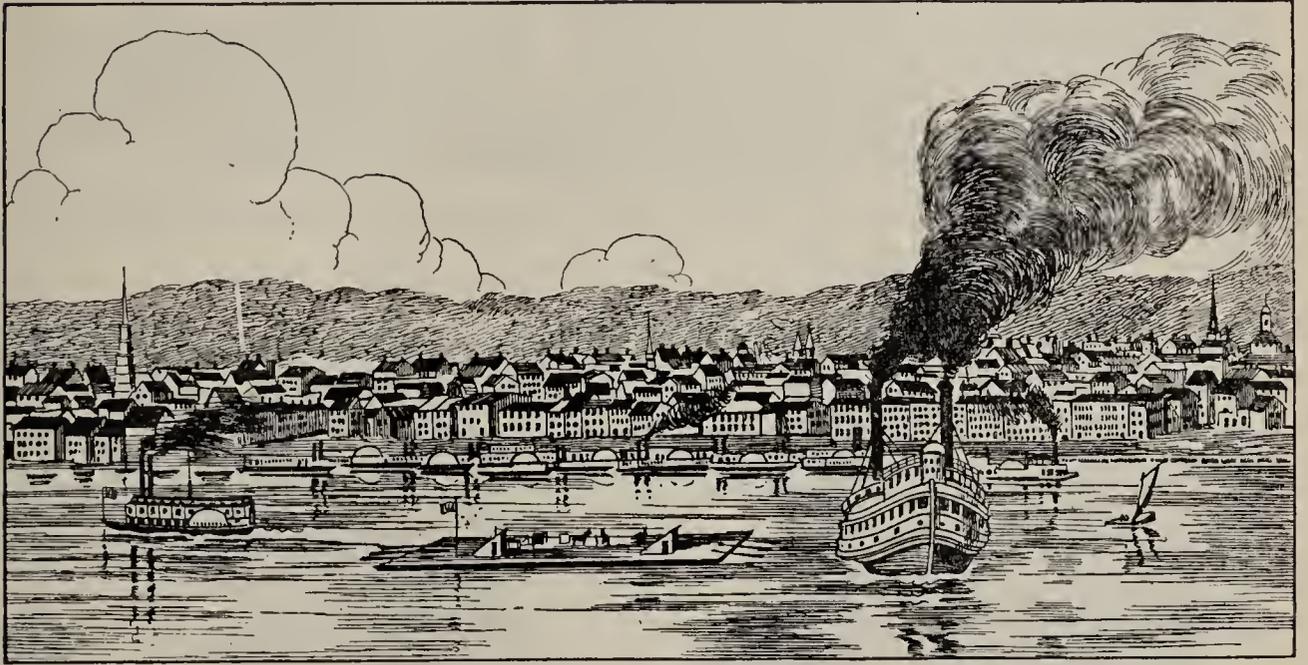
In 1820 a law was made by which 80-acre farms were sold to the homeseeker for \$100, or \$1.25 an acre. Many a young married couple and many a family, having saved a few hundred dollars, would set their faces to the great West, would make the long journey, and begin the life of the pioneer.



EMIGRANT WAGONS CROSSING THE WESTERN PLAINS

Immigration. — Before the War of 1812 there were seldom 5000 immigrants from Europe in any one year. It would seem that half the people of Europe scarcely knew there was such a place as the United States. The war turned the attention of the whole world to our country and many were quick to see that it was a land of promise, a vast, new land of virgin soil and boundless wealth. And in spite of the wide rolling sea, they soon came

in great numbers. In 1817, 22,000 reached our shores, and year by year the number was swelled until by 1840 they were coming at the rate of 100,000 a year. Many of these, as well as great numbers of old settlers, found their way to the unpeopled West.

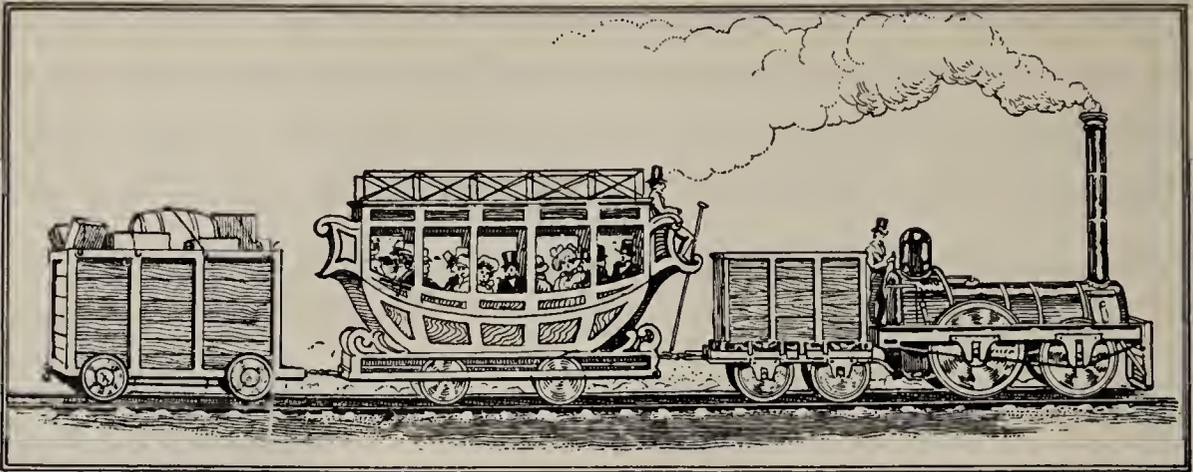


EARLY VIEW OF CINCINNATI

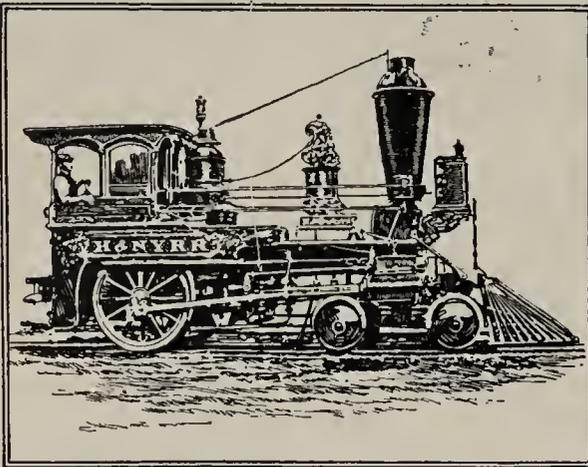
Notice the steamers and the raft on the Ohio River.

The River Steamer. — The movement was greatly stimulated by river steamboats. As early as 1811 one little steamer was launched on the Ohio at Pittsburgh. Soon after the war many steamboats were puffing up and down the great waterway of the West. A wonderful improvement they were over the old flatboat which required months to float from Pittsburgh to New Orleans. When the cargo was sold the flatboat was knocked to pieces and sold as lumber. In the early days the crew would return on foot, but later by steamboat. Abraham Lincoln once made a trip down the Mississippi as a member of a flatboat crew.

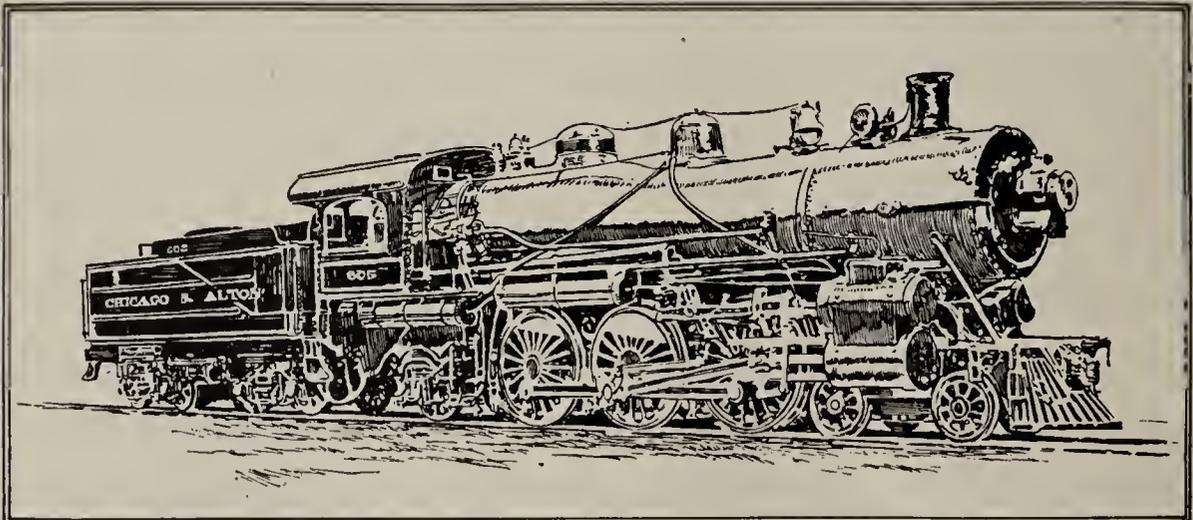
Migration from the South. — Movers to the West preferred the swifter steamboats, and the Ohio River, on which hundreds of them floated by 1830, was the great highway of travel for the western mover. Farther south a similar western movement was going on. Alabama and Mississippi with their rich alluvial soil proved an alluring goal to the cotton and tobacco planters of the



A RAILROAD TRAIN ABOUT 1830



LOCOMOTIVES OF 1845 AND 1860



DEVELOPMENT OF THE PASSENGER LOCOMOTIVE
A modern locomotive compared with earlier types.

worn-out soil of the older states along the coast. In the North nearly all the westward movers were people of little means; in the South it often happened that the rich planter, with a train of wagons and many slaves, made his way across the mountains to the fertile bottom lands of the Great River.

Surely there was a rising West, a section whose voice must be heard in the future councils of the nation. Indeed, that voice was already being heard. It was chiefly the West that elected Andrew Jackson President in 1828.

SIDE TALK

Early Railroading. — The first railroad cars were drawn by horses, hitched in front, or placed inside the car on a treadmill. On one occasion a treadmill car full of newspaper men struck a cow on the track, tilted over, and rolled all the occupants down a steep bank. One can imagine what they wrote for their papers about the trip. The sail car, like the horse car, had its day, but it could run only when the wind was fair. It proved to be scarcely more than an amusing toy.

In 1830 a New York inventor named Peter Cooper brought to Baltimore a steam locomotive that he called "Tom Thumb" and offered to try it on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. A firm having a contract to operate the cars by horsepower decided to put an end to such foolish competition by challenging Mr. Cooper to a race, and they brought out their speediest horse, a fine dapple gray. Cooper accepted the challenge and the race took place on parallel tracks on August 28, 1830. A newspaper of the time thus describes it:

"At first the gray had the best of it, as the engine had to wait until the rotation of the wheels set the blower to work. The horse was perhaps a quarter of a mile ahead, when the safety valve of the engine lifted, and the thin blue vapor issuing from it showed an excess of steam. The blower whistled, the steam blew off in vapory clouds, the passengers shouted, the engine gained on the horse, soon it lapped him, and the race was neck and neck, nose and nose — then the engine passed the horse, and a great hurrah hailed the victory. But it was not repeated, for just at this time when the gray racer was about giving up, the band which drove the pulley which moved the blower slipped from the drum, the safety valve ceased to scream, and the engine, for want of breath, began to wheeze and pant. In vain Mr. Cooper, who was his own engineer and fireman, lacerated his hands, in attempting to replace the band upon the wheel; in vain he tried to urge

the fire with light wood; the horse gained on the machine and passed it, and although the band was presently replaced, and steam again did its best, the horse was too far ahead to be overtaken, and came in the winner of the race. But the real victory was with Mr. Cooper, notwithstanding. He had held fast to the faith that was in him, and had demonstrated its truth beyond peradventure. All honor to his name!"

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What great inventions marked the last part of the preceding century? (See Chapter XVII.) What effect had the embargo and the War of 1812 on American manufactures? Why did the South not become a manufacturing section? Why were the tariffs of 1816 and 1824 enacted? What is a protective tariff?

II. What was the great problem in the early part of the century? What can you say of turnpikes? Of the Erie Canal and other canals? How did the Erie Canal benefit the farmers of Ohio and Indiana? Write out an account of an imaginary journey on a canal boat. Describe the first railroads. Why were they turned over by the states to private owners?

III. What causes can you give for the great movement of the people into the Mississippi Valley? What caused the great increase in immigration from Europe? Write out the narrative of an imaginary trip down the Ohio in 1830.

Events and Dates. — Rise of American manufacturing. Tariff of 1816. Completion of the Erie Canal, 1825. Beginning of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1828.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Turner, *The Rise of the New West*; Hinsdale, *The Old Northwest*; Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality*; Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*; Bell, *Journey to Ohio in 1810*; Hart, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*; Mowry, *American Inventions and Inventors*; Brigham, *From Trail to Railway through the Appalachians*; Coe, *Makers of the Nation*.

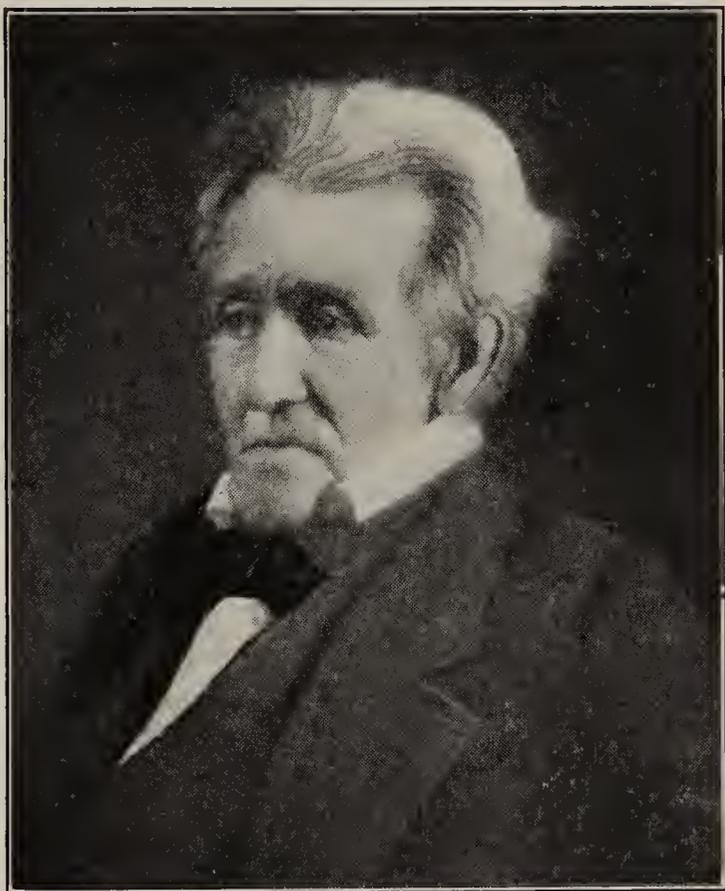
CHAPTER XXIII

THE PEOPLE'S PRESIDENT (1829-1837)

I. JACKSON'S INAUGURATION

ALL our Presidents before Jackson came from the so-called upper class — wealthy or educated. Jackson was the first, but not the last, of our Presidents to rise from the ranks of the lowly. Being a plain man of the people, he came to be exceedingly popular; they regarded him as one of themselves.

The Journey to Washington. — When Jackson made ready for his long journey from Tennessee to Washington, the people along the way prepared to greet him with noisy demonstrations; but instead they received him in solemn silence, with bowed heads. The reason was that his wife had died but



ANDREW JACKSON

a few weeks before. She was a lovable, motherly woman, to whom the general had been deeply devoted. He never remarried, and it was said that he never fully recovered from the shock occasioned by her death. Jackson went by steamer from Nashville to Pittsburgh; and thence overland to Washington.

Never had such crowds gathered at Washington as came on the 4th of March, 1829. From all parts of the country the

people came to see the "people's champion" made President of the United States. "The vicinity of the capital," says one writer, "was like a great agitated sea; every avenue to the fateful spot was blocked with people."

"Let the Boys Have a Good Time." — As the noon hour approached General Jackson, surrounded by a little group of men, walked slowly up Capitol Hill. Tall and stalwart, he marched with a soldier step, and his head could be seen above the other men. His shock of iron-gray hair flowed back in ridges from his forehead, and down his face deep furrows ran. The oath was administered by Chief Justice Marshall. The inaugural address from the east portico was heard by thousands. One member of the throng, the author of *The Star-Spangled Banner*, exclaimed, "The scene is beautiful, it is sublime."

The new President then rode on horseback to the White House a mile away, and the crowds followed — men, women, and children, white and black of all walks of life — in all sorts of vehicles, on horseback, on foot, walking, running, helter-skelter. They had heard that there was to be a public reception and a treat for all — and there it was, orange punch, tubs and barrels of it.

The crowd surged through the White House, each one that could do so shaking hands with the President. The people stood with muddy boots on the sofas and damask satin-covered divans; they broke a large costly chandelier. At one moment the President was pinned against the wall and could not get out. His friends made a way out for him by linking arms as they pressed the crowd back.

What did Old Hickory say to all this? He had a fiery temper, as we all know. Did he get angry? Not at all. He merely said, "Let the boys have a good time once in four years."

Van Buren. — Many of the "boys" stayed on in Washington, trying to get appointments to office. Much of Jackson's time was taken up with the consideration of their applications. As his Secretary of State, the highest officer in his Cabinet,

he had already chosen the able, smooth-tongued politician, Martin Van Buren, governor of New York. Jackson became very fond of him, and never from that time was there a break in their friendship. It was Jackson who, at a later time, made Van Buren Vice President, then President of the United States.

II. THE HAYNE-WEBSTER DEBATE

A debate on land sales in the Senate in 1830 continued for two months and covered many subjects. It finally turned to the question of "state rights" and the supremacy of the federal government.

Hayne. — Senator Robert Y. Hayne became the chief spokesman for the southern view that a state was sovereign and need not obey an unconstitutional act of Congress. Hayne was a fine orator, with a soft, melodious voice. He was a man of the highest character, a typical polished southern gentleman. His speech on this occasion was very able, but it would not be remembered to-day, nor would he be remembered, had it not been for the answer made by the greatest of American orators.

Webster. — Daniel Webster, who answered Hayne, was a senator from Massachusetts. He was most impressive in appearance. With his high forehead, shaggy brow, raven-black hair, and deep resonant voice, he made a profound impression on all who saw and heard him. His reply to Hayne was probably the greatest oration of his life. His purpose was to show that the Constitution binds the states together in one permanent, indissoluble Union, and that no state has the right to nullify any act of the national Congress. His oft-quoted closing words will never be forgotten, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

III. JOHN C. CALHOUN AND NULLIFICATION

Calhoun and Jackson. — Calhoun was one of the strong men of his time. Like Hayne, he was a polished southern gentleman. But he was far more; he was a statesman of much ability, one

of the most impressive figures in American history. For many years he and Jackson were fast friends. At a banquet Jackson gave the toast, "John C. Calhoun, an honest man, the noblest work of God."

After many years of devoted friendship they drifted apart and became enemies. Jackson denounced his one-time friend and declared that their friendship was forever at an end — and so it was. This break with Jackson was a turning point in the life of Calhoun. With Jackson as his enemy he could no longer hope ever to be President, which had been the ambition of his life, and gradually he became a sectional rather than a national statesman. He became the champion of the slaveholders of the South.

One of the early contests between the two great sections of the country came with a tariff act of 1828, and slavery in the background was only remotely the cause of it. The South with its slave labor could not manufacture; its only occupation was agriculture, and it desired a low tariff in order to trade as freely as possible with the world. The North for the opposite reason, that is, to protect its manufactures, wanted a high tariff.

Why Nullification? — The tariff act passed by Congress in 1828 called for duties so high that it was often called the Tariff of Abominations. The South did not like this tariff in the least, but only one of the states was bold enough to pronounce the act unconstitutional and to refuse to allow it to be enforced in that state. That was South Carolina. In 1832 that state passed what is known as the Ordinance of Nullification, declaring that this high tariff act was null and void, and should not be enforced in that state after a certain date.

This was not secession or disunion, but it was a long step in that direction. If any state has the right to nullify an act of Congress, the others have the same right and if they did so, it would simply mean that the Union would be dissolved. South Carolina had taken a very bold and dangerous step. In one respect the state had seriously miscalculated. She had expected

that other southern states would follow her example, but not one of them did so.

What position would President Jackson take in the matter? Everything depended on that. He was a southern man and was not friendly toward a very high tariff. But he had an intense love of the Union. In a vigorous message in December he called on South Carolina to retrace her false step and return to her allegiance, hinting that if she did not do this, her soil would be drenched in blood, as the government would not yield to her demands.

Compromise. — There was much excitement and talk of civil war. But in the midst of the turmoil Henry Clay came forward with a proposed compromise on the tariff by which the high duties would be reduced gradually for ten years. This was accepted by Congress and by South Carolina and all danger of bloodshed was past. One reason perhaps for the willingness of Congress and the President to compromise was a lurking fear in the North that if the national guns were trained on South Carolina, other cotton states would come to her aid — the very thing that did occur twenty-eight years later.

IV. THE BANK AND THE ELECTION OF 1832

The year 1832 that brought the nullification disturbance was also the year of the quadrennial national election. President Jackson had fully intended to serve but one term, but his friends persuaded him to stand for a second.

The rift in the old party of Jefferson was now complete, and the leader against Jackson was Henry Clay. His following — the Whigs or National Republicans — included most of those who had supported Adams four years before, together with certain disaffected elements of the Jackson party.

The Anti-Masons. — There was also a third party in the field in 1832, the Anti-Masonic party. A man named William Morgan of western New York had begun to print a book revealing secrets of the Masonic order. Soon after he was imprisoned

for debt, and upon being set free he was carried away in a closed carriage and was never again heard of. The Masons were accused of destroying him, and an anti-masonic wave swept over the eastern part of the country. The Anti-Masons refused to support Jackson or Clay for President and nominated their own candidate.

In order to nominate a candidate the new party held a national convention in Baltimore in September, 1831; and for this the party is remembered in American history, — for originating the national nominating convention. The party carried one state in the election and then disappeared. But the national convention plan was adopted by the other parties and has become a fixture in our politics.

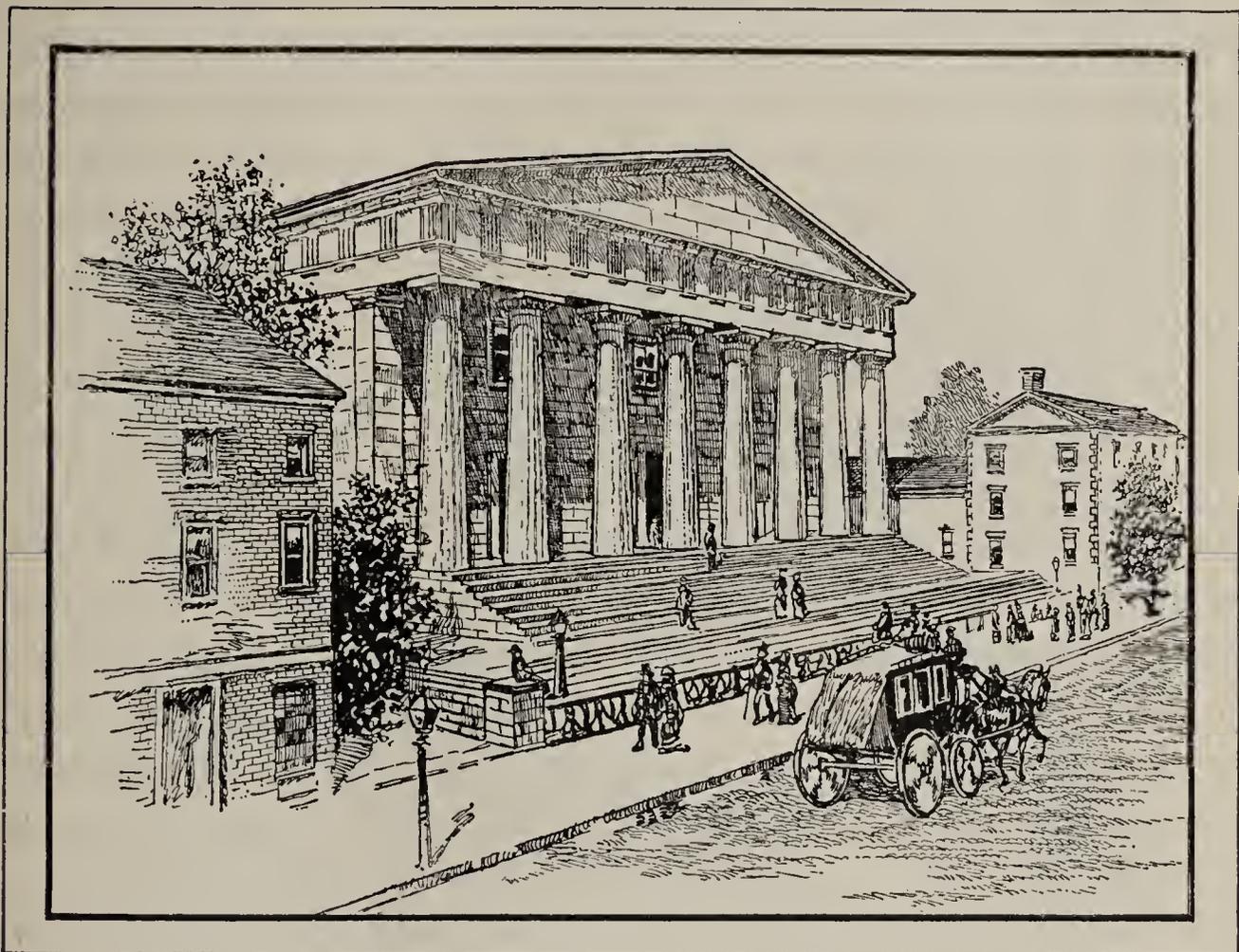
The National Republicans held a convention in Baltimore in December and nominated Clay. The Democrats met the following spring and named Jackson and Van Buren.

The chief issue that year was the United States Bank. This bank with headquarters at Philadelphia had been chartered for twenty years by Congress in 1816. It had branches in various cities and it exercised a great influence over the finances and business of the country.

Jackson Vetoes the Bank Act. — Jackson opposed the bank because, as he said, it was governed by capitalists, and was a great private monopoly wielding a power that no institution should have in a free government. Clay favored the bank and in the midst of the campaign he had put through Congress a bill to recharter it, to give it another twenty-year lease of life.

In spite of protests from all sides, many from Democrats, in spite of dire predictions that any crippling of the bank would bring on a panic, Jackson vetoed the bank charter. He declared that if the bank was capable of bringing on a panic, that alone was the strongest argument for its destruction; no monopoly should exist, he said, that had such power over the business of the country. And the people must have accepted his view, for he carried the election by a great majority, receiving more than four times as many electoral votes as Clay.

The result of the election convinced Jackson that the people were with him and were opposed to the bank. But the bank was still powerful and he decided on a drastic method of crip-



BANK OF THE UNITED STATES, PHILADELPHIA, ABOUT 1830

Redrawn from an old print. The building is now used as a customhouse.

pling it. He thereupon had his Secretary of the Treasury gradually remove the government money from the bank.

V. DEMOCRACY IS KING

During the presidency of General Jackson, Democracy reached its high tide in America. By democracy we mean the rule of the people, of all the people, including the masses as well as the classes. The people had come to think that they owned everything. And of course they do in a government such as ours; but it is possible for a democracy to become too rampant. When everybody thinks that he ought to have an office because

he is a part owner of the nation, there is something wrong. This brings us to the one serious fault of the Jackson administration — the introduction of the Spoils System.

The Spoils System. — This is the system by which the party that wins an election turns out of office postmasters and other officers who belong to the losing side and puts in those who belong to the winning party. In other words, the public offices are treated like the “spoils” or booty taken by a victorious army.

Before Jackson's time it was the custom to appoint government officers and employees for life or good behavior, but when he became President a great many of the men who had voted for Adams were dismissed from office, and men who had voted for Jackson were put in their places. “To the victors belong the spoils,” was the way many put it. Not all the Adams officers, perhaps not even half of them, were removed, but quite enough to start a custom that has continued in part to this day.

But Jackson did not always yield to spoils hunters. One day when some of his friends were urging him to remove a certain postmaster, an old Revolutionary soldier, whose only crime was that he had voted for Adams, Jackson threw his cob pipe into the fire and began to pace the floor, as he often did when excited. Then he said, “Gentlemen, that man fought to win our independence, he offered his life for our country, he carries a pound of British lead in his body. He shall never be removed while I am President.”

Removal of the Indians. — Jackson was no friend of the Indians. He insisted on having most of the Indians in the country removed — by force when necessary — to vacant lands beyond the Mississippi, mostly in what is now Oklahoma, which was long known as Indian Territory. But in this as in nearly all his acts as President he was supported by public opinion. Jackson was a forceful and strong-willed leader, but he earned the approval of the majority of the people.

Retirement of Jackson. — General Jackson was glad to retire from the great office he had filled for eight years. He had

won immortal fame and was known all over the world; he was in the midst of thousands of adoring followers, but, as he said to a friend, he was a "sad and lonely old man," and he longed for the comforts of his rural home in Tennessee, there to live in quiet among his servants near the sacred spot where his departed wife lay buried.



JACKSON'S BEDROOM IN THE HERMITAGE, HIS HOME NEAR NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

President Jackson was a man of iron will; he had many quarrels and he made many enemies, but he was never weary of showering favors upon his friends. He had a deep and abiding love for his country. He would have given his life for it. His confidence in its future was unwavering.

While Jackson had spent more than half his life amid the rough surroundings of the frontier and its image was indelibly stamped upon his life, he was capable of adapting himself to all classes of society. He was a man of pure morals, of sincere devotion to duty, and of unflinching integrity.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Describe Jackson's journey to Washington; his personal appearance; the White House reception.

II. What is meant by internal improvements? Tell what you can about Robert Y. Hayne; about Daniel Webster. What was the chief subject of Webster's great speech?

III. Make a comparison between Jackson and Calhoun. Why did not the South become a manufacturing section? What brought about Nullification in South Carolina? For what reasons did Jackson decide against South Carolina?

IV. What was the origin and meaning of the Anti-Masonic party? For what is it remembered in our history? Why did Jackson oppose the United States Bank?

V. How would you define Democracy? What was the Spoils System? Write an essay on the character of Jackson.

Events and Dates. — The Hayne-Webster debate, 1830. Nullification in South Carolina, 1832. Rise and fall of the Anti-Masonic party. Beginnings of national conventions. Destruction of the United States bank.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Biographies of Clay, Jackson, and Calhoun should be in the library and should be freely consulted; also the histories by Schouler and McMaster. MacDonald, *Jacksonian Democracy*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*; Brown, *Andrew Jackson*; Blaisdell and Ball, *Hero Stories from American History*; Baldwin, *Four Great Americans*.



CHAPTER XXIV

THE SLAVERY QUESTION REVIVED

The Slavery Problem Paramount. — From the close of Jackson's administration to the coming of the Civil War — a period of twenty-four years — nearly every great subject with which the American people had to grapple was, directly or indirectly, a slavery subject. It was hoped that the Missouri Compromise of 1820 would settle the slavery question permanently, but the dragon only slumbered for about fifteen years, when it awakened with greater menace than before.

The North was slowly becoming convinced that slavery was an evil, that it had no place in our modern civilization, that it was wrong to hold a human being in lifelong bondage merely because of the accident of his birth and the color of his skin.

The South on the other hand was becoming more sensitive to northern criticism and, led by Calhoun, it came to look on slavery not as an evil but as a good thing.

I. BENJAMIN LUNDY AND WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

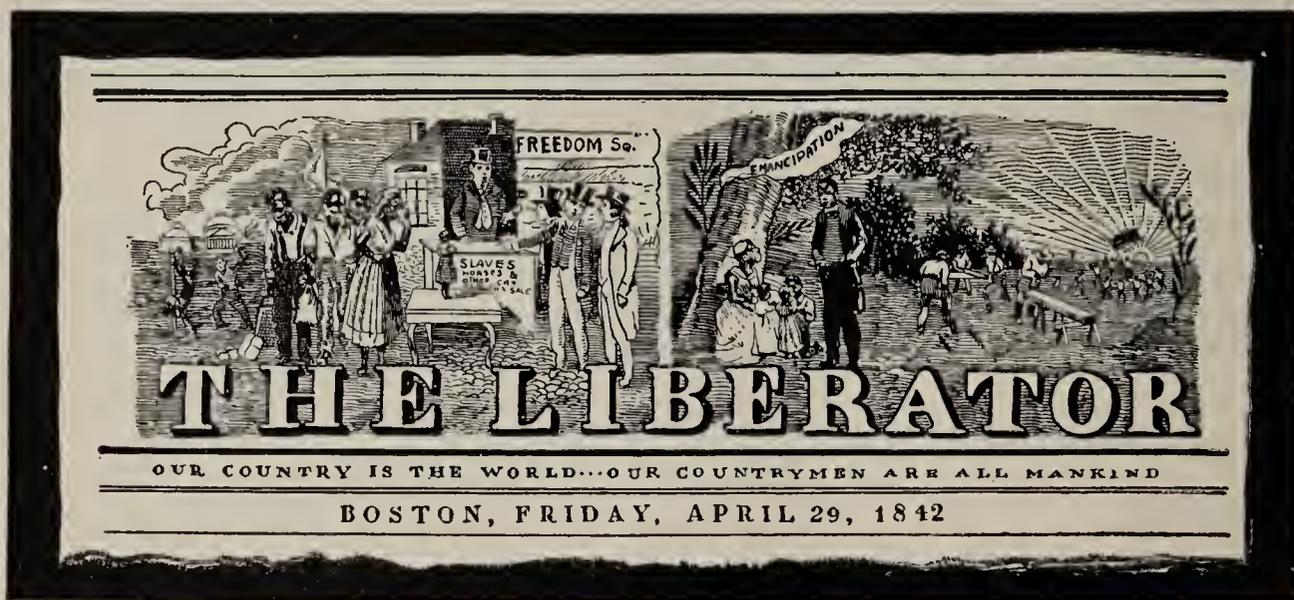
Lundy. — During the season of quiet that followed the Missouri Compromise there were a few agitators who went about the country stirring up feeling as best they could against the institution of slavery in the South. Among the first of these was Benjamin Lundy.

Born in New Jersey, a resident of Wheeling, a saddler by trade, Lundy left his home, his family, his business, and spent years traveling about in the interest of the cause he had espoused, the cause of the black bondsman of the South. In many states and in the West Indies Lundy traveled, covering 25,000 miles, often on foot, lecturing, teaching, publishing, against slavery.

Lundy and Garrison. — In one of his journeys Lundy met in Boston a young printer named William Lloyd Garrison, who became deeply interested in the subject. The two men joined their fortunes and worked together in the cause of the slave. They went to Baltimore and founded an antislavery paper.

Lundy was a man of mild and benevolent nature; Garrison was violent and uncompromising. Garrison also was abler than Lundy and soon overshadowed him. Lundy dropped out of the public view, while Garrison became the leading antislavery agitator in the nation, and so continued for thirty years.

Garrison. — In 1831 Garrison founded *The Liberator* in Boston, a weekly paper devoted to the abolition of slavery, and with this his name is usually associated. He suffered imprisonment and mob violence, but his courage was boundless and his labors never ceased until slavery itself was overthrown.



THE HEADING OF GARRISON'S PAPER

In the first issue of *The Liberator*, set in type by his own hands, Garrison declared, "Let southern oppressors tremble . . . I am in earnest — I will not retreat a single inch — and I will be heard."

Garrison came to be hated above all men by the South. The legislature of Georgia offered a reward of \$5000 to any one who would bring him to that state for trial under the laws against

inciting insurrection. In fact, the whole South lived in fear of slave uprisings and there was reason for such fear.

Minor uprisings occurred here and there. One of the worst of these was the Nat Turner Insurrection in Virginia in 1831. Turner was a fanatical negro preacher and a slave. His followers were not very numerous, but in a sudden outburst of fanatical zeal they massacred about sixty whites, some of whom were children, before they were overpowered. Garrison and his *Liberator* were blamed for the uprising.

II. MARTIN VAN BUREN, PRESIDENT

Van Buren and Jackson. — Although General Jackson might have been elected to a third term, he refused to consider it. His great influence was thrown to his most intimate friend, Vice President Van Buren. It is doubtful if the "Little Magician," as Van Buren was often called, could have been elected but for the fact that he was known to be Jackson's choice.

The Little Magician never won the great American heart as his chief had done, and when the crowds gathered in Washington in March, 1837, they gave more attention and applause to the aged retiring President than to the bustling little man who was to succeed him. The presidential electors not having chosen a Vice President, the Senate elected Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, the hero of the battle of the Thames, who had slain the great Indian warrior, Tecumseh, with his own hand.

For two things chiefly the administration of Van Buren is remembered — Independent Treasury and Panic of 1837.

The Independent Treasury. — After Jackson had crippled the United States Bank (p. 323), the government money was deposited in various state banks; but this plan proved very unsatisfactory. President Van Buren thereupon proposed that an independent treasury be established; that is, large vaults were to be constructed in Washington, in which the government's money was to be kept. This was done in 1840 and the practice is still followed, to some extent.

The Panic of 1837. — The word panic comes from the ancient Greek sylvan god Pan. When the nymphs were having a picnic in the woods Pan would sometimes swoop down among them and they would flee in all directions. This flight was called a panic, and the word is often used to designate a sudden fright and flurry. So when the people are frightened over financial and industrial conditions their fright is called a panic.

The panic of 1837 was one of the worst this country has ever seen, and its chief cause was a wild and reckless spirit of speculation. The country was flooded with paper money; everybody seemed to have a pocket full of it and many were reckless in spending it. The public land sales increased sevenfold; large factories were started, houses and stores that were not needed were built or partly built — then came the crash.

Fortunes were swept away; thousands of people were ruined. Gradually during the following years the country recovered from this panic, and many of the people no doubt learned a wholesome lesson from the experience.

III. HARRISON AND TYLER

The Whigs. — It is the custom in America for the party out of power to blame the party in power for everything that goes wrong. The Whig party, as the party led by Clay was now called, saw its opportunity. It saddled all the disasters of the panic on the Democrats. While Van Buren was not a great President, he had many strong qualities, but the Whigs denounced him and blamed him and Jackson for all the hard times.

William Henry Harrison was the Whig candidate for President in 1840. He was not one of the party leaders, as were Clay and Webster, but he was by no means a cipher and his past record was one to which his party could point with pride, one especially adapted to win votes, the main thing in a presidential campaign.

William Henry Harrison. — The son of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Harrison as a youth was well

known to Washington and Jefferson, and both these statesmen urged him to go west and join the army in its war against the Indians. He was then a medical student in Philadelphia, only eighteen years of age. He gave up his studies and set out with a brave heart to cross the Alleghenies on foot.

A few years later we find our young hero serving in the Indian wars under General Wayne. At the age of twenty-eight he became governor of Indiana Territory and ten years later he won national fame in the battle of Tippecanoe. Still later he commanded valiantly in the War of 1812, served in both houses of Congress, but lived in retirement on his farm in Ohio for some years before being made the standard bearer in the campaign of 1840.

Log Cabin and Hard Cider. — Choosing John Tyler of Virginia for second place on the ticket, the Whigs launched out in what is known as the “Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign.”

Some thoughtless Democrat, incapable of reading the future, had said that Harrison was only a backwoodsman and was more in his element in his cabin skinning coons, with a barrel of hard cider at his side, than he would be in the White House. The Whigs quickly seized on these as emblems. In their campaign processions a log cabin on wheels, with a barrel of cider and one or more live coons, was a conspicuous object. Their candidate was dubbed Old Tippecanoe. Horace Greeley, the rising New York editor, founded a newspaper and called it *The Log Cabin*.



EMBLEM OF THE LOG CABIN AND
HARD CIDER CAMPAIGN, 1840

It was a memorable campaign: The Whigs held outdoor meetings and the crowds were vast. Men would drive many miles to attend the meetings, bringing their families. No man could number the people that gathered; the crowds were measured by the acre. They listened to speeches, they sang campaign songs,¹ and they shouted, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too."

Where were the Democrats? They had renominated Van Buren and they limped along behind this gay procession as best they could. They tried to reason and argue on the questions of the day, but their voice was not heard. The people preferred to sing and shout.

Election time came and Harrison and Tyler swept the country like a tidal wave. The rejoicing of the Whigs over their victory continued through the winter; they little dreamed how soon it was to be changed to mourning.

Death of Harrison.—Harrison appointed Daniel Webster Secretary of State, and the new administration was launched on a promising voyage. But the new President was annoyed by the swarms of office seekers that gathered at the capital, for the spoils system had already fastened itself on the country. He was so kind-hearted that it hurt him to deny any one whom he believed deserving. Under the strain of the burdens of the office his health gave way and on April 4, one month after his inauguration, President Harrison was dead.

¹ A few snatches of these songs were the following:

"Now join the throng and swell the song,
Extend the circle wider;
And let us on for Harrison,
Log Cabin and hard cider."

"Away in the west the fair river beside
That waters North Bend in its beauty and pride,
And shows in its mirror the summer sky blue,
Oh, there dwells the farmer of Tippecanoe."

The following was widely used:

"Farewell, old Van; you're a used-up man.
To guide our ship, we'll try Old Tip.
With Tip and Tyler we'll burst Van's biler."

Along Pennsylvania Avenue, on April 7, immense crowds of people witnessed in reverent awe the black funeral car, with its nodding plumes, drawn by six white horses as it bore the body of the dead President. Later the body was taken to the late home of the President and laid to rest in a beautiful spot among the trees on the bank of the Ohio River.

John Tyler. — No President had hitherto died in office. The country was shocked; the Whigs were dismayed and at a loss what to do. Of course Tyler would become President; but they were not sure how Tyler stood on the bank charter and other important questions.

Their fears proved well founded. Tyler vetoed two bills for a new bank charter and before he had been President a year he and the party that elected him were entirely out of harmony with each other, and so they continued to the end of his term. Thus the Whigs lost the fruits of their great victory at the polls.

An important achievement of the Tyler administration was the settlement of the boundary between Maine and Canada. The Aroostook Valley, containing about 12,000 square miles, was in dispute. But in 1842 a treaty was made giving 7000 square miles of the disputed territory to Maine. It was drawn by our Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, and Lord Ashburton, and is known as the Webster-Ashburton treaty.

IV. TEXAS IN THE EARLY DAYS

The largest of all our states is Texas, a veritable empire in extent. It is also the only one of our states that was at one time an independent nation.

Early Texas. — Texas was a part of Mexico when that country won its independence from Spain. Except for Indian tribes and a few Spanish missions, it was an uninhabited wilderness. To win settlers for Texas Mexico offered land grants for almost nothing. One of the first to accept the offer was Stephen F. Austin, who, in the early twenties, founded a colony in the valley of the Brazos River.



EARLY VIEW OF AUSTIN, TEXAS

Redrawn from an old print. This city, the capital of the state, was named after Stephen F. Austin.

Austin was an American, and as the years passed the Americans went to Texas in such numbers as to make it more an American than a Mexican colony. In 1836 Texas made a declaration of independence, and of the sixty men who signed it fifty-three were born in the United States.

At this point two noted characters came upon the scene — Santa Anna, president of Mexico, who called himself the Napoleon of the West, and Sam Houston, the first president of the new-born republic of Texas.

Battle of the Alamo. — One day in the spring of 1836 several thousand Mexican soldiers, led by Santa Anna, surrounded the Alamo (ä'lä-mō), a mission near San Antonio, in which about 200 Texan soldiers had taken refuge. Santa Anna charged upon the Alamo with his army. The Texans fought to the death and slew hundreds. When the fort was captured only six remained alive. Santa Anna said with a wave of the hand, "Kill them, every one of them."

One of these six men thus murdered in cold blood by order

of the Mexican president was "Davie" Crockett, a noted frontiersman who had served in Congress from Tennessee.¹

Sam Houston. — General Sam Houston had served in Congress and as governor of Tennessee before making his home in Texas. He was fond of the Indians and at one time he had fled from his home and lived with the Cherokees for several years, entering into all their ways.

Houston had an army of about 700 in Texas and but a few weeks after the massacre of the Alamo he met Santa Anna in the battle of San Jacin'to.



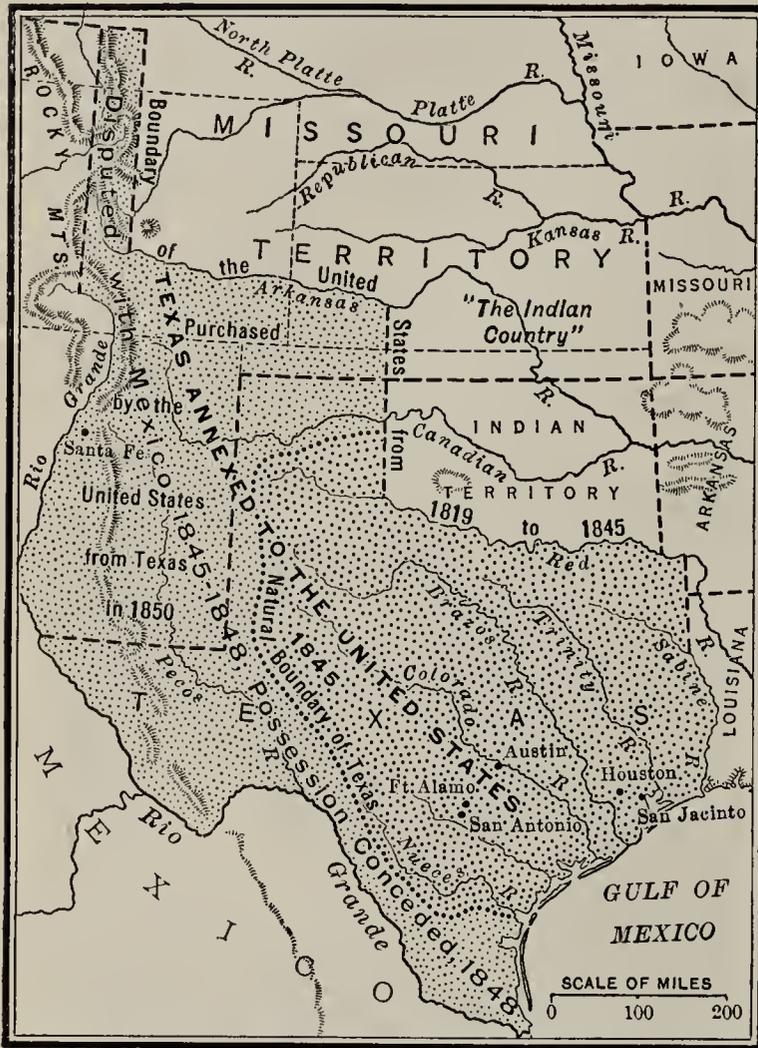
BATTLE OF THE ALAMO

Redrawn from Thrall's *Pictorial History of Texas*.

"Remember the Alamo" was the battle cry of the Texans as they rushed upon the foe. The battle was very short. The

¹ Crockett could neither read nor write. He was a famous hunter and Indian fighter and had served under Jackson in the Indian wars. When in Congress he made no effort to change his frontier habits or to assume an air of courtesy and refinement. His good nature and ready wit won him many friends. One day when a speaker in the House strayed from his subject, Crockett exclaimed, "You're barking up the wrong tree."

Mexicans that were not shot down were quickly captured or scattered over the prairie. The Napoleon of the West was found



TEXAS, 1836-1850

next morning hidden in the grass. Houston gave him his freedom on the promise that never again would he interfere with the independence of Texas, a promise that he did not keep.

Texas a Slaveholding Republic. — Texas was now an independent republic and was recognized as such by the United States and by other countries. Large as Texas was, however, its few inhabitants felt that they could not afford to remain a separate nation and maintain

armies and foreign ministers. They therefore applied for admission into our Union. One would think that the American people would have eagerly grasped at such an opportunity to extend their domain. They had paid a good sum to get Louisiana, and now Texas, with her wonderfully promising future, was offering herself for nothing. But the United States hesitated, and the matter hung fire for nearly ten years. Why? The answer is found in one word — slavery.

Texas was sure to be a slave state, and great numbers of the people of the North objected to admitting more slave states. President Tyler labored for several years to bring about annexation and at last he arranged a treaty by which Texas was

to enter the Union; but the treaty was rejected by the Senate and the matter was thus deferred.

SIDE TALKS

The Caroline Affair. — The *Caroline* was a little steamer on Lake Erie, owned by an American. There had been a rebellion in Canada against British rule. The rebels, being defeated, found a refuge on Navy Island at the head of the Niagara River, and the *Caroline*, breaking the laws of the United States, carried them arms and supplies from the American side. One night in December, 1837, a band of British soldiers was sent to destroy the *Caroline*. Not finding her at the island, they crossed to the American side and found the offending vessel.

Quickly the little crew was overpowered, one man being killed and several wounded. The British then cut the vessel loose, set her on fire, and sent her burning over the falls of Niagara. When the event became known the American people flared up with anger.

Three years passed, and then another occurrence made the affair more prominent than ever. A Canadian named McLeod, who had boasted that he was one of the men that destroyed the *Caroline*, was arrested on the streets of a town in New York and was put on trial for murder, because one of the crew of the *Caroline* had been killed.

It was now the turn of the British to flare up in anger. The British government, declaring that McLeod if guilty had only acted on orders, demanded his release, and began to send warships and soldiers to Canada. The London newspapers were aflame with threats of war.

Our government might have released the accused man, but it had no power to force the state of New York to give him up, and New York refused to let him off without a trial.

At length he was put on trial at Lockport — and how farcical it all turned out! It was shown that McLeod had lain drunk on the night on which the *Caroline* was destroyed and that his boast was a false one. He was acquitted and all danger of war subsided.

What a conflagration a little fire may kindle! Two great nations had come to the verge of war because of the idle vaporings of a braggart.

The Creole Affair. The *Creole*, a coasting vessel, was taking a cargo of slaves from Virginia to New Orleans, in November, 1841, when some of the slaves rose up, overpowered the officers of the ship, took possession, and steered for a British port in the Bahama Islands. Here they were set free by the British authorities, and when the United States demanded that the blacks be returned, the British government refused. This

matter stirred up anew the slavery subject and also, like the *Caroline* Affair, it ruffled the relations between our country and England.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What great question divided the North and the South for many years before the Civil War? What theory did Calhoun advance? Tell about Lundy and Garrison; the Nat Turner Insurrection.

II. What can you say of Martin Van Buren? What is the Independent Treasury? What is a panic? What caused the panic of 1837?

III. Relate the early life of Harrison. Describe the campaign. How long was Harrison President? Why did not the Whigs get on with Tyler? What did the Webster-Ashburton Treaty settle?

IV. At what time was Texas an independent republic? Who was Davie Crockett? Sam Houston? Why was Texas not promptly annexed by the United States?

Events and Dates.—Independence of Texas, 1836. The Establishment of an Independent Treasury. The panic of 1837. The Webster-Ashburton treaty, 1843.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*; Channing, *History of the United States*, Vol. V; the general histories by McMaster and Schouler. The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, if in the school library, will be found very interesting for the period covered by the last three or four chapters.

· FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries*, Vol. III. This work should often be consulted by pupils as well as by teachers. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*.



FLAGS OF TEXAS

CHAPTER XXV

EXPANSION AND WAR; THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

I. THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1844

Clay and Polk. — The campaign of 1844 was an exciting one, as indeed most of our presidential campaigns are. The Whigs chose Henry Clay as their candidate. Clay, the “Mill Boy of the Slashes,”¹ was still the idol of the party.

The Democrats chose James K. Polk (pōk) of Tennessee to run against Clay. Polk had long served in Congress and was Speaker of the House, but he was not well known to the public. The Whigs soon started the question, “Polk? Who is Polk?” and most of the Democrats were at a loss to answer. The important issue in this campaign was a double one — Texas and Oregon.

Oregon and Texas. — Oregon was the name of a great tract in the Northwest whose ownership had not been settled. It extended from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific and lay between 42° north latitude and the line of 54° 40', the southern boundary of Alaska. The Democrats pronounced for the annexation of both Texas and Oregon.

But we were not the only claimant of Oregon. Great Britain also claimed the whole great Oregon country. There was some danger of war on account of the conflicting claims. The Democrats on their part claimed the whole of Oregon, making “Fifty-four forty or fight” their campaign cry. The aggressive platform of the Democrats appealed to the imagination; the prospect of acquiring Texas pleased the South, while Oregon appealed to the people of the North.

¹ So called because when a boy in the “slashes” of Virginia he often took a bag of grain on horseback to the mill.

Clay was defeated. This was his third and last attempt to win the great prize. Clay was growing old and but few years more could he hope to lead his party. No one knew better than he that his defeat by Polk was final and that the object of his life's ambition would never be realized.

Oregon Divided. — James K. Polk, as President, grappled with the duties before him with a strong hand, but he did not attempt to carry out the "fifty-four forty" program. It was clear that if either Great Britain or the United States attempted to enforce its claim to Oregon there would be war. But the British at this moment had enough trouble at home in repealing their "corn laws" (tariff on grain), and we had trouble brewing on the south, with Mexico. The two countries therefore decided, in 1846, to split the great Oregon territory in the middle and each take half. The parallel of 49°, which by a treaty with England in 1818 had been fixed as the boundary east of the Rocky Mountains, was now continued on to the Pacific. The Canadian share is now British Columbia; our portion has been divided into the great states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and a small part of Montana.

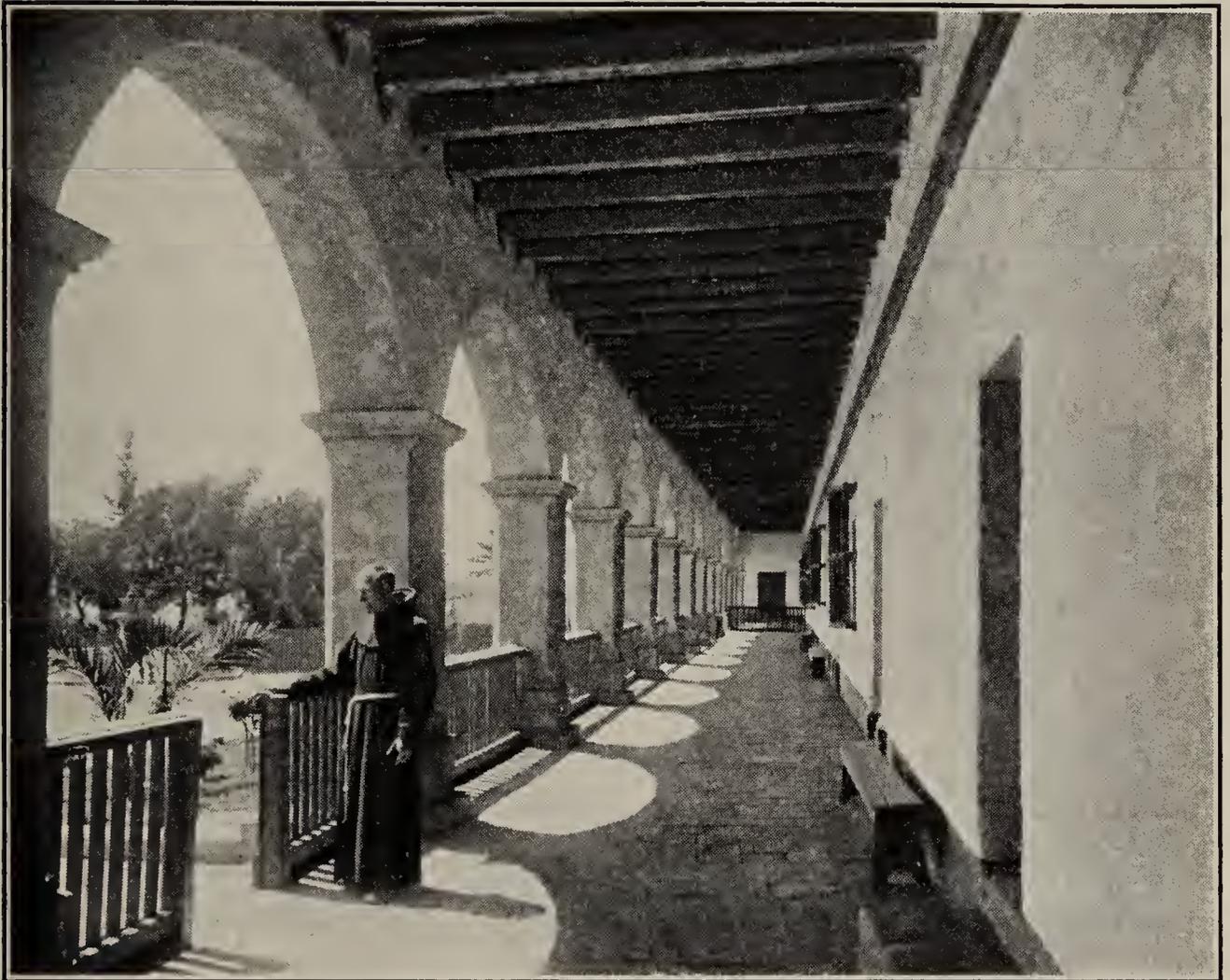
Texas Admitted. — President Tyler forestalled President Polk in bringing Texas into the Union. Near the close of his administration he secured the passage of a joint resolution of both houses of Congress offering to admit Texas. Later in the same year, 1845, the Texans accepted the offer and the new "Lone Star" state became a member of the sisterhood.

II. THE MEXICAN WAR

Cause of the War. — The only foreign war in which the United States engaged for the greater part of a century was our little brush with Mexico in the forties. Although Mexico had declared that the annexation of Texas would be considered an act of war, it is doubtful if war would have come but for a boundary dispute in southern Texas. Each country claimed the territory lying between the Nueces (nū-ā'sas) River and the Rio Grande.

Even this boundary dispute might have been settled peacefully had not a far greater question entered into the situation; namely, the future of California.

California was the name given to a vast section of the continent, embracing the Pacific coast and many miles inland, south of the parallel of 42° . It was a possession of Mexico, as an inheritance from Spain.



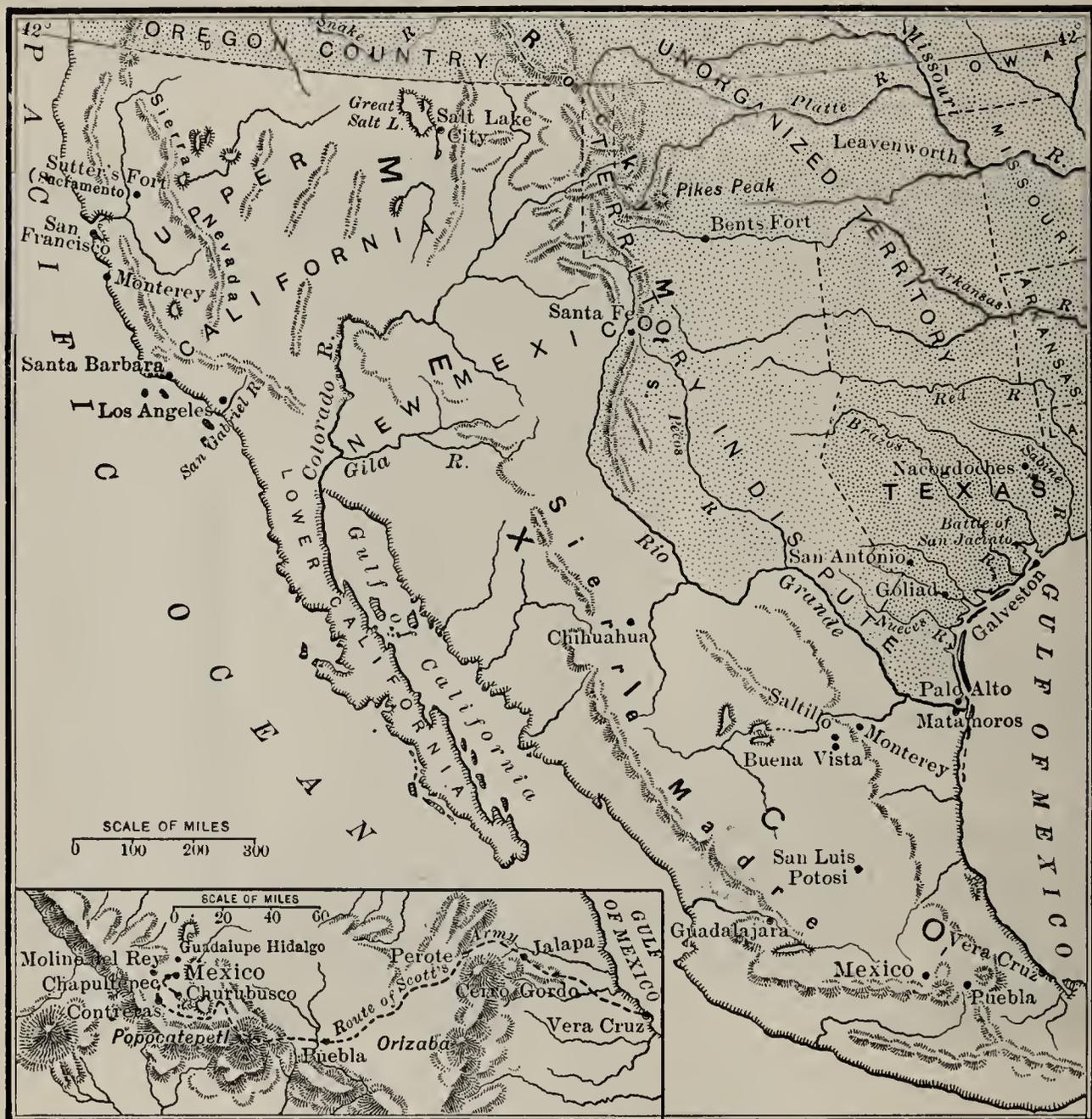
SANTA BARBARA MISSION, CALIFORNIA

The American people looked with covetous eyes upon this great Southwest. This was especially true of the slaveholders of the South, because by the acquisition of California it was believed that several new slave states could be created.

President Polk shared this feeling and in September, 1845, he sent an agent to Mexico to settle the Texan boundary and to offer a round sum of money for California. Had Mexico agreed to sell that great region, there is little doubt that Polk would

have yielded in the boundary dispute, but Mexico refused to consider any offer. Then came the war.

The events of the Mexican War cluster around the names of two men — Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott.



THE MEXICAN WAR

Zachary Taylor. — Taylor was an interesting man. Born in Virginia in 1784, he grew to manhood in the wilds of Kentucky. He had little schooling, but he knew the ways of pioneer life, had the skill and craft of the Indian hunter and woodsman, and could load his gun while running. Breech-loaders were unknown in those days.

In the War of 1812 Taylor had served with some distinction. In 1846, when war with Mexico seemed inevitable, the President sent General Taylor to occupy the disputed territory.

After winning two or three minor victories, Taylor laid siege to Monterey (mōñ-te-rā'), one of the strongest fortified cities in Mexico. The city was taken in three days and the fame of Taylor spread rapidly throughout the United States.

Soon after the capture of Monterey, Taylor was ordered to send half his army to Vera Cruz (vā'rä krōōs') to join an army under General Scott. Like a true soldier he obeyed, but it must have been galling to him to be left thus in the midst of a hostile country. However, Taylor's greatest victory was yet before him.

Buena Vista. — Santa Anna, whom we met ten years before at the Alamo and at San Jacinto, was again president of Mexico. Hearing of Taylor's weakened condition, he collected an army of 20,000 (Taylor had but 5000) and moved against him.

As the American general sat on his war steed, "Old Whitey," a messenger from Santa Anna rode up to him, bearing a white flag. The message he brought was a summons to surrender and thus to save the little American army from annihilation. The answer was, "General Taylor never surrenders." This occurred on Washington's birthday, 1847. Next day came the battle of Buena Vista (bwā'nä vēs'tä).

All the day the battle raged. Sitting astride "Old Whitey" on a commanding knoll, Taylor watched the ebb and flow of the battle and when he saw that his little army had won, he burst into tears of joy. The victory of Buena Vista was later to make him President of the United States.

Scott's Advance. — The administration had determined to send an army into the heart of Mexico from Vera Cruz, and Winfield Scott was chosen to command it. Arriving at Vera Cruz in March, 1847, Scott soon reduced and captured the city and began his great march of two hundred and fifty miles to the capital city, over roads winding among towering mountains — the same as traveled by Cortes three hundred years before.

Before reaching the summit of the mountains the Americans encountered a Mexican army and a battle was fought under the shadow of a lofty hill called Cerro Gordo. Santa Anna had recovered from his defeat at Buena Vista two months before, had collected another army, and now stood to dispute the progress of Scott in the mountain passes. Here he fared even worse than at Buena Vista; his army was routed and he himself escaped capture by flight on the back of a mule.

The Americans continued their upward march and in mid-summer, reaching the summit, 8000 feet above the sea, they feasted their eyes on one of the most magnificent scenes in the world — the panorama of the Mexican Valley with its luxuriant foliage and its distant mountain peaks and ranges.

Capture of Mexico. — Down the slopes toward the capital Scott proceeded in his irresistible march. The Mexicans fought bravely, but they could not stand before the better trained American soldiers. In September the city of Mexico surrendered and the stars and stripes were unfurled above the walls of the ancient palace of Montezuma. The war had lasted a year and a half; the Americans had won every battle.

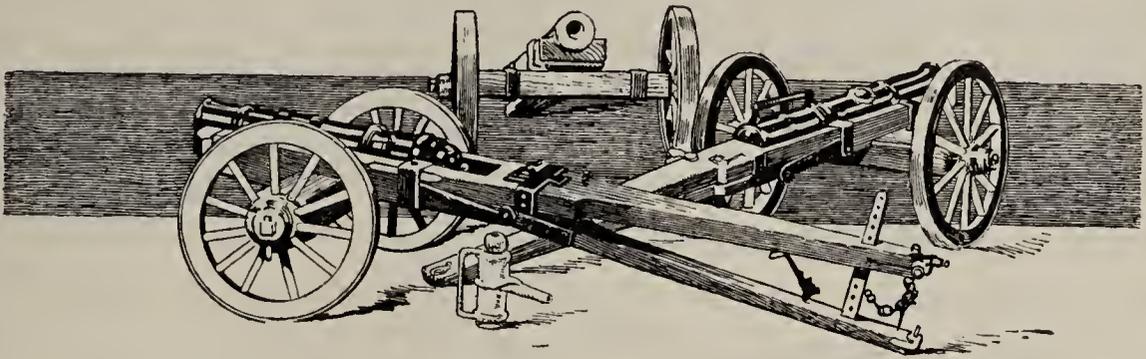
California Taken. — While Taylor and Scott were making their campaigns, a similar movement was going on in the wilds of New Mexico and California. General Stephen W. Kearney (kär'nī) was sent with a force to drive out the few Mexicans and take possession in the name of the United States.

Meanwhile John C. Frémont', an explorer of that far western country, had already taken possession of northern California, and by the time Scott captured Mexico both California and New Mexico were in the possession of the United States.

Great Land Gains. — When the treaty of peace was signed in February, 1848, what we now call California, the land of perpetual summer, together with most of the New Mexico country, was ceded to the United States. Mexico was not in position to make any demands, but the United States granted her \$15,000,000 for the ceded lands. Five years later it paid

\$10,000,000 for the Gadsden Purchase, a tract south of the Gila (hē'la) River. (See map following page 270.)

Here was an astonishing showing in the matter of continental expansion. In three years the United States had acquired Texas, Oregon, New Mexico, and California, about 1,200,000 square miles — more than the Louisiana Purchase, more than the whole United States at the close of the Revolution.



GUN CARRIAGE USED IN THE MEXICAN WAR

III. BREAKERS AHEAD; GOLD

Free or Slave States? — Perhaps all the American people felt a patriotic thrill at the acquisition of California with its great coast line, its salubrious climate tempered the year round by Pacific breezes. But what about slavery? It was well understood that Texas would remain a slave state and that Oregon would be free territory; but what about California? At the close of the Mexican war it was this question that agitated the country more than any other.

A southern President had brought on the war; the slaveholders had done more than any other class to carry it on. They fully expected that the states into which California and New Mexico should be carved would be slave states because they lay in the southern belt. But here we encounter the breakers. The North was not pleased at the prospect of extending slave territory.

While the feeling on both sides was becoming more tense and while the war was still going on, a young Pennsylvania Democrat in Congress named Wilmot offered as an amendment to a

pending bill, a proviso that none of the territory acquired from Mexico should be open to slavery. This proviso did not become law but it vividly brought out the subject that was keeping the country in a state of ferment.

Election of 1848. — A year after the war closed came the presidential election of 1848. The Whigs nominated the hero of Buena Vista, Zachary Taylor, whom his soldiers fondly called "Old Rough and Ready." The fact that he was a slaveholder pleased the South, while his military career appealed to all sections.

Taylor, however, could hardly have been elected President but for a quarrel among the Democrats of New York. One faction refused to support the Democratic candidate for President. They formed the Free Soil party and cast their votes for former President Van Buren. While the Democrats were quarreling the Whigs captured the state and thus won the presidency, because New York was the pivotal state that year; that is, the votes of the other states were so evenly divided that the result was decided by New York, where the vote was close. Millard Fillmore of New York was elected Vice President on the ticket with Taylor.

Discovery of Gold. — While the campaign was in progress the slavery question remained in the background, but it quickly strode to the front again when the election was over. The all-important question that had to be decided very soon was whether California should become a slave or a free state. And the matter was settled by an accident that no one had foreseen — the discovery of gold in California.

It was in January, 1848, that the golden discovery was made, near the foot of the Sierra Nevada. A carpenter from New Jersey named James Marshall was building a mill on a branch of the American River when he discovered the shining metal in the mill-race.

The news spread rapidly and after a few months of hesitating doubt, the people of the coast went wild over the new discovery.



SUTTER'S SAWMILL, CALIFORNIA

Here James Marshall first discovered gold.

Other business came to a standstill and the men rushed to the gold fields. It is said that the judge abandoned the bench and the physician his patients; farmers left their harvest ungathered, and the town council of the growing village of San Francisco was broken up for want of a quorum, while the newspapers were suspended for want of typesetters.

Rush to the Gold Fields. — Within the year the news of the great discovery was published in all the leading newspapers in the world. To quote a description of the rush to the gold fields: "Great was the excitement in every land, and ships from every clime were diverted from the channels of trade and headed for the Pacific Coast. Many came by way of Cape Horn; others braved the deadly climate of Panama, while thousands from every part of the Union crossed the western plains in moving wagons. Long trains of wagons wound their way across the plains and over the mountains toward the setting sun. Many were the perils of this long and weary journey — the wild animal and the wild Indian, exposure to the mountain snows, and

above all, the cholera. The cholera attacked these west-bound trains, and many a weary traveler never reached his El Dorado, but found a nameless grave, far from home and kindred, in the vast and trackless regions of the West. It was in the summer of 1849 that this tide of humanity from afar began to pour into the Sacramento Valley — a few to realize the dream of wealth, more to gain a modest competence, but the majority to meet disappointment, to return broken in health and spirits, or to fill an unknown grave in the wilderness.”¹

The great year of the gold-seeking rush was 1849, and the men were often called “Forty-niners.” Within two years a hundred thousand people had migrated to California. How, it may be asked, could this rush to the gold fields aid in settling a great question in Congress?

Here is the answer: The men who went to the gold mines were not slaveholders, as a rule, though some of them were from the South. When in 1850 they were ready to form a new state and ask admission into the Union they determined that it should be a free state. They did this, not because of any moral feeling against slavery, but because most of them belonged to the working class and were not willing to accept the black bondsmen as their fellow-workers.

IV. COMPROMISE OF 1850

Great Agitation. — The South was deeply stirred at the turn of affairs in California. Keen was the disappointment of the slaveholders, after all their hopes of increasing slave territory by the lands acquired from Mexico. But their own doctrine had always been that the people of a state had the right to choose whether it should be a slave or free state. And since the people of California had chosen freedom there was no appeal beyond their decision. But they suggested that California be divided in the middle and the southern half be made a slave state.

The South was alarmed at the growing antislavery sentiment

¹ From Elson's *History of the United States of America*, p. 536.

in the North. Most of the southern people believed that life in the South would be unendurable if the black man were given his freedom, and they believed also that the only way the slave power could protect itself from northern aggression was to maintain its power in the Senate by securing new slave states. Up to this time the numbers of free and slave states were equal. Free California would break the tie.¹

What would the new President do? The South turned appealingly to him. He was a southern man and he owned a plantation and some hundreds of slaves in Louisiana. But "Old Rough and Ready" plainly recommended that California be admitted as a free state, and even hinted that New Mexico might be admitted in the same way. It was clear that Taylor was not interested in safeguarding the power of the slaveholders. So exasperated were the southern leaders that they came to the verge of counseling secession.

The dispute was at its height when Congress met in December, 1849. In the Senate were the great trio — Clay, Webster, and Calhoun. All had grown old in the service of their country; all were soon to pass from the political stage, but each was to make a supreme final effort in this memorable session of Congress.

Clay and His Compromise of 1850. — Clay came forward with a plan of compromise. No doubt he was better fitted to do this than any other man. He lived in a slave state and owned slaves; but like Washington and Jefferson and Zachary Taylor, he was not in favor of extending the system of slavery.

His plan of compromise was introduced in the Senate in January, 1850, and on February 5 he made his last great speech in the Senate in its support. One item in this Compromise of 1850 provided for the admission of California as a free state, and another was a new, more rigorous fugitive slave law. The

¹ Arkansas had been admitted as a slave state in 1836; Michigan, free, in 1837; Florida, slave, 1845; Texas, slave, 1845; Iowa, free, 1846; Wisconsin, free, 1848.

first was displeasing to the South and the other awakened the bitterest opposition in the North.¹

Calhoun's Last Speech. — Early in March the last speech of the southern leader, Calhoun, was presented in the Senate; but Calhoun was too weak to deliver it and it was read by another senator.

The speech showed how, in the opinion of Calhoun, the North had long encroached on southern rights and how the two great sections of the country had grown steadily apart until there was scarcely a cord left to bind them together. He called for suppression of the antislavery agitation as the only hope of preserving the Union. He opposed Clay's Compromise.

Webster's Speech. — Daniel Webster spoke in favor of the Compromise, in what is known as his Seventh of March Speech. He took almost the ground of Calhoun in denouncing the agitators of the North and declared that the South had just reason for complaint against the North in the matter of encouraging runaway slaves. Webster by this last of his great orations awakened the severest criticism from his former friends. He was denounced in nearly all the Whig papers as no longer representing the views of his own section.

Seward. — One more great speech in the Senate marked this month of March, 1850. It was made by William H. Seward, former governor of New York and one of the foremost Whigs of the nation. In speaking of the Fugitive Slave Law Seward declared that the only way to secure its enforcement in the North was to soften it and not to make it more severe, for its enforcement would depend on the attitude of the people. "There is a higher law than the Constitution," said Seward, and this sentence was destined to live and to be repeated many thousands of times in the coming years.

¹ The other items of the Compromise of 1850 were: organization of New Mexico and Utah as territories, leaving the question of slavery in them unsettled; prohibition of the slave trade (not slavery) in the District of Columbia; and the payment of \$10,000,000 to Texas for her claims on New Mexico. (See map facing page 351.)

Death of the President. — The great debate continued through the spring and summer of 1850; but in midsummer the rancorous party clashes were hushed for a time by the death of President Taylor. On the ninth of July the old warrior who had faced death in many a battle yielded to the summons. Behind the black chariot that bore the body of the dead President in the funeral procession, “Old Whitey,” his favorite war horse, was led, bearing an empty saddle.

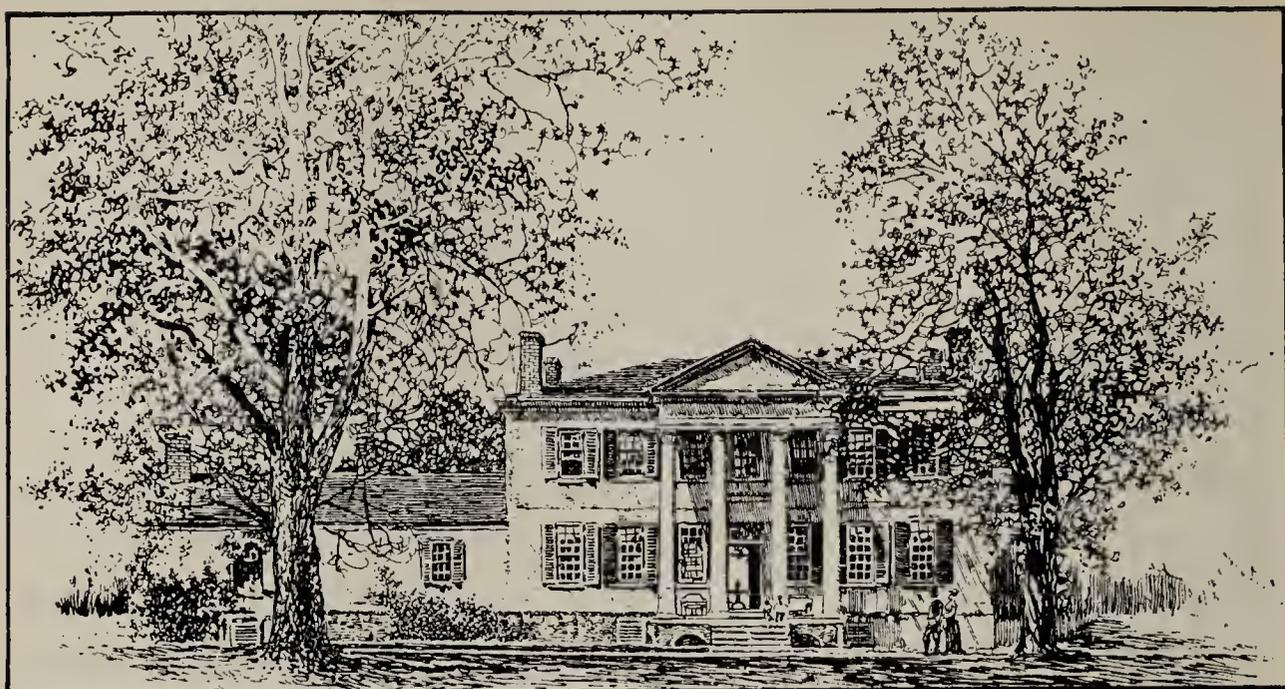
Millard Fillmore. — On July 10 Millard Fillmore became President of the United States. Though he was a northern man, it soon became clear that he had more sympathy with the southern view on the issues of slavery than had Taylor; and the Whigs were again at sea, as they had been eight years before on the death of Harrison.

The items of the compromise were made into law one by one during the late summer and autumn. The South accepted free California because there was hardly anything else to do. The matter had been settled, not at Washington in the halls of Congress, but in California by the people who lived there. Would the North accept the Fugitive Slave Law? That was quite a different matter.

V. OPPOSITION TO THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

Features of Slavery. — The belief of many northern people that a slave owner was generally a cruel and hard master, was incorrect. Great numbers of slaves were well treated. Many laborers on small farms and most house servants, as for example the black “mammy” in a family of growing children, lived a happy and contented life and had little or no desire for freedom.

On the great plantations the field hands often numbered hundreds. The planter’s house stood usually on high ground and was surrounded by fine shade trees. Not far away were negro quarters, a village of one-story cabins. Some of the slaves on a large plantation were carpenters, blacksmiths, coachmen, and house servants; but the great majority were field



SABINE HALL, IN VIRGINIA, BUILT IN 1730

workers. At certain times of the year they were hard worked; at other times their lot was comparatively easy and plantation life was pleasant and agreeable. The slave had no thought for the morrow, no care as to supplying his wants.

In the great cotton belt of the far South, however, the blacks often toiled under the direction of a hired overseer who would have them whipped if they did not work hard enough.

One of the evils of slavery was the slave market, where families were sometimes separated. To be "sold down the river" (the Mississippi River) was the dreaded fate of many slaves of the border states. John Randolph, a Virginia Congressman, was once asked to name the most eloquent speech he had ever heard. He answered that it was made by a slave woman and that her rostrum was the auction block; she was pleading for her children.

There were traders who made a business of buying and selling slaves and advertised for them just as they would for cattle. These traders were despised by the better class of slaveholders; and yet the death or misfortune of the most humane master might send all his slaves to the auction block. Only a few of the slaves — about 2000 a year — were set free by their owners.



SLAVE'S CABIN, ON THE SABINE PLANTATION

The Abolitionists. — There were several kinds of antislavery people. Some confined themselves to the non-extension doctrine; they said, let slavery alone where it exists, but do not extend it to the territories; let there be no more slave states. A small radical party, however, demanded that slavery be abolished in the whole country. Led by men like Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison (pp. 327–328), this party of abolitionists grew slowly as the years passed. At first there were many abolitionists in the South as well as in the North, men who looked upon slavery as an evil fastened upon them by former generations; but the Southerners in general came to believe it a fixture that could not be removed. The northern states had freed their slaves during the Revolution or soon after it, because the institution did not flourish in the North as in the South, owing to climatic and other causes. During the decade preceding the Civil War the abolitionists gained more and more support from among the people of the North.

Uncle Tom's Cabin. — One factor that made converts to the cause of abolition was *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe. This novel was criticized by Southerners as unfair because it stressed the worse rather than the better



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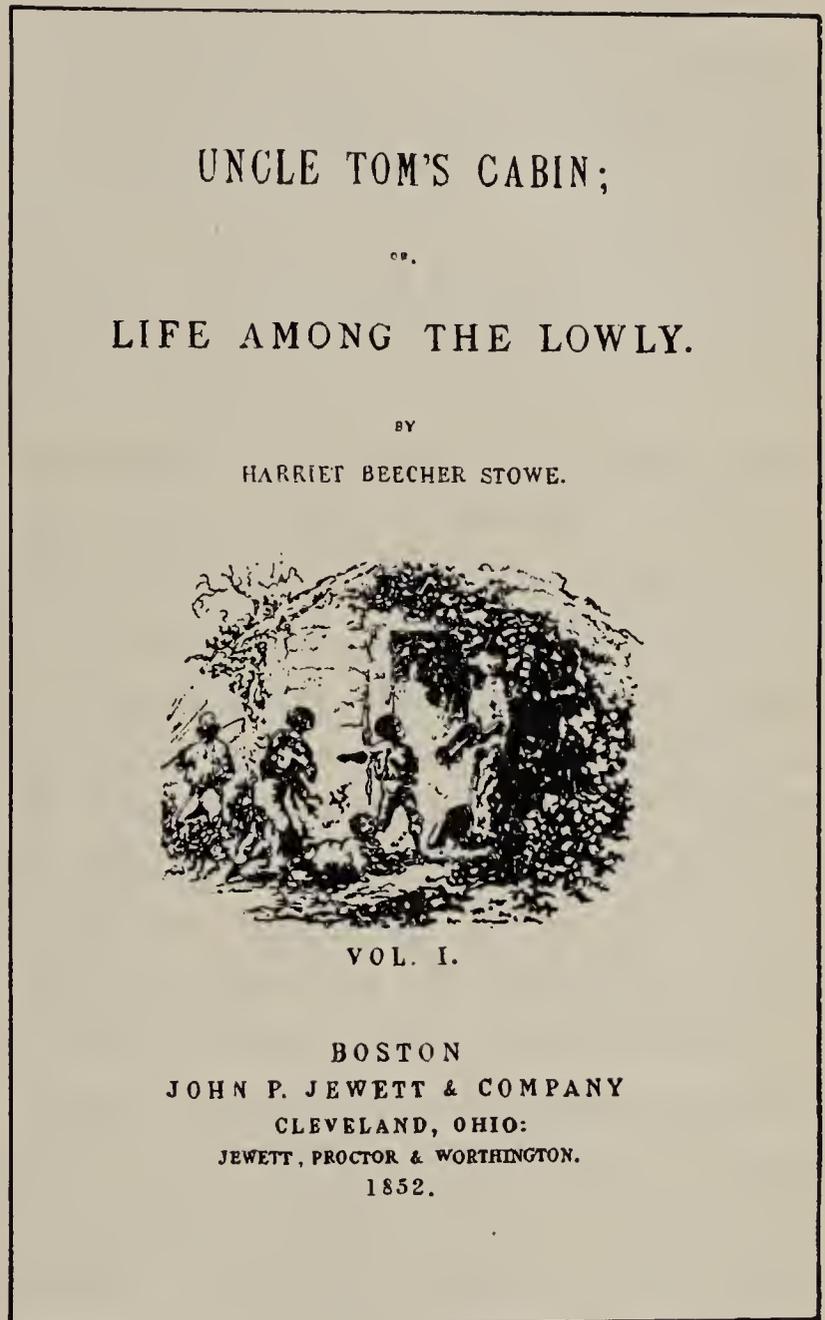
PICKING COTTON

The planting, cultivating, and picking of cotton require much hand labor.

features of slavery; but it was read by millions. Published in 1852 when the whole country was agitated over the subject, it had much to do with molding the minds, especially of young people, against slavery. Uncle Tom and Topsy and little Eva became the subject of conversation everywhere.

The Fugitive Slave Law. — Another factor that made abolitionists was the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. It turned out that Henry Clay was wrong in his belief that his Compromise of 1850 would settle the slavery question for at least thirty years. The abolitionists continually denounced the Fugitive Slave Law as unfair and unjust. Under

it, if a slave owner or his agent caught a negro anywhere in the United States, took him before a magistrate, and pronounced him his runaway, his word was accepted as sufficient evidence. The word of the negro was not considered, and a trial by jury was denied him. If the magistrate decided in favor of the negro his fee was only half as much as if he decided for the supposed owner. Some northern states tried to nullify the law by passing



TITLE PAGE OF "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN"

This novel won thousands to the cause of Abolition.

“ Personal Liberty Acts ” providing that negroes accused of being runaways should have a trial by jury.

The law commanded any bystander to aid in capturing or holding a fugitive slave if summoned by a magistrate to do so, and it imposed severe fine and imprisonment for aiding runaways to escape. Nevertheless there were many men who aided the runaways.

The Underground Railroad. — The “ Underground Railroad ” was not a real railroad under or above ground. It was the name given to the system of helping slaves in their efforts to escape. There were many lines of this railroad, especially across Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana. Any one who took part in the work might call himself a conductor, engineer, or what he liked. All served without pay, and so secret was their work that one’s nearest neighbors might not know one belonged to the system. Levi Coffin of Indiana, an aged Quaker, was called the president of the underground system because he did more perhaps than any one else in aiding escaping slaves.

The aim of the fugitives generally was to reach Canada, where the laws made them free. There were many stations of the underground road. The fugitives usually traveled at night and in the daytime were hidden away in one of the stations, in a garret, a coal mine, or a hay mow. There were all sorts of hiding places. At Zanesville, Ohio, there was an opening in a stone pier of a bridge across the Muskingum River, in the darkness of which many a fugitive spent the day.

For many years before the war an average of nearly 1000 slaves a year escaped from their masters, and colonies of them settled in Canada; some, however, remained in the northern states. When a runaway negro reached a free state he was seldom recaptured, owing to the efficiency of the Underground Railroad.

In 1850, great numbers of northern people knew and cared little about slavery until the Fugitive Slave Law forced it on their attention. Then they had only an unfavorable view of

slavery — the fleeing black man with his tale of woe — and many were led to oppose the whole institution.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give an account of the campaign of 1844. What was the Democratic campaign cry and what did it mean? Draw a map of western United States showing Oregon and Texas. How was the Oregon dispute settled? How was Texas brought into the Union?

II. What causes can you give for the Mexican War? Describe the movements of Zachary Taylor; of General Scott. What were the terms of the treaty of peace?

III. What was the Wilmot Proviso? Describe the election of 1848. What caused the Democratic defeat? Describe the rush to the California gold fields. Why did California become a free state?

IV. On what ground were there threats of disunion in 1850? What was Clay's Compromise of 1850? Have you read any of the speeches made on the bill? What was the effect of the admission of California as a free state?

V. What was the worst single feature of slavery? Distinguish between the free-soiler and the abolitionist. What effect had Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*? What were the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law? Describe the Underground Railroad.

Events and Dates. — Admission of Texas, 1845. Settlement of the Oregon boundary. Acquisition of California, 1848. Discovery of gold in California. Compromise of 1850.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: The general histories already mentioned. White, *The Forty-Niners*; Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*; Davis, *Under Six Flags*; Smith, *Annexation of Texas*; Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*; Siebert, *The Underground Railroad from Slavery to Freedom*. The last-named book is the best that has been written on the subject. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*; this is one of the fullest and best histories covering the entire Civil War period. Dodd, *Expansion and Conflict*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Parkman, *The Oregon Trail*; Coffin, *Building of the Nation*; Coe, *Makers of the Nation*.

CHAPTER XXVI

BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR

I. THE ELECTION OF 1852

As the presidential election of 1852 drew near, the one great question that had to be decided was whether the two great parties were willing to accept the Compromise of 1850 as a final settling of the slavery problems. The Whigs had brought about the compromise, but now they seemed less ready than the Democrats to make it final.

Franklin Pierce and Winfield Scott. — When the Democrats met in Baltimore on the first of June Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire received the nomination. The son of a soldier of the Revolution, a lawyer of good standing, Pierce had entered politics and had served in both houses of Congress. He had also been an officer under General Scott in the Mexican War. Pierce was neither a statesman nor a party leader. But he was jolly and companionable; he made many friends and few enemies.

The Whigs met a little later in the same city and nominated General Winfield Scott, who seemed to be the only one who could unite the northern and southern wings of the party. Twice the Whigs had won the presidency by naming a soldier candidate. Why should they not do so again?

Winfield Scott was a grand old man, and a truer patriot the country never produced. But he was the kind of man to attract admiration rather than affection. So exact and careful was he about his words and actions and dress that the soldiers, who had dubbed Taylor "Old Rough and Ready," nicknamed Scott "Old Fuss and Feathers."

Both party platforms pronounced in favor of making the Compromise of 1850 a final settlement of the slave question;

but the Whig party was hopelessly divided on the Fugitive Slave Law. Pierce won the election by a huge majority, Scott carrying but four states, two on each side of Mason and Dixon's line.

The election gave a deathblow to the Whig party, so decisive was the defeat. The Democratic party seemed again to be strongly entrenched in power — but who could tell when a storm might break out?

The new President in his inaugural address promised the country rest from the slavery agitation, and there was rest — for about a year. Then the storm broke.

II. BLEEDING KANSAS

The one man responsible above all others for disturbing the peace of the country at this time was the brilliant, ambitious Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, often called the "Little Giant."

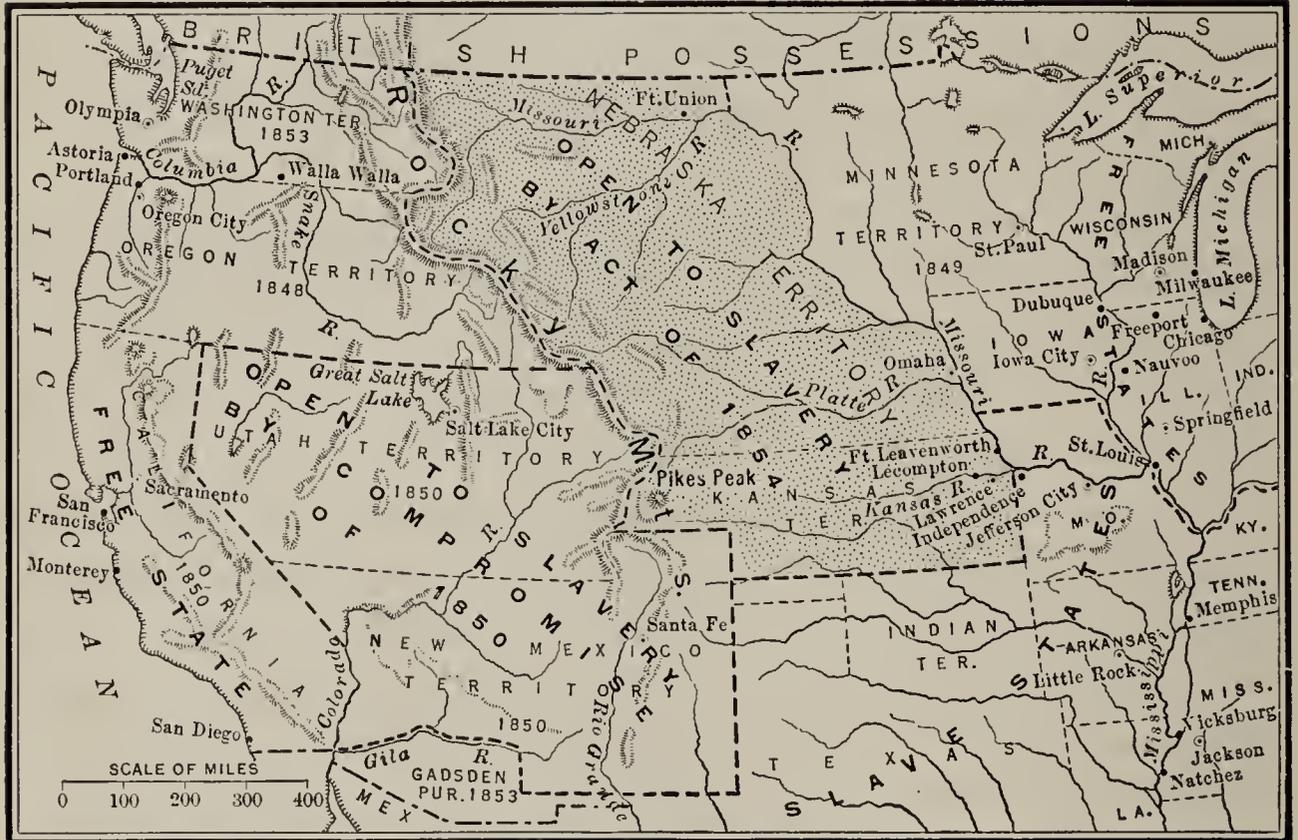
There was an extensive section of the Louisiana Purchase north and west of Missouri and extending to the boundary of Canada. As Douglas was chairman of the committee on territories in the Senate he introduced a bill to organize that section into the territories of Kansas and Nebraska.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — The one item in this Kansas-Nebraska Bill that caused a cyclone of protest from the North was a provision that in each territory the people should decide whether it should be slave or free. Both Kansas and Nebraska lay north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ as fixed by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. For thirty-four years that line had stood and millions of the people of the North had come to regard it as sacred. It was expected to keep slavery out of the Northwest.

After adopting an amendment actually repealing the Missouri Compromise, Douglas secured the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill through both houses. It became a law in the spring of 1854.

Popular Sovereignty. — Douglas called his doctrine "popular sovereignty," a ruling by the people. His final speech in sup-

port of it was masterly; but there was powerful opposition by such orators as Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Ben Wade of Ohio, and Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Douglas professed to believe that his doctrine would settle the slavery question in



KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT, 1854

the territories by permitting each to decide for itself whether it should be slave or free. But it did nothing of the kind. It only transferred the strife to another scene. It brought ruffianism and bloodshed to the plains of Kansas.

A great stretch of prairie land lying west of Missouri was called Kansas. According to Douglas's bill it might become a slave or a free state, as the settlers might determine.

First the slaveholders of Missouri began to pour across the border and to settle along the Missouri River. But it was not long before the free settlers began to come in and to settle along the valley of the Kansas River.

A clash between the two sides was not long in coming. Each side set up a government, the one making Kansas a free, the other making it a slave territory. Here is a sample of the border

warfare in Kansas. A posse of proslavery men marched into the antislavery town of Lawrence to make some arrests. Some of them were lawless men who had been drinking. They looted stores and newspaper offices and burned the hotel; in the *mêlée* five men were killed.

John Brown. — There was among the free state settlers an elderly man of long flowing beard whose hatred of slavery amounted almost to insanity. His name was John Brown. As a boy of twelve years he had traveled through Kentucky with his father collecting supplies for soldiers of the War of 1812. At one home in which they were lodged there was a slave boy about Brown's age. This boy was bright and intelligent, but his master treated him harshly. Brown, observing this and other cases, came to hate slavery with an implacable hatred. He brooded over the subject until his judgment was warped and he became an unreasoning fanatic. In Lawrence five anti-slavery men had been killed during the contest, and Brown believed they should be avenged by the death of as many on the other side. With a band of seven men, four of whom were his own sons, he started out on his murderous errand. That night he and his band killed five men and left their bodies along the roadside. Probably not one of the murdered men was in the band that had sacked Lawrence. The free state people were horrified at what Brown had done.

During the next few years border ruffianism reigned in Kansas. Bands of desperate men, meeting other bands of the opposite side, would engage them in deadly combat; probably two hundred were slain. Kansas did not enter the Union as a state until after the opening of the Civil War.

Senator Douglas was sadly mistaken in his claim that popular sovereignty would relieve the halls of Congress of the slavery discussion. He did not foresee that his course would, within a few years, tear asunder his own party, would prevent him from ever reaching the presidency, and would prove a fatal step toward civil war.

III. THE NEW REPUBLICAN PARTY

Before studying the Republican party we must take notice of another party, which sprang up a few years earlier, flourished for a time, and then disappeared. It is known as the Know-Nothing party.

The Know-Nothing Party. — The Know-Nothing party called itself the American party. At first it was a secret society and when its members were asked what the party stood for, they would answer, "I don't know." From this they came to be called Know-Nothings. The party opposed electing foreign-born citizens, especially Roman Catholics, to office. In the early fifties the party won elections in many states and sent a number of men to Congress. Then it began to decline and, as the Whig party was rapidly crumbling, the way was open for the formation of a new political party.

Beginnings of the Republican Party. — The Republican party, founded in 1854, owed its origin in a great measure to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The protest against that bill in the North was instant and emphatic. At public meetings and in the newspapers, from the rostrum and the pulpit, there arose a mighty cry against throwing down the bars of the Missouri Compromise and admitting the slaveholder with his human property to the territories of the West.

A strong leader was Salmon P. Chase, who led a revolt of Democrats against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. They were known as the Anti-Nebraska Democrats and were later absorbed in the new party.

Another element that made up the new party was the northern Whigs and still another was the Know-Nothings. These parties were on the verge of going to pieces and thousands of their members were ready to join any new movement that pleased their fancy. During the spring of 1854 citizens' meetings were held, first in Wisconsin and later in other states, and resolutions passed calling for the founding of a new national party, with

opposition to the extension of slavery as its guiding principle. The movement spread over the whole North with wonderful rapidity, but not until 1856 was the party organized. In that year, on February 22, a great meeting was held in Pittsburgh and in that meeting the new party found itself, gave itself the name Republican, and called a national convention to meet in Philadelphia in June for the purpose of nominating candidates for the presidential election of that year.

James Buchanan. — In June, 1856, the Democratic convention met in Cincinnati. President Pierce had sought a renomination, but he was not pleasing to the North. Though his home was far to the North, in the Granite State, he had steadily shown himself in sympathy with the slaveholders.

The party turned to James Buchanan (bu-kăn'an), an old-time Democrat who had had nothing to do with the unpopular Kansas-Nebraska Bill, because he had spent the four years in London as minister to Great Britain.

John C. Frémont. — The Republicans were for a time at sea in the matter of choosing a candidate. The party was newly formed and was composed largely of young men who were determined to win the election. While they were casting about for a popular candidate the name of John C. Frémont was suggested.

As a statesman Frémont was untried, but he had attracted wide attention at the time of the Mexican War by his exploits in California. The glamour of romance that clustered about his name attracted the young men, and he was chosen on the first ballot by the convention that met in Philadelphia in June, 1856.

Campaign of 1856. — The one great principle on which the Republican party had been founded and that now stood out in its platform was that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories. This principle was galling to the South and there was no Republican party south of Mason and Dixon's line.

The Republican campaign cry was "Free speech, Free soil, and Frémont." Mass meetings were held, almost equal to those of the Log Cabin and Hard Cider campaign of 1840.

When the election was over it was found that Buchanan had won in all the slave states except Maryland and in five of the northern states and was elected.

IV. THE DRED SCOTT CASE

Buchanan as President. — Few Presidents in our history have had more trying conditions to face than had James Buchanan. He had been a minister abroad, a senator, and Secretary of State in Polk's Cabinet; but he was a follower rather than a leader of men. He was a sincere patriot, but, like Fillmore and Pierce, also northern men, he sympathized with the slaveholder and deplored the spirit of agitation in his own section.

The slavery issue had kept the country in a turmoil for many years. The ship of state had thus far weathered the storm, but the storm was growing more fierce. The strong and steady hand of a master helmsman was at this time needed to guide the ship, and the hand of James Buchanan was not very strong and not very steady.

Dred Scott. — For some years Kansas had been the center of the slavery contest; but in 1857, soon after the inauguration of Buchanan, the Dred Scott decision played a great part toward making the two sections of the country irreconcilable, toward bringing on the Civil War.

Dred Scott was a slave, the property of Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon. For some time the doctor was stationed in Illinois and in the territory that became Minnesota. On his return to Missouri Dred Scott sued for his freedom on the ground that he had been held in slavery on free soil, contrary to law. The case was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States and it was decided against Dred Scott by Chief Justice Taney (tô'nĭ) and a majority of the court. The decision pronounced Dred Scott not a citizen and therefore not capable of suing in the courts. It also declared that Congress had no power to prohibit slavery in the territories.

Effect of the Decision. — This meant that any citizen could

move into any territory and take with him his property, whether horses or oxen or slaves; it meant that the Missouri Compromise, prohibiting slavery north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, was unconstitutional and void, and had been so from the beginning.

The storm of criticism that arose from the North clearly showed that the people were not in a temper to accept this decision of the court as the permanent settlement of the great question that had been so long under discussion. There is a higher tribunal than our Supreme Court. It is the people, who have the power to change the Constitution.

V. THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES

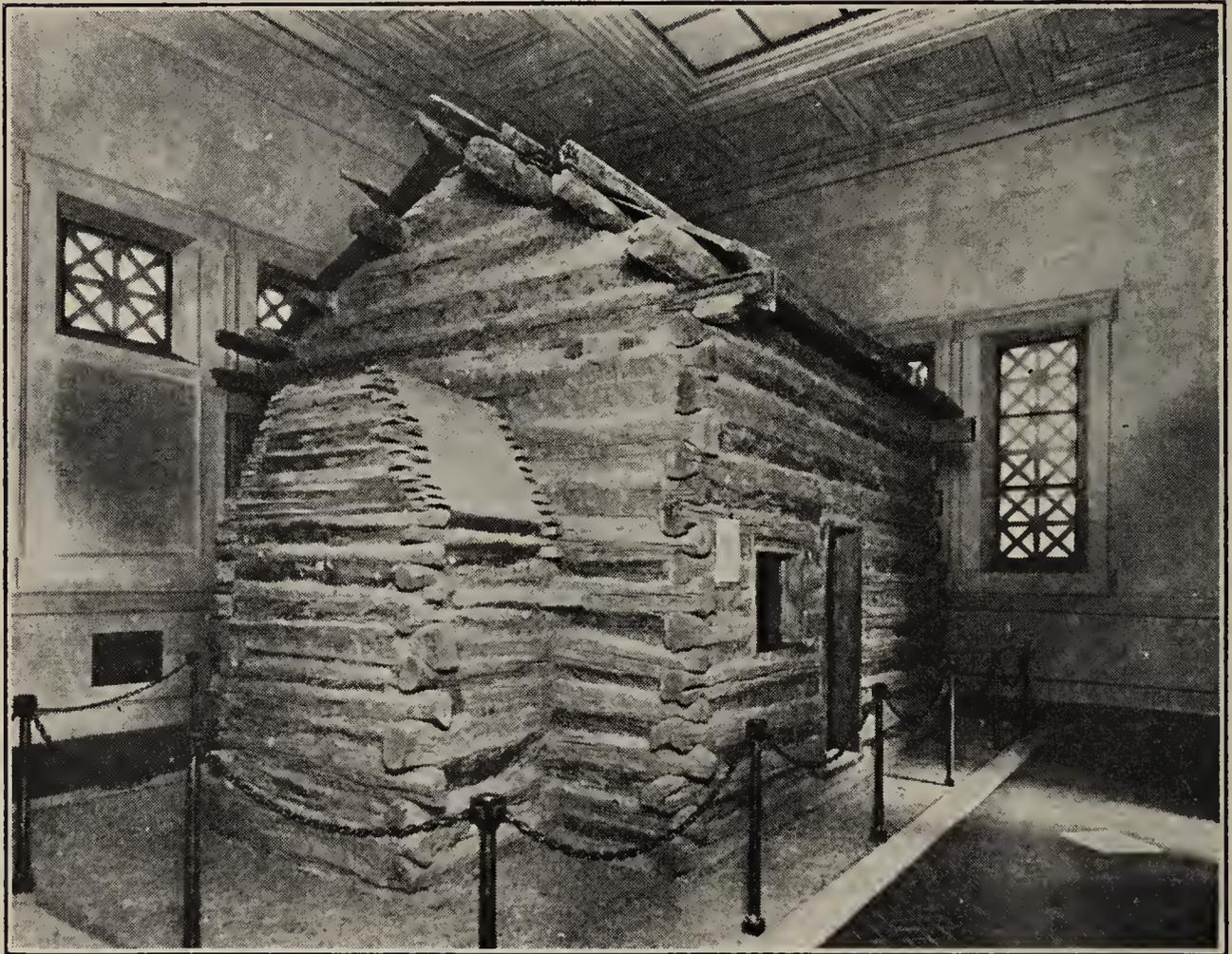
Douglas. — Stephen Arnold Douglas had deeply offended the North by his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He was denounced by thousands of people. He was called Benedict Arnold and Judas Iscariot, and a society of women in Ohio emphasized their contempt by sending him thirty pieces of silver. It was believed that his great object had been to win southern support in his hope of attaining the presidency.

But Douglas had regained his popularity in the North by refusing to support a slavery constitution for Kansas without putting it to a fair vote of the people of that territory.

In 1858 the people of Illinois elected a legislature that was to choose a successor to Douglas in the United States Senate. Douglas had served two six-year terms and he now came up for a third election.

In many respects Douglas was a remarkable man. Born in Vermont, he had migrated in early manhood to the rising West. While reading law he taught school, then entered politics. In 1843, at the age of thirty, he was elected to Congress. One who knew him well writes: "He had scarcely touched the floor of Congress before he became an object of interest. His extreme youth, his boyish appearance, his ready wit, his fine memory, his native rhetoric, above all, his suavity and heartiness made him a favorite among all classes."

Early Life of Lincoln. — In this senatorial contest Douglas had to contend with a still more striking character than himself — Abraham Lincoln. Born in a log cabin in Kentucky, Lincoln moved to southern Indiana in early childhood. Here in a sparsely settled region covered with native timber Lincoln spent most of his boyhood. He attended school but ten or twelve months in all his life, in a log schoolhouse which he and his father helped to build.



© *Caufield & Shook*

LOG CABIN IN WHICH LINCOLN WAS BORN

Near Hodgenville, Ky. Here the Lincoln family lived until Abraham was seven, when they moved to southern Indiana. A modern building now incloses and protects the Lincoln cabin.

After Lincoln learned to read he borrowed books wherever he could and read everything he could find, even a dry series of law books which most young men would never have looked at a second time. One day he borrowed a life of Washington from a neighbor. As he took it home he read as he walked, picking

his way among the bushes and briars as best he could, scarcely taking his eyes from the book. When he climbed the ladder to the loft that night to go to bed, he took the book with him. As he lay abed he read for a while by the light of a piece of candle. When it burned out he stuck the book in a crevice in the wall and went to sleep. That night rain, beating through the crevice, badly soiled the book. When he told the neighbor what had happened, he said, "Well, Abe, I won't be hard on you; if you shuck corn for me three days, you can have the book."

A pretty big price it was to pay, but Lincoln paid it and was the proud owner of a soiled copy of Weems's *Life of Washington* — perhaps the first book he had ever owned.

The Great Debate. — At the age of twenty-one Lincoln moved west and settled in the prairies of Illinois. He became a lawyer, was elected to the legislature, and served one term in Congress. It was he whom the Republicans now brought forth to contest with Douglas the seat in the United States Senate. They arranged for a series of joint debates to be held in seven towns and to cover two months. The meetings were held out of doors, as no hall could contain the great crowds that gathered.

These were the most famous debates that ever took place in America, not even excepting the Webster-Hayne debate of 1830. Lincoln was scarcely known to the great public, and he attracted attention because of his connection with the world-famous Little Giant. It is a strange fact that to-day Douglas is known to history more because of his contest with Lincoln than for anything else in his career.

We need not follow the debates. The one chief subject was slavery in the territories. Douglas talked "popular sovereignty"; Lincoln talked "non-extension."

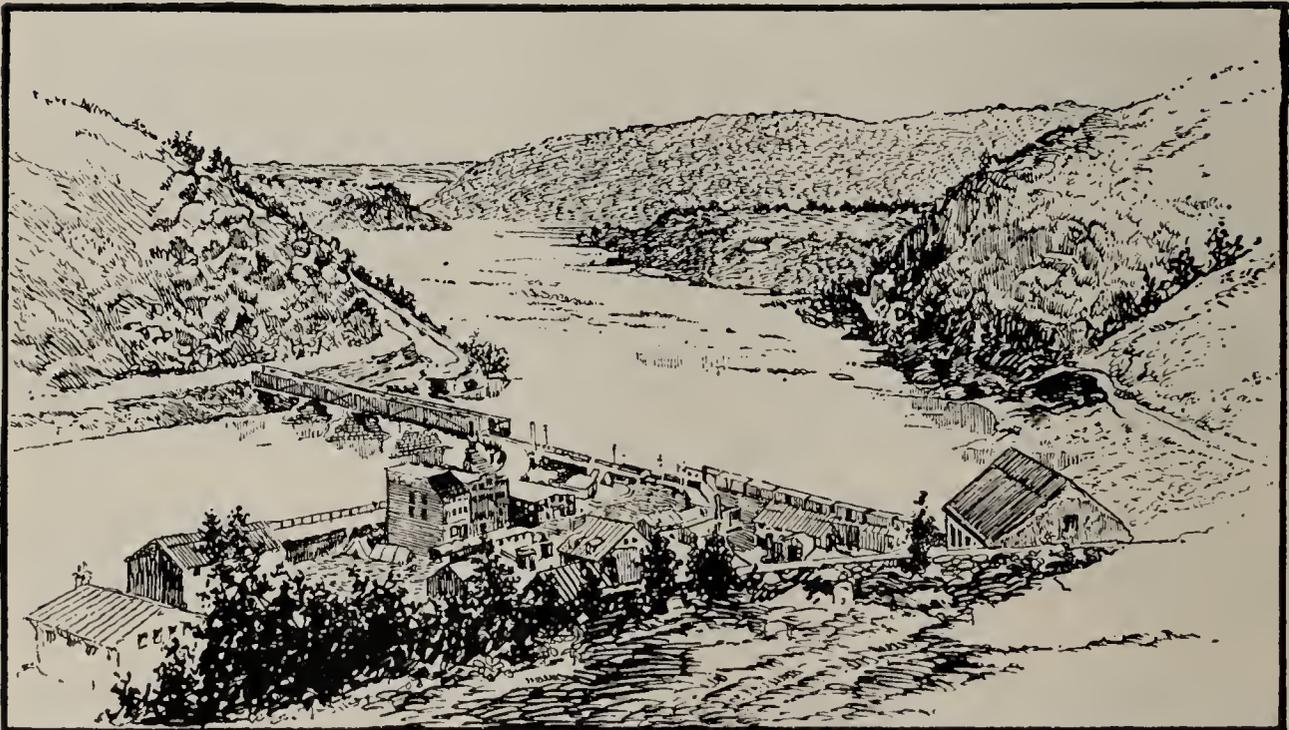
Lincoln by questioning forced Douglas to say that the people of any territory could prevent slavery in the territory if they chose. This was contrary to the Dred Scott decision and Douglas in taking this ground offended the whole South. Douglas won the senatorship, but Lincoln secured "larger game" two years later.

“ A house divided against itself cannot stand,” said Lincoln, quoting from the New Testament; “ the government cannot endure half slave and half free; it will become all one or all the other. About this time Seward made a great speech in New York in which he used the term “ irrepressible conflict ” between the North and the South. This meant about the same thing as Lincoln’s “ house divided against itself.”

VI. JOHN BROWN AND HARPERS FERRY

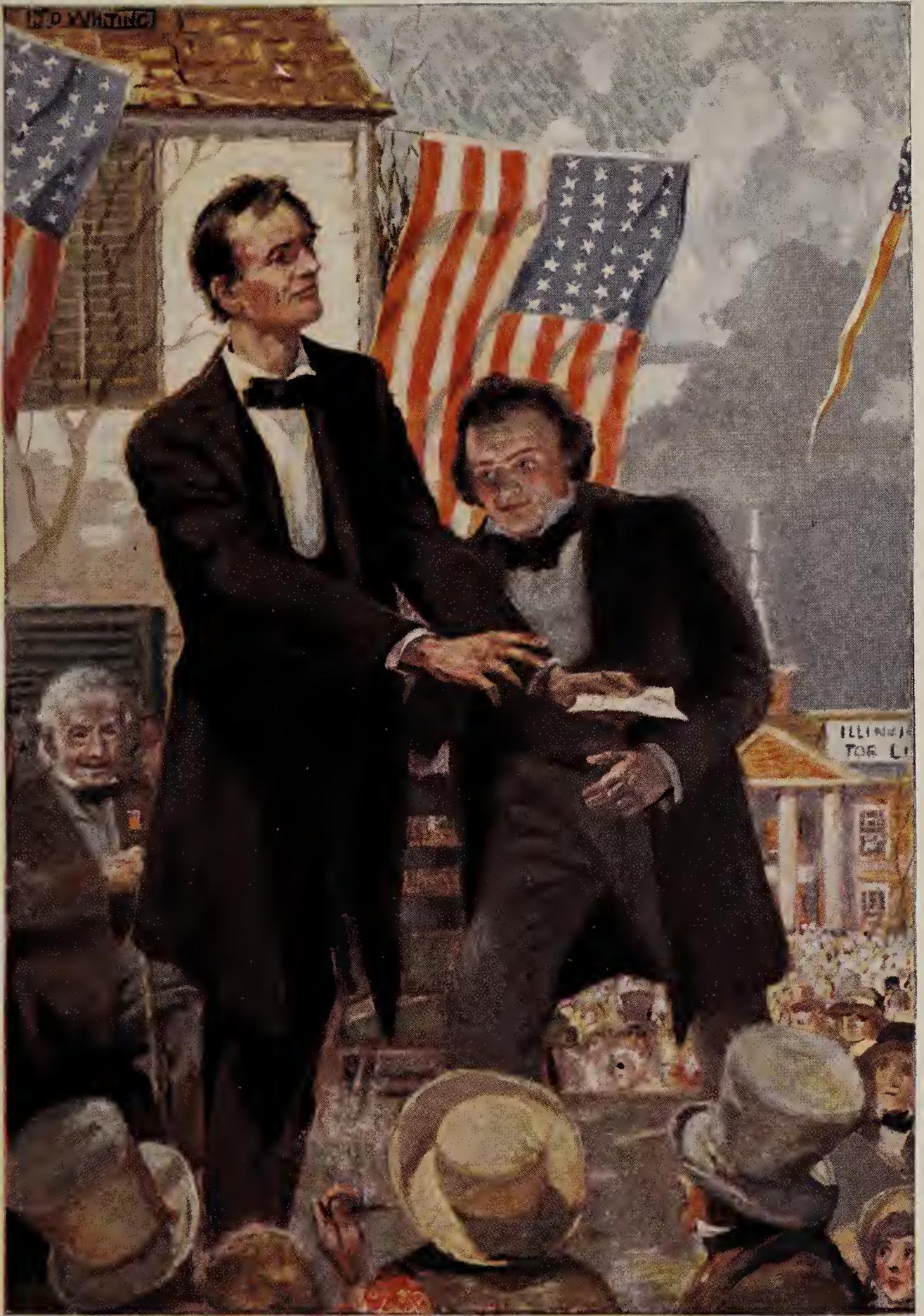
Seizure of Harpers Ferry.— On October 17, 1859, the country was startled by the sensational news that the United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, had been seized by a band of desperate men, who were firing on the people of the town. Next day came the news that the band had been captured and the arsenal recovered by marines sent from Washington under Colonel Robert E. Lee.

John Brown (page 361) with about twenty young men, two of whom were his sons, had made the assault. Brown was severely



HISTORIC HARPERS FERRY

This was the scene of John Brown’s raid. During the Civil War, in September, 1862, the Union forces stationed here were forced to surrender to General Stonewall Jackson. This drawing is from an early photograph.



A LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATE

wounded when captured, and ten of his little band had been killed. Five of the townspeople had been killed. Brown refused to surrender, declaring he had rather die on the spot. His composure was amazing. With one of his sons dead at his side and the other dying, he quietly explained that his purpose was to seize the government's firearms, to arm slaves, and to set them at liberty. He denied any intention to take life or to incite the slaves to rebellion. Brown was tried in a Virginia court, convicted, and sentenced to death. On December 2 he was hanged. His composure continued to the end. He said that he felt no consciousness of guilt and that perhaps it was best for him to die for the cause.

Effect of the Raid. — John Brown's raid found few supporters at the North, though many pronounced Brown a hero and a martyr; and of course it was bitterly condemned at the South. As to giving his life for the cause, it is probable that Brown's raid did the North far more harm than good. When the war came two years later it is possible that great numbers of the non-slaveholding southern whites would have decided for the Union but for their fear of slave uprisings.

VII. ELECTION OF LINCOLN TO THE PRESIDENCY

A presidential campaign is usually attended with a good deal of excitement, and of good-natured partisan banter. But it is always serious to most people, though the government continues to move on, whoever wins. Now and then, however, a campaign may be of momentous importance, and such was the campaign of 1860.

A Divided Party. — Douglas was again the idol of the Democrats of the North, but he had lost much of his prestige in the South. The Democratic convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, in April, 1860. The northern and southern delegates could not agree and after many ballots without success, Douglas leading in all, the convention adjourned to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June.

When it met in Baltimore, many of the southern delegates seceded from the convention, and the northern delegates thereupon nominated Douglas for President. The southern delegates met at another place and named for the presidency, John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. Thus the great party that had controlled the country most of the time since the days of Jefferson was hopelessly divided.

Nomination of Lincoln. — The Republicans met in Chicago on May 16. Seward of New York was supposed to be the coming man. He had been the leader of Republican thought long before the party was founded. But Seward had made many enemies and it was feared that he could not win.

The states of the Middle West were turning their eyes toward the man who had attracted national attention two years before in the great debate with Douglas. Lincoln had made few enemies. He was very popular where known. He was witty and entertaining with his droll stories, and above all he had a profound knowledge of the great issues of the day and was deeply devoted to the doctrines of his party. On the first ballot Seward led, but Lincoln was nominated on the third. The noise of the cheering in the convention hall was so great that the boom of cannon without could scarcely be heard. Hannibal Hamlin of Maine was chosen for second place.

In addition to these tickets now in the field a fourth must be mentioned. A remnant of the old Whig party, calling itself the Constitutional Union party, unable to agree with the Democrats or the Republicans, held a convention and nominated John Bell of Tennessee for President and Edward Everett of Massachusetts for Vice President.

The Campaign. — The great contest was on. Never before perhaps had the American people had so much at stake in a campaign. The momentous issue of civil war hung in the balance.

The one important issue was slavery in the territories. The Lincoln and Breckinridge parties represented the extremes.

The Republican party declared that in future slavery must not be permitted in the territories. The Breckinridge Democrats declared that Congress must protect slavery in all territories. The Douglas Democrats took middle ground, declaring that Congress should keep its hands off and the people of each territory should decide for themselves on the slavery question.

It was clearly seen as the campaign progressed that Douglas could not be elected. He could hope for very few if any northern states and perhaps none in the South. It was equally clear that Breckinridge could not be elected, for all the southern states were not enough to elect him and he had no party in the North.

Would Lincoln be elected, or would there be a deadlock? In the latter case, the election would be thrown into the House, as it had been in 1800 and in 1824. The result hinged on two great states of the North, both of which had voted for Buchanan four years before — Pennsylvania and Indiana. If Lincoln could win these his election would be assured.

Lincoln and Hamlin swept the entire North, except that Douglas secured three of the seven electoral votes of New Jersey. Lincoln's electoral vote was 180 out of a total of 303. The South voted for Breckinridge, except that Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee went to Bell, and Missouri to Douglas.

In the long series of contests over the slavery question between the North and the South, covering a quarter of a century, the South had usually won because the North was not united. At last it had come to be united and its victory in 1860 was a notice that there should be no more slave states.

The answer of the South was quick and decisive. Then followed the greatest civil war in the history of the world.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What strong points had Pierce as a presidential candidate?

II. What was the purpose of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? What may have been Douglas's motive in offering it? Relate the story of Kansas.

III. What did the Know-Nothing party stand for? Why did the Whig

party disintegrate? Give the causes of the founding of the Republican party. On what principle chiefly did it stand? Why was Buchanan specially available as a candidate in 1856? What led the Republicans to choose Frémont?

IV. Give an estimate of the leadership of James Buchanan. Why was the Dred Scott decision one of great importance?

V. Tell something of Lincoln's childhood. Have you read a life of Lincoln? How would you compare him with Douglas? What was the great subject of the joint debate?

VI. Relate the story of John Brown. In what way did his raid on Harpers Ferry hurt the abolition cause?

VII. Why was the election of 1860 a very important one? What caused the break in the Democratic convention? Write a paper on the incidents of the campaign. (See library.)

Events and Dates. — The Kansas-Nebraska Bill, 1854. Decay of the Whig and Know-Nothing parties. Founding of the Republican party. Dred Scott decision, 1857. Lincoln-Douglas debates, 1858.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Rhodes's history of this period is the best that has been written. Sparks, *Men who Made the Nation*; Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*; Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*. Fite, *The Presidential Campaign of 1860*; Burgess, *The Middle Period*; Forney, *Anecdotes of Public Men*; Biographies of Lincoln and of Douglas; Moores, *Lincoln, Addresses and Letters*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Tarbell, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*; Hart, *Romance of the Civil War*; Burnham, *The Making of Our Country*; Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*; Baldwin, *Abraham Lincoln*.



FASHIONS OF ABOUT 1840

CHAPTER XXVII

GROWTH AND PROGRESS (1830-1860)

BEFORE entering on the history of the war that followed the election of Lincoln let us make a brief review of the conditions and progress of the times.

I. POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

New States. — Between 1840 and 1860 the population of the United States grew from 17,000,000 to 31,000,000. But still more striking than these figures was the wonderful expansion in territory. Texas was annexed in 1845, as we have seen, then California and Oregon were added, so that the stars and stripes waved over the entire central portion of the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the boundary of Canada to the Gulf of Mexico and the Rio Grande.

The continuous wave of western migration had flowed on and had covered most of the vast plain between the Mississippi and the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. A great belt of states west of the great river from its head waters to the gulf had been admitted to the Union, as also had California and Oregon west of the mountains.¹

The jealousy between New England and the West was rapidly disappearing, while the sectional feeling between the North and the South had grown stronger, until by 1860 the two seemed to each other almost like foreign lands.

The North had far outrun the South in population. The population of the North in 1860 was twenty million; that of the southern slave states was a little over eleven million,

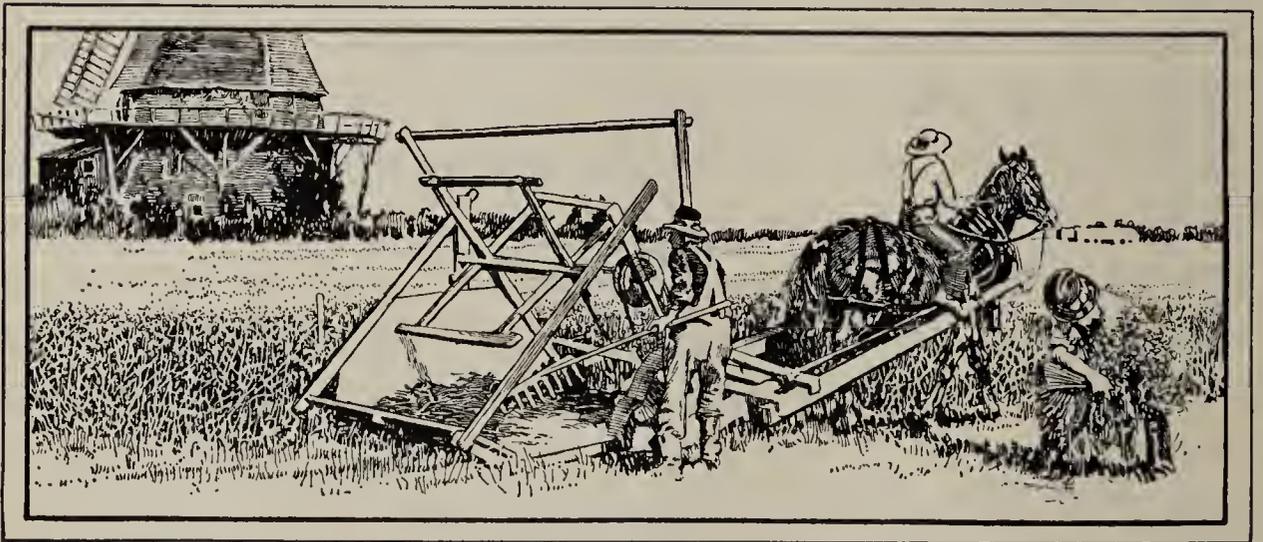
¹ Minnesota, free state, was admitted in 1858; Oregon, free, in 1859.

nearly four million of whom were slaves. One reason for this difference was the fact that the emigrants from Europe, coming in an ever increasing stream, settled almost wholly in the North. Most of them were laboring people and they preferred to live among free white men rather than to become fellow laborers with black bondmen.

II. THREE GREAT INVENTIONS

The thirty years preceding the war brought many inventions of the greatest importance to the progress of civilization. It is better to study here a few with some fullness than to learn only the names of a large number.

McCormick Invents the Reaper. — One of the most important of American inventions is the grain reaper, invented by Cyrus H. McCormick.



AN EARLY FORM OF THE MCCORMICK REAPER (BETWEEN 1831 AND 1834)

Before the invention of the reaper the farmer often found it very difficult to harvest his ripened grain in time to save it. Reaping the grain with the sickle, as had been done for thousands of years, was a slow and laborious process. The cradle for cutting wheat, invented by Americans early in the nineteenth century, was a great advance over the sickle. But the cry of the increasing population of the world for more bread would have been hard to meet but for the invention of the reaper.

Cyrus H. McCormick was a farmer boy in Virginia. His father owned a large farm and was himself a would-be inventor. For many years he worked on a reaping machine, but it failed to work and then the son took it up. He made some important changes and produced a machine that would really do the work.

In the summer of 1832 he called together a number of farmers to see him try out his new machine. At first it worked a little clumsily and one farmer said, "It is a humbug." Another said, "Give me the old cradle." But before nightfall Cyrus had cut six acres cleaner than any cradle would do it. Then all the farmers were convinced, and one exclaimed, "That machine is worth a hundred thousand dollars."



Keystone View Co.

MCCORMICK REAPER OF TO-DAY

Later McCormick took out a patent and moved to Chicago, where he could be near the great wheat fields of the West. With later improvements the reaper became also a self-binder, and during the latter half of the century great numbers of these machines were sold.

Other inventions — the drill, the thresher, the cultivator, and others — were of great use to the farmer, but none perhaps is so important as the self-binding reaper. Without it the immense

wheat farms of the West would be impossible and the supplying of the world with bread would be a most serious problem.

Howe Invents the Sewing Machine. — If there is another labor-saving machine of this period of still greater importance than the reaper, it is the sewing machine, the inventor of which was Elias Howe.

In prehistoric times man learned to sew skins together with leather thongs, using a pointed bone for a needle. Later we find steel needles and woven cloth and fine spun thread; but for thousands of years, until the days of our grandmothers, sewing was done by hand, a slow and tedious process.



HOWE SEWING MACHINE

People were at first very slow to buy this machine. A contest was therefore arranged between the sewing machine and a group of hand workers, and the machine won.

Elias Howe was the son of a New England farmer. As a lad he worked on his father's farm and he rambled over the hills and through the woods hunting nuts or chasing squirrels. Later he worked in the mills at Lowell and when about twenty he conceived the idea of inventing a sewing machine. He did not

know perhaps that others had tried the same thing and had not succeeded.

After years of deep study Howe perfected his first sewing machine, securing a patent in 1846. He exhibited it to many people, who watched with curious interest the fine work it did. But no one seemed to want to buy one. The inventor then sailed for Europe with his wife and three children. In London he had little better success than in America, and he was in poverty. People were slow to see that the sewing machine was a great invention of supreme importance to the world.

Returning to America, Howe at last found an awakened public. His invention became very popular and he became a rich man.

The sewing machine has come to be used in clothing and harness and shoe factories the world over, and it is found in almost every American home. It has played a great part in making clothing cheap and in relieving women of drudgery, thus enabling them to take more interest in the church, in education, and in public affairs.

Morse Invents the Telegraph. — Another epoch-making American invention of the same period that brought the reaper and the sewing machine is the electric telegraph. The inventor was Samuel F. B. Morse.

You read in your newspaper what occurred yesterday on the opposite side of the earth, news that a century ago would have taken half a year to reach you. It is sent by a code of dots and dashes through metallic wire, at the marvelous speed of electricity, which is the same as the speed of light — 186,000 miles a second. If you send a message by wire, no matter if you are thousands of miles away, every syllable reaches its destination before the next one can start. Such is the telegraph, from two Greek words meaning distance writing.

Morse was an artist. He painted portraits of many noted people. When Lafayette visited this country Morse painted his portrait; it is now in City Hall, New York.

In 1832, when Morse was about forty years old, he was returning from Europe and while he was aboard the ship in mid-ocean the idea of the telegraph took possession of his mind. For many years thereafter he labored to perfect his invention, living on the scantiest means in a single room in New York, even preparing his own meals.

Several times Morse applied to Congress for money to construct a line from Washington to Baltimore, a distance of forty miles, but the grant was refused. At length, in 1843, he renewed the application, and again it seemed probable that the bill would be lost. Some derided the project, one saying "as well vote money to build a railroad to the moon."

Morse listened to the debate. To a friend he said, "I have an awful headache . . . I have spent seven years in perfecting this invention. If the bill fails I am ruined. I have not money to pay my board." Believing it would fail, he went home. The bill passed at midnight. Next morning the daughter of a friend called on him early to congratulate him. He could scarcely believe her. Presently he said, "You were first to tell me. When the line is completed you shall choose the first words to be sent."

"**What hath God wrought!**" — The line was completed in May, 1844. Morse remembered his promise and the girl chose from the Bible these fitting words, "What hath God wrought!"¹ The first bit of news sent over this first telegraph line was the statement that James K. Polk had been chosen by the Democratic convention at Baltimore as candidate for President of the United States.

The telegraph was a marvelous invention, one of the most important of modern times. It soon came to be used in all civilized lands; electric wires girdled the world. Morse lived to see the great success of his invention and to find himself a man of wealth. But money could never pay an inventor for such a gift to the world as the telegraph.

¹ From Numbers, 23:23.

III. RAILROADS AND RIVER STEAMERS

Railroads. — Railroads had a remarkable growth during the ten years just preceding the war. In 1850 there were nine thousand miles of railroad in the United States; in 1860 there were thirty thousand miles. In 1850 the valley of the Mississippi was almost without railroads, but within the coming ten years several trunk lines had crossed the Appalachians, and had extended on into the prairied West. Chicago was first connected with the East by rail in 1853. The canal had lost much of its importance, and even the river steamer was losing ground to the railroads. But the river steamer was still a great factor in western life.

River Steamers. — A trip on the Father of Waters in one of the huge side-wheelers with its hissing steampipes and its thumping engine was a great event to one not accustomed to river life. The passengers represented all classes — the rich tourist, the gambler, the merchant transporting goods to the market, the pioneer seeking a new home. As the vessel plowed through the murky waters day after day, the travelers engaged in singing, dancing, playing cards; or they sat in groups discussing politics — the slave question, the tariff, or the possible results of the next election. The captain of the vessel was perhaps a rough type of the frontier, coarse in his language, chewing tobacco profusely, unable to read, quick to resent an insult and to use his fists, but generous to a fault and faithful to his friends.

The workmen on these boats, called roustabouts, were mostly black slaves, with rolling eyes and ivory teeth. They were driven hard at their work, but at intervals of leisure they would sing and dance as if they never had a care; and when they loaded or unloaded freight their singing “hee ooh hee” resounded from shore to shore.

It was on one of these river steamers that Mark Twain as a youth received much of the inspiration that made him a popular author.

IV. EDUCATION; RELIGION; LITERATURE

The Free School System. — Our free school system, though long coming, is now well established in almost every part of the country. We all agree that every boy and girl in the land has a right to an education, whether the parents be rich or poor.

In 1837 Horace Mann began the great task of reforming the school system of Massachusetts and putting it on a modern basis. His influence was felt in all the states. In Pennsylvania the leading champion of free public schools was Thaddeus Stevens, who later spent many years in Congress. The great pioneer in education in Ohio was Samuel Lewis, who did for that new and growing state what Horace Mann did for Massachusetts.

The states one after another established free school systems, those of the Mississippi Valley closely following the states of the East. Texas made a large land grant for schools, but a general system of free schools was not established in the southern states until after the Civil War.

The schools of the period before the war were by no means equal to those of our own time. The teachers were poorly trained and about the only studies they taught were reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and sometimes geography. Little attention was given to health or sanitary conditions. (Side Talk, p. 382.)

But in spite of these defects those early schools gave a chance to every boy and girl to acquire the beginnings, the first part (which is always the best part) of a useful education; also, they gave to the country fine leaders, men and women who have since made their mark in the world.

Progress of the Churches. — At the close of the Revolution most of the states had “established churches,” that is, churches supported by taxes, but gradually they passed disestablishing laws separating the church and state, and put all denominations on the same footing. The last to make the change was Massachusetts, in 1834.

The Church of England was almost ruined by the Revolution, because many of its leading ministers, being Tories, left the country. But in 1789 the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized as an American church, with American bishops.

The Catholic Church in America dates back to the founding of Maryland. But not until after the Revolution was it established on a firm basis. In 1789 the see (bishopric) of Baltimore was created and the next year Bishop Carroll was consecrated. From that time to the Civil War the Catholics grew rapidly in numbers, largely through the immigration of the Irish.

The Presbyterian Church, with its strong nucleus of Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania, spread through its missionary activities to all parts of the country.

The Lutherans and the Reformed Church had the disadvantage of having no English-speaking recruiting ground in Europe. But by vigorous mission work they overcame the language handicap in a great measure, and established themselves on solid and enduring bases.

The Puritans of New England merged into Congregationalists; but a considerable portion split off and became the Unitarian Church.

The great missionary churches of the time were the Methodists and Baptists. They sent itinerant missionaries to the rising new settlements in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. These men knew frontier life and adapted themselves to it. They appealed to the emotions; they pictured future rewards and punishments with great vividness. They made great numbers of converts among the pioneers, and founded hundreds of churches that are still flourishing.

American Literature. — The golden age in American literature was the period before the Civil War. At that time flourished the five great poets — Bryant, Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, and Lowell — and the three famous prose writers — Emerson, Thoreau, and Hawthorne. To these must be added the brilliant Edgar Allan Poe, who died before the middle of the

century, and Sidney Lanier, the southern poet, one of the greatest poets America has produced, whose chief writings came after the war.

William Cullen Bryant, forty years before the war, published *To a Waterfowl*, which every pupil ought to know by heart; *The Psalm of Life*, by Henry W. Longfellow, should also be memorized. Ralph Waldo Emerson was the most inspiring essay writer that America has produced, and Nathaniel Hawthorne has no rival as a writer of romances; *The House of the Seven Gables* is one of the best of his stories. Henry D. Thoreau was a great writer on nature. He lived alone for two years in the forest in order to study nature at first hand. John Greenleaf Whittier wrote *Snow Bound*, *Maud Muller*, and many other beautiful poems, while Oliver Wendell Holmes will be remembered longest perhaps for *The Chambered Nautilus*.

All these and many other American writers, such as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper of an earlier time, are best studied by reading the books they wrote.

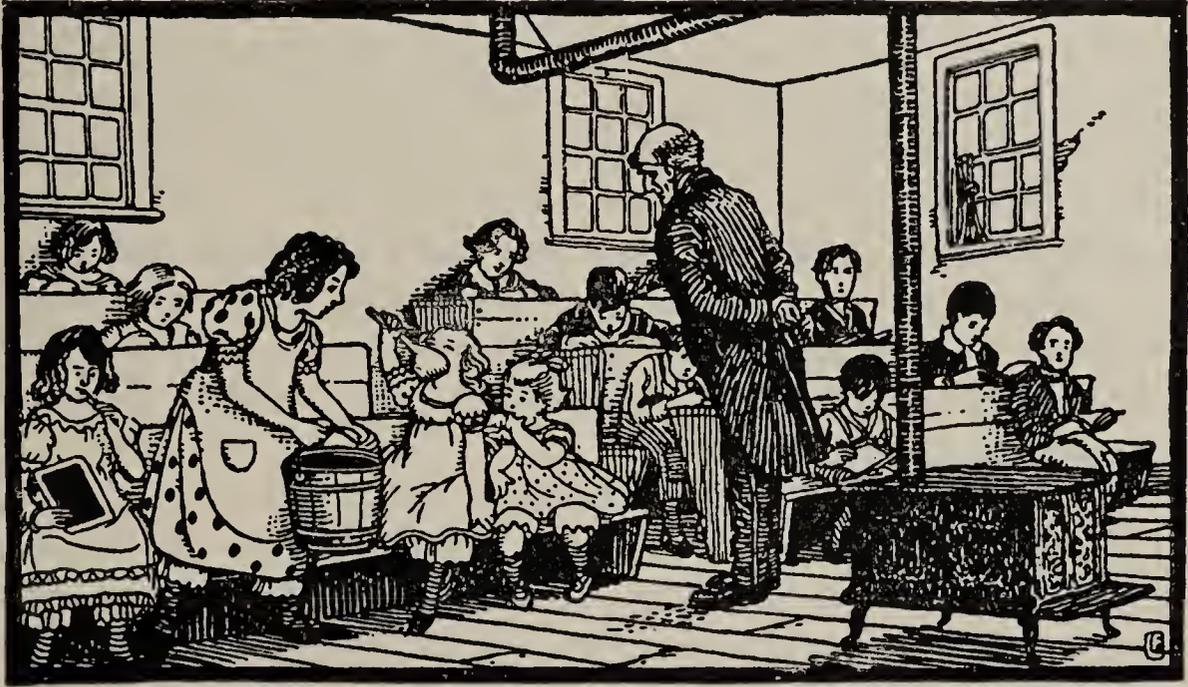
SIDE TALK

The Rural School of Long Ago.—In the fast-growing states west of the Appalachians the country schoolhouse was usually built of logs. The seats were made of split logs, hewn on one side and without backs. When a pupil needed a pen he brought a goosequill, and the teacher with a sharp knife whittled it into a very good pen.

The teacher received a small salary and board; that is, he “boarded around,” remaining with each family a few days at a time. The school term seldom continued more than from two to four months a year. In the absence of a bell the teacher would “call books” by tapping on the side of the house with a stick. The method of teaching a child to read was very crude. A child had to “learn his letters” first of all. The teacher would call each child in turn and pointing to the letters would name them, the child repeating them after him. Sometimes it took a whole school year and even longer to teach a child the alphabet.

In the spelling class there was fine competition. The teacher would pronounce the words to the pupils standing in line. The pupil who missed a word would be “turned down” by the one below who spelled it correctly,

and the one standing at the head of the class at the close of the lesson received the "head mark" for that day. Spelling bees were often held in the evening and other schools of the neighborhood were represented as contestants. At these gatherings it was the custom to "spell down." Any contestant missing a word would drop out of the race, and so the contest went merrily on until but one was left standing — the champion of the evening.



EARLY SCHOOL

The playground during the noon hour and at recess was a wild scene of shouts and laughter. Let us have the story direct from an old-timer:

"The schools of to-day are not to be compared with what they were in my day. I agree that you have better buildings, better textbooks, and better teachers; but you have no opportunity to have the good times that we had in the old days. We played blackman, we played base, we played ring and needle's eye and lots of other things.

"There was one purely boy's game that was very popular in our school. It was called Fox. One boy would be the fox; the rest were hounds. The fox would run like a deer, leap over fences and ravines, and shoot through the underbrush and thickets, the hounds following close behind and barking and yelping at every jump. The fox had the advantage of not having to bark. It takes a lot of wind to do that. One day when the fox was hard pressed he suddenly climbed a tree. The dogs surrounded the tree and yelped till their lungs were sore. At length one of them said, 'What did you climb a tree for? Foxes aren't supposed to climb trees.' The fox looked down from the forks of the tree and replied, 'Neither are dogs supposed to ask questions.'"

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Comment on the growth of population during the two decades preceding the Civil War; on the immense land acquisitions. Name the states admitted west of the Mississippi and touching its banks, and give the date of admission of each. (See Appendix, p. xxv.) What caused the more rapid increase in population in the North than in the South?

II. What were the earlier harvesting tools? How many workers with these tools have, in your opinion, been replaced by one self-binding reaper? Would you put the sewing machine before the reaper in importance? For what reasons? If the world were to pay the heirs of Howe the full actual value of the sewing machine, how much money do you think it would require? Give an account of the struggles of Morse in working out the telegraph. Do you think the telegraph will ever be replaced by radio?

III. Explain the growth of railroads between 1850 and 1860. Describe a trip on a river steamer.

IV. What state led in the establishing of a free school system? Find what you can in the library about Horace Mann and Samuel Lewis. Compare the schools of those days with your own school. Give a brief account of the growth of the various churches. Write a paper on the growth of your own church. Name some of the great writers of the period. Which do you like best? Have we any living authors to compare with them? Why should literature be studied in a separate text?

Events. — Admission of new states in the Mississippi Valley; of California and Oregon. Invention of the reaper, of the sewing machine, of the telegraph. Establishing of the free school systems.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Adams, *Railroads, Their Origin and Problems*; Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Callender, *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*; Wright, *Industrial Evolution of the United States*; the general histories by McMaster, Schouler, and Rhodes.

FOR THE PUPIL: Bachman, *Great Inventors and their Inventions*; Perry, *Four American Inventors*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*; Halleck, *History of American Literature*; Dickens, *American Notes*. This gives an interesting account of social conditions and means of travel twenty years before the war; Otis, *Martha of California*; Otis, *Antoine of Oregon*.



IN A SOUTHERN TOWN ABOUT 1850

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CIVIL WAR — FIRST PERIOD

I. SECESSION

Effect of Lincoln's Election. — When the news of Lincoln's election was known in Charleston, South Carolina, men shouted for joy. For many years a majority of them had favored secession, but others had held back. They were now ready to agree that the time had come to take the step. Was not the election of a Republican President unfriendly to slavery cause enough for leaving the union?

On December 20 at the city of Columbia, a convention elected for the purpose, composed of the best men of the state, solemnly declared South Carolina no longer a member of the Union. It was a grave and serious step to take. That the people were sincere there could be no doubt. They believed that the North had for years encroached on their rights and felt that they could endure it no longer.

Six other states comprising the great cotton belt along the Gulf quickly followed the example of South Carolina, and the seven seceding states, on February 4, 1861, held a convention at Montgomery, Alabama, and formed a government. They named their new nation The Confederate States of America, adopted a constitution, and chose Jefferson Davis of Mississippi for President. Since the death of Calhoun he had been the ablest leader in the South. All through that fateful winter the excitement at the North was intense. The glorious Union for which the fathers of the Revolution had fought and died seemed to be falling to pieces.

Attitude in the North. — Should the southern states be forced to come back at the point of the bayonet? That would mean a

long and bloody war with its sacrifice of untold wealth and thousands of American youth. Should the Union be allowed to be shattered to fragments? Was there not some way to compromise and to bring back the southern states in peace?

The people of the North were divided. Many were ready to take up arms without hesitation; others thought it better to let the South go its own way rather than to fight for the Union. Among these were Horace Greeley, a great New York editor, and Wendell Phillips, a noted antislavery orator. Both thought it best to let the southern sisters depart in peace.

Congress spent the winter trying to devise some compromise by which the seceding states might be induced to return. Mass meetings were held in various northern cities and many were the expressions of kindly feeling toward the South. But not one of these overtures brought any response from the states that had seceded. Instead, they took possession of southern forts and arsenals.

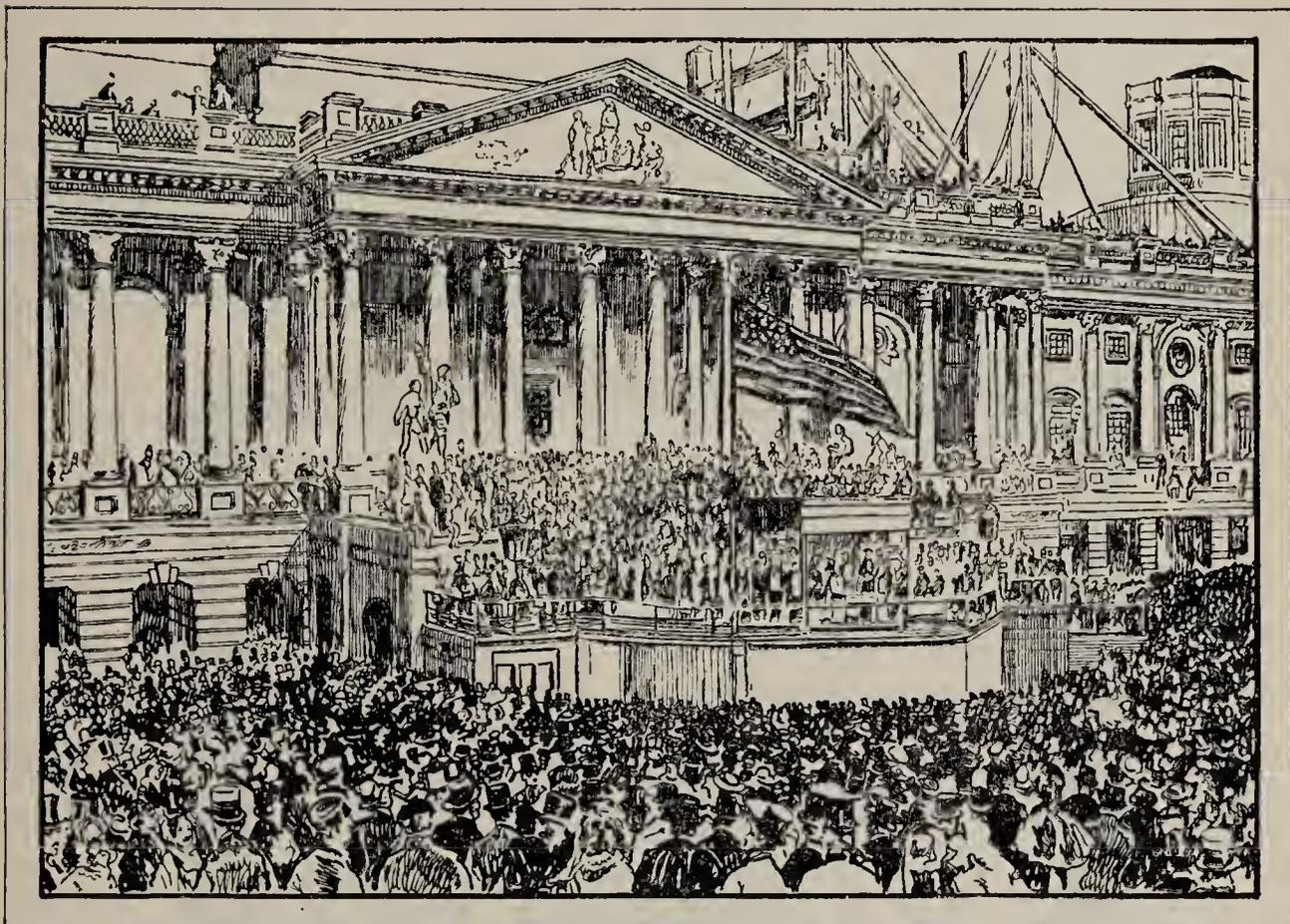
President Buchanan stood aghast at the rapid movement of events. At heart he was an honest man and a true unionist; but he declared that the President had no authority to force any state to remain in the Union. Buchanan, had he had the soul of Andrew Jackson, might have nipped secession in the bud; but he was not a strong leader; he was timid and vacillating. "Oh, for an hour of Andrew Jackson," cried multitudes of people.

President Lincoln's Attitude. — On March 4, 1861, came the inauguration of the new President. Seldom indeed has so momentous a decision rested with one man as that which now devolved on Abraham Lincoln. Never in this country has the inaugural address of any other President been awaited with such eagerness. On him was to rest the great decision.

Had Lincoln agreed to let the South depart in peace, there might have been no war. Henceforth there might have been two great nations in our land, the boundary between them running east and west across the continent. South of this line

there would have been a great slave-holding power, almost the only one in the world, when practically all other countries had abolished slavery. Would not this condition have brought endless trouble in chasing runaway slaves that had crossed the border? Lincoln believed it would surely lead to war in the end.

Lincoln determined that the Union must not be divided. He told the South in his inaugural address that he had no inten-



LINCOLN'S INAUGURATION. Redrawn from a photograph.

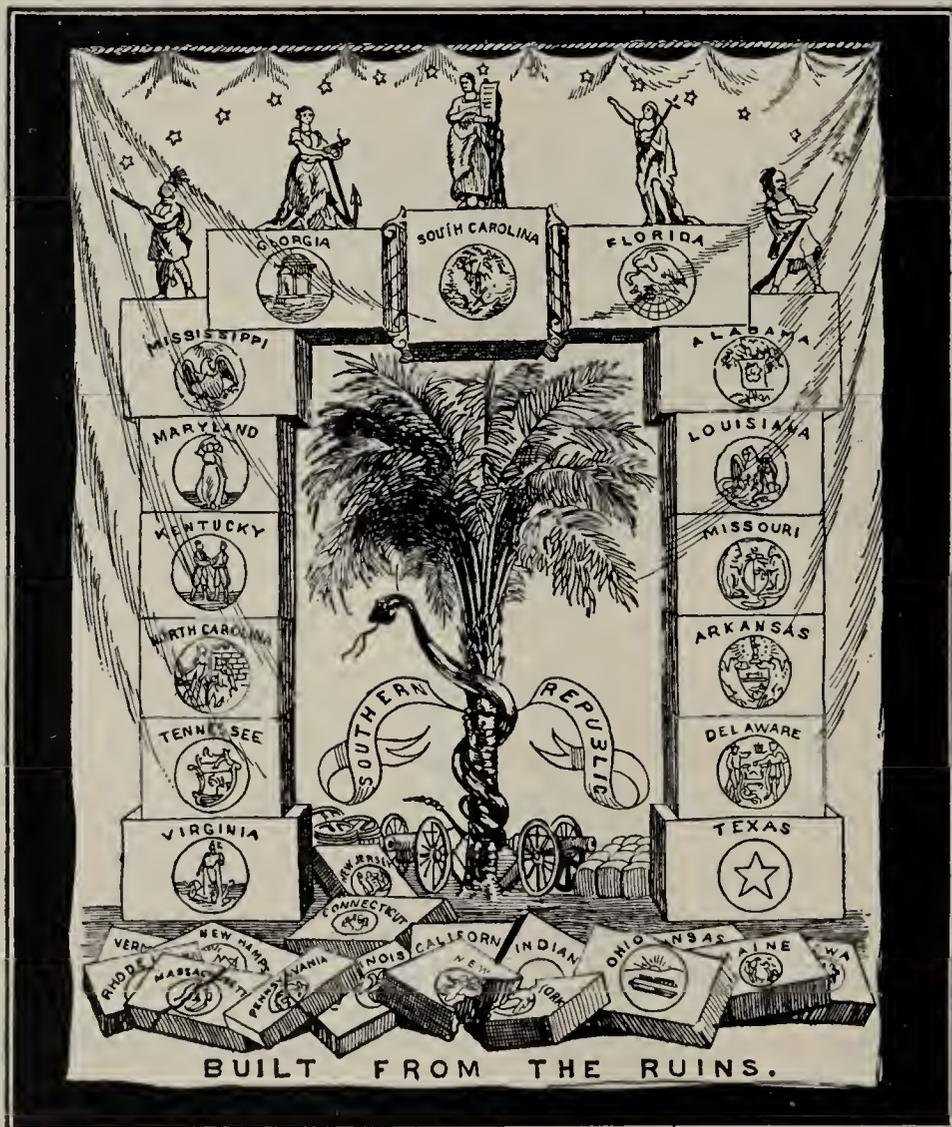
tion to disturb slavery in the states. He even promised to abide by the Fugitive Slave Law. But he also said, in substance: No state can leave the Union; all secession ordinances are void; the Union is indissoluble. This implied that if the seceding states did not come back into the Union, there would be war.

Fort Sumter. — In the harbor of Charleston, on a little island, stood Fort Sumter, one of the few in southern waters still under the control of the Washington government. It was held by a small garrison under Major Robert Anderson. Here was the

spot where the Civil War was to begin. This fort was in South Carolina waters and that state claimed it as part of the share of public property that should fall to the Confederate States. But the North could not yield the fort without acknowledging the independence of the South. When, therefore, General Beauregard (bō'rē-gārd), the Confederate commander at Charleston, demanded that Major Anderson surrender, he refused; and Beauregard opened fire upon the fort.

It was the morning of April 12, before daybreak, when a screaming shell fell near the fort. Thus began the stupendous tragedy of the Civil War.

After thirty-four hours of incessant bombardment the fort surrendered without loss of life. The news that the South had



BANNER OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA CONVENTION OF 1860

Note that this banner includes the four border slave states that did not secede.

fired on Fort Sumter and had captured it, was flashed over the country, and in both North and South the effect was like an electric shock.

Soon after the taking of Fort Sumter four more slave states joined their seven seceding sisters and left the Union. These were Virginia,¹ Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee. This made eleven states in the Confederacy.

II. A LOOK OVER THE FIELD

A civil war, that is, a war between different parties or sections of the same country, is the most distressing of all wars; for often it happens that brother fights against brother, neighbor against neighbor, and even father against son and son against father. Many instances of the kind occurred in our Civil War.

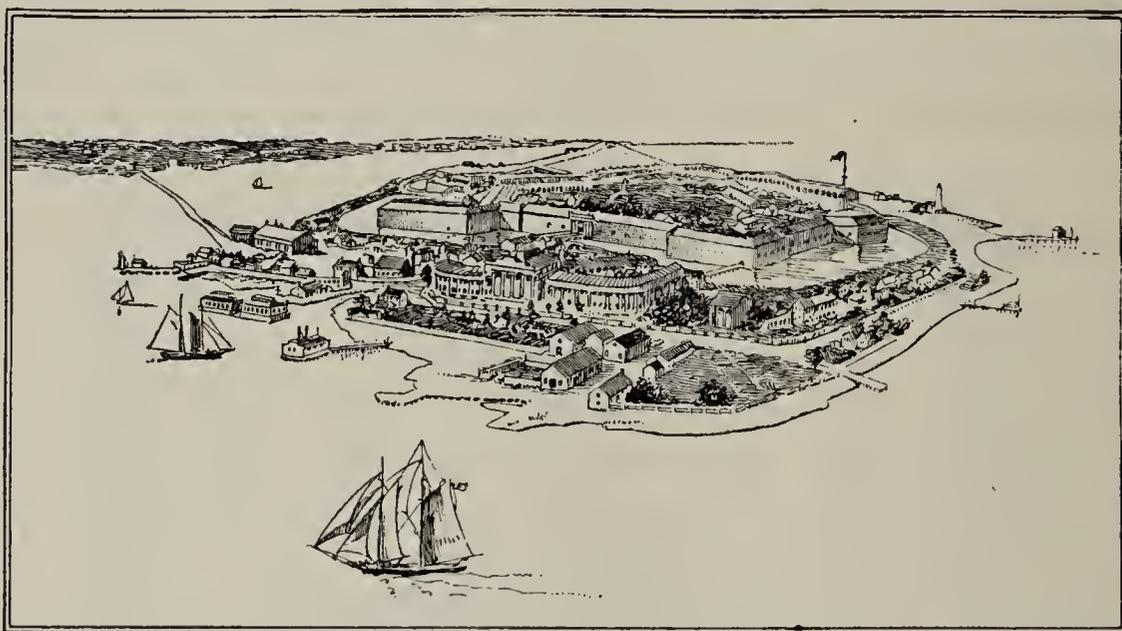
Causes of the War. — Why should these two great sections of the American people come to blows and bloodshed to settle their quarrel? Less than a century before they had nobly joined together and fought like brothers to win their independence. Now they drew the sword on one another, and who could tell what awful carnage it would mean to both sides? What brought on this horrible war?

The South believed that the negroes would be unmanageable if free and that since their presence in the South in great numbers was a permanent fact, slavery was necessary. Bitterly the Southerners reproached the North for stirring up trouble.

On the other hand the Northerners viewed the matter from the standpoint of human rights. They reasoned thus: Why in this enlightened age should any race be held in bondage? A hundred years before, all the nations of Europe had held black slaves; but every one had set them free; so had the countries of South America and Mexico. We alone of all civilized lands, with all our boast of liberty, clung to this ancient evil. There you have the key of the growing estrangement resulting in the Civil War.

¹ The people of western Virginia remained loyal to the Union and were admitted as a separate state in 1863.

The Two Sides. — Which side would probably win? There were fifteen slave states, but four of them, called Border States (Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware), did not secede. There were eighteen free states, and these with the four Border States made twenty-two¹ — just twice as many as the seceding states. The Border States furnished many soldiers for each side during the war. The wealth of the North was far greater than that of the South, and its population was more than double. In a war to the finish, if other things are equal, the side having the more men and more money will win in the end.

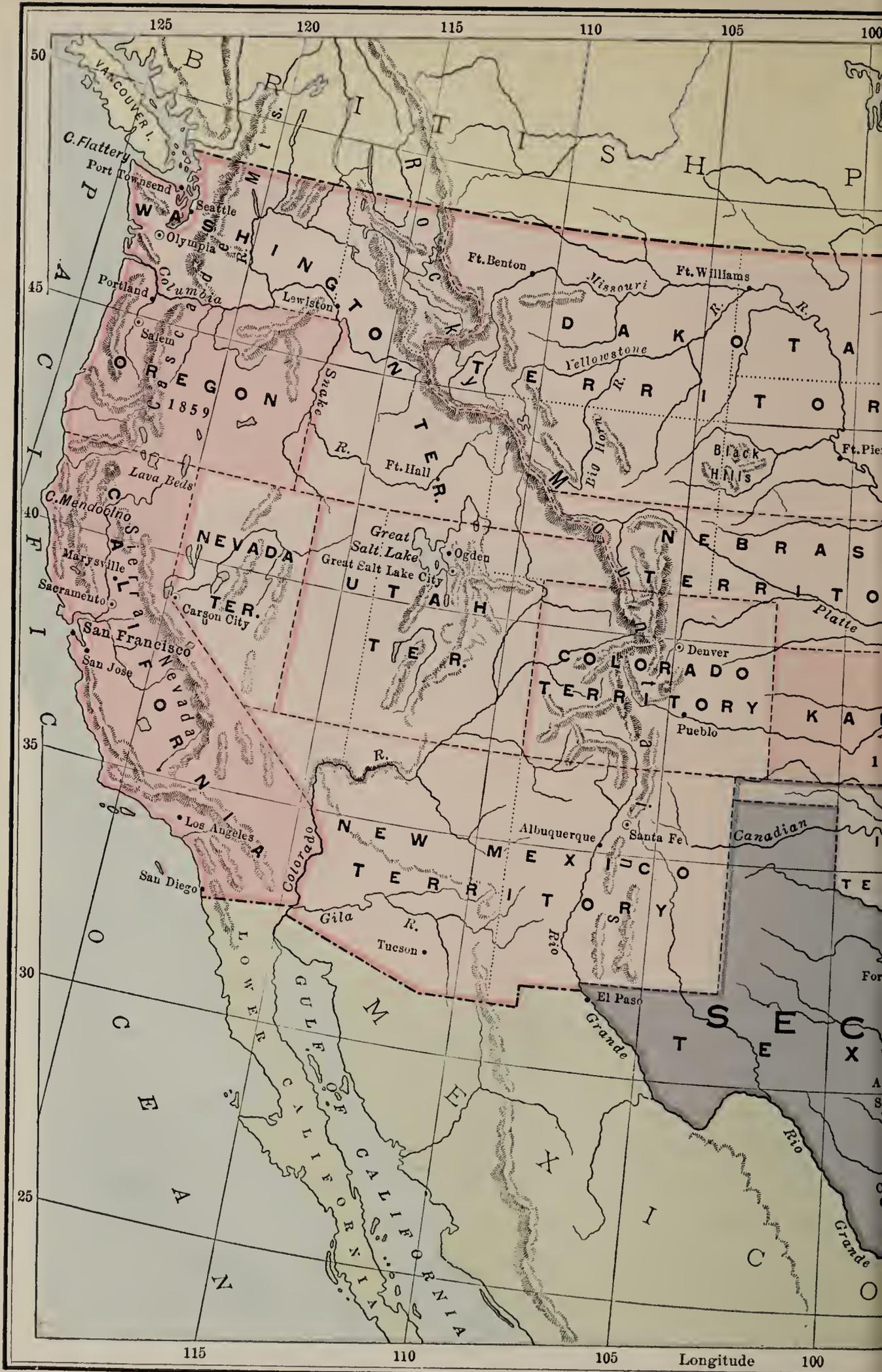


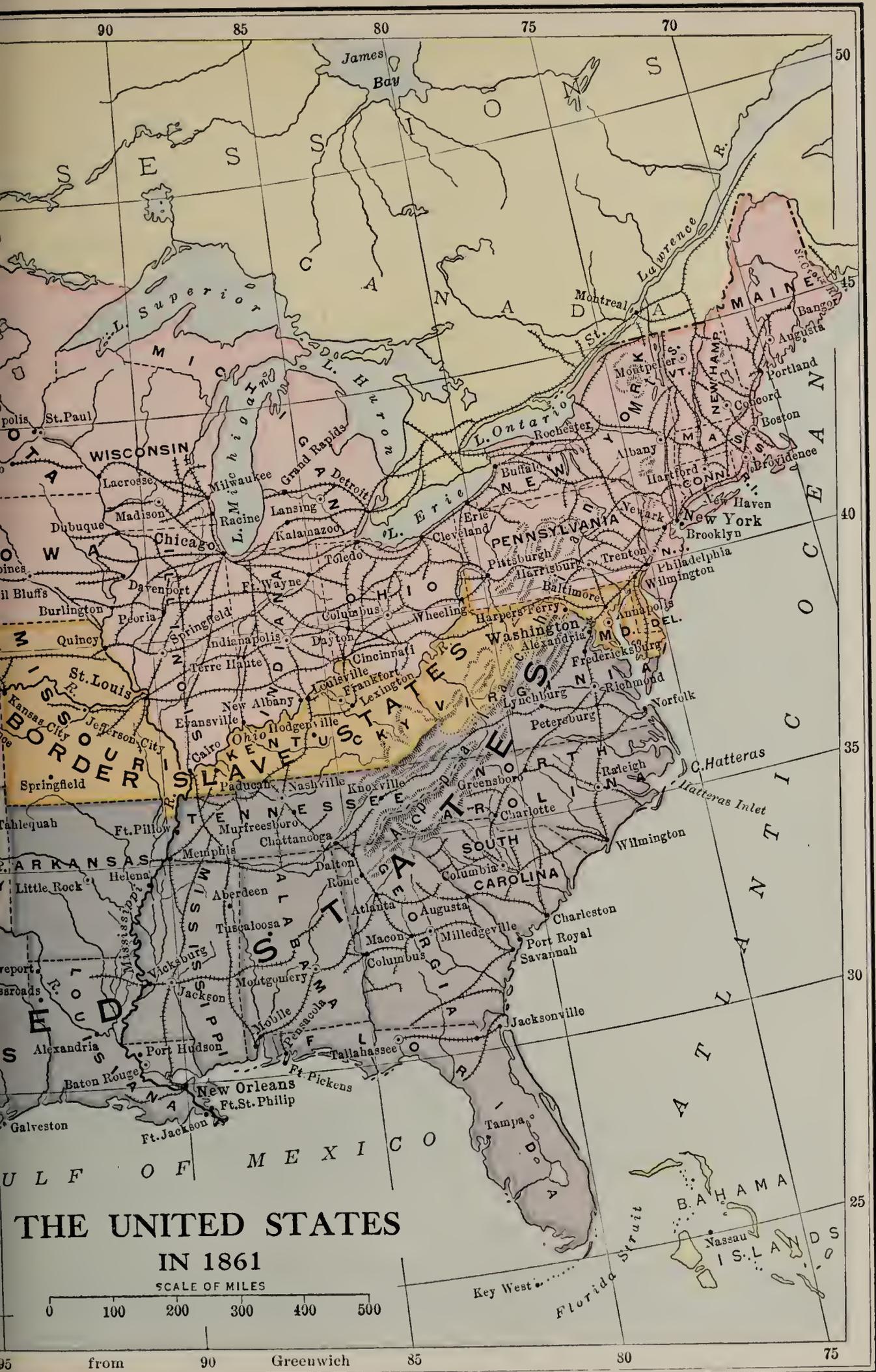
FORT MONROE

Redrawn from a lithograph. An old military post in Virginia, commanding the entrance to Hampton Roads. It was held by the United States.

Why did the slaveholder, knowing all this, suffer the quarrel to come to blows? Perhaps he thought the North would prefer disunion to war; perhaps he thought Europe would come to his aid. Europe needed great quantities of cotton for its many cotton mills, and our South produced seven tenths of all the cotton grown in the world. Might not Europe (especially Great Britain and France) come to the rescue of the South for the sake of the cotton supply? But Europe did not come as the Southerners hoped.

¹ Twenty-three, counting Kansas, admitted the first year of the war.

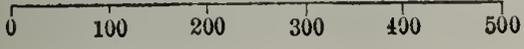




THE UNITED STATES

IN 1861

SCALE OF MILES



95 from 90 Greenwich 85 80 75

The slaveholder made a fatal mistake when he appealed to the sword for a final decision. And here enters a question often asked and never fully answered — Why did most of the five million whites in the South who did not hold slaves at all fight four long years to sustain the slaveholders? Next to the negro they were degraded by slavery; why did they fight so desperately to uphold it? Their chief reason, no doubt, was loyalty to their several states, but also there was fear of slave insurrections and of lawless disorder in case the negroes were set free.

The War in a Nutshell. — To give a full account of the war in a short history of the United States would be impossible. The details of battles, except of one here and there as an example, are needless. A knowledge of the causes and effects of great movements is important; so is also the general plan. The reader who has not the plan of the war in mind will find that his knowledge of the events will soon become hopelessly mixed. Here and on following pages is a simple outline of the Civil War, divided into three periods.

First Period — From the beginning of the war to the end of 1861.

Second Period — From the beginning of 1862 to the battle of Gettysburg, a year and a half.

Third Period — From the battle of Gettysburg (July, 1863) to the end of the war, a year and nine months.

The outline of the first period here follows; but the outlines of the second and third periods will be given at the heads of the next two chapters (pp. 398 and 424).

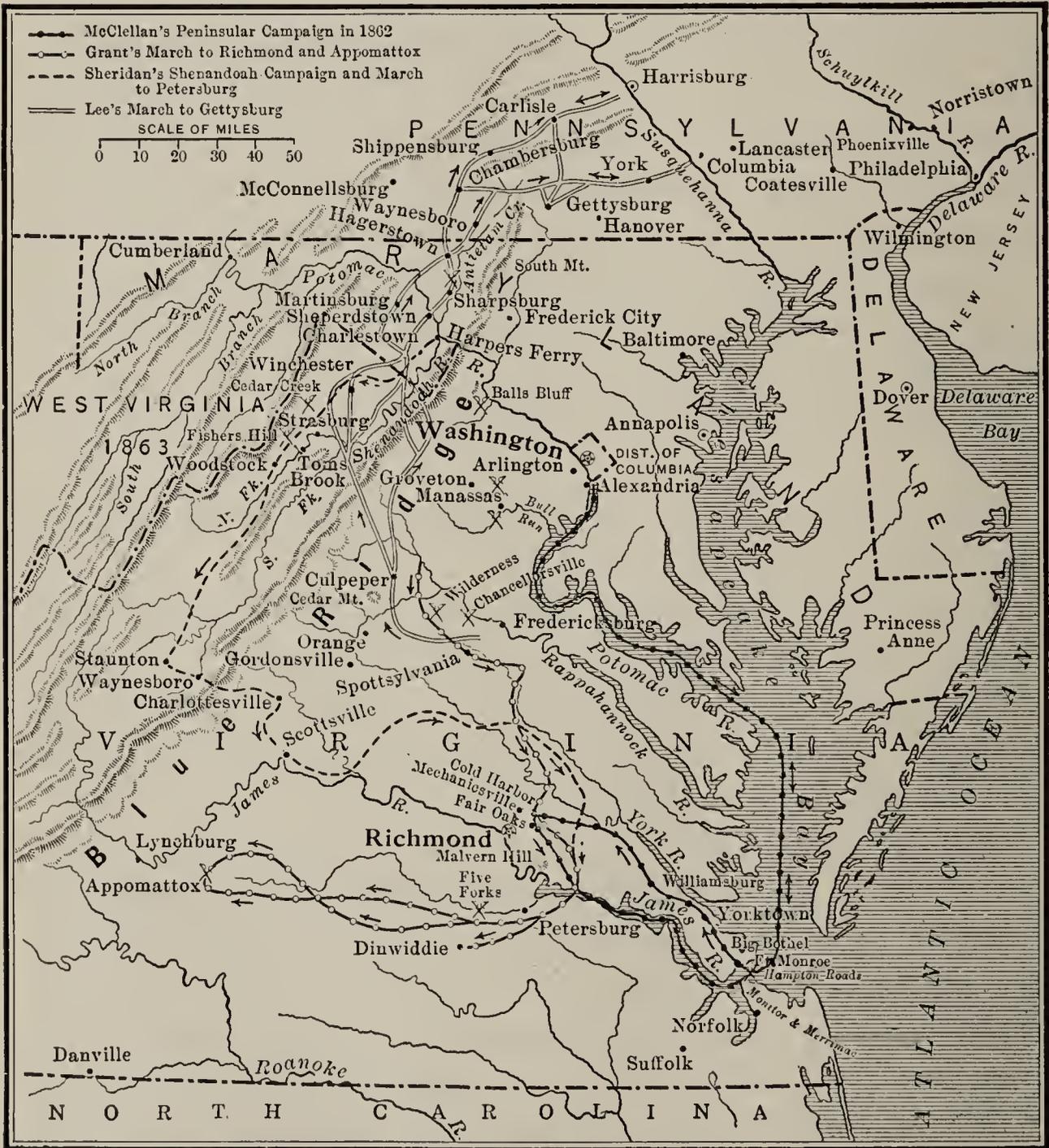
Outline of the First Period. — The first period was characterized by serious unpreparedness on both sides, by absence of plans, by great excitement, by bugle calls for men, and by the marshaling of great armies.

The military operations were meager. In midsummer there were two considerable battles a thousand miles apart, in Virginia and Missouri, and a smaller one in October at Balls Bluff, all resulting in Confederate victories. McClellan won a few

small victories for the North in West Virginia, and two or three naval expeditions down the Atlantic coast were successful to the Union cause; but on the whole the year 1861 seemed to point to final success of the South.

III. BULL RUN AND WILSONS CREEK

Calls for Troops. — The firing on Fort Sumter, the opening of the Civil War, worked like magic in rousing both North and South. President Lincoln called for 75,000 troops, and the re-



CIVIL WAR CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST

sponse was quick and hearty. Men of every walk of life left their occupations and took up arms to save the Union that they loved. President Davis also called for troops and met with a ready response.

It was within the same week that President Lincoln issued a proclamation blockading the southern coast. The move was one of much importance and it played a large part in winning the war. The effect of this blockade will be noticed on a later page.

From all parts of the North eager, patriotic men were gathering at Washington and arming for the coming fray. As the spring months passed the newspapers and people of the North became very impatient. They wanted the war to begin; they wanted a battle to avenge the capture of Fort Sumter.

The aged General Winfield Scott was the commander of the Union army. He well knew that the men, with all their enthusiasm and patriotism, were not ready for battle; they were untrained; they knew little or nothing of warfare. But Scott had to yield to the clamor for a battle and he sent the new army into Virginia under General Irvin McDowell, as he was too feeble to go in person.

Richmond had become the Confederate capital and "On to Richmond" was the cheering cry of the marching columns, 18,000 strong, as they strode across the Virginia fields.

Bull Run, July 21, 1861. — About thirty-five miles from Washington, along the banks of the little stream called Bull Run, near Manassas, they were met by a Confederate army of about the same size under the man who had captured Fort Sumter, General Beauregard. Then followed the first serious clash of arms between the estranged brethren of the same household.

For some hours the Union men fought bravely, forcing a Confederate retreat. One southern commander to rally his troops pointed to General Jackson, who was calmly waiting an attack, and cried out, "Look at Jackson. There he stands like a stone wall." The line held and the name Stonewall stuck to

Jackson. Suddenly in the afternoon the Union troops were attacked on the flank by Confederate reënforcements; they took fright, lost their self-control, and fled from the field.

Wilsons Creek. — Three weeks later, on August 10, occurred the battle of Wilsons Creek, a few miles from Springfield, Missouri. General Nathaniel Lyon had a small army to defend the Union cause. At Wilsons Creek he encountered a larger army under General Sterling Price. Lyon was killed and his army soon retreated. The Confederates had won another victory.

Why did victory incline to the South at the beginning of the war? The chief reason was no doubt this: At the South there was a leisure class of trained men, wealthy slaveholders who through their sports and the chase had become adepts in horsemanship and marksmanship. These men made excellent officers in the army. In the North no such class could be found outside the regular army. This difference, which lessened after the first year of the war, had much to do with bringing success to the South during the first period.

IV. THE TRENT AFFAIR

One day in November, 1861, as the British steamer *Trent* was steaming along on a voyage from Cuba to England, she was hailed by an American vessel under Captain Charles Wilkes. The *Trent* at first refused to stop, but when Wilkes sent a shot across her bow to emphasize his demand, she did so.

Wilkes Becomes a Hero. — Wilkes thereupon took two men and their secretaries from the cabin of the *Trent*, put them on board his own vessel, and left the *Trent* to continue her voyage. The two men were James M. Mason and John Slidell, prominent Southerners being sent to Great Britain and France to induce those countries to recognize the independence of the South.

Wilkes thought he had done a clever thing for his country, and the people of the North agreed with him. Congress voted him thanks and the people shouted their approval. But what would England say when the *Trent* made her report?

The fact is, England began to load her ships with war munitions and mobilize her army, and France made ready to join her in case of war with the United States. War would have meant, of course, that both those nations would have joined the South in the contest against the United States. Had they done so, it is very doubtful if our Union could have been saved.

Lincoln Averts War with Britain. — Many Northerners said, "Let England come on; we can defeat her and the South together." Others were for a more moderate course, and these included the President. "We fought Great Britain for insisting on the right to do precisely what Captain Wilkes has done," said Lincoln, referring to the right of search and seizure on the sea.

The captured men had been imprisoned in Fort Warren at Boston. Great Britain demanded that they be released within seven days. President Lincoln and his Secretary of State, Mr. Seward, decided to release them and it was done.

SIDE TALK

Soldier Life. — An army is not always in battle or on the march. It may spend weeks or even months in camp, with nothing to do except to go through the routine camp drill. A site near a stream is selected and the tents are set up, sometimes thousands of them, extending for miles. In the Civil War they were of white canvas, cone-shaped, and many were large enough to accommodate twelve sleeping men, who lay in the form of spokes of a wagon wheel, their feet to the center.

Camp life has many interesting features, but its worst feature is its endless monotony; the men are "bored with nothing to do." They cook their own meals and for pastime they play checkers and various games at cards; they smoke their pipes and whittle new ones from laurel or briar root; they tell stories and read books if they have any, and they write letters home, using a drum or ahardtack box for a desk.

The great majority of the soldiers were young men recently out of school. Sometimes many of them in one regiment were from the same town or neighborhood and you can imagine how they would get together and talk over things at home. When one received a letter he would read it to the rest. How interesting it was to hear that John and Mary, two of their classmates at school, had been married, that Mr. Brown had died, that they had missed seeing the "greatest show on earth" that had

recently come to town; and how sad to hear that Billy Davis, an old chum, had been killed in battle.

But camp life cannot last forever. Orders to march come suddenly. Where, no one knows. Everything is changed. "Fall in," cries the orderly. The roll call is soon over and the army is on the march. If the weather is hot and dry the roads are pulverized with the lumbering



SOLDIERS COOKING SUPPER

wagons and the tread of thousands of men and horses. The men suffer dreadfully from the dust. It fills the hair and ears, the nose and throat; they can feel the grit between the teeth. Thus through the burning sun, carrying muskets and heavy knapsacks, they jog along — tramp, tramp, tramp — for many days, not one of them knowing where they are going.

Still worse was the winter march, especially when it rained. One writer says: "Rain was the greatest discomfort a soldier could have; it was more uncomfortable than the severest cold with clear weather. Wet clothes, shoes, and blankets; wet meat and bread; wet feet and wet ground; wet wood to burn, or rather not to burn; wet arms and ammunition; wet

ground to sleep on, mud to wade through, swollen creeks to ford, muddy springs, and a thousand other discomforts attended the rain."

In spite of all the discomforts the soldiers would laugh and sing and shout and yell. Sometimes a cheer starting at the head of the line would roll back along the miles of marching men, not one in a hundred knowing what they were cheering for. After days of forced marching they become so tired that they can scarcely drag themselves along. "Halt," cries the officer. "Ten minutes to rest." They drop to the ground as if shot and every man sleeps like a child about nine and a half minutes of the allotted ten. At last the march comes to an end. Now they must rush into battle.

Far away along the wooded hillside can be seen the long lines of the

enemy. Their batteries open fire and the shrieking shells cut the air and crash among the trees. The cavalry rush forward to meet the cavalry of the enemy a mile away in the valley in a desperate encounter. Then the two great armies grapple in deadly conflict.

The common soldier sees little of the battle. He hears the mighty roar, the unearthly din; he sees men fall around him, he sees the ambulance carrying back its ghastly load; but of the scope of the battle he may know little or nothing till long afterward. If he has not been under fire before, he may become dreadfully frightened. One man relates that when he went into the first battle he was scared to the point of collapse. He could scarcely keep his musket from falling out of his hands. By his side was a companion, a life-long friend. At length a cannon ball struck his friend and tore his body to pieces. From this moment all fear left him. He fought desperately all through the day and joined in the shout of victory at nightfall.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. On what grounds did South Carolina secede? Tell what you can about Jefferson Davis. Give an estimate of James Buchanan. Why were the people so anxious to hear Lincoln's inaugural address? Give the substance of it. On what grounds did the South claim Fort Sumter?

II. In what way does a civil war differ from other wars? What view of slavery did the South take? the North? Why did non-slaveholding whites fight on the side of the South? Into what three periods may the war be divided? Give an outline of the first period.

III. Describe the first calls for volunteers. What was the blockade? Describe the battle of Bull Run (Manassas); Wilsons Creek.

IV. What was the mission of Mason and Slidell? Had Captain Wilkes any right to fire on the *Trent*? Why did Lincoln release the two captives?

Events and Dates. — South Carolina secedes, Dec. 20, 1860. Formation of the Confederate States of America. Firing on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. The *Trent* affair.

Further Reading. — For the teacher: Literature on the Civil War is almost endless. The teacher must select without hoping to read everything on the subject. The general histories by Schouler, McMaster, and Rhodes give full and satisfactory narrations. Eggleston, *History of the Confederate War*; Sherman, *Recollections of Forty Years*; Doubleday, *Reminiscences of Forts Sumter and Moultrie*; Davis, *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*; McClure, *Lincoln and Men of War Times*.

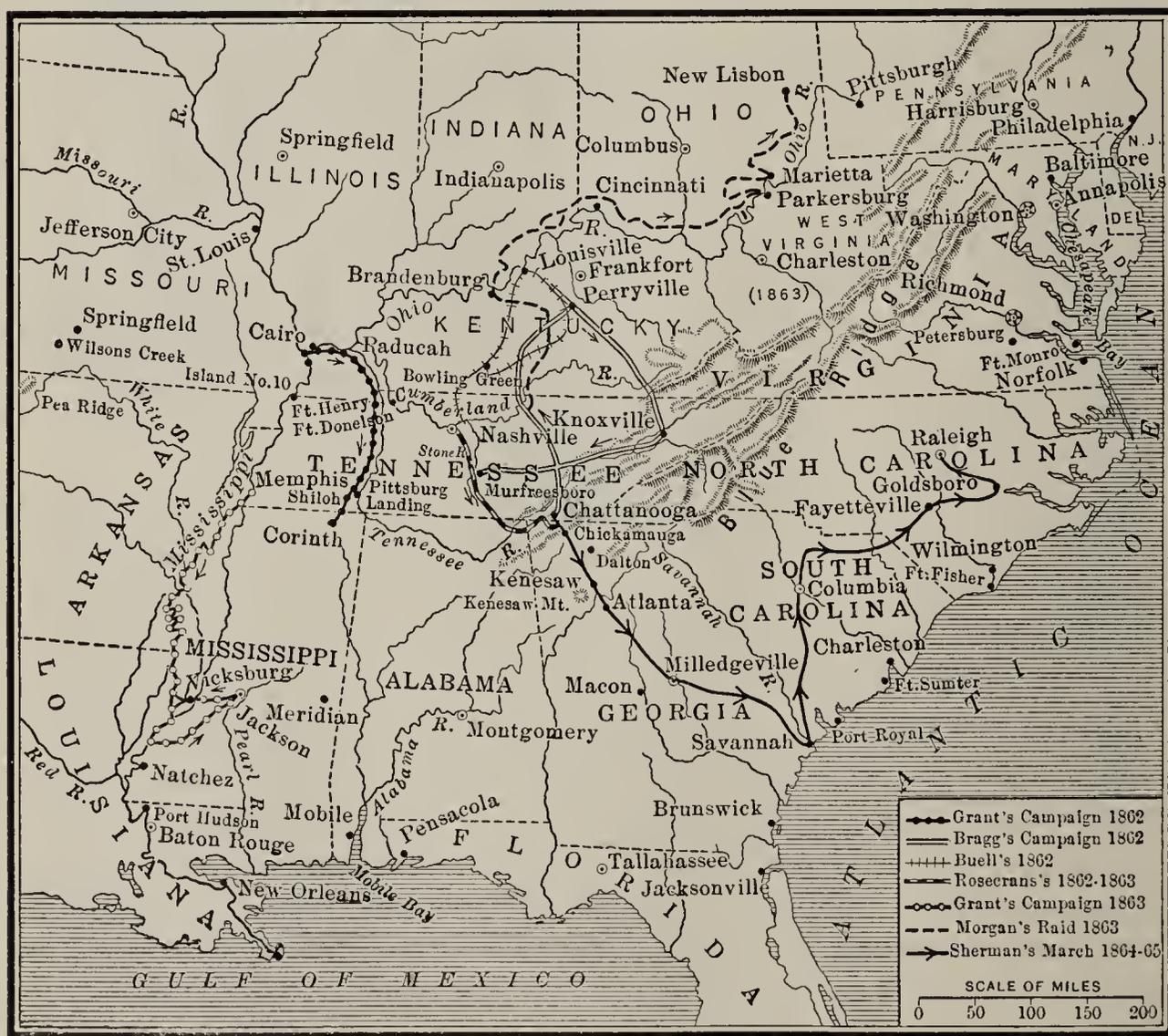
For the pupil: Hart, *Romance of the Civil War*; Blaisdell, *Stories of the Civil War*; Coffin, *Drum-Beats of the Nation*; Abbot, *Battlefields of '61*.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE CIVIL WAR — SECOND PERIOD

Outline of the Second Period. — The Second Period of the Civil War, covering a year and a half (Jan. 1, 1862, to July 4, 1863), may be called the period of uncertainty, but the fortunes of the North were slowly rising. It was a period of great battles, of war on a tremendous scale, ending with two highly important northern victories at Vicksburg and Gettysburg.

There were two main theaters of war — Virginia and the Mississippi Valley — and the twofold object of the North was to



CIVIL WAR CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH AND WEST

capture Richmond and Lee's army in Virginia and, in the West, to get control of the Mississippi River and cut off the trans-Mississippi seceding states from the rest of the Confederacy.

In the East the goal had not been reached at the end of the period. The Army of the Potomac, commanded in turn by McClellan, Pope, McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade, was repulsed near Richmond and met with serious disasters at Bull Run, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, but won notable victories at Antietam and Gettysburg.

In the West the army carried out its plan and reached its goal under the command of General U. S. Grant, supported by Admiral Farragut, who captured New Orleans and gained possession of the lower course of the Mississippi. Beginning with the capture of Fort Donelson in February, 1862, Grant's army was generally successful, and it won control of the great river by the capture of Vicksburg.¹

I. FORT DONELSON AND SHILOH

On the Cumberland River in northern Tennessee was Fort Donelson, occupied by a Confederate army. The position was important because it was a gateway to the heart of the Confederacy. In February, 1862, a Union army under Grant invested the fort. For two days there was fierce fighting and the hill-sides were strewn with dead and dying. The Union men were pressed back from their position and greatly disheartened.

Grant at Donelson. — Grant had been absent during the fight. When he arrived on the scene of the disaster and heard the news, his face flushed for a moment; he crushed some papers in his hand. He then turned to his subordinates (one of whom was General Lew Wallace, who tells this story), and said in a quiet voice, "Gentlemen, the position must be retaken."

¹The side movements of this period were numerous and some of them of great magnitude. These were campaigns not directly connected with the main fields of operations. Among these were the Pea Ridge campaign in Arkansas, the march of Bragg and Buell through Kentucky, and Morgan's raid through Indiana and Ohio.

The position was retaken. In a grand assault up the slopes, in the face of a murderous rain of bullets and bursting shells, the men rushed on and carried the earthworks and rifle pits up to the very walls of the fort. They gained a position from which they could shell the fort on the inside. It was now evening and they determined to complete the work next day.

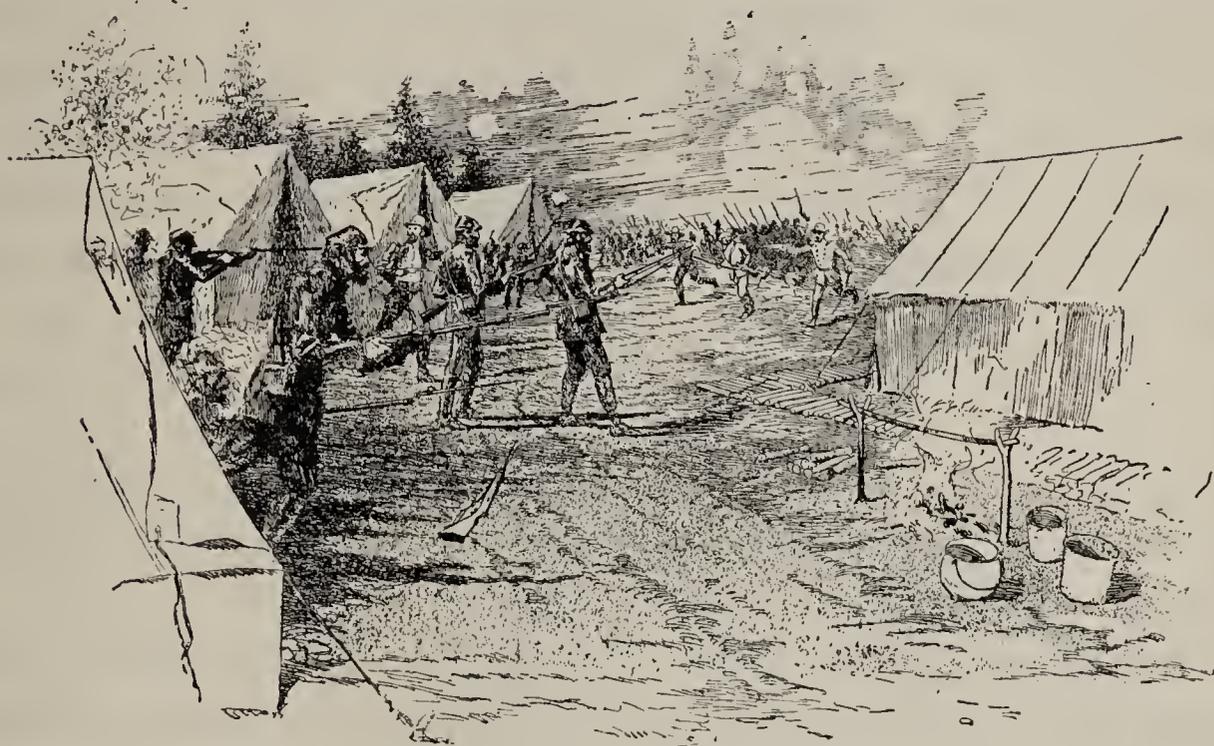
Surrender of Donelson. — The Confederates saw that they were caught in a trap. When morning came they decided to ask for terms of surrender. Grant's answer is well known — "Unconditional surrender." The southern commander had no choice. He surrendered to Grant his whole army of 14,000 men.

The capture of Fort Donelson with its stores of munitions and its men was the first northern victory of the war worth mentioning. And a new man loomed in the public gaze, the man who had demanded unconditional surrender, Ulysses S. Grant. His name was soon on every tongue and he became the popular hero. Before the war the public had never heard of Grant. Born in Ohio in 1822, a graduate of West Point, he had served valiantly in the Mexican War; but this victory on the Cumberland was the first event in his life to bring him national fame.

Battle of Shiloh, April 6 and 7. — Grant moved his army southward from Donelson to southern Tennessee, and by the first of April was encamped at a stopping place for river craft on the Tennessee River, called Pittsburg Landing. Two of his division commanders were Generals W. T. Sherman and Lew Wallace. About twenty miles away at Corinth the Confederate legions had gathered in thousands under Albert Sidney Johnston — and they were marching rapidly toward Pittsburg Landing.

Soon after daybreak on Sunday, April 6, the Confederate army in magnificent battle lines emerged from the woods but a mile from where the Union army had spent the night. The roar of artillery soon announced the opening of the bloody conflict. All through the day and until nightfall the battle continued.

The Confederates made a fine showing. The Union lines were pressed back more than a mile; but the cost of the temporary victory was great — the life of their commander, General Albert Sidney Johnston. While he was leading a charge in the afternoon



CONFEDERATE ATTACK AT SHILOH

On April 6 the Confederates took many Union camps.

an artery of his thigh was cut by a minie ball. His life might have been saved had he not kept in the saddle cheering his men. Soon his face grew deadly pale from the loss of blood. He was lifted from his horse and died in a few minutes. The command of the southern army passed to General Beauregard.

At the end of the first day's conflict the weary armies of both sides sank down for a few hours of rest, knowing that the contest would be resumed on the morrow.

Before morning General Buell arrived from Nashville with some thousands of fighting men to add to the Union army. The battle was renewed at sunrise. It raged in part around a little log church, named Shiloh, which came to share with Pittsburg Landing the honor of giving its name to the battle. Seeing that the tide was going against him, Beauregard, early in the afternoon, ordered a retreat to Corinth. Up to that time no

battle of such magnitude had ever occurred in America, though it was surpassed several times before the close of the war.

Island No. 10. — On the second day of the battle of Shiloh, April 7, Island Number 10 in the Mississippi River, with great stores of ammunition and 7000 Confederate troops, was captured by a Union force under General John Pope, supported by Commodore Foote. These two victories gave the North control of a large part of Tennessee and of the great river as far south as Memphis. Let us now return to the East and see what was happening there.

II. DUEL OF THE IRONCLADS

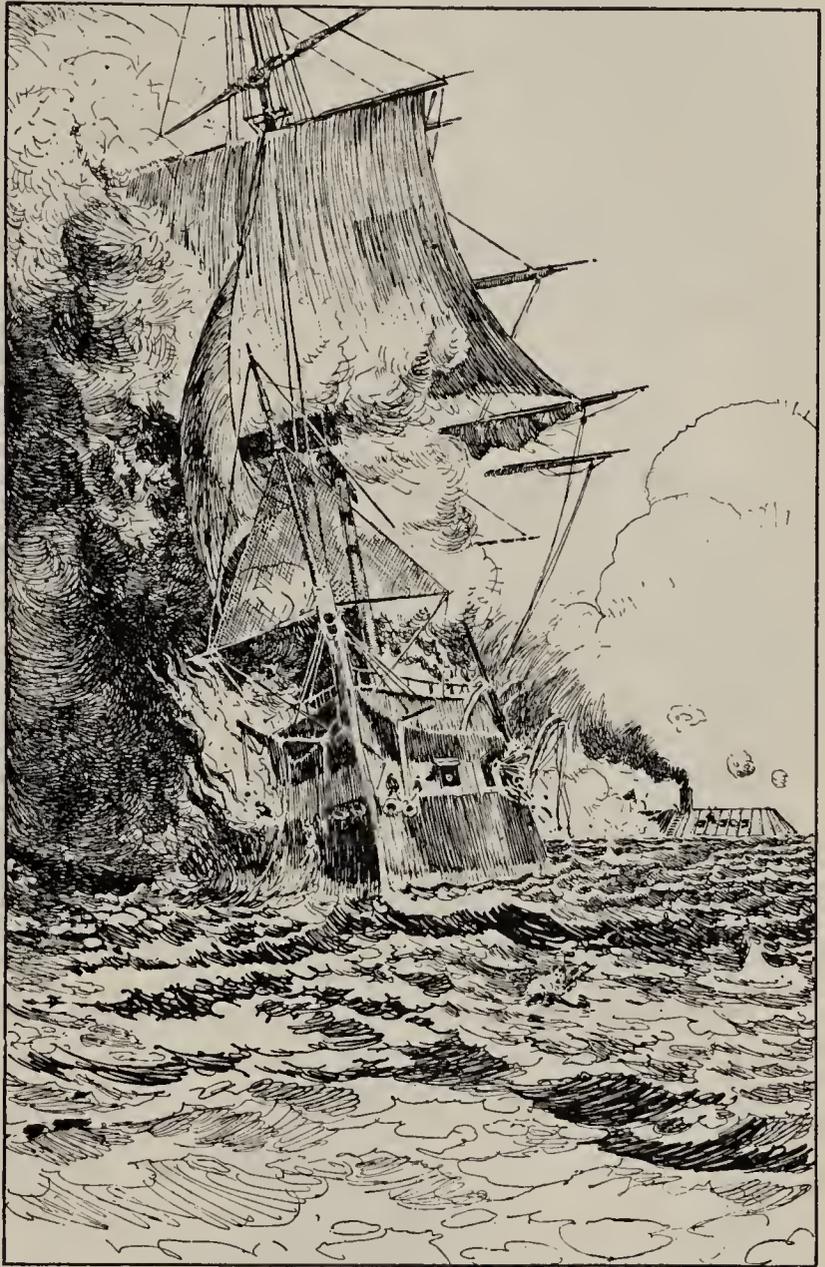
Strange as it may seem, two of the most famous contests of the war took place without loss of life — the capture of Fort Sumter and the duel of the ironclads.

From the dawn of history to the opening of this war all fighting ships were built of wood. To-day a wooden warship cannot be found. The change came about through the first duel of ironclads, which took place in the waters of Virginia on March 9, 1862.

The New Terror. — At the opening of the war the Confederates had seized the navy yard at Norfolk. When the Union troops were forced to flee from Norfolk they burned everything that would burn, including the frigate *Merrimac*. But when the ship was partly burned it sank beneath the waves. Later it was raised by the Confederates and heavily plated with iron. Thus it became an ironclad, which the Confederates named the *Virginia*. On March 8, 1862, the new sea monster created one of the biggest sensations of the war. It steamed out into Hampton Roads and attacked three Union warships, whose heavy shots glided off its iron walls as if they had been fired from a boy's popgun. The *Virginia* destroyed two of the northern ships and as the third had stuck fast in the mud and could not escape, the new monster decided to wait till morning to finish its work. That night events took a different turn.

The news of the ravages of the new ironclad flashed to the North, bringing dismay and alarm. Could the *Virginia* deliberately destroy the whole American navy? It was certain that not a wooden ship could stand before it. Then came another surprise.

Coming of the Monitor. — For months it had been known that the South was building an ironclad, and it was necessary for the North to meet the challenge. In the Brooklyn shipyard John Ericsson, a famous inventor of Swedish birth, had built an ironclad, the *Monitor*, and on the night of March 8, it steamed into Hampton Roads.



THE *VIRGINIA* (*MERRIMAC*) DESTROYING ONE OF THE UNION SHIPS

Next morning came the famous battle. The two ironclads swung round and round each other in their fierce combat.

The people on shore witnessed the grand spectacle of this furious duel. The *Monitor*, which from its appearance was described as “a cheese box on a raft,” was not more than one fourth the size of the *Virginia*, but its fighting qualities were superb. After some hours of combat the two vessels separated and the battle was over. Neither had been able to sink or destroy the other; but the *Virginia* was so crippled that it never

ventured out again. Two months later it was destroyed to prevent its capture by the Union army, and late the same year the *Monitor* was wrecked off the coast of North Carolina.

The fight between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* would mean little in the history of naval warfare but for the fact that it brought to the attention of the world with startling suddenness the fact that wooden warships were out of date. Every navy in the world had to be rebuilt on the basis of the ironclad.

III. THE SEVEN DAYS BEFORE RICHMOND

It will be remembered that the great impatient public had forced the battle of Bull Run, which brought disaster to the Union army. Then came some important changes. The aged General Scott was placed on the retired list and General George B. McClellan was made commander of the Army of the Potomac.

George B. McClellan. — Born in Philadelphia in 1826, a graduate of West Point, McClellan had served in the Mexican War and had been sent to Europe as an expert to study war methods during the Crimean War. For many months after



A WAGON TRAIN IN THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC

On the bank of the Pamunkey River, shown here, is White House, used by McClellan as a base of supplies. From war-time sketches.

Bull Run and before the rise of Grant at Donelson, McClellan was the popular idol from the Atlantic to the Pacific, because of his success in driving the Confederate forces out of West Virginia.

The months passed; McClellan gathered and thoroughly trained a great army, the goal of which was to capture Rich-



WOUNDED SOLDIERS IN THE STREETS OF RICHMOND

After the battle of Fair Oaks.

mond. In the belief that the Confederate capital could be best approached from the coast, it was decided to transport the army to the mouth of the James River.

Then began a great movement up the peninsula, past historic Yorktown, where Cornwallis had handed his sword to his American conquerors. The first serious battle before Richmond was the battle of Fair Oaks (June 25, 1862), in which the Confederate commander, Joseph E. Johnston, was wounded and was carried bleeding from the field. This incident brought to the front one of the ablest men of the war — Robert E. Lee.

Robert E. Lee. — During the sixty years and more since the dark days of the war the bitterness of feeling between the sec-

tions has passed away. After this lapse of years all will agree that Robert E. Lee was one of the noblest figures produced by the Civil War. He was born in 1807 and was a graduate of West Point. He was the son of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, a commander in the Revolution who, as a member of Congress, delivered Washington's funeral oration and was the first to use the expression, "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Lee lived at beautiful Arlington, across the Potomac from Washington and in view of the city. When the Civil War began he would have been appointed commander of all the Union or Federal forces had he not chosen to go with his state rather than with the Union. When Johnston was wounded at Fair Oaks, Lee was made commander of the Confederate army and so he continued to the end of the war.

Malvern Hill. — The two great armies fought desperately during the last week of June, Lee's army to defend the Confederate capital and McClellan's to capture it. The campaign is often spoken of as the "Seven Days' Fight before Richmond."

The country for many miles around was a goodly land of peace and plenty. The valleys and the hills, dotted with rural homes nestling among the green fields, with a quiet hamlet here and there, presented a delightful picture. This land, which had borne its annual harvest since the days of the Cavaliers, was now covered with ripened grain fields. Then came the tread of the contending armies — the lumbering wagons, the tramp of ten thousand horses and a hundred thousand men — and the smiling countryside became a scene of desolation.

The battle of Malvern Hill closed the campaign. Malvern is a low plateau in a great bend of the James River to which McClellan moved his army. Along the slopes of the hill he arranged his artillery in tiers, supported by swarms of infantry along the crest of the hill.

Lee determined to take the hill by one grand assault. Heroically, desperately, the Confederate columns rushed across the

meadows and up the slopes only to be mowed down by the deadly fire from the Union ranks. For an hour after dark the assaults continued and the lurid glare of the burning powder pointed to each side the location of his enemy. But when the battle closed, the Union lines were unbroken. McClellan had saved his army, but he had not taken Richmond; he demanded reënforcements. The administration at Washington felt that the campaign was a failure and soon ordered McClellan to return with his army (by boat) to the vicinity of Washington.

IV. LEE IN MARYLAND — ANTIETAM

Defeat of Pope. — In the belief that McClellan was too slow, the Secretary of War ordered him to transfer the greater part of his command to General John Pope, who had won national fame in the capture of Island Number 10 (p. 402). Pope was given a large army in Virginia, and set forth to meet the foe. When McClellan was called from the vicinity of Richmond, Lee and his brilliant corps commander, “Stonewall” Jackson, moved in the direction of Washington.

In August three formidable battles were fought. These were the battles of Cedar Mountain, the Second Battle of Bull Run (or Manassas), and the battle of Groveton. Pope, defeated in all of these, was relieved of his command.

Lee Invades Maryland. — General Lee was now greatly encouraged to attempt an invasion of the North. Southern public opinion demanded that he should. Obedient to the voice of this master, Lee led his army across the Potomac into Maryland.

The North was in dismay. The people became frantic at the prospect of a Confederate army overrunning their soil and laying waste their cities. Soldiers for defense there were in plenty; but who would command them? An army without proper leadership, however brave it may be, is nothing but a helpless, disorganized mass.

Little Mac Again. — President Lincoln solved the problem, though it must have humiliated him a little to do so. He went

to McClellan in person and asked him to take command of the armies defending Washington. McClellan did so without a murmur about the past.

It is true that McClellan was slow and cautious, but as a trainer and organizer of armies, he was the best that America has produced. And he was wonderfully popular among his men. One of his officers writes, "A mounted officer dashing past shouted, 'Little Mac is back here on the road, boys.' The scene that followed can be more easily imagined than described. From extreme sadness we passed to a delirium of delight." Another wrote, "Those tired fellows, as the news passed down the column, jumped to their feet and sent up such a hurrah as the army had never heard before . . . The effect of this man's presence upon the Army of the Potomac — in sunshine or rain, in darkness or daylight, in victory or defeat, was electrical."

President Lincoln was exceedingly anxious, not merely to have Lee whirled back to Virginia, but to score a military victory. The fact is, he had something in his pocket of a very startling nature and of world-wide importance. He wanted to show this to the world, but felt that he could not do so until a signal northern victory had been won.

Stonewall Jackson. — McClellan reorganized his army and rushed into Maryland. Lee had stolen a march; he had sent Stonewall Jackson to one side to capture Harpers Ferry. On September 15 Jackson captured the place with its 12,000 men and great stores of munitions.

The affair at Harpers Ferry was but a prelude of the tremendous battle two days later on the banks of a little stream called Antietam (ăn-tē'tam) Creek, near Sharpsburg. The people that lived in this quiet rural valley, now glowing in its golden autumnal beauty, fled from their homes and farms, soon to be drenched in human blood.

Battle of Antietam (September 17, 1862). The day of the battle has been pronounced the bloodiest single day in American history. During the night preceding, the two great armies

lay facing each other in grand double columns three miles long, and so near were they in places that the tread of the lonely sentinel could be heard from one side to the other.

Clear and beautiful broke the morning over the hills of Maryland on the baleful seventeenth; but before the sun had burnished the hilltops the deep roar of cannon announced the opening of the conflict. Jackson had rejoined Lee before McClellan began the battle.

At one place where there was a sunken road, since called "Bloody Lane," the fight raged for four hours and the road



A BATTERY GOING INTO ACTION

between its banks was literally piled with dead men — the blue and the gray together.

The battle of Antietam was in one sense a drawn battle; on September 19 Lee, unmolested, crossed the Potomac and reached safety in Virginia. In another and more important sense it was a clear victory for the North. It put a stop to Lee's invasion of northern soil and sent his army back to Virginia; also it enabled Mr. Lincoln to draw from his pocket the document that he was very anxious to present to the world.

V. SLAVERY AND THE WAR — EMANCIPATION

Purpose of the War. — On an earlier page we have noticed that the war was actually begun by the firing on Fort Sumter and that this act was an outcome of secession. Secession was caused by the election of Lincoln, and the election of Lincoln was the culmination of an age-long quarrel over slavery. Though slavery had caused the war, it was for nearly two years a war only against secession, a war to save the Union, the subject of slavery remaining in the background. Again and again the party in power had declared that it did not intend to disturb slavery. If therefore the war had ended with Shiloh or Antietam, slavery would have remained in the South as before.

Was this a happy prospect? As soon as the war should end would not the same old trouble about auction blocks and fugitive slaves begin over again? Why bequeath such heritage to the American of the future? Such was the line of reasoning with a great and growing number of people in the North. When would there be another such opportunity to remove the cause of all the trouble by a total, universal abolition of slavery?

Abraham Lincoln shared this view and he watched and waited. The great document, which for many weeks he had held in reserve, was his Emancipation Proclamation. When Lee was turned back at Antietam, Lincoln believed the time ripe and he published the proclamation to the world on September 22, five days after the battle.

The Emancipation Proclamation. — This world-famous proclamation gave notice to the seceding states that if they did not lay down their arms and return to their places in the Union within one hundred days (by January 1, 1863), their slaves would be forever free. This did not affect the border states that had not seceded, nor the parts of the seceding states that had been taken by the Union armies.

None of the southern states complied with the conditions and the proclamation went into effect on January 1. Did it really

free the slaves? It certainly did not. Did Lincoln believe that it would? It is probable that he expected nothing of the kind. Why then did he issue it?

The greatest thing our fathers of the Revolution did was to adopt the Declaration of Independence. But it did not bring independence, and they well knew that it would not. Long years of exhausting warfare were required to make independence a reality. The declaration was intended to define the object of the war, to set the goal for all to aim for; and it proved wonderfully inspiring to the soldiers and to the people.

The Emancipation Proclamation, while it brought immediate freedom to very few of the slaves, fixed a new goal for the war. Henceforth it was to be a war not only to save the Union, but also to abolish slavery.

VI. AFFAIRS AT WASHINGTON

Power of the President. — The Constitution of the United States is flexible; it gives the President far more power in time of war than in time of peace. During the Civil War President Lincoln wielded immense power. The attention of the country was centered upon him and upon the armies in the field. Congress was almost forgotten.

Lincoln had called an extra session of Congress for the summer of 1861. It voted him half a million men and a quarter of a billion dollars, made some tariff changes so as to secure more revenue, and thus put the country on a war footing. It then adjourned, leaving the President practically military dictator. How did he use his power?

Lincoln was severely criticized by some for making many arrests and for holding men in prison on suspicion, without giving them a trial.¹ Many thousands of men were so detained

¹ This was done under a suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus. It is permissible only in time of war. If a man, for example, discourages enlistments, he may not be violating any law, but he is injuring the cause of the country. If the writ of Habeas Corpus is suspended, it is possible for the government to put him in prison and keep him there without a trial, or even giving a reason for his arrest.

during a part or the whole period of the war. There might have been riots and fierce opposition but for the fact that every loyal citizen knew that honest "Old Abe" meant it all for the best and that his only purpose was to win the war.

The Draft. — Another cause of serious friction in the North was the draft. After the war had continued for a year or more, volunteering fell off. The government then decided to use force and devised the draft. Men between twenty and forty would be chosen by lot. In some of the eastern states, especially in the city of New York, there were violent anti-draft riots and hundreds of men were killed in putting them down.

Lincoln's Cabinet. — President Lincoln's Cabinet was composed for the most part of honest and able men, three of whom at least deserve some notice.

William H. Seward of New York was Secretary of State, and therefore had charge of foreign relations. His duties were tremendous, but he never faltered. During the entire war period he filled the great office with much ability and faithfulness. Seward had been a noted statesman and party leader for many years before Lincoln was heard of, and most people believed at first that Seward would be the power behind the throne, the real force in the administration. Seward himself thought this, and Lincoln found it necessary to make him understand who was the real President. He did it kindly but firmly. Seward learned his lesson and never thereafter gave any trouble.

Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, the Secretary of the Treasury, proved himself a great financier, in the class with Alexander Hamilton. As a youth Chase had struggled for a college education. Later he read law, was admitted to the bar, and in 1830 set up a law office in Cincinnati. Then he sat down to wait for clients and after a long time one came and gave him fifty cents for writing a will. The next one borrowed the fifty cents and the young lawyer never saw him again. But nothing could daunt him, and before many years he was one of the leading lawyers in the country. He served in the United States Senate



LINCOLN AND HIS CABINET

Painting by F. B. Carpenter in the White House.

and was governor of Ohio before entering the Cabinet in 1861. He was always faithful to duty, but was often irritable, fault-finding, and peevish. Lincoln once said that Chase was never happy unless he was thoroughly miserable and able to make others so. Several times Chase offered the President his resignation and at last Lincoln lost patience and accepted it. That Lincoln had no feeling against him was shown by the fact that later he appointed Chase Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Edwin M. Stanton, a War Democrat, became Secretary of War in 1862. He was a thick-set, stocky man with keen, searching eyes, and he wore a long black beard. He was a reckless critic of the President, but with all his faults Stanton was passionately devoted to the Union. He was honest to the last degree; he was a prodigious worker, and as able a Secretary of War as this country ever saw.

VII. AFFAIRS AT RICHMOND

Jefferson Davis. — While Robert E. Lee was the great soldier of the South, the most conspicuous figure in civil life was Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy. Long before

the war Davis was a well-known man. Born in Kentucky eight months before the birth of Lincoln in the same state, he migrated to the South and made his home in Mississippi. Though a graduate of West Point, he spent most of his life in political office; but he resigned his seat in Congress to take the field in the Mexican War and he served valiantly under General Zachary Taylor (his father-in-law) at Monterey and Buena Vista.

Later we find Davis in the Cabinet of President Pierce, then in the United States Senate, from which he resigned when his state seceded from the Union.

Davis was a sincere and upright man; but the cause in which he fought was to be known as the "Lost Cause."

The constitution of the Confederate States was modeled on that of the United States, but differed from it in some important respects. It made the presidential term six years instead of four, and forbade a reelection. Davis had been chosen the temporary President and in February, 1862, he was inaugurated President for six years.

Alexander H. Stephens. — The Vice President of the Confederacy was Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia. He was a small man, with a thin face and an unimposing appearance; but he was one of the ablest and best men of the South. He fought hard to keep his state from seceding; but when it did so in spite of his efforts, he went with his state. Stephens had served in Congress before the war, and after the war was over he again represented his state in the Congress of the reunited country.

The Blockade. — During the first part of the war period the South had the usual supply of food and other necessities, but as time passed the people began to feel the pinch of want. This was due chiefly to the blockade, which shut the South off from the outside world.

For two years or more the blockade was not very effective for want of northern ships to guard the southern ports; but northern shipyards were kept running day and night and one after another the southern ports were shut in by cordons of

warships and one after another they ceased to communicate with the outside world. On the wharves at Charleston and Savannah were piled great stacks of cotton that might have been purchased for four cents a pound while at Liverpool cotton was worth two dollars and a half a pound. The only way to get cotton out of the southern ports was by means of the blockade runner. Blockade running was a profitable business when successful, but it was dangerous and only the most daring seamen engaged in it. The business reminds one of the privateering during the War of 1812.

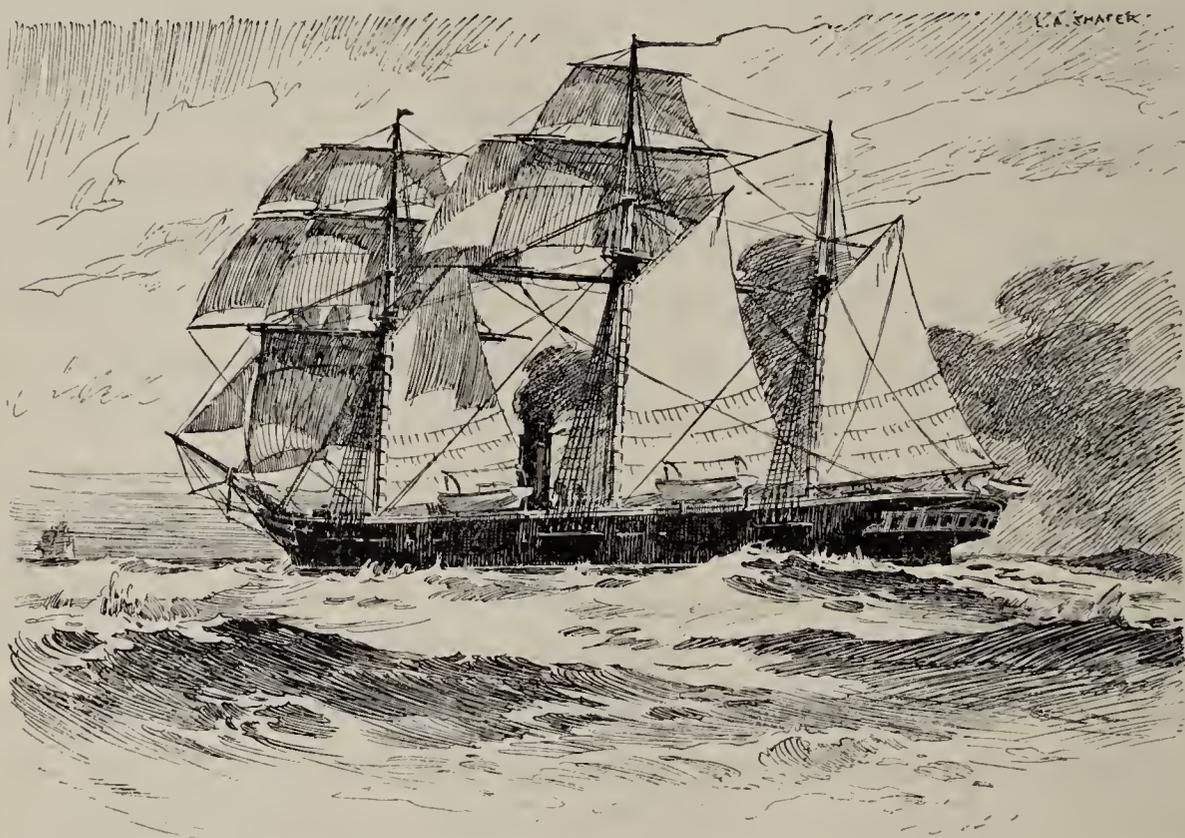
On a moonless night the blockade runner, with all lights out and the beat of the engine muffled, would steal between the guarding vessels and steam into the harbor of Charleston, Savannah, Mobile, or Galveston. Loaded at Havana or at a British or French port in the West Indies with arms and war munitions, with paper, silks, clothing, tea and coffee, or other merchandise, it would soon exchange its cargo for cotton and tobacco and glide out to sea as stealthily as it had come. Toward the end of the war the business of blockade running became more and more dangerous and at last ceased altogether.

Distress in the South. — Goods that had to be imported became exceedingly scarce in the South. A pair of boots or a barrel of flour cost a hundred dollars in Richmond. Tea and coffee could not be had at all. Paper was so scarce that newspapers were printed on wall paper; old envelopes, turned inside out, were used for letter writing. The southern armies were fairly well supplied with guns and ammunition, but the soldiers often suffered for want of food, clothing, and medicines.

All able-bodied white men in the South between seventeen and fifty were called to the military service. The slaves remained at home and worked the farms and plantations. It is a remarkable fact that the great majority of negroes remained faithful to their masters all through the war, though great numbers of them knew that the North was fighting for their freedom. Comparatively few of them left their masters to join the Union armies.

Confederate Cruisers. — The *Alabama* was one of several Confederate cruisers, built or bought in Great Britain contrary to the laws of neutrality. These vessels plowed the seas of the world and so effective was their work that most of the shipping of the United States was driven from the ocean.

The *Alabama* was built on the Mersey River in England. Our minister to London, Charles Francis Adams, protested to the



THE ALABAMA

British authorities, but his words were unheeded. At length when finished the vessel sailed out into the Atlantic, unfurled the Confederate flag, and took the name *Alabama*. For more than two years, under the command of Raphael Semmes (sēmz), the *Alabama* roamed the seas, destroying American ships.

In June, 1864, Captain Semmes accepted a challenge from the American war vessel *Kearsarge* to a naval duel. It was in a harbor of northern France. The two ships steamed out into neutral waters and began their death duel, while thousands of people looked on from the shore. The battle lasted about an hour. Then the *Alabama* sank while many of her crew were still on board, and thus her meteoric career was ended.

VIII. VICKSBURG

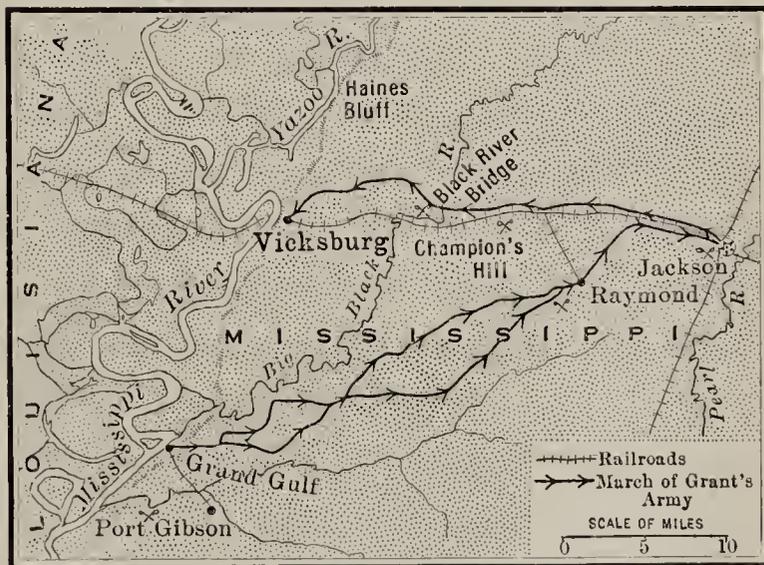
Movements in the West. — Let us return to the Mississippi Valley. In the year after the battle of Shiloh the greatest of many conflicts in the West was at Murfreesboro or Stone River, at the beginning of 1863. Here a Union army under General W. S. Rosecrans fought the Confederates under General Braxton Bragg.

The Mississippi. — About the time of the battle of Shiloh, Admiral Farragut, the greatest of American sea commanders, had captured New Orleans and had thus secured complete control of the lower course of the Mississippi. In fact, the North had gained control of the whole course of the river, except about 250 miles between Port Hudson and Vicksburg. Could they secure that also they would cut Arkansas, Texas, and most of Louisiana from the rest of the Confederacy and thus shut off a great source of supplies.

Vicksburg. — General Grant felt that he must have Vicksburg. What a prize it would be for his country, and for himself! Vicksburg is situated on a cliff at a great bend in the Mississippi, and its guns could command the river for miles in each direction. It was often called the “Gibraltar of the West.”

In 1862 fifteen thousand Confederates were sent to fortify the heights of Vicksburg. Rows of cannon, tier on tier, bomb-proof magazines, and batteries

were planted along the hillside above the flowing river. In the spring of 1863 General Grant found the defenses too strong on the north and west; he therefore transported his army to a point



VICINITY OF VICKSBURG

south of Vicksburg. Then he made a most brilliant campaign of three weeks into the interior of Mississippi, captured the state capital, won five battles, and by the 18th of May had returned to invest Vicksburg.

The Confederates thought Vicksburg impregnable. No one had attempted to escape; indeed, many had fled to the city as



MORTARS USED IN THE CIVIL WAR

a place of refuge. But now it was encircled by thousands of the enemy. Day and night the roar of cannon resounded among the hills, while from the gunboats in the river and the mortars on the opposite shore the shrieking shells rose in grand curves and burst in mid-air or on the streets of the city.

The siege continued for six weeks. The people of the city burrowed in the ground for safety. In one of these dismal abodes sixty-five people found a home. Hundreds of families lived underground for weeks and the clay walls of their homes quivered with the roar of the battle that raged above them. By the end of June their only food was mule meat and a kind of bread made of beans and corn meal.

The Surrender. — On the morning of July 4, at ten o'clock, a white flag was seen waving above the parapet. The roll of musketry ceased; the artillery grew silent. And on the after-

noon of that day Grant met the Confederate commander, General J. C. Pemberton, and arranged for the surrender of Vicksburg. The Gibraltar of the West had fallen. Its brave defenders, 30,000 in number, were released on parole.¹

This was one of the greatest northern victories of the war. A few days later Port Hudson also surrendered, and the whole course of the great river was in the hands of the Union forces. To use a terse expression of Lincoln, "The Father of Waters rolls unvexed to the sea." The Confederacy was seriously crippled by this cutting off of supplies from Arkansas and Texas.

IX. GETTYSBURG

On the day before the surrender of Vicksburg the greatest battle of the Civil War was won by the North — the battle of Gettysburg.

First let us review the movements of the Army of the Potomac from the time we left it at Antietam, in September, 1862.

Movements in the East. — When Lee retreated from Maryland after Antietam, McClellan rested his army for several weeks when Lincoln thought he ought to have been pursuing the foe. McClellan was therefore dismissed and General Ambrose E. Burnside was appointed in his place.

Burnside met Lee in the great battle of Fredricksburg, and was signally defeated. Lee planted his army on a low hill near the town, and six times Burnside sent his men to dislodge him in the face of a murderous fire. They were mowed down with dreadful slaughter. Soon after this the command was given to General Joseph Hooker.

Hooker was an abler commander, but he also failed to measure up to his great antagonist. In the first week in May, 1863, the armies met in a great contest at Chancellorsville. Hooker was completely defeated by Lee and Stonewall Jackson, though his army outnumbered theirs more than two to one.

¹ By parole as a war term is meant the releasing of captured men and permitting them to go home on the promise that they will not again take part in the war.

But the Confederate victory was dearly bought, for here it was that Stonewall Jackson received a fatal wound. It is supposed that he was shot by his own men by mistake. After lingering a day or two this remarkable man passed away; his death was an irreparable loss to the South.

Lee Turns Northward. — Lee and his army and the whole South were greatly encouraged after the victories of Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Most naturally their thoughts turned to another invasion of the North.

The South was very much disturbed by the operations of Grant around Vicksburg; but an invasion of Pennsylvania, possibly even the capture of Washington, would more than offset a western disaster. So thought Lee and his advisers, and the face of Lee's army was turned northward.

Gettysburg was a quiet hamlet in southern Pennsylvania. Here the two great armies were to meet in a titanic conflict, and the town was to be made memorable for all future time.

Again the Army of the Potomac had changed commanders. Hooker had resigned and George Gordon Meade had been appointed in his stead. Meade had been a corps commander under McClellan, Pope, Burnside, and Hooker, and was one of the ablest men in the army.

The Great Battle. — The battle of Gettysburg covered three days, the first three days of July, 1863. On the first day the battle opened on Seminary Ridge, west of the town. Here the North suffered a great loss in the death of General John F. Reynolds, who in the early forenoon received a sharpshooter's bullet in his brain. But this disaster did not stay the fury of the battle. During the afternoon a terrific contest raged for hours in an extensive plain north of Gettysburg. Here the Federal troops were fearfully cut to pieces, and when the smoke of battle was scattered by a breeze they were seen fleeing toward the town. Many were taken prisoners. On that first day the Confederates were clearly victorious; but the battle of Gettysburg was not over; the next two days were to tell the story.

Opposite Seminary Ridge a mile across the valley was Cemetery Ridge, and south from this ridge was a hill called Little Round Top. The Confederate army formed a grand half circle with Seminary Ridge as its center. The Federal army, with its center on Cemetery Ridge, formed an inner circle, partly surrounded by the Confederates.

On July 2 there was little fighting until late in the afternoon. Then came a struggle for the possession of Little Round Top, and there was nothing more desperate in the whole course of the war. After

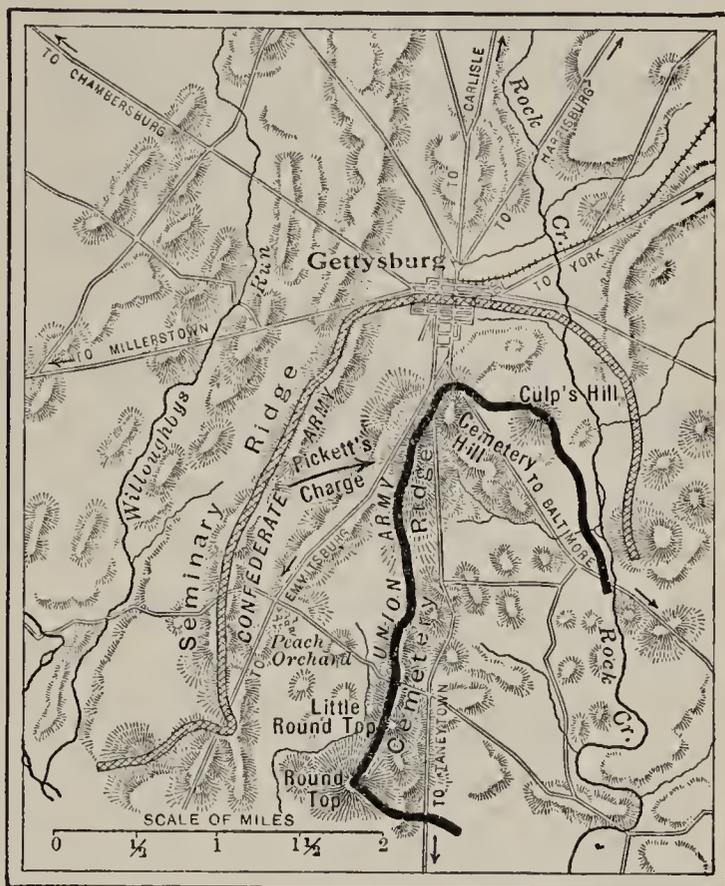
half an hour of carnage the Confederates were pressed down and the Federals occupied the hill.

During this time and many hours thereafter a tremendous battle was going on in the valley below, between Cemetery and Seminary ridges. Here many thousands were engaged and the losses on both sides were heavy.

The third and last day of this gigantic battle is remembered for two things — the great artillery duel and Pickett's Charge.

Artillery Duel. — All through the night preceding, the Confederates were massing their artillery along Seminary Ridge and at the same time the Union army was planting its cannon on Cemetery Ridge. Dawn revealed the two parallel lines of great guns, which told plainly what was to be the terrible business of the day.

At one o'clock the Confederate guns burst forth and soon the whole crest of the ridge for two miles was a line of spurting



BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

flame. Soon the Federal artillerymen were answering with their cannon. The scene was awe-inspiring beyond description.

An eye-witness declares that the whole sky seemed filled with screaming shells, which, bursting in mid-air with their hurtling fragments, formed a running accompaniment to the deep roar of the great guns. For two hours the hills shook with the terrific cannonade. Then it slowly slackened and ceased — and then came Pickett's Charge.

Pickett's Charge. — In both armies the artillery duel had wrought great damage, and the Confederates, in the belief that the enemy was greatly weakened, determined to make a frontal attack in the hope of splitting the Army of the Potomac in two.

General Pickett was chosen by Lee for the perilous task. With fifteen thousand gallant men he started across the death valley on foot to strike the Union center. As the smoke of the cannon cleared away they could be seen approaching with waving banners. When the distance was half covered the Federal cannon — which had reserved some of their ammunition — opened fire and tore great gaps in the marching columns.

Pickett had entered a death trap. As he came near the Union lines he met also the concentrated fire of musketry. His men rushed on to the very cannon's mouth, firing volley after volley. But success was impossible. Pickett saw that his goal could not be won; he ordered a retreat, and the remnant of his gallant troops fell back panting and half dead to the position whence they had come.

Results. — The great battle was over, the greatest ever fought on this side of the globe. The cost had been frightful — about 25,000 men on each side, 7000 of whom had fallen dead on the field. Lee gave up his invasion of the North and led his army back to Virginia; but General Meade did not realize the significance of his victory and did not pursue Lee.

Lee's invasion has been called "the high tide of the Confederacy"; after the double defeat of Gettysburg and Vicksburg the southern cause took a downward course.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — Give an outline of the second period of the war. What was the goal of the northern armies, east and west? Why in your opinion were the western armies more successful than the eastern?

I. What decision at Donelson by General Grant pointed to future success? Why was it important to capture the fort? Give a brief account of the battle of Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing).

II. Why was the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*) of the greatest importance in future navy building?

III. Give an account of the early career of McClellan; of Lee. Which won the battle of Malvern Hill? Which won the campaign?

IV. What induced Lee to invade Maryland? Describe the battle of Antietam (Sharpsburg).

V. What was the cause of the war? What was the single purpose of the North during the first two years? What was the double purpose during the last two years? Why did Lincoln issue the proclamation?

VI. Is it a good thing that our Constitution gives the President more power in war than in peace? Why? Describe the draft and why it was used. Tell what you know about Seward, Chase, Stanton.

VII. Describe the blockade and its effect on the South. What was the conduct of the slaves during the war?

VIII. Why did the North want to get control of the entire course of the Mississippi? Describe the siege of Vicksburg.

IX. Describe the Gettysburg campaign. Why was it important?

Events and Dates. — Capture of Fort Donelson, February, 1862. Battle of Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing), April 6. The fight between the *Monitor* and the *Virginia* (*Merrimac*). Battles of Malvern Hill and Antietam (1862). Battle of Gettysburg, the turning point in the war, July 1-3, 1863. The capture of Vicksburg July 4, 1863.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: The general histories mentioned in the preceding chapters. Burgess, *The Civil War and the Constitution*, two volumes; Greeley, *The American Conflict*, two volumes; Grant, *Personal Memoirs*. For a southern view, Pollard, *The Lost Cause*; Wilson, *Life in the Confederacy*; Stephens, *War Between the States*. Two or three biographies of Lincoln should be in the library.

FOR THE PUPIL: Soley, *Sailor Boys of '61*; Century Company, *Civil War Stories*; Coffin, *Drum-Beats of the Nation*; Abbot, *Battlefields of '61*; Ellis, *Camp Fires of General Lee*; Nicolay, *Boys' Life of Abraham Lincoln*; Andrews, *Perfect Tribute*; Whitehead, *Two Great Southerners*; Stoddard, *Long Bridge Boys*; Brady, *On the Old Kearsarge*.

CHAPTER XXX

THE CIVIL WAR — THIRD PERIOD

Outline of the Third Period. — The last period of the war (July 4, 1863, to April, 1865) covers a year and nine months. Two leading facts must be remembered: First, in the campaigns of 1864 and 1865 the northern armies east and west acted in harmony, under one commander — Grant; and second, a great double movement was planned to bring the war to a close.

This double movement was (1) that Grant should lead the Army of the Potomac (with other smaller forces) against Lee and Richmond in the hope of capturing both, and (2) that the western army, under the lead of Sherman, should cut the Confederacy in two by marching to the sea, and then turn northward and join Grant in Virginia.

It was believed that if either of these movements were successful, the Confederacy would be unable to survive the shock and the war would come to an end. Both were successful and the war ended.

These movements of 1864–1865 were preceded (1863) by a tremendous battle at Chickamauga, and by the battles of Look-out Mountain and Missionary Ridge, near Chattanooga. Other less important campaigns were Thomas's defeat of the Confederates at Nashville, Sheridan's raid in the Shenandoah Valley, and still others, all of which contributed to the main object — the success of the great double movement.

I. THE LAST HALF OF 1863

In the East in 1863 there were no great battles after Gettysburg; but in the West there was a campaign of the greatest importance.

Battle of Chickamauga. — After the battle of Murfreesboro between Rosecrans and Bragg (p. 417), the two armies sparred and maneuvered for more than half a year; then in September they met in northern Georgia and the great battle of Chickamauga was fought. The Confederate attack was so terrific that the whole right wing of the Union army, including Rosecrans, the commanding general, was swept off the field in the direction of Chattanooga. The Union rout would have been complete but for the stand made by General George H. Thomas, commander of the left wing. With 25,000 men he made a heroic fight and repelled the enemy for several hours. For this he earned the name of “the Rock of Chickamauga.” In this battle a future President of the United States proved himself a brave and efficient officer — James A. Garfield of Ohio.

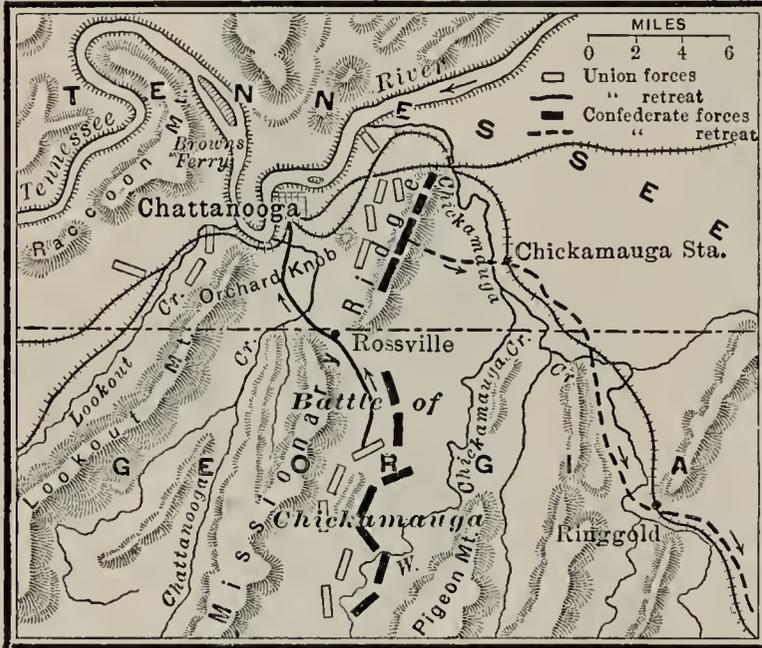


A CONFEDERATE SOLDIER FROM
LOUISIANA

Rosecrans collected his shattered army at Chattanooga, a few miles across the line in Tennessee. The victorious General Bragg soon followed with the Confederate army and occupied the hills about the city. The Union army was thus hemmed in and its supplies largely cut off. It was in danger of starvation, and several thousand horses and mules did starve to death. Rosecrans was replaced by Thomas; part of the army that had captured Vicksburg was sent to Chattanooga; another force came from Virginia; and Grant himself came upon the scene and took control. Two

famous battles took place during the following weeks — Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge.

Lookout Mountain. — Lookout Mountain is the most conspicuous object in the vicinity of Chattanooga. Like a lonely



BATTLES OF CHICKAMAUGA AND CHATTANOOGA

sentinel it stands, its crest more than 2000 feet above the surrounding valleys. Up furrowed slopes of this mountain part of General Bragg's army had dragged their cannon and planted them on the summit, overlooking a great stretch of the valley of the Tennessee.

On November 24 General Joseph Hooker was sent to dislodge them and get possession of the mountain. On top of the mountain the two forces engaged in a desperate conflict. At times a mist enveloped the struggling armies and the contest was called the "battle above the clouds." Hooker was victorious and on the following morning the stars and stripes greeted the rising sun on Lookout Mountain.

Missionary Ridge. — There were several attacks on Missionary Ridge. By the morning of November 24, Sherman had crossed the Tennessee River and advanced against one end of the ridge. The next morning Bragg concentrated his forces against Sherman. Grant then ordered Thomas to attack the Confederate line at the foot of the ridge. His men carried that first line and then of their own accord, and without orders, rushed up the steep slope at the heels of the retreating Confederates, drove the foe from their strongest position, and took possession of the summit.

General Bragg, defeated in the battles around Chattanooga,

led his army to Dalton, among the mountains of northern Georgia, and there took up his winter quarters.

II. GRANT'S ADVANCE AGAINST RICHMOND

Grant as Chief Commander. — On March 9, 1864, President Lincoln handed to General Grant in Washington a commission making him commander of all the Federal forces in the United States. Hitherto the armies east and west had not moved in harmony; they had not properly supported each other. It is true that General H. W. Halleck had held, at Washington, the position of commanding general for about two years, but Halleck was not a masterful commander. The situation was now changed and the armies east and west were to move in accordance with the decisions of one master mind.

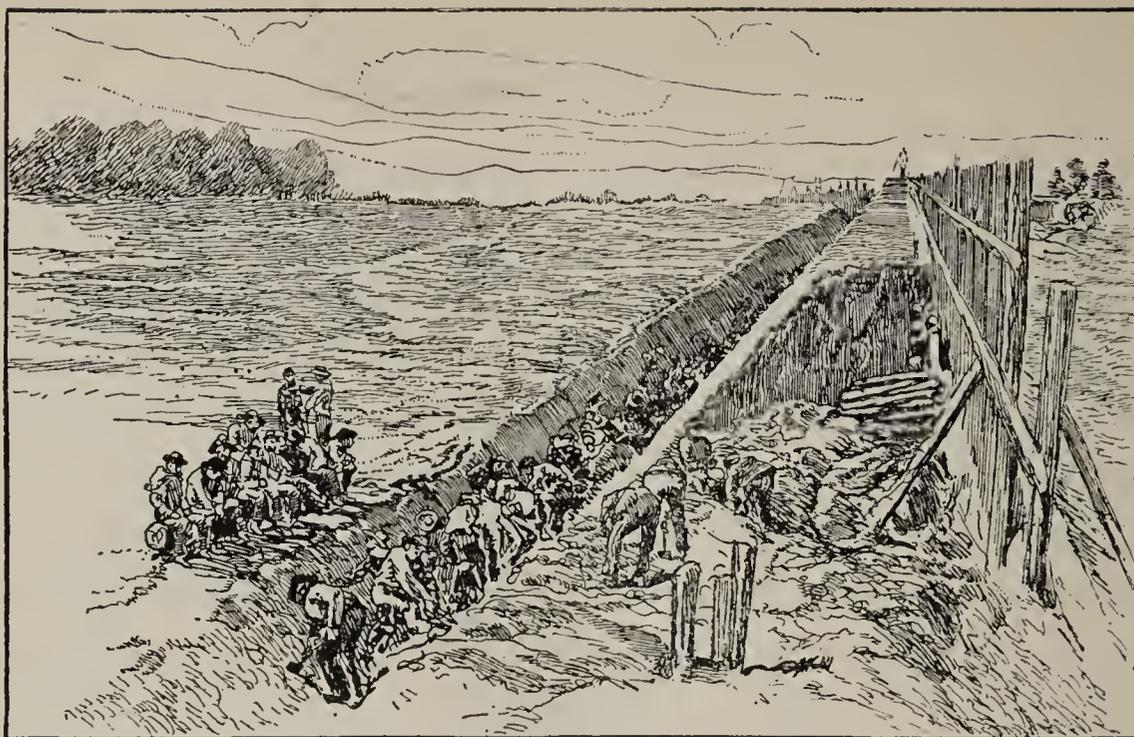
General Grant decided to remain with the armies in the East, retaining Meade as head of the Army of the Potomac, subject to his own direction, and to appoint Sherman commander in the West. Then they planned the great double movement (p. 424), to begin the first week in May, 1864.

The Wilderness. — On May 4 the Army of the Potomac broke camp and entered a maze of trees and underbrush known as the Wilderness. Lee's camp had not been far away, and on the next day the two armies met in deadly combat. The two days' fighting is known as the battle of the Wilderness, while the campaign covering several weeks is called the Wilderness Campaign. Grant's army numbered about 120,000, Lee's about half as many.

The battle of the Wilderness was a musketry battle, the armies being so near together that the artillery had no chance. Volley upon volley was poured out unceasingly on a five-mile front. At the end of the two days about 20,000 men lay dead or wounded on the field. The battle was indecisive.

Spotsylvania. — At Spotsylvania the two armies met again and there occurred one of the greatest battles of the whole war.

This conflict covered several days, beginning on May 8, 1864.



TRENCHES IN THE CIVIL WAR

On the 11th the armies rested and on that day Grant sent his famous dispatch to Washington, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer."

Nothing in the Civil War was more terrific than the fourth day's contest at Spotsylvania. Lee had placed a large part of his army in the form of a huge V. This is called a salient. General Hancock made a grand assault at this point and captured many guns and several thousand prisoners. No pen can describe the ferocity of this contest in the Virginia forest on May 12. At times the blue and the gray were so near together that their muskets met muzzle to muzzle and even their flags almost intertwined. The place where the hottest fighting occurred was called "Bloody Angle."

For weeks thereafter there was heavy fighting at some point nearly every day. Grant continued his march toward Richmond; but Lee checked him at almost every move. At the beginning of June the two armies were entrenched at Cold Harbor.

Cold Harbor. — Here General Grant made the most serious mistake of his life. He ordered a frontal attack on Lee's entrenched army. It was made at daybreak on June 3 and in

half an hour was repulsed with frightful Union loss, perhaps 7000 men. The men well knew that they were being sent to death and many of them pinned on their coats slips of paper with name and address so that their dead bodies might be recognized and their fate be made known to their friends at home.

After his fearful defeat at Cold Harbor Grant gave up his intention of moving directly on Richmond. During the four weeks' campaign he had lost about 55,000 men. Lee's losses are not known, but they were far less than those of Grant. Both armies had been heavily reënforced. Grant now decided to move his army to a point south of the James River. Many months were yet to pass before he could capture Richmond.

Early and Sheridan. — Lee was elated with the situation and he sent General J. A. Early with 20,000 men to the Shenandoah Valley to threaten Washington. On July 11 Early came within sight of the dome of the Capitol, and there was great excitement in the city. Early could have captured it, but he let the chance slip by; a few days later a detachment from Grant's army came to the rescue and the capital was safe.

In October Grant sent Sheridan to take care of Early and he did so with the greatest success. Sheridan won glory for himself and sent a thrill of joy throughout the North by his spectacular victory in the Shenandoah Valley.

In the midst of the war came a presidential election. Let us leave the armies for the present and take a view of politics.

III. SECOND ELECTION OF LINCOLN

To us Lincoln seems almost like a demigod; his name is often linked with that of the Father of his Country. And it seems strange to us to read the story of his second election — what a hard fight he had and how near he came to losing.

Lincoln and the Politicians. — The Democrats were not in a position to defeat Lincoln; his chief trouble came from his own party. The politicians in and out of Congress who managed party affairs were hostile to the great War President.

Even members of the Cabinet spoke of Lincoln as the “gorilla” or “baboon,” referring to his tall and ungainly appearance. Seward was the one member of the Cabinet who did not speak harshly and contemptuously of his chief. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase was an aspirant for the presidency and his friends did everything possible to win for him the nomination. It was charged that Lincoln was too slow, and also that he was too vigorous, in his war methods, that he was a tyrant, that he was an ignorant backwoods lawyer, and still worse, that his patriotism was questionable.

Lincoln and the People. — For just one reason the politicians were thwarted and Lincoln renominated; the voice of the people called for him. The common people had learned to trust and believe in “Honest Abe” and the party managers did not dare to ignore them. Many of his supporters were Democrats, War Democrats as they were called. To retain their support the name Republican was dropped and the party that year was called the Union party.

Of the twenty-two senators from the eleven seceding states only one, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, remained true to the Union in 1861. He was chosen on the ticket with Lincoln for the vice presidency in 1864.

The Democrats. — The Democrats met in convention late in August and named for the presidency General McClellan, the most popular soldier in the country before the rise of Grant. The Democrats might have stood a good chance of electing their man, so widespread was the Republican revolt against Lincoln, but for two reasons: first, there were thousands of War Democrats who had learned to trust Lincoln and who believed it unwise (to use a phrase of Lincoln’s) to “swap horses while crossing a stream;” and second, the Democrats made the blunder of stating in their platform that the war was a failure.

The soldier boys in the field and their kin at home could not be made to believe that the war was a failure, and the party that said it drove great numbers of voters to the other side.

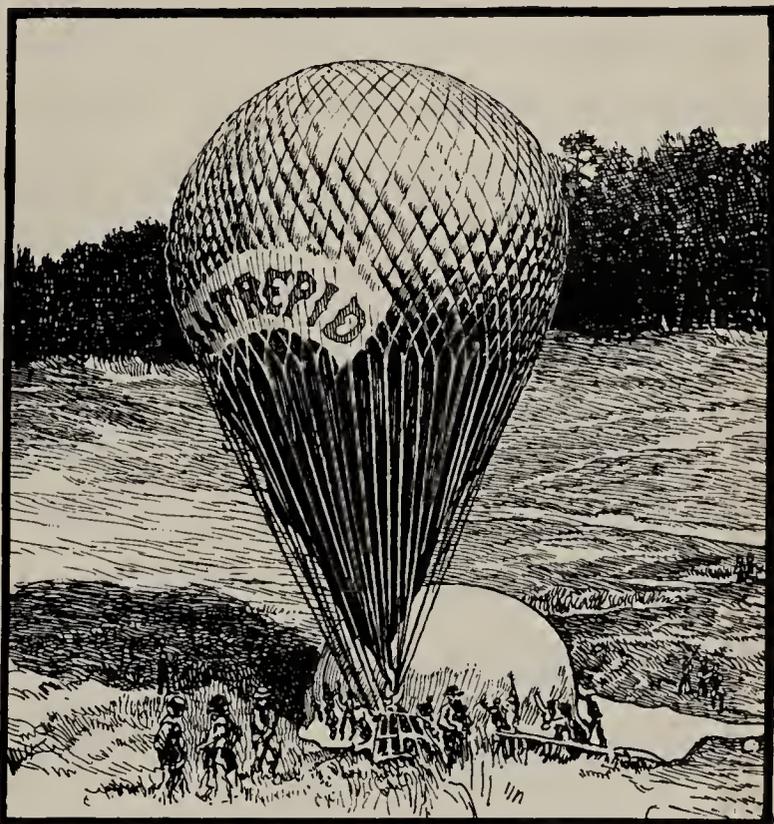
On the other hand it is true that this sentiment appealed to many. Great numbers of the people were very tired of the war. They wanted peace to return and they did not care very much whether slavery was overthrown or not. And peace seemed very far away.

The splendid victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg had been followed by many reverses. Grant had been the hope of the country in the spring of 1864; but in his long and bloody campaign in Virginia he had thus far won hardly anything and had lost more than 50,000 brave men.

Opposition to Lincoln. — There was reason for being discouraged, and most of the

blame fell on the shoulders of Lincoln. After Lincoln's nomination there was a widespread movement to call another convention and choose a "better" candidate. It was favored not only by the politicians and office seekers, but by such sincere men as Henry Ward Beecher, William Cullen Bryant, Horace Greeley, and many of the leading Republicans of the country.

But things began to brighten as the autumn passed. The news from the front took on a glowing color. In August Farragut won a notable victory in Mobile Bay; later came news that Sherman had captured Atlanta; Sheridan had defeated Early in the Shenandoah Valley — these were events that convinced the people that the war was not a failure after all.



A BALLOON USED IN THE CIVIL WAR

Balloons were used for observation.

The Outcome. — The tide turned decidedly in favor of Lincoln and he was elected by a great majority over McClellan.

The meaning of the election was that the people of the North intended to continue the war to a finish and that if they won, slavery would perish and the states would be reunited under the old flag.

On the following March 4 the great War President took the oath of office for a second time. His inaugural address was the finest ever uttered by an American President. It contained these words:

“ With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation’s wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and orphans, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.”

Thus nobly he set forth the deeper feelings of the great American heart. Who could foretell the mournful tragedy that was soon to follow?

IV. SHERMAN AND THE GREAT MARCH TO THE SEA

Sherman and Johnston. — With an army of a hundred thousand men at Chattanooga Sherman waited for the coming of spring, 1864, ready to begin his part of the great concerted movement when Grant should move against Lee in the East.

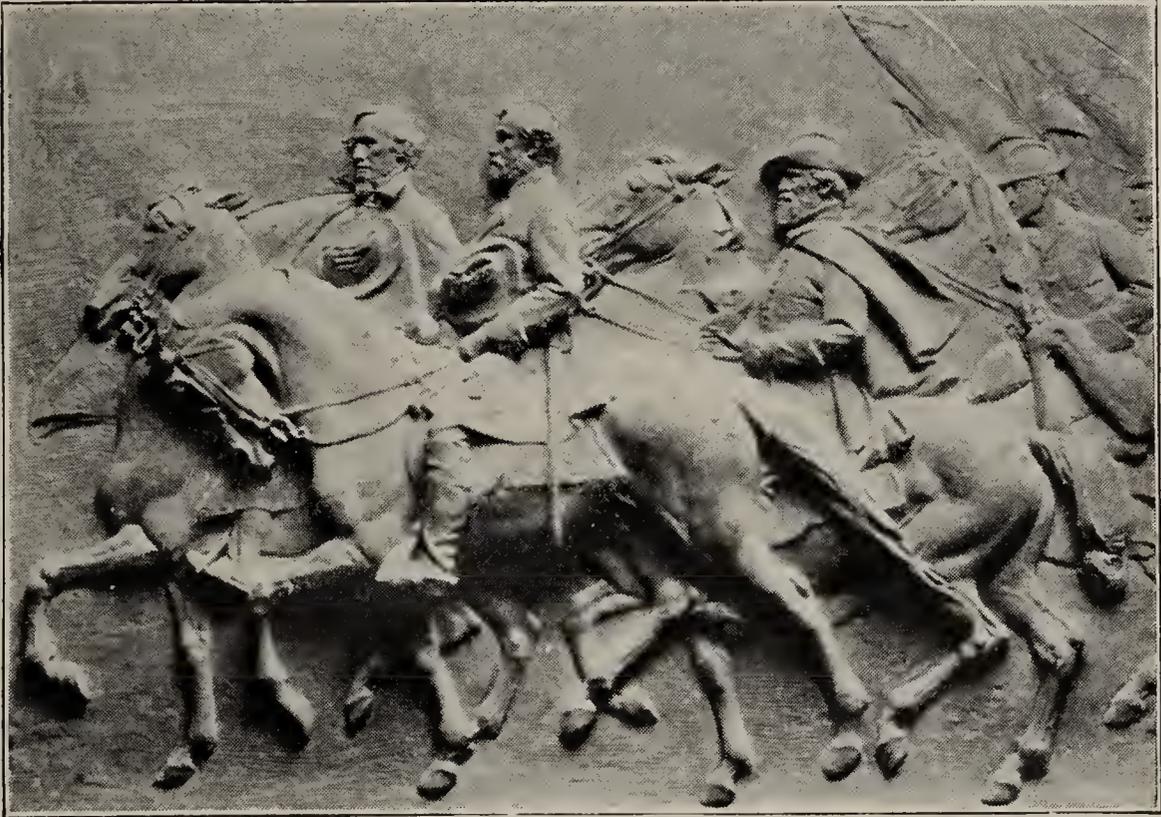
The Confederate army rested at Dalton, thirty miles away. It had again changed commanders. Bragg had been dismissed and Joseph E. Johnston was now the commander.

Sherman broke camp on May 6 and began a march over hill and valley, through forest and stream toward the camp of his great antagonist. Nature was all abloom in a southern spring, and the soldiers, who had long chafed under their enforced idleness, now rejoiced at their exhilarating journey, though their mission was one of strife and bloodshed.

Sherman and Johnston were well matched. Both were

strong and able commanders. For several months the two commanders sparred and maneuvered for position. On one occasion, at Ken'esaw Mountain, Sherman made a blunder like that of Grant at Cold Harbor. He attacked Johnston in his entrenchments, lost 3000 men, and won nothing.

Capture of Atlanta. — Sherman's object was to capture the important southern city of Atlanta. He succeeded in doing so;



© Stone Mountain Confederate Monumental Association

PART OF THE STONE MOUNTAIN CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL

Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, as they are to appear in the colossal relief cut on the face of Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, Georgia.

but he might have found it impossible but for the fact that President Davis removed Johnston and put the more reckless General Hood in command.

March to the Sea. — Sherman occupied Atlanta early in September and destroyed the great munition factories of the city. Hood then swung back into Tennessee in the hope of drawing Sherman after him, but Sherman sent Thomas after Hood and prepared for his march to the sea. With 60,000 of his best troops he began the great march in November. The object was to cut the Confederacy in two and to hamper the southern

part in communicating with the northern. By getting control of the Mississippi one great section had been cut off, and Sherman's purpose was to cut off a still greater section.

His men lived off the country as they marched; they were forbidden to enter private homes (an order sometimes disobeyed), but they destroyed railroads and bridges and every kind of stores and supplies that might support an army. The swath they covered and devastated was sixty miles wide. Sherman and his army reached the seacoast in December. On the 22nd he wired Lincoln: "I beg to present you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah." Meanwhile Thomas had almost annihilated Hood's army in the battle of Nashville.

Sherman was soon ready to move northward, capturing on his way Columbia, the capital of South Carolina.

V. CLOSING SCENES OF THE WAR

Appomattox. — After besieging Petersburg for several months, Grant was able to capture both Petersburg and Richmond. Lee tried to escape, but was headed off at every turn by Grant's army. General Lee saw that the end was at hand; he told his staff that he would have to make terms to surrender to General Grant — "and I would rather die a thousand deaths," he added, his voice choking with emotion.

The two great commanders met at Appomattox, not many miles from Richmond. Grant was generous in offering terms to a fallen foe whose valor and sincerity he had learned to respect. He spared Lee the humiliation of handing over his sword; he released the southern soldiers on parole and said they should take their horses home with them, as "they would be needed in their spring plowing," and he issued rations to them from his own supplies.

Sherman had started northward to join Grant, but the surrender came before he arrived. Before the end of April Johnston surrendered to him and the great war was over. Sherman, like Grant, gave the most generous terms to the conquered foe.

Had the politicians of the North been as great-hearted as Grant and Sherman and Lincoln, the long bitterness following the war might have been avoided.

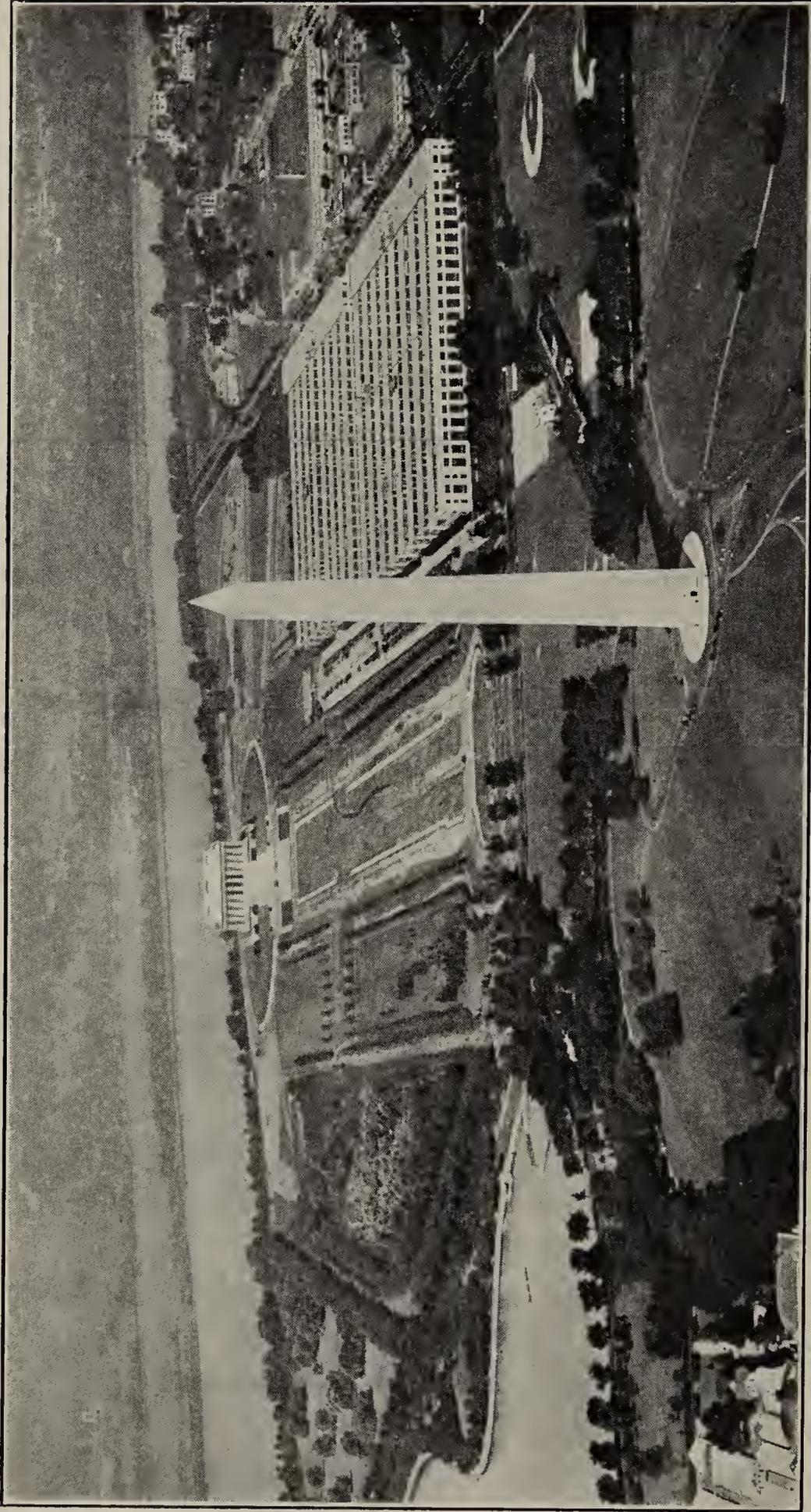
Some weeks before the surrender, when it was known that the South was ready to collapse, Lincoln suggested offering the South \$400,000,000 in payment for their slaves. But the suggestion was opposed and the offer was never made. Instead, the Thirteenth Amendment was adopted (1865), abolishing slavery in all the states, without compensation to the slaveholders.

Death of Lincoln. — A few weeks after the surrender of Lee and Johnston, the armies of Grant and Sherman, in a grand column thirty miles long, marched through the streets of Washington before dispersing to their homes. But there was a sadness amid all the rejoicings of victory. The beloved President was not there to view the parade. He had been slain by an assassin's bullet.

The assassin, an actor by the name of John Wilkes Booth, was a man whose sympathy with the South was so intense that when the cause was lost his mind was probably unbalanced. Entering Ford's theater, where the President occupied a box, Booth shot him in the head and leaping to the stage shouted "*Sic Semper Tyrannis*" (Ever thus to tyrants). He escaped on a fleet horse, but was caught some weeks later in a barn in Virginia — and was shot by one of the soldiers who surrounded the barn. Four years to a day after Major Anderson had surrendered Fort Sumter, April 14, he raised over the walls of the ruined fort the same tattered flag that he had hauled down four years before. Lincoln was assassinated on the night of that same day.

At almost the same moment of the assassination an accomplice of Booth entered the sleeping chamber of Seward and slashed the secretary with a dagger until life was almost gone; but the secretary recovered.

Lincoln's Fame. — Lincoln's fame has steadily risen the world over from that day to the present. It has been truly said that



Keystone View Co.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL, AT WASHINGTON, D. C., COMPLETED IN 1922

The Washington Monument (555 ft. in height) is shown in the foreground; the Lincoln Memorial appears in the distance near the Potomac River.

without Washington the Revolution would have failed. It is equally true that without Lincoln the Civil War would have left the Union divided and slavery secure in the South. If one is rightly called the Father of his Country, the other has an equal right to be called the Savior of his Country.

VI. COST AND RESULTS OF THE WAR

The Unknown Quantity. — Nobody knows the ultimate cost of a war, for the reason that nobody knows the value of the lives that have been sacrificed. The Civil War brought death directly or indirectly to about 700,000 men, the majority of whom were young. It is easy to imagine that among them were future poets and artists and philosophers and inventors whose worth to society and civilization can never be known. All their possible achievements are lost to the world and nobody can measure the loss. This is the unknown quantity in counting the cost of any war.

Men in the Service. — The whole number of men enlisted on the northern side in the war was 2,773,400; but many of these were reënlistments. Perhaps not more than a million men were in the service at any one time. In the South no exact records were kept, but it is estimated that more than one million men were enlisted in all. This does not take account of the many slaves who served the armies in various ways.

Why the North Won. — The North won the war for various reasons: she had more men, and more money; her navy enabled her to blockade the South and cut off supplies; and, it must be added, she had the guidance of Abraham Lincoln.

The blockade closed the southern ports one by one until the capture of Mobile Bay in August, 1864, left the South without an outlet to the outside world; without any market for its chief product, cotton; without means to buy needed supplies. And yet the southern armies fought on with admirable devotion to the cause in which they believed until their land was ruined and exhausted.

The North, on the other hand, had not at the close of the war reached the apex of its power. It increased in wealth during the whole period and was richer and more prosperous in 1865 than in 1861.

The Finances. — The war cost an enormous amount of money, far more than could be raised by current taxation. The taxes produced about \$1,500,000 a day, but the cost of the war was nearly three times that amount. One plan em-



CONFEDERATE PAPER CURRENCY

One of the reasons for the failure of the Southern Confederacy was its unsound financial basis. Paper money was issued in such large amounts that it soon lost value.

ployed in raising the necessary money was to sell bonds to the people; another was to issue paper money, called greenbacks because one side was green. These were issued to the amount of \$450,000,000; but they fell in value until at one time in 1864 it required \$285 in greenbacks to purchase \$100 in gold.¹ The national debt reached its highest point in 1865 — \$2,800,000,000.

¹ In 1863-1864 the National Banking system was established, fathered by Mr. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury. By this law a national bank was required to purchase government bonds to the amount of one third of its capital. The bank was then permitted to put into circulation bank notes (paper money) to the amount of ninety per cent of its bonds. With the money paid for the bonds the government was enabled to finance the war, while with the bonds, which had to be deposited at Washington, the government guaranteed to the people the bank notes that circulated among them.

Results of the War. — The war did two things of immense importance: it saved the Union from disruption and it overthrew slavery. Also it did one thing more of even greater importance: it preserved for the world the principle of self-government.

Never before in the world's history had the experiment in self-government been attempted on so grand a scale. Here was a vast new, growing republic, a government of the people, for the people, and by the people, a government without kings or emperors or peers. Would it endure? or would the experiment prove a failure? The eyes of the world were turned to the great republic of the West and the answer was awaited. Had the Civil War broken our Union asunder, the world would have decided that this greatest of all experiments in self-government had failed, and the principle of self-government might have been put back for hundreds of years.

But the experiment did not fail. The Union was preserved. The southern people of to-day do not grieve over the results of the war. Few of them indeed would have slavery back if they could, or would want to live under any flag but Old Glory.

The Civil War displayed on both sides a valor, an energy, a devotion to a cause, of which all future Americans must be proud; it freed from bondage four million people and opened to them the opportunity to make the best of themselves; it crushed the whole idea of secession and disunion which had hung over the nation like a black cloud since the time of the Revolution; it opened the way for a feeling of common brotherhood between the North and the South as never before; and it prepared the way also for the wonderful era of progress and prosperity that has characterized our country since the war.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics.—In what important particular did the third period differ from the first two? What was the purpose of the double movement?

I. How did Thomas earn the title, "Rock of Chickamauga"? Describe Lookout Mountain; Missionary Ridge.

II. Give a brief outline of the battles of the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor.

III. Why was Lincoln opposed for reëlection? Who were the War Democrats? For what two reasons was McClellan's election impossible? Can you quote a passage from Lincoln's second inaugural?

IV. Describe the Atlanta campaign; the march to the sea. What was the object in making this march?

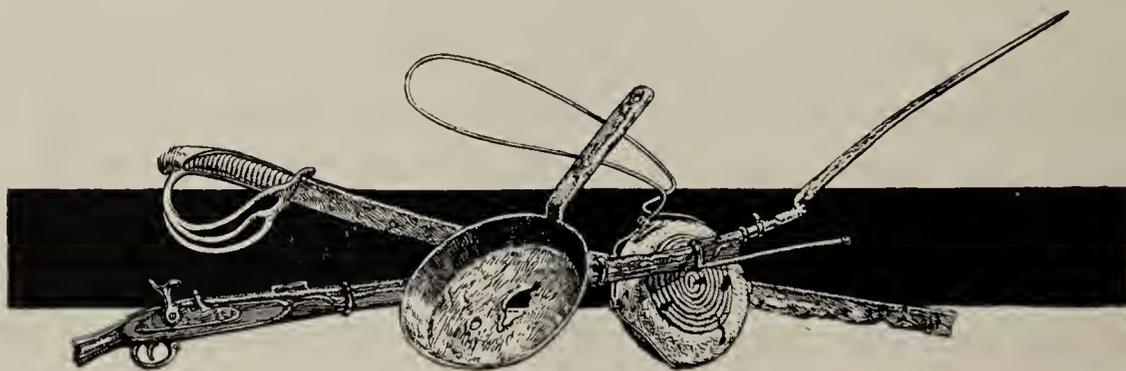
V. Describe the scene at Appomattox. For what reason in your opinion has the fame of Lincoln increased since the war?

VI. Why is it impossible to compute the losses of war? Give an estimate of the numbers of soldiers engaged. What was the effect of the blockade? How did the government of the United States raise money for the war? In what way was democracy on trial? What were the permanent results of the war, aside from the preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery?

Events and Dates. — The great concerted movement and its purpose. Grant's campaign in Virginia (1864-1865). Sherman's campaign (1864-1865). The surrender at Appomattox, April 9, 1865.

Further Reading. — Same as in the last two chapters.

FOR THE PUPIL: Brady, *A Little Traitor of the South*; Page, *Two Little Confederates*; Henty, *With Lee in Virginia*.



CHAPTER XXXI

THE YEARS FOLLOWING THE WAR

I. RECONSTRUCTION

WITH the surrender of Lee at Appomattox bloodshed in the field came to an end, but the strife between the two sections had by no means ended. The South was in a state of chaos. And the first great problem of the time was how to get the seceded states into the Union. This process was called Reconstruction.

Lincoln's Plan. — Had President Lincoln lived, the process might have been far easier than it came to be. Lincoln had no wish for vengeance on the South; he favored readmitting the seceded states to the Union with as little further humiliation as possible. He required of course that they accept the results of the war — a restored Union and the end of slavery. As early as December 1863, he set forth what was called his “ten per cent” plan; that is, that a state might resume its place in the Union when ten per cent of the number of its voters of 1860 should take the oath of allegiance to the Union and set up a state government. Secretary Seward, General Sherman, and many of the leading men of the North agreed with this mild and humane plan of reconstruction. But Congress did not agree with the President.

Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was the leader in the Senate and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania in the House. These men wanted the “rebels” punished still more than they had been, wanted their property confiscated, and the leaders hanged. A bitter fight between Congress and Lincoln was in the air. Then came the assassin's bullet which laid low the great President. Everything seemed for the moment to be turned upside down.

Andrew Johnson. — Andrew Johnson now takes the center of the stage and the great drama is continued. Johnson was born in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1808. His mother became a widow and she could scarcely make a living for her little family. Andrew was a ragged street urchin until apprenticed to a tailor. He could not afford to go to school, but having an intense desire to learn, he picked up a little education after he was grown up. He married young and his wife became his teacher. He was a good politician and held office many years in Tennessee. He was a robust, powerful man, fearless and honest. But he was wanting in tact and was unskillful in managing other men. Suddenly the great office of President was thrust upon him.

Johnson's Plan. — For a time Johnson seemed bitter against the South, but within a few weeks he turned about and took the same mild view of reconstruction that Lincoln had taken. During the summer and fall of 1865, while Congress was not in session, Johnson arranged with the seceded states to reestablish their governments, provided that they repeal their ordinances of secession and ratify the Thirteenth Amendment, which Congress had proposed early in 1865, putting an end to slavery in all the states. When Congress met in December all of the seceded states had accepted Johnson's plan, and most of them had sent senators and representatives to Washington.

It was a daring thing for this new, accidental President to do. Congress had shown that it would not accept this mild plan of reconstruction, even when Lincoln proposed it. How could Johnson expect a more favorable reception of his work?

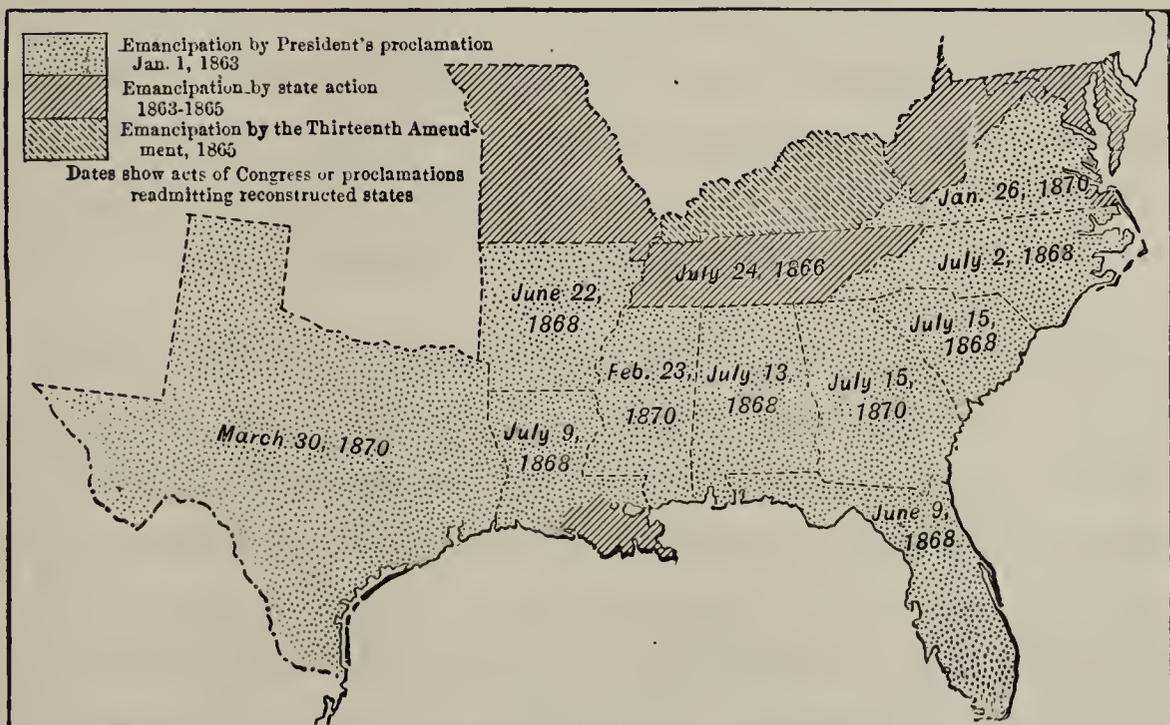
The storm soon broke. Congress refused to admit the Southerners to membership. It ignored utterly the work of the President and began the whole work of reconstruction over again. The motives of the leading Congressmen were not of the noblest. They wanted to punish the South and they wanted to show the President that he was not running the government.

Two things now played into the hands of Congress. One was

President Johnson's denunciation of that body in bitter and undignified language. Thus he drove many of his friends to the other side. The other was that some of the southern states had made what seemed needlessly harsh laws, called "black codes," for governing the freed negroes.

The Fourteenth Amendment. — Congress responded by proposing the Fourteenth Amendment, which was intended to secure to the negro his rights as a citizen. The second section provided that representation in Congress should be based on "the whole number of persons in each state, excluding Indians not taxed"; and that if any state should deny the right of any male inhabitants to vote, the representation of that state should be reduced in proportion. (Read the whole amendment in the Appendix pp. xxi-xxii.)

The Reconstruction Act. — A Reconstruction Act, offered by Stevens, was passed by Congress over the President's veto, and became a law in March, 1867. By this act ten southern states were grouped into five military districts and a general with an army was sent into each district. The Johnson governments were overthrown and every seceded state except Tennessee (which had been readmitted to the Union) was put under



READMISSION OF SOUTHERN STATES, AND EMANCIPATION OF NEGROES

the control of the army. The conditions put on each state before it could come back into the Union were that it should adopt a constitution approved by Congress and ratify the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments to the federal Constitution. In less than two years seven of them did so, but three, Virginia, Texas, and Mississippi, held aloof for several years longer.

Purchase of Alaska. — In spite of the quarrel between the President and Congress, the purchase of Alaska from Russia was accomplished by treaty in 1867. The price paid was \$7,200,000. (Side Talk, p. 449.)

II. IMPEACHMENT AND TRIAL OF THE PRESIDENT

Tenure of Office Act. — The President and the leaders of Congress came to hate each other with such bitterness that neither showed any manliness or dignity in the contest. President Johnson went about calling names. Congress made laws the chief object of which seemed to be to annoy and humiliate the pugnacious President. Chief among these was the Tenure of Office Act.

By this law any officer appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate could not be dismissed by him without the consent of the Senate. Hitherto, from the founding of the government, a President had had the right to get rid of any of his appointed officials if he so desired. The Tenure of Office Act made him dependent on the Senate for removals as well as for appointments.

Johnson had retained Lincoln's Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton. Johnson now wanted to get rid of him, but Stanton refused to resign, for he believed the new law would protect him. Johnson, believing the act unconstitutional, dismissed Stanton from the Cabinet, in defiance of the Tenure of Office Act.

Impeachment of Johnson. — Congress was furious at the President who thus dared to defy its power. Matters quickly came to a crisis. In the House of Representatives a motion to

impeach the President for "high crimes and misdemeanors" was carried by a large majority.

According to our Constitution the House has the right to impeach, or accuse, a public officer, while the Senate conducts the trial. The Senate therefore decides whether he is guilty or not guilty. If the Senate should convict by the required two-thirds vote, the President would be deposed from his office.

The Great Trial. — This was by far the most famous trial in the history of the country. Chief Justice Chase presided over it and among the witnesses were generals of the army and members of the Cabinet. There were several charges against the President, but the one on which the trial hinged was his removal of Stanton in violation of the Tenure of Office Act. The trial began on March 30 and continued for six weeks.

Not Guilty. — When the vote was taken, on May 16, 1868, it was found that one vote was lacking of the two thirds necessary to convict. President Johnson was therefore not deposed and he finished his term on the fourth of the following March.¹

Johnson's enemies were bitterly disappointed at the outcome of the trial. But as the passions of that day wore away, thoughtful people began to see, as nearly every one now sees, that it would have been a great misfortune had the President been dismissed from his office on such flimsy charges. He had not been guilty of "high crimes and misdemeanors." His real offense was the fact that he refused to work in harness with the leaders of the party that had elected him.

III. THE RACE QUESTION AND THE CARPETBAGGERS

Condition of the Negroes. — Great numbers of negro slaves were set free by the war. They had never known the responsibility of governing themselves, or even of planning how to make

¹ Had Johnson been deposed, Senator Benjamin Wade of Ohio would have become President for the remainder of the term, as he was president of the Senate. But he missed by one vote and thus he is one of three men in American history who came within a single vote of the great prize. The other two are Aaron Burr (p. 223) and Samuel J. Tilden (p. 460).

their own living. What could be expected of them under such conditions? They were without land or property, without education or leadership. They had only freedom and they knew not how to use it. A rumor spread over the South that Congress intended to confiscate the landed estates of the former slaveholders and to divide them up among the negroes, giving to each colored family forty acres and a mule; hundreds of thousands of them wandered about, idle, listless, waiting for the forty acres and the mule.

The Carpetbaggers. — Then came the “carpetbaggers,” so called by their enemies, who said they brought all their belongings with them in a carpetbag (valise). They were men from the



CARPETBAGS OF THE POST-WAR PERIOD

These valises were made of pieces of carpet.

North who went south after the war and held office there. Some were men of character; many were merely politicians for profit. For some years they held sway in nearly all of the southern states and their rule was the most corrupt in the annals of the United States. These governments were upheld by the war power under the Congressional Reconstruction Act. A few Southerners joined the plunderers of their states and reaped a share of the loot; these were called “scalawags.”

The old ruling class of whites were for a time denied the right to hold office. The negroes were given the right to vote and hold office, and most of the legislatures were composed largely of negroes who could easily be induced to vote as the carpetbaggers suggested.

Here is an example of the state legislatures: In South Carolina the legislature was composed of one hundred and fifty-

five members and of that number one hundred and thirty-three could not read or write. Eighty-eight of them were blacks. The aggregate taxes paid by all the members in a year were \$635.25. Ninety-one members paid no taxes whatever. This legislature soon ran the state debt up \$20,000,000; it meant plunder and theft rather than public improvement. In this same state the taxes were made so heavy that 2600 pieces of land were sold out by the sheriff in one county in a single year.

In Louisiana the public debt increased \$34,000,000 in three years, and in Arkansas the running expenses of the state increased 1500 per cent. The negroes readily fell in with the looting of the treasuries; but they received only a meager portion of the loot. The carpetbaggers took care of that.

The "Solid South." — The better class of southern whites stood aghast at the scandalous looting of their states, which had already been ruined and impoverished by the war. Before the war about half the southern voters were Whigs, but as that party had disappeared they now turned to the Democratic party. It was not the war but the carpetbag governments that created what is called the "Solid South" in American politics.

When the military arm was withdrawn the southern states were soon again in the hands of the white men, and so they have continued to this day. What else could be expected? For thousands of years the white race has gone forward in civilization and worked out self-government. The other race in the South, just released from slavery, was for the most part without education or training, paid less than five per cent of the taxes, and owned less than five per cent of the property; could it be expected that this race would continue to govern these states, even where they were in the majority? Such a thing has never occurred in the world's history, and it did not occur in the South. The whites quickly regained control; by intimidation and otherwise, the majority of the negroes who had voted in the carpetbag period were "induced" to discontinue the practice. A secret society called the Ku Klux Klan, formed in Tennessee,

spread over a great part of the South. Its purpose was to intimidate black voters, and usually it was very successful.

The negroes have produced some aspiring men and the race has made commendable progress since the war, but it has little to do with carrying on the government. The Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, adopted in 1870, gave the black man the vote, but it is made inoperative in the greater part of the South by property and educational tests.

IV. THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION AFTER THE WAR

Republican Convention. — About the time the Johnson trial closed, the Republican convention met in Chicago to nominate a ticket for the presidential election of 1868. The most popular man in the country was the commanding general who had captured Vicksburg and forced the surrender of Lee. Grant was nominated at Chicago by a unanimous vote on the first ballot.

The Election. — The Democrats met in the city of New York on July 4 and nominated Horatio Seymour (sē'mōr), governor of New York. The election hinged chiefly on the southern question, and the Republicans published widely the doings and the imaginary doings of the Ku Klux Klan. General Grant was elected by a large majority of the electoral college. Six of the seceded states, under carpetbag government, cast their votes for Grant.

The Republicans, however, were somewhat startled by the fact that Seymour carried New York and a few other northern states, that he came within a thousand votes of winning in Indiana and California, and was but a few thousand behind Grant in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and several other northern states. It was clear that in the future, as in the past, the Republicans would have a powerful rival in the Democratic party.

The terse statement of General Grant, "Let us have peace," touched a popular chord. And peace was finally at hand. On March 30, 1870, the last of the southern states, Texas, was readmitted to the Union. It was on the same day that the

Fifteenth Amendment was proclaimed as a part of the law of the land.

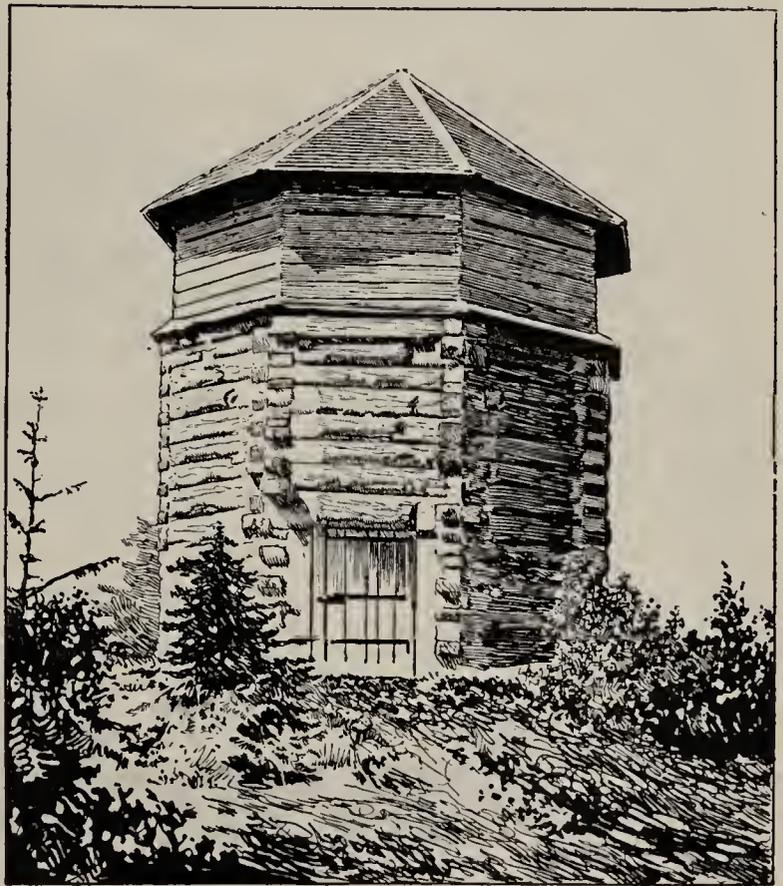
SIDE TALK

Alaska. — When Secretary of State Seward negotiated for the purchase of Alaska for the sum of \$7,200,000, no one seemed to think that he had made a good bargain. Various reasons were given for the purchase — to please Russia, who had been our staunch friend during the war, and to strengthen our credit by showing the world that we still had money in spite of the drain of the war.

At the following election the Democrats twitted the Republicans with “Seward’s folly” and asked what we wanted with “that huge lump of ice,” and the Republicans could make no answer. No one foresaw the great wealth of Alaska.

Up to 1923 the gold output of Alaska amounted to forty-five times the purchase price, while the wealth of the country in coal, in copper, in iron, and in oil, will each probably surpass its wealth in gold. The fisheries of

Alaska are worth the purchase price several times over every year. Most important of all, perhaps, in the future of Alaska, will be the production of reindeer; valuable for peltries and for their meat, which is quite equal to beef or mutton. These creatures need no shelter and no hay; they find their food in winter by digging up moss from under the snow, and an Alaskan blizzard affects them no more than a spring zephyr affects us. The only care they need is protection from wolves. By 1923 there were about



AN OLD RUSSIAN BLOCKHOUSE IN ALASKA

200,000 reindeer in the country and they are rapidly multiplying. It is believed that Alaska can support 20,000,000 reindeer. What a source of future food supply for the United States! The caribou, equally useful, somewhat larger and much wilder than the reindeer, is also

rapidly multiplying. A third Alaskan animal is the ovibos or musk ox. It is several times larger than the reindeer, is covered with both hair and fur, and can protect itself against wolves. All these animals are exceedingly useful, all are well fitted for the Alaskan climate, and none of them needs to be fed. (See Stefanson's *The Northward Course of Empire*.)

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Outline Lincoln's plan of reconstruction. Give an estimate of Andrew Johnson. Why did Congress reject the Johnson plan? On what conditions could a seceded state return to the Union according to the great Reconstruction Act?

II. What was the Tenure of Office Act? What is meant by impeachment? Would it have been wise to depose Johnson on the charges against him?

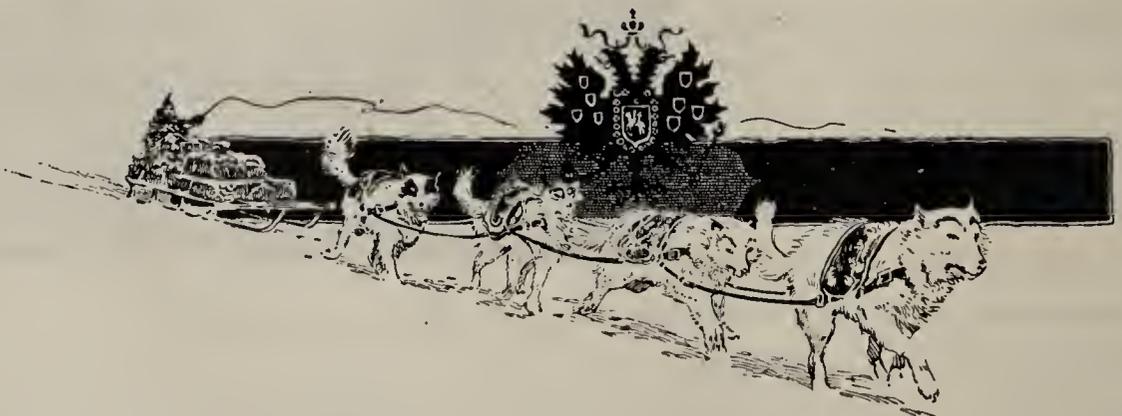
III. What was the condition of the southern negroes after the war? Describe the reign of the carpetbaggers.

IV. Give an account of Grant up to this time. On what did the election of 1868 hinge? Describe the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments.

Events and Dates. — Adoption of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments. Impeachment and trial of President Johnson. The purchase of Alaska, 1867. Adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, 1870.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: The general histories. Hart, *Source Book of American History*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*; Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*; Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*; Blaine, *Twenty Years of Congress*; Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, two volumes.

FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *Romance of the Civil War*. Eggleston, *Southern Soldier Stories*; McCarthy, *Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia*.

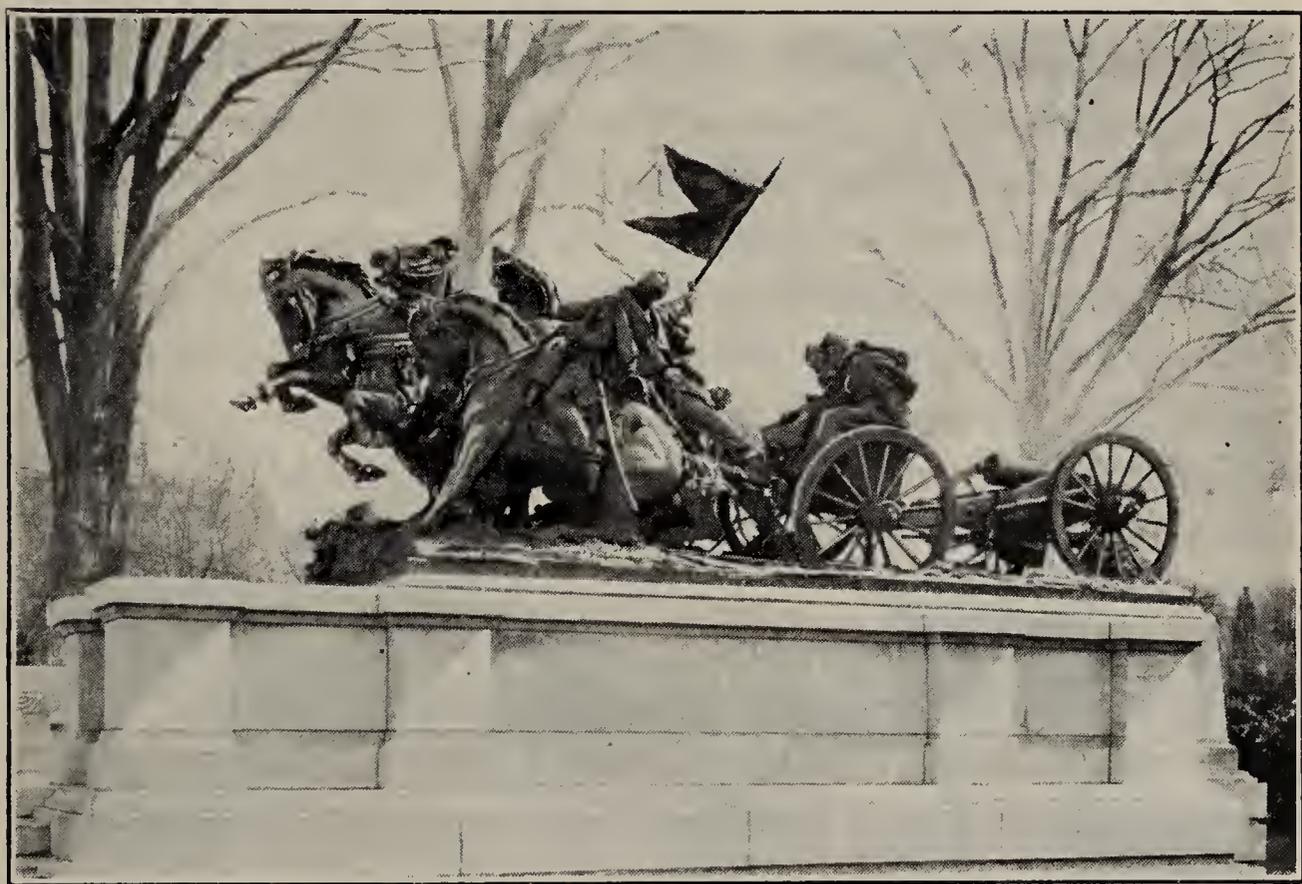


CHAPTER XXXII

PRESIDENT GRANT AND HIS TIMES

I. GRANT

Early Life of Grant. — Many of our Presidents have been men with military records, as Washington, Monroe, Jackson, Harrison, and others; but only two were elected on a purely military record. These were Zachary Taylor and U. S. Grant.



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ARTILLERY GROUP FROM THE GRANT MEMORIAL AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

Even more remarkable than the rise of Andrew Johnson to the presidency was that of General Grant. Before the war Grant's career had been far less distinguished and conspicuous than Johnson's. After serving in the Mexican War and a few years longer in the army, Grant resigned from the army and became a farmer in Missouri, then a real estate agent, but

in both occupations he was unsuccessful. At the outbreak of the war he was a clerk in a store owned by his father at Galena, Illinois. After his victory at Fort Donelson in 1862 his rise was astonishingly rapid until he reached the presidential chair.

Grant as President. — It has been said, perhaps truly, that if Grant had never become President, his name in American history would stand higher than it now stands. His record in the war was excellent. But Grant did not make a strong President. At a time when the blood of the late combatants still boiled, when the country was in great disorder, and the national debt had reached mountain heights, a strong hand was needed at the helm of the ship of state — and Grant's was not strong.

The Alabama Claims. — One of the left-over matters of the war was that of the *Alabama* Claims. For the destruction of property by the British-built cruisers (p. 416) the United States made a demand for the payment of damages by Great Britain.

It was arranged that a Joint High Commission representing both nations meet at Washington in 1871. This commission framed the Treaty of Washington, which expressed the regret of Great Britain for the escape of the *Alabama* and provided for the settlement of the *Alabama* claims by arbitration.

The Geneva Award. — A tribunal of five men was to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, one appointed by the United States, one by Great Britain, and the other three by neutral nations. After this tribunal had sat for many months it decided that England should pay in damages the sum of \$15,500,000 in gold. The British public protested when the decision was published, but the government accepted it and the money was paid.

II. THE RISING WEST

In former chapters we have noticed the movement of the population into the Ohio Valley and later into the great valley of the Father of Waters. Still later came the peopling of the Pacific Coast through the gold discovery, leaving a vast open space unoccupied between the coast and the Mississippi Valley,

including the region of the Rocky Mountains. This great country, comprising almost a third of the area of the United States, was left for the period following the Civil War.

First Transcontinental Railroad. — The tide of emigration from Europe, suspended during the war, was resumed at its close, and a law passed in 1864 to aid the newcomers and disbanded soldiers to the vacant western lands proved very helpful. By this law a citizen could settle on 160 acres of public land and at the end of five years could buy it at \$1.25 an acre. By a later law, the Homestead Act, a five years' residence on 160 acres would secure title without any payment. The greatest need of this boundless region was better means of travel and transportation. Water routes were impossible. Why not build railroads through this vast country and on to the Pacific? A charter for building a transcontinental railroad had been granted by Congress in 1862. Two companies engaged in this great work. The Union Pacific built westward from Omaha and the Central Pacific built eastward from Sacramento. For



COMPLETION OF THE TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILROAD

The Central Pacific and the Union Pacific railroads were joined at Promontory Point, Utah, in 1869, forming the first transcontinental line.

years many thousands of men labored with ax and pick and shovel on this great project. On May 10, 1869, the two parties met in Utah and the great work was completed. One could travel by rail from Boston to San Francisco.

Influence of the Railroads. — Nebraska filled rapidly with settlers and in 1867 it was admitted as a state into the Union. Colorado was greatly benefited by the new railroad and in 1876 was admitted. Nevada had been admitted in 1864.

The upbuilding of the far Northwest, from Minnesota to the Pacific, was also greatly stimulated by railroad construction. During the half century that had elapsed since this boundless wilderness had been explored by Lewis and Clark almost nothing had been done toward making it the home of civilized man. In 1864 Congress chartered the Northern Pacific Railroad, giving it an immense land grant. The work was rapidly pushed and as it progressed the great territories of Dakota, Idaho, and Montana were opened up and within the coming decade or two all became states in the Union.

But the Indians resented the encroachment on their lands and made a desperate resistance — another repetition of the same old story that dates back to Jamestown and the Pilgrim Fathers — and the result was one of the greatest tragedies since the Civil War.

Custer's Last Battle. — General George A. Custer, who had a noble Civil War record, was one of the commanders sent with regular troops to quell the red men. In June, 1876, on the Little Bighorn River in Montana, he was surrounded by some thousands of the Sioux Indians under Sitting Bull. In the fierce battle that followed the brave Custer was slain and with him his whole force to the last man, two hundred and sixty in number.

But the usual thing happened. The white men won in the end and civilization pushed on over the mountains. We still have many Indians in the United States; but they live very much as the white men do. Some tribes have reservations set

apart for them by the government, but much of their land has been allotted to individual owners. The "wild" Indian of earlier days has passed away.

Development of the Northwest. — The opening up of the Far West by means of railroads proved a great stimulus to agriculture. The invention of farm machinery made possible the immense wheat farms of the Northwest, but without the railroads to carry the grain to the eastern markets such large-scale farming would have been useless. Great sheep and cattle ranches dotted the western plains; but later large sections of arid land were claimed for agriculture through irrigation.

III. ELECTIONS OF 1872 AND 1874

The Liberal Republicans. — A strong element in the Republican party was opposed to the renomination of Grant in 1872; this faction was headed by such leaders as Seward, Horace Greeley, and Andrew Curtin, the governor of Pennsylvania. When they found that they could not prevent the renomination of Grant they broke away from the party and called themselves the Liberal Republicans. The new party met in convention in Cincinnati and nominated Horace Greeley of New York for President. The Democrats, it was hoped, would join with the Liberals to defeat Grant. Greeley, the founder and editor of the great daily, the *New York Tribune*, had for a generation castigated the Democrats on all occasions. The Democratic convention, however, swallowed the bitter medicine and also nominated him for the presidency.

Greeley. — Horace Greeley began life as a farmer boy in New Hampshire. As the years passed he grew into a lank, towheaded lad with a slovenly gait, always wearing ill-fitting clothes. But he had brains. He went to New York to make his fortune and in time became one of the most brilliant editors that this country has produced.

The Democrats, many believe, made a blunder in accepting Greeley as their candidate. They had almost won the presi-

dency four years before, and the Liberal movement now was weakening Grant in his own party. Might not the Democrats have triumphed had they named a strong candidate of their own? With Greeley as their candidate large numbers of the party refused to go to the polls on election day. Many of the Liberals, on the other hand, finding themselves in Democratic company, scurried back to the Republican fold. The election resulted in a great victory for Grant.

Grant and the Public Service. — The decisive victory at the polls threw the Republicans off their guard, making them less careful than they might have been. Political corruption became worse in Grant's second term than in the first term, because of Grant's misplaced trust in certain unworthy subordinates.

One of the scandals of the time was the mismanagement of Indian affairs. The government had generously provided for the Indians of the reservations; but thieving officials pocketed a large part of the money and supplies before they reached the reservations.

The Whisky Ring profited to the extent of about \$3,000,000 by dishonestly withholding revenues due to the government. Government officials were bribed by the manufacturers of whisky and shared in the loot. This ring was exposed by Benjamin Bristow, the able and upright Secretary of the Treasury; but few of the culprits were ever punished.

Another member of the Cabinet, however, was accused of accepting bribes for contracts in his department. The House impeached him, but he speedily resigned his office to escape trial by the Senate.

The Credit Mobilier. — The worst of the scandals perhaps was that connected with the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. The government had granted to this company, as to others, large land grants along the route and also many millions of dollars for the construction of the road. A company called the Credit Mobilier had the contract to build the road. A large part of the money disappeared; and certain persons

in the government whose official action was favorable to the company were accused of having accepted stock in it at little or no cost, — while others spurned the temptation.

Election of 1874. — Such political corruption and the carpet-bag governments, together with a period of hard times beginning in 1873, caused a revulsion in public feeling; and the election of a new Congress in 1874 went heavily against the Republicans, the Democrats winning the House by a large majority.

IV. MONEY AND BUSINESS

Panic of 1873. — For some years after the close of the war money was plentiful and business of all sorts boomed. Manufacturing increased as never before. One cause was the increasing demand for goods in the growing West and the denuded South; another was that the war tariff had been continued and on some articles it was so high as to keep out foreign imports.

But the people overdid the business boom, as often happens. More railroads were built in the West than were needed at once, and in some industries men invested more than the business called for. The result was that these superfluous railroads and industries did not pay and many people who had invested in them thus lost their income.

Such conditions often bring on a financial crash, a panic, and one came in 1873. The panic soon spread from coast to coast and it took several years for the country to get back to a normal condition.

The panic brought the lowering of wages and this caused unrest and discontent in the laboring class. The results were strikes and riots and in some parts bloodshed.

Railroad Strike of 1877. — The great railroad strike of 1877 began on the Baltimore and Ohio, and spread to other roads until railroad traffic was tied up throughout the entire eastern half of the country. In Pittsburgh, the center of the disturbance, a mob had control of the city for several days and destroyed ten million dollars' worth of railroad property. After

two weeks of lawlessness, the last two weeks of July, the rioting subsided, and the men went back to work, having gained but little by the strike. Soon after this, however, labor unions became more efficient and in many instances the strikes they brought about were successful in gaining their ends.

The Grangers. — A great farmer's association, the Grangers; or Patrons of Husbandry, was organized as early as 1867. It is (for it still exists) a secret order admitting both men and women to its membership. One of the chief objects of the Grangers was to secure lower freight rates for their products, and they induced several state legislatures to fix rates by law. The railroads objected and carried the matter up to the Federal Supreme Court, but the court decided in favor of the farmers.

Debt. — One of the hardest problems the government had to grapple with after the war was the national debt, but it did so with complete success. The government had sold many millions of dollars' worth of bonds that bore interest at 6%. As these fell due they were paid off with money secured by selling bonds at a lower rate of interest. Millions of dollars were thus saved to the treasury.

Specie Payment. — The Republican party held the ground that all government bonds should be paid in coin and not in greenbacks. This would maintain our high standard and spotless reputation for fair dealing. It will be remembered that during the war paper money fell far below coin in value (p. 438). But the party determined to bring about resumption of specie payment; that is, a condition in which paper money may be exchanged for coin on demand.

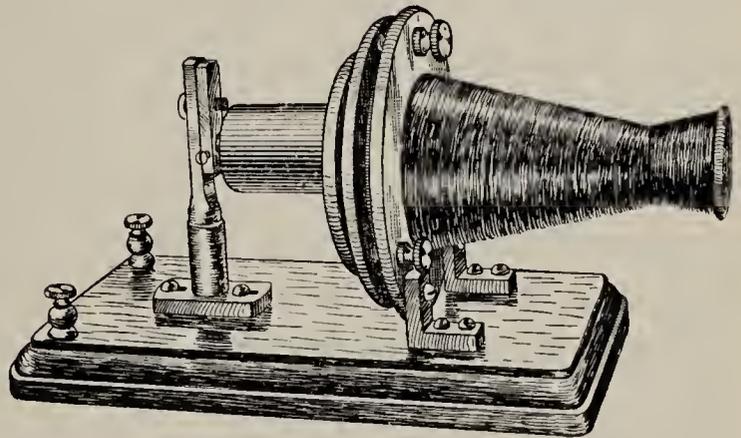
In 1874, as we have seen, the Democrats won in the Congressional elections, and the Republicans saw that if they wished to pass a Resumption Act they must do so during the short session, before the 4th of March, 1875, while they still had control. Accordingly they passed a law providing for the resumption of specie payments, to take effect four years later. When the Democrats came into power in the House, after March 4, they

could not have repealed this law had they chosen, because the President and Senate were still Republican. This measure did much to secure financial stability and reflected great credit on the administration.

V. THE DISPUTED ELECTION

Some of our presidential elections have been very close; in two of them, 1800 and 1824, the election had to go to the House; but in only one was there a dispute as to the outcome — that of 1876. The situation became very grave and for a time the country was in extreme danger of armed conflict.

The Centennial. — It was the Centennial year. A hundred years had passed since the Continental Congress at Philadelphia had proclaimed to the world the great Declaration of Independence. It was fitting, therefore, that the event be commemorated in the same city by the holding of a world's fair on a large scale. This great exposition continued for six months and was partici-



EARLY TELEPHONE RECEIVER

Exhibited by Bell at the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876.

ipated in by nearly all civilized countries. It was a pleasing episode coming at a time of political and industrial turmoil and proved its marked commercial value by the increased export trade of the years immediately following.

Nomination of Hayes. — In the midst of the Centennial celebration came the presidential contest. The Republican convention met in Cincinnati in June. The choice fell on Rutherford B. Hayes, governor of Ohio. Hayes may be classed as a "dark horse," because his nomination was a surprise to himself, to his party, and to the whole country. He had scarcely been thought of before the convention met.

Nomination of Tilden. — The Democrats met a little later in St. Louis and nominated Samuel J. Tilden, governor of New York. He was a great lawyer, possessed of a large fortune, and had almost reached his three score years and ten. A few years before, he had won the plaudits of the nation by unearthing the corruptions of the notorious Tweed Ring in the city of New York. For years a band of plunderers had been in control of the city government and had looted the treasury of millions. Chiefly through the efforts of Tilden the band was broken up and “Boss” Tweed, the leader of the gang, died in prison.

The Campaign. — In the campaign some Republican speakers identified all Democrats with the “rebels” of war times and pretended to believe that the Democrats, if successful, would pay off the southern war debt and reënslave the negroes. The Democrats the country over, on the stump and in the press, harped on the scandals of Grant’s administration.

The election was very close, as all had foreseen. But no one had foreseen the long winter of dispute that followed the closing of the polls in November, a dispute that shook the very foundations of our government.

The Disputed Electors. — Tilden had received a quarter of a million more votes than Hayes, and 184 undisputed electoral votes; but it required 185 to elect.

Three of the southern states, Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, were still under carpetbag government, where great numbers of negroes voted. The result of the election was to hinge on these three states and on one disputed elector in Oregon. If Tilden should get one of the disputed electoral votes he would be elected; but Hayes needed all of them without exception to secure his election.

The Electoral Commission. — The people looked appealingly to Congress; but the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic. It could do nothing except by compromise. At length it was decided that an Electoral Commission should be

created to decide the contests. It was to be composed of fifteen men — five from each House of Congress and five from the Supreme Court. Both parties agreed in advance that the findings of this commission should be accepted as final.

This commission when chosen was composed of eight Republicans and seven Democrats. There was conflicting evidence in regard to each of the disputed states, and in every case when the commission voted on the question the electoral vote was given to Hayes by a vote of eight to seven.

A law passed in 1887 will prevent any such disputed election in the future; it provides that the decision of the proper state officials shall be final in regard to the electors chosen.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give the early life of Grant. What gave him his conspicuous position? Why was Great Britain to blame for the building of the *Alabama*? What was the Treaty of Washington? the Geneva award? Do you think the award was just? Why?

II. How did it happen that the Pacific Coast was peopled before the Rocky Mountain region? Write an essay on the first transcontinental railroad. (See library.) What effect had the railroads on western farming?

III. Describe the Liberal Republican movement of 1872. Give an estimate of Horace Greeley. Describe the Credit Mobilier. What effect did political scandals have on the election of 1874?

IV. What caused the panic of 1873? Describe the railroad strike of 1877. Who were the Grangers? What is meant by specie payment?

V. What was the Centennial of 1876 intended to commemorate? What caused the disputed election of 1876? What can you say of Hayes and Tilden?

Events and Dates. — Settlement of the *Alabama* claims. Completion of the first Pacific Railroad. The Liberal Republican movement, 1872. Panic of 1873. Disputed election, 1876.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: In addition to the general histories mentioned another must be added, one of much merit, Oberholtzer, *History of the United States Since the Civil War*. Haworth, *The Hayes-Tilden Presidential Election of 1876*; Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Booker Washington, *Up from Slavery*; Elson, *Side Lights on American History*, II; Otis, *Seth of Colorado*; Altsheler, *The Last of the Chiefs*.

CHAPTER XXXIII

AN INDUSTRIAL ERA (1877-1896)

I. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

Character of Hayes. — Hayes was born in Ohio, and after securing a college education he attended the Harvard Law School and began to practice law in Cincinnati. When the war came he enlisted and steadily rose until he became a brigadier general. That he did not shirk danger is shown by the fact that he was wounded four times in battle. Later he was elected to Congress and was thrice elected governor of Ohio.

President Hayes was level-headed, thoughtful, plodding, and honest. The leaders of his party did not like him and he was never in their confidence; but he cared little for their confidence. Political jobbers who had gained the ear of Grant could do nothing with Hayes and they hated him.

End of the Carpetbag Governments. — One of the first things President Hayes did was to recall the federal troops from South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana (1877) and to leave those states in the future to the government of the southern people. Thus ended the period of Reconstruction in the South. Evidences of restored friendship between the two sections became apparent once more. Webster's vision of "Liberty and union — one and inseparable" was an accomplished fact.

During the presidency of Hayes party measures could not be carried out, because the House was Democratic throughout the term, and during the last two years the Senate also.

Resumption of Specie Payments. — Hayes was especially fortunate in having John Sherman of Ohio as Secretary of the Treasury. Sherman with great ability managed the treasury so as to bring about a resumption of specie payments on January 1,

1879, in accordance with the law made four years earlier. From that time to the present a paper dollar has been exchangeable for a gold dollar at the treasury or at any bank. For that reason the people do not wish to make the exchange, and far more paper money is used than gold because it is easier to carry.

II. BUSINESS COMBINATIONS

Back in colonial days a farmer made his own wagons, harnesses, and many other things. Later came gradually the division of labor, when the wagons were made by a wagon maker who did nothing else, and the harness by a harness maker. The farmer then bought these things of them and gave all his own time to the farm. The change was helpful all round.

Then with the introduction of machinery large factories were built and the wagon maker no longer worked alone; he was one of many working in the same factory.

Formation of Trusts. — Still later, after the Civil War for the most part, the factories began to combine and the small factory rapidly disappeared. The chief object of such business combinations was to make profits. Some did so by lowering the cost of production through methods possible in large factories; but some did so by raising prices. Suppose a half dozen wagon factories supply a certain district with wagons. They compete with each other, and each sells at the lowest price it can afford. But suppose one of these factories buys up all the rest. Competition is removed and prices may (or may not) be put up. Thus we have the "trust" or monopoly in business.

Methods of the Trusts. — Business combinations on a large scale began soon after the war. (Side Talk, p. 475). Sometimes a trust made a bargain with the railroad companies to carry its products at a much lower rate than was granted to smaller companies. This gave it a great advantage over all competitors, and when the small companies were weakened or ruined by the unfair means, the trust might perhaps buy them up at a price much less than their real value.

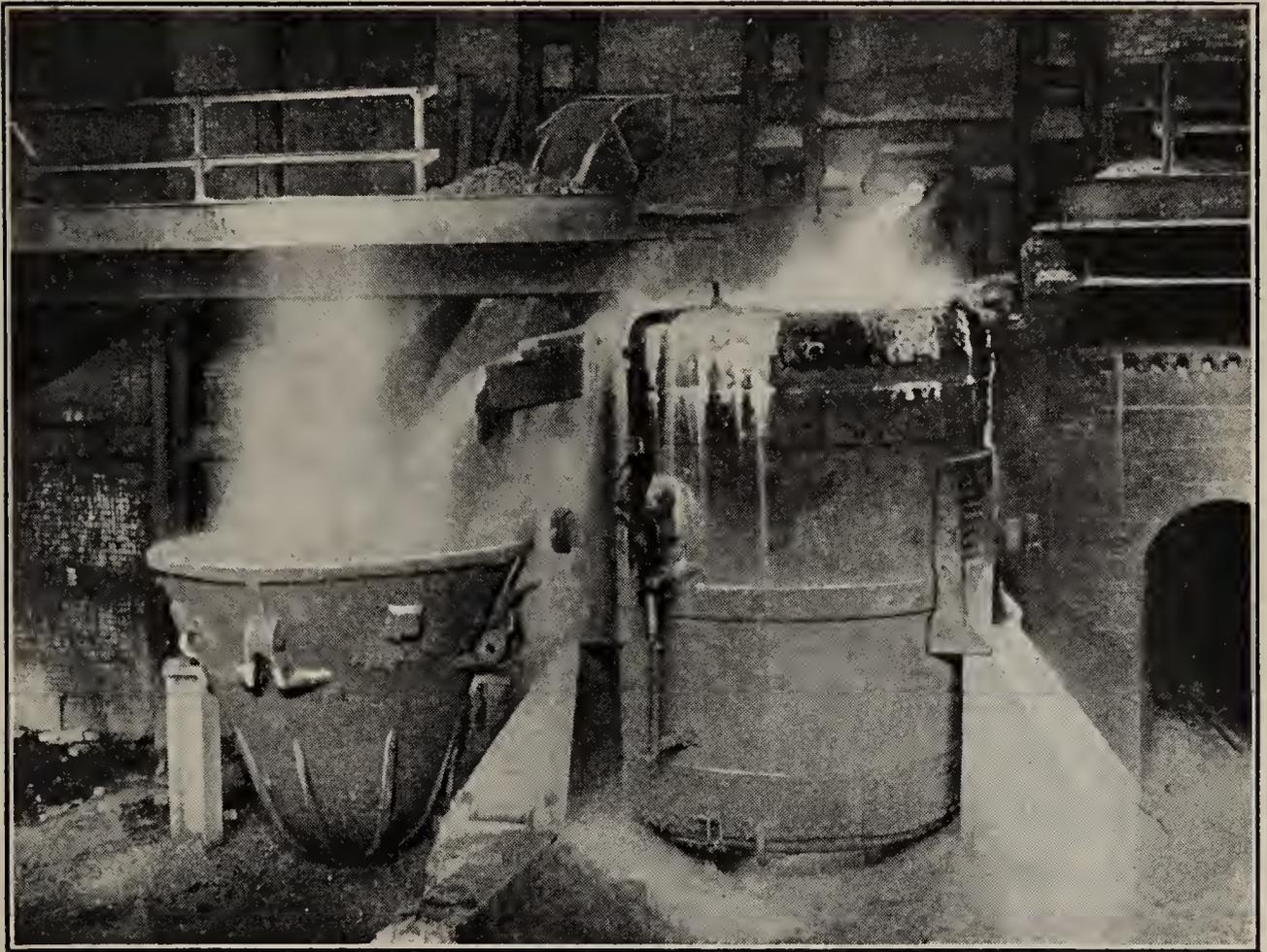
Again, a trust sometimes sent its products into a field where some local company was doing a flourishing business and cut the price in that locality to such a low figure that the local company could not compete with it. The local company might be forced to sell to the trust or go into bankruptcy, after which the trust might quickly raise the prices higher than ever.

In the anthracite region of Pennsylvania the companies owning most of the mines secured control of the railroads that carried the coal to market, and thus were in a position to force other coal companies out of business by raising their freight rates; also to raise prices by limiting the output of coal.

The Steel Industry. — One of the greatest business growths of the time was in the steel industry. Large deposits of iron had been discovered from time to time in the United States, but the transformation of iron into steel had been very expensive until the Bessemer process was introduced in 1866. Up to this time most of the rails used in railway construction were imported from Europe, but gradually American-made steel rails took their place.

Andrew Carnegie. — The growth of the steel industry is associated with the name of Andrew Carnegie. Born in Scotland, Carnegie came to America in early life, became a mill worker at Pittsburgh, and later a telegraph operator on the Pennsylvania Railroad. One night there was a big smash-up on his division, all trains were late, and there was much disorder, but the superintendent was away and could not be found. Carnegie then decided to act. He sent out the special orders necessary for moving the trains and signed the superintendent's name to them. He always looked back to this decision as the turning point in his life. A few days later he heard the superintendent say to a friend: "Do you know what that little white-haired Scotch devil did the other night? He ran every train on the division by himself."

A few years later Carnegie entered the steel business and became known as the iron master, or the steel king. In 1901 he



IN A STEEL MILL

The molten steel from an open-hearth furnace is being drawn off into a big ladle, and the lighter slag is overflowing into a smaller receptacle.

retired, selling his steel interests to the United States Steel Corporation for \$387,000,000 — one of the greatest business deals in the world's history.¹

The foregoing are examples of "big business," which also developed in many other lines. In time the people became discontented with the situation and their protests led to the passing of special laws to regulate large industries, as noticed on a later page.

III. GARFIELD AND ARTHUR

Garfield. — General James A. Garfield was one of our Presidents who rose from the common walks of life. Born on an

¹ Henceforth Mr. Carnegie devoted himself to spending his fortune, largely in building libraries, and died comparatively poor. Many other rich men also have given large sums for the public benefit.

Ohio farm, he became fatherless while still a boy. He did what he could to aid his widowed mother, secured a college education, later enlisted in the war, and made an excellent record.

After serving many years in the lower house of Congress, he was elected to the Senate; but before taking the seat he was called to the higher office of President. He was nominated by the Republican convention at Chicago in the summer of 1880. The party was divided into several factions, one supporting James G. Blaine and another ex-President Grant. When it was found that neither Grant nor Blaine could get a majority of the votes, the convention turned to seek a dark horse and decided on Garfield.

The Democrats nominated Winfield S. Hancock, known as "the Superb" for his heroism at Gettysburg and Spotsylvania (pp. 420, 428). The election came and Garfield won.¹

Blaine and Conkling. — Garfield chose Blaine his Secretary of State, a choice which was very displeasing to Blaine's enemies led by Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York. The Conkling faction (which had favored Grant for the nomination) was known as the "Stalwarts"; the Blaine followers were called "Half-breeds."

Garfield Assassinated. — In the midst of an unseemly quarrel over appointments, a disappointed office seeker of the Stalwart faction approached the President in a public railroad station and shot him, wounding him mortally. The assassin made no attempt to escape, he declared that the deed was "a political necessity," and that the removal of Garfield would reunite the party. On his trial for murder, his plea was insanity, and he behaved in a disorderly manner; but he was convicted and put to death.

The stricken President lingered for many weeks, bearing his misfortune heroically. On September 19, 1881, six and a half months after his inauguration, he died, and at three o'clock

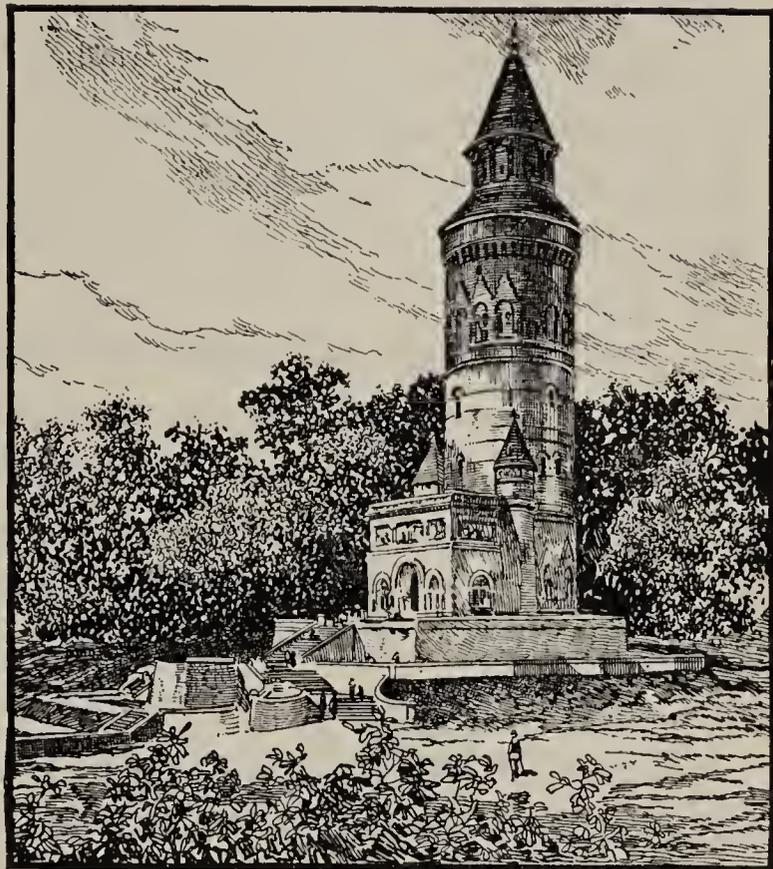
¹ Two minor parties entered the contest — the Greenback party and the Prohibition party — but neither carried any state in the election.

next morning Chester A. Arthur, the Vice President, took the oath of office as President of the United States.

The death of Garfield called the country's attention as nothing else had ever done to the spoils system in our civil service.

The Pendleton Law.

—A widespread demand for reform in the civil service was soon manifest; but it required two years more of an awakened public opinion to force a reluctant Congress to action. The habit of turning faithful officials out of office because they did not



GARFIELD MONUMENT

Erected at Cleveland, Ohio, in 1890.

belong to the party in power was growing more and more objectionable to the public conscience.

In 1882 Senator George H. Pendleton, an Ohio Democrat, offered a reform bill providing that the civil service be established on the merit system. Both houses were Republican at the time and they took no action. But a few months later came the Congressional elections and the Democrats won a signal victory. This was taken as a hint that the public refused longer to be trifled with in the matter of the civil service. The result was that in January, 1883, the Pendleton measure became a law by the support of both parties.

The scope of this law has from time to time been enlarged until a great portion of civil service employees secure their places by examination and are not subject to dismissal for partisan reasons.

Chinese Exclusion. — The demand for common labor in the gold fields of California and in the construction of the Pacific railways had led to the importation of many Chinese laborers, or coolies. They would work longer hours and for lower wages than American laborers. For some years they continued to cross the Pacific to our western coast in an ever-growing stream. When could this be expected to stop, with all the millions of overcrowded China to draw from?

A great cry against Chinese immigration arose from California, and at length an act was passed by Congress in 1882 forbidding for ten years the admission of Chinese laborers to this country. This law, and several other laws passed later, although not completely enforced, have served the purpose. It is probable that without these laws there would be here to-day ten times as many Chinese as are now here.

Some years later similar opposition arose to Japanese immigration, but the need of an exclusion law was avoided by the friendly action of Japan in checking the emigration of Japanese to the United States. In 1924, however, Japanese immigrants were excluded by a new law which applied to all people of the brown and yellow races. Were we to throw open our doors to unlimited Chinese or Japanese immigration we should be inviting a far more serious race problem than we now have with the negro and the Indian.

Chester A. Arthur. — No other President in the history of the country had come to the great office so little known to the public as Chester A. Arthur. Before his nomination for the vice presidency at Chicago he was only locally known as a New York politician and an adherent of the Stalwart faction led by Conkling.

On becoming President, however, Arthur became a changed man. He rose above his party faction and, to some extent, the party itself, and regarded himself as the President of all the people. He made an honest effort to observe the new Civil Service Reform Law.

IV. GROVER CLEVELAND

Blaine and Cleveland. — Arthur was desirous of a renomination in 1884; but Blaine had become the party idol and at last gained the prize, after failing, through the opposition of Conkling, to capture it in 1876 and again in 1880. With him on the ticket the Republicans placed John A. Logan, a distinguished war veteran.

The Democrats named Grover Cleveland of New York and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana — and the great fight was on, the fiercest in many years.

Cleveland had been mayor of Buffalo and was now governor of New York. In both these offices he had shown himself a man of sterling honesty, a foe to all public corruption and a friend to Civil Service Reform.

Causes of Blaine's Defeat. — Blaine had for many years been in public life and he had made many enemies. A large section of his party, called Mugwumps, broke away and gave their support to Cleveland. Roscoe Conkling, leader of the Stalwarts, refused to lift a finger to aid his old enemy, and enough of his friends in his own county in New York remained away from the polls to give the state to Cleveland.

New York was the pivotal state in this election; it went to Cleveland by a very small margin and he was elected. Cleveland was the first Democratic President since the days of James Buchanan — twenty-four years before.

Office Seekers. — It is said that Cleveland had never been in Washington, except for a single day, until he arrived there for his own inauguration. It was well known that the new President was an enemy of the spoils system, but scarcely had the administration begun when the capital swarmed with office seekers. For nearly a quarter of a century hungry Democrats had been out in the cold and now, having a President of their own, could they not expect a little fattening from the public crib? All the thousands of offices were filled by Repub-

licans. Why should not they, the Democrats, have their share of public favor before the Civil Service Reform Law should be applied to many of the offices?

Cleveland saw the force of their reasoning and he yielded in part to their demands. As the postmasterships and other offices became vacant and as the terms expired, he appointed Democrats until there was something like a fair division between the two parties. On the whole, however, the administration made a notable advance in the Civil Service.

The Presidential Succession Law. — An important act of 1886 was the Presidential Succession Law. The death of Vice President Hendricks in 1885 left but one life between the functions of the presidency and a lapse in the office. In case of the death of Cleveland there would have been no one to fill the great office. It is true that under an old law, the president of the Senate and next the Speaker of the House would become President in case of a vacancy; but, as it often happens, the Senate had not chosen a presiding officer, and the newly elected House had not yet met to choose a Speaker. Also, under this arrangement the presidency of the United States might be placed in the hands of a political party that had not won in the election, which would be contrary to American principles. For these reasons the Presidential Succession Law was enacted.

It provided that the line of succession to the presidency should run through the Cabinet in the following order: the Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of War, Attorney General, Postmaster-General, Secretary of the Navy, Secretary of the Interior. This law may not go into operation in centuries, as it comes into play only on the death or disability of both President and Vice President; but there it stands as a safeguard if needed.

Three years later, 1889, a new member was added to the Cabinet — the Secretary of Agriculture. In 1903 still another was added — the Secretary of Commerce and Labor; and ten

years after that, the last-named secretary was replaced by two — the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor.

Interstate Commerce Law. — Another important law of this administration was the Interstate Commerce Law (1887). As noticed on a former page, great business concerns induced the railroads to discriminate against the small shipper in freight rates. A demand that Congress come to the rescue of the small shippers resulted in this law. It forbade railroads to give better terms to one class of shippers than to another, and it ordered the roads to post printed copies of their freight rates.

The Tariff. — For twenty years after 1868 there were no sharp lines of difference between the two great parties, on important questions. In 1887 a new issue arose — the tariff.

There had been a little tariff tinkering since the war, but not much. The duties on foreign imports were for the most part about the same as in war time, which were very high. The Republican argument was that a high protective tariff kept out foreign goods, fostered our own industries, and kept up wages. The Democrats argued that high duties kept up prices and the poor as well as the rich had to pay them; also that they made the rich richer and did not keep up wages. To prove the last point they said: Look at free-trade England paying higher wages than any protected country on the continent of Europe.

Cleveland brought the matter to a head by devoting his entire annual message in 1887 to the tariff question, urging a downward revision. This made the tariff the one great issue in the coming campaign, although the proposed revision was defeated in Congress.

V. BENJAMIN HARRISON

Election of 1888. — Benjamin Harrison, of Indiana, was the grandson of William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, who was elected President in 1840. Like Hayes and Garfield, he was born in Ohio and had made a good record in the Civil War. He was a brilliant lawyer; he had served one term in

the Senate; he was upright and sincere, but rather frigid and repelling in his attitude toward his friends. In 1888 he was the Republican candidate for President.

The Democrats renominated Cleveland. Everybody talked tariff — business men, working men, even schoolboys.

Cleveland was defeated, as he perhaps expected to be when he wrote his tariff message. He wanted to commit his party to the great question of tariff reform and he cared little for his own political future.

New States. — Shortly before Cleveland's term expired (1889) Congress provided, by a single enabling act, for the admission of four new states — North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. They were duly admitted to the Union a few months later, and helped a little to swell the Republican majority in Congress, which in 1890 admitted also Idaho and Wyoming.

The McKinley Tariff. — The Republicans took their victory in 1888 as a call from the public for a still higher tariff, and they enacted a new law known as the McKinley Tariff, so called from its chief framer, Representative William McKinley of Ohio. When the prices of some commodities quickly rose, many people believed the higher tariff to be the cause. In the election of 1890, a few weeks after the McKinley Act went into force, the Republicans were swept from power in the lower house of Congress, the Democrats winning it by a majority of 147, more than two to one.

The Dependent Pension Law. — The outgoing Congress, however, enacted several important laws before its time expired. One was the Dependent Pension Law, which enabled ex-soldiers and ex-sailors to draw a pension, if unable to earn a living, whether they had been disabled in the service or not. The result was beneficial to many a worthy veteran; but too often the pension "sharks," who infested the pension bureau as attorneys for the veterans, pocketed a large share.

Anti-Trust Law. — On a former page we noticed how great combinations or trusts were being formed, and how they were

driving many competitors out of business. Cleveland had rapped the trusts in his tariff message and now the people clamored for a law to curb them.

In 1890 Congress passed a law known as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. It made "combinations in restraint of trade" illegal. The law was evaded in many ways, for some years, but it became more effective later.

VI. THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION OF CLEVELAND

Again in 1892, as in 1888, Cleveland and Harrison were the opposing candidates of the two great parties. Both lacked the magnetic qualities that characterized Henry Clay or James G. Blaine. Harrison surpassed Cleveland as an orator; Cleveland could win personal friends where Harrison repelled them.

Another Tariff Campaign. — The one great issue of the campaign was the McKinley Tariff. Prices had risen after its passage, but wages had not, — according to the Democratic orators.

A third party pronounced for "free silver" and other reforms. It was the People's party, later called Populist, composed chiefly of laborers and farmers of the South and West, with General James B. Weaver as its candidate for President.¹ This new party carried several western states.

Cleveland won the election by a large margin. He is the only President in our history who has served two terms that were not consecutive. The Democrats in this election won not only the presidency but both houses of Congress, for the first time since the Civil War.

Free Coinage. — We must now grapple with the silver question, which was soon to fill a large place in the political sky. Before 1873 there was free coinage of both gold and silver. Free coinage means unlimited coinage, with no charge or only a very small charge by the mint for doing the work; that is, one

¹ Other minor parties of the year were the Prohibition party with John Bidwell as the candidate, and the Socialist-Labor party with Simon Wing as its candidate.

having bullion could take it to the mint and have it coined into dollars. But in 1873 a law was passed which ended the free coinage of silver, leaving gold the only metal that would be coined free.

Soon after this law was passed the price of silver began to fall, and the silver producers wanted its free coinage restored. This was not done, but in 1890 Congress passed the Sherman Silver Law, directing the government to purchase a large amount of silver each month. It required so much money to do this that business was disturbed and it was feared that a panic was coming on. Cleveland was anxious to have this law repealed and he called Congress in extra session in 1893 to consider the matter. The law was repealed, but this did not avert the coming panic. For several years the country suffered a depression similar to that of 1873.

The Wilson Tariff. — Perhaps it was unwise for the Democrats to change the tariff at this time, but they had carried the election on that issue and now they felt that they ought to carry out the promises of the campaign and reduce the tariff. The Wilson Bill, framed by William L. Wilson of West Virginia, was soon passed by the House. The bill, however, was roughly handled by the Senate. Hundreds of items of the Wilson Bill were changed toward higher duties. The bill when finally passed was called the Wilson-Gorman Act. It became a law without the signature of President Cleveland, who believed it only a slight improvement over the McKinley tariff.

Troops Sent to Chicago. — Cleveland was a man of great power of decision and determination. This was shown in 1894 when he sent troops to Chicago to quell a disturbance that had accompanied a strike of the Pullman Car Company employees. The Constitution does not provide for the President's sending troops for such a purpose to any state unless asked by the governor of the state. The governor of Illinois, sympathizing with the strikers, had not asked for troops. Cleveland sent the troops anyway, declaring it his duty to protect the mails.

The Venezuelan Boundary. — For many years the boundary line between British Guiana and Venezuela had been in dispute and the British refused to settle it by arbitration.

Then came Cleveland's message with which he startled the world. He asked Congress to authorize the appointment of a commission to investigate and determine the true boundary, and declared that if, after this determination, Great Britain should exercise control over land that rightfully belonged to Venezuela, it would become the duty of the United States to resist the aggression "by every means in its power."

The British government did not let the matter come to war; it made an agreement with Venezuela and the boundary was settled by arbitration.

President Cleveland's demand for arbitration suggested a treaty between Great Britain and the United States in 1897, by which it was agreed that all disputes between the two countries which could not be settled by diplomatic negotiation should be settled by arbitration. But the Senate failed to ratify it.

SIDE TALK

The Romance of Oil. — How great may be the oil deposits in the earth we have little means of knowing. It was known from ancient times that oil oozes from the ground here and there, but little use was made of it, except as a medicine in the belief that it cured certain diseases. During the early part of the last century it was known that an inflammable oil was found along the Allegheny River above Pittsburgh, called Seneca oil because it was used by the Seneca Indians.

In 1854 a company was formed to develop this region, and Colonel E. L. Drake was employed to make the first experiments. He drilled a well near oil ground in Venango County, Pennsylvania, and it yielded 25 barrels a day. The news of the discovery spread over the country and the excitement was similar to that caused by the discovery of gold in California about ten years earlier. New wells were sunk as fast as possible until the country around looked like a forest of derricks. One well here and there yielded 2,000 barrels a day or even more; but the great majority of them were unprofitable. Excited fortune hunters rushed to the oil fields; every farm for miles around was purchased or leased, and oil companies were formed by hundreds, many of which were mere fakes and existed only on paper. The

craze for purchasing oil stock became uncontrollable and continued for the period of the Civil War. The millionaire, the common laborer, the miner, the mechanic, the professional man — all rushed to invest their money in oil stocks, and many were impoverished. It was said that sometimes a company with no assets except a bottle of oil in its office window and a few maps would sell a million dollars' worth of stock in three days. Many fortunes were lost and many made.



AN OIL FIELD AT EL DORADO, ARKANSAS

The derricks are used in drilling the wells.

Farmers received fabulous prices for their farms. Even a little patch of ground sometimes brought a fortune. A notorious character of the time was John Steel, known as "Coal Oil Johnny." From poverty he was suddenly made rich, with an income of more than \$2,000 a day — and he played the game. He visited the eastern cities and threw his money about on all sides. To take a drive he would purchase a team and carriage and later present them to the driver. He would rent an entire hotel for his personal use. But alas for the elusiveness of riches! Johnny's oil ceased to flow and he was soon back at his day labor.

From the beginning in Pennsylvania the oil industry has grown to

gigantic proportions. To-day the yearly output is over 500,000,000 barrels in the United States. The business is carried on mostly by large corporations. There is nothing that we draw from the earth, unless we except iron and coal, that is so indispensable to our modern industrial life as petroleum.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give an estimate of President Hayes. Why did the politicians dislike him? What is meant by resumption of specie payments? Give a brief account of John Sherman. (See library.)

II. Describe the forming of a trust. Describe the methods of some trusts.

III. Give an account of Garfield; of the Blaine-Conkling quarrel. Why did the people of the Far West object to Chinese immigration? What is meant by the Civil Service? What was the purpose of the Pendleton Law? What can you say of Arthur?

IV. Describe the campaign of 1884. What were Blaine's elements of weakness? How did Cleveland view the Civil Service Reform Law? What were the provisions of the Presidential Succession Law? Has the law ever operated? What was the Interstate Commerce Act? What is a tariff? protection? free trade?

V. Who was Benjamin Harrison? Describe the Dependent Pension Law; the Anti-Trust Law.

VI. On what issue was Cleveland reëlected? What is meant by free coinage? Describe the Venezuelan Affair.

Events and Dates. — Resumption of specie payments, 1879. Civil Service Reform. Presidential Succession Law, 1886. The McKinley Tariff, 1890. The Wilson Tariff, 1894. The Venezuelan Affair, 1895.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Rhodes, McMaster, Oberholtzer, general histories. Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*; Andrews, *History of the United States*; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*; Hoar, *Autobiography*; Beard, *Contemporary American History*; Fish, *Development of American Nationality*; McElroy, *Grover Cleveland, the Man and the Statesman*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Hart, *Source Book of American History*; Herdman, *The Story of the United States*.

CHAPTER XXXIV

McKINLEY AND THE SPANISH WAR

I. THE MCKINLEY-BRYAN CAMPAIGN

The Situation in 1896. — As the campaign of 1896 came on, the Democrats were in a most unfavorable situation. Cleveland had alienated the West by opposing free silver, and had alienated the laboring classes in various ways. The great business interests of the East were not pleased with his low-tariff doctrines. But it was the panic that weakened the Democrats more than anything else. It is an American custom for the party out of power to blame the party in power for all such disturbances, whether really guilty or not guilty — and great numbers of voters vote accordingly.

Free Silver; 16 to 1. — In the campaign of 1888 and again in 1892 the one great wedge dividing the two parties was the tariff; but in 1896 the tariff was crowded into the background, almost out of sight, and silver was brought to the front. Free coinage (which means unlimited coinage), as already explained (p. 473), was the demand of the silver advocates. What would have been its effect and why was it asked for? Here are the arguments in brief:

A ten-dollar gold piece weighs one sixteenth as much as ten silver dollars. But in 1896, in the open market, a ten-dollar gold piece would buy enough silver to make twenty silver dollars. Free coinage at the old ratio of 16 to 1, therefore, would make money more plentiful, and the debtor class would be benefited, because they could pay their debts more easily. It would mean also higher prices for wheat and other products which recently, the silverites contended, had fallen too low in price. The silver mine owners of the West, who wanted a better

market for their output, favored free coinage because it would increase the demand for silver. .

The main argument against free silver was that the paying of a debt in money cheaper than that for which the debt was contracted would be dishonest, and the government should not be a party to such a transaction.

The Nominations. — The Republican party in 1896, after some hesitation, pronounced for the gold standard and nominated William McKinley of Ohio (p. 472) for President.

The Democratic convention, in spite of loud protests from the eastern members, adopted a free silver platform, that is, calling for the free coinage of both gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1. One of the advocates of this platform was a delegate from Nebraska named William Jennings Bryan. In a brilliant outburst of oratory he roused the convention to a pitch of enthusiasm that won him the nomination for President. Bryan had served one term in Congress, but was wholly unknown to the public at large. Of all our dark horse candidates, he was perhaps the darkest. But he was fearless, sincerely candid, and as a public speaker without a peer.

The Populist party also nominated Bryan, for it believed in free coinage; but many Democrats, including President Cleveland, formed a new party, and nominated John M. Palmer of Illinois on a platform calling for the single gold standard.

The Campaign. — During the campaign Bryan traveled 18,000 miles and spoke to five million people.

McKinley remained at his home at Canton, Ohio, and received delegations of admirers from all parts of the country. To these he made short speeches, which were widely printed in the newspapers.

In the election Bryan swept the whole South except a few border states, and all west of the Mississippi except California. McKinley carried all the great populous states of the North and East and was elected.

The new President had served many years in Congress and



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THE MCKINLEY MEMORIAL

This marks the burial place of William McKinley, at Canton, Ohio.

had been twice elected governor of Ohio. He was a man of great kindness of heart, also an astute and tactful politician.

The Dingley Tariff. — Believing that the people in the election had pronounced not only for the gold standard but also for a higher tariff, McKinley called Congress in extra session for the purpose of making a new tariff law. The result was the Dingley Act, called after the chairman of the committee which framed it. The Dingley tariff, on some commodities, was higher even than the McKinley tariff.

II. THE SPANISH WAR

Spain's Great Possessions. — We have noticed in earlier chapters that Spain at one time laid claim to nearly all of the New World, that for more than three centuries she was in possession of Mexico, Central America, and nearly all of South America except Brazil. By 1822, after a long series of revolutions in her colonies, Spain had lost everything on this side the

Atlantic, except Cuba and Porto Rico. Spain had ruled her colonies with a strong hand and had given them no part in their own government.

The Cuban Revolt. — The Cubans rose against their oppressor at various times. A ten-year revolt ended in 1878 with promises made by Spain, which she speedily broke after the Cubans laid down their arms. Again the Cubans rose in 1895 and the island was soon ablaze with war.

The American people looked on, sincerely hopeful that the Cubans might win what they were fighting for — independence. McKinley sent a warship, the *Maine*, to guard American interests, and it was blown up in the harbor of Havana, with the loss of 266 American lives. It was proved later that a submarine mine had caused the explosion, but responsibility could not be fixed.

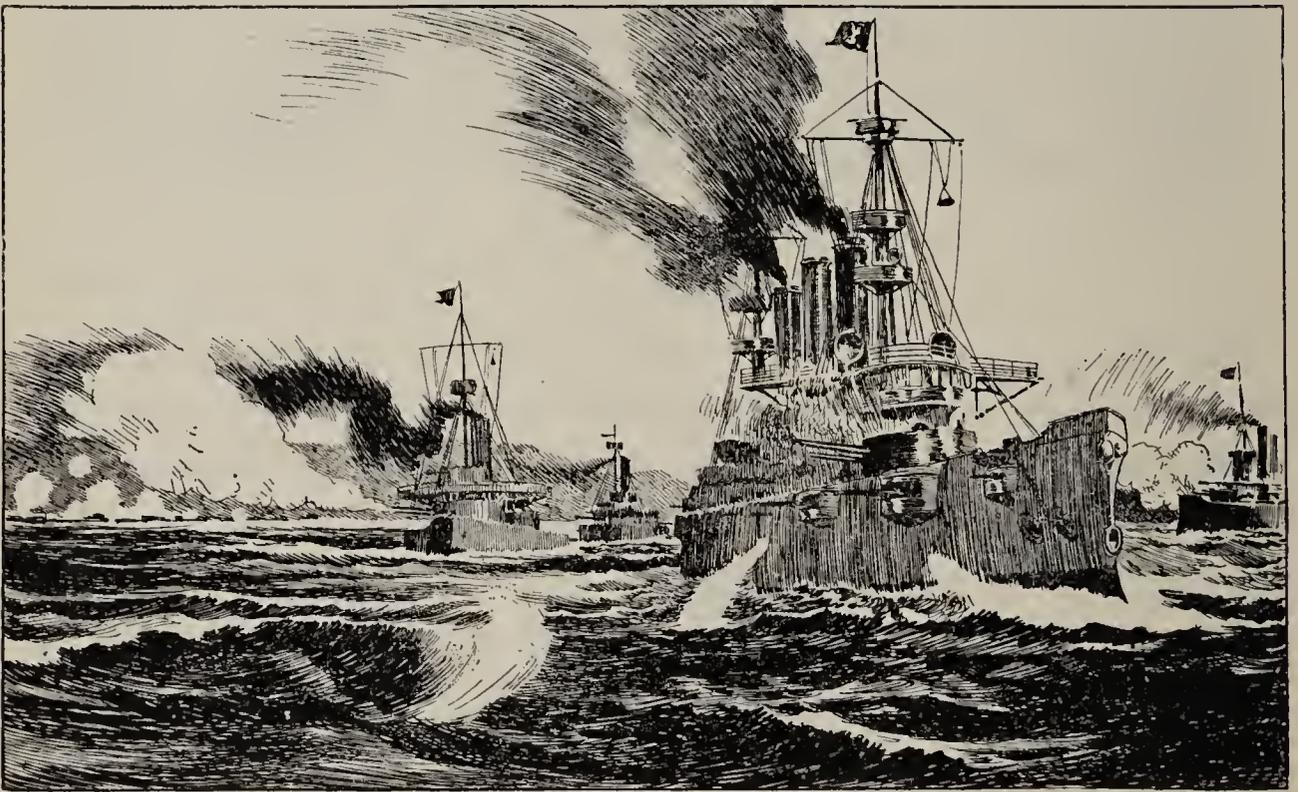
The Spanish commander in Cuba was General Weyler (wā'lěr), called "the Butcher" because he caused the death of many thousands of innocent people. There were great numbers of farmers in Cuba who had taken no part in the war. To prevent them from raising food for the Cuban army Weyler decided to force the farmers off their farms and huddle them in the towns. So he did and there they starved or died of disease in great numbers. It was partly for the purpose of ending such inhuman methods that we declared war. McKinley in a message to Congress said, "In the name of humanity . . . the war in Cuba must stop." And on April 25, 1898, Congress declared war on Spain. It passed a resolution also declaring that we had no intention to acquire the island of Cuba.

Destruction of Two Spanish Fleets. — The war lasted only a few months. Spain was a weak nation; she had passed her zenith centuries ago with the defeat of the Armada (p. 35), and it was folly for her to measure swords with the virile, unmeasured power of the United States. When the war opened Spain had two fleets; when the war ended she had none.¹

¹ Her few remaining ships could hardly be called a fleet.

On May 1 an American fleet under George Dewey attacked and utterly destroyed a Spanish fleet in Manila Bay, in the Philippine (fil'ĩ-pĩn) Islands, in a few hours and without the loss of a ship or a man.

A second naval battle was off Santiago (sãn-tē-ä'gō) de Cuba. Here a Spanish fleet had been bottled up for weeks and an American fleet under Admiral Sampson guarded the mouth of the harbor day and night. On July 3 the Spanish fleet made a dash for liberty, but not a ship escaped being sunk or captured by the American fleet. Hundreds of brave Spaniards went down with their vessels. Only one American life was lost.



THE BOMBARDMENT OF SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO, 1898

War on Land. — On land the contest was almost as one-sided. The Americans after a short, vigorous campaign, had possession of the eastern province of Cuba. Next an army was sent to Porto Rico. It landed and was marching across that island when suddenly on August 13 all operations were brought to a stop by an armistice arranged with Spain.

Peace. — By the terms of the armistice Spain was to abandon all her claim to Cuba and to cede Porto Rico to the United

States, while the ownership of the Philippines was to be determined later by treaty.

The treaty signed in December, 1898, acknowledged Cuban independence and gave Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines to the United States. The United States agreed to pay \$20,000,000 to Spain.

III. OUR ISLANDS

For two centuries and more the great nations of Europe had been building up colonial empires in Asia, Africa, and other parts of the world. Our own country held aloof from this practice and confined itself to developing our own continental domain. In 1893 an insurgent government in the Hawaiian (hä-wī'yan) Islands asked for annexation to the United States, but their request was refused by President Cleveland. Later, in August, 1898, after McKinley had become President, Congress voted to annex the Hawaiian Islands.

Hawaii. — The Hawaiian Islands, formerly called the Sandwich Islands, are a group of volcanic islands, the summits of a submerged mountain range, far out in the Pacific, 2100 miles from the coast of California and in the latitude of Cuba. The climate is perpetual spring; the soil of the valleys among the hills and mountains is highly fertile, and the chief products are sugar and tropical fruits. The scenery, with the magnificent mountains, the luxuriant tropical vegetation, and the deep blue of the encircling sea in the distance, leaves a profound and lasting impression on the beholder.

Eight islands of the group are inhabited, the largest being Hawaii (hä-wī'ē), which comprises about 4000 square miles and gives its name to the group. The natives, an easy-going people, are disappearing, and Chinese, Japanese, and Americans are increasing. By an act of Congress in 1910 the islands were declared a territory of the United States, and all citizens of Hawaii became citizens of the United States.

The great importance of the islands lies in the fact that they

are the most convenient station for ships between the Orient and America. For many years the great nations of Europe and Japan also looked with covetous eyes on this gem of the Pacific, but it retained its independence until it was annexed to the United States.

Porto Rico. — Porto Rico had nothing to do with bringing on the war with Spain, but as a result of the war it was ceded to the United States. It is an island of 3500 square miles about 500 miles east of Cuba. Its inhabitants, over a million in number, are of Spanish descent with a slight mixture of Indian and negro blood. By a law of 1917 they became citizens of the United States.

The climate of Porto Rico is tropical. Frigid winds never blow and snowflakes never fall on the island. There is a fine military road, built many years ago by the Spaniards, running the whole length of the island, through the sweet-scented forests, crossing the streams among the hills over stone bridges.

The Philippine Islands. — The greatest heritage of the Spanish War was the Philippine Islands, an immense archipelago in the Orient. Like Hawaii and Porto Rico, they lie wholly in the tropics where summer reigns all the year round. They produce much Manila hemp, sugar, and coconut oil. There are about 3000 islands in the group, many of which are barren volcanic rocks unfit for human habitation. The largest of the islands is Luzon, about the size of Ohio, and on it is Manila, the only important city in the entire group.

Nearly all the inhabitants of the islands are of the Malay race. They number about ten million. They are divided into many peoples differing in language; most of them are civilized Christians, some — the Moros — are Mohammedans, and a few are pagans.

Most of the people live in bamboo houses and nearly all their furniture is made of bamboo. A large family may live in a one-room house. The beds are bamboo mats spread on an earthen floor. The farms average about eight acres. The

plow is made of wood and is drawn by a carabao (kā-rā-bā'ō), or water buffalo. But if a farmer has no plow, he scratches the ground with a split stick.



A FILIPINO HOME

A typical thatched hut in the Philippines. The huts are raised off the ground to keep them dry.

American Occupation. — The Filipinos (fĭl-ĭ-pĕ'nōz), as the Christian peoples of the Philippines are called, had, like the Cubans, risen against the Spaniards. Soon after the coming of peace they rose against the Americans, declaring that they were not fighting for a change of masters, but for independence. It required over two years to quell the disturbance.

A stable government has been established in the islands, a

large part of which is in the hands of the Filipinos themselves. The United States immediately began the work of education. More than a thousand American teachers went to the islands to begin the work. In 1912 nearly a million Filipinos were being trained in schools taught in the English language.

Other Islands. — In addition to the Philippines and the Hawaiian Islands, there are several others in the broad expanse of the Pacific that have come into the possession of the United States. Among these are Guam (gwäm), about 1000 miles from the Philippines, and Tutuila (tōō-tōō-ē'lä) in the Samoan group, which lies directly in the track of vessels plying between our Pacific coast and Australia.

IV. REFLECTION AND ASSASSINATION OF MCKINLEY

John Hay. — One of the strongest men in modern American life was McKinley's Secretary of State, John Hay. As a youth he had been the private secretary of President Lincoln. He was a writer of prose and verse of such fine literary taste that he might have made a permanent name in literature had he not chosen to give his life chiefly to politics. Perhaps the greatest achievement in the life of Hay came in the settling of a most important question with regard to China.

China. — China constitutes a vast mass of Mongolian humanity boasting an ancient civilization. But a thousand years or more ago her progress came to a standstill and the virile nations of Europe shot ahead of her. Europe was now land greedy. Africa had been appropriated piece by piece, as had great sections of Asia and the islands of the sea in all parts of the world; but the appetite for more possessions seemed insatiable. China was to be the next victim.

The United States did not share the opinion that China should be disrupted and reduced to the state of European dependencies. China should rather have a chance to modernize herself; so thought the American people, and their spokesman was John Hay.

The Boxers. — In 1900 came the Boxer uprising in China. The Boxers were an extensive society secretly pledged to expel or exterminate all foreigners. They gained control of Peking and for six weeks besieged the British embassy, in which hundreds of foreigners had taken refuge. Then a hastily collected army, composed of Americans, Japanese, Russians, Germans, British, and French, rushed to the rescue.

The "Open Door." — China had to pay the damage and the cost. What would be the penalty — a breaking up of the empire? Nothing would have pleased the other powers better; but America insisted that the payment be in money and that the Chinese Empire remain intact with the "open door" to the trade of all nations. America won and China escaped being dismembered. The outcome was due to the McKinley administration and especially to Secretary Hay.

McKinley Again Defeats Bryan. — This same year came the presidential election. The Republicans renominated McKinley and gave Theodore Roosevelt, governor of New York, the second place on the ticket. The Democrats renominated Bryan, and Bryan insisted that free silver be again an issue. This greatly weakened him because newly discovered gold mines in Alaska and elsewhere had made gold more plentiful and lessened the force of the arguments for the free coinage of silver. The Democrats also denounced the trusts and denounced the tariff for favoring protected manufacturers at the expense of the American consumer. McKinley won an easy victory, more pronounced than he had won four years earlier.

Death of McKinley. — In 1901, for the third time in forty years, a President was struck down by an assassin's bullet. President McKinley was attending an exposition in Buffalo. He was shaking hands with the crowds when a fanatical young anarchist shot him twice through the body. For some days it was hoped that the President would recover, but after eight days of suffering he passed away, and Theodore Roosevelt became President of the United States.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give the chief arguments for and against free silver. What is meant by 16 to 1?

II. Describe the possessions of Spain in the New World before 1898. Why did America declare war?

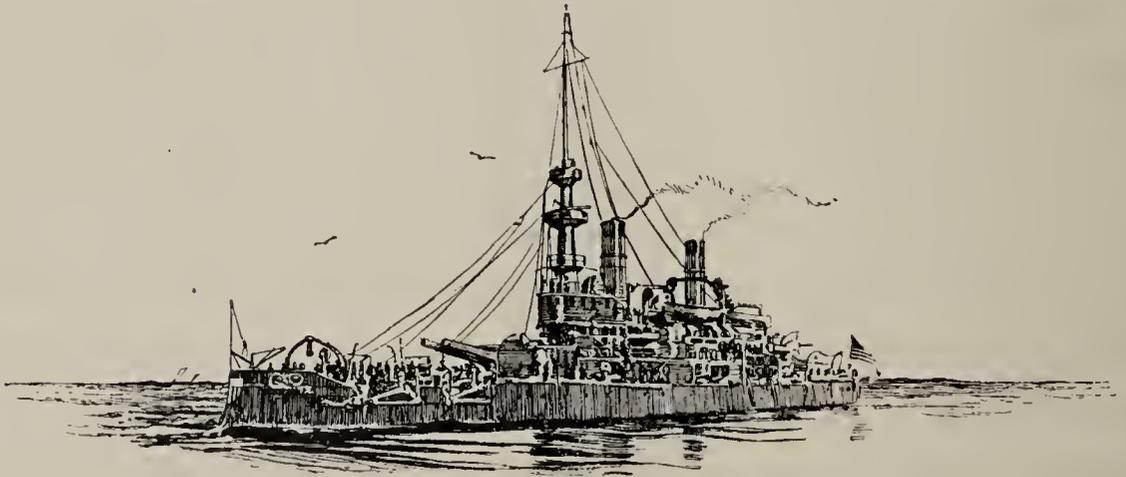
III. Describe the Hawaiian Islands; Porto Rico; the Philippines. Write an essay on Philippine progress under American rule. (See library.)

IV. Write an essay on Chinese civilization. (See library.) What is meant by the "open door"? What is imperialism?

Events and Dates. — The Silver Campaign. The Spanish War, 1898.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Wilcox, *Short History of the War with Spain*; Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*; Kennan, *Campaigning in Cuba*; Mahan, *Lessons of the War with Spain*; Schley, *Forty-Five Years under the Flag*; Latané, *America as a World Power*; Dewey, *Autobiography*; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Ross, *Heroes of Our War with Spain*; Twombly, *Hawaii and Its People*; Abbot, *Blue Jackets of '98*; Blaisdell, *The Story of American History*; Stratemeyer, *Under Dewey at Manila*.



THE OREGON

One of our greatest battleships in 1898.

CHAPTER XXXV

THE ROOSEVELT AND TAFT ADMINISTRATIONS

I. ROOSEVELT

Various Activities. — The youngest of all our Presidents was Roosevelt, who was only forty-three when he took the oath of office. But he had long been in politics and had held many offices. Born of a rich family in the city of New York in 1858, he enjoyed every advantage, except that in early life he was frail of health. This defect he overcame chiefly through determination and strenuous exercise; after graduating from Harvard he also lived for a time the outdoor life of a ranchman in what is now North Dakota.

Roosevelt first gained a national reputation when he was made Civil Service Commissioner under President Harrison. His fight for reform was fearless and effective.

He was then chosen Police Commissioner of the city of New York and later was Assistant Secretary of the Navy under President McKinley. When war with Spain began he resigned his post to organize the famous regiment of "Rough Riders," whom he led in battle in Cuba.

As governor of New York, Roosevelt refused to be dominated by the party machine and secured the passage of laws for improving the conditions of labor.

Like McKinley, Roosevelt became a very popular President, but unlike McKinley he made enemies as well as friends. Congress was slow to follow Roosevelt's leadership, especially when he advocated income and inheritance taxes, measures formerly favored only by Democrats and Populists.

In 1902 Roosevelt brought about the settling of the great anthracite coal strike, which had for months greatly crippled the business of the country.

International Affairs; the Alaskan Boundary. — When Roosevelt became President, a dispute was in progress over the boundary line between Alaska and Canada. The matter was submitted to arbitration and was settled justly without any threat of war.

Santo Domingo. — The little republic of Santo Domingo had become hopelessly involved in debt and revolution was rampant in the island. The European nations called upon the



Brown Bros.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AT HIS DESK

United States to intervene. In 1907 a treaty was concluded with the little state by which the United States undertook the supervision of the customs, while Santo Domingo agreed not to increase its debt without the consent of the United States.

Russo-Japanese Peace. — Another diplomatic triumph of the United States was scored in 1905 when President Roosevelt became the instrument of peace between the warring Russians and Japanese in the Orient. At his suggestion they sent representatives to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and there arranged the terms of peace.

II. ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES

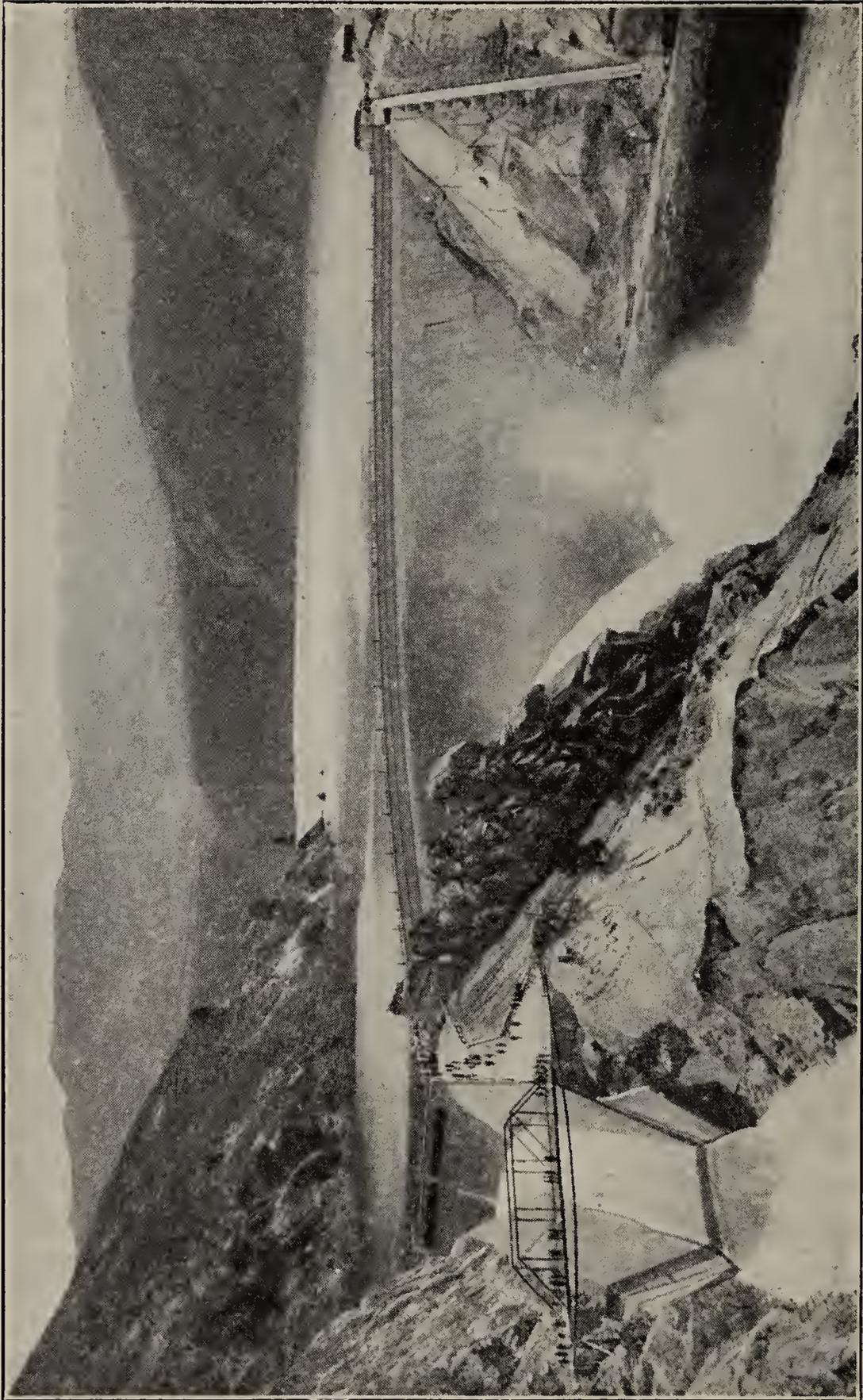
Presidential Election. — In 1904 Roosevelt was nominated for President by the Republican convention. The Democrats named Judge Alton B. Parker of New York, a man of fine character, but unable to rouse the multitudes, as his opponent could do in a high degree. Roosevelt won by a large majority.

The Senate and the House were still Republican, but the Senate was hostile to the President and so continued for the entire four years. It defeated several reforms.

Here is an example: The people wanted a parcel post, such as most countries had, by which they could send packages by mail at a low cost. But the great express companies, which were carrying packages at very profitable rates, opposed a parcel post. The president of one of these companies was a member of the Senate; and the Senate for a time defeated every attempt to secure a parcel post law. Some years later, however, an excellent parcel post law was passed.

The Elkins Law. — The Elkins Act of 1903 was designed to protect the small shipper from freight extortion by the railroads. The Interstate Commerce Law of 1887 had not been strictly enforced and there was a loud cry from the West that it be amended and enforced. The Elkins Law provided that no freight rates might be charged except those published, and laid a penalty on railroad officers for granting secret favors, and on the shippers who accepted such favors. (See p. 471.)

The Hepburn Law. — Another railroad law was the Hepburn Act of 1906. This law goes still further. It gives the right of fixing rates and fares to the Interstate Commerce Commission, which had been created by the act of 1887. It also gave the commission the same power over express companies and pipe lines for conveying oil. From that time to the present the great railroad interests of the country have been in large measure under the control of the government. It is a reform of far-reaching importance.



ARROWROCK DAM, IN IDAHO

This dam was built by the United States government. It is 350 feet high, and the reservoir stores water for irrigating 243,000 acres.

The Pure Food Laws. — Other good laws of 1906 were passed in the interests of pure food. One of these, the Meat Inspection Act, was designed to protect the public against diseased meats, and the other, the Pure Food Law, to prevent false labeling and the adulteration of foods, drugs, and medicines. These laws have been fairly well enforced and have been of immense benefit to the people. For instance, if you go to a store and buy a gallon of maple sirup that is marked "pure," it must be pure or the storekeeper is liable to punishment. Before the law was passed it might be marked pure, though half of it was ordinary sugar sirup. This law, however, applies only to articles crossing state boundaries. It is based on the clause in the Constitution giving Congress power over interstate commerce. In most of the states there are similar laws covering articles produced and sold within the state.

Conservation. — Another thing for which President Roosevelt stood was the conservation of our natural resources — minerals, forests, water power, and soil. In 1908 he called a conference of all the governors to consider the problem. It was the first gathering of the kind and led to great results. He added large areas of the public domain to the forest reserves (map following page 496), prosecuted timber thieves and land grabbers, and set on foot plans for irrigating great tracts of arid lands in the rainless regions of the West.

III. THE PANAMA CANAL

The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty. — The cutting of a ship canal across the isthmus that joins North and South America was provided for in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. It provided that the United States and Great Britain should jointly construct such a waterway. But many years passed and nothing was done. With the filling up of our Pacific coast with people the conditions became so changed that the United States felt that it should build the canal alone and that Great Britain should have no hand in it. After years of correspondence the

British agreed to this, and another treaty provided that we alone should build and control the canal. This is known as the Hay-Pauncefote treaty and was made in 1901.

The French at Panama. — Twenty years before this the great French engineer, De Lesseps', the builder of the Suez Canal, had attempted to cut a waterway across Panama. After keeping some thousands of men at work for several years the project was given up as too enormous for private enterprise. The United States later gave the French company forty million dollars for the start they had made at Panama.

Revolt of Panama. — Then arose trouble with Colombia, of which Panama was a part. Colombia seemed grasping in her demands, though a canal across the isthmus would be of immense advantage to her. But Panama was so eager to have the canal built that she seceded from Colombia and set up the little republic of Panama.

President Roosevelt quickly recognized the new state and, ignoring Colombia, made all arrangements with Panama. A treaty was soon made granting the United States sovereign rights over a belt across the isthmus ten miles wide. For this Panama was paid the sum of \$10,000,000, and besides \$250,000 a year. In 1904 work on the great waterway was begun.

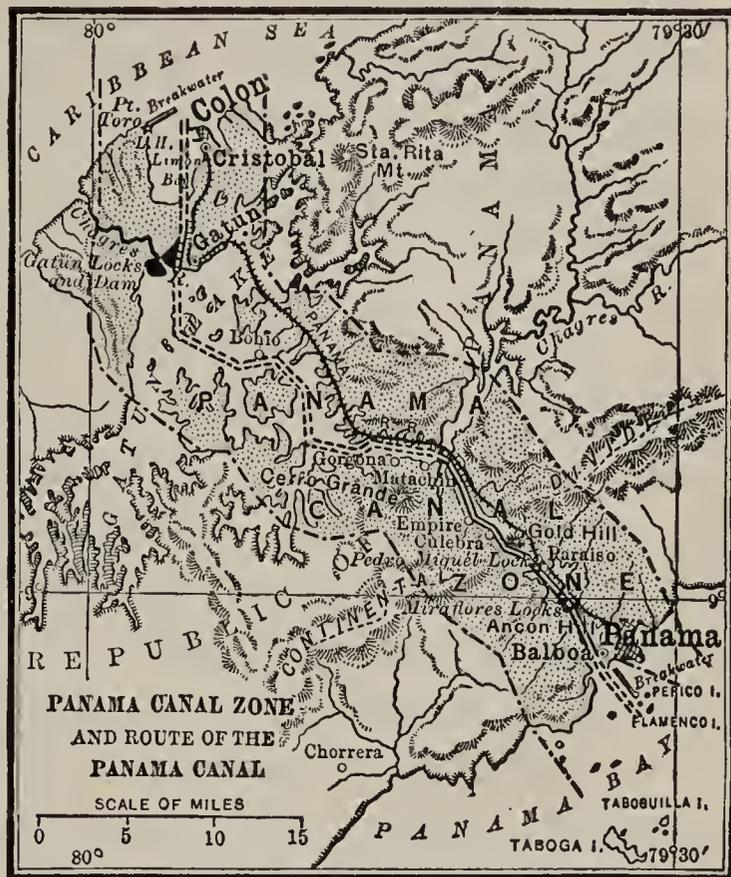
The Sanitary Victory. — The first great victory at Panama was won by Dr. William C. Gorgas — a victory over the deadly climate. The most dreaded disease was yellow fever, and next to it was malaria. It had recently been found (by other doctors) that these diseases were spread by the sting of certain species of mosquitoes. These tiny pests were bred in unnumbered billions in the dismal swamps of Panama, and even in the filthy streets and open rain barrels of the towns. With 2000 assistants Dr. Gorgas set out to exterminate the mosquitoes and his success was marvelous. During the entire year of 1906 there was but one case of yellow fever in the entire canal belt.

The chief constructing engineer in building the canal was Colonel George W. Goethals (gō'thalz).

Features of the Canal. — The length of the great waterway is fifty miles. The cut through Culebra (kōō-lā'brä) Hill, a distance of nine miles, is for part of its course 285 feet deep. The most striking feature of the canal is the Gatun (ga-tōon') Dam, near the Atlantic side, with its colossal double locks, by which a vessel is raised 85 feet above sea level.

The cost of this project was almost \$400,000,000. The latest and best machinery was used; the employees numbered about 50,000 men, the common laborers being for the most part West Indian negroes.

Nearly all the officials and the foremen were white Americans. The canal was finished sooner than expected and the first vessel passed through it in August, 1914.¹ (Picture facing p. 502.)



PANAMA CANAL

IV. TAFT AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

Taft and Bryan. — There is little doubt that Roosevelt might have been nominated for a third term had he desired it. His hold on the party, like that of Andrew Jackson, was so strong that no one perhaps could have been nominated without his consent. He favored as his successor William Howard Taft of his own Cabinet, and the convention promptly agreed to the choice. The Democrats for a third time nominated Bryan and

¹ The first year more than 1300 ships passed through the canal. In 1920 the number was 2814. The toll for a large vessel is \$5000 or more. On a single day (May 26, 1923) twenty-five ships passed through, paying tolls amounting to \$136,000.

for a third time Bryan led the party to defeat. Taft was elected by a large majority.¹

There were several minor parties in the field, the most important of which was the Socialist party with its well-known leader, Eugene V. Debs, as its candidate. But none of the minor parties received any votes in the electoral college.

Parcel Post. — Several good laws were passed while Taft was President. A system of postal savings was established in 1910. By this law money may be deposited in the post office and will bear two per cent interest. Many aliens keep their savings secure by means of this law. Also it was in 1912 that the parcel post system was established, by which packages are sent at low cost through the mails (p. 491).

The Payne-Aldrich Tariff. — For some years the Democrats and a large section of the Republican party who came to be called Insurgents, mostly from the Middle West, had been demanding a lower tariff, and President Taft called Congress together to revise the tariff. A bill framed by Representative Payne of New York soon passed the House and went to the Senate, where it was much amended under the leadership of Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island.

The law when it got through both houses was known as the Payne-Aldrich Bill, and it imposed duties that averaged higher than the Dingley tariff which had been in force for eleven years. The Democrats and many Republicans bitterly attacked this tariff and the President who signed it.

Reciprocity and Peace Treaties. — The President arranged a treaty of reciprocity with Canada (partial free trade), but it was defeated by the Canadians. He also made an effort to secure peace for the future by arranging arbitration treaties with France and Great Britain. But these treaties were killed in the Senate, or so amended as to become worthless.

¹ Soon after Taft's inauguration Roosevelt sailed to the East and engaged in an exploring and hunting expedition in Africa. On returning from the Dark Continent he visited and spoke in several European capitals, attracting attention throughout the world.





**THE UNITED STATES
OF TO-DAY**

SCALE OF MILES



from Greenwich 90

80

Enforcing the Sherman Act. — Taft's administration continued Roosevelt's policy in regard to trusts — "combinations in restraint of trade" — and secured many indictments against them. It was in Taft's administration that the Standard Oil Company and the American Tobacco Company were dissolved into small units. But the business of such great corporations, even when they were dissolved by the courts, went on about the same as before. The small units apparently could not be prevented from working in harmony.

Election of 1910. — In the Congressional election of 1910 the Republicans lost more than a hundred members in the House, giving its control to the Democrats, in spite of the fact that Roosevelt had returned and had contributed all his energies in trying to secure a Republican victory.

The Democrats also elected governors in seven northern states which had been Republican. The most noted of these was Dr. Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, who was elected governor of New Jersey.

The Taft-Roosevelt Feud. — Then to crown the series of Republican disasters there arose a bitter quarrel between the two great friends, Taft and Roosevelt. Taft had dismissed from office some of Roosevelt's ardent followers and had shown himself not in sympathy with some of Roosevelt's policies. Roosevelt made addresses in which he was very outspoken in criticism of the Taft administration.

V. THE THREE-CORNERED ELECTION OF 1912

Taft and Roosevelt. — Taft had in many ways offended the progressive members of his party, called Insurgents, and they determined to oppose him for reelection in 1912. Led by such men as La Follette of Wisconsin, Borah of Idaho, and Johnson of California, they decided to defeat him if they could in the Republican convention and nominate La Follette for President.

During the early months of 1912, while the new movement was ripening, the breach between Taft and Roosevelt grew

wider and, moreover, Roosevelt was almost daily uttering Insurgent doctrines in public speeches.

Roosevelt was a much stronger leader politically than La Follette, and many Insurgents wished him to become their candidate. Seven governors of states joined in requesting him to heed the voice of the people, — and he did so; he tossed “his hat into the ring,” as he expressed it. In state after state which held presidential primary elections he received more votes than Taft. In most of the states, however, the delegates were uninstructed, and in some there were disputes as to the delegates chosen.

The party machinery was in the hands of the followers of Taft, and when the convention met in Chicago in early June the contested delegations were decided in his favor. Roosevelt and many of the delegates thereupon withdrew from the convention, bitterly denouncing the outcome and declaring that no honest man could support the party in the coming campaign.

The Progressives. — Roosevelt and his followers now determined to form a new party. It was given the name Progressive. It met in the same city early in August and nominated Roosevelt by a unanimous vote.

Democratic Convention. — Between these two conventions came the meeting of the Democrats at Baltimore late in June. The eyes of the country were riveted upon it, for it was generally believed that there would be named the next President of the United States. Bryan, three times defeated, was not in the running this time, but he was a member of the convention as leader of the Nebraska delegation.

The candidates that were seriously considered were four — Governors Judson Harmon of Ohio and Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey, Champ Clark, Speaker of the House, and Oscar Underwood of Alabama, the Democratic leader in the House. There was a deadlock. Seven days passed and many ballots were cast with no result. At length the contest was reduced to Clark and Wilson, and on the forty-sixth ballot, partly through the efforts of Mr. Bryan, the prize fell to Wilson.

Election of 1912. — The campaign was most exciting. All the leading candidates “took the stump” and made long speaking tours. Taft and Roosevelt denounced each other more bitterly than they denounced the Democrats.

The result was a sweeping victory for Wilson. His electoral vote was 435, Roosevelt’s 88, and Taft’s 8. But Wilson’s popular vote fell about a million and a half short of the combined vote of Taft and Roosevelt.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Give an account of the early career of Roosevelt. How did the United States influence international affairs during this administration?

II. Why was the Parcel Post defeated? What attack was made on the power of the trusts? Describe the Elkins and Hepburn laws; the Pure Food Law of 1906. What is meant by Conservation?

III. In what way did we secure the rights in Panama? Describe the sanitary victory. Describe the canal.

IV. Describe the Parcel Post system. Who were the Insurgents? What is meant by reciprocity? How was the power of the trusts weakened?

V. Describe the campaign of 1912. What were the differences between the Republican and Progressive parties?

Events and Dates. — Conservation Conference, 1908. The Panama Canal, beginnings, progress, and completion. Campaign of 1912.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Fish, *Development of American Nationality*; Ogg, *National Progress*; Beard, *Contemporary American History*; Riis, *Theodore Roosevelt, the Citizen*; Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Roosevelt, *Autobiography*; Roosevelt, *Letters to His Children*.



TOOLS KEPT IN READINESS FOR FIGHTING
A FOREST FIRE

CHAPTER XXXVI

AN ERA OF PROGRESS

A Restless Creature. — Man is a restless, moving creature. Not content with what the past has bequeathed him, he looks ever forward to further achievement. It is the Spirit of Progress that urges him on, and without it there would be no advancement in civilization.

Endowed with this spirit, which Nature has denied to the lower animals, man has struggled on and up through the passing ages, never content with what he has, always aspiring to a higher and fuller life.

Denied the strength of the ox or the elephant, he far surpasses them with the creations of his brain, which bridle the forces of nature and make them work for him. Not endowed with the power of flight, he invents a machine by which he can soar among the clouds faster and farther than the eagle. He can outspeed the deer or the greyhound in his express trains and automobiles. In ease and comfort he can plow the seas in his "ocean greyhounds"; he can sit in his home and flash his thoughts across the world with the electric spark. Man is a progressive creature and the most progressive period in all the history of the world has been the last hundred years.

I. GREAT MODERN INVENTIONS

The Telephone. — The most useful of all inventions since the invention of printing (unless we except the steam engine) is the telephone, the product of the brain of Alexander Graham Bell, an American of Scotch birth and education. The patent was granted in 1876 (picture, p. 459). Within a few years the world recognized the great value of the new invention and it soon came into use everywhere.

The telephone carries an electric impulse through a wire and reproduces the voice at the other end. The speed of the telephone is, like the telegraph, the same as the speed of light, at a rate of eight times round the earth in a second. If you talk to a friend a hundred miles away, no matter how fast you talk, every syllable will reach its destination before you can utter the next one.

Wireless Telegraph; the Radio. — The invention of Morse (page 378) also was greatly improved in the wireless telegraph, invented by Marconi, an Italian. After he first flashed a message across the Atlantic in 1901 his invention came quickly into general use, especially in signaling to and from vessels at sea.

Within a few years a marvelous addition was made to the inventions of Bell and Marconi, known as the wireless or radio telephone. By means of electric waves passing through the ether, sounds are reproduced hundreds or thousands of miles away if caught by a receiving apparatus tuned to the proper wave length, and any number of receiving stations can catch the same sound. This is one of the most wonderful inventions of modern times. Not only is the wireless telephone a valuable means of entertainment, but its possibilities for wide practical



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A RADIO RECEIVING SET

(Charles Evans Hughes, Secretary of State, in 1924.)

use are very great. Farmers, for example, can receive by radio daily weather forecasts and fluctuations in the price of their products, to say nothing of the musical and other entertainments they may enjoy without the trouble of going to town. Addresses by statesmen and scientists and entire church services are included in the programs of broadcasting stations.

Thomas A. Edison. — The greatest of all inventors of modern times is Thomas A. Edison, “the Wizard of Menlo Park.” The incandescent lamp and the phonograph are among the most conspicuous of his many inventions of world-wide importance.

Iron and Steel. — Iron is the most useful of all metals and happily the most abundant. The ancients used tin and copper long before iron came into general use. For ages iron has been used in ever-increasing quantities; our civilization of to-day would be impossible without it. Steel is a form of iron now made by raising molten pig iron or cast iron to a very high temperature in a converter by means of a forced draft of air until the carbon is burned out; then a definite portion of carbon is restored by adding a recarburizing material. The process is known as the Bessemer process, because Henry Bessemer, an Englishman, discovered it. This was in 1856, and about the same time William Kelly, an American, discovered the same process.

The use of steel is very extensive in our modern industries. It is used not only for the framework of our “sky-scrapers” in the cities and in building railroads, locomotives, and steamships, but in making tools and machinery of every sort. Some experts predict that unless new ore beds are discovered the world’s iron supply will so diminish in half a century as to make it far more expensive.

Closely associated with the use of iron and steel is the coal industry. More than 700,000 men are engaged in mining coal in our country, and the annual output reaches about 600,000,000 tons, including bituminous and anthracite. So great are our coal deposits, however, that there is no danger of a shortage for centuries.



LOCK ON THE PANAMA CANAL

II. TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION

The last half century has made a marvelous record in the means of travel. The railroad and the steamship belong to an earlier period, but the present era has brought the bicycle, the trolley car, the automobile, and the flying machine. It has also brought great improvements in railroad and steamship transportation.

The Trolley Car. — The first trolley car to operate in the streets of a city was installed by Mr. Frank J. Sprague in Rich-



AN EARLY STREET CAR

Before 1885, the horse car was the only kind of street car.

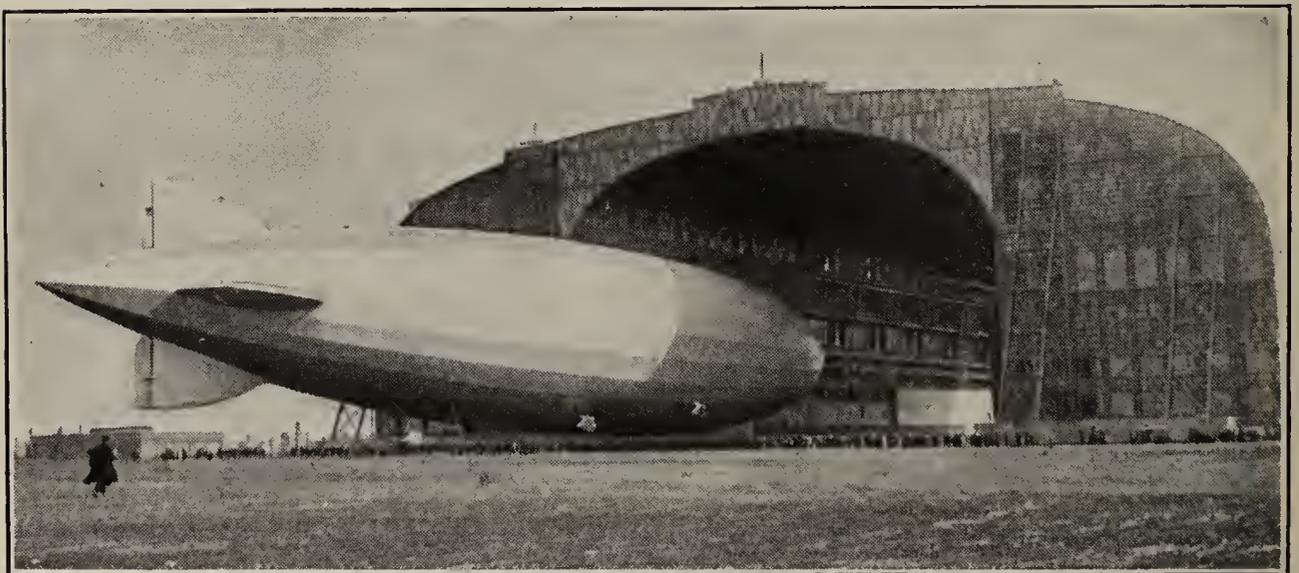
mond, Virginia, in 1885. Within a few years trolley cars were running in many cities and later the lines known as "interurbans" were extended for thousands of miles through the country. The old horse car and the cable car gradually disappeared.

The Automobile. — Still greater was the change brought about by the automobile. Some of the important parts of the automobile date back almost a century, but it became a practical thing only after the invention of the gasoline engine, about 1887. Gradually the machine was perfected and about 1901 the "auto craze" struck the country — and it has never subsided to this day. There are now more than fifteen million

automobiles in the country, and they with the trolley car carry a great part of the passenger traffic that would otherwise go to the railroads.

The Flying Machine. — Most astonishing of all the modern inventions of travel is the flying machine. In 1896 Prof. S. P. Langley of Washington made some successful experiments with a machine he had invented. A few years later the brothers Wilbur and Orville Wright of Dayton, Ohio, made successful flights. From that time to the present improvements in the airplane have multiplied and it is now possible to soar above the clouds and over the mountains and to carry passengers and mails for great distances.

The Airship. — Another great invention is the dirigible airship. This form of aircraft has some advantages over the airplane. It can carry much greater weight and if the machinery gets out of order, it can stop in midair for repairs with little danger. Hitherto the airship has usually been floated with hydrogen gas which is very combustible, so that a spark may cause an explosion and bring death to all on board. But in recent years helium gas has come into use for the airship. While



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THE LOS ANGELES

This giant dirigible, first known as the ZR₃, was built at Friedrichshafen, Germany, for the United States government. It arrived in this country on October 15, 1924, having made a non-stop flight of 5,060 miles in the record time of 81 hours. It carries thirty-two persons and a light load of freight and mail.

scarcer and more expensive, it will not explode and therefore is much safer than hydrogen.

III. EDUCATION AND LITERATURE

Our Public Schools. — In all our states the school systems have kept pace with the general progress in other lines. School buildings were constructed with a view to securing better sanitary conditions and greater efficiency. In many cities the school buildings are fine structures, some of which cost more than a million dollars. A development of the twentieth century was the employment of physicians, dentists, and nurses to look after the health of the pupils.

In the country the township high school is rapidly multiplying in some states. It is built near the center of the township and any pupil in the township, after completing the course in the district school, may have access to it. In 1910 the enrollment in the high schools in the United States was only five per cent of the number in the elementary schools; in 1920 it had risen to nearly twelve per cent.¹

One reason why our schools are better than those of the old days is that the teachers are better trained and better paid. Great numbers of our teachers are graduates of college or of a normal training school. They are well equipped for their work and they make teaching their life profession.

In most states there are compulsory school laws requiring school attendance between the ages of eight and fourteen or sixteen years.

In many towns and cities night schools have been established for adults, especially for foreign immigrants who do not speak or write the English language.

¹ The Bureau of Education announces that the school enrollment, according to the census of 1920, for the entire country was as follows:

Children in the kindergarten, 511,000; in the elementary or grade schools, 20,383,000; pupils in the high schools, 2,430,000. The entire cost for a year to maintain the kindergarten and grade schools was over \$756,000,000, about \$36 for each child. The cost of the high schools was \$278,000,000, averaging about \$110 for each pupil. The whole number of teachers employed reached almost 700,000.

Writers since the Civil War. — The output of printed matter, including magazines, newspapers, and books of all descriptions, is enormous. But only a small portion of this has any permanent literary value. In every field of literature a large number of writers have appeared and one here and there has produced prose or poetry that will long endure.

Among our poets of the earlier period following the Civil War, Walt Whitman must be given first place, though his poetry is not easy for young readers to understand. Later poets of note are Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, Edwin Markham, William Vaughn Moody, Henry Van Dyke, Robert Frost, Amy Lowell, and Edgar Lee Masters. All of these have given us poetry of high order and some of it is sure to live in our literature.

The later writers of prose fiction are very numerous. Several have produced novels and short stories of real value. A partial list of the best of these authors would include the names of Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain"), William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Joel Chandler Harris, Henry James, George W. Cable, Thomas Nelson Page, and Mary Wilkins Freeman. John Burroughs and John Muir are two outstanding writers of nature stories and essays.

In the field of history a list of the most eminent writers, not including any that are now living, must include Francis Parkman, George Bancroft, John Fiske, Henry Adams, Justin Winsor, and William H. Prescott.

IV. POLITICAL PROGRESS

Initiative, Referendum, and Recall. — In the matter of politics and government we have by no means stood still during the last half century. The people in many states and cities have become discontented with their governments and they have adopted a means of obtaining more direct control over public affairs by what are called the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. These for the most part were borrowed from Switzerland.

The initiative is a device by which the people may originate a measure and make it a law by popular vote without the consent of the legislature. The referendum is a referring back to the people of a law passed by the legislature which the people may not want. By a popular vote a law may be rejected in spite of the legislature. By the recall an officeholder may be recalled or deposed from his office by vote of the people before his term expires.

South Dakota in 1897 took the lead in adopting the initiative and referendum, and it was soon followed by many other states in the West and by a few in the East. Oregon was the first to adopt the recall (1908), and the example was followed by a few of the other western states.¹

Australian Ballot. — A very important reform in election methods is the Australian ballot, borrowed from Australia. It was first adopted by Massachusetts and by the city of Louisville, Kentucky, in 1888 and within ten years thereafter nearly all the states in the Union had adopted it. The chief feature of the Australian ballot is its secrecy; the voter prepares his ballot alone in a booth erected for the purpose.

Before this form of voting was adopted it was not unusual for "ward heelers" to line up voters whom they had bribed and see that they voted as they had promised. Even employers often demanded that their employees vote as directed and set watchers to see that they did so. It was not difficult to do this because the voting was done in the open and any one could see how another voted. By the Australian ballot no one can see how his neighbor votes. Vote purchasing has become far less common, because the vote purchaser can never be sure that the vote seller will "deliver the goods."

¹ The roll of the forty-eight states was completed by the admission of Utah in 1896; Oklahoma, in 1907; New Mexico and Arizona, in 1912. Utah had been settled for the most part by the Mormons, who migrated from the East. The sect, which calls itself The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, was founded by Joseph Smith about 1830. There is a considerable Mormon population in other Rocky Mountain states adjoining Utah.

Election of Senators. — The electing of the United States senators by direct vote of the people, through the Seventeenth Amendment, is one of the great reforms of our time.¹

Our forefathers in framing the Constitution provided that senators should be elected by the state legislatures, and so they were for over 120 years. But there were many abuses; often there was suspicion of bribery in choosing senators, and often they were selected by little party cliques and were not the choice of the people.

The amendment first passed the House, then the Senate. It was then sent to the state legislatures and was adopted by the necessary three fourths.

This action of the state legislatures is one of the most remarkable proofs on record of the power and growth of modern democracy. The members of the legislatures by adopting this amendment voted to deprive themselves of one of the most important powers they had — that of electing United States senators — and to pass the power over to the people.

Prohibition. — The prohibition of the traffic in intoxicating liquors was the result of an agitation covering more than a half century. The states, especially in the West and South, took the lead and by 1917 thirty-two of them had entered the “dry” column. Then came a determined effort of the friends of prohibition to secure an amendment to the United States Constitution. Congress did its part in December, 1917, and sent the amendment to the states. With wonderful swiftness the state legislatures responded and by January 16, 1919, a sufficient number had ratified. One year from that date the amendment took effect. (Read this Eighteenth Amendment in the Appendix.)

Woman Suffrage. — A great political change of the time was the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, in 1920. For many years the subject had been agitated, as well as other subjects pertaining to woman’s activities. In colonial

¹ The Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution, adopted in the same year (1913), enabled Congress to lay an income tax. See Appendix.

times a married woman could not own property; it belonged to her husband. Before 1833 no American college was open to women. Gradually these conditions were corrected and as time passed women became very active with regard to the temperance question, the antislavery movement, prison reform, and many other public questions.

In 1848 a great Women's Rights Convention was held at Seneca Falls, New York. It demanded equal rights in trades and professions and in the suffrage. Checked by the Civil War, the woman's movement for the ballot began again soon after the war was over. Among the states Wyoming took the lead and while still a territory granted woman suffrage in 1869. Colorado followed the example in 1893, and many other states did so in later years, granting complete or partial suffrage.

At length public attention was centered on nation-wide suffrage by means of an amendment to the Federal Constitution, and when, at the earnest solicitation of President Wilson, it was passed by both houses of Congress in 1919, final success was assured. It had to be ratified by thirty-six of the states before it could become effective, and in August, 1920, Tennessee became the thirty-sixth.

Government of Cities. — James Bryce, the English author of *The American Commonwealth*, declared that the one conspicuous failure in America was in the government of cities. Too often our cities have fallen under the baleful control of a political "boss" who with his henchmen could loot the treasury as he chose. The mayor and the city council, as the lawmaking body is usually called, though elected by the people, would fall under the influence of the "boss."

A new plan for governing cities and towns was suggested by the experience of Galveston, Texas, which was the first to try it. After a great disaster to that city by a storm in 1900 a plan of government was devised, called the Commission Plan. A small number of citizens, usually five, were elected by the people to manage the city's affairs in a businesslike manner. Other cities

followed the example until more than four hundred had adopted the new plan.

But the commission plan was weak at one point. The commissioners, however honest they might be, were often untrained in city affairs and lacked expert knowledge. Then about 1912 another plan, known as the City Manager Plan, was devised. Under this plan the commissioners choose a manager, a man thoroughly trained in civic affairs. He may or may not be a resident of the city. The method is similar to that of a school board choosing a school superintendent, an expert who makes school management his life work. Several hundred cities have adopted the City Manager Plan.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Which in your opinion is the more useful invention, the steam engine or the telephone? Give your reasons. What is radio? Write an essay on the inventions of Edison.

II. Give an account of the invention of the trolley; the automobile; the flying machine.

III. What are the advantages of the township high school? What do you think of compulsory school laws? of night schools for foreigners?

Name some of our leading poets. Can you tell a good poem from a poor one? Name some of our writers of fiction; some of our historians. Do you like history?

IV. Define the initiative, the referendum, and the recall; the Australian ballot. Why does the Seventeenth Amendment constitute a remarkable proof of the growth of democracy? What can you say of the prohibition amendment? of the woman suffrage amendment? What have been the changes in the government of cities? Distinguish between the commission and city manager plans.

Events and Dates. — Invention of the telephone, 1876; of the wireless telegraph, 1901; of radio; the trolley; the automobile; the airplane. The adoption of the Australian ballot. Nation-wide prohibition, 1919; nation-wide woman suffrage, 1920.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*; Sparks, *National Development*; Adams, *Railroads, Their Origin and Progress*; Spahr, *America's Working People*.

FOR THE PUPIL: Bachman, *Great Inventors and Their Inventions*; Darrow, *Boys' Own Book of Great Inventions*; Ely, *Labor Movement in America*.

CHAPTER XXXVII

WOODROW WILSON'S FIRST FOUR YEARS

The administration of Wilson stands out as a great historic period for several reasons:— for his extraordinary powers of leadership, for the important laws passed during the first two years, and for our part in the World War.

I. THE FIRST TWO YEARS

During the campaign of the summer of 1912, Woodrow Wilson as the candidate and mouthpiece of the Democratic party made great promises to the country in case of the party's success at the polls. Wilson was elected and both houses were Democratic by large majorities.

A Great Leader. — It was clear from the day the new President delivered his inaugural to a vast throng at the nation's capital that a real leader had arisen. It was soon clear that he would give his party no rest until it had fulfilled the promises made in its platform. After outlining the work to be done he won the applause of all by concluding: "Who shall live up to this great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, forward-looking men to my side. God help me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me."

The two most conspicuous men in the new Cabinet were William J. Bryan, Secretary of State, and William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Wilson called Congress to meet April 7 in extra session to consider a new tariff bill, and when it met he appeared before it in person to deliver his message — the first President to do this in more than a hundred years.

The Underwood Tariff. — The Democrats have always favored a low tariff, arguing that duties on imported goods raise the



PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS

The two houses of Congress are in joint session in the Hall of the House of Representatives.

prices and thus make the cost of living burdensome to the poor; that a high tariff discourages foreign commerce; and that the rich manufacturers raise their prices and receive most of the benefit.

The bill now introduced was called the Underwood Tariff, because its chief author was Oscar W. Underwood, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee in the House. It put on the free list many of the necessities of life and reduced the tariff tax on many others, while on luxuries used only by the rich the duties were in many cases raised or left as high as they were before. A sixteenth amendment to the Constitution¹ having been ratified, an income tax law was included in this tariff act. Many articles made by trusts were put on the free list. It had long been a Democratic cry that the tariff is the mother of the trusts.

The Underwood Tariff became a law in October, 1913; but the coming of the World War within the next year shut out much of our foreign trade and made it impossible to test the new tariff under normal conditions.

The Federal Reserve Act. — The next great law of this administration was the Federal Reserve Act, enacted in December of the same year. For many years the old national banking law, passed in Civil War times, had been out of date. Its worst feature was that under it, as explained on the following page, our currency was not "elastic" and a few great bankers could control the flow of money from one part of the country to another.

The new law changed this. It made an elastic currency and took its control out of the hands of the bankers and gave it to the government. The country was divided into twelve great districts, in each of which a "regional" bank was established. At times of special need the national banks can go to the regional bank and borrow what paper money they need, but the interest is so high that they will return the money for retirement as soon as the rush is over. To make this clearer, consider the situation

¹ See Appendix.

at harvest time in the Middle West. For the movement of the crops the farmers need more money than at any other time in the year. Under the old law a local bank was often unable to supply as much money to the farmers as they needed in harvest time, as the great bulk of the money was in the hands of the great bankers and speculators. The speculators might then refuse to supply the local banks and thus force the farmers to sell property at low prices; and the speculators would buy it and hold it for a higher market. Under the new law the local bank is not dependent on a few great bankers as formerly. It can borrow what money it needs for the farmers from the regional reserve bank, which can issue, and retire, paper money as conditions demand. Thus our money has become elastic and it flows where it is needed.

Anti-Trust Laws. — Anti-trust legislation came next, and two very important laws were passed. The first is known as the Clayton Anti-Trust Act. It is really a recasting of the Sherman Law of 1890, going much farther than that law. It forbids every kind of discrimination in price to lessen competition, and it forbids interlocking directorates of banks and certain other corporations.

The other anti-trust law created a Federal Trade Commission. This is composed of commissioners appointed by the President and is given large powers of investigating the methods and practices of corporations engaged in interstate trade. When it finds that they are not observing the law it reports and aids in bringing the matter before the courts.

Labor Laws. — Several important labor laws were passed during Wilson's first years and were made effective by the new and separate Department of Labor. The Seamen's Law provided for better conditions on shipboard, and the Adamson Law provided an eight-hour day for railroad employees. Another law provided for compensation to government employees injured in the discharge of their duties; and still another forbade the labor of children under a certain age (on articles entering into

interstate commerce), but this was later pronounced unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.¹

The administration had made a wonderful showing. Congress had been in session without a break for more than eighteen months, and under President Wilson's direction had placed on the statute books a remarkably large number of laws of first-class importance.

II. MEXICO AND THE CARIBBEAN LANDS

Diaz and Madero. — Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, had been giving us much trouble before Wilson's inauguration, and soon after that conditions became worse. For thirty-one years President Diaz (dē'äs) had ruled that country with an iron hand and maintained a fair degree of order, but in 1911 a rising of the people forced him to flee from the country. Francisco Madero (mä-dā'rō), the leader of the uprising, became president. Early in 1913 General Huerta (wěr'tä) overthrew Madero and had him put to death. General Carranza refused to recognize Huerta and led a counter-revolution against him. In March following Wilson became President of the United States and he refused to recognize Huerta.

Watchful Waiting. — Wilson described his policy as "watchful waiting"; but the next year came a crisis that almost brought war between the two countries. A number of American marines were wrongfully arrested in a Mexican port, and the Huerta government refused to make amends. Vera Cruz was occupied by American troops after a sharp battle; but war was averted when three South American countries, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, aided in bringing about a settlement.

Huerta, however, was obliged to flee the country and Carranza became president of Mexico. Still later, owing to border raids led by a former bandit named Villa, an American force was sent

¹ In 1924 Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution, which, if ratified by the necessary three fourths of the states, would give Congress the power to make child labor laws for children up to eighteen years of age.

into Mexico; but Villa hid away in the mountains and little came of the expedition. President Wilson was anxious not to make war on Mexico because it was very uncertain whether we could keep out of the World War then raging in Europe.

The Virgin Islands. — The United States in 1916 purchased the part of the Virgin Islands formerly called the Danish West Indies. For these three little islands, comprising 132 square miles, we paid to Denmark \$25,000,000 and gave up certain claims we had in Greenland.



UNITED STATES INFLUENCE IN THE CARIBBEAN SEA

Haiti and Nicaragua. — In the Caribbean Sea various important events were taking place during this period. Owing to revolutions and uprisings in the negro republic of Haiti and in the Dominican Republic (or Santo Domingo), the eastern part of the same island, the United States established protectorates over both these governments.

In 1916 an American protectorate was established over

Nicaragua, with a strong influence for peace over its neighbors in Central America. The chief object of this arrangement is to safeguard the Panama Canal. It will be seen that our possession of Porto Rico, the Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands, and our protectorate over Cuba, Panama, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, and Nicaragua, give the United States an immense influence in the region of the Caribbean Sea.

III. REËLECTION OF WILSON

Wilson and Hughes. — The interest of the American people was deeply absorbed in the mighty conflict in Europe, but in 1916 it was necessary for them to withdraw their attention from abroad long enough to elect a President.

The Democrats renominated Wilson on the record of his first administration and made their slogan, "He kept us out of war." The Republicans named Charles E. Hughes, justice of the Supreme Court. Hughes had been governor of New York and was known as a man of great sincerity and a statesman of the first rank. Wilson had proved himself one of the ablest of our Presidents. Never perhaps did the two great parties select two stronger men for the great office. Former President Roosevelt declined the nomination of his four-year-old Progressive party and worked for the election of Hughes.

It was expected that Wilson would carry the South and Hughes the East. But what about the West? It was clear that the great sparsely settled states beyond the Mississippi would decide the election, and so they did. Wilson swept almost the entire West, winning fifteen of the nineteen states, and was elected by 277 votes to 254 for Hughes.

The Socialist and other minor parties had candidates in the field, but they made little impression in the battle of the giants and won no electoral votes.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. What can you say of Wilson as a leader? What are the arguments for a low tariff? for a high tariff? Describe the

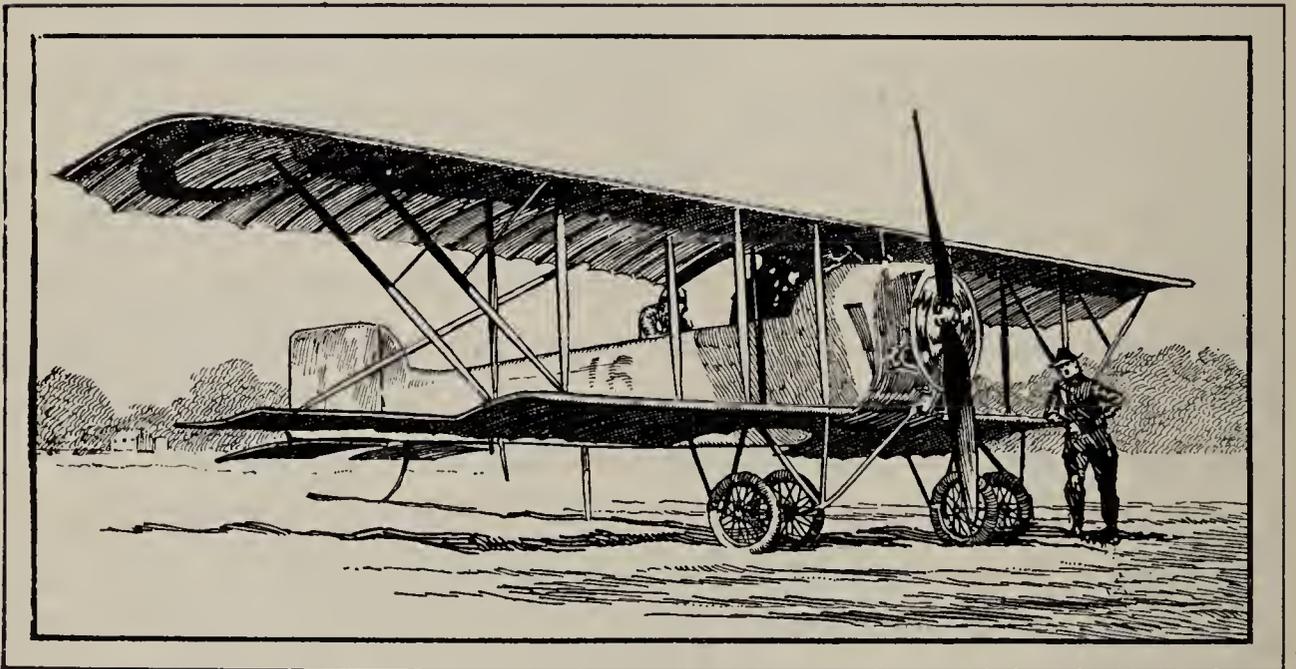
Underwood Tariff. What are the benefits of the Federal Reserve Act? What were the anti-trust and labor laws?

II. Give a brief account of our relations with Mexico during this period. What is the chief purpose of the United States in obtaining influence in the region of the Caribbean Sea?

III. Give an account of the campaign of 1916.

Events and Dates. — The Underwood tariff, 1913. The Federal Reserve Act, 1913. Purchase of the Virgin Islands, 1916.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Time*; Lingley, *Since the Civil War*; Ford, *Woodrow Wilson, the Man and His Work*; Willis, *The Federal Reserve*; Latané, *The United States and Latin America*; Ogg, *National Progress*; Beard, *Contemporary American History*; Fish, *Development of American Nationality*; Seymour, *Woodrow Wilson and the World War*.



ARMY AIRPLANE OF 1917



GENERAL PERSHING AT THE TOMB OF LAFAYETTE

Shortly after reaching France in 1917, when the United States had entered the World War, General Pershing placed flowers on Lafayette's grave, and said, "Lafayette, we are here."

CHAPTER XXXVIII

AMERICA AND THE WORLD WAR

Not since 1871, a period of more than forty years, had there been a war between two first-class powers in Europe. But Europe was an armed camp; the nations had been piling up armaments and war seemed inevitable, in spite of the growing feeling for peace in most of the nations. At the end of July, 1914, the most stupendous of all wars broke upon the world.

I. CAUSES AND BEGINNINGS OF THE WAR

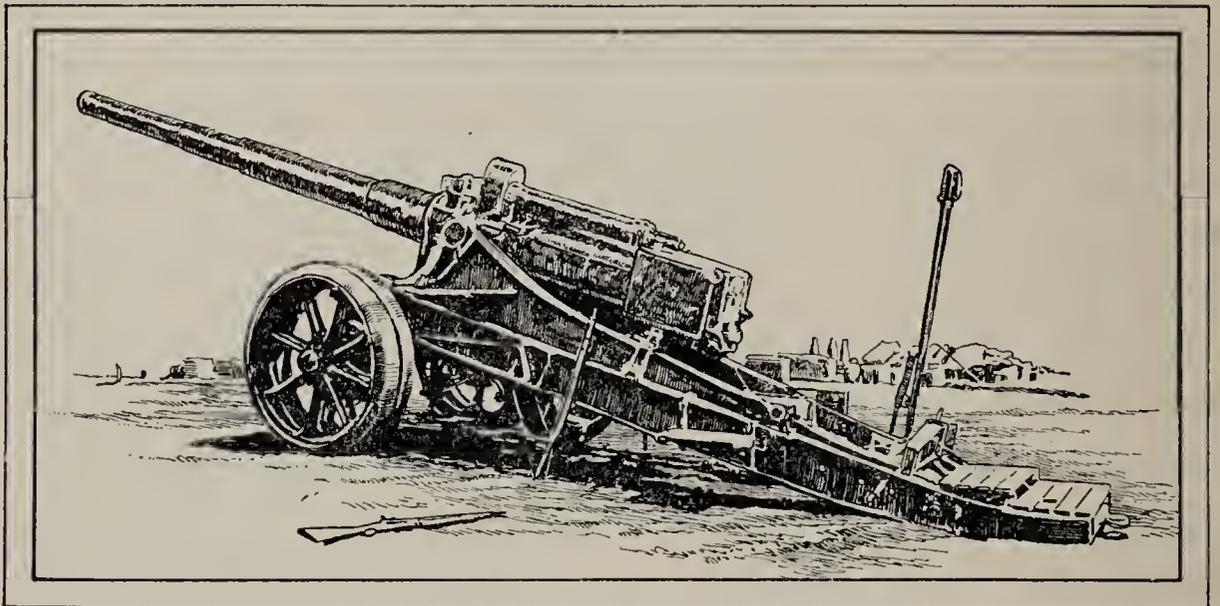
For many years there had been bad blood between Austria and Serbia. Austria was eager to crush her little neighbor and thus get a firmer foothold in the Balkan region. And Germany was hand in glove with Austria, for she too aspired to more power in the Balkans.

Murder of Francis Ferdinand. — These two nations had their designs; they waited an occasion. It came when Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, while traveling in Bosnia, was assassinated, June 28, 1914, by a Bosnian. Bosnia had been annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908, and it was full of Serbs who hated Austria. The young man who committed the deed waved his arms and shouted, "I am a Serb."

Austria determined to hold Serbia responsible for the crime. Here was her opportunity to make war on and crush her troublesome neighbor. And to make sure, Austria sent demands on Serbia that no self-respecting nation could comply with, and meantime made ready her armies. Serbia was willing to concede almost every point and suggested arbitration on the others, but Austria would not agree and declared war. Then Russia stepped in and called a halt on Austria, declaring that she would not

stand by and see the little nation crushed by the great one. Germany demanded that Russia keep her hands off and let Austria and Serbia settle their own quarrels. Russia protested that no offense to Germany was intended, but that Serbia must be saved. Germany began to mobilize her armies. At the same time she demanded assurances that France would not help Russia.

The world quickly saw the imminent danger of a war of tremendous proportions. Great Britain proposed that the powers get together and settle the trouble peacefully. All except Germany agreed. Again, Great Britain proposed that Germany suggest some other method and again Germany refused. On August 1 Germany declared war on Russia and two days later on France.



GUN USED IN THE WORLD WAR

A 145 mm. gun, one of the heaviest field pieces used for direct fire.

Germany Invades Belgium. — Germany's first great move was to invade France. How could she get into France? There were great fortresses along the French frontier and it would take weeks or months to reduce them. Why not go through Belgium? But Belgium had been "neutralized" by the powers, including Germany. Her soil could not be violated without a violation of honor. Germany disregarded this and marched her armies

through Belgium. This action brought Great Britain into the war. All this happened within a few days and the greatest war of all times was begun.

Germany's great object was to strike down and disable France by an impetuous dash on Paris before Russia could get her armies mobilized. Belgium resisted the invasion of her soil with all her strength and she detained the German army for about ten days — long enough to enable France to mobilize her army and Great Britain to rush a hundred thousand troops across the Channel.

Battle of the Marne. — On came the German army, within view of the spires of Paris. It looked as if nothing could save the proud city on the Seine from capture. Then came the Battle of the Marne (märn), September 5-10, 1914.

This mighty conflict along the Marne River, covering nearly a week, engaged about two million men. The Germans were beaten back and Paris was saved. Never throughout the whole war did Germany regain the prestige she lost on the banks of the Marne.

After this there was trench warfare along the "western front" for four years, with an occasional tremendous battle. There were great battles in Russia and Austria-Hungary in which the Central Powers (Germany and Austria-Hungary) were chiefly victorious. The British tried to seize the Dardanelles but failed dismally. Turkey had come into the war on the side of the Central Powers and Italy on the side of the Allies.

II. AMERICA IN THE WAR

Could America Remain Neutral? — Some of the American people tried to be neutral, but that was not easy to do. Some sympathized with one side and some with the other. But as time passed the drift of public opinion was clearly against the German side. One reason was that we came to believe with the English and the French that Germany was aiming at world dominion, as Assyria and Rome had done in the far past.

The Lusitania. — Then came the sinking of the *Lusitania* by a submarine. The submarine is an undersea vessel. It sometimes does its deadly work in the dark, like stabbing in the back. Germany used submarines to destroy merchant ships, sometimes without giving the people on board a chance for their lives.

The *Lusitania*, a fine British passenger ship, was the victim of a swift torpedo from a lurking submarine, May 7, 1915. The side of the great vessel was torn wide open and in a few minutes she sank to the bottom. Nearly 1200 people were lost and more than a hundred of them were Americans.

The whole country was shocked at this act, causing the death of many men, women, and children who had no concern in the war. President Wilson moved deliberately. He felt a responsibility that the private citizen cannot feel. Carefully he prepared a note to Germany stating in substance that if war was to be prevented between the two countries, Germany must disavow the sinking of the ship and promise no more to attack unarmed passenger ships without giving the passengers a chance to save their lives. Germany did not disavow the act, but she made the promise, on certain conditions.

Submarine Campaign. — Germany later decided to institute a ruthless submarine campaign, to torpedo all merchant vessels as well as warships, armed or unarmed, within a certain zone around her enemies. In January, 1917, she gave notice to the United States of her decision.

What did Germany mean by this course? Her object was to win the war by starving the English. She would hem in the British Isles on every side and send to the bottom of the sea all ships that might bring food to her great enemy.

But what of the United States? Germany had withdrawn her promise and defied us. Perhaps she thought we would not fight. We had been preaching peace for a hundred years and had just elected a President on the slogan, "He kept us out of war." It was well known that we could not possibly put a large army into the field in less than a year. Within that year

Germany hoped to starve England into submission, and if in the meantime we should attempt to send soldiers across the sea, she would send them to the bottom by the submarine.

The truth is, the United States had tremendous war power and was ready to use it without further hesitation. Germany made the crowning blunder of her career when she goaded the United States into war against her.

War Declared on Germany. — On receiving the notice of the submarine campaign, President Wilson dismissed the German ambassador from Washington, recalled ours from Berlin, armed our merchant ships, and waited for something to happen. He had not long to wait. In the following weeks several American ships became victims of the submarine.

Then on April 2 the President read to Congress his war message. He said among other things: "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted on the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make."

Four days later Congress declared war on the German Empire. The rejoicing among the Allies in Europe was great and enthusiastic. The armies of Great Britain and France and Italy were jaded and worn and when a revolution in Russia took that country out of the war the greater need was felt for aid from the western world.

III. A YEAR OF PREPARATION

It was a gigantic task to put the country on a war footing. We had young men, the best of soldier material, millions of them, but they had to be organized and trained and drilled for months before they were ready for service in the field. We had boundless material with which to build ships and airplanes, but it was for the most part still in the mines and in the forests.

A Democratic People. — We became busy, very busy. Never

had any nation shown such dynamic energy, such amazing activity. We are a democratic, self-governing people, with no royal house or aristocratic class to keep tab on our time or to direct our energies. Often we are indolent and we leave many things undone that we ought to do. But we have great reserve power and at a time of national crisis we are capable of rising to great heights of efficiency. Nothing brought out this fact so fully as the World War.

Registration. — Sixteen soldier camps were erected within a few months, each a city in itself capable of housing 40,000 men. June 5, 1917, was set as the day of registration. All young men from 21 to 31 were required to register and the total footed up 9,586,508 men. At a later date all other men between 18 and 45 were required to register and the grand total was 23,456,021.

Great numbers of these were not fitted for service in the field. Only the strongest and the fittest were chosen through the selective draft for the training camps.



Keystone View Co., Inc.

HOG ISLAND

A great shipbuilding plant near Philadelphia. Notice the railroads and the cranes for handling the materials for construction.

Shipbuilding. — In shipbuilding our country broke all records. Our sixty-one old shipyards and more than a hundred newly built ones were soon in operation day and night. The greatest of these was at Hog Island, Philadelphia, where 35,000 men were employed.

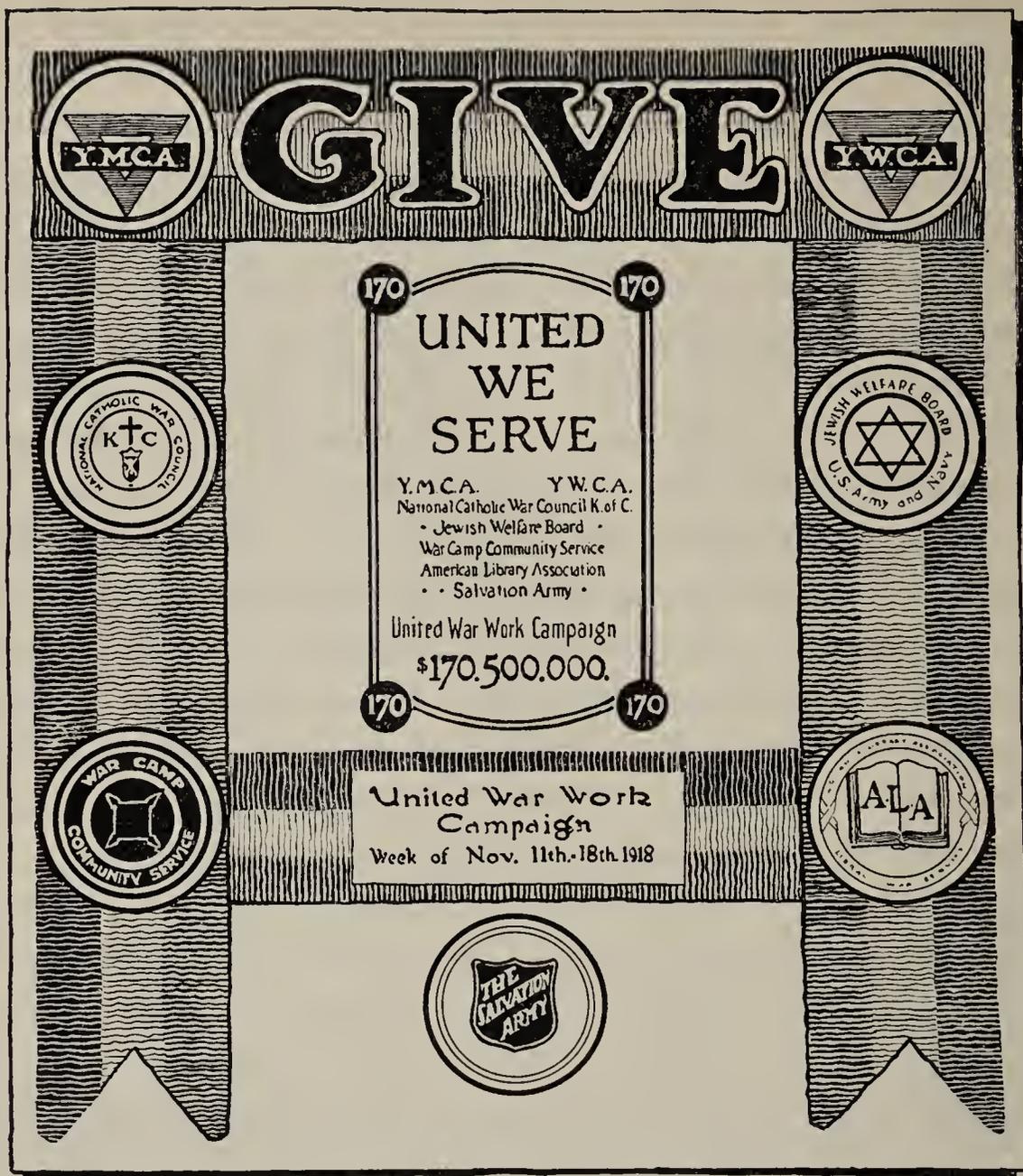
The government also voted \$640,000,000 for building aircraft.

Food Administration. — The Allies wanted all the men we could send them, but more immediately they wanted food. A Food Administration was created under Herbert C. Hoover, who since 1914 had been managing Allied relief abroad. He appealed to the people individually to save food. Housewives everywhere responded by observing "wheatless days" and "meatless days." Men, women, and children planted "war gardens." The farmers increased their production of wheat by about twelve per cent. By 1918, the United States doubled the amount of food sent to Europe before the war.

Fuel and the Railroads. — Another war necessity was fuel. Under the Fuel Administration "Heatless Mondays" were instituted (for a short time) for offices and unessential industries. "Gasless Sundays" were observed, saving about a million barrels of gasoline. The output of mines and wells was stimulated. In order to speed up the transportation of war necessities, the railroads were taken over temporarily by the government and were managed by William G. McAdoo as director.

Liberty Bonds. — Money for the war was furnished in two ways. One third of it was raised by taxation but the rest was obtained mostly by the sale of Liberty Bonds. Nearly every one could buy at least one bond and many millions did. Children were induced to save by the sale of "thrift stamps."

The Red Cross. — The work of relief for the stricken people of Europe, and various activities for promoting the well-being of the soldiers, were undertaken by the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, and other organizations. Women and children gave up their leisure time to roll



UNITED WAR WORK POSTER

bandages, make hospital supplies, and prepare outfits for the children of Belgium and France who had been driven from their homes by the invading Germans.

IV. CROSSING THE ATLANTIC

Our Boys. — The young men in the training camps had to undergo several months of severe drilling before embarking for the foreign battlefields. All sorts of men were to be found in the training camps. During the Civil War a man drafted into the service might hire a substitute to go in his place; but no such practice was permitted in the World War. The son of the mil-

lionaire might rub elbows with the lad from the farm, from the mines, or from the factory; the college graduate with the man who could not read.

Great numbers of the young soldiers were just out of high school or were college students or college graduates. But an astonishing proportion of the others could not read or write. We never knew before what an illiterate people we were.

Crossing Sea. — After a few months in the camps the young men were sent in train loads to the eastern seaboard, there to embark upon the rolling Atlantic. The people often gathered in thousands at the stations as the "troop trains" rolled in, cheering the young soldiers and handing them dainties through the car windows.

On reaching the eastern ports they embarked in transport ships which were sent in squadrons, guarded by swift patrols and submarine destroyers. Very few of our soldiers were lost at sea.

The voyage was a great experience for most of the boys. Very few of them had ever crossed the ocean and hardly any of them had ever been in battle. This indeed was the great adventure of their lives. On reaching France they were not sent immediately to the battle front. They were obliged to go through another course of training of several months, usually under French officers.

Rejoicing in London and Paris. — The first installment of our troops reached France in June, 1917. Some of them were sent by way of England and when they marched through the streets of London the people were wild with enthusiasm, and the same was true when the first detachments marched through the streets of Paris. The French and British had been fighting with their backs to the wall, as they put it, and without the aid of America there was serious danger that they would be defeated in the end. But here at last were the American soldiers, and they were coming in ever-increasing numbers. No wonder the people rejoiced.

*Keystone View Co.*

AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE

Troops and supplies were moved quickly with automobiles. Metal helmets were worn for protection against shell fire.

As the months passed what was at first a small rivulet grew larger until it became a mighty river. By midsummer, 1918, our soldiers were landing in France at the rate of 300,000 a month. Most of them were carried in American vessels or in British vessels. By the end of the war two million of our men were on French soil and an equal number were in training at home.

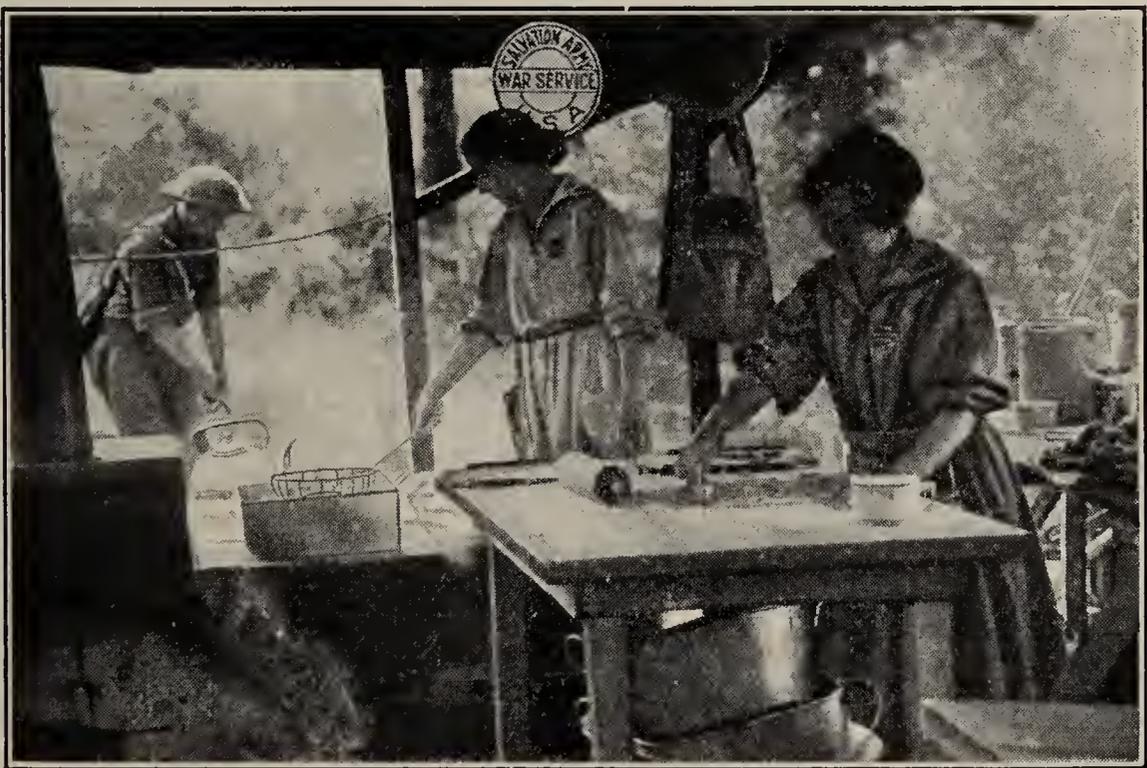
V. THE LAST YEAR OF THE WAR

As the spring of 1918 opened Germany saw that the Americans were coming in alarming numbers, saw too that if she were to win the war, it must be done quickly. Germany decided, therefore, to make a mighty drive through France, the greatest ever known in warfare, and capture Paris. She was well prepared for such a move. To her great army on the western front hundreds of thousands of veterans were brought from Russia, where they were no longer needed, and great stacks of munitions, mountain high, had been gathered during the winter for this colossal assault. It began on the 21st of March.

The Greatest Battle in History. — For some days it seemed that this grand assault would be successful. After a tremendous artillery fire the German legions pressed forward wave on wave, day after day for two weeks, on a front of fifty miles. The Allies retreated slowly, fighting day and night. Our battle of Gettysburg or Antietam or Spotsylvania was a mere skirmish in comparison with this colossal conflict, the battle of Pic'ardy, the greatest clash of arms in the history of the world.

After pressing the Allies back for twenty-five miles, with an appalling loss of life on both sides, the Germans were halted. Then on April 9 another drive was launched, farther north, and still another on May 27. The Germans were striving to split the French and English armies asunder and through the gap thus made to make a dash upon Paris. But they were getting farther from their base of supplies, their best troops were being slaughtered by thousands, and the Americans were coming by hundreds of thousands to the rescue of the Allies.

Foch and Pershing. — General Ferdinand Foch (fōsh) had been made chief commander of all the Allied armies. And

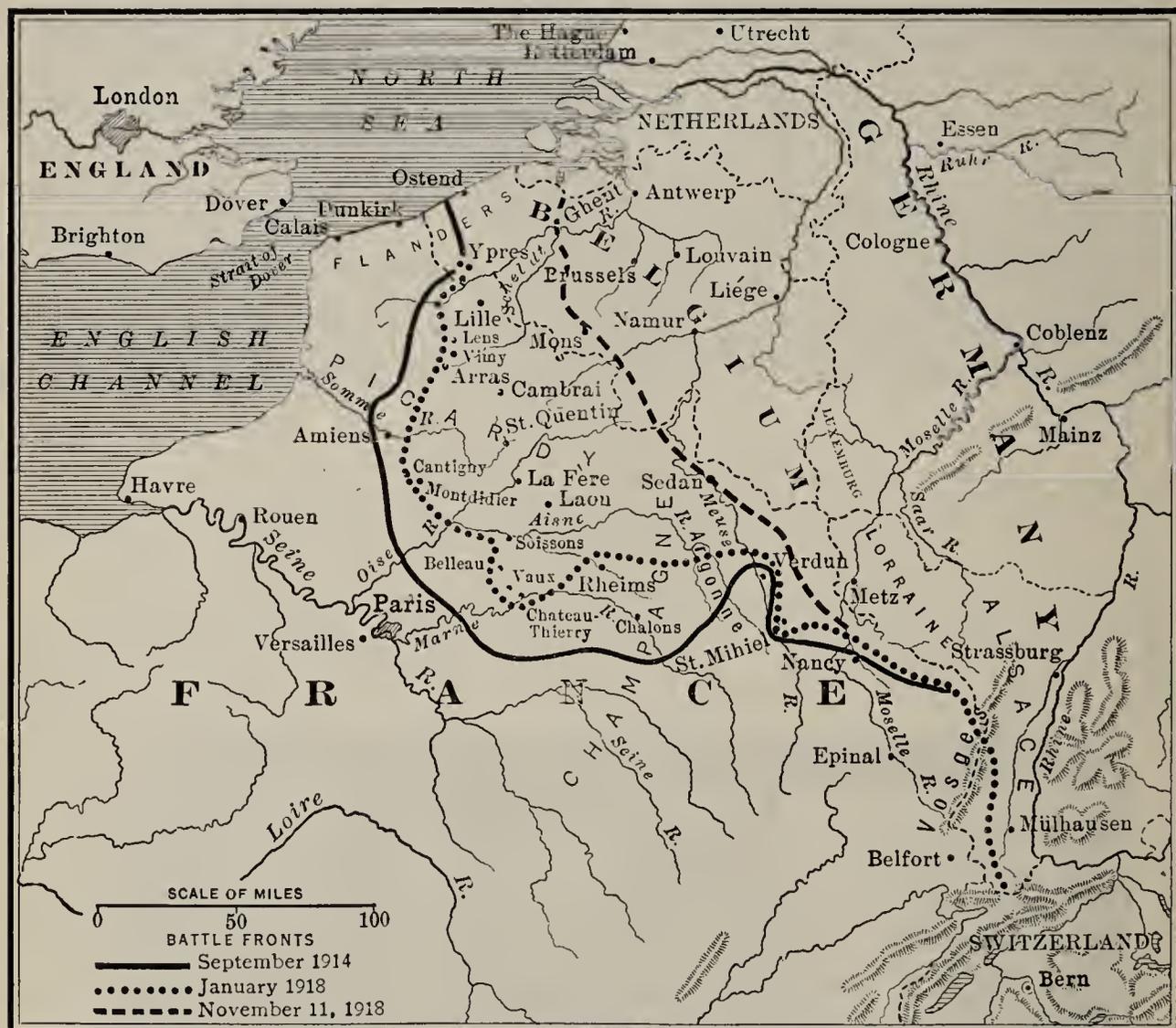


U.S. Official Photograph

SALVATION ARMY WORKERS MADE DOUGHNUTS FOR AMERICAN
SOLDIERS IN FRANCE

General John J. Pershing, commander of the American forces, put at his disposal the entire American army.

At Château-Thierry (shà-tō' tyâr-rē') on the banks of the Marne, May 31, the Americans fought like veterans and won the highest praise from the French and the English. A few



BATTLE FRONT IN FRANCE.

days later they made a desperate assault at Belleau Wood and won a complete victory.

The Germans were slow to believe that the Americans had arrived in such numbers as to render any effective service to the Allies. One captured German officer refused to believe that he and his men had been defeated and captured by Americans. When at last convinced he burst into tears and cried, "Woe to the Fatherland, we are lost!"

War on the Sea. — Let us take a glance over the sea. The British fleet had control of the ocean almost from the beginning of the war. The submarines were the only menace; but by the end of the year 1917 it was known that the submarine campaign was a failure. The Germans had failed to starve out England, had failed to prevent our soldiers from crossing the Atlantic, and though they destroyed many vessels, their victims were growing fewer week by week.

An American fleet under Admiral William S. Sims had reported for duty in British waters scarcely a month after we declared war. Being asked when he would be ready for action, he replied, "We are ready now. We made our preparations on the way over." From this time our fleet coöperated with the British fleet and, aided by swift destroyers, depth bombs, and mines, the united fleets soon had the submarine menace under control.

War in the Air. — Let us now take a glance into the sky. Former wars were fought on the ground and on the water. In this war fighting took place under ground and under the sea and in the air. The last type is the most picturesque and romantic of all the features of the World War.

Far above the battle lines the airplanes circled and soared like gigantic birds — dropping bombs or taking photographs of the enemy's position, or fighting death duels with their antagonists above the clouds. Nothing is more daring in human warfare than fighting in airplanes. Armed with a machine gun the young aviator would soar above the trees in search of an enemy on the same mission. The two would then circle around, dart above or beneath, each watching an opportunity to pour in a deadly volley. At length one would succeed and the other would drop to the earth amid the flaming wreckage of his plane.

At the mighty battle of Picardy hundreds of airmen hovered above the roaring battle lines, many of whom were Americans, fighting with all the desperation of the great armies below them. After two or three days the German aircraft weakened and at length were driven away entirely.

The Great Counter Drive. — On the western battle front the Germans had been fought to a standstill by the middle of July. Their last great assault was fruitless. They had passed the acme of their power and were many miles from their base of supplies, while the Allied army with the American legions pouring in was growing stronger every day.

On July 18 General Foch made his first great offensive movement and the enemy was pressed back for several miles. He then ordered attacks and advances at one point after another, giving the enemy no rest day or night. The Germans gave way slowly and steadily, retreating day by day, until by the end of August they had lost all the ground they had gained since the opening of their great drive in March.

St. Mihiel. — At St. Mihiel (săN-mē-yěl') the Americans won a magnificent victory. In the Meuse (mûz) Valley near Verdun the Germans had held for four years a great wedge-shaped section of 200 square miles, which the French had repeatedly tried in vain to capture. In August, 1918, a separate American army of half a million men had been formed. This army was launched under General Pershing against St. Mihiel on September 12 and in two days the whole section was cleared of Germans, 16,000 of whom had been made prisoners.

Battle of the Meuse-Argonne. — The next great battle fought by the Americans was begun in the Argonne (ăr-gôn') Forest and is known as the Meuse-Argonne battle. It was the greatest battle in American history, far surpassing any battle in the Civil War. It began on September 26 and continued forty-seven days, engaging a million American soldiers, but not more than one third of that number at one time.

It was the general opinion of the English, French, and Americans that the great final drive upon the enemy and the close of the war would come in the spring of 1919. It came half a year earlier because of the result of the battle of the Meuse-Argonne.

In that great conflict the American army drove the enemy from a splendidly fortified territory of many hundred square

miles, forests, hills, ravines, and rugged slopes, the most difficult battleground in France. In the face of booming artillery and deadly machine gun fire the Americans, aided by a small number of French, pressed on day after day. They reached the historic town of Sedan' and the main railroad over which the German army secured its supplies.



IN THE BATTLE OF THE ARGONNE

American troops advancing with Browning machine guns, firing 400 shots per minute.

Germany Asks Peace. — During the progress of the battle of the Meuse-Argonne there was great activity throughout the whole battle line. Blow on blow was dealt by the Allies, and the Germans retreated at all points. Germany saw that the war was lost; her allies had all sued for peace and on November 6 Germany asked President Wilson to help bring about an immediate cessation of hostilities. He answered that he and the Allies were ready to treat with the German people, but not with the Kaiser and the militarist party which had brought on the war.

Then came an upheaval in Germany. The men of the navy refused to obey when ordered out to attack the British fleet; the people in many cities broke into riot and demanded peace at any price. The Kaiser saw that it was all over and he fled

into Holland. The German commanders were ready to sign an armistice to stop hostilities, yielding the victory to their enemies.

The armistice was signed on November 11, at eleven A.M. — the eleventh hour of the eleventh day of the eleventh month — and the great guns, that for more than four years had been roaring day and night, now ceased to roar and silence reigned from end to end of the long battle front.

VI. COST AND RESULTS OF THE WAR

Cost in Men. — The cost of the World War in human life and treasure was appalling, even to America, though we were in the conflict only nineteen of the fifty-two months that it covered. In fact it was only during the last three or four months of the war that our men were engaged on a large scale. Of the 2,000,000 men sent to France about 1,390,000 were actually engaged in battle. And of this number about 36,000 were killed in battle or died of wounds, while about 16,000 died of disease and other causes. There is in the Argonne Forest a great cemetery, in which the bodies of 30,000 American soldier boys were laid, which has been proclaimed forever American soil.

The seriously wounded numbered about 180,000, many of whom are cripples for life. Our government grants them good pensions and gave to many of them vocational or college training.

Cost in Money. — The cost of the war in money reached colossal figures. Some of the countries of Europe were almost bankrupted. The United States spent in the war more than twenty billion dollars and our national debt at the close of the war was twenty times as great as at the beginning. Our expenses averaged a million dollars an hour and were sufficient in the aggregate to have carried on the Revolutionary War for a thousand years.

In addition to all this, we loaned the Allies nearly ten billion dollars. This was not all in money, but mostly in credit for supplies sent to them, amounting to 7,500,000 tons.

The Fall of Empires. — The war brought the overthrow of

three great empires — Germany, Austria, and Russia. It gave birth to Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, and a few smaller nations, and it gave rebirth to Poland. It dismembered the Turkish Empire and released Palestine from the rule of the Mohammedans.

The Peace Conference met in Paris in January, 1919, and after a labor of several months it brought forth the Treaty of Versailles (vĕr-să'y'), so called because the formal sessions were held in that town, which is not far from Paris.

President Wilson went to Paris and became one of the chief framers of the treaty, especially the portion of it known as the covenant of the League of Nations.

The League of Nations. — The chief purpose of the League of Nations is to preserve the peace of the world in the future by settling disputes in friendly conference. The league acts through a Council, a small body representing ten nations (including Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan), and an Assembly in which all the member nations are represented. The league has created a World Court which sits at the Hague to decide international disputes submitted to it. The seat of the league is Geneva, Switzerland, where the permanent Secretariat occupies a great hotel overlooking the beautiful Lake Geneva.

When President Wilson returned and in July laid the matter of the treaty, including the league, before the Senate, there was strong opposition and after many months of debate it was rejected by that body. Nearly all the nations of the world (except Russia, Germany, Mexico, and the United States) became members of the league within a few years.

The League of Nations has prevented several small wars, and has done much toward bringing about better labor and sanitary conditions in various countries. It has published more than 700 treaties, has grappled with the international opium traffic, and has been the instrument in settling several national boundary disputes. The creation of the League of Nations is one of the great events of modern times.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. Why did Russia interfere in the quarrel between Austria and Serbia? Why did Germany then step in? What brought Great Britain into the war? What is meant by the neutralization of Belgium? What was the importance of the battle of the Marne?

II. What concern had we in the sinking of the *Lusitania*? What was Germany's object in her submarine campaign? Why could we no longer honorably remain neutral?

III. Describe our registration in 1917; our shipbuilding. How did the people at home help to win the war?

IV. Describe the camp drilling; crossing the Atlantic; drilling and preparing in France.

V. What can you say of the greatest battle in history? Why was the appointing of a chief commander an important move? Where did the Americans first make a record? Describe war on the sea; in the air. Describe the Meuse-Argonne battle. Why did the Germans ask for peace? What is an armistice?

VI. What did the war cost us in men? in money? What is the purpose of the League of Nations? Write an essay on what it has done. (See library.)

Events and Dates. — Outbreak of the war, July–Aug., 1914. British efforts to prevent it. American entrance into the war, 1917. The battle of Picardy, 1918. The Armistice, Nov. 11, 1918. The League of Nations.

Further Reading. — FOR THE TEACHER: Numerous histories of the World War have appeared, a few of which should be in the school library. Among the best are McMaster, *The United States in the World War*, two vols.; Davis, *Roots of the War*; Palmer, *America in France*; Sims, *The American Navy in the War*; Bogart, *Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War*. The teacher should also have access to a collection of documents published by the various nations, many of which may be found in the New York Times' *Current History of the European War*.

For a view of the German side, the Memoirs of Ludendorff and of von Tirpitz.

For the Peace Conference, Baker, *What Wilson Did at Paris*; Archer, *The Peace President*; Thompson, *The Peace Conference Day by Day*.

FOR THE PUPIL: McKinley, Coulomb, and Gerson, *The World War*.

CHAPTER XXXIX

HARDING AND COOLIDGE

I. THE ELECTION OF 1920

The presidential campaign of 1920 was a most interesting and exciting one, a bloodless battle of the ballots to determine which of the two great parties should control the country during the next few years. The Democrats had made a fine record; they had conducted the war activities efficiently. But the credit was due to all the people and not solely to the party in power.

The Republicans had gained control of Congress two years before and they were hopeful of 1920; especially so since the great popularity of President Wilson had suffered an eclipse, which naturally included the party of which he was the acknowledged leader.

The National Conventions. — Each of the great parties had several men of presidential size to choose from. The Republican convention came first, June 8, at Chicágo. It nominated Senator Warren G. Harding of Ohio. For Vice President the convention chose Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts.

The Democratic convention met in San Francisco. After casting many fruitless ballots it named James M. Cox, governor of Ohio, for the first place on the ticket, and for second place it chose Franklin D. Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and a distant relative of the late Theodore Roosevelt.¹

The Socialists nominated Eugene V. Debs, at that time serving a prison term for opposing some of the war measures of the government. A new party called the Farmer-Labor party chose as its standard bearer Parley P. Christenson of Utah. Each of

¹ Ex-President Roosevelt died in 1919. President Wilson suffered a stroke of paralysis in 1920, and died in 1924.

these parties cast many votes, but neither carried any state in the election.

Election of Harding. — Long before the election the tide seemed to have set irresistibly toward Harding and Coolidge. The result was as generally expected. The Republican victory was sweeping, what is called a landslide; Harding's plurality over Cox reached the colossal figure of 7,000,000.

There were several causes for this. For the first time in a presidential election the women voted. They were perhaps divided between the parties about the same as the men, but their vote greatly swelled the grand total. The big vote for Harding was a vote for a change; it was a protest against President Wilson, who had dominated the Democratic party for eight years. Many Germans came out for Harding because they believed Wilson had been unfriendly to the Fatherland while at Paris. Many Italians voted for Harding because Wilson had offended their nation by his stand on the question of Fiume; and many Irish voted against the Democrats because the administration had not pronounced for an Irish republic.

The question most discussed in the campaign, however, was the League of Nations, which the Democrats favored. Most of the Republicans opposed it, but many others were in favor of the League, including such men as former President Taft, Elihu Root, Charles E. Hughes, and Herbert Hoover.

The Cabinet. — The first great and difficult task of the new President was to choose the right men for his Cabinet. The great questions growing out of the war — the swollen national debt, the methods of taxation, the caring for disabled soldiers and many other things — would require the utmost skill of the strongest men. With few exceptions Mr. Harding chose men of national eminence who enjoyed the confidence of the country. Two or three of these must be noticed.

The first and most important position in the Cabinet is that of Secretary of State, who has charge of foreign relations. The President was applauded on all sides when he chose Charles E.

Hughes, former justice of the Supreme Court, twice governor of New York, and Republican candidate for President in 1916. For the Secretary of Commerce with world-wide duties in connection with our trade relations, the President chose Herbert Hoover. For Secretary of the Treasury a famous Pittsburgh banker and financier, Andrew W. Mellon, was selected.

Another important appointment by President Harding was that of ex-President William H. Taft to be Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Taft is the only man who has held the two highest offices in the country.

II. PRICES AND INDUSTRIES; THE DOINGS OF CONGRESS

Prosperity. — The World War greatly disturbed the business of all countries, those that were not engaged in the war as well as those that were. In this country, as in others, prices rose enormously, for two reasons: First, the government demanded great quantities of supplies, food, clothing, and other things, regardless of cost; and second, it took millions of men from the mines and factories and farms, not only to serve in the army, but also to manufacture munitions, and thus too few were left to produce enough to supply the usual demand. The scarcity of goods caused prices to soar, and the scarcity of men had the same effect on wages. The people were lavish in spending money; merchants found it no trouble to get high prices for whatever they had to sell.

Such inflation of prices and such high wages seemed to indicate a season of great prosperity. But thoughtful persons know that such prosperity is artificial and temporary. A crash is sure to come sooner or later. War conditions continued a year or more after the coming of peace, as great movements are slow and as it required a year to get the soldiers back from France. Then came the reaction; the pendulum swung back.

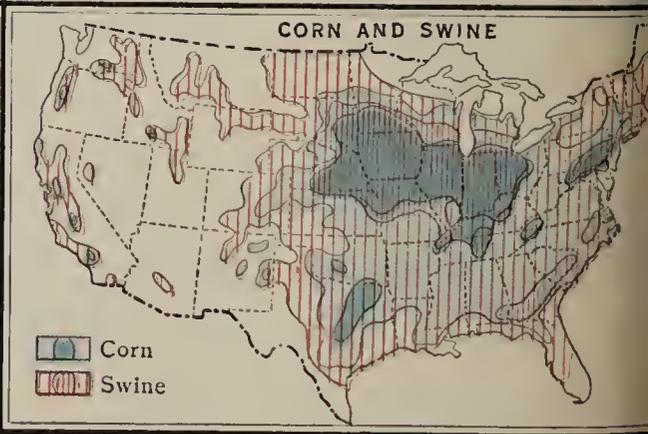
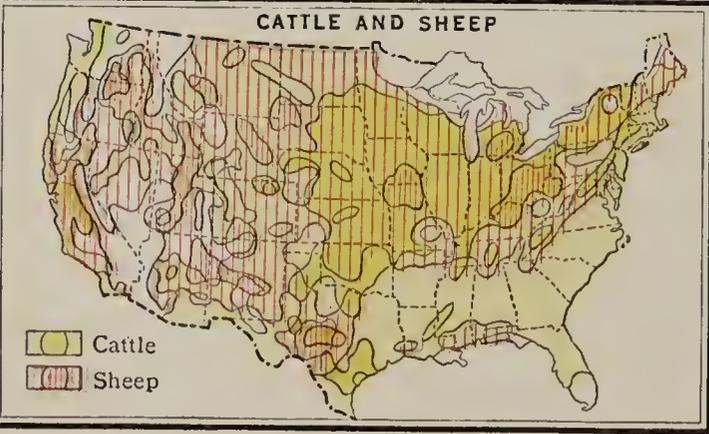
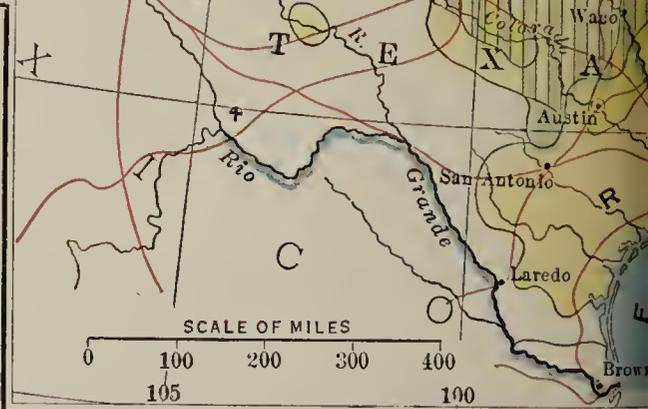
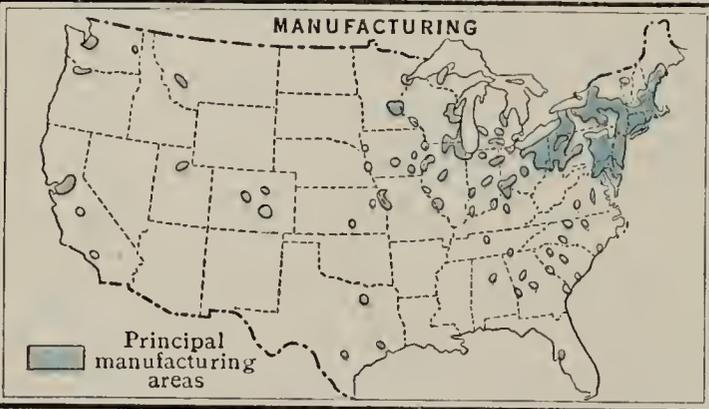
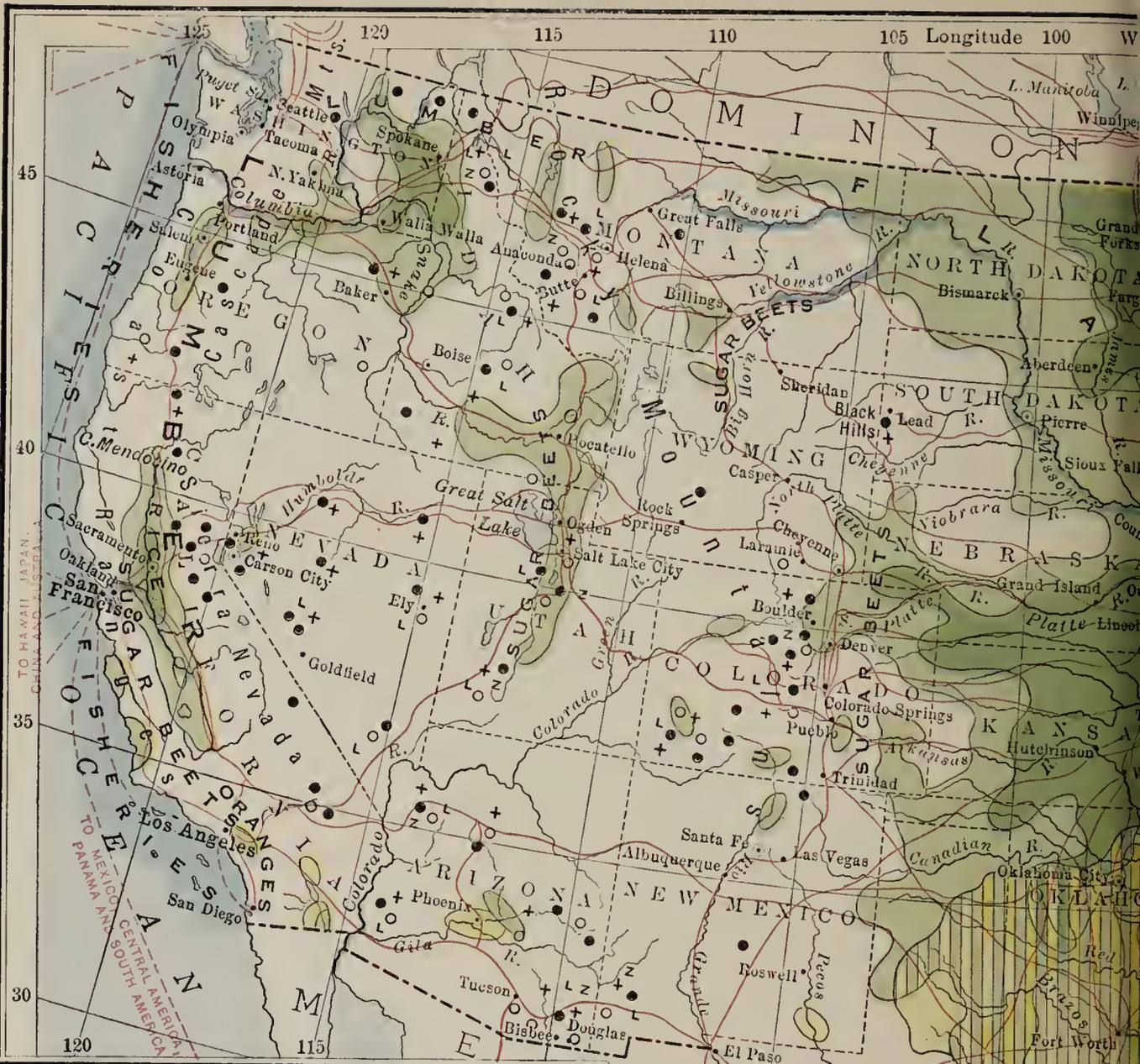
Depression. — When millions of men were released from the army and when the munition factories were closed, the labor world was overcrowded and wages had to fall. With the fall

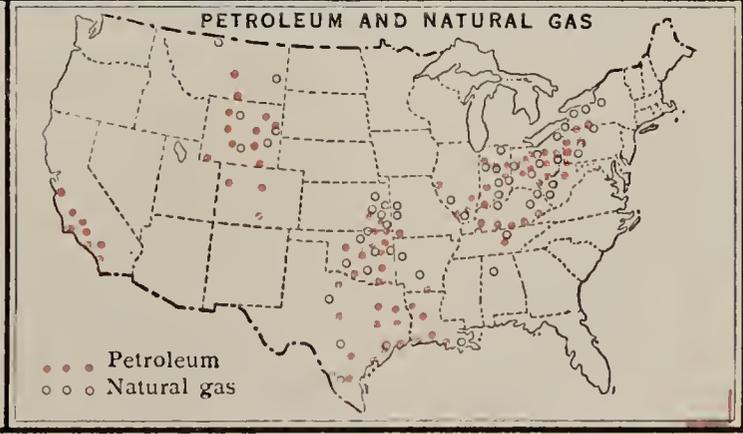
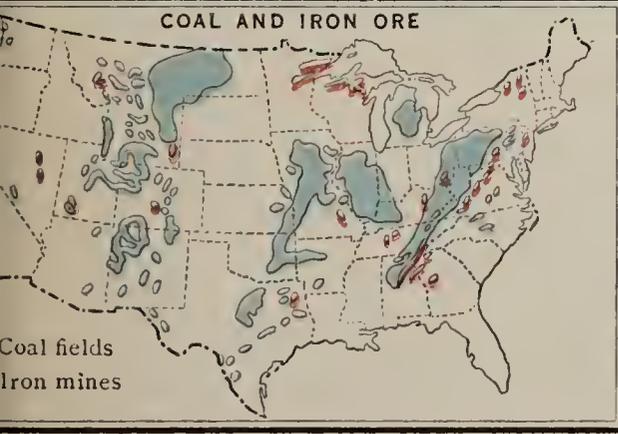
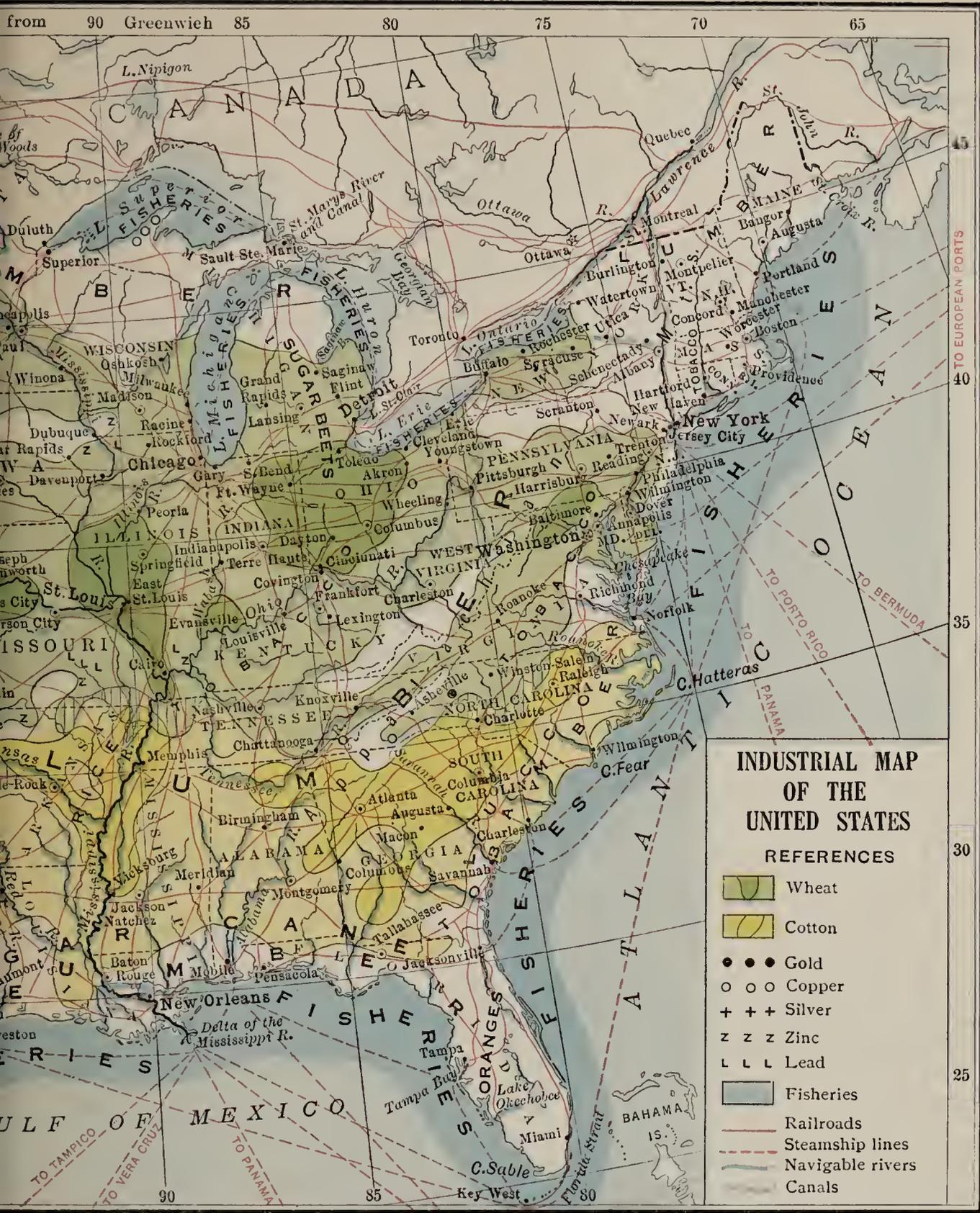
in wages, and even before, came the fall of prices. The people had been extravagant in buying regardless of price. Now they swung to the opposite extreme; they stopped buying more than was necessary. Merchants had on their hands great stocks of goods that they could not sell. They ceased to order more from the factories, and many of the factories were obliged to shut down. Large numbers of men were thrown out of employment. In the fall of 1921 it was estimated that six million men in the United States were out of employment. The stagnation in business continued on through the winter and spring. Conditions became somewhat better by the summer of 1922, and by the following year industry had reached a normal stage. Prices and wages have fallen since the war, but both remain higher than they were before the war.

Questions before Congress. — President Harding called Congress to meet in extra session on April 11, 1921. The purpose was to revise the tax laws, to make peace with Germany, to enact a new tariff, and to discuss the question of a soldiers' bonus. After a year had passed most of these matters still hung fire in Congress.

Peace with Germany and Austria was made by joint resolution of the House and Senate, which was signed by the President on July 2, more than two and a half years after the war had actually closed. A little later brief treaties of peace were made with these countries.

Relief for Russia. — One of the finest things this Congress did was to vote twenty million dollars for the relief of the starving people of Russia. A famine in that land had reduced many millions of people to the verge of starvation, and America, always ready to aid the distressed, was among the first to rush to the rescue. Several shiploads of food supplies were soon speeding across the Atlantic and by the first of October, 1921, thousands of tons were available for the suffering Russians. But for American aid on a large scale, many thousands of peasants would have starved.

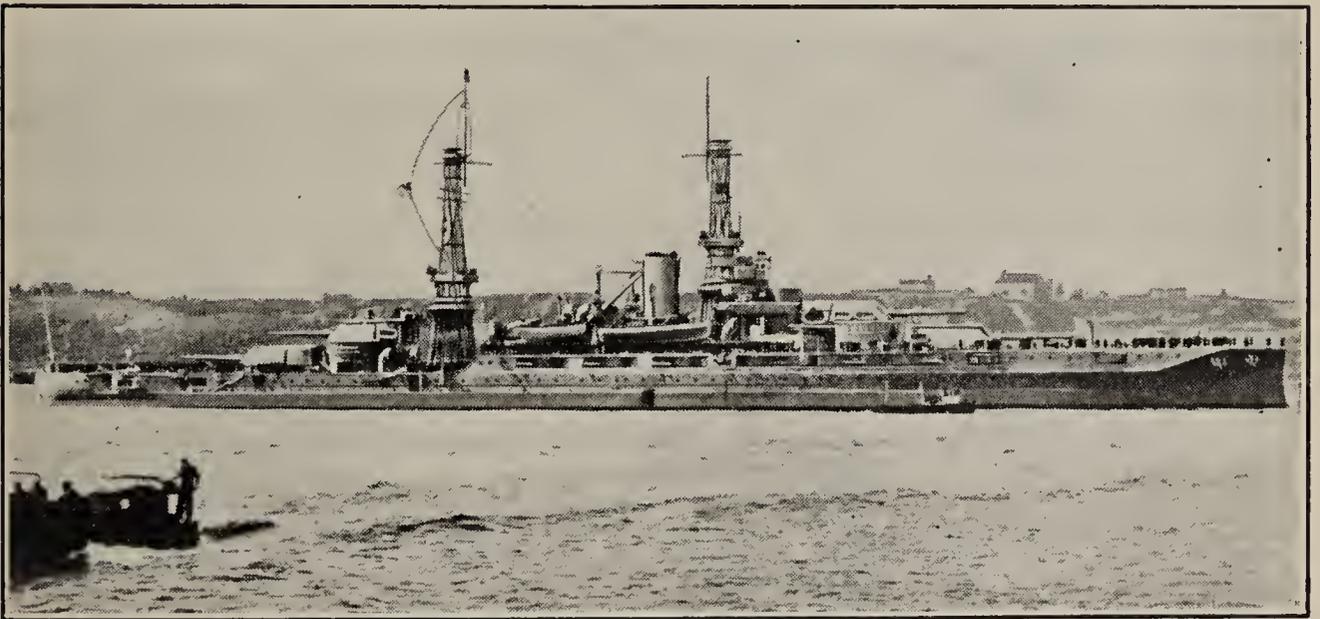




Fordney Tariff. — In June, 1921, Mr. Fordney, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, introduced a permanent tariff bill in the House, to take the place of a temporary tariff that had been passed in the spring. It raised the duties to an average even higher than the average of the Payne-Aldrich tariff that had been enacted while Taft was President. After more than a year's consideration it was made law.

III. THE ARMS CONFERENCE

The Washington Arms Conference, sometimes called the Naval Disarmament Conference, met in Washington on November 12, 1921. It had been called by President Harding the preceding July. Nine nations took part and were represented by their leading statesmen. Harding appointed four well-known public men to represent this country, led by Secretary of State Hughes. The others were Elihu Root of New York and United States Senators Underwood and Lodge.



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U. S. BATTLESHIP, *PENNSYLVANIA*

Reduction of Navies. — On the first day of the sessions Secretary Hughes, who was made permanent chairman, astonished the country and the whole world by proposing a drastic reduction of the navies by the three great naval powers — the United States, Great Britain, and Japan.

Would England agree to such a program? She had been supreme on the sea with slight exceptions since the days of Queen Elizabeth; Japan was building new battleships and rapidly enlarging her naval strength. The United States had, in 1916, planned for a great navy, and more than \$300,000,000 had already been spent on it.

The Hughes proposal called for the immediate abandonment of all capital-ship building and for the scrapping of those under construction, also for the scrapping of many older vessels. The plan would reduce the naval program of the United States by nearly 850,000 tons. It would reduce the British program 600,000 tons, and would leave both navies at equal strength in capital ships, 500,000 tons. Japan's strength in capital ships was to be reduced to 300,000 tons.

This remarkable proposal was applauded by the people of the world, including the English, who seemed to be willing to give up their proud title as "mistress of the seas." Japan at first demurred at the proportion awarded her, but later agreed to it.

The Four-Power Treaty. — Then came the "Four-Power Treaty" concerning the islands of the Pacific Ocean. This was made by the three above-mentioned powers and France, and without this treaty the whole disarmament scheme would have fallen flat. The reason was this: For nearly twenty years there had been an alliance between Great Britain and Japan and while this existed it would have been dangerous for the United States to reduce its navy, lest the two allies at some future time should join against us. The Four-Power Treaty canceled the Anglo-Japanese alliance and left the way open for the reducing of the navies.¹ It provided that each of the four

¹ The Four-Power Treaty was signed by the delegates of the four great powers on Dec. 13, 1921. The naval reduction treaty, which came to include France and Italy and was called the Five-Power Treaty, was signed on Feb. 1, 1922. Both treaties went into effect when ratifications were completed, in August, 1923. France and Italy agreed to a proportion of $1\frac{3}{4}$ each as compared with 3 for Japan and 5 each for the United States and Great Britain, in strength of capital ships. Other ships such as cruisers, torpedo boats, and submarines are not affected by the treaty and the British navy remains the strongest in the world.

powers should respect the rights of the others in the Pacific, and that if any dispute should arise, it should be submitted to a conference of all the four powers.

These treaties are to stand for ten years and of course it is hoped that the principles they embody are to be permanent.

Far Eastern Problems. — Other important world questions were disposed of by the Arms Conference. It settled the American-Japanese dispute over the far-away Pacific island of Yap; it provided for the sovereignty of China, and for the “open door” in that country, thus realizing the dreams of John Hay; and it outlawed the use of poison gas in war and forbade the destroying of merchant ships by submarines without warning.

What the Conference accomplished will prove to be of great importance, not only in lowering the tax burdens of the people, but especially in shaping the world’s public opinion for peace and in fostering international friendship.

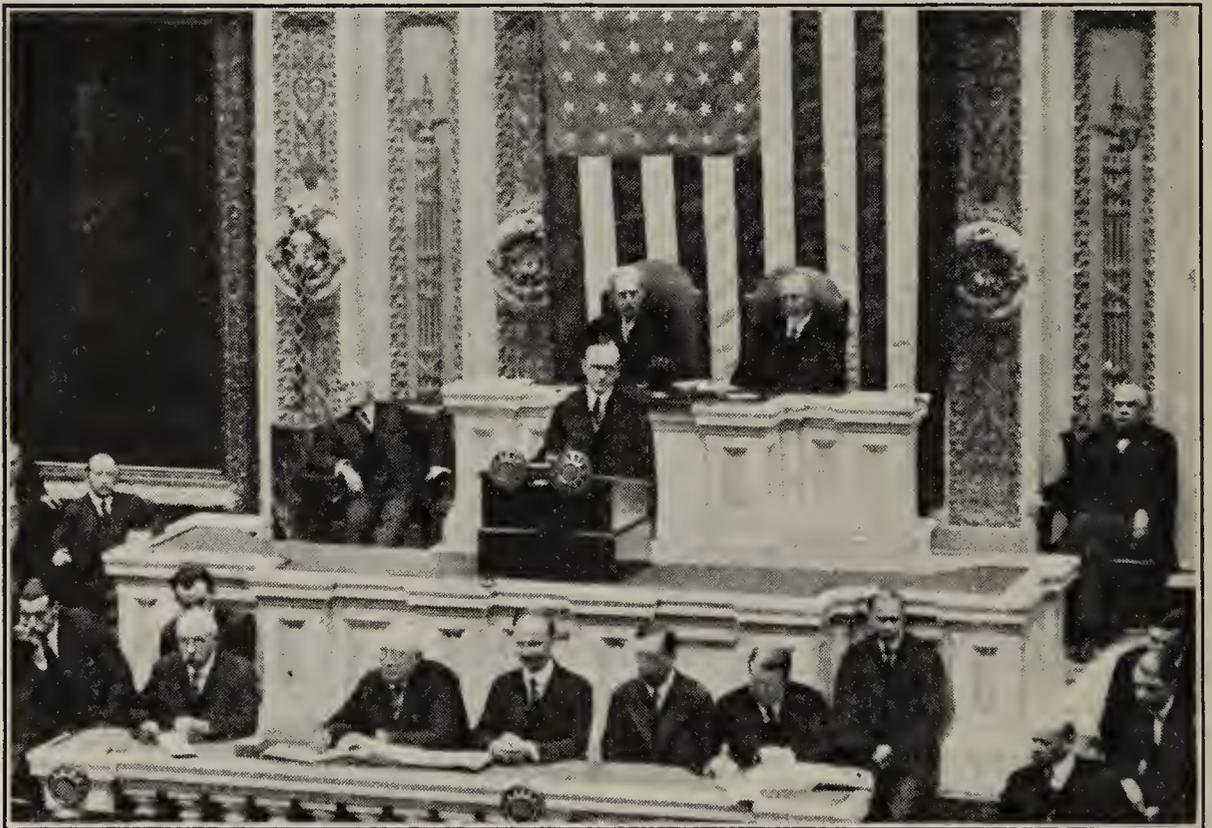
A World Court. — One project for promoting peace was the establishment of a world court, created by the League of Nations in September, 1921. The court sits at the Hague in the Netherlands and consists of eleven judges. One of the first judges chosen was an American citizen, John Bassett Moore, and the decisions of this court will interest us as well as those who are members of the League. President Harding during the spring and summer of 1923 strongly urged that the United States become a member of the World Court.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF CALVIN COOLIDGE

Death of President Harding. — In the summer of 1923 Harding made a journey to Alaska, — the first of our Presidents to visit that territory. On his way across the continent he was greeted with an enthusiastic welcome by great crowds in various cities, and made many speeches to the people. On the return journey he was taken ill at San Francisco, and died August 2, 1923. Party differences were forgotten, and the whole people mourned as the funeral train passed sadly across the

continent to the capital, and a few days later to the dead President's home city, Marion, Ohio.

After Harding's death, Vice President Calvin Coolidge took the oath of office and became President of the United States. He was visiting the home of his childhood at the time, the farm on which he was born in Vermont, and the oath was administered by his own father. The new President retained the entire Cabinet of President Harding, and took up the duties of his great office with the encouragement of many expressions of confidence from people and newspapers of both the great parties.



Brown Bros.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE ADDRESSING CONGRESS IN 1923

Notice the microphones. This was the first time a President's message to Congress was broadcast.

Tax Reduction. — Congress passed some very important laws during the winter. One of these was a new tax law. It provided for the reducing of the income tax, the reductions applying more especially to the small taxpayer. This law also reduced by one fourth the income taxes of the preceding year, 1923.

The Bonus Bill. — The matter of providing a bonus for the soldiers and sailors of the World War was taken up by Congress

in the early summer of 1921. By a bonus is meant the payment of a certain sum to the men who served in the war at a very low salary while those who remained at home received high wages and in other ways had opportunities to make money.

Why should not the young men who had given up their positions and offered their lives in their country's cause be presented with at least a dollar for each day they were in the service? — so argued the friends of the bonus, and at first the project was popular. But such a bonus would mean about four billion dollars out of the treasury, and the bonus bill passed by Congress in 1922 made no provision for raising the money. Harding therefore vetoed it and it failed to repass over his veto.

The arguments against the bonus were by no means to be despised and a great many of the soldiers themselves opposed the measure: (1) The young men who returned from the war without wound or blemish were of all classes the least in need of aid from the treasury. (2) For the government to try to compensate the men for their patriotic service with a little money payment to each would cheapen such service. It would place a money value on that which ought to be above all price. It would rob the young men of much of their pride in having served their country in a great cause for a high-born principle.

For those who were wounded in the war or disabled in any way, the case is different. The government is spending more than a million dollars a day for this purpose and the people all agree that only justice is being done.

In 1924 Congress passed a new bill, giving most of the soldiers and sailors of the World War a bonus in the form of a paid-up insurance policy. President Coolidge vetoed this bill, but it was passed over his veto by a two-thirds majority of each house of Congress, and thus became a law.

Immigration. — For many years immigrants from Europe were encouraged to come and help settle our vast and sparsely settled country. But when their number had increased to more than a million a year, a demand arose for the restriction of

immigration. Laws had already been passed barring from our shores paupers, convicts, criminals, insane persons, and anarchists. Measures passed by Congress to provide a literacy test for immigrants were vetoed by Taft and by Wilson. At length, however, in 1917, a bill excluding illiterates was passed over Wilson's veto and became a law. It provides that aliens over sixteen years of age who are unable to read the English language or some other shall not be permitted to land. Later, in Harding's administration, a law was passed (May, 1921) providing that the persons from any country admitted in one year should not exceed three per cent of the number from that country already here in 1910. Finally, in 1924, a law was passed providing that the number of immigrants coming to America from any country of the Old World shall be limited



FOREIGNERS AT NIGHT SCHOOL.

One of the great duties that lie before us is to "Americanize" aliens within our boundaries. A nation-wide movement for this purpose has been put under way, and by means of night schools and in various other ways aliens are being taught English (reading and writing), the history of our country, and many important things about our customs and our government.

to two per cent of the number from that country already here in 1890. The law exempts from the quota the wives and children of naturalized citizens and it provides for applying tests for fitness on the other side of the Atlantic. It excludes all immigrants of the brown and yellow races, including Japanese, except students, tourists, and the like.

Electing a President. — Again in 1924 the country was called on to elect a President, as it has been every fourth year since the founding of the government.

The Republican convention was the first to meet. It assembled in Cleveland, Ohio, June 10, and nominated President Coolidge for another term in the White House. General Charles G. Dawes of Chicago was named for the vice presidency.

The delegates from Wisconsin, however, refused to accept the Republican candidates and platform. Some time later they, with delegates from other states, met in the same city and nominated Senator Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin for President. For Vice President Burton K. Wheeler, a Democratic senator from Montana, was chosen.

The Democrats held their convention in the city of New York. It was the most long-drawn-out convention in the history of the country, covering more than two weeks. The leading names for about a hundred ballots were William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, and Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York. Then came a break and John W. Davis, former ambassador to Great Britain, was chosen. For second place Charles W. Bryan, governor of Nebraska, was named.

The two great parties, Democratic and Republican, agreed in their platforms at several points, among which were the favoring of our joining the World Court and the enforcing of the prohibition laws; but they disagreed on the tariff and many other things. La Follette, who called his party "Progressive," pronounced for changes in the power of the Supreme Court and called for laws for the benefit of farmers and laborers in many lines.

The campaign was for the most part clean and dignified. All the six candidates except President Coolidge made extensive speaking tours and met many thousands of the people. Still greater numbers heard their speeches by radio.

The election, November 4, gave Coolidge and Dawes a large majority in the electoral college, 382, to 136 for Davis and 13 for La Follette. Congress for the two years following March 4, 1925, was given a Republican majority in each house. Congress passed a law, signed by the President on February 28, 1925, increasing the pay of postal employees and raising the postal rates on some kinds of mail. The Senate on March 13 ratified the treaty ceding the Isle of Pines to Cuba, after the subject had hung fire for twenty-seven years.

Among the unusual features of the election of 1924 were the choosing of two women as state governors, — the first in our history to hold this office, — Mrs. Nellie T. Ross of Wyoming and Mrs. Miriam Ferguson of Texas; and the election of two northern Democratic governors, each of whom ran ahead of his ticket by nearly a million votes. These were A. V. Donahey of Ohio and A. E. Smith of New York.

Secretary of State Hughes having resigned from the Cabinet, Frank B. Kellogg of Minnesota, ambassador to Great Britain, was appointed to fill the vacancy, and took office March 4.

The inauguration of President Coolidge on March 4 was attended by a vast crowd, and his address was carried by means of the radio to all parts of the country, — the first inaugural address thus broadcast.

SIDE TALKS

The Unknown Soldier. — A solemn and impressive scene that stirred the feelings of the whole country was the burial of the Unknown Soldier in the Arlington Cemetery near Washington, on November 11, 1921, three years after the Armistice was signed, and one day before the meeting of the Arms Conference at Washington.

Among the Americans who lost their lives in the World War thousands belonged to the class marked Unknown. Their bodies were never identi-

fied. One of these, as a type of all, was taken from the battlefield and brought to America as the Unknown Soldier. The casket in which the body lay was sealed and was not opened to public gaze. Who he was, whether white or black, no one knows. Every mother who lost a son whose remains were never identified could believe that possibly the Unknown was her own son — and this belief she may fondly cherish as long as she lives.

The body was brought to Washington and for two days it rested in the great rotunda of the Capitol, enwrapped in the folds of the star-spangled banner for which the hero had laid down his life, and engulfed in banks of rare and beautiful flowers. Here for two days, from morning till night, the people passed in a continuous stream to view the casket. Now and then a woman of middle age would burst into tears before the casket, perhaps break down altogether, and linger until tenderly led away by the officials on guard. Perhaps in each case she was a mother of one who had been lost across the sea, an Unknown.

On November 11, a great procession followed the casket through the city, led by the President of the United States on foot and the members of his Cabinet, with former President Wilson following in a carriage. At beautiful Arlington across the Potomac, in the great rotunda of white marble, the most impressive ceremonies were held. The body was then laid to rest in the cemetery where thousands of soldiers have slept since the days of the Civil War.

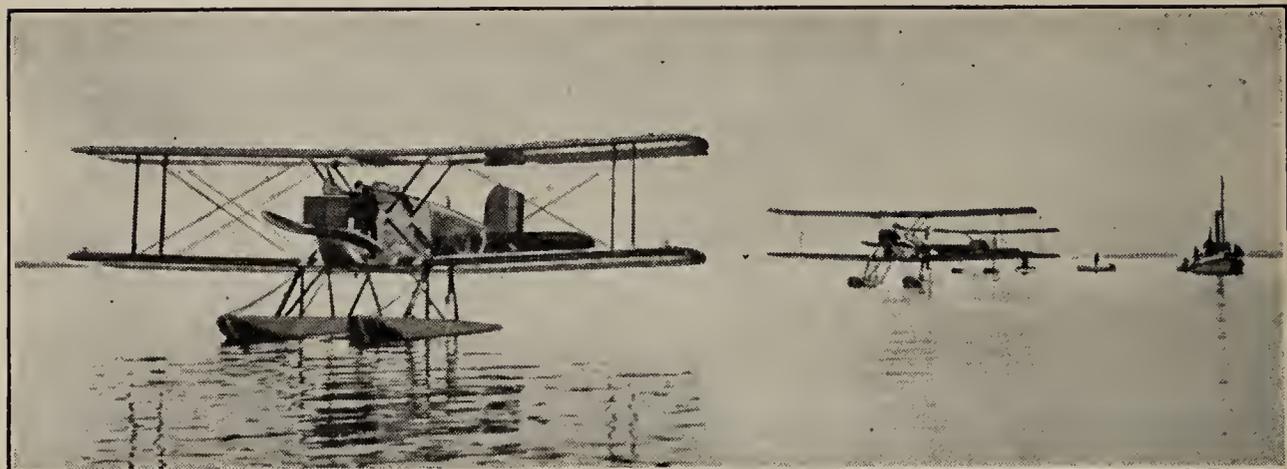
Thus the American people paid their last tribute of gratitude, the only thing they could give, to the memory of the heroic dead who gave their lives in their country's cause.

Airplane Flights of 1924. — A record-breaking airflight that attracted much attention was the voyage of the ZR₃ (the *Los Angeles*) from Germany to the United States (p. 504).

Earlier in the same year, 1924, came a round-the-world flight by American aviators in the service of the United States army — one of the most notable events of many years. On April 6, four planes with 400-horse-power engines started from Seattle on the long journey. Two of them succeeded in circling the globe, returning to the starting point 175 days later.

The route began by skirting the coast of Alaska and from there the flyers crossed the northern Pacific to Japan. This part of the trip will never be forgotten by the men who made it. They encountered high winds and fierce snowstorms, and at times the fog was so dense that they could scarcely see the tips of their machines. From Japan they crossed China and swung southward to India. It was now midsummer and the heat of southern Asia was stifling. They entered Europe by way of Constantinople, crossed

to Paris and London, and made their way to North America by way of Iceland and Greenland.



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AMERICAN ARMY AIRPLANES AT AN ENGLISH HARBOR DURING THEIR FLIGHT AROUND THE WORLD

For long parts of the flight, the planes were equipped with pontoons for alighting in water, in place of the wheels which they had for flights over the land.

LESSON HELPS

Questions and Topics. — I. How do you account for the overwhelming Republican victory in 1920? What was the chief question in the campaign? Give an account of the new Cabinet.

II. Account for the prosperity of the country after the war. What caused the sudden business depression? Describe the Fordney Tariff.

III. Why did President Harding propose an Arms Conference? What did it accomplish? What is meant by a World Court?

IV. What was the bonus of 1924? Why was it voted? What are the present restrictions on immigration?

For Further Reading. — To keep abreast of passing events, teacher and pupil must consult, in addition to the daily newspapers, such current periodicals as *The Review of Reviews*, *World's Work*, *Current History*, *The Outlook*, *The Literary Digest*, and *The Independent*.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

[From the Constitution in the Department of State, except the headings in bold-faced type, which are inserted for the reader's convenience]

Preamble. We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, 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. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. Congress

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. House of Representatives

1. **Term; how chosen.** 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. **Qualifications.** 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. **Apportionment of representatives and direct taxes.** 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, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.¹ 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 State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose 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.

4. **Vacancies.** When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. **Officers; impeachment.** The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

¹ Modified by the 14th and 16th Amendments.

SECTION 3. Senate

1. **Senators; term.** The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen [by the legislature thereof]¹ for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. **Classification.** 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.]²

3. **Qualifications.** 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. **President of Senate.** The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. **Other officers.** The Senate shall choose 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. **Trial of impeachments.** 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 case of conviction.** 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. Both Houses

1. **Regulation of elections.** The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2. **Meeting of Congress.** 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. The Houses Separately

1. **Admission of members; quorum.** 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. **Rules of proceeding.** Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. **Journal.** 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

¹Superseded by the 17th Amendment.

²Superseded by the 17th Amendment.

any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. **Adjournment.** 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. Compensation, Privileges, and Disabilities of Members

1. **Pay and privileges of members.** 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. **Holding other offices prohibited.** 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 increased 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. Method of Making Laws

1. **Revenue bills.** 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. **How bills become laws.** 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. **The President's approval or disapproval (veto power).** 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. Powers Granted to Congress

1-17. **Enumerated powers.** 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense 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 offenses 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 prescribed 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, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and
18. **Implied powers.** 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.¹

SECTION 9. Powers Denied to the United States²

- 1-6. **Prohibitions on Congress.** 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.
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.
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.

¹ The so-called "Elastic Clause" of the Constitution.

² For other powers denied to the United States, see Amendments 1 to 10.

7. **Public money, how drawn.** 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. **Titles of nobility prohibited.** 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.

SECTION 10. Powers Denied to the States

1. **Absolute prohibitions on the states.** No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. **States not to levy duties.** 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 control of the Congress.

3. **Other prohibitions on the states.** 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.

ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. President and Vice President

1. **Executive power; term of President.** 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. **Electors.** 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.

Former method of electing President and Vice President.¹ [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 choose by ballot 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 choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation

¹This paragraph is superseded by the 12th Amendment.

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 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 choose from them by ballot the Vice President.]

3. **Time of elections.** The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4. **Qualifications of the President.** 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. **Provision in case of the President's disability.** 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's salary.** 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. **Oath of office.** 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. Powers of the President

1. **Military powers; reprieves and pardons.** 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 offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. **Treaties; appointments.** 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.

3. **Filling vacancies.** 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. Other Powers and Duties

Messages; extra sessions; receiving ambassadors; execution of laws. 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. **Impeachment of President and other Officers**

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. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. **Federal Courts**

Judicial power; judges. 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 behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. **Powers and Jurisdiction of United States Courts**

1. **Federal courts in general.** 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;¹—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. **Supreme Court.** 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. **Rules respecting trials.** 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. **Treason**

1. **Treason defined; evidence necessary.** Treason against the United States, shall consist only in 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. **How punished.** 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.

¹The 11th Amendment restricts this clause to apply only to suits by a state against citizens of another state.

ARTICLE IV. RELATIONS OF THE STATES

SECTION 1. Interstate Credit to Acts, Records, and Court Proceedings

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. Duties of States to States

1. **Privileges of citizens of states.** The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. **Extradition.** 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. **Fugitive slaves.** No person held to service or labor 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 labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.¹

SECTION 3. New States and Territories

1. **New states, how formed and admitted.** 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. **Power of Congress over territory and property.** 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. Protection to the States

Republican government; protection against invasion and rebellion. 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 be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How the Constitution may be amended. 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 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 that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

¹This clause was practically superseded by the 13th Amendment.

ARTICLE VI. SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. **Validity of debts recognized.** 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.

2. **Supreme law of the land.** 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, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. **Official oath.** 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. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

When the Constitution should go into effect. The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in 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.

(Signed also by thirty-eight other delegates, from twelve states.)

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

ARTICLES I-X¹. BILL OF RIGHTS

ARTICLE I

Freedom of religion, speech, the press, and of assembly and petition. 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

Right to bear arms. 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

Quartering of troops. 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.

¹The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

ARTICLE IV

Protection against search. 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.

ARTICLE V

Grand jury; protection in criminal trials; security of life, liberty, and property. 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 offense 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

Protection in criminal trials. 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 defense.

ARTICLE VII

Trial by jury in civil cases. 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 reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

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

ARTICLE IX

Reserved rights. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

Reserved powers. 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.

ARTICLE XI¹. STATES NOT TO BE SUED BY CITIZENS

Amendment to Article III, Section 2, Clause 1. 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.

¹ Adopted in 1798.

ARTICLE XII¹. ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

Amendment to Article II, Section 1, Clause 2. 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.

ARTICLE XIII². ABOLITION OF SLAVERY**SECTION I**

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 XIV³. PROTECTION OF CITIZENS, ETC.**SECTION I**

Citizens and their rights; security of life, liberty, and property. 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.

¹ Adopted in 1804.² Adopted in 1865.³ Adopted in 1868.

SECTION 2

Apportionment of representatives. 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

Loss of political privileges. 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

Public debts. 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, 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 XV¹. NEGRO SUFFRAGE

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 XVI². INCOME TAXES

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.

¹ Adopted in 1870.

² Adopted in 1913.

ARTICLE XVII¹. DIRECT ELECTION OF SENATORS

Amendment to Article I, Section 3, Clauses 1 and 2. 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.

ARTICLE XVIII². PROHIBITION

SECTION 1

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX³. WOMAN SUFFRAGE

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 sex.

SECTION 2

Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

¹ Adopted in 1913.

² Adopted in 1919, effective in 1920.

³ Adopted in 1920.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

NO.	PRESIDENT	STATE	BORN	DIED	TERM OF OFFICE	ELECTED BY	VICE PRESIDENT	STATE
1	George Washington.....	Virginia.....	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789-1797.....	Whole people....	John Adams.....	Massachusetts
2	John Adams.....	Massachusetts.	1735	1826	One term; 1797-1801.....	Federalists.....	Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia
3	Thomas Jefferson.....	Virginia.....	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801-1809.....	House of Rep. { Republicans..}	Aaron Burr.....	New York
4	James Madison.....	Virginia.....	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809-1817.....	Republicans..	George Clinton.....	New York
5	James Monroe.....	Virginia.....	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817-1825.....	Republicans..	Elbridge Gerry.....	Massachusetts
6	John Quincy Adams...	Massachusetts.	1767	1848	One term; 1825-1829.....	House of Rep.	Daniel D. Tompkins..	New York
7	Andrew Jackson.....	Tennessee.....	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829-1837.....	Democrats...	John C. Calhoun.....	South Carolina
8	Martin Van Buren.....	New York.....	1782	1862	One term; 1837-1841.....	Democrats....	John C. Calhoun.....	South Carolina
9	William H. Harrison...	Ohio.....	1773	1841	One month; 1841.....	Whigs.....	Martin Van Buren.....	New York
10	John Tyler.....	Virginia.....	1790	1862	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1841-1845	Whigs	Richard M. Johnson...	Kentucky
11	James K. Polk.....	Tennessee.....	1795	1849	One term; 1845-1849.....	Democrats....	John Tyler.....	Virginia
12	Zachary Taylor.....	Louisiana.....	1784	1850	1 yr. and 4 mos.; 1849-1850..	Whigs.....	George M. Dallas.....	Pennsylvania
13	Millard Fillmore.....	New York.....	1800	1874	2 yrs. and 8 mos.; 1850-1853..	Whigs	Millard Fillmore.....	New York
14	Franklin Pierce.....	N. Hampshire.	1804	1869	One term; 1853-1857.....	Democrats....	William R. King.....	Alabama
15	James Buchanan.....	Pennsylvania..	1791	1868	One term; 1857-1861.....	Democrats....	John C. Breckinridge..	Kentucky
16	Abraham Lincoln.....	Illinois.....	1809	1865	One term and 1 mo.; 1861-1865	Republicans..	Hannibal Hamlin.....	Maine
17	Andrew Johnson.....	Tennessee.....	1808	1875	3 yrs. and 11 mos.; 1865-1869	Republicans	Andrew Johnson.....	Tennessee
18	Ulysses S. Grant.....	Illinois.....	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869-1877.....	Republicans..	Schuyler Colfax.....	Indiana
19	Rutherford B. Hayes..	Ohio.....	1822	1893	One term; 1877-1881.....	Republicans..	Henry Wilson.....	Massachusetts
20	James A. Garfield.....	Ohio.....	1831	1881	6 months and 15 days; 1881...	Republicans...	William A. Wheeler....	New York
21	Chester A. Arthur.....	New York.....	1830	1886	3 yrs. 5 mos. 15 das.; 1881-85	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur.....	New York
22	Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1837	1908	First term; 1885-1889.....	Democrats....	Thomas A. Hendricks..	Indiana
23	Benjamin Harrison.....	Indiana.....	1833	1901	One term; 1889-1893.....	Republicans...	Levi P. Morton.....	New York
24	Grover Cleveland.....	New York.....	1837	1908	Second term; 1893-1897.....	Democrats....	Adlai E. Stevenson....	Illinois
25	William McKinley.....	Ohio.....	1843	1901	One term and 6 mos.; 1897-1901	Republicans..	Garret A. Hobart.....	New Jersey
26	Theodore Roosevelt...	New York.....	1858	1919	One term and 3¼ yrs.; 1901-09.	Republicans...	Theodore Roosevelt...	New York
27	William H. Taft.....	Ohio.....	1857	One term; 1909-1913.....	Republicans...	Charles W. Fairbanks..	Indiana
28	Woodrow Wilson.....	New Jersey....	1856	1924	Two terms; 1913-1921.....	Democrats....	James S. Sherman.....	New York
29	Warren G. Harding.....	Ohio.....	1865	1923	2 yrs. and 5 mos.; 1921-1923	Republicans...	Thomas R. Marshall...	Indiana
30	Calvin Coolidge.....	Massachusetts	1872	1923.....	Republicans....	Calvin Coolidge.....	Massachusetts
							Charles G. Dawes.....	Illinois

THE STATES

STATES	ADMISSION	SOURCE OF NAME	AREA, SQ. MILES	POPULATION, 1920
Delaware	*Dec. 7, 1787	Lord Delaware	2,370	223,003
Pennsylvania	*Dec. 12, 1787	Latin, "Penn's Woods"	45,126	8,720,017
New Jersey	*Dec. 18, 1787	Jersey Island, near England	8,224	3,155,900
Georgia	*Jan. 2, 1788	King George II	59,265	2,895,832
Connecticut	*Jan. 9, 1788	Indian, "Long River"	4,965	1,380,631
Massachusetts	*Feb. 7, 1788	Indian, "At the great hill"	8,266	3,852,356
Maryland	*April 28, 1788	Henrietta Maria, queen of Charles I	12,327	1,449,661
South Carolina	*May 23, 1788	King Charles II	30,989	1,683,724
New Hampshire	*June 21, 1788	Hampshire, England	9,341	443,083
Virginia	*June 25, 1788	"Virgin Queen," Elizabeth	42,627	2,309,187
New York	*July 26, 1788	Duke of York	49,204	10,385,227
North Carolina	*Nov. 21, 1789	King Charles II	54,426	2,559,123
Rhode Island	*May 29, 1790	Isle of Rhodes, in Aegean Sea	1,248	604,397
Vermont	March 4, 1791	French, "Green Mountain"	9,564	352,428
Kentucky	June 1, 1792	Indian, "Meadow land"	40,598	2,416,630
Tennessee	June 1, 1796	Indian, "River with the great bend"	42,022	2,337,885
Ohio	Feb. 19, 1803	Indian, "Beautiful river"	41,040	5,759,394
Louisiana	April 30, 1812	Louis XIV, of France	48,506	1,798,509
Indiana	Dec. 11, 1816	Indian's Ground	36,354	2,930,390
Mississippi	Dec. 10, 1817	Indian, "Father of waters"	46,865	1,790,618
Illinois	Dec. 3, 1818	Indian, "Superior men"	56,665	6,485,280
Alabama	Dec. 14, 1819	Indian, "Here we rest"	51,998	2,348,174
Maine	March 15, 1820	The main land	33,040	768,014
Missouri	Aug. 10, 1821	Indian, "Muddy water"	69,420	3,404,055
Arkansas	June 15, 1836	Indian tribe	53,335	1,752,204
Michigan	Jan. 26, 1837	Indian, "Great water"	57,980	3,668,412
Florida	March 3, 1845	Spanish, "Flowery land"	58,666	968,470
Texas	Dec. 29, 1845	Indian tribe	265,896	4,663,228
Iowa	Dec. 28, 1846	Indian, "Sleepy ones"	56,147	2,404,021
Wisconsin	May 29, 1848	Indian, "Wild rushing river"	56,066	2,632,067
California	Sept. 9, 1850	Name in old Spanish romance	158,297	3,426,861
Minnesota	May 11, 1858	Indian, "Cloudy water"	84,682	2,387,125
Oregon	Feb. 14, 1859	Spanish "Wild sage"	96,699	783,389
Kansas	Jan. 29, 1861	Indian "Smoky water"	82,158	1,769,257
West Virginia	June 19, 1863	Virginia	24,170	1,463,701
Nevada	Oct. 31, 1864	Spanish, "Snow-clad" (mountains)	110,690	77,407
Nebraska	March 1, 1867	Indian, "Shallow water"	77,520	1,296,372
Colorado	Aug. 1, 1876	Spanish, "Blood red" (river)	103,948	939,629
North Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Indian, "Allies"	70,837	646,872
South Dakota	Nov. 2, 1889	Indian, "Allies"	77,615	636,547
Montana	Nov. 8, 1889	Spanish, "Mountainous region"	146,997	548,889
Washington	Nov. 11, 1889	George Washington	69,127	1,356,621
Idaho	July 3, 1890	Indian, "Gem of the mountains"	83,888	431,866
Wyoming	July 10, 1890	Indian, "Large Plains"	97,914	194,402
Utah	Jan. 4, 1896	Indian, "Mountain dweller"	84,990	449,396
Oklahoma	Nov. 16, 1907	Indian, "Red people"	70,057	2,028,283
New Mexico	Jan. 6, 1912	Mexico (Indian name)	122,634	360,350
Arizona	Feb. 14, 1912	Indian, "Silver Bearing"	113,956	334,162

* Date of ratification of the Constitution.

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