

A HISTORY OF
THE PEOPLE
OF THE
UNITED STATES
REVISED EDITION



WADDY THOMPSON



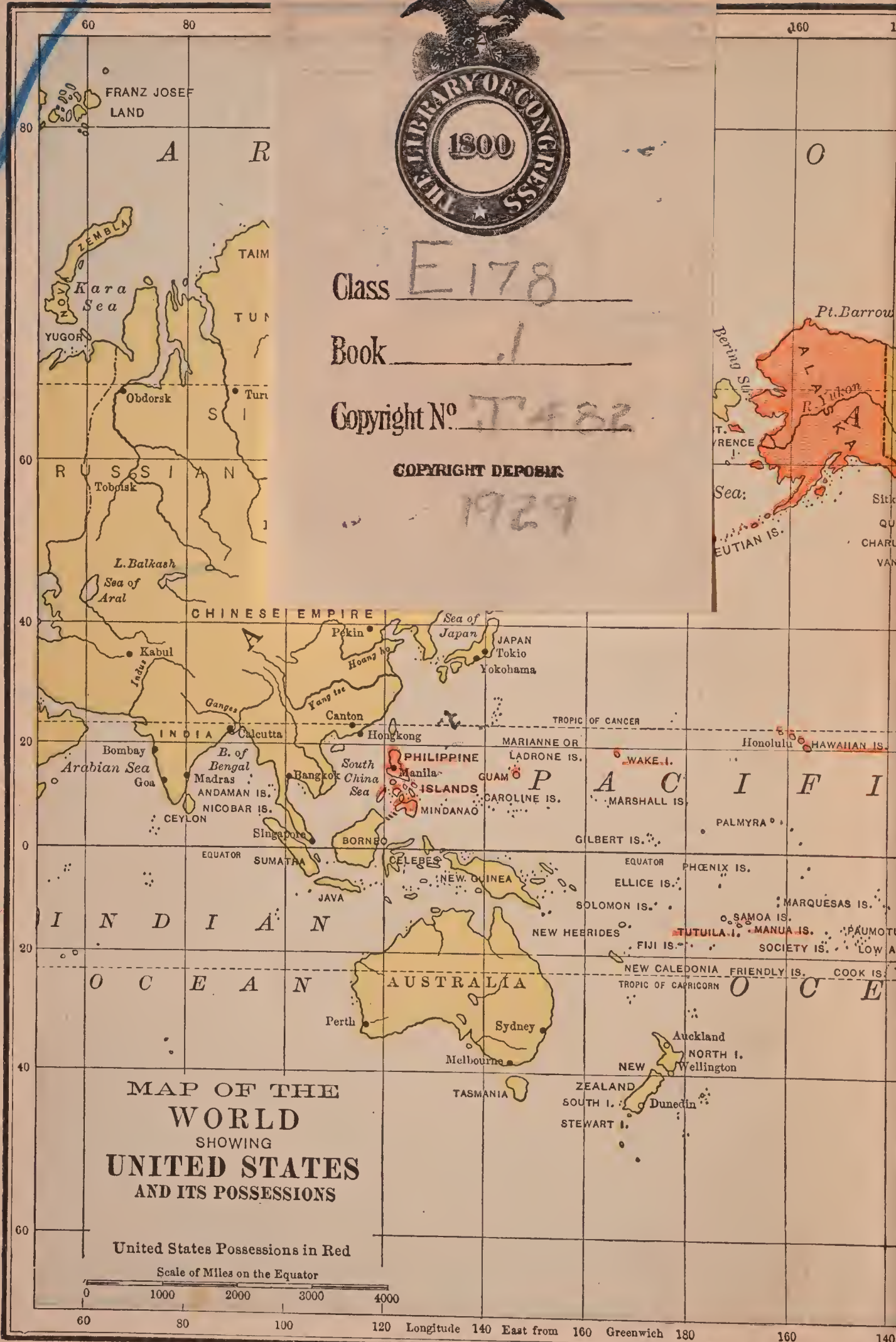
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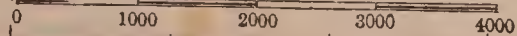
1929



MAP OF THE WORLD
SHOWING
UNITED STATES
AND ITS POSSESSIONS

United States Possessions in Red

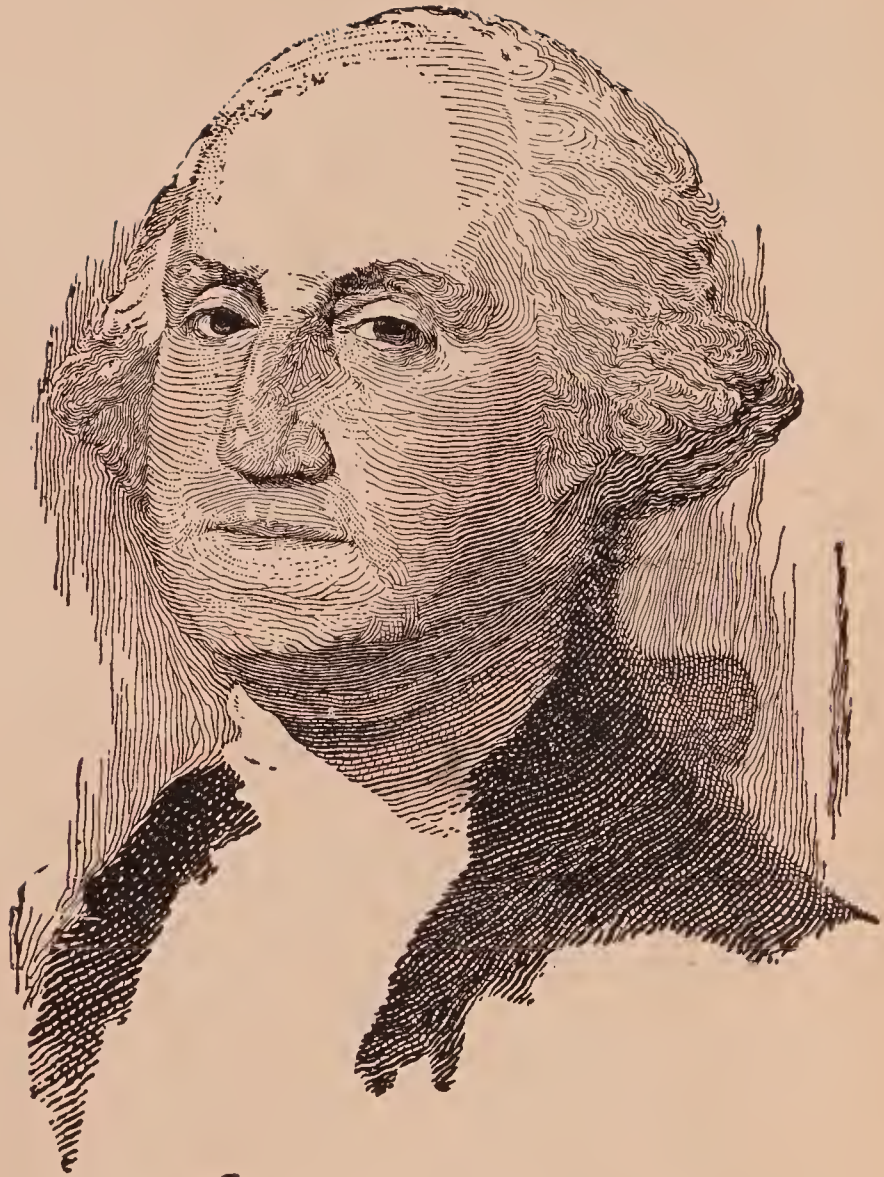
Scale of Miles on the Equator



60 80 100 120 Longitude 140 East from 160 Greenwich 180 160 140



NOTE: United States assumed temporary control of Cuba, 1898



George Washington

A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

WADDY THOMPSON

AUTHOR OF "A PRIMARY HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES" AND "A HISTORY
OF THE UNITED STATES"

REVISED

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PREFACE

THE spirit called Americanism, when lodged in the hearts and minds of our boys and girls, prepares the way for making them more patriotic and more useful citizens. One of the best mediums for imbuing youth with this spirit is found in the study of the history of our country. The tendency has been in the past, however, to treat the subject in a provincial manner, and as a result Americanism has been given too narrow a scope. Upon the minds of the pupils has been left the impression that the United States has grown to greatness isolated from the rest of the world, whereas every phase of our history has been affected, at one time or another, by world conditions.

In the last two decades our relations with other peoples have steadily grown closer. Modern inventions for making communication easy, such as the railroad, the steamboat, and the telegraph, have brought all the world nearer together. Our interests have been carried to other lands, and at the same time a responsibility in the management of world affairs has devolved upon us. The recent cataclysm, having its beginning in Europe yet drawing the United States into its vortex, has swept away any lingering idea that the United States is a country set apart, and has demonstrated that in the future, even more than in the past, the American people must do their share in making the world a fit place to live in. Democracy that has proved its success in the United States must be preserved.

While the viewpoint of this text is essentially American, the author has endeavored to set forth clearly the relations that have existed in the past between the United States and other countries in order that pupils may the better understand the duties and responsibilities of the present and the better meet the problems of the future. In this way alone can the spirit of Americanism be given its broadest scope.

In the treatment of conditions in Europe that led to the World War the author has followed the recommendations of the committee on history of the United States Bureau of Education.

Since the achievements of statesmen and soldiers have not alone made the greatness of the United States, but the uplifting efforts of the mass of men and women who constitute the citizenry have done at least an equal part, the accounts of the political and military phases of our history have been abridged so that the commercial, industrial, and social phases might be given their appropriate share of attention. The text is thus made rather a story of the everyday life of the people.

In preparing the text the author has kept continually in mind the many advantages of the project method in the teaching of history. This method will be found not only in the Project Exercises at the end of the chapters, but constantly in the text itself to show the relation between (1) the various domestic events; (2) foreign affairs and domestic affairs; (3) the several periods of the past; and (4) the present and the past.

For many suggestions that have improved the text the author wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Dr. J. H. T. McPherson, Professor of History in the University of Georgia; Dr. Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., Professor of History in the Louisiana State University, and Mr. M. P. Hunter of the Atlanta public schools. The author was particularly fortunate in having the part of this manuscript relating to the World War reviewed by William L. Nida, Superintendent of Schools, River Forest, Illinois, whose mastery of the details of the great conflict ensures the accuracy of the necessarily brief account.

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A HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER I

FINDING NEW LANDS IN THE WEST

Lack of Geographical Knowledge. — At the time when America was discovered, people were still superstitious and ignorant of many matters. They believed in fairies and witches, in giants, ogres, and other terrible monsters. They knew little of geography except that of Europe, the western part of Asia, and the northern shore of Africa. Sailors knew the use of the compass, but trade by water was confined to the Mediterranean Sea and the European coast of the Atlantic Ocean. The boldest seamen feared to sail farther west than Iceland.¹ They did not know where the broad Atlantic ended. They thought it was filled with monsters and they called it the "Sea of Darkness."

Trade with the East. — Stories of cities of the remote East (India), where there were palaces with roofs and floors made of gold and silver and where precious stones were found in great abundance, were told by travelers and filled men's minds with wonder. Few Europeans had visited the

¹ Icelanders had made settlements in Greenland. Iceland is much nearer to Greenland than to any point in Europe. Icelanders are Norsemen. Their records, or sagas, tell that in 986 A.D. one of their vikings, Eric the Red, made a settlement in Greenland. The colony continued for more than four hundred years and then disappeared. The sagas also state that about the year 1000 Leif Ericson, the son of Eric the Red, visited land southwest of Greenland. Many believe that this land is what we now call New England. However, the discovery never became known over Europe and was almost forgotten by Icelanders themselves. They thought Greenland was a part of Europe.

2 HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

region from which traders brought gold and silver, ivory, diamonds, sapphires and pearls, silks, cashmeres, muslins and spices.

Products from the East were brought overland by caravans to the Mediterranean Sea. In 1365 the Turks had begun to extend their conquests in western Asia and, seizing one



TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST

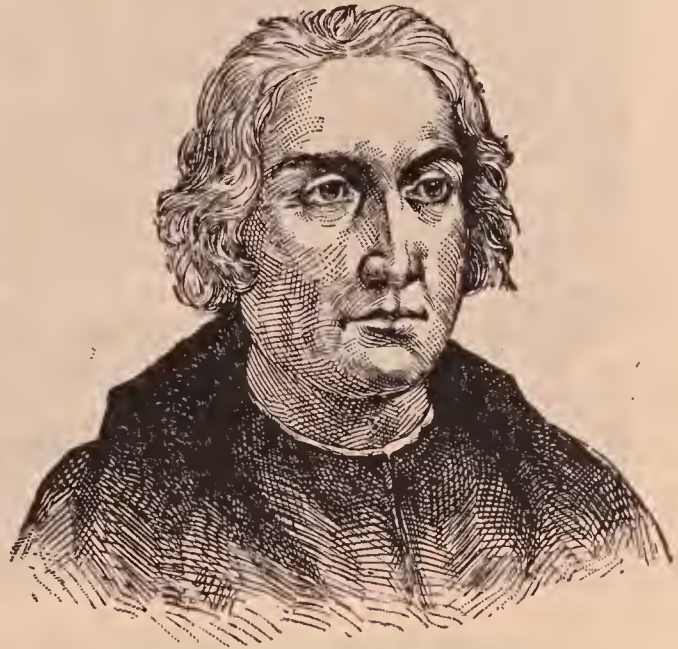
point after another along the routes of trade, threatened to cut off communication between Europe and Asia. The loss of the Eastern trade would have been a calamity to Europe. This danger led men to think of finding an ocean route to India.

A Water Route to India. — In seeking a water route to India effort was first made to sail around Africa. But there were many difficulties to overcome because of the ignorance of geography. It was generally believed that the equator could not be crossed because the heat would be so intense that it would burn up any one who made the attempt. It was also supposed that Africa extended to the end of the world or else was so joined to Asia in the far-off, unknown parts that a ship could not sail to India. But a prince of

Portugal, who was deeply interested in the progress of science and who wished to increase the knowledge of geography by exploration, persevered. He spent so much time and money in sending out expeditions to explore the seas that he was called Prince Henry the Navigator. His seamen pushed their ships farther and farther down the western coast of Africa, and by 1471 the Portuguese had crossed the equator.

Prince Henry's zeal attracted to Portugal many able navigators and geographers, among whom was a young Italian, Christopher Columbus.

The Spirit of Columbus. — Columbus became convinced that the shortest route to India was westward across the Atlantic Ocean. He believed that the world was round, and that by sailing toward the west he would come to the east again. His idea that the world was round was not original, for some of the learned men of ancient time as well as many of the wise men of his own time held the same belief, yet it was still a matter of dispute. Almost all the people thought the world flat; and if told that it was round, they asked how men could walk with their heads down, and how rain could fall upward.



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

After a painting in the Marine Museum,
Madrid

Columbus needed money to buy and equip vessels with which to make a westward voyage to India. Prince Henry had died, so he asked aid of the king of Portugal, who referred the matter to a council of learned men. It did not occur to these men that there might be land, such as the American continent, in the way. They

believed that even if it were possible to reach India by sailing westward, the route would be too long.¹ Nevertheless, the king secretly sent out ships to discover for himself the route suggested by Columbus. The attempt failed, and when Columbus learned of the king's treachery, he at once left Portugal.

Columbus next sought aid from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. These sovereigns were busily engaged in con-



COLUMBUS ASKING THE AID OF QUEEN ISABELLA

After a painting by the Bohemian artist, Vaczlav Brozik

quering Granada, the last stronghold of the Moors in Spain. So they also referred his plan to a council of

¹ In the matter of distance, the learned men were correct. In his argument for the western route Columbus made three errors: (1) He did not allow for another continent's being in the way; (2) he thought the earth much smaller than it is; and (3) he thought that Asia extended farther around the earth than it does. According to his calculations, Japan was in the Atlantic Ocean, and nearer to Europe than are the West Indies. But for these errors, Columbus would very likely never have started on his voyage.

learned men who would not be convinced by his arguments. Through many years he pleaded his cause, frequently suffering poverty as well as the taunts of those who looked upon him as a dreamer. At length, despairing of success in Spain, he was about to set out for France to ask aid of the king of that country, when Isabella consented to consider the matter.

Columbus and Isabella. — The queen and the sailor came to terms. It was agreed that Columbus and his heirs should have the rank of admiral and viceroy of all lands



CARAVELS OF COLUMBUS

After the model shown at the Columbian Exposition,
Chicago, 1893

that he should discover, and that he should receive a part of any profits resulting from his discoveries. The rest of the profits were to go to Isabella who, it is said, pledged her crown jewels in order to raise the money for the expenses of the voyage.

How the People Predicted Failure. — The best ships then in use were small, clumsy, and unfit for any greater purpose than making voyages along the coast. What Columbus planned to do was truly astounding to the men of his time. Even those who shared his belief that the

earth was round could not be sure of it. Some said that he might be wrong, and that if the earth should prove to be flat, the voyage to the end of the world would take so many years that one could hardly hope to get back. Scoffers declared that if the earth were really round, the voyage could not be made, since a ship in going or else in returning must sail uphill. Superstitious men asserted that dragons breathing fire, serpents with many heads, and other terrible creatures swarmed in the Atlantic, and that they would devour any crew that ventured into that unknown sea.

First Voyage of Columbus. — Three ships, called caravels, were secured, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*. One would hardly dare to cross the ocean in such vessels nowadays. In order to man the ships for the perilous voyage, debtors had been relieved of their debts and prisoners released from jail; and with ninety men in all, Columbus, on August 3, 1492, set sail from Palos in southern Spain. People on shore wept and prayed, for they had little hope of seeing the sailors again. The fleet was hardly out of sight of land before the men themselves began to regret their rashness, and as the little ships sailed farther and farther westward, discontent grew into terror. But Columbus kept a brave heart and would not turn back. Many anxious days and nights, many weary weeks passed. The men said to one another that they should never get back home, and it seemed as though nothing could prevent their rising in mutiny.

The Discovery, October 12, 1492. — At last, early on the morning of October 12,¹ 1492, land was sighted. It was one of the Bahama group of the West India Islands.² Columbus landed and took possession of the island in the name of Queen Isabella. He and his crew believed that they had found an island off the eastern coast of India. The crew,

¹ October 12 according to the Old Style of reckoning time; October 21, according to the New Style.

² It has never been determined which of the Bahamas Columbus first sighted. The honor is claimed for more than one of the islands.

Overjoyed at the prospect of becoming rich quickly, threw themselves at the feet of Columbus to ask his forgiveness. The natives who crowded to the shore to see the strange ships were unlike any people the Spaniards had ever seen.

Sailing southward, Columbus soon arrived at the great island now called Cuba, which he thought was the continent of Asia. To the east he found the island of Hayti, which he took to be Japan. He named this island La Espagnola (Hispaniola), or "Spanish land." Then he decided to return to Spain to report his discovery.

The Return. — At the end of a stormy voyage, in which he narrowly escaped shipwreck, Columbus reached Palos — the port from which he had sailed more than six months before. The people who had despaired of his return now welcomed him with joy, and were ready to believe with him that a western route to Asia had been found. In triumph, Columbus sought the king and queen. He showed many curiosities, among them some of the natives of the new lands. He called them Indians, because all eastern Asia, including China and Japan, was then known as India. Ferdinand and Isabella received Columbus with honor.

Second Voyage. — The report that Columbus had found the Indies by a short route across the Atlantic caused intense excitement in Spain. The king and queen immediately made plans to secure the wealth of the country and to convert the natives to Christianity. When a fleet was fitted out for Columbus to make another voyage, there was no difficulty in getting men to go with him. Sons of the most distinguished families in Spain were eager to seek their fortunes in the Indies, the land of untold wealth. On the second voyage Columbus built on the island of Hispaniola a town which he named Isabella, in honor of the queen who had befriended him. He also explored neighboring islands, and could not understand why he failed to find the wonderful cities of Asia.

Third Voyage. — On a third voyage Columbus did not steer directly for Hispaniola, but turned his ships farther

southward in the hope of passing around China and reaching India itself (Hindustan). He found land, but it was part of what is now known as South America. Though Columbus knew that he had come upon a continent, he still thought that it was joined to Asia or separated from it by a narrow strait. Sickness compelled him to abandon his explorations.

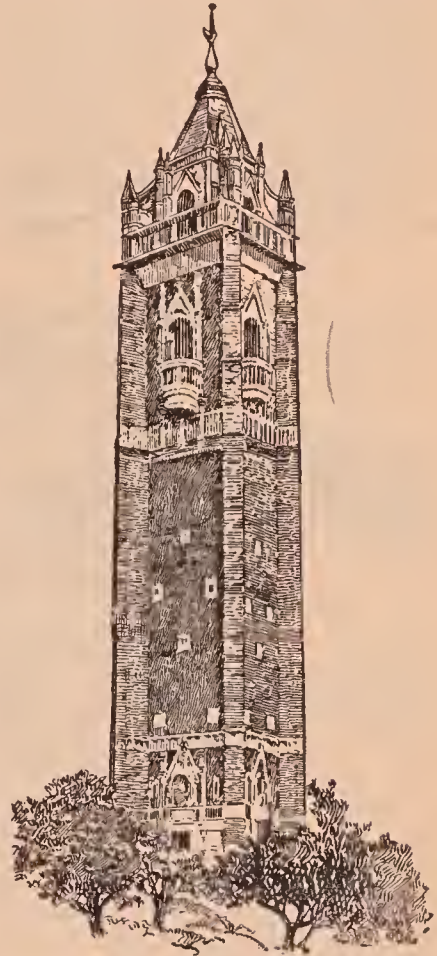


MAP OF LANDS DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS

Division of the World; Fourth Voyage. — Meanwhile Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, had reached India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope, at the south of Africa. The pope had divided the world, giving to Portugal all heathen lands east of a certain line and to Spain all such lands west of the line, and both nations had agreed to the division. As the division also included the seas leading to the heathen lands, Spain in seeking the Indies could not use the route discovered by Portugal. Therefore the Spanish government, becoming more eager than ever to complete the discovery of the western route, sent Columbus on a fourth voyage. He searched the coast of Central America and Panama for the strait which he supposed lay between

what he called Asia and his new continent (South America). He was disappointed because he did not find it, and returned again to Spain.

Death of Columbus. — The life of Columbus was one of disappointment. After years of struggling against poverty and ridicule he had set out on his voyages only to fail to reach India, the goal of his hopes. Even the colony that he had planted on Hispaniola did not prosper. Men who had gone there hoping to become rich quickly were disappointed. They quarreled among themselves, turned the natives against them by their cruelty, and then blamed Columbus for all their troubles. While lying sick at Hispaniola after his third voyage, he was put in chains and sent back to Spain. The sight of the faithful discoverer in irons aroused the sympathy and indignation of the Spanish people. The queen ordered his immediate release. Once more he was promised all his rights in the Indies, but the promise was not kept. Broken in spirit at last Columbus died at Valladolid, Spain, in 1506. The great discoverer never knew that he had found a new world.



CABOT MEMORIAL TOWER

Erected at Bristol, England, in memory of the first sailor from England to visit America.

The Voyages of John Cabot. — Now that Columbus had led the way, other navigators were not slow to cross the Atlantic. The first to see the mainland of North America was John Cabot, an Italian in the English service, whom Henry VII sent out to find for England a western route to India. Cabot sailed with a single vessel in 1497, landed, and claimed the country for the king of England. The next year, he crossed a second time to North America.

Cabot visited the coast somewhere between Cape Breton and Labrador. He told of having seen great quantities of fish. England did not follow up these voyages, however, because it was thought that Cabot had found only a cold, bleak part of Asia. What England wanted was India, the land of precious stones and spices. It was not until many years later that the voyages of Cabot assumed importance. Then England cited them as the basis of her claim to North America.

How America Received its Name. — Americus Vesputius, an Italian, whose name in his native language was Amerigo

Nunc vero & heę partes sunt latius lustratę & alia quarta pars per Americū Vesputium (vt in sequentibus audietur) inuenta est: quā non video cur quis iure vetet ab Americo inuentore sagacis ingenij viro Amerigen quasi Americi terram / siue Americam dicendam: cum & Europa & Asia a mulieribus sua sortita sint nomina. Eius sitū & gentis mores ex his binis Americi navigationibus quę sequuntur liquide intelligi datur.

105
Am
rico

THE NAME AMERICA

Facsimile of that part of the page in the *Cosmographię Introductio* (1507), by Martin Waldseemüller, in which the name of America is proposed for the New World.

Vespucci, explored (1501-1504) the long coast line of Brazil, in South America. In writing to his friends he described the lands he had seen, and his letters were translated and printed in various languages. The part of South America already discovered by Columbus lay above the equator, where Asia was supposed to be. Vesputius explored land far south of the equator, in a region where no one had dreamed that land existed. Consequently, in the confused minds of geographers of the time, it was thought that Columbus had found Asia, and that Vesputius had discovered a "New World."

In 1507 a professor in a university in an obscure town

in northern Europe published a small book on geography. He divided the world into Europe, Asia, and Africa, the three parts already known for a long time, and then added as a "fourth part" the region described by Vespuccius. He suggested that this fourth part, having been discovered by Americus, should be called America. The suggestion met with favor. The name, first given only to Brazil, was gradually extended to the continent of South America and then to the continent of North America. Thus a mistake gave to Vespuccius an honor that rightfully belonged to Columbus.

The North American Indians.—The name "Indian," which Columbus gave to the native of America because he thought that he had reached India, remains the name of the race to-day.

Indians are usually tall and erect. Their complexion is reddish brown or copper color. They have high cheekbones; small, deep-set eyes; straight, black hair; and little or no beard. So far as we know, the Indians were never a numerous people. In what is now the United States, their number at the time of the discovery



AN INDIAN VILLAGE

After a drawing by John White, now in the British Museum

probably did not exceed half a million — about one person to every six square miles of territory. Yet this sparse population was divided into many tribes, in most cases separated one from another by considerable areas of land.

The Tribe. — The life of the North American Indians when the whites first came into contact with them was very different from their life to-day. All of a tribe dwelt together, hunted and fished together, and together made war upon some other tribe. The whole tribe dwelt in one village which was usually surrounded by a high fence, or palisade, made of trunks of trees. The Indian's home was his wigwam. It varied from a round tent of skin or bark, in which a single family lived, to a house more than two hundred feet long and made of bark, in which twenty families might live.¹

Dress. — The dress of the Indian was meager and was usually made of skins. Their shoes, called moccasins, were also made of skins. Men and women wore ornaments of copper, and painted their faces and bodies with many colors. On great days the warrior — and every man was a warrior — would clothe himself in robes of skin or fur, gaudily decorated with beads, feathers, claws and teeth of animals, snake-skins or even human fingers.

Occupations. — While every Indian was a hunter and fisherman, only the prairie tribes of the West and the tribes of the far North lived entirely by hunting and fishing. Others depended more or less upon agriculture. To prepare a field for cultivation, the Indians killed the trees by burning or girdling. Between the charred stumps and dead trunks they planted the seed. The chief product was Indian corn, or maize, though beans, pumpkins, sunflowers, and tobacco were also planted. Tobacco came to be important in the history of our country, but Europeans had never seen it until they found the Indians using it. The only kind of domestic animal in the Indian village was a small dog. Horses, cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs were brought to America by Europeans.

Religion. — The Indians had many gods. The most

¹ In the southwestern part of the United States, mainly in New Mexico and Arizona, there dwelt tribes who, when the Europeans found them, were considerably more advanced than the other Indians of the

common belief was that the gods or spirits dwelt in the beasts of the forest. Some of the tribes held to nature worship, believing that the sun, the moon, the stars, the winds, rivers, mountains, and trees held spirits.

The Indian Character. — The Indian was self-confident and haughty. In the presence of strangers he was polite, but reserved. When he made a promise, he kept it. He would lay down his life for a friend. He was hospitable and charitable. But there was another side to the Indian's character. To his enemies he was cruel, revengeful, and treacherous. He was of a jealous, envious nature, and when he had not given his promise, was full of deceit.

All Indians were warlike, tribe fighting against tribe. They fought with bow and arrow, club, spear, and tomahawk. The tomahawk was a stone hatchet. Every warrior also carried a stone scalping knife with which he took the scalp and hair from the head of his victim. The more scalps he had taken, the greater his fame as a warrior. Brave as the Indians were, they rarely fought in open battle. From their nature they preferred to surprise their enemy from behind trees and rocks, or to slay him in his sleep. In the dead of night they would fall upon the village of their foes, and setting it on fire would slay men, women, and children fleeing from the burning wigwams. When their desire for butchery was satisfied, they would take the survivors home to be tortured.

How the White Men Treated the Indians. — Many of the early explorers and settlers were good men who wished to deal justly with the Indians, but others were very cruel. White men robbed the Indians of their land, and killed them United States. Each of these tribes lived in a pueblo — hence the name Pueblo Indians. A pueblo is a village consisting of one big house built of brick or stone, sometimes six stories high. In Mexico, Central America, and Peru were tribes still further advanced. They had populous cities, highly cultivated fields, and good roads. They had comfortable homes, well-made clothes, and finely wrought pottery. Precious metals were so plentiful that ornaments of many kinds and vessels for eating and drinking were made of gold and silver.

on slight provocation. The Indians thirsted for revenge and sometimes banded together and destroyed whole settlements. Mutual hatred and distrust bred almost constant warfare. Yet traders could always find their way to the Indian's heart. The eagerness of the red man for bargains, and his fondness for bright, showy articles, made barter with him very profitable. Trade with the Indians was one of the inducements for men to emigrate to America. Simple wares and worthless trinkets were exchanged for skins and furs which were sold at high prices in Europe.

How the Indians Received the White Men.—The Indian readily accepted many of the things brought him by the Europeans. He discarded his clothing of skins in favor of blankets, and his crude utensils for the better articles obtained from the white men. He learned horsemanship with remarkable rapidity. He soon became expert in the use of the firearms furnished him by traders, and turned them with skillful aim against hostile tribes of his own race and against the white race.

The hostility of the races had a large influence on the future of America. It forced the colonists to build settlements close together for the sake of protection, and it accustomed them to the hardships of war. At the proper time they were able to present a compact and sturdy front in their contest for independence.

Topics and Questions

1. At the time of the discovery of America people were ignorant of many matters. The Mediterranean Sea seemed to be the center of the world. What hardy sailors pushed out toward the west before the year 1000? What ideas kept other Europeans from following the Norseman?

2. What did people in Europe believe about the countries to the east? What made up the cargoes coming from the East? Who interfered with this trade and what could be done to save it?

3. What prince undertook to push the discovery of a new route? Why did he spend so much time and money for this purpose? How far south had the Portuguese sailed by 1471?

4. What effect did Prince Henry's zeal have upon other countries?

What young man was drawn to his court from Italy? What ideas did Columbus already have about the size and the shape of the world?

5. What did men think of Columbus when he explained his plan of going to the east by sailing to the west? What mistakes had Columbus made in his calculations, and how did they help his enterprise? On what terms did Queen Isabella finally aid Columbus?

6. Why did Columbus need courage and conviction for his enterprise? Compare a caravel of the time of Columbus with ships now used for ocean travel. Tell what sort of crew he was able to ship.

7. When did Columbus first see land? What land did he see? Where did Columbus believe himself to be? Picture the return and welcome of Columbus when he carried his news to Spain. Did he tell of discovering a New World or of finding another way to India?

8. What town did Columbus found on his second voyage? Why did Columbus steer so far south on his third voyage, and where did he land? Why was he sent on a fourth voyage, and what did he accomplish? Did Columbus ever know what he had done for the world?

9. How did England get the first claim to the mainland of North America? Why did that country neglect to follow up the discovery of Cabot?

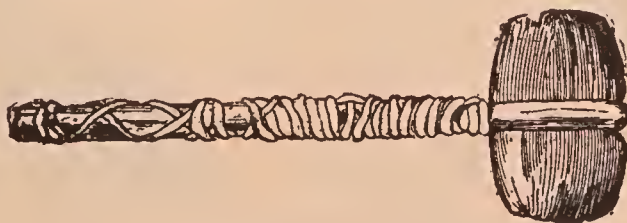
10. Whose name was given to the New World? Did any one intend to defraud Columbus of the honor which was given to Vespucci?

Project Exercises

1. Study a map of the world to see what ways, besides the overland route, one may go from Europe to the Far East.
2. Write an essay describing the life of the North American Indians.

Important Date:

October 12, 1492. Discovery of America.



A TOMAHAWK

CHAPTER II

TAKING OVER THE NEW LANDS

Center of Commerce Moves Westward. — From ancient times commerce had centered around the Mediterranean Sea. With the discovery of a water route around Africa to India and the finding of lands in America, the centers of trade and commerce shifted to ports of the Atlantic coast of Europe. Portugal, Spain, France, England, and Holland, all bordering on the Atlantic, became the great commercial and colonizing countries. Except for settlements in Brazil, in South America, Portugal confined her efforts at colonizing to the Far East. Spain, France, England, and Holland were the nations chiefly concerned with the colonization of America.

Spanish Explorations and Settlements. — Before Columbus died gold had been found on the island of Hispaniola (Hayti), where he had planted a settlement. Spaniards flocked there because they took the finding of gold as proof that the newly discovered land lay near Asia, where everybody believed there was a fabulous wealth of precious metals and precious stones. As is usual when a rush is made to a new-found place, in the hope of making fortunes quickly without work, the bad men outnumbered the good. The island became the scene of much lawlessness and turmoil, yet the colony grew, and from it Spanish settlements spread to America. The exploits of the Spanish adventurers read like spirited romances. Usually in small bands, they sailed unknown seas, crossed mighty rivers, and penetrated trackless forests and jungles.

Discovery of Florida. — In 1513 Juan Ponce de Leon, who had grown wealthy in the West Indies but had also

grown old, set out from Porto Rico to find a fountain, whose waters, according to an old story, would give perpetual youth to all who drank of them, and which, according to tales told by the Indians, was located to the north of the West Indies. Sighting land on Easter Sunday, De Leon called it Florida, because in Spanish Easter is known as *Pascua Florida*. He claimed the country for Spain. De Leon and his party were the first white men positively known to have set foot on soil now within the limits of the United States.



PONCE DE LEON

After an engraving in "Herrera," 1728.

Discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

— In the same year, Nuñez de Balboa, in searching for gold on the Isthmus of Darien (now Panama), came to a sea that stretched far away in the distance. Wading into the water to the depth of his thighs, Balboa claimed possession of the sea and all lands bordering upon it in the name of the sovereign of Spain. He called it the South Sea; he and his companions did not know that they saw the immense Pacific Ocean. They still thought that Asia was near.



VASCO NUÑEZ BALBOA

rich in precious metals. The country was Mexico, and in 1519 Hernando Cortez, with a body of soldiers, invaded this land of promise. Cortez found in Mexico great quantities of gold and silver and a condition of life far

Conquest of Mexico and Peru. — Reports had reached Cuba of a country to the west,

superior to that of the natives of the West Indies (see note, page 12). Cortez conquered Mexico and despoiled it of its riches. Later Francisco Pizarro conquered Peru, a country richer than Mexico. Peru, like Mexico, was robbed of its wealth.

The Globe Circumnavigated. — Meanwhile Spain in her race with Portugal for India put forth greater effort to discover a short route to Asia by way of the west. Ferdinand Magellan sailed from Spain in 1519, to search for a passage around South America. He sailed along the eastern coast of that continent to its southern limit, and, passing through the strait that now bears his name, came out into an ocean which he called the Pacific. In crossing the ocean on the slow-going vessels food gave out and the sufferings of the crew were intense. Magellan was killed in a fight with natives of the Philippine Islands.



MAGELLAN MONUMENT ON
MACTÁN ISLAND

This monument marks the spot where Magellan was killed in a battle with the natives of the Philippine Islands.

One of his vessels arrived in Spain in 1522, having returned by way of the Cape of Good Hope. This little vessel, the only one left of the fleet, brought back only eighteen of the more than two hundred men who three years before had started on their perilous enterprise. The voyage proved that a wide ocean separates America from Asia, and it settled beyond question that the earth is round, for the ship had sailed out to the west and had come back from the east.

The Atlantic Coast Explored. — Magellan's route to Asia was too long; the Portuguese already had a much shorter way around the Cape of Good Hope. Yet there was still hope that somewhere to the north of Florida a short passage might be found. Efforts to find the passage carried the

exploration of the coast line farther and farther north. By 1525 the Atlantic coast from the end of South America to Labrador in North America had been explored by the Spaniards.

Hernando de Soto. — The search for gold went on. Hopes of finding in the north countries equally as rich as those found in the south inflamed the Spaniards. Hernando de Soto obtained the king's permission to conquer the parts of America north of Mexico. De Soto crossed the ocean with



MAP OF DE SOTO'S ROUTE — 1539-1542

an army of volunteers, many of whom were from the best families of Spain. He landed (1539) at Tampa Bay, on the coast of Florida. He spent three years in his search for gold, and during that time he traversed what is now Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and crossing the great Mississippi River,¹ he pushed on through Louisiana into Arkansas,

¹ Whether De Soto was the discoverer of the Mississippi is a matter of dispute. Some give the credit of the discovery to other Spaniards who had earlier explored the region along the Gulf of Mexico.

probably going as far north as Missouri. The army had endured toil, want, and attacks of the natives; yet no gold had been found. The expedition, much reduced in numbers, returned through Louisiana to the Mississippi River. De Soto died, and in the darkness of night his companions sunk the body in the river to conceal his death from the Indians. The survivors of the once proud army, floating in boats down the Mississippi, found safety in the Spanish settlements on the Mexican shore.

Francisco de Coronado. — Francisco de Coronado set out northward from Mexico to find the seven wealthy cities of Cibola, about which he had heard wonderful reports. These cities proved to be only seven pueblo villages. Yet, the expedition was not an entire failure, for Coronado succeeded in crossing Arizona and New Mexico. He went north probably as far as Kansas and Nebraska. Though De Soto and Coronado found no gold, they had proved that a wide continent extends from Florida to California. It was believed that the continent dwindled to a narrow neck of land somewhere near Virginia. Consequently the rivers and bays from Virginia northward were searched for many years longer in hopes of finding the passage to Asia.

African Slavery. — The Spaniards had tried working Indians as slaves in their mines and on their sugar plantations, but the natives, chafing in captivity and unused to the exacting labor imposed upon them, died in great numbers. The Spaniards found better laborers in negroes brought from Africa, for negroes are easily managed and are capable of the hardest physical labor. In this way negro slavery was introduced into America.

Conditions in Europe. — While explorations in America were taking place, conditions in Europe were changing. A religious movement known as the Reformation — one of the most important movements of history — spread over western Europe, where everybody had been Catholic, and caused a great schism from the church. Those who left the Catholic Church came to be called Protestants.

Many of the cruel ideas of the Middle Ages had not passed away. Frequent wars followed on account of the Reformation, and even in times of peace Catholic or Protestant, whichever was in power, put to death persons of the opposite faith.



THE NEW WORLD ACCORDING TO A MAP-MAKER OF 1540

All Spain remained Catholic. Holland became Protestant. In France, the Protestant (Huguenot) faith was strong, though not in the majority. In England, first one faith, and then the other, was in the ascendancy, until, finally, in the reign of the great queen Elizabeth¹ Protestantism prevailed.

The Balance of Power. — The king of Spain had become the mightiest monarch of Europe, for besides Spain he ruled over other European kingdoms. The French and English

¹ Elizabeth reigned from 1558 to 1603.

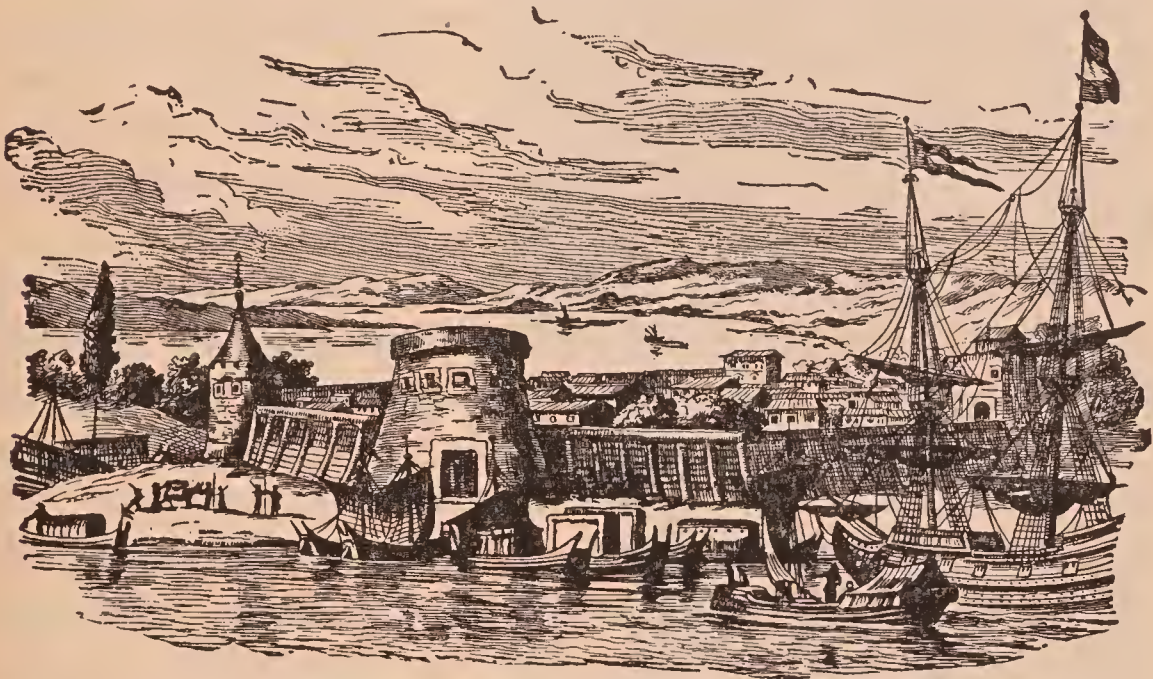
sovereigns, fearing that the Spanish king might by further extension of his rule over Europe become so powerful as to endanger their kingdoms, waged constant war against him. When differences of religion ceased to furnish a motive, the desire to maintain the balance of power became the cause of most wars in Europe.

Corsairs Assault Spanish Commerce. — Nations had little respect for the rights of one another. In time of war or peace, English, French, and Dutch corsairs plundered the Spanish settlements in the New World and seized treasure ships bound for Spain. The corsairs further injured Spanish commerce by illicit trading. Spain from the first had forbidden other nations trading with her colonies, but she was powerless against the corsairs who smuggled goods into Spanish American ports and sold them to the colonists. Often the colonists had no choice, for if they were not ready to run the risk of illegal buying, the corsairs forced them to do so. The desire to enrich themselves was not the sole motive of the corsairs. They were usually commissioned by their sovereign, and their assaults upon Spanish commerce were often made in the interest of their country. Even when there was no war, they sailed from their home ports with the encouragement of their king and their fellow citizens. Corsairing was in that age considered proper.

The French Turn to America. — French fishermen had early followed in the track of John Cabot to the fishing banks of Newfoundland. For a long time, however, France was unable, because of war with Spain, to undergo the cost of exploration. Finally the French government endeavored to gain a foothold in America. The king, Francis I, had looked with envy upon the mines of wealth which his Spanish rival owned beyond the seas. Though a Catholic himself, the king declined to submit to the pope's division of the world between Spain and Portugal. He said, "The kings of Spain and Portugal are taking possession of the New World without giving me a part; I should be glad to see the article of Adam's will which gives them America."

Explorations of Cartier. — So when opportunity came, he sent Jacques Cartier on a voyage of discovery and exploration. Cartier, in 1534-35, cruised along the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador and ascended the St. Lawrence River as far as Montreal. Though his attempts to plant a colony in Canada failed, he claimed all the country for France.

Huguenots in South Carolina and Florida. — Later, Gaspard de Coligny, a French nobleman of the Huguenot faith, tried to found in America a colony for the purpose of



ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, AS FOUNDED BY MENENDEZ

From an old picture of the earliest town in the United States.

providing a refuge for his people, who were suffering greatly in the religious wars. Having obtained permission from Charles IX, the new king of France, Coligny sent out a party under Jean Ribault, in 1562, to find a suitable place for a settlement. The Frenchmen entered Port Royal harbor, in South Carolina. Here they erected a fort which they called Charlesfort, in honor of their king. Ribault left thirty men to hold the fort, while he returned to France to bring out a colony. The men who remained at Port Royal spent their time in a fruitless search for gold instead of working to raise crops for themselves, and when starvation threatened them they abandoned their settlement.

Nothing daunted, Coligny sent out, two years later, another party of Huguenots under René de Laudonnière. They built a fort on the St. Johns River, not far from the present city of Jacksonville, and named it Caroline for the French king, the Latin name for Charles being Carolus. Ribault joined the colony, bringing provisions and men, women and children.

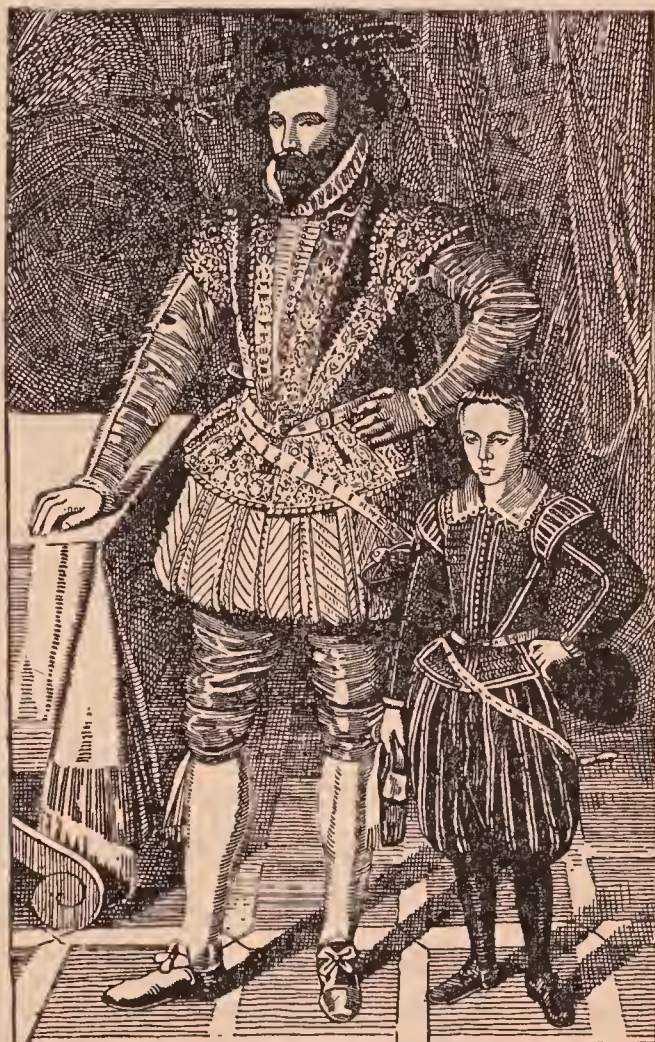
The king of Spain looked upon the French occupation of Florida with great alarm; the foreign fort, so near the West Indies, threatened his rich provinces and made easier assaults upon his commerce. He sent Pedro Menendez de Aviles with a strong force to destroy the Huguenots. Reaching the coast of Florida in 1565, the Spaniards at once began to make a fortification. This work was the beginning of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States.

Menendez fell upon the Huguenots and overpowered them. He showed them little mercy, and but few escaped. Revenge for the massacre followed. It did not come through the French king, a timid man, afraid to risk a war with Spain, but it came through a citizen of France, Dominique de Gourgues, who sold his estates in order to raise money for the expedition. Gourgues and his men, upon landing in Florida, formed an alliance with an Indian tribe against whom the Spaniards had made war. The French and Indians surprised the Spaniards and in the assault every man of the garrison was killed, except about fifty, whom Gourgues hanged. Soon after accomplishing the object of his visit Gourgues sailed away. The Spaniards remained in possession of Florida.

The French in Canada. — The French government again turned its attention to Canada, a region now furnishing a valuable trade in skins and furs, besides the trade in fish. Among those who went to Canada under the patronage of the king of France was Samuel de Champlain. There was no nobler character connected with the early colonization of America than Champlain. In 1608 he founded Quebec, the first permanent French settlement in America.

Since the French claimed that their possessions in America, which they called New France, extended far to the southward from Canada, and the Spaniards claimed that Florida extended northward to the end of the continent, the claims of the two nations overlapped. Then there came a third people, the English, who settled on the Atlantic coast between the settlements of France and Spain, and claimed territory that was already claimed by both of these countries.

The English. — The English took little interest in America before the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The voyages of Cabot had been disappointing and, though fishermen occasionally went to the banks of Newfoundland, no serious effort was made in exploration. England, under the rule of Elizabeth, was becoming a formidable rival of Spain. While England was steadily rising in power, especially through the strong navy that she was building up, Spain, despite her wealthy American pos-



SIR WALTER RALEIGH AND HIS SON

sessions, was steadily declining in power on account of her oppressive government and her many costly wars.

Englishmen were beginning to see the advantage of planting colonies in America. Such colonies would make it easier to attack Spanish commerce in American waters, and would open up new markets for English trade. The voyages of Cabot were now seen to be important, and

through them an English claim to North America was put forth.

Sir Walter Raleigh. — As had been the case with the French, the early attempt of the English at colonizing America failed. Of the unsuccessful attempts, that of Sir Walter Raleigh is notable. Raleigh was one of the most accomplished men of his time. He was a great favorite of the queen, who gave him a charter for establishing an English colony in North America. Men whom Raleigh sent out in advance to select a site for the colony, carried back to England such glowing accounts of the land about Pamlico Sound, on the coast of North Carolina, that the queen named the country Virginia in honor of herself.¹

The "Lost Colony." — The first colonists that Raleigh sent out landed on Roanoke Island between Pamlico and Albemarle Sounds. Incurring the hostility of the Indians and running low in provisions, they soon returned to England. Raleigh was disappointed, but sent out another party. These colonists included some women. Under John White as governor, they arrived at Roanoke Island in 1587. Soon after the landing a daughter was born to Eleanor, daughter of Governor White and wife of Ananias Dare, one of the colonists. This little girl, Virginia Dare, was the first child of English parents born in what is now the United States. When she was only a few days old, her grandfather found it necessary to return to England to get aid for the colony. While he was there, war broke out between England and Spain. White, harassed with anxiety for the fate of his people, was forced to wait three years for an opportunity to return to Roanoke.

On reaching the spot where the settlement had been, he found the fort deserted and remnants of articles used by the colonists strewn around in confusion. There was no human life, but there was one little sign of hope. It had been agreed that if the colonists left the island they would

¹ Elizabeth was called the "Virgin Queen" because she never married.

carve on trees or doorposts the name of the place to which they were going, and, if they were in distress, they should make a cross along with the name. Now White saw the word "Croatoan," which had been distinctly carved on one of the posts of the fort. Croatoan was the name of a neighboring island where the Indians were friendly and, as there was no cross, White hoped that his relatives and friends were in safety on that island. The ship captain consented to take him to Croatoan Island, but a storm arose and beat the ship about, and the captain steered for England without further delay.



MAP OF RALEIGH'S COLONIES

Raleigh made repeated search for his unfortunate colonists, but they were never found. Long afterwards, Indians told the English settlers at Jamestown that the colonists lived for some years among their tribes, but that finally all were put to death except four men, two boys, and a young maid. People have never ceased to wonder whether this young maid was little Virginia Dare.¹

¹ In the eastern sections of North Carolina and South Carolina people live at this day who seem to be a distinct class from the other inhabitants. It is believed by many that these people are descendants of the survivors of Raleigh's colony and Indians with whom they intermarried.

The London Company and the Plymouth Company. — Though Raleigh's own colony failed, his great purpose succeeded. Raleigh more than any other man turned England's attention to the advantage of colonizing America. Men of wealth and influence planned to establish colonies for commercial purposes. In response to their petitions, James I, who had succeeded Elizabeth, granted charters for the colonization of Virginia to two companies, afterwards known as the London Company and the Plymouth Company. To the London Company he gave all North America from North Carolina to the Potomac River. To the Plymouth Company he gave the region from Long Island Sound to Nova Scotia.

The land between the Potomac River and Long Island Sound could be settled by either, but there must be at least



HENRY HUDSON

From a painting in the possession of the Corporation of the City of New York.

a hundred miles between the settlements of the two companies. In these charters, as in charters previously granted by England, Virginia overlapped both Florida and New France. It is also interesting to note that, though more than a century had passed since Columbus discovered America, it was still thought that the part of the continent covered by the Virginia grants was only a narrow strip; the grants were, therefore, made to extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the South Sea (Pacific Ocean).

It was through the efforts put forth by the London Company that the first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown (1607).

The Dutch. — The Dutch had built up an enormous trade with the East Indies. In 1609, Henry Hudson, an

Englishman in the service of the Dutch East India Company, sailed in search of a western strait that would lead to Asia. Hudson entered the beautiful river that bears his name, and at the mouth of which the great city of New York stands to-day. He ascended the river as far as the site of Albany.

As soon as the Dutch had heard from Hudson's party that valuable furs were to be found in that region, they began trading with the Indians along the Hudson River. Through explorations of the coast made by their vessels, the Dutch set up a claim to the country from Massachusetts to the Delaware River. They called the country New Netherland, in compliment to their native land, which is called also The Netherlands.

Topics and Questions

1. Following the discoveries that took place near the end of the fifteenth century, the centers of commerce shifted from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic coast of Europe. Spain, France, England and Holland became concerned with the colonization of America.

2. What made so much turmoil and lawlessness in the Spanish settlement at Hispaniola? What discovery resulted from Ponce de Leon's search for the Fountain of Youth? Why did Balboa call the Pacific Ocean the South Sea? Describe the conquest of Mexico and Peru.

3. Whose ship first sailed around the world? What was its route? How did Magellan's work complete that of Columbus?

4. Had an eastern ocean route to India ever been found? Why were efforts continued, after Magellan's voyage, to find western routes? What was the net result of these efforts?

5. Describe the expeditions of De Soto and Coronado. Sum up the gains and losses from these expeditions.

6. Why was African slavery introduced into America? What class of men followed up the work of the Spanish explorers in the New World? What was their method of meeting the Indians and working among them? Contrast the motives and methods of the Spanish explorer and the Spanish monk.

7. What was the extent of the Spanish claim to the New World? What was the extent of Florida on a Spanish map of the times?

8. Describe the Reformation. Tell about "the balance of power" in Europe. How did corsairs injure Spanish commerce?

9. Why had France been backward in getting a share of the New World? What was the attitude of Francis I toward the pope's division of the world? Why do Canadians and Frenchmen honor the name of Jacques Cartier? What success did the Huguenots have in making settlements in America? Why did Canada seem desirable to the French government and to individual Frenchmen? When and by whom was Quebec founded? How far did French and Spanish claims to America conflict?

10. In what way was England becoming a rival of Spain? What advantages would come to England from colonies in the New World? Who was Sir Walter Raleigh? Tell in an interesting way the story of Raleigh's "Lost Colony." Tell about the London Company and the Plymouth Company.

11. Why was the Dutch nation interested in finding a western passage to the East? What explorer, while searching for such a passage, gave the Dutch a claim to land in the New World.

Project Exercises

1. Find on a map every place mentioned in this chapter.
2. Show on a map of North America how the claims of the Spaniards, French, English and Dutch overlapped one another.
3. On an outline map of North America locate in colored pencils the grants to the London and to the Plymouth companies.

Important Dates :

- 1513. Discovery of Florida.
- 1513. Discovery of the Pacific Ocean.
- 1519-22. The World Circumnavigated.
- 1539-42. De Soto's Expedition.
- 1565. Founding of St. Augustine, the oldest city in the United States.
- 1587. Raleigh's "Lost Colony."
- 1608. Founding of Quebec.
- 1609. Dutch sail up the Hudson River.

CHAPTER III

THE EARLY ENGLISH COLONIES

The London Company. — This company had been organized as a business enterprise.¹ Many persons bought shares of the company's stock because it was believed that when a colony was well established, large profits for the company would be made from the precious metals found and from trade between the colony and the mother country. Some bought shares in the patriotic hope that the colony would benefit England.

Ships used for crossing the Atlantic were still small and clumsy, and the hardship and danger which would be met on the voyage would not be lessened when the strange shores of America were reached. Yet, the company secured colonists by the promise of a hundred acres of land to each person who paid his passage across the ocean, and also a hundred acres to any one who paid the passage of another. However, the company was not to distribute the land for seven years, the settlers in the meantime sharing the products of their labor.

Virginia the First Permanent English Colony. — Early in 1607 the company sent out to Virginia three vessels — the *Susan Constant*, the *God-Speed*, and the *Discovery* — having on board one hundred and five colonists, all men. A government had already been provided. A council, living in the colony, but appointed by the king, was to have charge of all local affairs; but any regulation which it made could be vetoed by a higher council in London or by the king. The settlers were guaranteed all the rights and liberties of

¹ The Plymouth Company, organized at the same time as the London Company, did not succeed in planting a colony.

Englishmen. The king was to receive one fifth of the gold or silver found.

The fleet entered Chesapeake Bay and ascended a large river in search of a suitable place for a settlement. About fifty miles from the mouth of the river a site was selected. The landing was made May 13, 1607. While the colonists were building their fort Indians attacked them but were quickly driven away. The little band of Englishmen honored their king by calling their settlement Jamestown and the river the James.

Sufferings of the Colonists. -- Trouble began for the colonists almost immediately. Many of them were unused to manual labor; few, if any, knew how to plant a crop, the thing most needed in a new settlement. Time was wasted in searching for gold. The supplies ran so low that the men were reduced to eating provisions that had been spoiled by the long voyage across the ocean. They were surrounded by marshes, and when the hot summer came, so



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

From the map in his *Description of New England*.

many sickened and died that in less than six months after they had landed, more than half the colonists had found graves on the Virginia shore.

Captain John Smith.

— It was due to the energy and wisdom of one man that the whole colony did not perish. Captain John Smith was a soldier and adventurer who had fought in many wars and had

seen much of the world. His love of adventure had brought him to Virginia, and his fame had influenced the king to give him a place in the colonial council. When starvation faced

the few remaining colonists, Smith kept them alive with corn which he obtained by trading with the Indians.¹ Despite his efforts the number of colonists was reduced by death to thirty-eight during the first winter. The arrival of more immigrants meant only more mouths for Smith to feed, for they also spent their time searching for gold. Smith now determined to compel the colonists to work.

Smith Compels the Colonists

to Work.—The regulation of the company requiring that whatever crop a man made or whatever food he secured by hunting and fishing should go into the common storehouse of the colony, enabled the idlers and gold seekers to live on what the few thrifty settlers obtained. Smith made a rule that those who would not work should not eat. The settlers knew that he would enforce the rule, and it was not long before there was a change for the better. By the spring of 1609 many houses had been built and much ground planted. Immigrants continued to arrive, making the total number of persons at Jamestown five hundred, and Smith put all newcomers immediately to work. Shortly afterward Smith was so severely wounded by an explosion of gunpowder that he had to go to England for surgical treatment. He did not again visit the colony that he had saved.



POCAHONTAS

¹ Smith wrote a *General History of Virginia* in which he relates that on one occasion, when he had been seized by the Indians and condemned to death, the pleadings of Pocahontas, the little daughter of the chief, Powhattan, saved his life. Pocahontas often afterward befriended the colony. She embraced Christianity and married John Rolfe, one of the settlers. Through this union some of the most prominent families of Virginia claim descent from the Indian heroine.

The "Starving Time." — After Smith's departure the settlers again fell into idleness. They rapidly consumed their supply of food, and their appeals to the Indians for help were refused. The Indians planned to starve out the colony, and in the meantime they murdered settlers at every opportunity. In the horrible winter of 1609-10, known as the "starving time," cold and famine almost exterminated the colony. Of the five hundred settlers only sixty survived until summer. The survivors were about to abandon Jamestown and make an effort with a few small vessels to reach England, when a fleet arrived bearing more immigrants and, best of all, plenty of provisions.

The Virginia Colony a Success. — Better times came. New governors enforced discipline and kept the colonists at work. To encourage industry each man was allowed to cultivate three acres of land for his own profit. Up and down the river new lands were cleared and immigrants continued to arrive from England. The planting of tobacco was undertaken. The date usually given for the first tobacco planted by the Virginia colonists is 1612. When Virginians found what wealth there was in tobacco, they planted more and more of it until finally everybody was engaged in its cultivation. There was tobacco everywhere, even in the streets and gardens of Jamestown. With tobacco the Virginian could buy what he wanted, and with it a commerce was begun between Virginia and Europe that soon made the colony self-sustaining and attracted a large number of settlers. There was no more danger of starvation, and there was no more hunting for gold. Efforts of the English to establish a permanent colony in America had at last succeeded.

Shiploads of Women. — Knowing, however, that without wives the colonists would never regard Virginia as home in the true sense of the word, the company sent over in 1619 ninety worthy young maidens. Each woman was allowed her own choice in selecting a husband, though the fortunate man who won her had to pay in tobacco the cost of her

passage to America. The plan succeeded so well that other women were sent over by shiploads to become wives of the planters on payment of their passage in tobacco.

The First Legislature in America. — When the settlers complained of unjust regulations imposed upon them, the company allowed them an assembly of their own choosing. The colonists elected representatives, called burgesses.



JAMESTOWN IN 1622

After a cut in the *Scheeps-Togt van Anthony Chester na Virginia*, 1622.

The burgesses, together with the governor and his council, formed the assembly. The first meeting of the assembly was held in Jamestown in 1619. Among its first acts was one forbidding the governor to lay taxes without the consent of the assembly. Here we find the beginning of resistance to unjust taxation that led to the American Revolution.

Introduction of African Slavery. — In the same year that the first shipload of women arrived in America and the first assembly met, African slavery was introduced into Virginia. A Dutch war vessel brought twenty negroes to Jamestown. They were sold to settlers as slaves. To the men who watched the landing of this handful of negroes, it was doubtless an unimportant matter, yet it was the beginning of a system that had an immense influence upon our country. Little opposition to slavery had yet arisen anywhere in the world. Even kings and queens made money

out of the slave traffic. Yet slavery would probably not have taken such a hold upon America if it had not been for tobacco. When it was found that negroes made the cheapest laborers for cultivating the plantations, many were imported.

Indians Become Hostile. — The Indians saw with anxious eyes the growing strength of the colony, and knew that if they did not destroy the settlements, they themselves would be driven from the homes of their ancestors. In 1622 they made a sudden attack on the plantations, killing many men, women, and children. The Virginians sprang to arms and forced the Indians to retire to regions far from the settlements. The colony was so firmly established by this time that it quickly recovered from the effects of the Indian uprising. The inhabitants now numbered about twelve hundred. The plantations extended inland to the site of the present city of Richmond.

Virginia a Royal Colony. — The majority of the members of the London Company (or the Virginia Company, as it was most commonly called), were opposed to King James in politics. They sided with parliament in a contest which sought to prevent the king from assuming too much power. The king feared the influence of the company and annulled its charter in 1624. By this act the company, which had been very liberal in its treatment of Virginia, lost control of the colony. Thereafter the governor and the council were to be appointed by the king, though the Virginians were still allowed their assembly. A colony under the direct control of the king is known as a royal, or crown, colony.

Conditions in England. — The contest between king and parliament sprang from conditions that existed long before James I began to reign. The Tudor sovereigns — those from Henry VII to Elizabeth — ruled England practically as absolute monarchs, but they did so tactfully. By controlling parliament, so that it would pass such laws as the sovereign wished, they made it appear that the people were governing through parliament. But James I had no tact; besides, he came to the throne with an exalted idea of king-

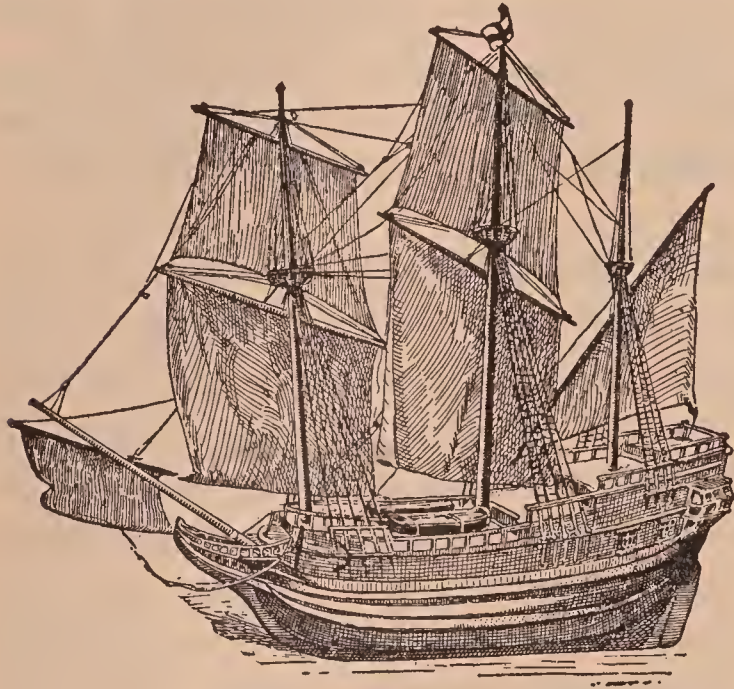
ship. He believed in the divine right of the king — a theory, commonly accepted in the autocratic monarchies of France and Spain. According to this theory the king derived all power from God; parliament and the people had no rights except such as the king chose to give. The English people thought otherwise. They remembered the guarantees of liberty that they had inherited as Englishmen and demanded that they be given through parliament their share in the government. When James, with his dictatorial manner, showed his intention of governing as he pleased, parliament, once more an influential body, was ready to thwart him.

“Nonconformists” and “Separatists.” — As was usually the case, religion was mixed with politics. Early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth many Protestants had become dissatisfied with the services of the Church of England, the Protestant church that received support from public taxes. These dissenters, called Puritans, were divided into two classes, the “Nonconformists,” who refused to conform to the laws and ceremonies of the Church of England but retained their membership in the church with the hope of bringing about the changes they desired; and the “Separatists,” who had withdrawn from the church. Since the king was head of the church, James regarded the attitude of the Puritans as a blow at his authority. The time for putting persons to death on account of their religious convictions had passed, but during James’s reign Puritans were persecuted by fine and imprisonment and by mutilation, such as cutting off the ears or slitting the nose.

The First Exiles for Conscience’ Sake. — James was particularly severe in his persecution of the “Separatists.” Some of their congregations emigrated to Holland, where there was more religious freedom. In 1609 one of the congregations settled at Leyden. There these Englishmen, Pilgrims as they called themselves, lived for ten years; but they gained only a scant livelihood in overcrowded Holland, and, besides, they feared that their children would

intermarry with the Dutch and forget their native land and mother tongue. They wished to go where they might live as Englishmen, and still be free from persecution. They decided on America, where the Virginia colony had shown that settlements could maintain themselves.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth. — The Pilgrims obtained from the London (Virginia) Company a grant of land in America.



THE "MAYFLOWER"

From the model in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington.

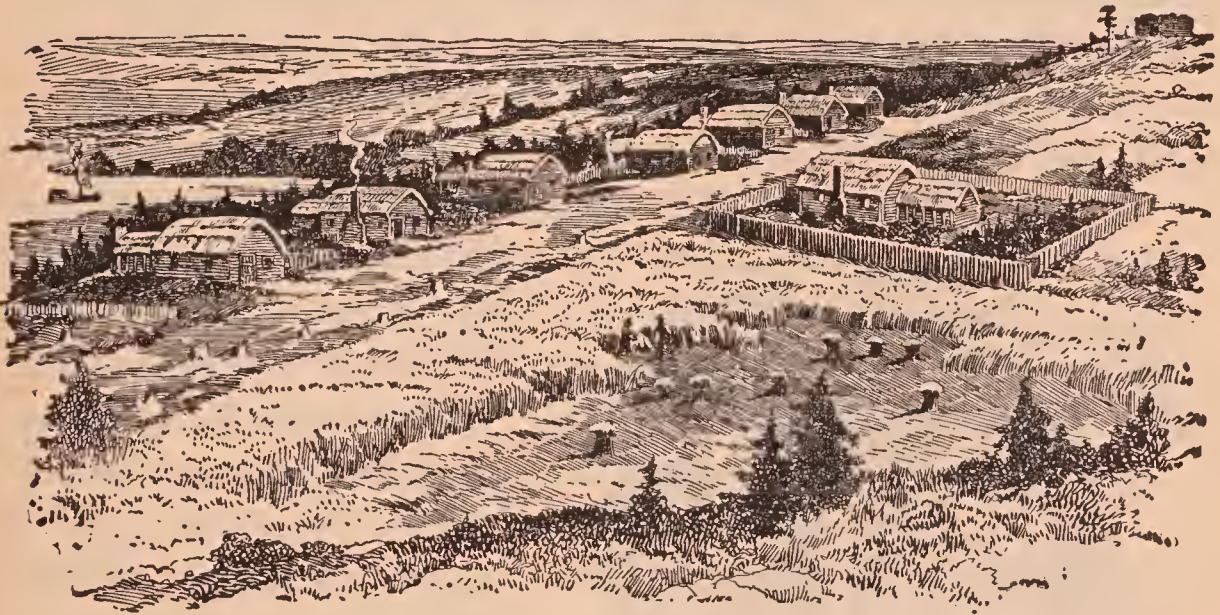
As they were too poor to establish themselves in the New World, they borrowed money from London merchants under promise to return it from the profits of the colony. Those who were selected to make the venture, crossed from Holland to England, whence they were to take passage for America. About one hundred men,

women, and children crowded into the little ship *Mayflower*, and after a voyage of two months reached the coast of Massachusetts. It had been the intention of the Pilgrims to land at some point within the territory of Virginia, but a storm drove their ship to the north. A landing was made on December 21, 1620, at a place already called Plymouth, and here a settlement was begun.

The "Mayflower" Compact. — Before the Pilgrims went on shore the men gathered in the cabin of the *Mayflower* and signed a compact, forming for themselves a government, and binding themselves to obey such laws as should be enacted. Thus Plymouth colony began with the people's governing themselves.

Hardships of the Pilgrims. — The settlers had arrived too late to make suitable preparation for their first northern winter. Their food ran short. Before the winter was over, more than half the colonists had died from exposure or hunger. But the Pilgrims were a brave people, and when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the spring, not one of the survivors went with her.

Fortunately the Indians were friendly, for if they had attacked the feeble colony, nothing could have saved it.



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A VIEW OF PLYMOUTH IN 1622

Almost every year brought other Pilgrims to Plymouth, but they came in such small numbers that the growth of the colony was slow.

The life of the Pilgrims was one of extreme hardship. The winters were severe and the soil was sterile. Nothing, however, daunted these men who had exiled themselves for the sake of conscience. Fisheries were established on the coast, and trading posts with the Indians. By dint of industry and saving, they paid within seven years the debt due the London merchants for bringing over the first settlers.

Slow Growth of Plymouth. — In thirteen years only three thousand persons had migrated to Plymouth colony. Eight

towns had been built. The government was in the hands of a governor and his council, called assistants, and delegates, all sitting as a general court (assembly). Every freeman was allowed to vote, and each town sent two delegates to the general court. For nearly three quarters of a century Plymouth existed without a charter from the crown; then by order of the king (1691) it was annexed to the colony of Massachusetts Bay, which had been planted close by.

Puritans Come to Massachusetts. — The settlers of Massachusetts Bay were also Puritans. Unlike the Pilgrims, however, these Puritans were “Nonconformists.” Moreover, many of them were men of wealth and prominence.



PURITAN COSTUMES

When they saw that the course of Charles I, son of James I, toward all Puritans was more severe than his father's had been, they realized that the time might come when they would need a place of refuge. A body of “Nonconformists” obtained from the Council of New England, a company owning the territory, permission to settle in Massachusetts. In 1628 John Endicott led over a small band of colonists and settled them at a place on

Massachusetts Bay which he named Salem.

The men in England who had promoted the colony, thinking it prudent to secure the approval of the king, obtained from him a charter under the name of “The Gov-

ernor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." As the king's course grew more tyrannical, the officers and members of the Massachusetts Bay Company themselves took ship for America. They brought their charter with them. John Winthrop, a man of wealth and education and one of the greatest characters of colonial history, took the place of Endicott as governor.

The immigrants built other towns, among them Boston, which soon became the seat of government. At this time the Puritans began leaving England for Massachusetts in great numbers. Twelve years after Salem was settled there were twenty thousand persons, mostly Puritans, living in the colony.

The New England Town Meeting. — The towns of Massachusetts had local self-government from the first. The voters, assembled in town meeting, levied taxes for the town and chose officials to manage its affairs. The government of the colony was similar to that of Plymouth. The governor, assistants, and delegates from the towns constituted the general court (assembly).

The Church Controls. — But in the matters of religion and of voting Massachusetts was not as liberal as Plymouth. Although the Puritans who planted Massachusetts were not "Separatists" while in England, yet very soon after landing in America they organized a church independent of the Church of England. They made Massachusetts a religious commonwealth — that is, the church controlled the government. Only church members were allowed to vote or to hold office, and the ministers decided who should be church members. As a majority of the people were not admitted to church membership, the government was placed in the hands of a few men who were largely influenced by the ministers. Everybody was taxed to support the Puritan (Congregational) Church, and no other form of worship was permitted. The Puritans had fled from England to escape persecution; yet men and women who objected to the Puritan idea of religion or government were whipped

or banished from the colony. The Puritans feared that if other religious sects were allowed among them, they might lose control of the colony that they had established so that they might worship God in their own way. It should be remembered, too, that at that time there was little religious toleration in the world.

Other Exiles; the Catholics in Maryland. — In England the Catholics were treated even worse than the Puritans. They were forbidden to engage in their worship; they were fined for not attending the services of the Established Church; they were deprived of the vote and were denied many rights of property; and their priests were not allowed to reside in the kingdom.

George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman of England, conceived the idea of planting a colony in America, where all Christians might live without being persecuted for their religious belief. King Charles I,



CECILIUS CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE

After a portrait in the British Public
Record Office

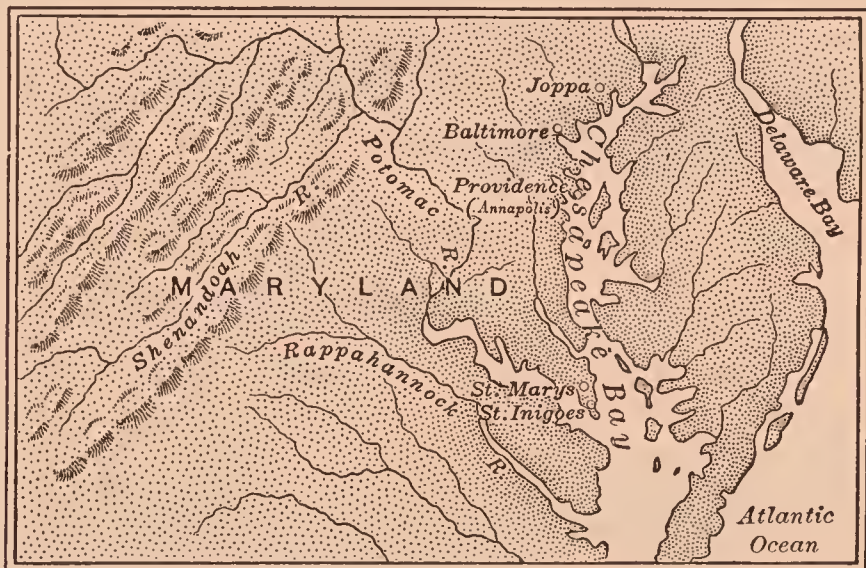
who was his friend, gave him a grant to territory north of Virginia. The king named the new province Maryland, in compliment to his queen, Henrietta Maria. A charter confirming the grant was prepared, but before it was issued George Calvert died and the charter was issued to his son, Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore.

The charter made Baltimore absolute lord and proprietor of the colony, except that he and its inhabitants had to acknowledge allegiance to the king. As a token of this allegiance two Indian arrow heads were to be sent to the king every year.

The king could not lay taxes upon the colony, nor could he veto its laws or interfere in any way with its government. Calvert was practically king of Maryland, and his rights descended to his heirs. The colonists, also, were protected by a provision in the charter allowing them or their representatives to vote upon all laws. A colony owned by one man or a set of men is called a proprietary colony.

Maryland Prosperous from the First. — While the purpose of Baltimore was primarily to afford a refuge for his persecuted brethren, all Christians were allowed in the colony. Having offered reasonable terms upon which settlers might secure land, Baltimore sent over a party of colonists, Catholics and Protestants, under the charge of his brother, Leonard Calvert.

In 1634 the settlers sailed up the Potomac River. They easily made friends with the Indians. With hatchets and tools and rolls of bright cloth, they bought an



EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN MARYLAND

Indian village situated on a bluff overlooking the St. Marys River. The natives agreed to move away as soon as their crops were harvested, and in the meantime the two races lived together in the village in perfect harmony. The warriors took their white friends with them on their hunts and the squaws taught the English women to make bread from corn. In Maryland there was no starving time. On lands that the Indians had already cleared, the colonists began immediately to plant, and in a few months the village of St. Marys was surrounded by prosperous farms.

Opposition of Virginia. — The Virginians objected to the establishment of Baltimore's colony. They claimed Maryland as a part of their territory, and they did not wish a Catholic colony so near them. A number of small battles were fought between Virginians and Marylanders. Many years had to pass before Virginia was content to leave Maryland alone.

The "Toleration Act." — Since the granting of religious freedom in Maryland was at first only a custom, Lord Baltimore wished to make it a law of the colony. Therefore, in 1649, the assembly passed an act declaring it unlawful to molest any Christian on account of his religion. The law, passed at a time when it was common for one sect to persecute another, has become famous as the "Toleration Act." As a result of the act a large number of Puritans, suffering oppression in Virginia (see page 60), moved that very year into Maryland.

Topics and Questions

1. How was the London Company formed, and how were settlers secured? Give the details of the founding of Jamestown and of the early sufferings of the colonists. Describe and estimate the importance of John Smith's work for the Jamestown colony. Tell the story of Pocahontas. Would you have enjoyed working for the common storehouse? What were the advantages and disadvantages of such a system?

2. Why did better times come to Virginia? Why were homes more permanent and happy in Jamestown after 1619? Why was a legislature given to the Virginia colony? Why were the Jamestown settlers ready to buy the negro slaves?

3. Account for the Indian massacre in 1622. Tell why Virginia was made a royal colony.

4. Tell about James I and his belief in the divine right of kings. Define Puritan, Nonconformist, Separatist, and Pilgrim. Why did the Pilgrims leave England? Holland? Why did they come to America? From whom did the Pilgrims procure a grant of land, and from whom the money necessary for making a settlement? Tell all you can of the voyage of the *Mayflower*. What was the object of the "Mayflower Compact"?

5. Compare the hard times in Jamestown's early history with those at Plymouth. Describe the growth of Plymouth.

6. To whom did the Council of New England make a grant of land? What town did John Endicott's colonists settle on this grant? What was the Massachusetts Bay Company? Why did they ask the king for a charter and why did they come to America? Tell about the settlement of Boston and the great Puritan migration.

7. Describe the New England town meeting. Describe the government of the Massachusetts colony. Name some of the laws and penalties in Massachusetts. Why did the Massachusetts Bay Company make the union of church and state so close?

8. What was the motive of Lord Baltimore in founding the colony of Maryland? Why was Maryland called a proprietary colony? Contrast the early years of Maryland with those of Virginia and Plymouth. Why did Virginia object to Baltimore's colony? What was the meaning and effect of the Toleration Act?

Project Exercises

1. Review the bounds of the grant of territory to the London Company of England (see page 28).

2. Explain why the granting of a legislature to the Virginia colony was a matter of such great importance.

3. Compare the seventeenth century attitude of the mother country and the Massachusetts colony on religious questions.

Important Dates:

1607. Settlement of Jamestown.

1619. Meeting at Jamestown of the first legislature in America.

1620. Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

1634. Founding of Maryland.



A MARYLAND SHILLING

CHAPTER IV

ENGLAND'S RIVALS IN AMERICA

Spanish America. — Spain, claiming all the New World through discovery and exploration and by gift of the pope, of course did not recognize the right of other nations to make settlements in America. Having driven the French out of Florida (see page 24), the Spaniards remained in possession of the peninsula, with St. Augustine as their chief post, and even extended their posts as far north as Port Royal in South Carolina. In New Mexico, in the far West, Spaniards coming up from the city of Mexico founded Santa Fé in 1605. At various points Spanish priests established schools and missions for the education and conversion of the Indians. The Spanish settlements in what is now the United States were weak, for most of the Spaniards were attracted to Mexico, Central America, and Peru, where the mines poured out a wealth of gold and silver.

The Buccaneers. — Later the English, French, and Dutch made settlements of their own in the West Indies. Spain had settled only the few large islands. The other nations settled upon the many small islands, which were unoccupied except by the natives. The English and the French made their first settlements in 1625 and the Dutch a few years later. After these nations had settled in the West Indies, buccaneers took the place of the corsairs, who had previously been such a plague to Spain (see page 22). Buccaneers made their nests on the small islands, whence they continued the damaging of Spanish trade by smuggling, plundering, and killing. The buccaneers differed from corsairs in that they had no home and they held but slight allegiance to any country. They acted, as often as not, without authority

from any government, and their motive was personal gain. Their ranks were recruited from the most desperate and lawless class of men. Except for the fact that they were



the enemies of Spaniards alone, and not of all mankind, they were pirates.¹

By 1700, when buccaneering was finally suppressed, mainly through the efforts of England, the trade of Spain with her American colonies had been brought well-nigh to ruin — a condition that had much to do with the weakening of Spain as a war power.

Importance of the West Indies. — While Spanish trade languished, the West Indies prospered. The supply of precious metals on the islands was never large and was soon exhausted; but the rich soil made planting profitable. Sugar became the largest crop, though coffee, cotton, and

¹ As corsairing was followed in the West Indies by buccaneering, so buccaneering was followed by piracy. After 1700 the West Indies became infested with pirates who for many years scoured the neighboring seas and even carried their depredations far up the Atlantic. The pirates were very active off the coast of the young English colonies of the Carolinas.

tobacco were also extensively cultivated. In the struggle of nations for control of America, the West Indies became the scene of much fighting.

New France. — Samuel de Champlain, governor of New France, was for more than a quarter of a century the leading man of Canada. After he had founded Quebec (see page 24) he began to explore. He made friends with the Indians around Quebec and joined them in a war against the Iroquois of upper New York. This branch of the great Iroquois



FRENCH MISSIONARIES TO THE INDIANS

From an old print.

family, called by the whites the “Five Nations,” because it was a confederacy of five tribes,¹ was the most powerful Indian organization east of the Mississippi. Champlain’s mistake in arousing the hostility of the “Five Nations” was fortunate for the English; it prevented the French from occupying territory in New York at a time when the Dutch on the Hudson were too weak to offer opposition (see page 28). Unable to go southward, Champlain pushed his explorations to the west. He explored the country far into the interior and was the first white man to look upon the waters of the great lakes of Ontario and Huron.

¹ After the Tuscarora tribe from North Carolina joined the confederacy (see note, page 70), it was called the “Six Nations.”

Catholic Missionaries. — Champlain regarded the conversion of souls as more important than the making of an empire. He first secured the assistance of fathers of the Recollect Order, who built missions among the Indians of Canada. Jesuit missionaries, who followed the Recollects, were more active, and it was mainly through their zeal that the country now known as the Middle West was explored. These devoted men endured untold hardships in carrying Christian teaching to the savage. Some suffered torture and death; yet they persevered until they had converted many of the Indians to Christianity. By 1634 their missions extended as far as the neighborhood of Lake Huron. By 1641 they had reached the present state of Michigan.

The French Traders. — But the missionaries were not alone in exploring the West. The St. Lawrence River, upon which Quebec and the other towns were located, furnished an excellent waterway to the region around the Great Lakes, and the Frenchmen were not slow to take advantage of it. Into the depths of the forest French traders carried beads, trinkets, and cloth to exchange with the Indians for skins and furs. They outdistanced the priest. A few years after missions were planted in Michigan, the traders had reached the Illinois country. Unlike the priests, they dared danger mainly for the sake of trade, but, like them, they won the friendship of the Indians for the French.

Slow Growth of New France. — Though priests and traders were active, the settlement of Canada was exceedingly slow and in marked contrast to the growth of the English colonies. Thirty-two years after its founding (1640), Quebec, the principal town of the province, consisted of a fort, a Jesuit chapel, a convent, a seminary and



FRENCH FUR TRADER

a hospital for the Indians, and the warehouses and tenements of a French fur company — all rudely constructed of wood. Of dwellings for settlers there were barely any, since there was little need for them. The population numbered only about two hundred men, women, and children, almost all of whom were connected with the fur company. The remainder were mostly priests and nuns. The wilderness around Quebec was scarcely touched, for the dozen or so settlers could not gain a living from the unproductive soil. Nor could the settlers trade with the Indians, for the fur company had the sole right; nor were they permitted

to catch the fish that abounded in waters near by. Often their condition was so desperate that they had to be fed from the supplies sent over from France for the benefit of the employees of the fur company. A colony planted in such a manner does not attract many immigrants.

New Netherland. — The Dutch, who claimed the country from Massachusetts to the Delaware River, calling it New



Netherland (see page 29), had built, in 1613, a post on Manhattan Island, the site of New York city, for the purpose of trading in furs and skins with the Indians on the Hudson. Realizing the importance of the Indian trade coming from the north by way of Lake Champlain and from

the Great Lakes by way of the Mohawk River, they built within a few years another post on the upper Hudson, on the site of Albany.

The First Dutch Settlers. — In order to reap the great profits of the trade with the Indians, Dutch merchants organized the West India Company, and obtained from the government of Holland the right to trade with New Netherland and the right to govern the country. In 1623 the company sent out the first settlers. A fort was built up the Hudson on the site of Albany; another fort was built on the Delaware River, opposite Philadelphia, and still another on the Connecticut River, at Hartford. With this line of forts the Dutch hoped to hold the territory against the claims of other nations.

Manhattan Purchased. — In 1626 Manhattan Island was purchased from the Indians for \$24. Fort Amsterdam was erected on the island, and to the group of huts already there the name of New Amsterdam was given, in compliment to the chief city of Holland.

The "Patroons." — As was the case with the Spanish and French colonies, the growth of New Netherland was very slow. In 1628, fifteen years after the erection of the first hut in New Amsterdam, only 270 people were living in the town. Traders mostly sought the colony and, since they were men coming and going all the time, the West India Company wanted farmers. In order to get them, it made a rule that every member of the company who took to the colony fifty settlers should receive the title of "Patroon" and a grant of a large tract of land. The colonists whom the patroon brought over had to rent land from him for ten years. The patroon furnished the necessary houses,



DUTCH PATROON OR
LANDED PROPRIETOR

implements, and cattle, and the tenant could not give up cultivating the patroon's land without the latter's consent and could not sell his produce to any one else until the patroon had bought as much of it as he wished. The plan did not work as well as the company had hoped. It was difficult to persuade farmers to give up their life of independence in Holland to become vassals in America.¹ Besides, the granting of such large tracts of land to a few proprietors caused much discontent among the other settlers. The company, therefore, abandoned the practice of creating patroons, and offered to every person who would become a settler the right to own land. With this change there was some improvement in immigration, yet New Netherland grew very slowly.

The Dutch and the English. — The Dutch tried to hold the Connecticut Valley as a region for their traders to visit, but New England farmers, who had occupied the valley by building homes, crowded them out. New Englanders also settled on Long Island, which was then under Dutch control. The sturdy Puritans on Long Island did not like the rule of the Dutch governor at New Amsterdam and were constantly quarreling with him. The Dutch themselves were dissatisfied, because the people were given no voice whatever in the government that the West India Company had provided for the colony.

Peter Stuyvesant. — The most famous of the Dutch governors was Peter Stuyvesant, who came over in 1647. He was a bluff, but honest old soldier, who did not believe that the people were wise enough to govern themselves and who ruled accordingly. Yet Stuyvesant had the welfare of New Netherland at heart. Immigrants from Sweden had made a settlement, called New Sweden, in the present state of Delaware, in 1638. The Swedish colony was on territory claimed by the Dutch. Stuyvesant overpowered

¹ Holland, after gaining her independence from Spain, had set up a republic. The Dutch were enjoying the freest government then in the world.

New Sweden and placed it under the government of New Netherland. In his contentions with the New Englanders, however, he was not so fortunate. Though he stormed at and threatened the English settlers in the Connecticut Valley, he knew that he was not strong enough to make them acknowledge the Dutch claim to that region.



PETER STUYVESANT

After the portrait in the possession of the New York Historical Society

The Mississippi Valley. — Far in the interior, back of the European colonies, lay the Mississippi Valley, the heart of the continent. Little was yet known of that vast region, and its importance was not realized. In the course of time, however, it was seen that the nation that controlled the Mississippi Valley would dominate North America. The way to the valley from any of the European settlements was long and tedious and beset with hardships, but for the French, Dutch, and Spaniards it was less so than for the English. The French, who had the easiest route of all, might reach the valley by the St. Lawrence and the Ohio or the Great Lakes. The Dutch might reach it by the Hudson and the Mohawk. The Spaniards might move overland from Florida or Mexico or go up the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico. The Alleghany Mountains separated the English from the valley. The approach over this barrier was difficult; it lay either by the upper Potomac where it breaks through the mountains or in the pass known as the Cumberland Gap.

Why the English Excelled as Colonizers. — On the other hand, the temperate climate of the region which the English shared with the Dutch was best for colonization. Further-

more, the English had an advantage over all competitors. Others had come, for the main part, fortune hunting; the Spaniards to find it in the mines of gold and silver, and the French and Dutch in the trade for skins and furs. The English had come to America to make homes; and upon homes alone can colonies be solidly built.

Topics and Questions

1. Where did the Spaniards make settlements in what is now the United States, and why were these settlements weak? Explain the difference between a corsair, a buccaneer, and a pirate. Why were the West Indies important?

2. What had the French done to explore and settle American lands before 1608? (See pages 23-25.) How did Champlain gain Indian allies? What Indian enemies did he make? What constitutes Champlain's claim to being a great explorer?

3. Give an account of the motives and methods of the Jesuit missionaries who came to New France. Compare their work with that of the Spanish monks in Florida. How far westward did their missions extend in 1641? What were the motives and methods of the French fur traders? Give reasons for the slow growth of New France.

4. Whose explorations secured a claim to the New World for the Dutch? (See page 28.) When was a Dutch post built on Manhattan Island? What was the object of the Dutch West India Company? When was Manhattan Island purchased? Why did the West India Company desire farmers as well as traders for their colony, and what inducements did they offer? Why did New Netherland grow so slowly? Why were the New Englanders able to push the Dutch out of the Connecticut Valley? What were the troubles of Peter Stuyvesant?

5. Explain the importance of the Mississippi Valley. Why did the English excel as colonizers?

Project Exercises

1. Follow on the map the journeys of Champlain and the westward advance of the Jesuit missionaries and French fur traders.

2. Study the map of the regions in the New World claimed by the Dutch, to see whether any strategic points were left uncovered by their forts.

3. Trace on the map the routes that the colonizing nations could take to reach the Mississippi Valley.

Important Date :

1613. Building of a Dutch post on the site of New York City.

CHAPTER V

GROWTH OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES

New Hampshire. — Settlements were first made in New Hampshire in 1623 by immigrants from England. Later other settlements were made by people from Massachusetts. Twice during the colonial period New Hampshire was attached to Massachusetts and twice it was set up as a separate colony. At the time of the Revolution it was a royal colony.¹

Connecticut. — The settlement of Connecticut and the crowding out of the Dutch from the Connecticut Valley (see page 52) were mainly the work of immigrants from Massachusetts. Many persons in the Bay colony coveted the fertile lands of the Connecticut Valley; and, besides, they had become dissatisfied with the government of Massachusetts. In 1635, men from Massachusetts founded the towns of Windsor and Wethersfield. In the next year the migration began in earnest. The inhabitants of New Town (now Cambridge) sold their houses and lands and turned their faces toward Connecticut. They were led by their pastor, Thomas Hooker, and numbered about one hundred persons, men, women, and children. After ten days of travel through the forests, they reached their journey's end and began the town of Hartford. In 1639, the three towns, Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford, adopted a constitution. Connecticut was the only colony whose

¹ Vermont and Maine were settled in colonial times, but they did not become separate colonies. Vermont, claimed by both New Hampshire and New York, was admitted into the Union as a state in 1791. Maine continued to be a part of Massachusetts until 1820, when it was made a state.

people framed a constitution. The king's permission was not even asked, and the citizens swore allegiance, not to the king, but to the colony, as though it were an independent republic. Like Plymouth, but unlike Massachusetts, the right to vote was not confined to members of the Puritan Church. In its very infancy the colony was able to exterminate the Pequots, the most powerful of all the tribes of New England, who had gone on the war-path to drive away the whites.

Rhode Island. — Roger Williams founded Rhode Island. Williams was the minister at Salem, Massachusetts, where



THE MONUMENT TO ROGER WILLIAMS AT PROVIDENCE

the boldness of his speech got him into trouble. Whatever Williams did not like about the Puritan Church or government he did not hesitate to denounce. He went even further. He declared that the king had no right to make grants of land in America; that these lands belonged to the Indians and should be purchased from them. Thus he not only questioned the titles to the lands which the settlers had acquired, but he also denied the authority of the king. The doctrines of Williams, both religious and political, were regarded as dangerous to the colony. He was therefore banished from Massachusetts.

It was ordered that he be sent to England, but he escaped into the wilderness where he found friends among the Indians, for he had often shown them kindness. The Indians gave him a tract of land upon which he began, in 1636, a settlement with a few followers who shared his opinions. He called his settlement Providence.

Religious Freedom in Rhode Island. — Williams was far in advance of his time. He believed that every man should be allowed to vote and to follow the religion that he preferred. He wished to make a home for all who suffered on account of their religious belief, or, as he expressed it, all who were “distressed for conscience.” Therefore, when persecuted persons sought him he gave them land. Under Williams’ instruction the settlers at Providence organized a very simple government. All signed a compact to obey laws passed by the majority, but “only in civil things.” No church was to be supported by taxes, and every man, whether Christian, Jew, Mohammedan, or heathen, could worship as he chose. Nowhere else in the world were all men allowed equal religious rights.

The Puritans Distrust Rhode Island. — The Puritans of New England looked with abhorrence upon a colony that refused to shut its doors upon any man. They did not believe that Rhode Island could survive. Yet the broad principle upon which it was builded is the foundation stone of our great republic.

The New England Confederation. — New England furnished the first union of colonies in America. The French, who had made settlements on the St. Lawrence River, were pushing close upon the territory claimed by New England; the Dutch of New Netherland were threatening the Connecticut Valley; and the Indians were once more becoming restless. As a protection against these dangers the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven¹ established in 1643 a confederation under the name of the “United Colonies of New England.” Commissioners from the colony took charge of certain matters of general concern, but each colony continued to manage its local affairs. Rhode Island was not admitted into the confederation because it harbored people of every religion. The people of New

¹ The New Haven colony had been established near the Connecticut colony by Puritans from old England. Later the king annexed New Haven colony to Connecticut.

England had organized the confederation without permission from the home government, and their action was regarded in England with suspicion, but Charles I was too busy with a war with his subjects at home to take steps to curb the spirit of independence showing in his subjects in far-away America.

The Rule of Oliver Cromwell. — The civil war in England broke out because Charles I, finding that he could not control parliament, insisted on ruling without it. He levied taxes without the consent of parliament, and when that body protested, he attempted to arrest its leaders. Parliament, which was Puritan, raised armies to oppose him. The war ended with the defeat of the king's forces. The king was taken prisoner and beheaded in 1649. England was then organized into a republic, or commonwealth. Oliver Cromwell, the greatest general of the Puritans and one of the greatest generals of the world, was placed at its head under the title of Protector.

Puritans Seize the Maryland Government. — The transfer of the colonies in America from the rule of the monarchy to that of the Commonwealth caused no disturbance except in Maryland. The Puritans, who had taken advantage of the religious toleration in Maryland and had moved into the colony in large numbers, hoped that because Cromwell was a Puritan, the government of the colony would be taken from Lord Baltimore and turned over to them. With the assistance of Cromwell's commissioners in America, they secured control of the government, and passed a law forbidding Catholics to practice their religious rites. In the effort of Lord Baltimore to regain his government his forces were defeated in battle. Cromwell, however, did not recognize the Puritan government. When Baltimore once more came into undisputed control of the colony, religious freedom was again given to all Christians.

Coming of the Cavaliers. — While the Puritans were in control of England, there was no great incentive for their seeking homes in America, and consequently Puritan immi-

gration to New England declined. On the other hand, because the Virginians had sympathized with the royal cause, many of the followers of the late king, called Cavaliers, who were unwilling to live in England under the Puritan government, immigrated to Virginia. The Cavaliers were men of character and culture, and they added much strength to the colony.

The Restoration. — Although Cromwell, by a vigorous foreign policy, enlarged England's commerce and increased the respect of other nations for her growing power, yet his rule in England did not have a happy result. Cromwell preferred to govern with every respect for the law, but dissensions in his own party and the hostility of his opponents made it necessary to use force. He was a king except in name and, supported by the army, he became a military despot. The people resented his martial rule; they chafed under the austere, pleasureless life that the Puritans forced upon them; most of them at heart had always preferred a limited monarchy. It is not surprising, therefore, that soon after the death of Cromwell, whose iron will alone had held his government together, the Commonwealth went to pieces. In 1660 Prince Charles, son of Charles I, was recalled from exile and proclaimed king as Charles II.

The Work of the Puritans. — It should not be forgotten, however, that the Puritan Revolution in England served a great purpose. No more would absolute monarchy be tolerated in England. The insistence of the Puritans upon a high standard of morals struck root; and the world has been made better.



AN ENGLISH CAVALIER
OF THE 17TH CENTURY

Life in the Colonies (1660). — In Virginia everybody was taxed to support the Church of England, but the law requiring divine worship to conform to the practice of the church was rarely enforced. When the civil war broke out in England, the Virginians, believing that the Puritans were responsible for all the trouble, enacted severe laws against Nonconformists. The spirit of intolerance soon ceased,



COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

After a drawing made about 1740

however, against all except Quakers and Baptists. For many years longer unjust laws against these sects stood on the statute book, but in time they came to be ignored and were finally repealed.

Education in Virginia. — There were private schools and some public schools in Virginia. The first public school in America was established at Charles City, Virginia, in 1621. Efforts were early made to start a college, but the Indian war of 1622 prevented, and when Virginia became a royal colony the kings discouraged education.¹

The Virginia Plantations. — On the Virginia plantations could be seen spacious homes, surrounded by broad acres of tobacco, wheat, barley, and corn. There were no large towns, because the people did not need them. Commerce

¹ In 1693, William and Mary being on the throne, a college was founded at Williamsburg, Virginia, and named in their honor. The college of William and Mary is the second oldest college in the United States.

was brought to the planter's door. On his plantation he had a wharf at which ships coming from English or foreign ports unloaded their merchandise and took his tobacco on board. In earlier days the streams were the main highways. The Virginian and his family went to church and visited friends in his sloop or barge. When roads were opened, it became not uncommon to see fine carriages and high-bred horses. The Virginian entertained hospitably, and his outdoor life made him fond of outdoor sports, particularly horse racing. The meetings of the courts furnished gala occasions for all the country round about.

In Maryland. — Life in Maryland was similar to that in Virginia. Tobacco was the chief product. The planter had his own wharf for receiving merchandise and shipping tobacco. Religious freedom attracted, besides Puritans, many Quakers, and toleration of foreigners caused many Frenchmen and Dutchmen to seek peaceful homes on the north bank of the Potomac and the upper shores of the Chesapeake Bay.

Somber Life of New England. — In New England there were few pastimes, for gayety was looked upon as sinful. Except in Rhode Island, every person was required to attend church twice on Sunday, and the law was usually rigidly enforced. While it was an age when every country had laws regulating many things with which the law does not now concern itself, such laws were particularly numerous in Massachusetts. In that colony laws regulated what prices a grocer should charge; what wages a servant should receive; how one should conduct oneself in the home, and what one should eat and drink; how a man should wear his hair; how a woman should cut the sleeves of her dress. Laws against extravagance in dress were very severe.

Intolerance in Massachusetts. — Massachusetts had become especially intolerant of Quakers. When members of that sect insisted on coming back into the colony after having been sent away, a law was passed inflicting the death penalty. Between 1659 and 1661 four Quakers, one a woman, were hanged in Boston. The people of Massachusetts never

approved of putting the Quakers to death. It was the government that resorted to such a harsh course, and the people forced the repeal of the law.

Harvard College Founded. — Many of the settlers of Massachusetts were men who had received a good education, and who, therefore, knew the value of learning. In 1636 the general court (assembly) established a college at New



THE OLDEST BUILDINGS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

After an early picture in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society

Town (now Cambridge). This college, Harvard, is the oldest in the United States. Later each colony composing the New England Confederation passed a law requiring every town to establish a school.

Towns and Occupations in New England. — On account of the stony soil, there were few large plantations in New England. As each community formed a separate church organization, it was convenient for the people to live close together. Thus there grew up a number of towns, each built around its meeting house.¹ Comfortable homes had taken the place of the rough cabins of the first settlers. Adventurous skippers in boats of their own making traveled

¹ However, for government and church purposes, the town not only included the village itself, but so much of the surrounding country as was within easy reach of the meeting house.

along the coast, going as far as the Dutch settlement in New York harbor. Fish, furs, and lumber were shipped to England and exchanged for manufactured articles.

New Amsterdam. — Between the New England colonies and the Southern colonies was the Dutch colony of New Netherland. After some years of slow growth this colony had developed considerably. In 1660 New Netherland had a population of about eight thousand. Settlements had



THE STADT HUYS, NEW YORK, 1679

extended to a considerable distance up the Hudson. There were about sixteen hundred inhabitants in the town of New Amsterdam. The Dutch had allowed religious freedom, and thus had attracted to the colony people from all parts of the world. Eighteen languages could be heard in New Amsterdam. All public documents were published in Dutch, French, and English. New Amsterdam did not extend above Wall street. This street received its name from a wall, or palisade, which stretched across the island to protect the town from inroads of the Indians. Dutch customs and Dutch ideas predominated. Many of the houses were built of yellow brick, with the gable end facing the street,

according to the custom in Holland. The floors were covered with white sand. The housekeeper, with the usual Dutch neatness, kept everything within doors scrupulously clean. In the town were gardens, orchards, and pastures. Many of the crooked streets that so bewilder the stranger who now visits the oldest parts of New York City were cow paths when the town was named New Amsterdam. Beyond the wall that enclosed the town were the "bouweries," as the Dutch called their farms.

Topics and Questions

1. Give the early history of New Hampshire. What motives influenced the New Englanders who settled Connecticut? How did they organize their government? What was remarkable about their constitution?

2. How did Roger Williams become the founder of Rhode Island? What was the government of his settlement at Providence? Why was it unique? Why did the Puritans distrust Rhode Island?

3. What was the purpose of the New England Confederation, and what were the provisions for government under it? Why was the Rhode Island colony left out of the Confederation? Was the king's consent asked for the organizing of the Confederation?

4. Puritans in England establish a commonwealth with Oliver Cromwell as Protector. Puritans in Maryland seize the government. Success of the Puritans in England causes a migration of Cavaliers to Virginia. Why should the children in Virginia and in many other states be interested in the Cavaliers of England?

5. What was the Restoration? What is the place of the Puritans in history?

6. Describe the early colonial life in Virginia. Show how the early life in Maryland was similar to, and the early life in Massachusetts was different from, that in Virginia.

7. Why did the Quakers have so much suffering in Massachusetts? When and where was the first college in the United States founded?

8. Give an account of early life in New Amsterdam.

Project Exercises

1. Compare the attitude of Massachusetts, Maryland and Rhode Island on religious matters. Tell which one accords with the laws of our country to-day.

2. Contrast the New England towns with Southern plantations. How do you account for the different kind of settlement?

CHAPTER VI

THE ENGLISH COLONIES AFTER 1660

The Independent Spirit of New England. — Charles II soon turned his attention to New England where the colonists were, as he thought, developing too rapidly the spirit of independence. The New England colonies had grown accustomed to manage their affairs without thought of the home government. Some of them, it will be remembered, had established the New England Confederation without permission from England. Massachusetts went further when she set up a mint with which she coined money for more than thirty years. Usually only independent governments have the right to coin money.

Every New England colony, except Massachusetts, existed without a charter from the king. Connecticut, anticipating some move on the part of Charles II, prudently asked him for a charter and thereby gained his favor. Rhode Island was already in the king's good graces; he liked that colony because the Puritans disliked it. Charles granted Connecticut and Rhode Island very liberal charters. The inhabitants were guaranteed the liberties they already enjoyed. They were also allowed to elect their own officials and make their own laws, the king not even reserving the right of veto. The religious freedom prevailing in Rhode Island was guaranteed by a provision in the charter forbidding that any person be molested for holding his own opinion in matters of religion.

Charles had executed some of the judges that had sent his father to the block. Two of these judges, or regicides as they were called, fleeing England, took refuge in the New Haven colony. Because New Haven refused to give them

up, Charles put an end to that colony by annexing it to Connecticut.

The Massachusetts Charter Revoked. — The king's displeasure was next visited upon Massachusetts. Charles demanded that the laws of the colony be so changed that others besides members of the Puritan Church should be allowed to vote; that the form of worship of the Church of England be permitted; and that the inhabitants be made to



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE HEADING, SIGNATURE, AND SEAL
OF THE MASSACHUSETTS CHARTER OF 1628-1629

take the oath of allegiance to the king. Although commissioners with troops were sent over in 1664 to enforce obedience, the colony refused to comply with the demands. War was then in progress between England and Holland, and Charles let the case against Massachusetts rest. However, he had no idea of abandoning it altogether, and finally in 1684, when Massachusetts still refused to comply, he revoked its charter. The colony became a royal province.

King Philip's War. — Charles II did not abolish the New England Confederation, but the annexation of New Haven to Connecticut, leaving only three colonies to compose the union, weakened the confederation too greatly for it to accomplish much further good. Yet, before the confeder-

ation passed out of existence it conquered in the most terrible Indian war that New England experienced. It is known as King Philip's war, from the name that the whites had given a prominent Indian chief. The war began in 1675 when the Indians surprised a small town in the Plymouth colony, killing many of the inhabitants, and committing all kinds of outrages. The Indians then scoured the country, murdering settlers and pillaging and burning villages. Race hatred stirred the savages. The confederation raised from Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut an army of volunteers that fought for a year before subduing the Indians. During the war twelve towns in Plymouth and Massachusetts were totally destroyed and forty others suffered the miseries of Indian warfare.

The Navigation Acts. — It was the common belief of Europe that the commerce of colonies should be used for the benefit of the mother country. While Cromwell was ruling England, the first law of navigation and trade was enacted. Others were enacted from time to time. These laws prohibited English colonies from selling many of their products anywhere but in England, and from buying most of their supplies in other than English markets. English merchants could thus force the colonists to charge low prices for much that they sold, and to pay high prices for much that they bought. Virginia and Maryland had built up with other parts of the world an extensive trade in tobacco. The navigation laws so cheapened the price of tobacco, while making the price of almost everything else rise, that great distress was caused in these colonies. Later, the navigation laws worked hardship on all the colonies.

The English and the Dutch Become Rivals. — England had always claimed the territory included in New Netherland by virtue of Cabot's discovery, but had never tried to oust the Dutch, because for more than a century England and Holland, the leading Protestant nations of Europe, had lived in close friendship. Now, however, competition in trade was estranging the two countries. Spain, the former

commercial rival of England, had declined; but Holland, not England, had taken her place as the chief commercial nation. Much of England's trade with other nations and with her American colonies, and, in fact, the greater part of the commerce of the world, was carried in Dutch vessels. England's old jealousy of the commercial greatness of the Spaniards was transferred to the Dutch. The purpose of the first navigation law, forbidding trade with England and her colonies except in English ships, was primarily to injure Dutch trade, and the law had already provoked a war with Holland.

The Dutch colony, situated between New England and the Southern colonies, prevented England from uniting her possessions in America; it hindered her from enforcing her navigation laws, for the English and the Dutch colonies carried on a smuggling trade with one another. Moreover, New Amsterdam had one of the finest harbors in the world, and the Hudson River was a highway for bringing a great fur trade to the town.

The Dutch Surrender New Netherland. — In 1664, at a time when England and Holland were at peace, Charles II granted New Netherland to his brother James, Duke of York. An English fleet and troops appeared in the harbor of New Amsterdam. The city was in a defenseless condition, but brave old Peter Stuyvesant wanted to fight. Finding, however, that the people would not support him, he was compelled to surrender. All the other Dutch settlements fell into the hands of the English. The names of the colony of New Netherland and the town of New Amsterdam were changed to New York in honor of the duke.

New York grew steadily under English rule. The colony had many royal governors, some of them good, but most of them bad, and as was the case with other colonies, the assembly had to strive against unjust taxation.

The Carolinas. — In 1663 Charles II gave the country south of Virginia to eight of his friends. In the grant the territory was called Carolina. It extended westward to the

South Sea (Pacific Ocean), and so far southward that it included a part of the present state of Florida. The king ignored the fact that Spain both held Florida and claimed much of the region now in the Carolinas.

Settlements had already been made in what is now North Carolina. As far back as 1653 emigrants from Virginia had begun to settle on the Albemarle Sound. Many were Quakers who wished to escape the penalties with which they were threatened in Virginia. The first colonists who came to Carolina direct from England landed in 1670 on the Ashley River in the present state of South Carolina.

It was not the intention of the proprietors to form two colonies in Carolina, but the settlement on Albemarle Sound and the settlement on the Ashley River were so far apart that from the outset they were distinct communities, each with its own assembly and generally with its own governor. From Albemarle Sound developed the colony of North Carolina, and from the Ashley River grew the colony of South Carolina.

The "Grand Model." — Lord Shaftesbury, one of the proprietors, and John Locke, the noted philosopher, drew up an elaborate constitution for Carolina. It was known as the "Grand Model," or "Fundamental Constitutions." It provided for orders of nobility and great landowners and a complicated set of courts. The laboring class were to be held as "leet-men," a kind of serfs. The "Grand Model" was impracticable for any community. It was least of all



THE CAROLINA COAST

suitable for a people who breathed the free air of a new world. It was never carried fully into effect, and was long a subject of quarrel between the settlers and the proprietors.

Early Life in North Carolina. — The settlement along Albemarle Sound had been organized by the proprietors into the county of Albemarle. There were no towns, as the settlers lived on scattered farms which they had cleared by hard labor. They planted tobacco and raised cattle; from the pines they obtained tar and turpentine. In these products they built up a flourishing trade with New England. They loved liberty and rebelled when the proprietors attempted to put unjust restraint upon them. When an effort was made to enforce the navigation laws, which would have stopped the trade with New England, they put the governor and council in jail. They deposed the next governor, and still another they banished from the colony.

From 1691 to 1712 the colonies of North Carolina and South Carolina had one governor, who resided at Charleston. His deputy had charge of affairs in North Carolina. With few exceptions the deputies appointed for North Carolina were unfit to govern the colony. The time was one of almost constant disorder. Nevertheless, the population increased steadily. Huguenots had settled near the mouth of the Tar River; Swiss and Germans had founded the town of New Bern.

War with the Tuscaroras. — In 1711 there was a sudden uprising of the Indians, led by the Tuscaroras.¹ For three days the tomahawk spared neither sex nor age. Quiet was restored only when the colonists defeated the Indians in a battle on the Neuse River. Two years later the Tuscaroras again gave trouble. Then they were dealt such crushing blows that their power for mischief was brought to an end.

¹ The Tuscaroras belonged to the Iroquois family of Indians. After their defeat in North Carolina, the Tuscaroras moved to upper New York and there joined the powerful confederacy of five Iroquois tribes which the white settlers called the "Five Nations." The confederacy then became known as the "Six Nations" (see page 48).

The Settlement on the Ashley River. — The colonists from England who landed on the Ashley River in 1670 made their settlement on the west bank of the river, and named it Charles Town for their king. In 1680 the town was transferred to the peninsula between the Ashley and Cooper rivers; and thus began the present city of Charleston. The granting of religious freedom in Carolina brought immigrants to the Ashley River colony. Within a few years a considerable number of Englishmen had come from Barbados, in the West Indies, and Dutchmen from New York, and, most of all, English people direct from the mother country. The



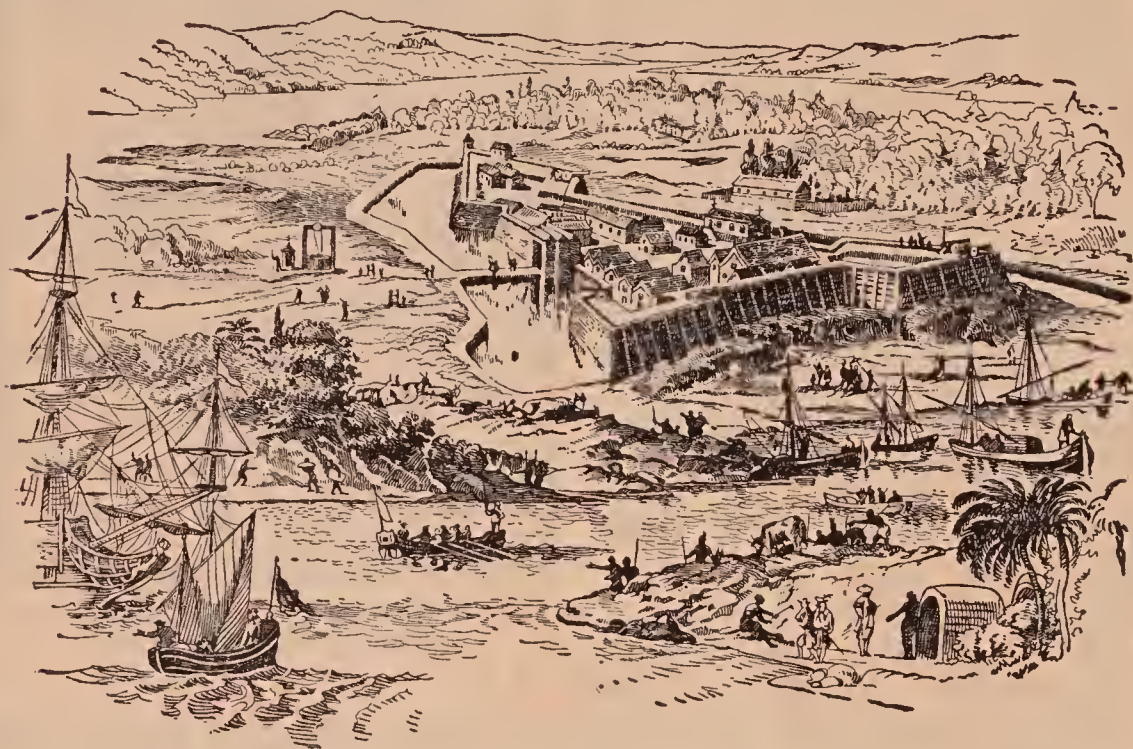
CHARLESTON HARBOR

Indians were hostile, and the early settlers had to build their houses and clear their fields with weapons by their side.

The Huguenots. — In the latter part of the seventeenth century, many French Protestants (Huguenots) came to America to escape persecution. Most of them settled in South Carolina. They came from the most substantial class of the French people. Many of them were well educated, and all of them were thrifty and of sterling character. They left an impress upon the colony that lasts to this day.

Early Life in South Carolina. — South Carolina did not grow from rural communities, as the older southern colonies did; nor did it grow from a number of towns, as was the case in New England, but developed from a single town. Charleston was the center of all political, social, and commercial activity. In 1700 the colony had about five thousand inhabitants, more than half of whom lived in the town. None of the plantations were so far distant that the fortifications of the town could not be easily reached.

The planters sold their products to merchants in Charleston who, in turn, shipped them to all parts of the world, thus making Charleston important as a seaport. The chief staple of the colony at this time was rice. Afterward, the cultivation of indigo was also found to be very profitable. Slaves



CHARLESTON IN 1673

From an old print

were numerous from an early period, as negro labor was better suited than white to the cultivation of crops in the lowlands.

The Carolinas Become Royal Colonies. — As was the case with her sister colony, South Carolina had much trouble on account of the interference of the proprietors. In a period of four years there were six changes of governors, for it was difficult to find one who was satisfactory to both colonists and proprietors. In 1719 the people deposed the governor appointed by the proprietors and petitioned the king (George I) to make South Carolina a royal colony. The king granted the petition. In 1729 the crown purchased the rights of the proprietors, and formally divided Carolina into North and South Carolina.

Charles II and Virginia. — Instead of showing gratitude for the loyalty of the Virginians to his father and himself, Charles II began immediately to oppress them. At the command of the king, Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, appointed many of Charles' worthless favorites to offices in the colony. These men misappropriated the public money. The assembly itself voted its members large salaries, laid heavy taxes, and passed many objectionable laws; yet the governor refused to call an election for a new assembly. The king went so far as to make a present of Virginia to two of his friends, Lord Arlington and Lord Culpepper.

Bacon's Rebellion. — It seemed as if the colony was going to be ruined, and to add to its troubles, the Indians attacked the outlying settlements.

Because the governor did not seem to be taking the proper steps to stop the massacres, some of the planters on the frontier, led by Nathaniel Bacon, made war upon the Indians without permission of the government, which of course was unlawful. Berkeley declared Bacon a rebel, and thereupon



BACON AND BERKELEY

(1676) a civil war, known as Bacon's Rebellion, broke out. Many of the most prominent inhabitants of the colony supported Bacon. With his little army Bacon marched against Berkeley, who had collected a large force. Berkeley was defeated and was obliged to flee. Bacon seemed master of the situation, but a fever seized him and he died. With the death of the leader, resistance to the government was soon quelled, and Berkeley was once more in complete control. He hanged more than twenty of Bacon's followers. When King Charles heard of Berkeley's

vindictive work, he exclaimed, "The old fool has put to death more people in that naked country than I did here for the murder of my father."

Berkeley was removed from the governorship. Yet the reforms, shown by Bacon's Rebellion to be necessary, were ignored. The king preferred to rule the colony in his own way. The grant to Arlington and Culpepper was annulled, but dishonest officials, unjust taxes, and the navigation laws continued to cause irritation. Bacon's Rebellion has been aptly described as a "forerunner of the American Revolution."

Renewal of Persecutions in England. — The overthrow of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy were followed by renewed persecution of the dissenters in England. To dissent from the Church of England was still regarded by royalists as disloyalty to the monarchy. The royalists, coming again into control of parliament, passed harsh laws for the purpose of forcing dissenters to conform to the worship of the Established Church. The "Conventicle Act" forbade more than five persons to gather together to worship in any manner other than that prescribed by the Established Church. The "Five Mile Act" prohibited a preacher who denied the doctrines of the Established Church or who refused to take an oath never to take up arms against the king, from going within five miles of any town or place where he had previously preached or taught. For failure to comply with one or the other of the laws many dissenters were thrown into prison. Some were banished from England. John Bunyan, the author, remained twelve years in prison because he would not obey these laws. It was while in prison that he began to write his masterpiece, *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

The Quakers. — Of all the dissenting sects, the Quakers suffered the most. Because the Quakers, or Friends, as they called themselves, were at that time mostly poor people and because many of their customs were peculiar, they were objects of contempt and ridicule. Special laws were enacted against their practicing their religion. Often Quakers, even

women and children, were publicly flogged or put in the pillory. Although the sect was small, soon more than four thousand Quakers were confined in jails.

William Penn. — William Penn was a noted Quaker and one of the best of men. Though born to wealth, he was a friend of the lowly; though a favorite at court, he joined a despised and persecuted sect, and even suffered imprisonment for his religious convictions. Penn thought a refuge might be found in America for the distressed Quakers. With other Quakers he purchased New Jersey, a colony lying between the Hudson and the Delaware, which Lord Berkeley and Sir George Cartaret had founded in 1665. Some Quaker immigrants came over to the colony.¹



A QUAKER OF THE
17TH CENTURY



WILLIAM PENN

At the age of 22. After the portrait
attributed to Sir Peter Lely

Penn Receives Grant to Pennsylvania. — But Penn wished to found still another colony for Quakers, and he appealed to Charles II for assistance. The king had never favored religious persecution; parliament had passed the laws against dissenters contrary to his advice. Now Charles was friendly to Penn, and, moreover, he owed Penn a large sum of money, a debt origi-

nally due to Penn's father, who had been a distinguished

¹ New Jersey had formed a part of New Netherland and had been given to Berkeley and Cartaret by the Duke of York. In 1702 the Quakers sold to the crown their rights to the colony.

admiral. Penn asked Charles to grant him lands north of Maryland in payment of the debt. Charles, who had lands in abundance in America, but no money, gave Penn a charter making him proprietor of the territory which the king called Pennsylvania. In order that the new territory might have an outlet to the sea, Penn persuaded the Duke of York to give him Delaware. At that time it was owned by the duke as a part of New York. Delaware and the southern part of Pennsylvania were within the limits of Maryland, as fixed by its charter, and Lord Baltimore protested against the loss of territory. But he protested in vain; the king of England thought it a small matter to give away the same land twice.¹



Face showing Penn Arms

Face showing Baltimore Arms

BOUNDARY STONE SET UP EVERY FIVE MILES
ALONG MASON AND DIXON'S LINE

The Great Migration of Quakers. — Penn advertised his province extensively, offering land for sale at a low price. He declared that in his colony there should be absolute freedom of conscience and equal justice to all men, Indians as well as whites. The Quakers in England were

enthusiastic over the liberal and humane plans of Penn, and the first shiploads, which arrived in 1681, were

¹ The dispute about the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland was finally settled in 1767, when Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon completed the survey of the boundary line which has ever since been known as "Mason and Dixon's Line."

quickly followed by many others. Penn himself came over in 1682 and founded Philadelphia, the "City of Brotherly Love." He immediately made a treaty of friendship with the Indians of the surrounding country. The Indians who made the pledge to Penn never broke it, and the peace-loving Quakers kept theirs to the natives. It was not until many years later, when the settlers pushing into the interior met other tribes, that Pennsylvania suffered from Indian wars.

Rapid Growth of Pennsylvania. — There was such a rush of immigrants to Pennsylvania that within three years the wilderness had changed to a thriving community of eighteen thousand souls. Philadelphia claimed two thousand inhabitants. Its streets, regularly laid out, were adorned by many substantial brick residences.

The proprietary rights to Pennsylvania remained with the Penn family until the Revolution. The immigration that set in so strongly with the founding of the colony continued without interruption. Settlers came from all parts of the world, and though Pennsylvania was the last colony to be settled, except Georgia, its growth was so rapid that at the outbreak of the Revolution only two colonies¹ had a greater population. Germans and Scotch-Irish were more numerous in Pennsylvania than in any other colony. They opened up the fertile valley of the Susquehanna and the country farther toward the mountains. Thence they poured like a steady stream into the interior of the Southern colonies.

The Tyranny of James II. — Charles II died in 1685. He had few good traits, the chief being his dislike of persecution.² He was selfish, immoral, unreliable, and extravagant. Yet, possessing the tact that his father lacked, he knew how far he could go without causing the people to rebel. He was a better king than his brother, the Duke of York, who succeeded him as James II, and who made himself very

¹ Virginia and Massachusetts.

² The opposition of Charles II to religious persecution was largely due to a wish to spare the Catholics, for he was at heart a Catholic.

obnoxious by his attempt to revive in England the rule by the divine right of kings.

Rule of Andros. — James II treated his subjects in America as tyrannically as he treated his subjects in England. Charles II had died before he could give Massachusetts a charter to take the place of the one that he had revoked.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS

After the portrait in the State
Library at Hartford

James II not only refused to give Massachusetts a new charter, but he revoked the charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island. In order to control America more easily, he planned to unite all the colonies under one government, and to carry out this design he made Sir Edmund Andros governor of New England, New York, and New Jersey. Thus the new governor's authority extended from Maine to Delaware. The seat of government was at Boston. Andros' rule was despotic; assemblies were abolished

and exorbitant taxes were levied. Fortunately his power did not last long.

“Revolution of 1688.” — In attempting to restore the Catholic Church to its former position in England, James II went one step too far. Although much of the prejudice against Catholics on religious grounds had passed away, the people rose in revolution because they feared that the pope might again secure political control of England. In response to an invitation from leading men of the kingdom, William, Prince of Orange, the head of the Dutch government, landed in England with Dutch troops. The people flocked to his standard. James, seeing that resistance was useless, fled to France in 1688. Parliament thereupon proclaimed William and his wife, Mary, joint sovereigns

of England. William was the nephew and Mary the daughter of the fugitive king and both were Protestants. Parliament also passed the Bill of Rights, which William and Mary accepted. The Bill of Rights fixed firmly in England the principle that all power lies with the people and, through them, with parliament. So far as England is concerned, the divine right of kings was forever shattered. Thereafter parliament could make or unmake kings.

A New Charter for Massachusetts. — When news of the flight of James II reached Boston, the people of Massachusetts threw Andros into prison. William and Mary gave to Massachusetts a new charter. While the charter did away with the requirement that voters should be members of the Congregational Church, it took from the colony the right to select its governor. This right was reserved to the crown. Plymouth was annexed to Massachusetts and New Hampshire was made a separate colony. The liberal charters of Connecticut and Rhode Island were restored.¹

The Protestants in Maryland. — By 1689 immigration had so changed the population in Maryland that there were comparatively few Catholics in the colony. In that year the Protestants, relying upon the fact that William and Mary were Protestants, seized the government and petitioned the sovereigns to take the control of the colony from Lord Baltimore. William and Mary did so, and Maryland became a crown colony. Twenty-five years later, the Lords Baltimore having become Protestants, the colony was

¹ About this time a witchcraft craze arose in Salem, Massachusetts. It was still common for people all over the civilized world to believe in witchcraft. Massachusetts had suffered much from Indian wars, terrible conflagrations, and scourges of smallpox. The belief that the colony was under some evil spell overwhelmed the people of Salem, who placed the blame on witches. The craze became so violent that in the year 1692 more than a hundred men and women were arrested in Salem on the charge of practicing witchcraft. Of this number nineteen were executed, mainly upon the flimsy testimony of children who afterwards confessed that they had sworn falsely. The delusion did not last long, and the poor creatures still confined in jail were released.

restored to the family, and Maryland continued to be ruled by proprietors until the Revolution.

Georgia. — Georgia was the last English colony settled. Other colonies had been settled for religious or commercial reasons, but Georgia was founded through the desire of James Edward Oglethorpe to help men who were suffering from debt. Oglethorpe had served with distinction in the



JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE

British army. In 1732 he was a member of parliament. At that time the law allowed a creditor to keep his debtor in prison until the debt was paid. Thus honest men who had met with reverses might end their days in jail. It grieved Oglethorpe to see the jails in England crowded with these unfortunate men. He conceived the plan of settling with their creditors and giving them homes in the New World where they might begin life over.

As Oglethorpe was not rich enough to carry out the plans alone, he persuaded other philanthropists of England to join him. Oglethorpe shrewdly explained to King George II that a colony planted to the south of the Carolinas would serve as a buffer against the Spaniards, who, claiming the Carolinas, were threatening those colonies. The king granted to Oglethorpe and his associates the country lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers and extending westward to the Pacific Ocean. Oglethorpe and his associates, who were named trustees of the colony, were to serve without pay. The colony was called Georgia in honor of the king. To make sure that only desirable emigrants were carried over to the new colony, every person who wished to go had to prove that he was a person of good character.

Settlement of Savannah. — Oglethorpe, at his own expense, crossed the Atlantic with the first colonists. Early in 1733 they built on a high bluff overlooking the Savannah River, and not far from its mouth, a town which they called Savannah.

Oglethorpe wished to make friends with all the Indian tribes in Georgia. Through Tomo-chi-chi, an aged chief, he sent invitations to the principal chiefs of the tribes in the country round about to gather in convention at Savannah. The invitation was accepted, and the Indians ceded to the whites a great area of land. The two races also adopted regulations for conducting trade. On account of the peaceful relations thus formed with the Indians the colony was spared in its infancy such savage acts as had afflicted other colonies.

Religious Exiles and Other Immigrants. — In the year following the founding of the colony there came to Georgia a considerable number of Lutherans from Salzburg in Europe, who had left their homes on account of religious persecution. They settled the town of Ebenezer, and by their industry and thrift became useful citizens. In the next year Moravians, also fleeing from religious persecution, arrived in Georgia and settled near the Salzburgers.

In order to defend the colony against the Spaniards, the trustees sent over a party of Scotch Highlanders and settled them on the frontier nearest Florida. Oglethorpe settled other colonists on the island of St. Simons as a further protection against the Spaniards. The town of Frederica was built on the island and a fort was erected. Learning that the Spaniards were endeavoring to stir up the Indians against



SEAL OF THE GEORGIA COLONY

the English, Oglethorpe again sought the leading chiefs. Appearing in their midst, while they were holding a council, he persuaded them by his eloquence to renew their treaty of friendship with the English.

Early Industries. — Mulberry trees grew so plentifully in Georgia and the silk worm did so well in the mild climate, that the trustees hoped to make the culture of silk the chief industry of the colony. On the introduction of slavery the planting of rice and indigo became more profitable, and the silk culture was abandoned.

Georgia a Royal Colony. — Georgia outgrew the ability of the trustees to care for it, and in 1752 was surrendered to the king. It continued a royal colony until the Revolution.

English colonies were now firmly planted in an unbroken line along the Atlantic coast between Canada and Florida.

Topics and Questions

1. The independent spirit of the New England colonists was displeasing to Charles II. Describe the charters given by Charles II to Connecticut and Rhode Island. Relate the manner in which Massachusetts lost her charter. Give an account of King Philip's war.
2. Why did the Navigation Acts, which seemed better for Englishmen at home, bear heavily upon the English colonists in America?
3. Upon what ground did England base her claim to the territory included in New Netherland? Why did England refrain so long from pressing her claim and why did she finally press it? Tell how New Netherland passed from the Dutch to the English and became New York.
4. What disposition did Charles II make of the country south of Virginia? What were the original bounds of the Carolina grant? What colony furnished emigrant settlers for North Carolina? Whence came the first settlers in South Carolina? How did there come to be two colonies in Carolina? Tell about the "Grand Model."
5. Describe early life in North Carolina. Account for the disorders in the early years of North Carolina. Mention some of the nationalities that formed the growing population of North Carolina. Give some facts relating to the war with the Tuscaroras. What became of these defeated Indians?
6. Account for the settling and naming of Charleston. Give the reason for the rapid coming of settlers to South Carolina. Whence

came these settlers? Did the Huguenots make desirable settlers for South Carolina? Describe Charleston as the center of South Carolina life. Why were there so many slaves in this colony? How and when did the Carolinas become royal colonies?

7. What conditions led to Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia? What were the chief events of this civil war? What were its results?

8. What were the "Conventicle Act" and the "Five Mile Act?" What sect suffered most from these laws? Give a description of the treatment of the Quakers in England. Who was William Penn? Why did he become interested in the colony of New Jersey? Why did he found Pennsylvania? Why did he ask for Delaware also? What colony's territory was infringed upon by the Pennsylvania grants? Explain the origin of "Mason and Dixon's Line."

9. What inducements did Penn offer to settlers, and what treatment did he give the Indians? Tell about the great migration of Quakers and the founding of Philadelphia. What treaty did Penn make and how was it kept? Describe the rapid growth of Pennsylvania. What form of government did Pennsylvania have until the American Revolution?

10. Compare Charles II and James II. Give facts to show the tyranny of James II towards America. Explain the "Revolution of 1688."

11. Who gave to Massachusetts a new charter? What was the Salem witchcraft craze? Why and by whom was Maryland made a royal colony?

12. What led to the settling of Georgia? What were the bounds of the new land-grant? Was there a selection of colonists for Georgia? What were Oglethorpe's dealings with the Indians? Name some of the nationalities, besides the English, that aided in the settling of Georgia. What industries were important to both Georgia and England? Under what conditions did Georgia become a royal colony?

Project Exercises

1. Write an essay giving a brief review of the motives leading to the settlement of the different English colonies.

2. Point out on the map the location of each of the English colonies.

Important Dates :

1653. Settlement of North Carolina.

1664. New Netherland becomes New York.

1670. Settlement of South Carolina.

1681. Settlement of Pennsylvania.

1733. Settlement of Georgia.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE FRENCH

Marquette and La Salle. — The French had pushed their explorations on into the interior. The Indians had told them of a great river in the remote wilderness to the



JACQUES MARQUETTE
From the statue in the Rotunda of the Capitol, Washington

west, and Father Marquette set out with a few companions, in 1673, to find it. It was impossible for him to know that it was the Mississippi, for that river, at its nearest point seen by the Spaniards, was hundreds of miles to the south. The river that Marquette was seeking was supposed to flow southwestward and empty into the Pacific Ocean. On reaching the Mississippi, Marquette and his men floated on its broad current until they reached a point below the Arkansas. Here, becoming satisfied that the river did not flow toward the Pacific, but emptied into the Gulf of Mexico, Marquette abandoned further exploration and turned his canoes northward.

Robert de La Salle, a native of France, who at an early age had emigrated to Canada, was stirred by the accounts of the great river brought back by Marquette's party. Twice he attempted to lead an expedition from Canada to the Mississippi and failed; yet he set out a third time. Reaching the Missis-

issippi early in 1682, he guided his canoes down the river to its mouth. Here La Salle erected a cross and claimed for Louis XIV, king of France, all the Mississippi Valley, which he called Louisiana.

Returning to Quebec La Salle sailed to France, where the king received him with favor. Although the country which La Salle had explored was claimed by Spain, Louis XIV, realizing the importance of holding the Mississippi Valley, placed La Salle in command of an expedition that sailed from France for the purpose of planting a colony at the mouth of the river. The Frenchmen passed through mistake the mouth of the Mississippi and landed on the coast of Texas. The attempt at settlement failed. La Salle was assassinated by one of his companions who had mutinied.



ROBERT CAVELIER, SIEUR
DE LA SALLE

Settlements in the Southwest. — Fourteen years passed after the death of La Salle before a settlement was made in the province of Louisiana. In 1699, a Canadian, named Iberville, whom the king had sent out with colonists from France, began a settlement at Biloxi (now Mississippi) and in 1702 laid the foundations of the city of Mobile. In 1718 Bienville, the brother of Iberville, settled with fifty others on the east bank of the Mississippi. This little hamlet marked the beginning of the city of New Orleans.

Louisiana and Canada. — Communication was kept up between Canada and Louisiana, for in the north Frenchmen had founded Detroit and extended their posts down into what is now Indiana. The French colonies continued weak, for as settlers came over from France very slowly.

the population was still made up mostly of Indian traders. The settlements were far apart; most of them comprised only a fort, a mission, and a few surrounding farms. The development of the French colonies was in marked contrast



MAP SHOWING FRENCH EXPLORATIONS

to that of the English. The people of the English colonies had come to America to build up new communities, and their settlements spread no faster than the increase of population demanded.

France Under Louis XIV. — Though her colonies in America were weak, France had become, by the time of the accession of William and Mary to the English throne (1689), the most powerful nation of Europe. Her treasury was the richest, her army the strongest, and her navy was rivaling the navies of England and Holland. The French king, Louis XIV, to make France even greater, had seized territory from neighboring countries and was preparing for further conquests. Faced with the possibility of France becoming so powerful as to endanger the interests of all Europe, some of the continental nations, including Holland and Spain, had joined in a war against her. The leading spirit of the war against France was William, Prince of Orange, head of the government of Holland, and later king of England. It will be remembered that the policy of preventing one nation from becoming too strong at the expense of others is known as maintaining the balance of power.

The opponents of France wished the aid of England, but Charles II, under the influence of Louis, not only refused to join with them but even made war upon Holland. Charles needed money. He could not get it in England without a vote of parliament, and he did not wish parliament to meet, for it would interfere with his ruling as he pleased. Louis gave Charles enough money to make him independent of parliament on condition that he would aid France. The disgraceful bribery of Charles was not known at the time by the people of England.

England and France at War. — James II was willing to continue the arrangement that Charles had made with the French king. William of Orange, who had married Mary, the daughter of James II, consented to deprive his father-in-law of the English throne, not so much from a motive of personal ambition as from the desire to gain the help of England against France. William soon had his wish, for when Louis aided the deposed monarch in an attempt to regain the throne, England was forced (1689) into an alliance with Holland, Spain, and other countries for waging war

against France. The alliance is known as the League of Augsburg.

Hostilities Spread to the Colonies. — The contest for the balance of power in Europe, once begun, has not stopped to this day. For seventy-five years following the formation of the League of Augsburg, there occurred, with intervals of peace, a series of wars that affected America. In reality each war was but a continuation of the preceding ones. In these wars every prominent nation was involved. While their interests caused some of the nations to shift from time to time from one side to the other, England and France were always on opposite sides and were the leading contestants. England, of course, had an interest in maintaining the balance of power, yet her chief concern was to secure the world's commerce. Therefore, hostilities spread to the colonies in all parts of the world, the question of which nation should control America becoming particularly important.

King William's War. — The first war (1689-1697), known in England as the War of the League of Augsburg, ended without decided advantage to either side. In America, where the war was named for England's sovereign, King William's War, French and Indians burned towns and killed settlers in New England and New York. New England colonists captured Port Royal,¹ in Acadia,² but the town was retaken by the French.

Queen Anne's War. — The peace following the first war was brief. The grandson of Louis XIV became king of Spain. Although Spain had declined as a power, she still found great wealth in her colonial possessions. Other nations, seeing in the rule of one royal house over France and Spain a combination that increased the danger to the rest of Europe, joined in a war to drive the new king of Spain from his throne. This war (1702-1713) is known in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession. The great English general, the Duke of Marlborough, repeatedly de-

¹ Now Annapolis.

² Now Nova Scotia.

feated the French armies in Europe; and though the war ended with the new king of Spain retaining his throne, the power of France was very much weakened.

The American phase of this struggle is known as Queen Anne's War, because Anne was then queen of England. Since Spain was allied with France, the South Carolina colonists made an unsuccessful attempt to capture St. Augustine, Florida. In turn, a French fleet aided by Spaniards attacked Charleston, but the Carolinians drove the invaders away. French and Indians again ravaged the frontiers of the northern colonies, and once more New Englanders captured Port Royal, Acadia. When peace was declared, England retained Acadia, changing the names, Acadia to Nova Scotia, and Port Royal to Annapolis. In addition France ceded to England Newfoundland and her claim to the country around Hudson Bay. Thus the war ended to the advantage of England both in Europe and America.

War with Spain; Invasion of Georgia. — After a peace of about twenty-five years, Great Britain¹ went to war with Spain on account of the cruel treatment of English smugglers in Spanish America. In 1742 the Spanish governor at St. Augustine, with a fleet of fifty vessels and an army of about five thousand men, appeared off St. Simons Island for the purpose of capturing the fort at Frederica and destroying the young colony of Georgia. General Oglethorpe, who was still in charge of the colony, had only about six hundred men and a few small vessels to oppose the invasion, but he saved the colony by inflicting upon the Spaniards a severe defeat. This was the last attempt of the Spaniards upon the southern colonies.

King George's War. — While the war with Spain was in progress, another general conflict broke out in Europe.

¹ Though England and Scotland had had for many years the same sovereign, their governments had been separate. In 1707 the two countries were united under one government, called the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

It arose from a quarrel over the question of a ruler for Austria — hence its name, the War of the Austrian Succession — and lasted from 1744 to 1748. In this conflict England had as her chief ally Maria Theresa, a famous queen of Austria, and France had Frederick II of Prussia, commonly known as Frederick the Great. In the American phase of the war, known as King George's War (George II being then king of Great Britain), New England militia, with the aid of a British fleet, captured Louisburg, a strong position on Cape Breton Island. There was much disappointment among the people of New England when, at the close of the war, Louisburg was returned to the French. The end of the third war found France still further weakened in power and shorn of much territory in Europe. In America,

however, she retained all her possessions except those she had lost in Queen Anne's War.

The French and Indian War. — The last intercolonial war, known as the French and Indian War, had its origin in America. The Ohio Valley was claimed by both Great Britain and France, and each nation shared with its colonies the desire to control it.

The French were more active. Having built a chain of forts along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and beyond the Mississippi, they took steps in 1753 to occupy the Ohio Valley by erecting a line of forts south-



GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A
YOUNG MAN

From the portrait by Peale

ward from Lake Erie through the part of Pennsylvania that lies west of the Alleghany Mountains. Both Virginia and Pennsylvania claimed the territory thus threatened, and their governors were directed to warn the French that they were

trespassing upon land belonging to Great Britain, and to order them to leave. The governor of Virginia chose for his messenger Major George Washington, who, though only twenty-one, had shown such aptness for military affairs that he had been made adjutant general of the Virginia militia. Washington, with a guide and a few companions, made the long journey in the depth of winter, and delivered the letter to the French commandant near Lake Erie. The French not only declined to retire, but the next year reached farther southward and erected Fort Duquesne on the site of the present city of Pittsburgh. Virginia prepared to defend her territory and sent Washington with a small force in the direction of Fort Duquesne. In 1754, he defeated a French scouting party near Great Meadows, in Pennsylvania. This skirmish brought on a war that drew in its wake nearly every nation of Europe.

Washington Erects Fort Necessity. — Washington then built a fortification, which he called Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by a French force, much the superior in numbers, and compelled to surrender. Great Britain now held nothing west of the Alleghany Mountains. Her colonies had waited too long, and the French had placed a strong force in the Ohio Valley.

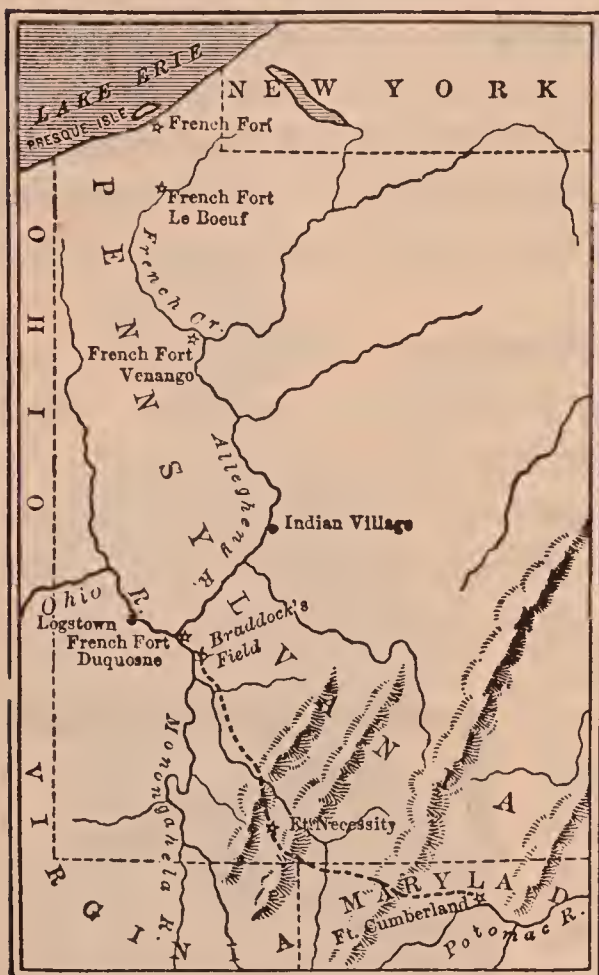
English Colonies Try to Unite. — The population of the English colonies vastly outnumbered that of the French, but the English were under one great disadvantage. Each colony was engrossed in its own affairs, and some of them were in constant quarrels with their governors. Moreover, the claims of some of the colonies to the territory that the French coveted conflicted with one another. As a consequence, the colonies did not act together in matters concerning the common good. With a view to



DEVICE PRINTED IN FRANKLIN'S "PENNSYLVANIA GAZETTE," 1754

bringing about concerted action against the French, a convention met at Albany in 1754. Delegates from seven colonies attended. A plan of union, framed by Benjamin Franklin, was adopted, but it was not carried into effect. The crown thought it gave too much power to the colonies, and the colonies thought it gave too much power to the crown.

Braddock's Defeat. — In 1755 General Edward Braddock, who had been appointed commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, arrived in Virginia. Though



ROUTE OF BRADDOCK'S EXPEDITION

Great Britain and France were at peace, the British government desired that Braddock should drive the French from the Ohio Valley. Braddock's plan was to capture Fort Duquesne and then, moving northward, to conquer Canada. He was a soldier of the highest personal bravery, but was ill-suited for the task before him. Accustomed to the well-disciplined armies of Europe he had no confidence in the colonial militia. The idea that savages could defeat British regulars seemed to him so preposterous that he treated with contempt the warning

of American officers that Indians did not fight in open battle but sought to take their foes by surprise. When within a few miles of Fort Duquesne the army, composed of regulars and Virginia militia, marched into an ambush. The French and their Indian allies, concealed behind trees and rocks, poured deadly volleys upon the English from

three sides. The Virginia militia were accustomed to such modes of warfare and sought shelter from which they could fight the enemy on even terms. The British regulars were slaughtered in great numbers, and the survivors fled panic-stricken. Washington, who had accompanied Braddock as an aide, placed himself at the head of the Virginians and prevented the beaten army from being destroyed. General Braddock, who had been wounded, died in the retreat.

The War Extends to Europe. — Two years after fighting began in America, war was formally declared between Great Britain and France (1756). The Seven Years' War, as it is known in Europe, again involved many nations, but Prussia was now an ally of Great Britain, while Austria was an ally of France. For two years longer the fighting both in Europe and America was unfavorable to Great Britain, for the British government conducted the war with little vigor. In America the British generals were inefficient, while the French commander, General Montcalm, was active and skillful. He captured important posts in New York, while Indians constantly attacked the northern frontier.

The Tide Turns in Favor of the British. — When William Pitt, one of the world's greatest statesmen, came to the head of the British cabinet (1757), his vigorous war measures brought about a great change. Pitt decided that the best way to cripple France was to supply Frederick the Great with money to keep the Prussian armies in the field and to use the British military and naval forces to wrest from France her possessions in America. France, having used most of her energies in fighting the wars in Europe, had lost her strength upon the sea. Great Britain by controlling the routes to America could send over large forces and at the same time prevent France from doing so. Colonial troops added to the strength of the British armies in America. In the next two years the British, by capturing a string of French forts in the west, gained control of the Ohio Valley, and by capturing forts in northern New York prevented an invasion of the French from that direction.

Capture of Quebec. — In the summer of 1759 the British general, James Wolfe, ascended the St. Lawrence for the purpose of capturing Quebec. The city is divided into an upper and a lower town. The upper town is built on a high cliff of rock that rises almost perpendicularly from the river. Montcalm had fortified the lower town with strong works, which Wolfe knew it would be folly to assault. Wolfe determined to attempt the ascent of the lofty cliff, which was but feebly guarded. He moved his army to a point



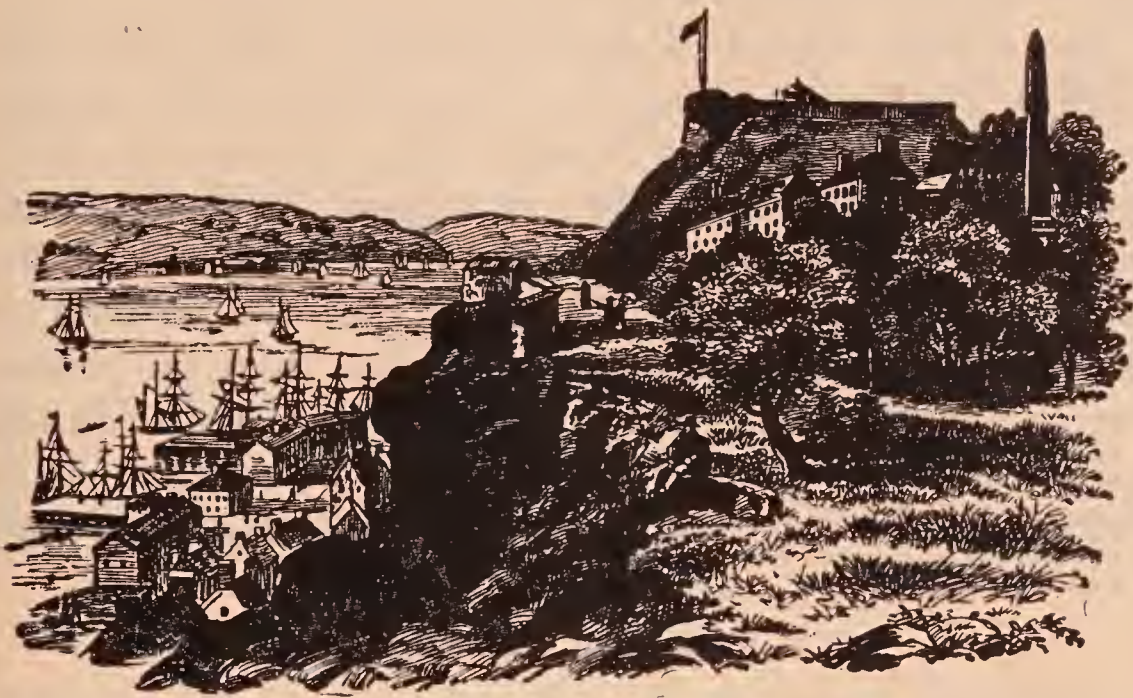
GENERAL JAMES WOLFE

above the town, where under the cover of darkness, the troops disembarked and began the steep ascent by a path too narrow for two to go abreast. Some of the men had to pull themselves up by means of branches of trees and projecting rocks. At break of day Wolfe had his men drawn up on the plains of Abraham, the plateau upon which the upper town stands. Montcalm was surprised to find Quebec threatened from a side which he thought safe from attack, but

he lost no time in making an impetuous assault. The French could not break the British lines and fell back into the town, retreating the same night up the river in great disorder. Wolfe and Montcalm were killed. The garrison in the town surrendered within a few days. In the next year the British captured Montreal, and all Canada fell into their hands.

The Effects of the French Wars. — The fall of Canada practically put an end to the war in America, though hostilities continued for some time in other parts of the world. In 1763 a treaty of peace was signed. The end of the fourth war showed a considerable shifting of power among the nations of Europe. Prussia, whose king, Frederick the

Great, had proved one of the ablest generals of modern times, had advanced to the front rank among military powers. Great Britain, by building up her navy to keep command of the seas and by gaining many new colonies, had taken the foremost place as a naval and colonial power — a position which she has ever since held.



QUEBEC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

From an old print

France was exhausted. In no way was she crippled more than in the loss of valuable colonial territory. India, for the control of which both Great Britain and France had contended, passed permanently to Great Britain, and thus was laid the foundation of Great Britain's immense colonial empire of the East.

In America, France ceded to Great Britain, Canada and her claim to all the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River except the city of New Orleans and territory surrounding it, which, with all Louisiana west of the Mississippi, France had previously ceded to Spain. In the war Great Britain had taken Cuba from Spain, an ally of France. Cuba was returned to Spain, and Florida was given to Great Britain in ex-

change. With the colonial holdings of France in North America wiped out, Great Britain and Spain were left the only possessors of territory on the continent. Great Britain now held all the continent east of the Mississippi (except New Orleans), from the Gulf of Mexico to the Polar regions. Spain held the country westward from the Mississippi and southward through Mexico.

The French wars had most important effects upon the English colonies in America. They trained the colonial soldiers to warfare; they brought the colonies into closer touch with one another and made it easier for them to unite in time of danger; they removed from the colonial borders the hostile French, with the result that the colonies no longer felt so much need of protection from the mother country. In humbling the power of France, Great Britain had so strengthened her own colonies in America as to make it possible for them to assert and maintain their right to independence.

Topics and Questions

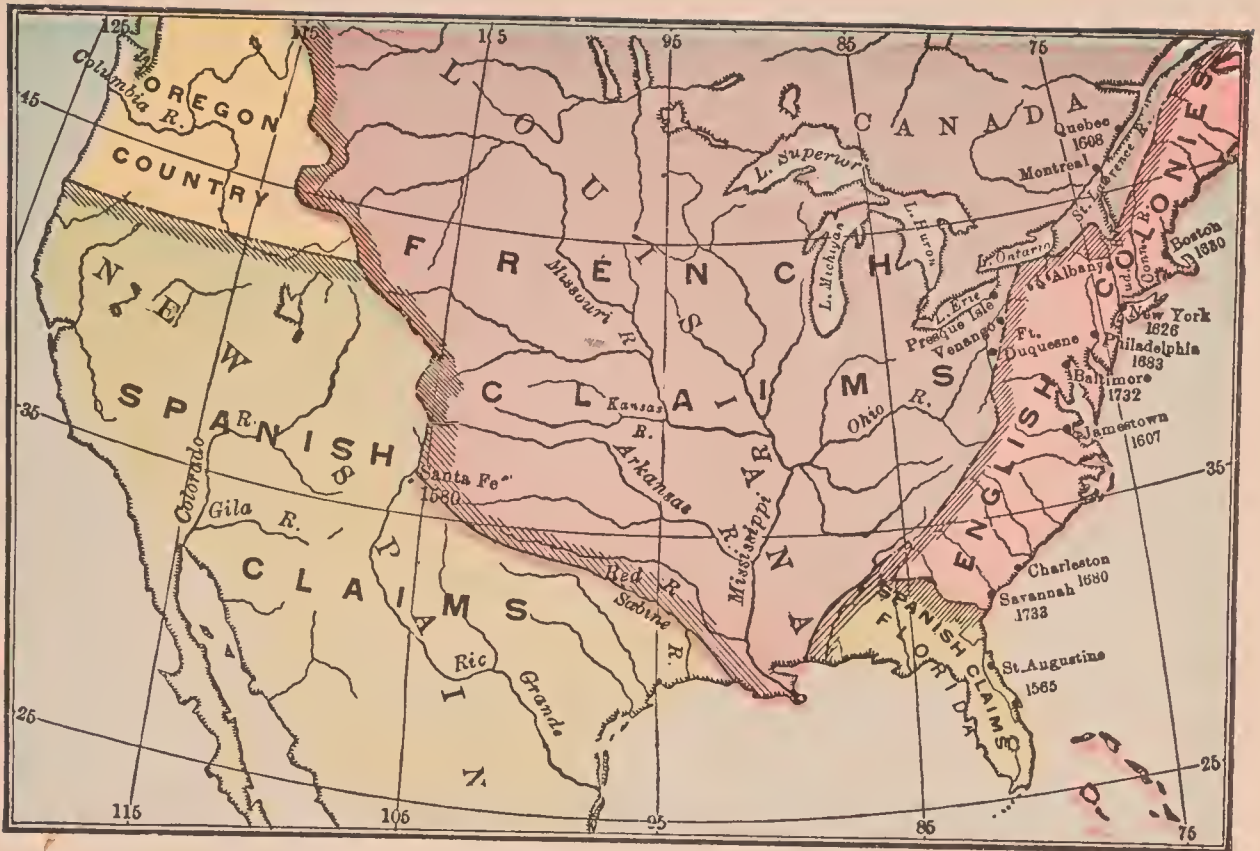
1. Give an account of the explorations of the Mississippi by Marquette and La Salle. What French settlements were made in the Southwest? How was communication kept up between Canada and Louisiana? How did the development of the French colonies differ from that of the English?

2. What were the conditions in Europe that led to the intercolonial wars? Why did America become involved in these wars? Give the names and the principal events of the early intercolonial wars.

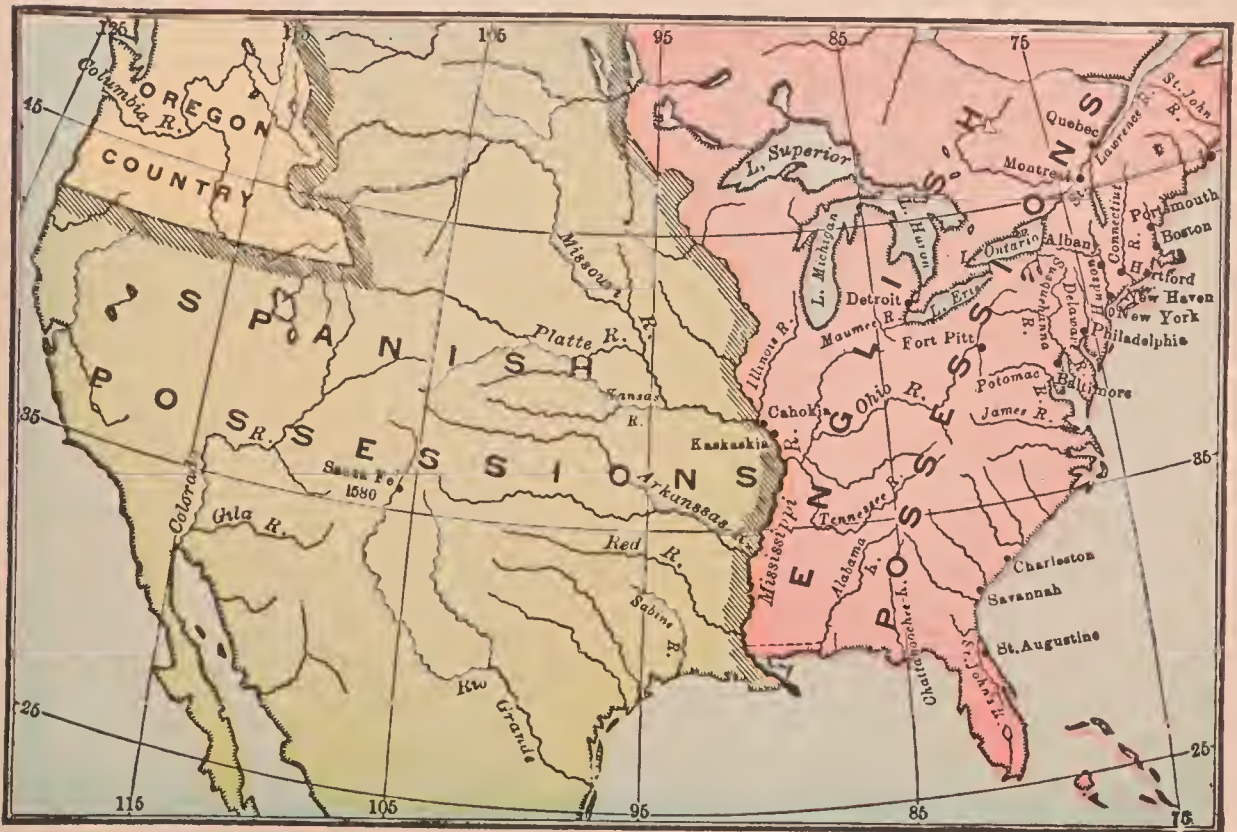
3. What was the origin of the French and Indian War? Which of the rival nations got the first start toward the occupation of the Ohio Valley? Were all the English colonies equally interested in the occupation of the Ohio Valley? Through whom did the Virginia government act in warning the French government of this conflict of claims? Why was Major George Washington chosen for the task? How did Virginia defend her disputed territory? Why did Washington surrender to the French at Fort Necessity?

4. How did Benjamin Franklin try to create a union of all the English colonies for this big land quarrel? How did the British crown support his efforts? How did the colonies?

5. When did Great Britain decide to take up the fighting in America over the disputed territory? Who was placed in command of the British



**CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1755
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.**



**CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1763
AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.
(ACCORDING TO PEACE OF PARIS)**

forces, and what was his plan of action? Give the chances for and against his success. What allies gave the French generals better ideas of how to fight in America? How did Washington serve the army on the day of Braddock's defeat?

6. How did the war spread over Europe? Which side was ahead in America in 1757, and to what leader was its success largely due? When did Great Britain's successes begin?

7. What was the chief stronghold of the French in America? Why was it hard for British forces to seize or destroy it? By whose bravery, energy, and wits was it taken? Describe the assault. What effect did the capture of Quebec have upon the war in America?

8. What were the results of the war in Europe? What was done with the disputed territory in America when France and Great Britain made their treaty in 1763? What land did France own in North America at the close of the war? What did Great Britain own? What did Spain own?

9. Had the series of Franco-English wars, which had cost so much, been of any advantage to the English colonists?



NEW ORLEANS IN 1718

Project Exercises

1. Find on the map another large valley which would in time be controlled by the nation which secured the Ohio Valley.

2. Write an essay showing that the four intercolonial wars were all a part of one big struggle between Great Britain and France for the leading place in the world.

Important Dates:

1689. Beginning of the first intercolonial war.

1763. End of the last intercolonial war.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE IN THE COLONIES (1763). SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST (1769-1776)

Growth of the Colonies. — At the close of the French and Indian War, more than a century and a half had passed since John Smith and his associates planted at Jamestown the first permanent English settlement in America. The thirteen colonies, though a mere fringe along the Atlantic coast, were now firmly established, with a population of about a million and a half. Nearly all the people were of English descent, though other elements were strong in certain sections, as the Dutch in New York, the Irish and Germans in Pennsylvania, and French (Huguenots) in South Carolina.

Council and Delegates. — Politically every colony was independent of the others. Each colony had its own assembly and its own governor.¹ The assembly consisted of the council and delegates, generally sitting as separate houses. In some cases the governor appointed the members of the council, but the people always elected the delegates. Taxes for the support of the colonial government were laid by the assembly, but the governor could veto any act of that body, and also had the power to prorogue² or even dissolve it whenever he saw fit.

The Three Forms of Government. — The colonies may be divided, according to their forms of government, into three classes: 1. The royal colonies — New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia; 2. The proprietary colonies — Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland; 3. The charter colonies — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut.

¹ Except Delaware, which, while it had its own assembly, had the same governor as Pennsylvania.

² Prorogue: to discontinue the meetings for a time.

In a royal colony the king appointed the governor, who usually appointed the members of the council. Such acts of the assembly as the governor signed had to be sent to the king for final approval.

In a proprietary colony the proprietor appointed the governor. The king retained the right to veto laws passed by the assemblies of Pennsylvania and Delaware, but relinquished it in the case of Maryland.

The colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island held charters from the king guaranteeing a complete system of self-government. The governor and all other officials were elected by the people, and the king could not veto the laws of the assembly. The charter of Massachusetts was not so liberal. While it guaranteed to the colony many rights, the king appointed the governor and reserved the privilege of vetoing acts of the assembly.

Negro Slavery. — There were negro slaves in every colony. In the North, where the climate was severe and the farms small, slave labor was not profitable, and except in New York, slaves were few. In the northern states slaves were generally made house servants. It was in the broad fields of the southern plantations that slaves were worked in large numbers.

Bonded White Servants. — White servants, bound for a term of years, were also to be found in every colony. Many persons convicted of crime in England had been sent

Redemptioners.

THERE still remain on board the ship *Aurora*, from Amsterdam, about 18 passengers, amongst whom are,

1 Servant girls, gardeners, butchers, masons, sugar bakers, bread bakers, 1 shoemaker, 1 silver smith, 1 leather dresser, 1 tobacconist, 1 pastry cook, and some a little acquainted with waiting on families, as well as farming and tending horses, &c. They are all in good health. Any person desirous of being accommodated in the above branches will please speedily to apply to

Captain JOHN BOWLES,

in the *Stream*, off Fell's Point:

Who offers for Sale,

80 Iron-bound Water Casks
1 chest elegant Fowling Pieces, single and double barrelled
15,000 Dutch Brick, and
Sundry ships Provisions.
July 14.

d3t:294t

ADVERTISEMENT OF SERVANTS FOR SALE

to the colonies. The colonists bought the services of these unfortunate men and women, and for the length of time specified in the contract, usually from four to six years, the white servant was as much a slave as the negro. If he attempted to run away or committed any misdemeanor, his term of service was lengthened. Besides the hardened criminals, there were some who had committed only slight offenses, while still others were merely political prisoners. Then, too, young boys and girls were sometimes kidnaped by ruffians in the cities of England, and sold to the colonists.

Redemptioners. — There was yet another class of bond servants. Often men who wished to emigrate to America, but who were too poor to do so, would voluntarily sell themselves into a term of servitude for the cost of their passage across the ocean. Servants of this class were called “redemptioners.”

Divisions of Society. — One of the most prominent features of colonial life was the sharp distinction made between the different classes. For instance, people sat in church according to their social rank. In New England the upper classes occupied the front pews; the middle class sat next; then came the humbler folk; and finally, the slaves and indentured servants in the rear or in the gallery. In Virginia the arrangement was often the reverse, the leading families occupying pews in the gallery, and everybody else having seats in the lower part of the church. In New England only persons of the higher class were addressed as “Mr.” and “Mrs.”; for the great mass of the people, “goodman” and “goodwife” were deemed sufficient.

Social Life in the South. — It is estimated that as late as 1750 four fifths of the plantations of the South were on navigable streams. The planter, who received his merchandise and shipped his produce at his own wharf, had as yet no need of towns. Therefore, with the exception of Charleston, there was no town of particular importance in the South. The planters, living far apart, relieved the quietness of their

lives by entertaining the passing stranger and by giving grand balls which were attended by guests from miles around. The planter and his family spent the winter months in the colonial capital, where the session of the assembly furnished political interest, and balls, tea parties, and the governor's receptions, a round of gayety.

In New England. — In New England, where homes were close together and neighbors saw one another every day, there was no occasion for the lavish

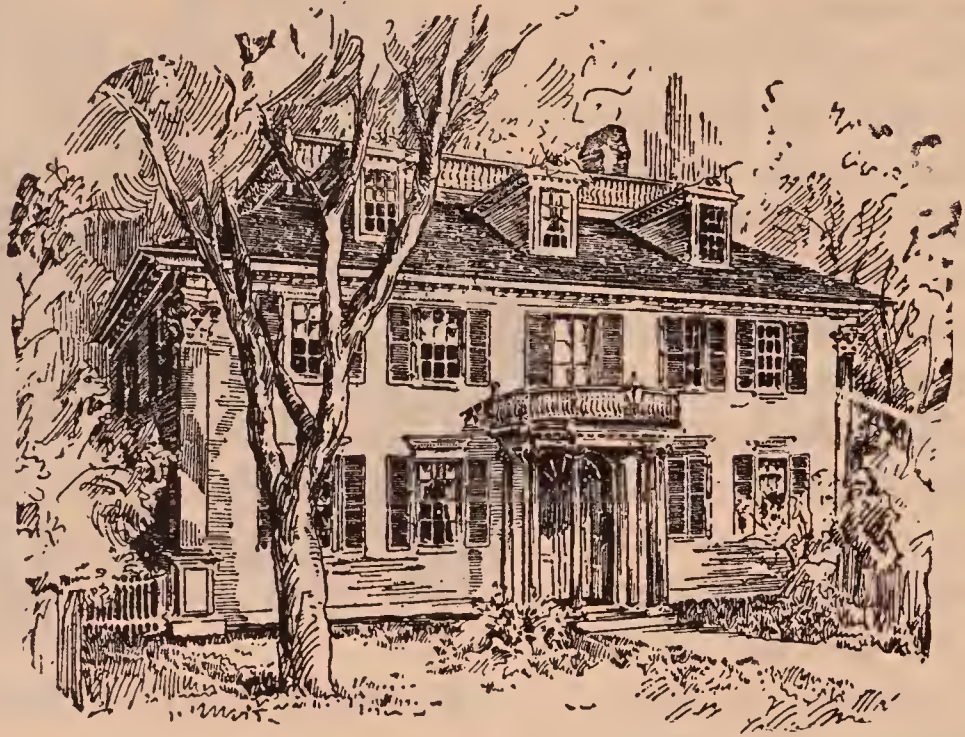
entertaining that was practiced in the South. Besides, the descendants of the early Puritans departed from the stern customs of their fathers only so far as to permit a few amusements. Ladies paid neighborly visits, and while working at their knitting, discussed the news of the town. A family might spend a winter evening at a friend's fireside, "chatting, eating nuts and apples, and enjoying a quiet time." If there was work to be done requiring help, the neighbors were called in and a holiday was made of the occasion. Friends gathered to clear a new field, to build a house, or to take part in corn-husking or quilting parties. After the work they completed the day with a big dinner.

Nothing showed the influence of Puritanism more strongly than the way in which New Englanders observed Sunday, or the Sabbath, as they always called it. The Sabbath began at six o'clock on Saturday afternoon and continued until sunset on Sunday. During that time all labor was suspended. No moving about the streets was allowed



A VIRGINIA MANSION PARTY

except to attend church. If two or three persons stopped on the streets to converse, officers of the law dispersed them. The roads and ferries in the country were carefully guarded and every passing traveler was arrested. The inns were



COLONIAL HOME IN NEW ENGLAND

closed, so that a traveler might not be entertained. It was unlawful even to carry a bundle on the streets. Everybody was expected to attend church. The church building was seldom heated, but no matter how cold the weather, the congregation sat through the sermon that often lasted two hours.

In the Middle Colonies. — The social life of the Middle Colonies was similar to that of New England, except that, instead of the somber spirit of Puritanism, there was the cheerful influence of the Dutch, the Germans, and the Irish. In New York among the descendants of the old Dutch patroons, there was a form of society more like that of the nobility of Europe than was seen anywhere else in America. The large estates made these people very wealthy and enabled them to live in lordly style. They farmed out their land to tenants. They lived in fine houses and had a great retinue of servants and slaves. Following the

fashion of the English nobles, they gave a feast once or twice a year to the people living on their estates.

The Early Printing Press. — There were few newspapers, and none of them were dailies. As early as 1639 a printing press had been brought to Massachusetts. All presses were worked by hand, and one of them could hardly print in six working days as many papers as the modern press can print in fifteen minutes.

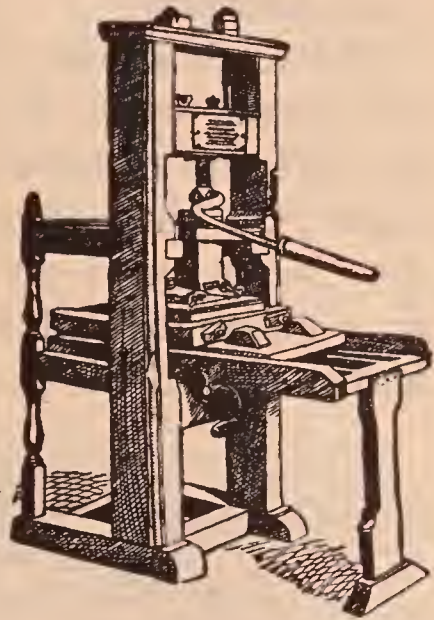
Colonial Authors. — The colonists usually imported their books. The most popular books were the ancient classics and the works of standard English writers. The colonial period in America produced few authors of enduring fame. Two stand preëminent — Jonathan Edwards of Massachusetts and Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania. Edwards wrote mainly on religious subjects, and his great work, *The Freedom of the Will*, has never been excelled in its field. The wise sayings of Franklin, which he published in his *Poor Richard's Almanac*, will probably be quoted for all time.

Modes of Travel. — Travel overland was usually made on foot, on horseback, or in a light sulky. The stagecoach,



AN OLD-TIME STAGECOACH

a large, cumbersome carriage, drawn by four or six horses, and capable of carrying half a dozen passengers, had been introduced some years before as a means of conveyance between a few of the larger towns, but was not yet in general use. It required three days for the stagecoach to make the ninety miles between New York and Philadelphia. If the heavy



FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS

In the custody of the Smithsonian Institute

vehicle stuck in the mud, as it often did in wet weather, the passengers were expected to alight and assist in pulling it out. In New England and the Middle Colonies the family traveled in the chaise; in the South the planter had a coach and four.

The roads in the remote interior were mere bridle paths, and travel, when not on foot, was usually on horseback, the wife and children being seated on a pillion behind the rider. On the occasion of a wedding, the bride rode to the church on a pillion behind her father and rode away on a pillion behind her husband. In New England, the farmer carried his produce to town on sleds in the winter



CARRYING TOBACCO TO THE WHARF IN VIRGINIA

and on ox carts in summer. In Virginia, the man who lived away from a navigable stream hitched his mule or ox to a hogshead of tobacco, through which an axle had been run, and rolled it to the nearest wharf.

The Western Country. — The region between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River was still (1763) a vast wilderness, broken only by a few small settlements a great distance apart, with here and there an isolated fort. As the small number of Frenchmen in this territory had come by way of Canada or the Mississippi, their settlements were at points remote from the English colonies. The country between was uninhabited by the white man. The chief settlements were Detroit (Michigan), Vincennes (Indiana), and Kaskaskia (Illinois). There was

not a settlement within the present limits of Ohio, Kentucky, or Tennessee. The British government, fearing that the colonies, if allowed to expand beyond the mountains, might become too strong to be controlled, determined to abandon the entire western country to the Indians. In 1763 the king issued a proclamation forbidding colonists to settle beyond a line drawn around the head waters of all rivers emptying into the Atlantic. This act meant that the colonies were to be confined to the narrow strip between



A VIEW OF DETROIT IN 1705

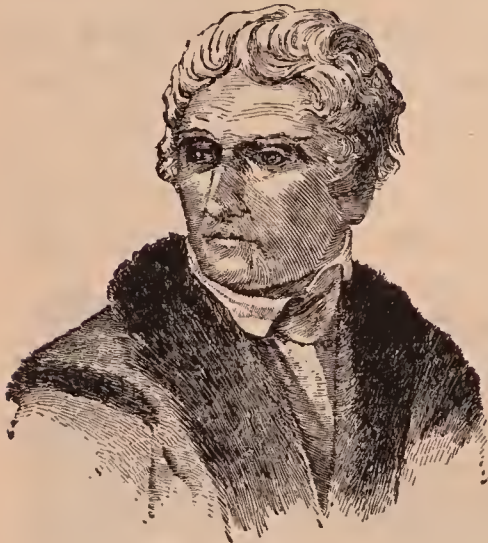
After an old print

the Alleghanies and the ocean. Regardless of the royal decree, the restless population pushed into the West.

Settlement of Tennessee.—In 1769, William Bean of North Carolina found his way across the mountains and made his home near the Watauga River within the present limits of Tennessee. He was soon followed by James Robertson and a number of other emigrants from North Carolina. Numerous settlements sprang up near the Watauga. The settlers were unwilling to acknowledge allegiance to the royal authority in North Carolina, so they formed a government of their own in 1772, calling it the “Watauga Association.” After North Carolina organized a government independent of Great Britain, the state

abolished the association in 1778, and incorporated the territory into Washington County. From this territory came the State of Tennessee.

Settlement of Kentucky. — In the same year that William Bean moved into Tennessee, Daniel Boone, the most famous of all frontiersmen, left his home in North Carolina and began to explore the lands of Kentucky. In 1774, James Harrod founded Harrodsburg, the first town in Kentucky. Indians made war on the first settlers; but the defeat of the Shawnees, the leading tribe, caused all the other tribes to sue for peace. In 1775, the settlers, calling their country "Transylvania," organized a government; but as the settle-



DANIEL BOONE

ments were within the limits of Virginia, that state, in 1776, formed them into the County of Kentucky.

Topics and Questions

1. Name the thirteen original English colonies. Give an idea of their growth up to 1763. Mention some of the nationalities, besides the English, that were prominent in the settling of the English colonies.
2. Describe the colonial assembly. What three classes or kinds of colonies were there? Name those which belonged to each class in 1763.
3. Why and where were negro slaves most numerous? What were bonded white servants? Redemptioners? How would you have detected the social classes in the colonies?
4. Why were there so many more cities or towns in the northern and middle colonies than in the South? Contrast entertainments in Virginia and Massachusetts. Describe the New England Sabbath. What influences modified the English customs in the middle colonies? What books and papers would you have found in a colonial book store? Picture the travel in the various parts of this country in 1763.
5. Describe the western country. Why did the British king issue the Proclamation of 1763? What inducements were there to influence

the English colonial pioneers to ignore the Proclamation. Give the history of the Watauga Association. Give an account of the work of Boone and his followers in opening up Kentucky for settlement.

Project Exercises

Name modes of travel familiar in all parts of the United States to-day that were absolutely unknown in the thirteen English colonies in 1763.

Important Dates:

- 1769. Settlement of Tennessee.
- 1774. Settlement of Kentucky.



A POST-RIDER

CHAPTER IX

DISSENSION BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE MOTHER COUNTRY

British Colonial Policy. — As long as the colonies were young and feeble, the government of England neglected them. The early colonists had planted their settlements without help from the home government, and without help they had driven back the Indians. Through their own efforts they prospered, and built up trade with many parts of the world, yet hardly had they been able to do so before parliament made laws which were intended to give English merchants control of the colonial trade.

The laws that sought to control the trade of America were known as the Acts of Navigation and Trade. The first of these acts was passed in 1651 (see page 67). Others, making the laws stricter, were passed from time to time. The Acts of Navigation and Trade forbade the colonies to sell to other countries such products as Great Britain needed, or to buy certain products from other countries except through Great Britain. They forbade the colonists to manufacture many articles for themselves. If these laws had been enforced, they would have placed the colonists at the mercy of British merchants, for the price of nearly everything the colonists bought or sold would have been fixed in London.

The Navigation Laws not Enforced. — The commercial policy of Great Britain agreed with the view held by all nations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that the trade and manufactures of colonies should be controlled in the interest of the mother country. Few statesmen of Europe then believed this system wrong. The Americans themselves considered it legal, though they did not like the system because they naturally wished to trade where they

could do so to the best advantage. Still, the efforts to enforce the navigation laws caused much irritation in the colonies and would have led to serious trouble sooner if it had not been easy for the colonists to evade the laws. The long series of wars in which Great Britain was engaged kept her too busy to enforce them rigidly. The colonists carried on, in violation of the laws, a large commerce, not only between one colony and another, but also with the outside world. This trade was "smuggling," and a person engaged in it could be punished in the courts; but as public opinion did not uphold the laws, many persons, especially New Englanders, became "smugglers" and made great fortunes.

The Colonial Government. — The colonists levied all taxes upon themselves through assemblies of their own choosing. In fact, the colonists were allowed to manage all local affairs through their assemblies. Yet, there was dissatisfaction, for parliament or king at times interfered. The king had the right to veto laws passed by most of the colonies; and it sometimes happened that he vetoed a law, not for the good of the colony, but because persons in England or his officials in America wished it vetoed.

The governors and other officials sent over to the colonies were often unfit for the work. Some of them were dishonest, others were inefficient. Many of them were bent on forcing upon the colonies the objectionable measures of the king and parliament. The colonists, however, could usually hold an official in check, for the colonial assembly paid all salaries, and it would withhold the salary of an official unless he acted to its liking.

British Policy More Liberal than that of Other Nations. — In studying the colonial policy of Great Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it should not be forgotten that Great Britain was much more generous in her treatment of her colonies than any other nation. The autocratic monarchs of France and Spain ground down their colonists with almost unbearable taxes and allowed them no self-government whatsoever. In a French or Spanish colony

the decree of the king, or of the official whom he appointed, was the law. Even in her navigation laws Great Britain was more just. When laws were passed by Great Britain to control a colonial trade, other laws were passed to build up that trade. For instance, tobacco grown in her colonies could be shipped only to Great Britain, yet the British people were allowed to buy no tobacco except such as came from British colonies.

The English people had long enjoyed more liberty than other peoples of Europe. Englishmen who came to America brought with them the love of liberty that they had inherited in the old country. Allowed to manage their own affairs the English colonists became, in time, so well trained in self-government that they became self-reliant. They thought themselves the proper judges of the laws that were best suited to their condition, and resented interference from the outside, even though it came from the mother country. In those days it was regarded a serious offence to speak against the king or parliament, but as the colonists grew stronger they grew bolder. They were still loyal to the mother country and proud of being Englishmen; yet they did not hesitate to denounce acts of the royal government that they considered tyranny.

“ Writs of Assistance.” — In an attempt to enforce against the smugglers the laws of navigation and trade, courts had been set up in which those accused of violating the law were tried by judges without juries. If the accused were found guilty, their goods were forfeited and sold, and as the officers of the court shared in the proceeds of the sales, dishonest officials made many wrongful seizures. To give the court even greater power, “ writs of assistance ” were issued. These writs gave to officers the right to search the home of any one merely suspected of violating the law, and to compel citizens to assist in the search. The greatest indignation was aroused in the colonies engaged in commerce, for it was in these colonies that the writs were chiefly used. Boston took the lead in the opposition. In 1761 James Otis, of that

town, appearing in court to argue against the issuing of the writs, asserted that "no act of parliament can establish such a writ" and that "an act of parliament against the Constitution is void." The effect of Otis's bold speech reached the remotest colony and set the people to thinking that they should assert their rights by force, if necessary.

An Unwise King. — George III, who ascended the throne of Great Britain in 1760, was not a wise king. He soon showed that he intended to govern the colonies without much regard to their wishes. Virginia and South Carolina, alarmed at the rapid increase of slaves, in 1761 passed acts to prevent bringing into those colonies more negroes from Africa; but George III vetoed the acts as many persons in England were growing rich from the slave trade.



KING GEORGE III

In the same year George III appointed a chief justice for New York who was to hold office as long as it pleased the king, instead of as long as he performed his duties to the satisfaction of the colony. The people of New York did not wish to have a judge who was not responsible to them; so they refused to pay a salary to the chief justice. The king thereupon paid the salary and ordered that thereafter all judges throughout the colonies should hold office as long as the king desired. This action of the king placed the judges in a position where they could do as they pleased, and the colonies would be powerless to remove them.

The "Parson's Cause." — In Virginia, as in most of the colonies, the colonial government had charge of the finances of the church. The clergy asserted that, by an act of the Virginia assembly fixing their salaries, they had been treated unfairly. They appealed to George III, who vetoed the act.

A clergyman then brought suit for the salary which he claimed was due him under the old law. At the trial, in 1763, the people were represented by Patrick Henry, a country lawyer. In a speech of fiery eloquence he declared that a king who



PATRICK HENRY

vetoes so wise a law “degenerates into a tyrant and forfeits all right to obedience.” On account of the king’s veto, the jury were compelled to return a verdict in favor of the clergyman; yet, such was their sympathy with the wishes of the people in passing the vetoed law, that they gave him only a penny damages. This case became famous as the “Parson’s cause” and stirred up much feeling in the colonies against the king.

The Question of Taxing America. — Though the colonists had claimed from the first that only assemblies of their own choosing could tax them,¹ and though the British government had allowed all taxes to be levied by the colonial assemblies, yet the mother country had never given up her claim to tax the colonies whenever she saw fit. On the contrary, most British statesmen had long favored parliament’s taxing the colonies to meet the expense of the colonial governments, for it seldom happened that an assembly was willing to levy a tax as large as the home government or its officials in America desired.

With the close of the French and Indian War in 1763 the question of taxing the colonies came to a head in parliament. The wars between Great Britain and her allies, on one side, and France and her allies, on the other, which lasted with

¹ It will be remembered that the first assembly in America, meeting in Jamestown in 1619, forbade the governor from laying taxes without its consent (see page 35).

intermissions for nearly three quarters of a century, left Great Britain the foremost of nations and the leading colonial power. In America, Great Britain had been given all Canada and Florida and the undisputed possession of the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River. But the many wars had left Great Britain with an almost empty treasury and a heavy debt.

George III and his ministers, holding that the taxpayers in Great Britain should not be further burdened with the expense of governing and defending the vast territories in America, announced that parliament would be asked to levy a tax upon the colonies to raise the money needed. They asserted that the wars that had left the mother country heavily in debt had been waged for the benefit of the colonists, and that, therefore, the colonists should not object to a tax levied upon them solely for the support of the colonial governments.

Position of the Colonists. — But the colonists objected vigorously. They based their objections on the following grounds: A body, such as a parliament, or a congress, or an assembly, when elected by the people, represents those who elect it and carries out their wishes. Taxes levied by such a body are, therefore, levied with the consent of the people. When the taxing body is not elected by the people taxed, they do not control it and are powerless to prevent it from levying any taxes it pleases and deciding how they should be spent. Experience has shown that taxes imposed upon a people who have no control over the taxing power are apt to be unjust. Moreover, when a people are taxed without their consent they cannot have self-government, for it is only through control of the revenues that they control their government. Consequently the colonists would be in danger of losing their liberties, if parliament, which they had no voice in electing, should tax them.

Englishmen had for many centuries enjoyed the right of deciding what taxes should be imposed upon them. Back in the Middle Ages, King John, who then ruled over England, was forced to sign the Magna Carta, a paper that guaranteed

them this right. The Bill of Rights, passed by parliament in 1689, confirmed it. The colonists claimed that, though they had left the old country, they were still Englishmen and, therefore, had the same rights as the Englishmen who had remained at home.

Parliament, representing the people in England, levied taxes upon them, but parliament sitting three thousand miles away and having in it no one to represent America, could not know what was best for the colonies; therefore, the colonists claimed that their colonial assemblies took the place of parliament in the management of their local affairs. As the Englishmen at home held it as their most cherished right that they could not be taxed except through their parliament, so the Englishmen in America held it as their most cherished right that they could not be taxed except through their assemblies.

Answer of the Colonists. — In protesting against parliament's taxing them, the colonists professed loyalty to king and mother country; they declared that they were ready to meet all rightful expenses through their own assemblies, but were unwilling that parliament, in which they were not represented, should tax them.¹

Taxing America Decided Upon. — Despite the protests of America the British government decided to tax the colonies without their consent. The determination not to submit to this injustice led the colonies to declare themselves independent of Great Britain and to form for themselves the United States of America. It will therefore be well to consider the political conditions then existing in England; for, otherwise, it will be difficult to understand how Great Britain came to pursue such an unwise course that caused the loss of her richest and most populous colonies.

¹ In answer to the claim that Great Britain had become burdened with debt through wars waged for the protection of the colonies, the Americans pointed out that the wars had been waged more for the benefit of the commerce of Great Britain, and that, besides, the colonies had already contributed more than their share of the expense.

Parliament did not Represent the English People. — The “Revolution of 1688,” which had rid England of James II and placed William and Mary on the throne, made parliament superior to the king (see page 79). From that time, the House of Commons, the branch of parliament whose members are chosen by election, held the governing power. This system is a rule of the people and is the system under which Great Britain is governed to-day; but the rule of the people at the time of the American Revolution was more seeming than real, for the House of Commons itself needed reforming. The districts that elected the members of the House of Commons were, with few exceptions, the ones that did so in the days of Queen Elizabeth. In the two hundred years that had elapsed population had shifted. Many new cities, populous and wealthy, had arisen, and some of the older towns had dwindled to a mere handful of people. Yet the new cities elected no members of the House of Commons, while the decayed towns elected the same number of members they had always done. One of the “rotten boroughs,” as the decayed towns were called, had not a single inhabitant, but it had two representatives in the House of Commons who were selected by the owner of the land upon which the village once stood. Besides, the law allowed only about one man in nine in England to vote for members of parliament, and, consequently, even in the more populous districts in which voting was allowed, the voters were few.¹

Political standards among public officials were low. Bribery was then considered a proper means for controlling public affairs; and, as there were so few voters, bribery was made easy. Members of parliament who had bought their election themselves took bribes. The great mass of people, without the voting power, were helpless.

¹ Great Britain, though a monarchy in form, is now one of the most democratic countries of the world. It was not until 1832, however, that Great Britain began a series of reforms that made the House of Commons properly representative of the people.

George III and his "Friends." — George III knew that it would be impossible to do without parliament altogether, as previous kings had done, for Great Britain had made too much progress in self-government. Instead, he took advantage of the corruption that was poisoning public life. He bribed members of parliament. To some he gave money; to others titles, and to others lucrative positions. In this way he built up in parliament a party, known as the "king's friends," whose only political principle was to do whatever the king asked. It was not the corrupt politicians alone who favored taxing America, for most statesmen and many eminent lawyers thought the policy right (see page 112.) It was, however, the corrupt condition of parliament that made it possible for the king and his "friends" to push forward in a headlong course that threw the colonies into revolt. Least of all were the people of England responsible.

Topics and Questions

1. When did the British government begin to seek the control of the commerce of the colonies? How did it seek to control their commerce? Were the Acts of Navigation and Trade enforced? What did public opinion have to do with smuggling in those days? What is the attitude of society to-day toward smuggling?

2. How had colonial taxes always been levied? Why was there dissatisfaction in the colonies regarding the colonial government? How were officials held in check?

3. Was Great Britain more generous than other nations in her treatment of colonies? Give reasons for your opinion. What effect did the management of their local affairs have upon the colonists? Were the British colonists in America loyal to the mother country? Were they proud of their English blood?

4. Define writ of assistance and explain why an Englishman would object to one. What colonists openly led the opposition to such writs?

5. What acts of the king aroused Virginia, South Carolina, and New York to dissatisfaction and alarm for their welfare? Why did the "Parson's cause" have vital interest for every colonist in Virginia and in all the colonies?

6. State the position of most British statesmen on the question of parliament's taxing the colonies. Why did Great Britain seek to make her American colonies "self-supporting"?

7. On just what grounds did the colonists object to being taxed by parliament? What was the answer of the colonists to the proposal that parliament should tax them? How did the British government receive the protests of the colonies?

8. Describe the political conditions in England and explain why parliament did not represent the people. What is meant by "George III and his friends"?

Project Exercises

1. Describe how the colonies received military aid from the British government and state whether you think the fear of British arms by European nations made the colonies more secure from Dutch, Spanish, or French attack in America.

2. Point out how parliament, which did not in the eighteenth century represent the English people, became later a democratic body.

3. Find in the Constitution of the United States a provision that secures to each state a fair representation in Congress.

CHAPTER X

EVENTS LEADING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

The Stamp Act. — In 1765 parliament passed the Stamp Act. This act required that all legal papers drawn up in the colonies, such as wills, deeds, mortgages, marriage licenses, etc., should be written on stamped paper. If they were not written on such paper, they were to be legally

worthless. Newspapers also must bear the stamp, and a tax was placed on advertisements. The revenue to be raised from the sale of the stamps was to be used for supporting the British army in America.



A STAMP OF 1765

By the Stamp Act the colonies were stirred as they had never been before. "Taxation without representation is tyranny" became the watchword of America. Although the government had selected a tax that would fall least

heavily upon the people, and although the revenue would be spent in America, the colonists objected to the tax from principle. Once admit that Americans might be taxed without their consent, they might be so taxed for purposes without end. The act was earnestly discussed by persons in every walk of life. It was openly denounced and the determination that it should not be enforced was publicly proclaimed. Societies, called "Sons of Liberty," were formed for the purpose of resistance, and many riots occurred. Stamp distributors were burned in effigy and their property was pillaged, while many of the stamps were destroyed.

Merchants entered into a compact not to buy goods from England until the tax was removed. This was known

as the "Non-importation Agreement," and was begun in New York. Homespun clothes were commonly worn, and the use of "home-made" articles of all kinds became the fashion.

Virginia, Massachusetts, and the Carolinas. — Virginia was the first colony to act. Its assembly declared in resolutions introduced by Patrick Henry¹ that Virginians had the same rights as Englishmen — that it was their right to be taxed only with their consent. The resolutions found



PATRICK HENRY IN THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

hearty response throughout the country. "Virginia rang the alarm bell for the continent."

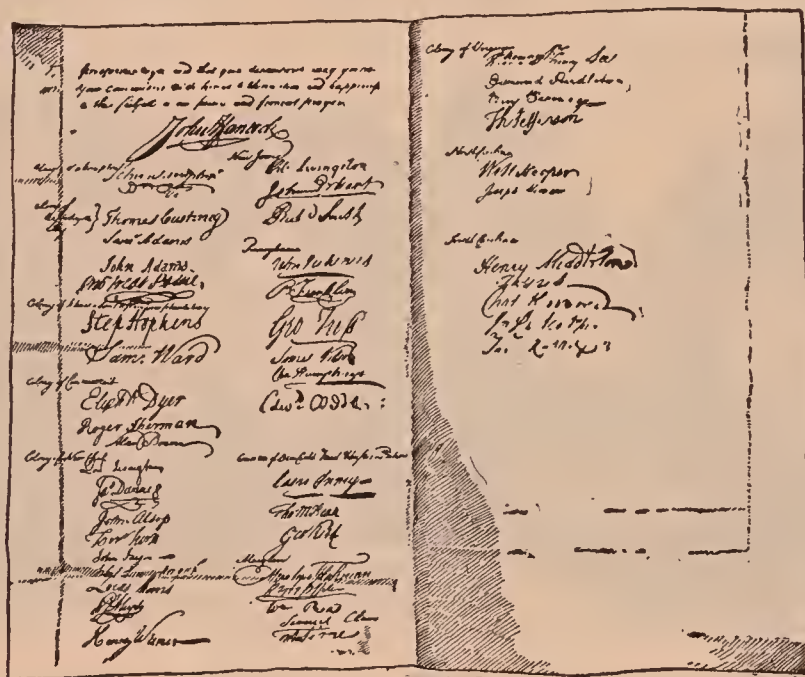
The Massachusetts assembly invited the other colonies to join in an American Congress. The movement made slow progress until South Carolina accepted the invitation. As Christopher Gadsden, an eminent patriot of that colony, said, "Had it not been for South Carolina, no Congress would then have happened."

In North Carolina the governor asked what the assembly

¹ In his speech on the resolutions Henry said, "Tarquin and Caesar had each his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III" — interrupted here by the presiding officer and some of the members crying "Treason! treason!!" he paused and added — "may profit by their example. If this be treason make the most of it."

would do about the act. The speaker, John Ashe, replied, "We will resist its execution to the death," and the governor broke up the assembly.

The Stamp Act Congress. — The Congress met in New York in October, 1765. Most of the colonies were represented. Strong memorials were addressed to the king and parliament, claiming for the colonists, among other rights, the right of trial by jury in all cases, and the right to have taxes imposed only through colonial assemblies. The me-



SIGNATURES TO THE PETITION SENT BY THE COLONISTS TO KING GEORGE III

The rejection of which led to the Revolution.
Reduced facsimile of original in the British Public
Record Office, London

morials declared the desire of the colonies to continue a part of the British empire and expressed strong attachment for the king.

The morning of November 1, 1765, the day for the act to go into effect, was everywhere ushered in as a day of mourning. Bells were tolled minute guns were fired, and flags were suspended at half mast. But the day was soon changed into one of rejoicing, for the law could not be enforced. Not a stamp distributor could be found, for all had been compelled to resign. Business affected by the tax was

discontinued or else was transacted without the use of the hated stamps.

The Stamp Act Repealed. — Many people in England sympathized with the colonists. Merchants of London and other cities, whose trade was injured by the refusal of the colonists to have business dealings with England, petitioned parliament for the repeal of the Stamp Act. The opposition of the American people and the protest of the English merchants had their effect. Parliament repealed the law in the spring of 1766, but at the same time declared its right to tax America. In the House of Commons, those



WILLIAM PITT



EDMUND BURKE

who favored the repeal were led by William Pitt and Edmund Burke, and in the House of Lords by Lord Camden.

The repeal was celebrated in England by the friends of the colonists. News of the repeal was greeted in America with great rejoicing, with bonfires, processions, and speech-making. The declaration of parliament of its right to tax America was overlooked, and the affection of the colonies, which had been severely strained, once more turned for a time to the mother country.

The "Townshend Acts." — The joy over the repeal of the Stamp Act was short-lived, for the British government had

no intention of giving up the policy of taxing America for revenue. The king and his "friends" misunderstood the temper of the American people. Officials sent over to govern the colonies desired parliament to levy taxes so that from the money thus raised they might be paid salaries that the colonial assemblies could not interfere with.

In the year following the repeal of the Stamp Act (1767) parliament passed a series of acts for the more rigid government of the colonies. These acts are known as the "Townshend Acts," because they were proposed by Charles Townshend, a member of parliament. Among them was an act levying taxes upon glass, paper, lead, painters' colors, and tea imported into the colonies. The purpose of these taxes threatened the liberties of the people even more than the purpose of the Stamp Act, for the revenue was to be used not only for the support of the army in America, but



SAMUEL ADAMS

After the portrait by Copley in
Boston Museum of Fine Arts

also for the support of all the civil officials. The colonists faced the double danger of having forced upon them a large army that they did not need and a body of officeholders over whom they would have no control. They determined to defeat the purpose of the law by not using the articles which were taxed, and they renewed the old agreement not to import anything from England. The acts were denounced by the pulpit, the press, and the people.

Action of Massachusetts. —

The assembly of Massachusetts, guided by the noble patriot, Samuel Adams, sent to the king resolutions protesting against the "Townshend Acts." The resolutions asserted that Americans did not aim at independence. At the same time the Massachusetts assembly

sent to the assembly of every other colony a circular letter asking that all join in an effort to secure the repeal of the acts. The resolutions and circular letter gave great offence to the king. It was ordered that the assembly be dissolved unless its action was rescinded immediately. Instructions were also given that assemblies of other colonies indorsing the circular letter should be dissolved. The assembly of Massachusetts refused to rescind, whereupon the governor dissolved it. Every assembly showed approval of the letter; and the assemblies of Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia were dissolved for indorsing it. When the Virginia assembly adopted resolutions protesting against the arbitrary course of Great Britain, it was treated in the same manner.

The Tension Increases. — In 1769 parliament requested the king to have all persons in America charged with opposition to the laws arrested and taken to England to be tried there for treason. Probably no one thing incensed the colonies more than this.

The growing friction between the colonists and the royal authorities was shown in the serious riots that occurred, in the years 1770 and 1771, in widely separated localities. Early in 1770, a riot broke out in New York when British soldiers cut down a liberty pole which the people had erected. The riot lasted two days. One citizen was killed and others were wounded.

Soon afterwards blood was shed in Boston. The troops there had been giving considerable trouble, and the feeling against them was bitter. A quarrel arose between a party of soldiers and some of the inhabitants. The soldiers discharged their muskets, killing five persons and wounding six. The whole town was aroused, and the people in their indignation compelled the governor to remove the troops to the fort in the harbor. The "Boston Massacre," as it was called, sent a thrill of horror over the country.

The Battle of Alamance. — For many years the settlers in the uplands of North Carolina had suffered from

exorbitant taxes and costly and unjust lawsuits, which in many cases caused the loss of property. Appeals to the governor having brought no relief, a number of settlers, calling themselves "regulators," made preparation to defend



MONUMENT ON ALAMANCE BATTLE GROUND

their rights by force. The governor with more than a thousand militia marched to arrest the leaders. He met the "regulators," many of whom were unarmed, near the Alamance River, and there (1771) a battle was fought. Of course the victory was with the governor and his troops. Twenty "regulators" and nine soldiers were killed. Seven leaders of the "regulators" who were captured were hanged as outlaws by order of the governor.

Some Historic "Tea Parties." — Meanwhile parliament removed the tax from all the commodities named in the Townshend Acts, except tea; but this partial repeal did not satisfy the colonists. Small as the tax on tea was, the colonists objected to it because they were contending for a great principle. They would have none of the tea.

When three ships with cargoes of tea arrived in Boston

harbor, a party of men disguised as Indians boarded them on a night in December, 1773, and threw the tea overboard. The affair is known as the "Boston Tea Party." In Philadelphia and New York the people refused to allow the tea to be landed, and drove the ships away. In Charleston some of the tea was thrown into the harbor, while some was stored and afterward sold for the benefit of the colony. Later, when a vessel laden with tea arrived at Annapolis, the citizens, in the daytime and without disguise, compelled



CHARLESTON IN 1780

After a drawing by Leitch

the owner of the vessel and the importers of the tea to burn the ship with its entire cargo.

The "Five Intolerable Acts."—Parliament, already greatly displeased with the colonies for their continued resistance to the laws, was so angered by the destruction of the tea, that it passed in 1774 the following laws, which on account of their severity and injustice were called by the colonists the "Five Intolerable Acts": (1) The port of Boston was closed — no ships, except those carrying food, could enter or leave the harbor, which meant ruin to the business of the town; (2) The charter of Massachusetts was changed so as to deprive the people of nearly all rights and liberties; (3) All magistrates, revenue officers, and soldiers, indicted in Massachusetts for murder and other

capital crimes, were to be tried in Nova Scotia or Great Britain; (4) The quartering of troops in the colonies was legalized; (5) The country lying between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes¹ was attached to the province of Quebec.

Other Colonies Send Aid to Massachusetts. — It will be noted that three of the laws affected Massachusetts alone.



ANNO DECIMO QUARTO

Georgii III. Regis.

C A P. XIX.

(An Act to discontinue, in such Manner, and for such Time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping, of Goods, Wares, and Merchandise, at the Town, and within the Harbour, of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America)

WHEREAS dangerous Commotions and Insurrections have been fomented and raised in the Town of Boston, in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, in New England, by divers ill affected Persons, to the Subversion of His Majesty's Government, and to the utter Destruction of the publick Peace, and good Order of the said Town; in which Commotions and Insurrections certain valuable Cargoes of Teas, being the Property of the East India Company, and on Board certain Vessels lying within the Bay or Harbours

FIRST PAGE OF THE BOSTON
PORT BILL

Reduced facsimile

The severe punishment directed toward Massachusetts was due to the fact that the course of that colony had become particularly distasteful to the British government. The effect of the laws was to draw the people closer together, for it was realized that the colonies must make common cause to protect the rights of America. Nearly all the colonies urged Massachusetts to stand firm against the laws and assured her of their support. In order that the people of Boston might not suffer from having their port closed immediate measures were taken for their relief. Very soon rice, rye, flour, peas, cattle, sheep, oil, fish, and money were

poured into the town from all parts of the country. The day the port bill went into effect was observed in Philadelphia as a day of mourning, and in Virginia as a day of fasting and prayer.

¹ This territory, upon which several of the colonies had claims, now comprises the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota.

Virginia Leads to Union; First Continental Congress. — A step had already been taken which led to the union of the colonies. At the instance of Virginia, intercolonial committees of correspondence had been established, through which the colonies consulted one another concerning the danger to their common welfare. A general congress was



CARPENTERS' HALL, PHILADELPHIA, 1774

Where the First Continental Congress met

suggested, and the proposition gained immediate favor. The Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774. It made formal complaint of the grievances suffered by the colonists since the accession of George III. Then the rights of the colonists were fully set forth. A great majority of the people were still loyal; Congress petitioned the king to restore the former conditions under which the mother country and the colonists had lived agreeably together as one nation.

Before adjourning Congress decided to meet again in May of the following year.

War near at Hand. — Massachusetts remained firm, and refused to allow the act violating her charter to have effect (see page 125.) Serious disturbances occurred in some of the colonies, and everywhere patriots prepared to defend their country. Committees of safety were appointed, the militia was strengthened and constantly drilled, and companies of "minute-men," composed of men ready to shoulder their muskets at a moment's notice, were organized. Arms and ammunition were collected and secreted.

Meanwhile Great Britain declared Massachusetts in rebellion, and prepared to reduce the colony to obedience by force. General Gage was made military governor of the colony. The troops in Boston were increased, and a strong fleet was stationed in the harbor. Everyone felt that an armed conflict might come at any time.

Whigs and Tories. — The colonists, who opposed the policy of Great Britain, did not desire the independence of America; yet the continued injustice of that policy had brought them to the point where they were willing, if necessary, to meet force with force in the defense of the right of self-government. As in England there were those who did not think that parliament should tax the colonists without their consent, so in America there were those who sided with the British government. These Americans did not, as a rule, approve of the government's course. They preferred to continue to thwart its measures by peaceable methods, since they believed that an armed conflict would end in the independence of America; and they thought it unwise to change from the stable government of Great Britain to an untried government of the colonies that might never be strong enough to preserve law and order.

The political party in England that opposed the king's policy was called "Whig" and the party that approved of his policy was called "Tory." These names crossed the Atlantic. Americans who were willing to go to war if necessary called themselves "Whigs," and those of their countrymen who disapproved of such a course, they called "Tories." Every colony contained a number of Tories, many of whom subsequently took up arms on the side of the mother country. Some of the Tories in America were men of culture and wealth. Since the people of both countries were Englishmen living under one government, and since the sentiment in both countries was divided, the war that followed may be regarded as of the nature of a civil war.

The Cause. — The fact that America was not united makes only brighter the patriotism of those who, through

the stress of war and the gloom of reverses, successfully defended a cause which at the time scarcely a nation of the world held in high respect, but a cause of which most countries of the civilized world to-day are champions — the cause of self-government.

Topics and Questions

1. Parliament, having decided to tax the colonies, passed the Stamp Act in 1765. Describe the Stamp Act and the manner in which the news of its passage was received in America. Define Sons of Liberty, non-importation agreement, and Virginia Resolutions. Give the story of the action of Massachusetts, South Carolina, and North Carolina in regard to the Stamp Act.

2. What demands did the Stamp Act Congress make? Were the colonists then seeking independence? Why did the Stamp Act fail? What members of parliament championed the American cause?

3. What was the principal act of the "Townshend Acts"? For what reasons did the colonists protest against these acts? Describe the action of Massachusetts. Did that colony stand alone in her attitude and action? What was the king's response to the protests of Massachusetts and other colonies?

4. Give the details of the story of bloodshed in New York and Boston in 1770. What led to the battle of Alamance and what resulted? Why did Boston have her "tea party" in 1773? Who followed her example?

5. State definitely the contents of the Five Intolerable Acts. Show how the colonies proved good neighbors and sisters to Massachusetts. How had the colonists known of intercolonial affairs and conditions? What was the object of the First Continental Congress? Of committees of safety? Of minute men? What was Great Britain's answer to preparations for war in America?

Project Exercises

1. Give arguments (a) for the Stamp Act from the British parliament's point of view; (b) against the Stamp Act from any colonist's point of view. Was parliament defeated or only temporarily checked in its plans by the repeal of the Stamp Act?

2. Were the colonists united in feeling and ideas in the period between 1763 and 1775? Prove your decision by a definite illustration. Was it easy to decide whether to be a patriot or a loyalist?

3. Why was the Revolution a contest for self-government?

Important Date:

1765. Passage of the Stamp Act.

CHAPTER XI

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

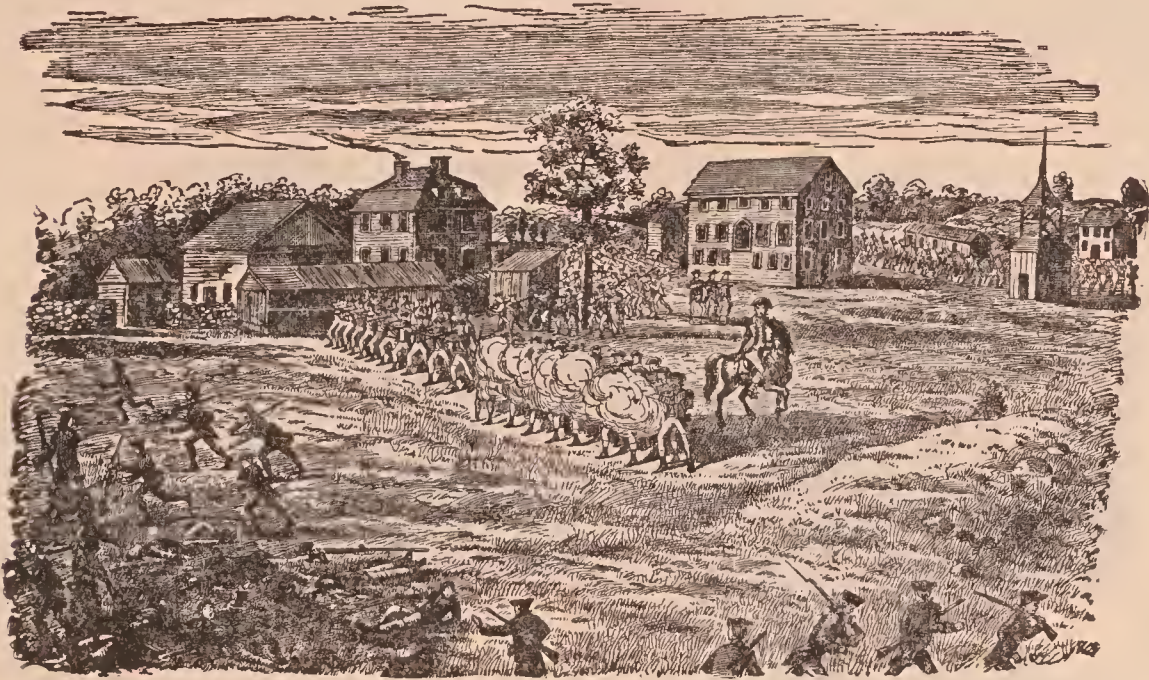
Battle of Lexington. — General Gage had received from England instructions to arrest certain leaders of the opposition to the royal government. It was especially desired that Samuel Adams and John Hancock, patriots of Massachusetts, who were among the foremost of the leaders, should be taken. They were at Lexington, ten miles from Boston. Gage planned to arrest them and also to seize the military supplies that the Americans had collected at Concord, a few miles beyond Lexington.

To accomplish this double purpose, he sent out at night, from Boston, a body of soldiers. The movement, intended to be secret, was promptly detected.¹ The people along the route were aroused, and Adams and Hancock escaped. An advance detachment of British troops, under command of Major Pitcairn, reached Lexington about daybreak on April 19, 1775, and found a few minute-men gathered on the village green. Pitcairn rode up to the minute-men, crying, "Disperse, you villains!" and, as the men refused, commanded the soldiers to fire. Two volleys were discharged, and eight Americans were killed and more than that number wounded. The citizens, retiring before the superior force, returned the fire, wounding one or two of their assailants. The main body of the British came up and the whole force marched on to Concord.

The soldiers were able to destroy at Concord but few

¹ Rumors of Gage's intention had reached the Americans in Boston some hours in advance. As soon as the soldiers set out, Paul Revere and William Dawes rode rapidly by different routes toward Lexington, arousing the people along the way. The brave messengers undertook a dangerous task, and both had narrow escapes, but they succeeded in spreading the alarm.

military supplies, for nearly all had been removed. The rapidly increasing strength of the minute-men, who had been assembling in the town since early morning, made the situation so dangerous for the British that soon all the troops were in retreat, with the Americans following closely and harassing them at every step. Meanwhile the news spread from village to farm and from farm to village, and the whole region was in arms. In the highroad and open field, from



THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON, APRIL 19, 1775

After an engraving made by two Continental militia-men who were in the battle

behind houses, trees, and fences, ready marksmen poured their shots upon the retreating soldiers. The British killed and wounded fell fast, and the fire grew so galling that the retreat became a panic. The entire force seemed doomed to destruction, when reënforcements with cannon arrived, and under this protection the survivors reached Boston. The British lost about three times as many men as the Americans.

Effect of the Battle. — The killing of citizens at Lexington, and the heroic stand of the farmers at Concord, kindled the flame of war from New Hampshire to Georgia. Men of every vocation laid aside their work to go to the front.

By the end of the month a large army had collected around Boston and shut the British up in the town.

Patriots, who had come to believe that the rights of America could be saved only by resort to force, were heartened by the victory and by the outpouring of the people that followed. The Tories in America, or Loyalists as they are sometimes called, were correspondingly discouraged. They saw in the battle an obstacle that would make it much harder to secure the reconciliation with the mother country that they so much desired.



THE BATTLE AT CONCORD, APRIL 19, 1775

Showing the detachment of regulars who fired first on the provincials at the bridge — the provincials headed by Colonel Robinson and Major Buttrick.

From the engraving by Anthony Dolittle in the Hancock-Clarke House at Lexington

Amazement in England. — When the news reached England the people could hardly believe, at first, that ill-armed and ill-disciplined farmers could make veteran British soldiers run as reports said that they ran from Lexington. When convinced of the truth of the news they felt greatly humiliated. They shared the belief of the Tories in America that reconciliation would now be much more difficult, and they blamed General Gage for bringing on the conflict. Yet the British government showed no lessening of its purpose to make the Americans submit.

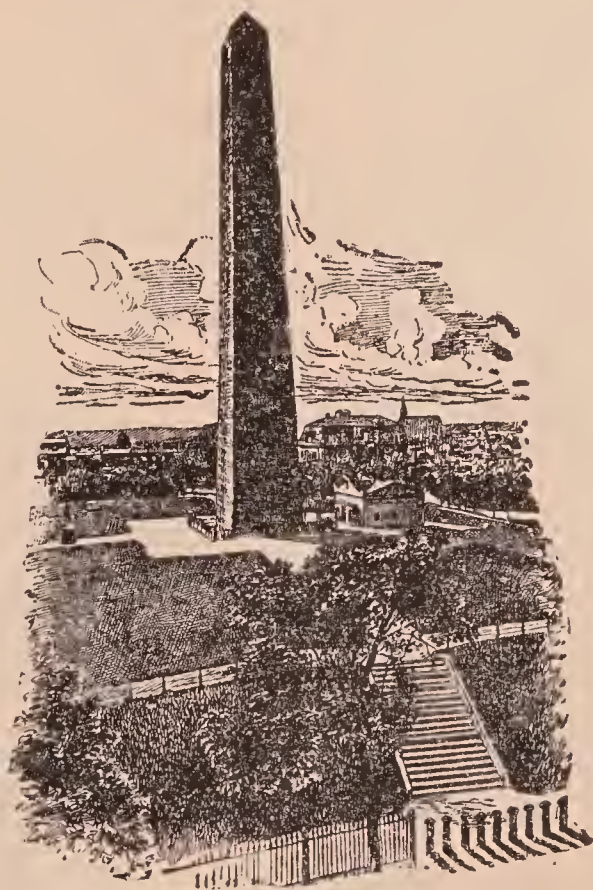
Making war upon America was not popular with the English people, and volunteers for service in the army did not come forward very fast. To fill the ranks the king

hired soldiers from princes in Germany. During the war about thirty thousand of these foreign soldiers were employed. Many were Hessians, and the Americans called all of them by this name. The Americans detested them because they were hirelings; yet, these unfortunates are not to be greatly censured, for they were compelled by their princes to fight, against their will, for the English king.

Second Continental Congress. — In the month following the battle of Lexington, Congress met again in Philadelphia. It declared that independence of Great Britain was not sought; that peace was desired, but that Great Britain had begun the war; and that allegiance to the mother country would be restored by a return to conditions as they were before 1763 (the end of the French and Indian War).

While desiring peace, Congress took steps for the public defense. A call was made for twenty thousand men to form a continental army, for which the forces around Boston were accepted as a nucleus. George Washington, of Virginia, was chosen commander-in-chief. Washington was present as a member of Congress, and he accepted in a modest speech. Three million dollars in paper money were issued. Later a small navy was created.

Bunker Hill. — Before Washington assumed command an important battle had been fought near Boston. The Americans, on learning that the British commander intended fortifying Bunker Hill — a point overlooking Boston — determined to anticipate him.



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

In the darkness of night, a detachment of Americans, commanded by Colonel Prescott, fortified Breed's Hill, just across Charles River from Boston and between the town and Bunker Hill. On the next day, June 17, 1775, three thousand British troops crossed the river in boats to take the fortification. Twice the British marched up the hill, and twice they were driven back by terrific volleys from the Americans. The third assault was successful; the Americans, having exhausted their ammunition, were driven from the hill. The British loss was more than a thousand; the American less than five hundred. The result, while not a victory for the patriots, greatly encouraged the Americans; yet, in one respect, it had an unfortunate effect. It created in America the belief that untrained militia was a match for regular soldiers, an error which, during the course of the war, was to prove most costly.

Washington Assumes Command. — Early in July, General Washington took command of the army around Boston. The army, now numbering sixteen thousand, was in woeful want of training and discipline. No one government had control over the army; on the contrary, troops from each colony looked to their own government for orders. Congress, having no power, could only give advice. Having enlisted for only a short period, many of the men, after the first flush of enthusiasm was over, insisted upon returning home. Besides, the army lacked everything necessary for the war. The people of New England cheerfully fed the men; but, though every colony did all it could, it was impossible to supply the clothes, tents, arms, and ammunition needed.¹

Washington was too good a soldier to be deceived by the gallant stand of the farmers at Bunker Hill into the belief that raw militia could wage successful war against regulars. Often his heart sank; but not once did he despair. He first rearranged the lines of his army to make surer the hold-

¹ Even from distant Georgia came aid. The people of that colony sent a quantity of powder which they had taken from a British ship near Savannah.



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES.

ing of the British in Boston. Then, he set to work to train and discipline the men. He did all that it was humanly possible to do to make a fit fighting force of the motley gathering.

Evacuation of Boston. — During the summer and winter following the battle of Bunker Hill Washington's army laid siege to Boston where the British forces were too weak to



SKETCH-MAP OF BOSTON AND BUNKER HILL, 1775

risk a battle. With the coming of spring Washington, still lacking ammunition sufficient for an assault upon the town, determined to force the British out to sea. For this purpose he fortified Dorchester Heights, a point overlooking the town, which General Howe, who had succeeded Gage in command of the British, had failed to occupy. He accomplished this in one night, and the British were amazed the next morning to see on the heights a redoubt commanding the town. Realizing that his army and fleet were at Washington's mercy, Howe evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776. The fleet carried the troops and many of the Tories

of Boston to Nova Scotia. The Americans took possession of the town, securing military supplies of great value.

Moore's Creek; Fort Moultrie.— The southern colonies bore a share of the fighting of the early part of the war. In North Carolina there were many Scotch Highlanders loyal to the crown. With other Tories they marched toward Wilmington for the purpose of entering the king's service. A battle was fought, in February, 1776, at Moore's Creek (near Wilmington) between this force and a smaller body of patriots. The Highlanders and their allies were completely routed. The victory firmly planted the cause of liberty in the colony.

A strong British fleet appeared off Charleston, South Carolina. On board was an army whose purpose was to over-



SERGEANT JASPER AT FORT MOULTRIE

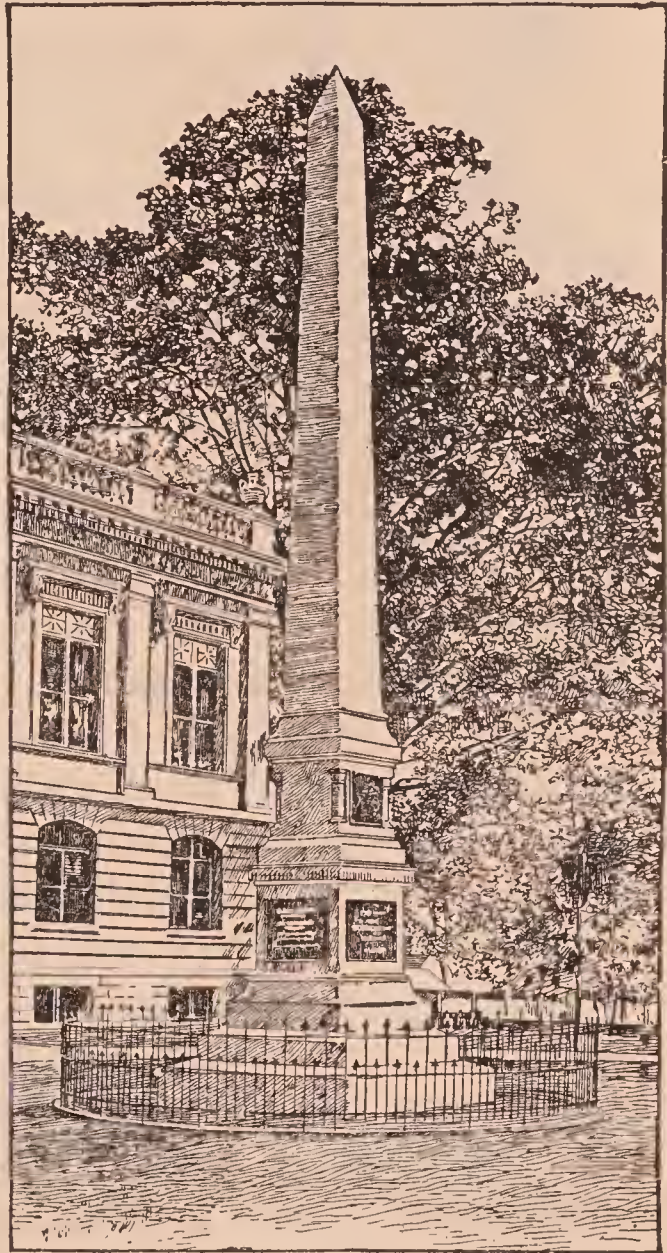
run the colony if the town was captured. On Sullivan's Island, in the harbor of Charleston, there was a fort built of palmetto logs. The fort mounted only a few cannon, for which there was very little powder. The garrison, too, was small, but the men were courageous and were under a brave leader,

Colonel William Moultrie. On June 28, 1776, the fleet advanced upon the fort and hurled against it an incessant shower of balls. The heavy cannonading of the enemy did little damage, as the balls went over the fort or sank into the soft palmetto, while the well-directed fire of the Americans raked the deck of every ship.¹

¹ The flagstaff on Fort Moultrie was shattered by one of the enemy's balls, and the flag fell on the beach in front of the fort. Sergeant William Jasper leaped over the rampart, and braving the thickest of the fire, recovered the flag. Attaching it to the sponge staff of a cannon, he replanted it on the fort. For his heroic deed he was offered a lieutenant's commission, which he modestly declined.

The contest, one of the severest of the war, lasted from morning until nightfall, when the fleet retired. The fort was afterwards named Moultrie in honor of its brave defender. The victories at Moore's Creek and Charleston saved the southern colonies from further invasion for two years.

The Outlook for the Colonies. — Fifteen months of war had not given promise of success to the colonies. It is true that the British army had been forced out of Boston, but this army, still in Nova Scotia, had been strengthened and was making ready for a campaign against the revolting colonies with the assistance of a large fleet. Washington's army, depleted by the system of short enlistments and further weakened by lack of discipline, was not in fit condition to oppose such an overwhelming force. Another American army, sent into Canada to conquer that country and prevent an invasion of the British from the north, had come back shattered and beaten. In those days, without railroad or telegraph, news was slow in traveling. Reports of the victory at Fort Moultrie had not reached Philadelphia when the Continental Congress, despite



MONUMENT TO THE SIGNERS OF THE
MECKLENBURG DECLARATION AT
CHARLOTTE, N. C.

the gloom that had set in, declared the colonies independent of Great Britain.

The desire for independence was at first of slow growth. The colonists, separated by a great distance from the mother country and long accustomed to manage their own affairs, had imbibed the spirit of freedom. But they preferred to be a part of the British empire, if only allowed their freedom. Even following the battle of Lexington, independence was not generally desired. The Continental Congress, meeting after the battle, disclaimed such a desire. But, as the war continued, and as Great Britain showed by the vigorous manner in which she conducted it that she intended to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, the patriots became convinced that they could no longer continue a part of the British empire and remain free. Perhaps no one thing did more to bring them to this belief than the news that the English king had hired foreigners to make war upon his English subjects.

Royal Governments Disappear. — Meanwhile, the patriots had taken charge of the colonial governments, organized regiments, and issued paper money. The royal governors in New York, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina had sought refuge on British war vessels. The Georgians had seized their governor and put him under arrest. By the close of 1775 royal government had virtually disappeared from the thirteen colonies. As yet, however, there was no concerted movement toward independence.¹

The Declaration of Independence. — As the months wore on the sentiment grew that the colonies should take united action about independence. In April, 1776, North Carolina authorized its delegates in Congress to vote for independence, and a month later Virginia instructed its delegates to propose independence. Within a very short time after the action

¹ The people of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, took an advanced step. On receiving news of the battle of Lexington, delegates from different parts of the county, assembled at Charlotte (May 20, 1775), declared the county independent of Great Britain.

of North Carolina and Virginia, most of the colonies had signified their desire for separation from Great Britain. On July 2, 1776, Congress, on motion of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, resolved that "the united colonies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states." To give form to the resolution, Congress, on July 4, 1776, adopted *The Declaration of Independence*.

The Declaration of Independence, written by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, is in many respects the most important political paper ever given to the world. It asserts that all men

are created equal, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, therefore, when a government fails to secure to a people the inalienable rights given them by the Creator, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they have the right to establish for themselves another government. At a time when nearly every country was ruled by the dictates of a king, the Declaration of Independence proclaimed the rights of man.



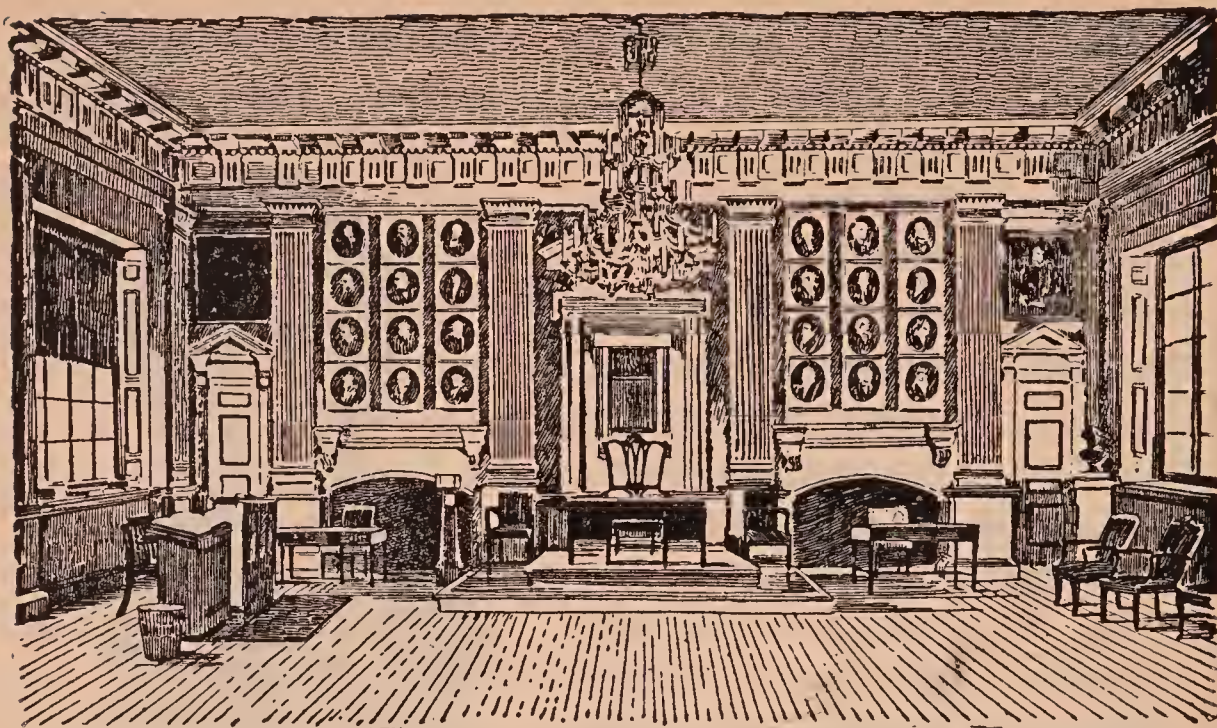
RICHARD HENRY LEE

Topics and Questions

1. What double purpose did General Gage have in sending soldiers to Lexington and Concord? How was the alarm spread? Describe the battles of Lexington and Concord. What was their effect upon America? Upon England? Why was King George forced to employ foreign soldiers in his efforts to subdue his subjects in America?

2. What declarations were made by the Second Continental Congress? What steps did it take for the public safety while awaiting Great Britain's response? Whom did Congress appoint to the command of the American army?

3. Give all the details you can of the battle of Bunker Hill and tell what effect the battle had upon the Americans. Contrast the British and Continental soldiers before Boston in July 1775. How did Georgia help to supply the Continental army stationed about Boston?



ROOM IN WHICH THE DECLARATION WAS SIGNED

4. Describe the British evacuation of Boston. What was the fate of the loyal Scotch Highlanders at Moore's Creek? Tell about the repulse of the British at Fort Moultrie.

5. What change in the public mind had fifteen months of war brought about? Summarize the conditions of royal governments in the thirteen colonies at the end of the year 1775. What anniversary do North Carolinians celebrate on May 20?

6. What action did North Carolina take in regard to independence? What action did Virginia take? When was independence resolved upon by the united colonies? When was it declared? Who worded the Declaration of Independence? Why is the Declaration of Independence one of the most important political papers ever given to the world?

Project Exercises

1. Trace the slow growth in America of sentiment for independence. (See pages 109, 114, 120, 127, 128, 129).

2. One of the principles for which the recent great World War was fought was the right of every nation to have the government of its own choosing; show the relation of the Declaration of Independence to this principle.

Important Dates:

1775. Battle of Lexington — beginning of the Revolutionary War.

1776. Battle of Fort Moultrie.

1776. July 4. Declaration of Independence.

CHAPTER XII

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Colonies Become States. — With its assumption of independence each colony declared itself a *state*. From that time forward Americans saw a higher purpose in the war. No longer were they fighting for redress of grievances as members of the British empire, but to gain for themselves a place in the world as a separate people. Many weary years of warfare had yet to pass before the states made good their claim to independence.

Capture of New York. — Shortly after the Declaration of Independence, General Howe landed his army on Staten Island, in New York harbor, with the object of dividing the strength of America by separating New England from the rest of the country. Washington, suspecting Howe's purpose, had already marched his army from Boston to New York. The combined forces of the enemy almost doubled those of Washington. Twenty thousand British troops attacked four thousand Americans on Long Island, where Washington had placed part of his army. The Americans were badly beaten. Howe had an opportunity to capture the whole force on Long Island by pushing his attacks vigorously, but he moved so slowly that Washington, who had crossed to the island and taken command, had time to withdraw his troops to New York.

The defeat on Long Island had greatly discouraged the Americans. The militia left the army in large numbers, and Washington saw his forces diminishing without being able to prevent it. The system of short enlistments made it impossible to keep a full and well-disciplined army, since its composition was constantly changing: troops coming and going.

When Howe landed a force above New York, Washington withdrew in order to keep his little army from being



GEORGE WASHINGTON IN 1775

After the portrait by Peale

captured, and Howe took possession of the town on September 15, 1776. Howe still moved leisurely and Washington still gave battle, yet so greatly superior were the enemy's forces that they would eventually have surrounded the Americans had not Washington retreated from Manhattan Island.

The Retreat across New Jersey. — Washington, believing that the British general designed an attack upon Philadelphia, crossed into New Jersey with the hope of stopping him. Cornwallis, a general serving under Howe, advanced against Washington, who was unable to collect forces enough for battle and

retreated across New Jersey. Cornwallis gave hot pursuit. Washington retired across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania early in December. His men suffered severely on the retreat, their bare feet leaving blood-stains on the snow.

The Continental Army. — Washington was perhaps nearer to despair than at any other time during the war. His forces, which had been composed mostly of militia, were reduced to less than three thousand. His brave heart must have been wrung when he wrote that unless volunteers speedily filled his ranks "the game is pretty nearly up."

Washington had from the first asked Congress to raise a regular army to serve until the end of the war, but Congress, doubting its power to do so and sharing the general

dread of a standing army, had not complied with his request. Now that the situation had become so extreme, Congress was driven to take Washington's view. It therefore called for volunteers who would enlist for the term of the war and would serve under the direction of Congress, instead of their respective states. Not as many men responded as Congress had hoped, but those who did volunteer were formed into a compact army — the continental army — and they became, in time, well-disciplined veterans who bore the brunt of the war. For the present, however, Washington was obliged to continue the struggle with a handful of faithful men.



A CONTINENTAL
SOLDIER

After the picture by
Chappel

The Middle States Demoralized. —

These were discouraging days for America. With the defeat in Canada, New York in the hands of the enemy, New Jersey overrun, and Philadelphia threatened, the cause seemed hopeless. To add to the gloom a fleet on Lake Champlain had been destroyed, and Crown Point, a fort in upper New York, and Newport, Rhode Island, had been captured. The people of New Jersey and Pennsylvania were demoralized and would give little assistance to Washington; indeed many hastened to take the oath of allegiance to the king. Congress, fearing that the fast dwindling American army would not be able to defend Philadelphia, adjourned to Baltimore. "These are the times," said an eminent patriot, "that try men's souls."

Trenton and Princeton. — But the enemy did not cross into Pennsylvania. The British generals, confident that they could capture Philadelphia at any time, put their troops into winter quarters, stationing detachments at various points in New Jersey.

Reënforcements had raised Washington's army to about

five thousand. Yet the enlistments of many of the men would expire soon, and Washington knew that they would then go home. If he was to win a victory that would arouse the drooping spirits of the American people, he must act quickly. He determined to fall upon a large body of Hessians at Trenton, New Jersey. On Christmas night (1776), which he believed would be most suitable for a surprise because the Hessians would probably be carousing, Washington crossed the Delaware with a small part of his army.



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

Where the Continental Congress met

Through falling snow and sleet the men guided the boats amid masses of floating ice that threatened destruction at every moment. The surprise was complete. The Hessians were routed, many of their number being killed or taken prisoners. A large quantity of arms also fell to the victors. Washington lost but four men, two of whom were frozen to death.

Cornwallis, thinking the war over, was on the eve of sailing from New York for England, when news of the battle of Princeton reached him. He hastened with British troops to Trenton. Washington's position between the river and the enemy's superior force was critical, but Cornwallis made

no attack on the night of his arrival, saying that he would "catch the fox in the morning." The "fox" was too sly for him. Leaving his campfires burning to deceive the enemy, Washington steadily marched around Cornwallis, and arriving at Princeton about sunrise of the next day, January 3, 1777, there surprised and defeated another British garrison. When Cornwallis discovered that Washington had outwitted him, it was too late for him to aid the garrison at Princeton. After this battle, Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey.

New Jersey Recovered. — The effects of the successes at Trenton and Princeton were immediate. The people of New Jersey were encouraged to rise against the invaders. Militia seized nearly all the British posts, and many recruits joined Washington's army. By the middle of the summer the British had entirely evacuated New Jersey and retired to New York. Washington had been urged to risk a battle with Howe, but he prudently avoided doing so, for even with the recruits his army was not nearly as strong as that of the enemy. He remained at Morristown, wondering why Howe did not make an attack, which might have been disastrous to the Americans owing to their wretched condition.

The "Stars and Stripes." — In the early part of the war the American army used a flag which bore thirteen stripes, alternating red and white, to represent the thirteen colonies, and in the upper corner next the staff the crosses of Great



FLAG OF THE UNITED COLONIES IN 1775-1777



FIRST FLAG OF THE UNITED STATES

Adopted by Congress in
1777

Britain, to show that the colonies did not claim independence. The Declaration of Independence made desirable a change in the design of the flag. On June 14, 1777, the crosses of Great Britain were replaced by thirteen stars in a blue field. This flag, with the addition of a star for each state subsequently admitted into the Union, is the "Stars and Stripes" of to-day. June 14 is now observed throughout the United States as "flag day."

Burgoyne Comes Down from Canada. — The capture of the city of New York was but the first step in the British plan of separating New England from the rest of the country. New York state must be conquered, and for this purpose it was necessary to secure control of the Hudson River. It was arranged that a large army should descend from Canada by way of Lake Champlain and at Albany join a force that Howe was expected to take up the Hudson from New York City.

General Burgoyne commanded the army from Canada. Besides British, Hessians, Canadians, and Tories, this army, nearly ten thousand strong, had also in its ranks many Indians with whom the British government had made an alliance. The army began its movement early in the summer of 1777. General Schuyler, who commanded an American force less than half the size of the enemy, so delayed Burgoyne that he was two months in reaching the Hudson. Burgoyne's position was now very insecure. Supplies were running low and his forces were reduced by his having to leave garrisons at posts in the rear. Volunteers, together with reënforcements sent by Washington, were swelling the army in front of him, and militia hung upon his flanks; he could not make a vigorous advance, nor could he retreat.

Just as the trap was closing on Burgoyne, Congress removed General Schuyler from command of the American army and appointed General Horatio Gates in his stead.

Surrender of Burgoyne. — Anxiously, but in vain, Burgoyne had looked for aid from Howe. Still hoping to break

through the American lines, he assaulted (September 19) their fortified position near Saratoga, but failed. Waiting a few weeks, and still not hearing from Howe; he again made an assault and was defeated (October 7). In neither battle did Gates take an active part; the fighting was directed by his officers, especially Benedict Arnold and Daniel Morgan.

Burgoyne, now almost surrounded and despairing of aid from Howe, surrendered on October 17, 1777. Besides his army, reduced to about six thousand, a large amount of



THE SURRENDER OF BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA

munitions of war was captured. Burgoyne's surrender had most important results. It saved New England and New York state and was the immediate cause of a treaty of alliance with France.

Capture of Philadelphia. — Howe's failure to go to the aid of Burgoyne was due to his belief that it would be better to capture Philadelphia first. A few days after Burgoyne began his march, Howe moved his army out of New York and started across New Jersey toward Philadelphia. Washington immediately followed him. The British general, thinking it unwise to leave Washington's army in his rear, returned to New York. Three weeks were thus lost. After

further delay, Howe carried his army on ships down the Atlantic coast and up the Chesapeake Bay, so as to reach Philadelphia from the south. Six weeks more had passed when Howe began his march northward toward Philadelphia. At Brandywine Creek, in Pennsylvania, he found the alert Washington across his path. In the battle that followed the Americans, greatly inferior in numbers and equipment, were defeated; yet Washington continued to obstruct the enemy's march, and a fortnight went by before Howe was able to enter Philadelphia, September 26, 1777. Congress



VALLEY FORGE

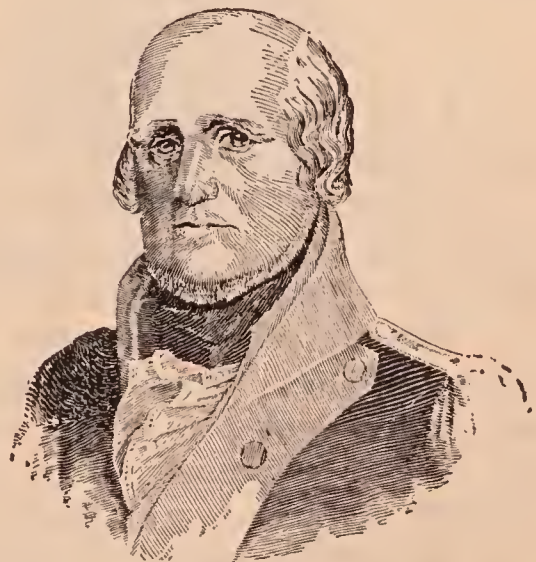
Washington and Lafayette visiting the suffering army. After the painting by A. Gilbert

had again fled, this time going to York, Pennsylvania. Washington had been unable with his little army to prevent the loss of Philadelphia; but it was now too late for Howe to send assistance to Burgoyne.

A Winter of Gloom; Valley Forge. — After an unsuccessful attempt to defeat by surprise a part of Howe's army, encamped at Germantown, near Philadelphia, Washington went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. Discouraging as the winter of 1776-1777 was for the American cause, the winter of 1777-1778 was more discouraging. The country was almost in despair,

Congress, whose measures could be carried out only if the people chose, had lost influence. Most of the able men who had been in Congress were serving their state governments, and the sessions held at York were poorly attended and were disturbed by jealousies and quarrels. Congress had neither revenue nor credit, and being without power to tax, had resorted to large issues of paper currency — called “continental money” — which had become almost worthless. People preferred to sell to the British for good money, and withheld supplies from the American army. The half starved American soldiers deserted in such numbers that the army at Valley Forge was reduced to about five thousand.

History presents no sadder picture than the sufferings of the little band at Valley Forge, and no nobler illustration of devotion to a patriotic cause. The men, shivering from the bitter cold, erected huts in the forest. No one was fully clad. Many were without shoes, their bare feet bleeding on the snow; others were in rags. A suit of clothing often served two soldiers — one wearing it while the other remained in his hut. There was much sickness, and many died for want of straw or other bedding to protect them from the cold, damp ground. Suffering patriots often sat up by the fire all night to keep warm. Meat or bread would be lacking for days, and frequently food and fuel were brought a great distance on the backs of men trudging through snow and ice. But with it all a small band of heroes remained together.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

Clark Saves the Northwest. — British agents were inciting the Indians to ravage the settlements in the North-

west. To put a stop to this cruel mode of warfare, George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian who had removed to Kentucky, proposed to the authorities of Virginia an expedition against the British posts in the Northwest. The project pleased Patrick Henry, who was then governor, and he commissioned Clark to execute it. With less than two hundred men Clark made his way through nearly a thousand miles of wilderness, and in the summer of 1778 captured Kaskaskia (Illinois), Cahoka (Illinois), and Vincennes (Indiana). These posts had been established many years before by the French government when it occupied the territory, and the French inhabitants, who were favorable to the American cause, assisted Clark. The remarkable achievements of this mere handful of Americans had a most important result. By the Quebec Act (see page 126) Great Britain had annexed the country north of the Ohio to the province of Quebec. When peace came Virginians were holding this territory by force of arms. But for Clark and his men, the northern boundary of the United States would perhaps have been the Ohio River instead of the Great Lakes.

Topics and Questions

1. What did each colony become upon the strength of the Declaration of Independence?
2. Describe the capture of New York. Explain how the conduct of American soldiers after the defeat on Long Island showed the disadvantage of short enlistments.
3. Why did Washington retreat across New Jersey into Pennsylvania? What did Washington, grieving over the condition of his army, write regarding the prospect for American success? Why was Congress slow to grant Washington's request for a regular army? What did Congress finally do to give Washington a regular army?
4. Give the causes for the gloom in America toward the end of the year 1776. Tell how the "surprise Christmas party" Washington gave the Hessians at Trenton and how his clever generalship at Princeton cheered the Americans for a while.
5. How did the first American flag show the loyalty of the colonists for Great Britain? Where did we get our "Stars and Stripes" of to-day?

6. Describe the British plan of campaign for the summer of 1777. Who made up Burgoyne's army? Recount Burgoyne's route, perils and defeat. What were the far-reaching results of Burgoyne's surrender? What was the result of Howe's campaign against Washington? Was Washington to blame for the loss of Philadelphia?

7. Who was to blame for the "winter of gloom" (1777-1778), and how much of it could have been avoided? What troubles did the American army have at Valley Forge?

8. Tell the story of the capture of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, stating the importance of this "invasion of the Northwest." To whom was the capture of the Northwest mainly due?

Project Exercises

1. Which side do you think had the best of the war up to the end of 1778? Give your reasons.
2. Find on the map all the places mentioned in this chapter.

Important Dates:

1777. Adoption of the "Stars and Stripes."
1777. Surrender of Burgoyne.



COPPER CENT COINED IN 1783

CHAPTER XIII

AFTER THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

The French Alliance.— Many persons of continental Europe sympathized strongly with America's struggle for liberty, and some volunteered their services. Marquis de Lafayette, a rich young nobleman of France, Baron de Kalb, also from France, Kosciusko and Count Pulaski from Poland, and Baron Steuben from Prussia, were foreigners of distinction who served in the American army. De Kalb and Pulaski gave their lives for the cause.



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE

After a French engraving of his time

From the beginning of hostilities Congress had endeavored to secure the aid of governments of continental Europe and especially of France. The king of France, Louis XVI, had no liking for the democratic ideas of the Americans, but he hated Great Britain and wished to see her crippled through the loss of her American possessions. The many prominent persons of France who sympathized with the Americans urged the king to help the United States.

For some time Louis XVI had secretly sent money and supplies to America, and had allowed American war vessels preying upon English commerce to use the ports of France. He would not further risk war with Great Britain until he felt that America was in a fair way to succeed. The surrender of Burgoyne decided him. Early in 1778 France made an open alliance

with the United States. The treaty was secured mainly through the efforts of Benjamin Franklin.

Spain, Holland, and the "Armed Neutrality." — War between Great Britain and France followed immediately. This war drew in its train Spain and Holland, both engaging in hostilities against Great Britain. The British policy of interfering, under stress of war, with neutral commerce offended other countries.

The nations of northern Europe formed a league, known as the "armed neutrality"; while they did not declare war against Great Britain, they agreed to use their combined navies in attacking Great Britain every time the British attacked the commerce of a member of the league. Thus while Great Britain was fighting America, she was also fighting three of the most powerful nations of Europe.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

After the portrait by Duplessis

America Refuses British Peace Terms. — Expecting the French alliance, Great Britain had attempted to make peace with America by offering to grant practically everything for which the colonies had gone to war. When the Americans, now determined upon independence, refused to accept peace upon any other terms, Great Britain did not shrink from the contest. Though handicapped by having to use much of her strength against her European enemies, she resolved to push the war in America with vigor.

Monmouth. — The British government was displeased with General Howe because he was too slow. More than once he had let slip an opportunity to crush, or at least severely defeat, Washington's army. Howe resigned and

General Clinton was appointed to command in his place. Clinton was directed to evacuate Philadelphia because there was fear that a French fleet might blockade the Delaware River and shut off supplies intended for the British army. In the summer of 1778, Clinton withdrew his army through New Jersey toward New York. The condition of Washington's army had greatly improved with the coming of warm weather, so he followed and attacked Clinton near Monmouth, New Jersey, and drove him from the field. Clinton continued his retreat to New York, and Washington encamped not far from that city. The armies had returned to the positions they had occupied two years previously.

John Paul Jones's Naval Victory.—In the autumn of 1779, John Paul Jones, of the American navy, commanding the *Bon Homme Richard*, a rechristened old French merchant vessel



JOHN PAUL JONES

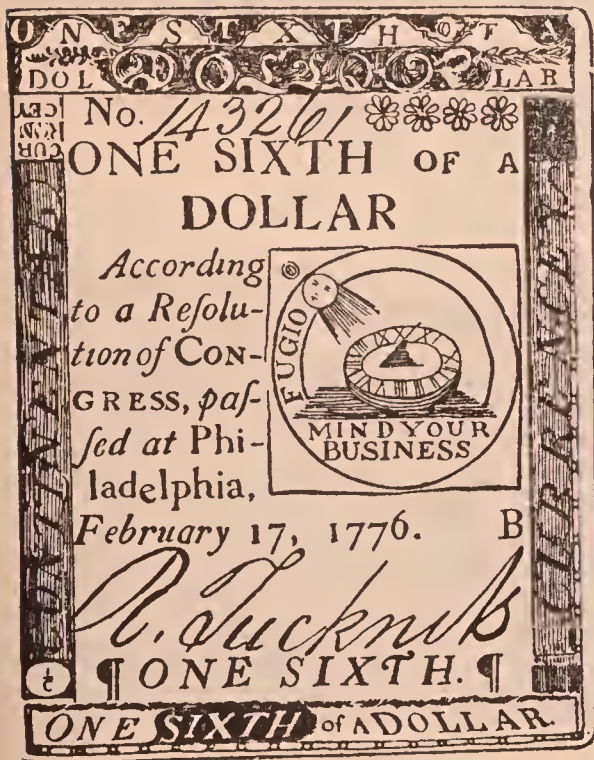
After the etching by A. Varen

which the French government had lent to America, attacked the much superior British ship *Serapis* off the coast of England. The battle lasted for hours. The vessels were so close that the muzzles of their cannon touched. The *Bon Homme Richard* began to sink; but Jones lashed the ships together, and the fight went on. The enemy's ship frequently took fire, and at times both vessels were wrapped in flames. The decks were strewn with dead and wounded. Finally the British commander surrendered. Jones and his men took

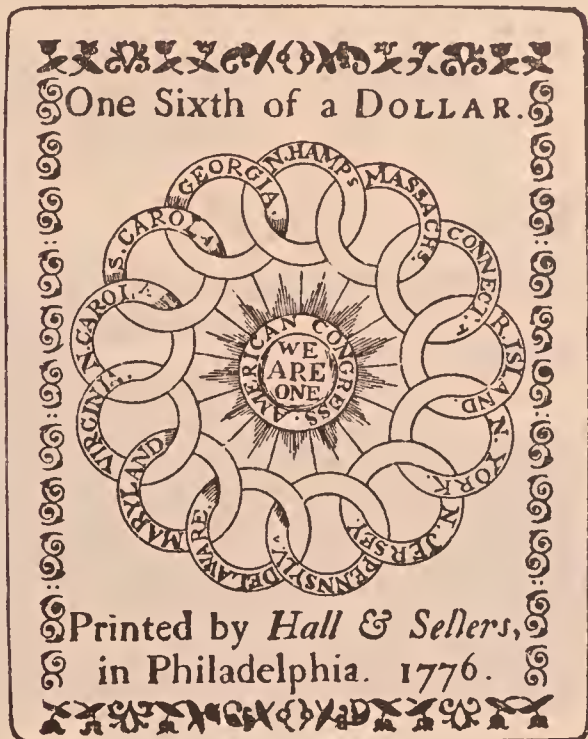
possession of the *Serapis*, and the *Bon Homme Richard* sank. The British navy was the best in the world, and for an American to win a victory over one of her ships was considered one of the most notable exploits of the war.

Condition of the Army under Washington.—The French alliance not only compelled Great Britain to employ much

of her military and naval strength in other parts of the world, but it compelled her to draw considerable forces from Clinton's army to defend the British possessions in the West Indies against attacks by the French. It was fortunate for the Americans that this was the case, for Washington's army could hardly have withstood a strong attack from Clinton. The army had dwindled to less than four thousand men. Continental money had become absolutely worthless, and the soldiers could get almost no clothes nor food. Muti-



Face



Back

PAPER MONEY OF THE REVOLUTION

Reduced facsimile

nies were with difficulty prevented. For three years, following the summer of 1778, Washington's army, encamped near New York, was unable to engage in active operations. It was only through further loans of money secured from France by John Laurens that the war could be continued.

The War Transferred to the South. — Nevertheless, the British felt that they had failed to conquer the northern states. They hoped yet to put down the Revolution by overcoming the southern states; and they determined,

therefore, to center their energies upon that section, which had been free from invasion since the battle of Fort Moultrie.

Georgia Overrun. — On December 29, 1778, a British force captured Savannah, Georgia. Detachments were sent into the interior to overrun the state. Although the patriots resisted gallantly, soon Georgia, the youngest and the feeblest of the states, was completely at the mercy of the enemy. The royal government was temporarily reestablished.

In the autumn of 1779, the American forces at Charleston, under the command of General Lincoln, and French troops



THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON

After the picture by Chappel

commanded by Count D'Estaing, joined in an attempt to retake Savannah. The allies made an impetuous assault and succeeded in planting their flags side by side upon the enemy's works, but were finally driven back with heavy loss. The French sailed home, and the Americans withdrew to Charleston.

South Carolina Overrun. — In the spring of 1780 Clinton sailed from New York with a large part of his army to conduct the southern campaign in person. With his fleet and army he laid siege to Charleston. General Lincoln had made known to Congress the weak condition

of the state and had appealed for assistance, but all that Congress was able to do was to send him a small reënforcement. Hemmed in, both on land and sea, by an overwhelming force, the Americans, after holding out for nearly two months, were compelled to surrender. The city was pillaged by the British and Hessians.

Detachments of the British, sent into the interior of the state, overran the country. The state seemed helpless; Congress was unable to give assistance; and many, under promise of protection, gave Clinton their paroles not to take up arms against the king. Clinton soon violated his promises by proclaiming that all who would not serve in the British army should be treated as rebels. His injustice led numbers of the paroled men to take up arms again in the patriot service rather than be forced to fight against their country.

Partisan Warfare. — Early in the summer Clinton embarked for New York, leaving Cornwallis in command in the South, with instructions to complete the subjugation of South Carolina and then conquer North Carolina and Virginia. But South Carolina was not conquered. The Whigs gathered under intrepid leaders and carried on a partisan warfare. "They were neither regulars nor militia, but men who worked one day and fought the next." Mounting their plow horses at a moment's notice, and moving quickly in little bands, they would strike detachments of the enemy sudden and severe blows and as quickly disappear again.



FRANCIS MARION

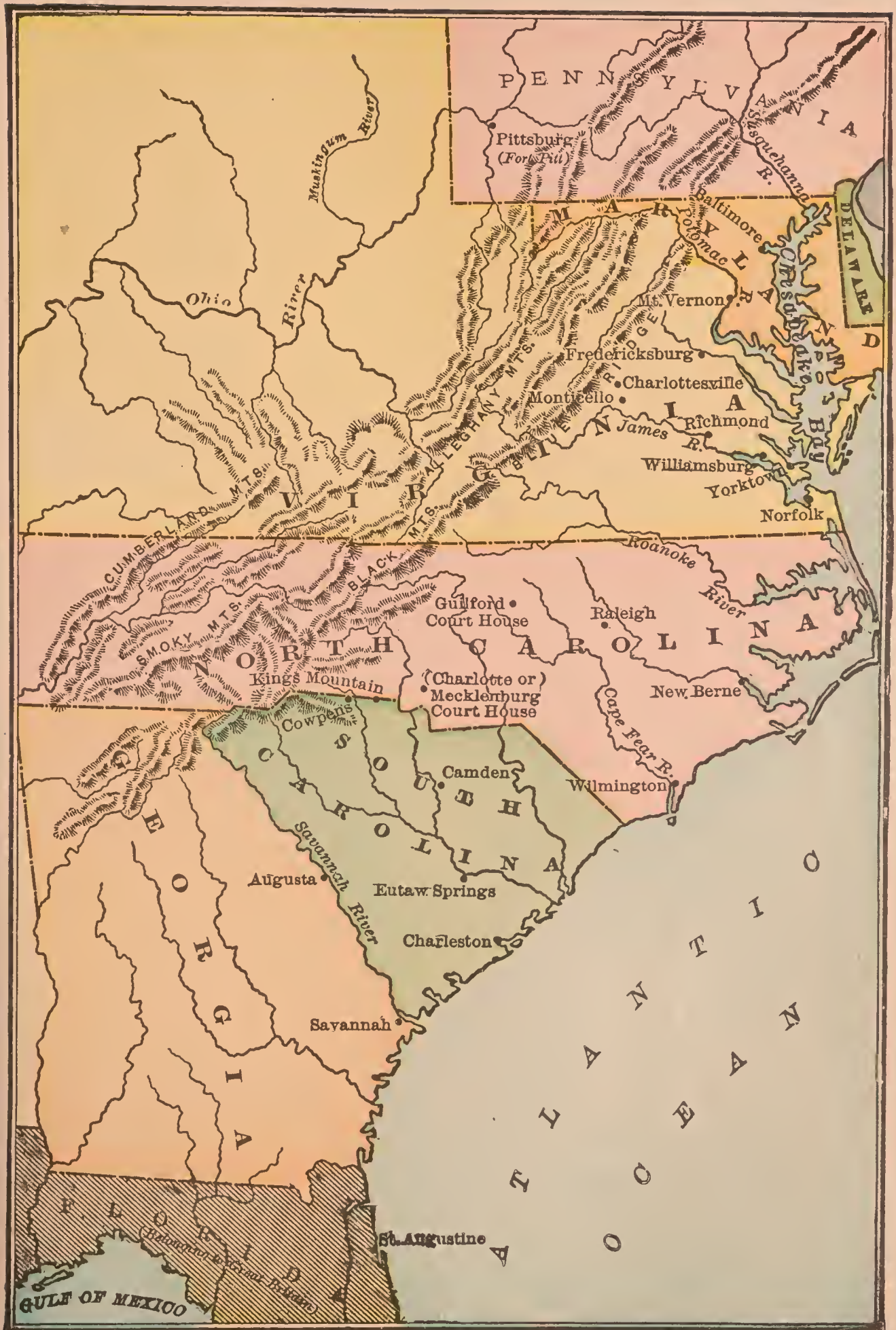
Patriots from North Carolina and Georgia joined in the struggle against the invaders. Although in every other part of the country there was

inactivity, these bands kept up the war. The British, harassed and perplexed by sudden attacks, were checked in their efforts to subdue the state. Chief among the partisan leaders were Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and Elijah Clark, the last named operating chiefly in Georgia. Marion and Sumter were particularly active. The British called Marion "The Swamp Fox" and Sumter "The Game Cock."

At length Congress sent to the aid of the state a few southern troops from Washington's army. General Gates was placed in command. Militia flocked to his standard, and confident of victory he advanced against Cornwallis at Camden. The militia, which composed a large part of Gates's command, fled at the first fire; and after a stubborn resistance the continentals were compelled to give way before vastly superior numbers. The routed Americans scattered in every direction.

Turn of the Tide; King's Mountain. — Once more the outlook was disheartening. The capture of one American army at Charleston had been followed within a few months by the dispersion of another at Camden, and for a time not a partisan leader could gather forces enough to remain in the field. Bands of ruffians roamed the state; Whigs were murdered, their houses burned, and their wives and children driven into the forests.¹

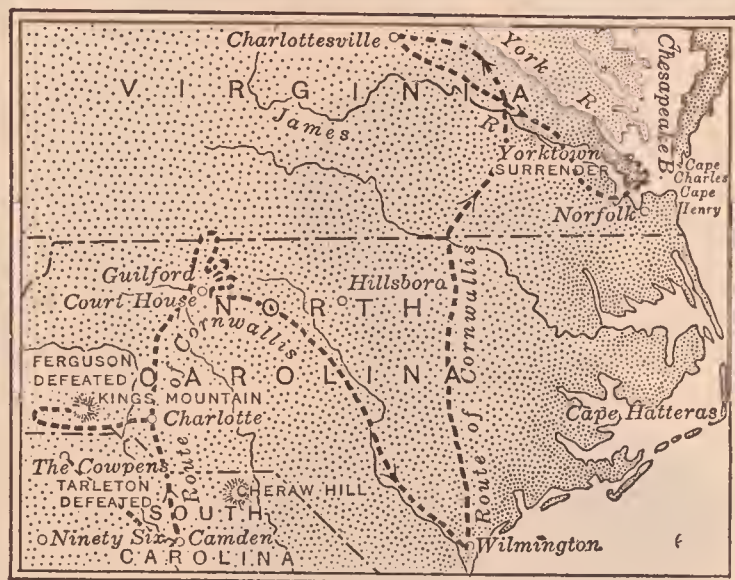
¹ In this disheartening period occurred one of the saddest episodes of the war. Benedict Arnold, an American general who had fought with conspicuous gallantry on many battlefields, resented his not receiving the promotion that he thought he deserved. He felt further aggrieved because he had been reprimanded by order of Congress for his conduct while in command in Philadelphia. Discontent rankling in him, he plotted to betray his country's cause. Upon the promise of a commission as a general in the British service and a sum of money, he agreed to aid in entrapping Washington's army by surrendering West Point, an important post on the Hudson, which he at the time commanded. John André, a major in the British army, who met Arnold in a secret interview to arrange the details, was arrested on his way back to New York by three American militiamen. Papers found in his stockings revealed the plot. Arnold heard of the arrest in time



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
SOUTHERN STATES

Elated by his success at Camden, Cornwallis marched to Charlotte, determined upon reducing North Carolina. But there soon came a change from the gloom that had settled over the patriot cause. Among the partisan bands that had so annoyed the enemy in South Carolina were some from the country beyond the mountains. The British major Ferguson, who was in the upper part of the state recruiting Tories,

sent a message to the Westerners that if they did not remain quiet he would march over the mountains, hang their leaders, and lay waste the country. The hardy Westerners determined not to await Ferguson's coming, but to go forward and fight him. Collecting from



CORNWALLIS'S WANDERING CAMPAIGN
AT THE SOUTH

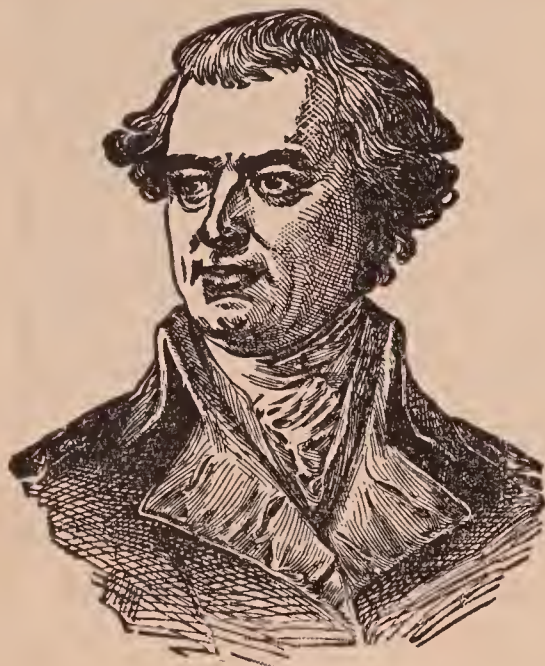
southwestern Virginia and the Watauga settlements (now Tennessee, and led by William Campbell, John Sevier and Isaac Shelby they crossed the Alleghanies, pushed on into South Carolina, and attacked Ferguson and his eleven hundred men in their strong position on King's Mountain, on October 7, 1781. Ferguson was slain, nearly half his command killed or wounded, and every survivor captured.

The victory at King's Mountain almost broke the power of the enemy in the South. Jefferson called it "the joyful turn of the tide." The disheartened Tories would not give

to escape to the enemy. André was hanged as a spy. Arnold survived for twenty-one years. He obtained the promised commission in the British army, and during the remainder of the war fought against his native land. He died in England, a miserable man, shunned and despised even by those who had been willing to accept his treachery.

Cornwallis the help he expected, and the British general, instead of proceeding with the conquest of North Carolina, sought safety by retreating into South Carolina.

Cowpens. — General Nathanael Greene, whom Congress appointed to command all the Southern forces, sent a detachment under General Daniel Morgan to the western part of South Carolina to unite with the mountaineers to attack the British posts in that section. Cornwallis ordered



NATHANAEL GREENE

his cavalry commander, Tarleton, to crush Morgan; he himself would gain Morgan's rear and cut off all fugitives. Tarleton's forces fell with terrible onslaught upon the Americans at Cowpens, on January 17, 1781; but Morgan and his men not only stood their ground, but completely routed the enemy, chasing Tarleton many miles. Morgan, knowing that Cornwallis with a large army was only twenty miles away,

retired with his prisoners into North Carolina. Cornwallis started in pursuit. Greene joined Morgan, and as his army was not strong enough to risk a battle, continued the retreat. Across the state of North Carolina the armies raced. When Greene reached Virginia, Cornwallis gave up the chase.

Guilford Court House. — Greene, after resting and recruiting his army, returned to North Carolina to give battle to the enemy. He met Cornwallis, on March 15, 1781, at Guilford Court House, near the site of Greensboro. Though Greene had a larger army than Cornwallis could muster, a great part of his force was militia. After a gallant fight the American line was forced back; yet the British had suffered more than the Americans, losing six hundred men while the Americans lost only four hundred. As

Cornwallis retained the field he claimed the victory, but his army was so shattered that he retreated to Wilmington.

The battle of Guilford Court House was one of the severest of the Revolution and had most important results. Cornwallis could not remain in North Carolina after this battle, and he could not return to South Carolina except by going to Charleston by sea, so he moved into Virginia. He left in South Carolina a weakened force beset by partisan bands, and he carried into Virginia an army too feeble to cope with Washington.

Close of the Campaign in the Carolinas and Georgia. — During the absence of Greene's army the partisan bands, contending against the British forces that remained in South Carolina, did their work well. They waged a warfare that was wearing away the enemy "piece by piece." They defeated exposed detachments; they seized military supplies; and in a few months they had captured so many posts that the British abandoned entirely the upper sections of South Carolina and Georgia, and fell back toward Charleston.

In the autumn Greene, who had returned with his army to South Carolina, engaged in battle the British forces that had retreated to Eutaw Springs, about sixty miles from Charleston. Although Greene could not drive the British from the field, yet on the second night after the battle they withdrew and continued their retreat until they reached Charleston.¹

The Traitor Arnold in Virginia. — Early in the year Benedict Arnold led a British army into Virginia. The state had



ANTHONY WAYNE

¹ It is of interest to note that "Light Horse Harry" Lee, father of Robert E. Lee, of Confederate fame, served with distinction in the campaign in the Carolinas.

weakened her own defense by sending many of her soldiers to the assistance of the Carolinas. Richmond was burned, and the region along the James plundered. When Cornwallis arrived in Virginia, he sent Arnold back to New York, as he was unwilling to have the traitor with him. Cornwallis, no less than Arnold, wantonly destroyed property

wherever he went.

But Lafayette and Anthony Wayne pressed him so closely that he retired toward the seacoast where he might more quickly receive reënforcements from New York. He took position at Yorktown, on York River, which place he fortified.

Surrender of Cornwallis. —
Meanwhile a large and well equipped French army, commanded by



SKETCH-MAP OF YORKTOWN

AA = French and American batteries. BB = French batteries. C = British redoubt. RRR = French ships

Count Rochambeau, joined Washington on the Hudson. Washington had planned to attack Clinton in New York, but when he heard of the predicament of Cornwallis, a campaign against the latter general was decided on. In August the allied forces began their southward march of four hundred miles. Clinton, in New York, was in ignorance of Washington's purpose until it was too late for him to help Cornwallis. The American and French armies arrived at Yorktown late in September, and in a few days had Cornwallis completely hemmed in on the land side. A French

fleet, under Count de Grasse, which had come up from the West Indies and driven off the British fleet, blockaded the river so that assistance could not reach the enemy from the sea. The forces of the allied armies amounted to about sixteen thousand, while Cornwallis had a much smaller number. By bombardment and assault the besiegers drew their lines closer and closer around the British general. Having no chance for escape, Cornwallis surrendered,



THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS AT YORKTOWN, OCTOBER 19, 1781

From the painting by Trumbull, in the Capitol at Washington

October 19, 1781. Besides his army, a considerable quantity of military supplies was captured.

Treaties of Peace. — The joy among the patriots of America over the surrender of Cornwallis knew no bounds. Though skirmishing continued for sometime longer in South Carolina and Georgia, yet Yorktown meant the end of the war. Great Britain had lost many thousands of men and spent hundreds of thousands of pounds in the fruitless attempt to subdue the colonies, besides having become engaged in war with France, Spain, and Holland. The British people were weary of the struggle and forced the king to agree to

peace on terms acceptable to America. Negotiations proceeded for two years. A preliminary treaty between the United States and Great Britain was signed at Paris on November 30, 1782, and a permanent treaty was signed at the same place on September 3, 1783.

The treaty declared the several states, each by name, to be free and independent states. The boundaries of the United States were fixed as follows: the western boundary was the Mississippi River; the northern boundary was substantially the same as it is to-day east of that river; the southern boundary was the present northern boundary of Florida extended to the Mississippi.

Great Britain also made, in 1783, treaties of peace with France, Spain, and Holland. Florida was ceded back to Spain by Great Britain.

Fate of the Tories. — During the war, the states passed laws that confiscated the property of the Tories. Some Tories were banished from their states, while others fled to escape hardships imposed upon them. Upon the termination of the war many thousands removed to England, while even a greater number crossed the border and made their homes in Canada. Later Great Britain reimbursed the Tories for the losses they had suffered.

Disbandment of the Army. — Though Charleston and Savannah had been evacuated in the previous year, New York was held by the British until November 25, 1783. While waiting for the end of the peace negotiations, Washington made his headquarters at Newburgh, New York. The treasury of the government was empty, and the soldiers, who had been without pay for a long time, justly feared that even with a return of peace they would not get their dues. The dissatisfaction in the army increased to an alarming extent. On one occasion a serious mutiny threatened, but Washington averted it with the tact that he always possessed.

Washington's Unselfish Patriotism. — Washington never displayed greater patriotism than at this time. He was the

idol of the army and the people. It was even suggested that he be made king, but he spurned all thought of self-advancement. By means of furloughs he gradually and quietly disbanded the army, and the brave defenders of their country returned penniless to their homes. Washington resigned his commission and retired to Mount Vernon, his beautiful home in Virginia, carrying with him the love of his countrymen and the admiration of the world.



MOUNT VERNON

Topics and Questions

1. Name and describe the foreigners who volunteered to fight for the American cause. Trace the steps by which France came to give aid to America. What was the effects in Europe of the alliance with France?

2. Why did Great Britain attempt to make peace with America? What was America's answer?

3. Why did the British evacuate Philadelphia? Describe the retreat across New Jersey. Relate the story of the *Bon Homme Richard*.

4. Give an account of the condition of the army under Washington after the summer of 1778. Why did the British transfer the war to the South?

5. Tell about the capture of Savannah and the overrunning of Georgia. Tell about the capture of Charleston and the overrunning of South Carolina. Relate the story of the partisan leaders in the South.

6. Who won at the battle of Camden? What was the next move of Cornwallis and his forces? Why has the battle of King's Mountain been called the "joyful turn of the tide"?

7. Describe as fully as you can the conditions and the motives which led Arnold to his treason. What were his reward and his punishment?

8. Who succeeded Gates in command of the southern army? Was the removal of Gates a loss or gain to the army? What led to Morgan's victory at Cowpens? Describe the retreat of the Continental army from Cowpens to Virginia. Who won at the battle of Guilford Courthouse? How were South Carolina and Georgia recovered for the patriots?

9. Give an account of the Yorktown campaign. What were the immediate and far-reaching results of the surrender of Cornwallis? What had the Revolutionary War cost Great Britain? What condition was recognized for each of the thirteen states by the Treaty of Paris of 1783? What were the bounds of the United States?

10. What was the condition of Washington's army at the close of the war? What was Washington's plan of disbandment? What honor followed Washington into his retirement at Mount Vernon?

Project Exercises

1. Review the position of the colonies in 1775 with reference to the quarrel with Great Britain (see page 133), and contrast it with the position of the states in 1778 with reference to the British offer of peace.

2. What do you think would probably have been the result of the Revolutionary War if France had not aided America? Give specific reasons.

3. Find on the map all the places mentioned in this chapter.

4. Illustrate on a sketch map at the blackboard how the American and French armies, with the French fleet, encircled Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Important Dates:

1778. Alliance with France.

1780. Battle of King's Mountain.

1781. Battle of Guilford Courthouse.

1781. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown.

1783. Final treaty between Great Britain and the United States — bringing the Revolutionary War to a close.

CHAPTER XIV

“THE CRITICAL PERIOD”

The Articles of Confederation. — In 1777 the Continental Congress adopted “The Articles of Confederation,” providing a form of government for the United States of America. The government did not go into effect, however, until 1781, just before the close of the Revolutionary War, for it was necessary for all the states to ratify the Articles, and Maryland did not do so until that year.

The government of the Confederation was so imperfect that statesmen saw from the beginning that it would fail. The states reserved great power to themselves and gave little to the Confederation. The government of the United States was vested in a Congress of one house, to which delegates were elected annually, and in which each state, large or small, had one vote. The affirmative vote of nine states in Congress was required for the passage of nearly every important act, and the consent of the legislature of every state was necessary to amend the Articles of Confederation. There was no executive officer, such as the president of to-day.

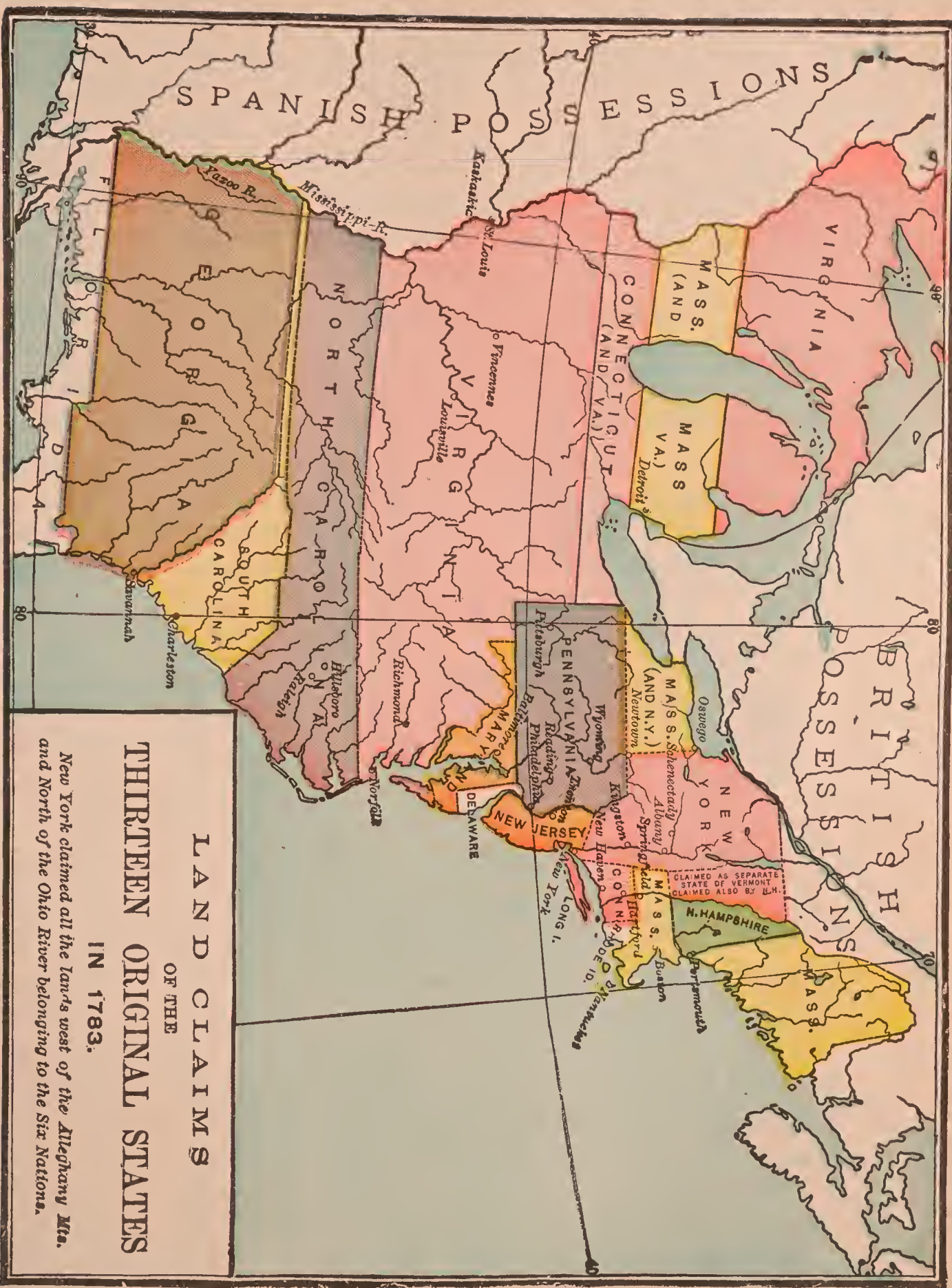
The states obeyed acts of Congress or not, as they pleased. Congress was given the right to declare war and make peace, yet it could not raise troops; it could make alliances and treaties with foreign nations, yet could not compel the states or the people to conform to them. Money for the support of the general government was to be raised by requisitions from Congress upon the several states, but the states gave little attention to the demand. Alexander Hamilton aptly said the government was “fit neither for war nor peace.”

The Northwest Territory. — Maryland had withheld her consent to the Articles of Confederation because she had been unwilling to join the Confederation until the claims of other

states to the western lands should be set aside. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia based their claims to the country north of the Ohio upon their charters, while New York held a claim through treaties with the Indians. Virginia claimed by far the greater part of the Northwest, and her claim was strengthened by the fact that her soldiers under Clark had taken possession of the territory. Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia made claim through their charters to territory south of the Ohio.

Cession of Lands to the General Government. — Maryland denied the validity of these claims, and held that the western lands should belong to the general government. She also said that the separate possession of these lands would give the states claiming them unfair advantage over the others. When New York and Virginia ceded to Congress their claims to lands north of the Ohio, Maryland, without waiting for cessions from the other states, adopted the Articles of Confederation. Massachusetts and Connecticut later surrendered their claims. The government purchased, through treaties, the claims of the most important Indian tribes to the greater part of the territory. Thus the lands north of the Ohio became the undisputed property of the general government.

Origin of the Territorial Governments. — The cession was made by the states on the condition that the lands should be sold to pay the debts of the United States, and that as soon as the population was sufficient, states should be made from the territory and admitted to the Union on an equal footing with the older states. Congress arranged for the sale of the lands, and in 1787 passed the "Ordinance of 1787," forming "The Territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio." Slavery was to be forever excluded from the territory. Provision was made for a government under the direction of Congress until the territory should be converted into states. In 1788, Marietta, the first permanent white settlement in Ohio, was founded by a party of people from New England. General Arthur St.



LAND CLAIMS
 OF THE
THIRTEEN ORIGINAL STATES
 IN 1783.

New York claimed all the lands west of the Alleghany Mts. and North of the Ohio River belonging to the Six Nations.

Clairmont appointed the first governor of the Northwest territory. This territory covered the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and a part of Minnesota.

The "State of Franklin." — In 1784, North Carolina ceded to the general government her claim to lands west of the mountains, whereupon the people of the Watauga settlements and neighboring counties (now Tennessee) organized an independent state with John Sevier as governor and called it the "state of Franklin" or "Frankland." North Carolina in the meanwhile repealed the act ceding the lands, and ordered that the government of Franklin be abolished. The order was not immediately obeyed, and for a time both the old and the new state made laws for and held courts in the territory. Both attempted to collect taxes; but the settlers, not knowing which was the legal government, paid to neither. In 1788 the "state of Franklin" came to an end, and full allegiance to North Carolina was restored.

Financial Distress. — With the coming of peace the people, thinking that prosperity would immediately follow, became extravagant and ran into debt. As colonists they had been forbidden to manufacture many things; consequently, they had bought nearly all manufactured articles from England, and had paid for them with the proceeds from the sale of their products in that country. When the war closed, the Americans, still without factories, renewed their heavy purchases from England. But Great Britain, recognizing the weakness of the young republic, forbade, as formerly, Americans to trade with the British West Indies except in



JOHN SEVIER

British ships, and taxed all American products exported to Great Britain in other than British vessels. Spain refused to have commercial relations with America, and thus prevented trade with the Spanish West Indies. With such checks upon their outgoing trade, Americans could not pay for what they had bought from England, and financial distress became widespread.

The condition of domestic trade was even more deplorable. The only specie — that is, gold and silver money — was foreign coin, and there was little of that, as most of it had been sent to pay debts abroad. The people could not meet their debts at home because they could get no money, and they set up a loud cry for relief. The states had issued paper money during the war; and they now, with few exceptions, issued more. This currency had no real value, but some of the states made it “legal tender” — that is, made it lawful money for paying debts. Few would take the paper money, and business became demoralized. Stay laws, postponing the payment of debts, were passed.

Relief could not come from such legislation. Debtors grew riotous. In New Hampshire they threatened the legislature with violence because it had not relieved them, and in Vermont they refused to allow the courts to sit because suits for debts were to be tried. In New Jersey they nailed up the doors of courthouses, and in Virginia they burned courthouses. The most serious trouble occurred in Massachusetts, where debtors, led by Daniel Shays, prevented the courts from trying cases involving debts. They committed such depredations (1786–1787) that it was necessary for the militia to suppress this disorderly movement, which is known in history as “Shays’ Rebellion.”

Efforts to Obtain Revenue. — In financial matters, the general government was faring no better than the people. The war had left the United States with a debt of more than fifty million dollars. There was no money in the treasury with which to pay the interest on this debt or to meet current expenses. Requisitions upon the states for funds were

refused or evaded. As early as 1781 Congress asked for authority to levy a tariff — a tax upon goods from foreign countries — in order to raise a revenue; but the consent of all the states was necessary, and Rhode Island refused. Congress renewed the request later and this time New York refused. These states took the ground that the concession would endanger the rights of the states by giving too much power to the general government.

Drifting toward Anarchy. — A country that has a government not strong enough to enforce its laws soon lapses into anarchy, a condition in which neither life nor property is safe. The United States seemed, under the Confederation, to be rapidly drifting toward anarchy. So serious became the danger that the period is known as the "critical period" of American history. Fortunately, respect for law and order, which is strong in the Anglo-Saxon race, finally prevailed.

The Constitutional Convention. — At the instance of James Madison, the legislature of Virginia invited the other states to send commissioners to a convention to consider plans for giving Congress power to regulate commerce so that it might raise money for the general government by levying a tariff. Commissioners met at Annapolis in September, 1786. As they represented only five states and most of them had no authority to act on any question, they did nothing beyond recommending that a general convention be called to meet in Philadelphia, in May of the following year, for the purpose of devising measures for making the general government efficient. The Convention met in Philadelphia, in May, 1787, with George Washington as presiding officer. Every state except Rhode Island was represented. The Convention framed the Constitution of the United States.

Outlines of the Constitution. — The Constitution divides the government into three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial.

(1) *The Congress.* — The legislative branch, called Con-

gress, consists of two houses — the Senate and the House of Representatives. In the Senate every state has two members, and in the House the representation is based upon population. Senators and members of the House are elected by the people, the former to serve for six years and the latter to serve for two years. Among the powers conferred upon Congress are the following: to levy taxes, duties, and imports; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the states; to coin money; to establish post offices; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy.

(2) *The President.* — The executive is one officer, called President, whose duty it is to see that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed. He is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy. He appoints, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, the higher officers of the government and, also by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, he makes treaties. He may veto a bill passed by Congress, but Congress may still make the bill a law by passing it over the veto by a two thirds vote of each house. The President's term of office is four years, and he is chosen by an electoral college in which each state is entitled to as many votes as it has members of the two houses of Congress.

A Vice President, who is elected at the same time as the President, is the presiding officer of the Senate; in case of the removal, death, resignation, or disability of the President, he becomes President and serves for the remainder of the term.

(3) *The Court.* — The judicial branch consists of a supreme court and such inferior courts as Congress may establish. It has jurisdiction over all suits in matters pertaining to the general government, and all controversies between states or between citizens of different states. The judges hold office during good behavior.

Compromises. — The convention while at work on the Constitution was not always harmonious. Debate was

frequent, and at times discussion became heated. Many conflicting interests had to be reconciled, and two compromises are worthy of notice.

The first compromise was between the larger and the smaller states. The larger states desired that all representation in Congress be based upon population. To this the smaller states objected. After a bitter debate, the plan which allows every state equal representation in the Senate, and apports representation in the House according to population, was agreed upon.

The second compromise was between New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, commercial states, and South Carolina and Georgia, agricultural states. The commercial states desired that a simple majority vote of each house of Congress should regulate commerce, while the agricultural states advocated a two thirds vote. South Carolina and Georgia favored also a continuation of the slave traffic. At that time slaves were held in all the states except Massachusetts, and in that state slavery had been abolished but a few years before. In the North, where slavery had never been profitable, opposition to the system had steadily grown, and most of the Northern states had already begun a gradual emancipation of the slaves within their limits. In the South there were about twice as many slaves as in the North. Mason and Dixon's line, the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland, was recognized even at that early day as the division line between the free labor and the slave labor states. Thus the question of slavery had become sectional.

The New England states made a "bargain," as it was called, with the southernmost states, the result of which was the provision that a majority vote of each house of Congress should regulate commerce, and that the importation of slaves should not be prohibited before 1808.

The Constitution Ratified. — The Constitution, when completed, was submitted by Congress to the several states for ratification. It was not adopted without considerable

opposition, as many thought it granted too much power to the general government. It was at this time that Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay successfully combated, in a series of able papers, the objections to the Constitution. Ratification by nine states was necessary for the establishment of the Constitution over the states ratifying. By the end of July, 1788, every state except Rhode Island and North Carolina had adopted the Constitution. Virginia and New York expressly proclaimed the right of reassuming the powers granted the general government, that is, the right of secession. Rhode Island, in adopting the Constitution two years later, did likewise.

Washington Elected President. — The first election for presidential electors was held in January, 1789. For the Presidency there was but one choice: all eyes turned to George Washington, who received every electoral vote.

Topics and Questions

1. Trace the steps taken to provide a general or national government for the United States. Why was the government of the Confederation weak from the outset? What made the acts of Congress ineffective?

2. Upon what did various states base their claims to western lands? How did the United States come to own the Northwest Territory? Explain the origin of the territorial governments. What important provisions were contained in the "Ordinance of 1787"? What was the first settlement made in the Northwest Territory? Give the history of the "State of Franklin."

3. Why did the Americans' exports no longer pay for their imports? How do you account for lack of coin in the United States? Define paper money, legal tender, and debtor class. Would the debtor or creditor class be in favor of issuing more paper money? What was the object of "Shays' Rebellion"?

4. What was the financial condition of the general government? Why is the time of the Confederation called the "critical period" of American history?

5. What state urged other states to give Congress power to regulate commerce, and what more general movement came as a response? What states were represented in the Constitutional Convention, and who presided?

6. For what branches of government did the new Constitution

provide? State definitely, though briefly, the powers of Congress; of the President; of the Supreme Court.

7. Why did the framers of the Constitution have to make compromises? Give details of the chief compromises. How did this document, framed by the convention of 1787, become our Constitution? What statesmen helped most in getting this Constitution for us?

Project Exercises

1. Contrast the powers given the general government by the Constitution to those given by the Articles of Confederation.

2. Consult the Constitution to see whether United States Senators were always elected by the people. Ascertain how a provision of the Constitution may be amended.

3. Give definite illustrations of large and of small states; of agricultural and of commercial states; of slave labor and of free labor states.

4. Name a country in which the confusion that followed the great World War caused a condition similar to anarchy.

Important Date:

1787. Framing of the Constitution of the United States.



FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK

National Capitol in 1789

CHAPTER XV

THE COUNTRY WHEN WASHINGTON BECAME PRESIDENT

Population and its Distribution. — When Washington became President, the Union consisted of eleven states, for North Carolina and Rhode Island had not adopted the Constitution. The first census, taken the following year (1790), showed a population, exclusive of Indians, of not

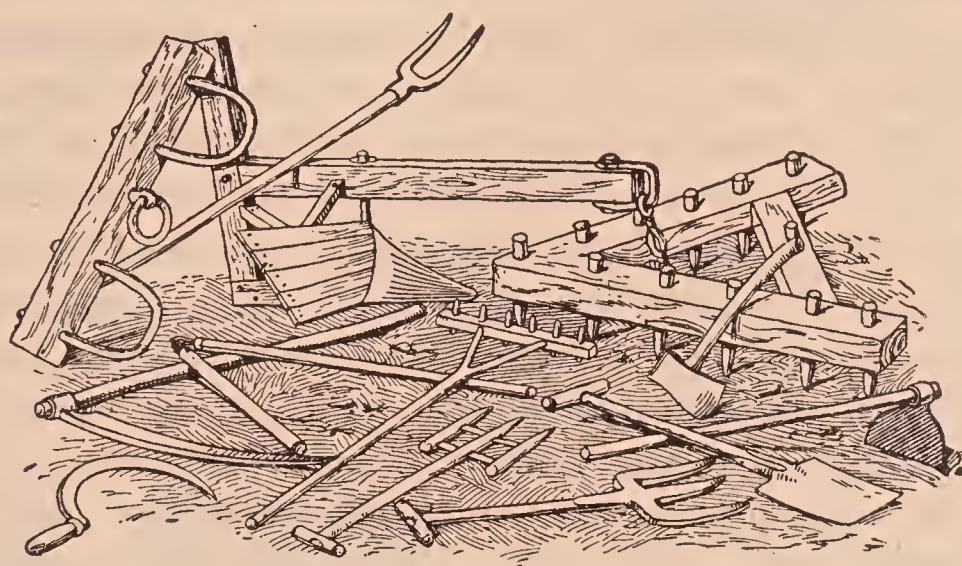


OUR COUNTRY IN 1789

Black dots show the settled regions in the United States; circles show the regions of Canada in settlement; crosses show the Spanish settlements; the white shows the unoccupied territory

quite four million, or about two thirds the present number of inhabitants of New York City. Nearly all the people of the United States dwelt on the Atlantic slope. Although emigrants had found homes in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio, most of the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River was wilderness or prairie, and was overrun by Indians. Indeed, the race of red men extended so far east that they yet roamed over territory now within the limits of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In Pennsylvania and Georgia their war whoop was still heard and their tomahawk still dreaded.

On the south, the country was bounded by Spanish territory. The western boundary of the United States was the Mississippi; the immense region beyond belonged to Spain. The old French settlements beyond the Ohio were too remote to attract emigrants. Where the great city of Chicago stands, there was then but a stretch of prairie. Even Pittsburgh, now the center of the great steel industry, was only a straggling village in the "Far West." Cincinnati and Louisville were hardly worthy of the name of



FARMING TOOLS OF LATER COLONIAL TIMES

towns. St. Louis, New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola were villages in Spanish territory, and so far off did they seem that they were looked upon almost as places in another world.

Agriculture. — Most of the people lived by agriculture, but the mode of farming was very crude. Wooden plows were used. There was no machine for reaping, and hardly a man in America had seen the machine for threshing which had just been invented in England. The grain was cut with a scythe, the implement which the Egyptians had been using for thousands of years, and was beaten out with a flail, made by joining two sticks together at the end with a stout cord or strap. But the farmer had to do without not merely the larger machines, like the reaper and the thresher:

many of the simplest and most common of labor-saving devices were unknown to him.

Agriculture and Shipping in New England.—The New England farmer had to contend against long and severe winters, yet with his crops of hay, corn, rye, and potatoes, he wrested a living from the stony soil. His mode of life was simple; his house was small and uninviting, and he ate plain food and dressed in cheap clothes.

The New Englander of the coast towns found in the sea a great source of profit. In boats and ships of his own making he caught fish and harpooned whales along his native coast and on the banks of Newfoundland. He carried the products of America to the ports of Europe and the West Indies, and brought back manufactured goods. In spite of the restrictions imposed by the British navigation laws, the commerce of colonial New England had been most profitable. During the Revolution the shipping trade almost ceased, and because the weak government of the Confederation was unable to make satisfactory trade relations with other countries, it did not revive until after the government under the Constitution was organized. Yet it had already laid the foundation of the wealth of New England, and had made the inhabitants of that section mainly a commercial people.

Another source of considerable revenue to the New Englander was the slave trade. His ships brought negroes from Africa to the Southern states, where they were sold into slavery.

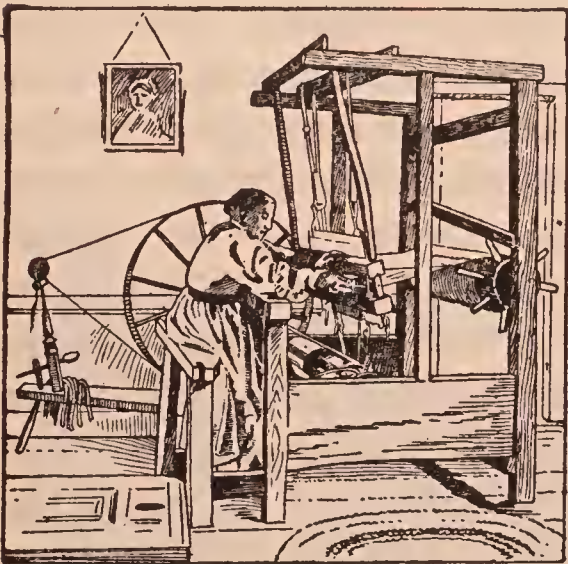
Agriculture in the South.—It was in the South, where the winters are mild and short and the soil is fertile, that agriculture was most profitable. The wealthy Southern planter lived in luxury. His house, which was spacious and well furnished, stood at a distance from the public road and was approached by a beautiful avenue. On his plantation there were slaves who worked the fields or attended as servants about the master's house. The slaves lived in groups of cabins called "quarters."

The chief products of the South were, in Virginia, tobacco, and, in the Carolinas and Georgia, pitch, tar, rice, and indigo. Cotton, which now covers every year millions of acres, was only a minor product and was frequently grown in the front yard as an ornament. The difficulty of separating the seed from the fiber by hand prevented the extensive cultivation of cotton.

Manufactures.—Great Britain had placed so many restrictions upon colonial manufactures that the colonists had long been accustomed to import manufactured goods from England, or to rely upon articles made at the fireside. Consequently, they knew little of manufacturing.



INDIGO PLANT

SPINNING WHEEL AND COLONIAL
LOOM

Even at the time that Washington was elected President, manufactures amounted to practically nothing. Nearly all the important inventions were patented in Great Britain, and the British law would not allow models or descriptions of them to be carried out of the kingdom (see page 234). With this immense advantage, the British were able to sell their goods in this country with much profit. Until the adoption of the Constitution

gave a government with strength sufficient to pass laws to retaliate upon Great Britain for her selfish trade laws, there was little incentive for Americans to engage in manufacturing.

There were, it is true, a few linen and woolen factories: but they were small concerns, with clumsy machinery that

was worked by hand. Cotton was sometimes woven with linen, but in all America there was not a mill where cloth was made entirely of cotton. No sheetings, shirtings; checks, ginghams, or calicoes were manufactured. Iron foundries of the simplest kind, and a few sawmills, paper mills, and hat factories, would perhaps complete the list of manufacturing establishments.

Domestic Handiwork. — There was a large market for articles made in the household, and from one end of the country to the other the home was a miniature factory. Father and son followed their trade at home, and mother and daughter turned the spinning wheel or plied the needle in making salable articles. From the home to the market went woolen and linen cloth, bedticks, cotton goods, hosiery, buttons, handkerchiefs, ribbons, threads, fringes, hats, shoes, nails, and many other wares.

Punishment for Crime. — In some of the states punishments inflicted for the violation of law were still very cruel.



WHIPPING-POST

Many offenses, for which slight punishments are now imposed, were then capital crimes. The whipping post, the stocks, and the pillory were yet in use. The prisons were filthy, loathsome places, which bred disease. Some had neither window nor chimney, and in some the cells were so low that an occupant could not stand up, and so narrow that when he lay down he had little more space than in a grave. Imprisonment for debt was permitted. Into the foul

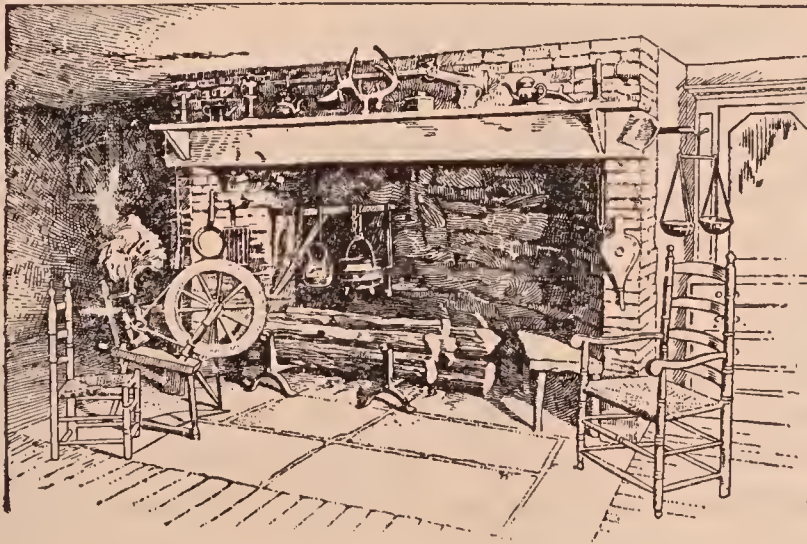
prisons, and among the vilest criminals, men were cast for no greater offense than that they could not pay their

debts. While, of course, the law that allowed such cruelty fell hardest on the poorer classes, yet it sometimes numbered among its victims men who had once lived in luxury or who had held high positions. Thus it was that Robert Morris, a great financier and philanthropist, who raised money to support the army in the Revolution, having met with reverses in his old age, languished in a debtor's prison.

Barter.—As has already been stated, the only specie in America was foreign coin, and as this was very scarce, people had to manage as best they could without it. Barter was common everywhere. Many substitutes for money were used, such as whiskey in western Pennsylvania, and tobacco in Virginia. In the state of Franklin, now Tennessee, bacon, whiskey, brandy, linen, and the skins of wild animals were among the articles used for money; the law provided that



PILLORY

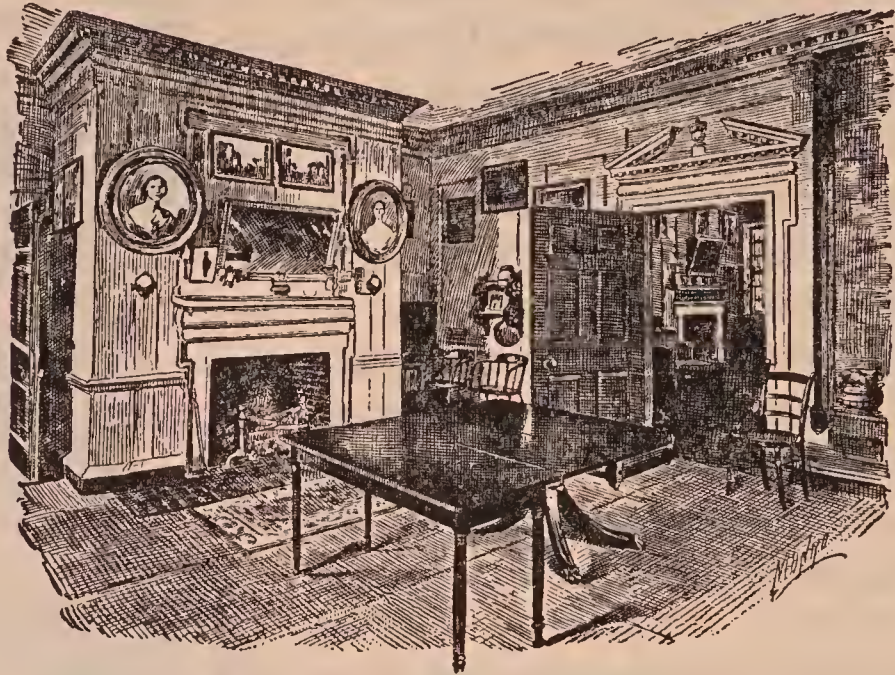


A COLONIAL FIRE-PLACE

the salary of every official from governor down should be paid in the skins of animals.

Counterfeiting.—From the scarcity of smaller coins grew the custom of cutting larger coins into parts and passing the pieces as “change.” For instance, a Spanish dollar would be cut into two or four parts and the pieces circulated as “halves” or “quarters.”

Counterfeits of foreign coins were numerous. In some places they were knowingly accepted and circulated, for the people could get no better money. The craftiness of the counter-



A DINING-ROOM IN A VIRGINIA MANSION

feiter imposed even upon the primitive currency of the state of Franklin. The skins of raccoons, to which the tails of otters had been sewed, were tied up in bundles and passed as otter skins.

Topics and Questions

1. How many states were effected by the new government when Washington became President? What population did the first census show? How was it distributed? Describe the "Far West" of Washington's time.

2. Contrast agricultural conditions in the North and the South in 1789. Why did the New Englander "take to the sea"? With what results? Account for manufactures being so few and so crude in the United States. Name and describe them. Tell about domestic handiwork. Describe the condition of jails. Why was barter safer than selling for such money as men had to accept in 1789 in the United States?

Project Exercise

Make a list of some of the implements and machines now used in farming. Contrast them with the implements that the farmer in Washington's time used.

CHAPTER XVI

SOCIAL LIFE IN WASHINGTON'S TIME

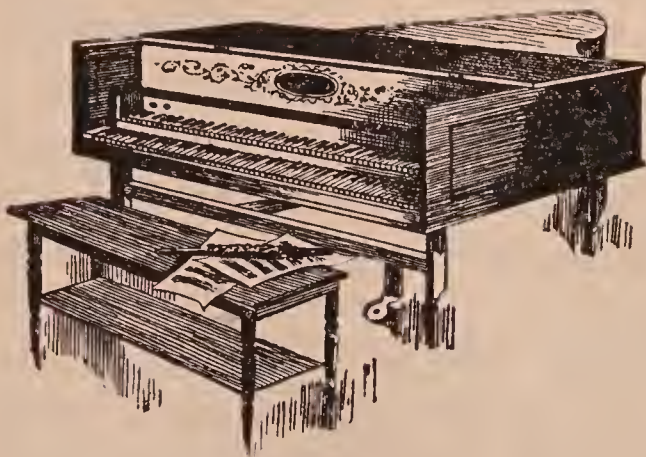
Life in the Cities. — In Washington's time there was no great city in America. The largest was New York, with about thirty-three thousand inhabitants; next came Philadelphia with thirty thousand; then Boston with eighteen thousand; and Charleston with sixteen thousand. The streets were narrow and dirty and ill-paved, or more often not paved at all. They were lighted with oil lamps. These lamps gave but a feeble light and were rarely used on rainy nights. The use of gas or electricity for lighting was unheard of. In the houses candles were used. The common fuel for the household was wood. The stoves of the time were so unsatisfactory that they were not much used, and the wood was burned in immense chimneys which let little heat and much smoke into the room. Coal was known to be in America, but it was not mined to any extent. Men little dreamed of the vast beds of the mineral which now make the United States the greatest coal producing country in the world. Charcoal was used as fuel in the blacksmith shops and foundries, and fires were started with flint and steel. Water was obtained from the town pump or from wells.

Furniture. — The houses of the rich were well furnished. The massive colonial furniture, now so much valued, was imported from England; for as yet America could make only furniture of the cheap kinds. The finest china, silver, and glass appeared on the tables, while the quaint and stately "grandfather's clock" stood in the hall. Tall candelabra, for holding candles, were set on rollers so that they could be drawn from room to room. From the blazing hearth flashed the huge, well-polished andirons of brass.

Habits; Dress; Amusements. — The manners and customs of the several sections still differed widely. The

impress left upon each community by the early settlers was very noticeable. In Boston the influence of the Puritan lingered. While some of the inhabitants of that city attended "assemblies," or balls, and gave elegant dinners, most of the Bostonians looked with disfavor upon amusements of the gayer or more worldly sort. In the interior of New England Puritanism was even stronger. The New England farmer rarely read a book not of religious character; he was exceedingly grave in his demeanor, and regarded jest and humor as unwholesome levity. The chief pleasures for the young were corn huskings, quilting parties, and spinning matches.

In New York many of the Dutch customs prevailed, and the city was still in some respects a Dutch town. The language of Holland was almost as common as English. Signs over many of the stores were printed in Dutch, and sermons were sometimes delivered in that language. The fondness of the Dutch for elaborate celebrations of feast days, such as New Year's Day, Easter, and Christmas, furnished many happy moments to old and young.



HARPSICHORD

Philadelphia was the richest and most fashionable city in America, but side by side with pleasure and extravagance was the Quaker's simple mode of life.

The people of the South were particularly fond of sport. Horse racing, cock fighting, hunting, and dancing

were the chief sources of amusement. The Southerner delighted in entertaining, and was noted for his hospitality. The ways of the Cavalier were prominent in Williamsburg, and the ways of the Huguenot in Charleston.

The fashionable dress for a man consisted of a three-

cornered cocked hat, a long coat with large silver buttons, a fancy waistcoat, breeches that came only to the knees, striped stockings, and pointed shoes with large buckles. The hair was powdered and worn in a queue, and the face was clean shaven. The mustache and beard were thought fit only for barbarians. Women wore gowns of brilliant color and finest material, very high hats, lofty headdresses, hoops, and shoes with very high wooden heels.

The spinet and the harpsichord were in general use by the upper class, but were slowly giving way to the piano. The cotillion, then a form of the quadrille, and the minuet were the popular dances.

The Poorer Classes. — The day-laborer lived in the meanest of houses and ate the coarsest food. It was all he could do to procure the necessaries of life for himself and family, for while wages were not half as much as they now are, the price of almost everything was relatively higher than now. Meat was a luxury which he seldom enjoyed. For lighting his house, he burned a piece of pine or a wick dipped in tallow. His clothes generally consisted of a flannel jacket, a checked shirt, and buckskin or leathern breeches. His wife and daughter dressed in homemade garments of the very cheapest quality.



FRONTIERSMAN

Frontier Life. — In the West, the people were leading the usual frontier life. They were busy clearing the forests and preparing the ground for cultivation, or trapping wild animals for valuable furs. They had crossed the mountains on foot or horseback, or had floated down the Ohio in boats, and had carried to their new homes little besides their trusty rifles, with which they shot game and sometimes warded off the attacks of Indians.

Travel. — By this time the stagecoach had become quite common. The roads were miserable, and when covered by

snow or mud they were almost impassable. None of the large streams were spanned by bridges; travelers crossed at fords or by ferries. Travel was so slow that it required more time to go from New York to Boston than it does now to cross the continent. A journey from one point to another on the coast or up and down the larger streams was generally made in small sailing vessels, known as packet sloops, but as this mode of travel depended on the weather, it was more uncertain than journeying by the stagecoach.

The Inns. — Houses for public entertainment were called inns, taverns, and coffee houses, and nearly every establishment of this kind combined the purposes of hotel, restaurant,



OLD-TIME STAGE-COACH AND INN

and barroom. The accommodation given the traveler was, as a rule, exceedingly poor. In the cities and towns these houses were the favorite resort of the citizens. They would meet in the public room during leisure hours to drink and play cards, for intemperance and gambling were then much more common among all classes than they are now. They would also gather there to discuss questions of the day. Speakers would address them, often with eloquence that would have graced the highest council chambers.

Education. — Except in New England, New York, and South Carolina, schools were few. Even the best schools, which were in New England, were very inefficient. The

many conveniences now had for teaching were lacking. The old-fashioned text-books would cause the school boy or girl of the present day to wonder how knowledge could have been gained from them. The children sat on hard, uncomfortable benches and at desks of roughly hewn wood. The room was poorly lighted and poorly heated. Boys attended the school during two months of winter, and were taught by a man; and girls attended during two months of summer, and were taught by a woman.

The colleges of the entire country could be counted almost on one's fingers. They offered but one course of study. It led to the A. B. degree and was intended primarily to fit the student for a profession. Latin and Greek were stressed, though a little mathematics, rhetoric, logic and theology were taught. The study of astronomy and of natural philosophy was just being introduced. Knowledge of Latin was the standard for entrance and, as only a fair knowledge of the language was required, students then entered college at a much earlier age than now. Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale, were in the order named, the oldest colleges and they enjoyed a wide reputation. Among other educational institutions of Washington's time that have since become well known are: Brown University, Dartmouth College, Williams College, and the University of Vermont, in New England; Columbia University, Princeton University, Union University and the University of Pennsylvania, in the Middle States; and Charleston College, the Universities of Georgia, North Carolina, and Tennessee, and Washington and Lee University, in the Southern States.

Newspapers. — There were about forty newspapers, of which only four were issued daily. The newspapers contained little news, local or other, and were chiefly filled with advertisements and political and moral essays. A paper printed in New York would be nearly two weeks old before it reached Charleston. In the absence of newspapers, the sections kept in touch with one another through corre-

spondence carried on by individuals. Almost every letter, whether of professional, business, or social nature, would tell what had been done by the legislature, what had been said by an orator in a great speech, or what was the sentiment of the neighborhood in regard to some question.

Post Offices. — Post offices numbered less than one hundred, while to-day they number nearly one hundred thousand. There were no postage stamps nor envelopes, and the rate of postage was so high that a poor man could rarely indulge in the use of the mails. Even the rich man would gladly accept the services of some passing traveler for the transmission of his letters, not only to save the expense of postage, but because, as likely as not, there would be no post office in the place to which the letter was to be sent.

Topics and Questions

1. Show the relative and actual size of cities of the United States in 1790. What were the means of lighting and heating houses? Picture the furniture of a house of that time. In what part of it would you find chairs and tables of domestic manufacture? Contrast the amusements of various sections and various cities of the country.

2. How would you expect to find the men of the Constitutional Convention dressed? Women at a ball in Philadelphia or Williamsburg? Tell about the daily life and dress of a day laborer. What made up a frontiersman's life?

Project Exercises

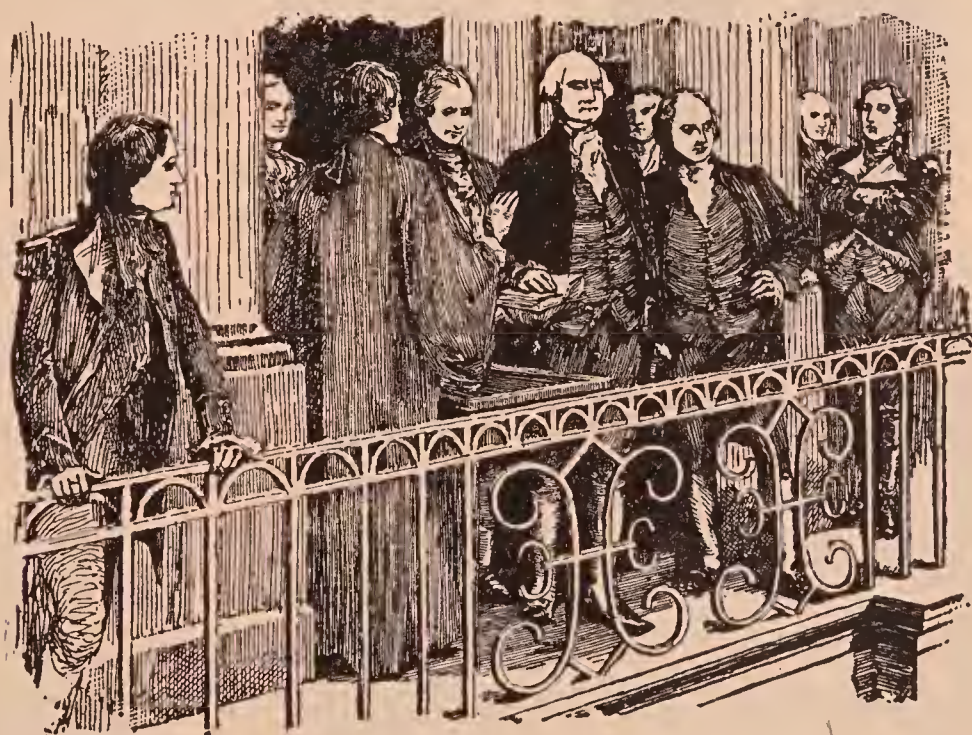
1. What was the best way, in Washington's time, to travel from Savannah to New York? Describe a journey from New York to Ohio.

2. Contrast the schools, newspapers, and post offices of 1790 with those of the present time.

CHAPTER XVII

SETTING THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN MOTION

Washington's Inauguration. — George Washington, first President of the United States, took the oath of office on April 30, 1789, in New York, which was at that time the capital. The first Wednesday in March, which fell that year on the fourth, was the day set for the government to go into operation, but Senators and Representatives arrived so



WASHINGTON TAKING THE OATH AS PRESIDENT, APRIL 30, 1789

late that it was April before Congress was organized. In recognition of the day originally set, Congress afterward fixed March 4 as the day for the beginning and ending of the terms of the President and Vice President and members of each house of Congress.

Departments subordinate to the chief executive were established. The Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the Secretary of War constituted the first

cabinet.¹ The Supreme Court and circuit and district courts were organized.

The Union Completed. — North Carolina adopted the Constitution in 1789, and Rhode Island in 1790, completing the union of the original thirteen states.

Financial Matters. — The new government was watched with much anxiety, for there were many who believed that the jealousies and conflicting interests of the states would prevent it from becoming permanent. That the new government had advantages was shown at the outset, when, for



ALEXANDER HAMILTON

the purpose of raising a revenue, Congress levied a tariff — a tax on foreign products brought into the country for purpose of sale — and a tonnage, a tax on ships. Such taxes the Confederation had never been able to levy (see page 171).

The debts contracted by the general government for carrying on the Revolutionary War amounted to about fifty-four million dollars. The debts contracted by the states for the same purpose amounted to about twenty-five million. Alexander Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, proposed that the United States government assume these debts of the states and pay the whole debt of seventy-nine million. This plan Congress adopted.

Hamilton's financial scheme provided also that Congress

¹ The Constitution provided for departments subordinate to the chief executive, but made no provision for a cabinet. Washington began the custom of consulting the heads of departments about public affairs, and from this grew the cabinet. The following officers have been added to the cabinet since the administration of Washington: Secretary of the Navy; Attorney-General; Postmaster General; Secretary of the Interior; Secretary of Agriculture; Secretary of Commerce; Secretary of Labor.

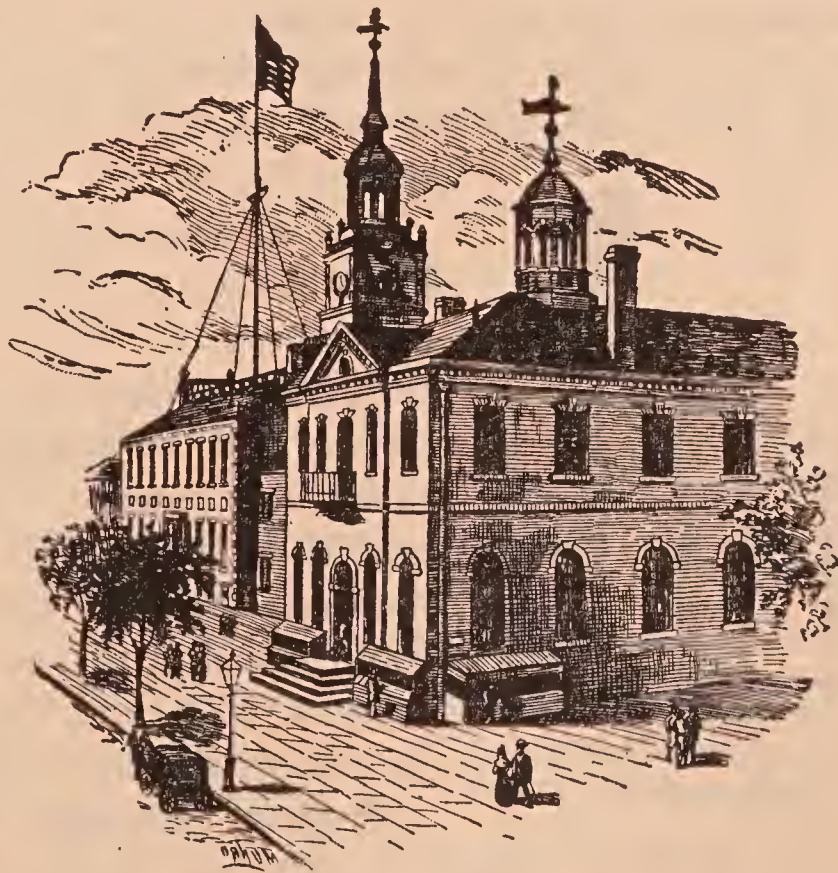
should establish a national bank, and such a bank was chartered with its chief office at Philadelphia. The United States became a stockholder of the bank. The purpose of the bank was to furnish a safe currency and one that would be uniform throughout the states.

The effect of the financial measures was immediate. A government that could raise a large revenue by taxes, that could arrange to pay a debt of an amount enormous for a young republic, and could assure a safe currency, naturally gained the confidence of the people, and strengthened the sentiment for nationalism. Public credit was restored and commerce and business generally revived.

Immigration.—People of the Old World, dissatisfied with the government under which they lived, were attracted by the freedom existing under our government. Immigration, that had been stopped by the war, again set in. Those who sought our shores at this time were chiefly English, Irish, and German.

Sectional Differences.—The bill to assume the debts of the states was not passed without

bringing out strongly the spirit of sectionalism which had shown itself in the Confederation. The New England states, owing a heavy debt, favored the assumption; most of the Southern states, having paid their debts or else owing only



CONGRESS HALL, PHILADELPHIA

National Capitol 1790-1800

small amounts that could readily be paid, contended that each state should pay its own debt. Besides, it was feared that assumption of the state debts might increase the influence of the general government at the expense of the several states. Meanwhile the question of a permanent location for the capital was debated, and for a time it seemed that the South would succeed both in securing the capital and in defeating the bill for assumption. Sectional spirit grew strong, and members from New England declared that their states would secede from the Union if the South prevailed.

In the end the sections compromised. Some of the members of Congress from Pennsylvania and the South voted for the general government's assuming the state debts, in return for which a number of Northern members, sufficient to procure its passage, voted for a bill providing that the seat of government should be at Philadelphia for ten years, and at the end of that time be located permanently on the Potomac.



A HOUSE-SLAVE OF
WASHINGTON'S DAY

Just at this time, too, Congress was brought face to face with the question of slavery. Many petitions were presented asking for the abolition of slavery and the stopping of the importation of foreign slaves. After a heated debate Congress dismissed the petitions with the declaration that it could not stop the slave trade before the year 1808, and that it had no right to abolish slavery in the states.

Political Parties. — The questions of government caused a division of the people into two political parties. One party, called the Federalist, had been in favor of the assumption of the state debts and the chartering of the national bank, because it believed in the United States having a strong central government. This party insisted upon the doctrine of implied powers — that Congress, in order to carry into effect the powers granted it, had the

right to pass laws not expressly provided for in the Constitution. Alexander Hamilton was the leader of this party.

The other contended that the rights of the states should be guarded; and denied to the government of the United States all power not expressly granted it by the Constitution. This party, known as the Republican, recognized Thomas Jefferson as its leader. The Republican party is now known as the Democratic party, and should not be confounded with the Republican party of to-day. Party spirit soon grew bitter and threats of breaking up the Union were common. In the heat of party strife even Washington received abuse.

Trouble with the Indians. — Canada, on the north of the United States, was a British province; Florida on the south and Louisiana on the west were Spanish provinces. Great Britain and Spain did not wish the United States to develop the country between the Alleghany Mountains and the Mississippi River, fearing that the young republic might grow too strong. To prevent further emigration of Americans to the West, British and Spanish agents tried to persuade the Indians in that region not to make treaties for selling their lands to the United States. Despite the intrigues of the Spaniards, the government of the United States was able to make treaties that preserved peace for a time with the Indians in the South and Southwest. The government was not so successful against the British in the Northwest. The British still held some of the military posts in that region, asserting as a reason that the Americans would not pay the debts which they contracted with British merchants before the Revolutionary War and which the treaty of peace had agreed should be paid. From these posts the British had easy access to the Indians of the Northwest. They persuaded the Indian tribes which had not joined in the cession of lands to the Confederation (see page 168) not to make treaties. These tribes began to wage war upon the settlers. Two armies sent against them were defeated, but Washington sent a third army under General Anthony Wayne, of Revolutionary fame,

who completely subdued the Indians in a battle fought near the Maumee River, in Ohio, in 1794. The tribes then agreed to a treaty, the government buying their claims to lands.

The Whiskey Insurrection. — Congress had placed a tax on whiskey. Farmers and distillers in western Pennsylvania, where the manufacture of whiskey was the chief industry, thought the tax unjust and prepared to resist its collection. Washington issued a proclamation calling upon the insurgents to submit to the law; when they showed no disposition to obey, he sent against them (1794) militia drawn from nearby states. Upon the approach of this force the insurgents submitted. When insurrections occurred during the Confederation, the general government had no power to suppress them (see page 167); the promptness with which the government under the Constitution suppressed the Whiskey Insurrection increased the respect of the people for the new government and its laws.

Topics and Questions

1. When, where, and how was the first President inaugurated? What departments were first established to aid the President? What offices have since been added to the Cabinet?
2. How did Congress raise money to run the new government? What was Hamilton's plan for paying the public debt; for furnishing a uniform currency? What was the effect of his financial methods?
3. What attracted immigrants to the United States? From what countries did most of them come at this time? What caused differences of feeling between the sections to arise? How was the Federal capital located by a compromise?
4. What stand did the first Congress take on the slavery question? State the views of the two great political parties in 1789-1800.
5. How were Indian troubles settled in 1794? Describe the Whiskey Insurrection of the same year.

Project Exercises

1. Write a brief account of the facts of Washington's life, and add an estimate of his character. (See biography in appendix.)
2. Point out some of the things that the new government did and that the government under the Confederation could not do.

Important Date:

1789. Beginning of the government under the Constitution.

CHAPTER XVIII

HOW FOREIGN AFFAIRS ENTANGLED AMERICA

Conditions in France. — France still lived under an autocratic government. The king made the laws and levied the taxes; he even had the power to throw a subject into prison without a trial and to keep him there as long as it suited his royal pleasure. The system of taxation was abominable. The French people were divided into three classes — the clergy, the nobility, and the common people. Although the Church and the nobility owned much land and other property, yet they were exempted from so much of the taxation that three fourths of the cost of the government was paid by the common people. The burden upon them was so heavy that, after they had paid their taxes, the laborer and the peasant had little left. Yet only in England was the working man of Europe better off than in France; in most other countries the peasant was still a serf. The masses of France were discontented because they had become more intelligent than serfs and realized the injustice of their lot.

The government of France, loaded down with debt, had reached the verge of bankruptcy. A part of the debt was due to money borrowed to assist the Americans in their war for independence, but by far the greater part of it was due to the many wars waged for the balance of power and to the extravagance of the royal court.

The French Revolution. — The king, Louis XVI — the king who made the alliance with the United States — was a well-meaning man, although at the head of an absolute monarchy. Seeing that the condition of neither the people nor the government could be bettered under the existing tax system, he called together the States-General, a great assembly composed of representatives from the three classes,

clergy, nobility, and commons. The States-General met in Paris in 1789, the year Washington was inaugurated as our President.¹

When the commoners found that they were powerless to make the clergy and nobles pay a proper share of the taxes, they withdrew from the States-General, organized themselves into the National Assembly, and went to work to reform the government in their own way. Their purpose was merely to give the people a share in the government without overturning the monarchy; but the king, becoming persuaded that too much of his power was being taken away from him, attempted to break up the Assembly. Immediately a mob arose in Paris, which in its indignation destroyed, on July 14, 1789, the Bastille, an ancient prison in whose dungeons kings had arbitrarily confined so many of their subjects.² The disorder spread to the rural districts, where mobs burned the chateaux, or homes of the nobles. Radical men got in power and, in 1792, proclaimed France a republic. The king was executed on the charge of scheming to get other monarchs to send armies to his assistance.

Then followed the "Reign of Terror," when opponents of the republic in various parts of France were massacred and persons in Paris under the slightest suspicion of being hostile to the new government were put to death by the guillotine. The "Reign of Terror" was only an unfortunate phase of the revolution — the revolution itself, in the end, made France a democracy. The orgy was brought about by men of most violent type gaining temporary control of the government, and it lasted about ten months in 1793-1794. Shocking as was the spilling of innocent blood, it should be remembered that despotic monarchs, before and since, have for

¹ The States-General was the parliament of France, but the kings of that country had so long ruled by their own will that it had not previously been called together since 1614.

² July 14, the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, is celebrated by Frenchmen as the birthday of their republic, just as the Americans celebrate July 4.

selfish purposes caused more persons to be killed in a single battle than were put to death during the "Reign of Terror."

France at War with Other Powers. — The other monarchs of Europe were horrified at the execution of the French king. The French republic, believing from the hostile attitude of neighboring countries that its existence was in danger, had declared war upon Austria, Prussia, Spain, and Great Britain. While France was in the throes of the "Reign of Terror," foreign armies invaded French territory, but as soon as the dark days were over, the armies of the republic drove the invaders across the borders and carried the war into the enemy country.

The United States and France. — The people of America sympathized at first almost universally with the movement to make France a republic. When the revolution fell into violent hands sentiment in America divided. The division was largely along party lines. The Federalists, representing the conservative opinion of the country, lost confidence in the revolution and no longer gave it their sympathy; while the Republicans (Democrats), representing more nearly the popular feeling, looked beyond the violence and saw in the revolution the struggle of the French people for liberty.

Sympathizers with France were active. They held great feasts, at which speeches were made eulogizing the French people and toasts were drunk to the French republic. They displayed in public places the tri-colored flag of the new republic by the side of the Stars and Stripes, wore in their hats tri-colored cockades, and sang the songs of the French revolution. At mass meetings throughout the country they demanded that the United States aid France. They urged that the treaties made with France at the time of the American Revolution had placed the United States under obligations to help that country; and declared that, over and above any sense of treaty obligation, it was the duty of our democratic country to go to war in aid of an old ally in its fight against monarchy. Washington, not believing that we were called upon to help France, would not give way to the

clamor. He issued a proclamation declaring the United States neutral and warned Americans from giving aid to either side. On account of the stand Washington took, sympathizers with France heaped much abuse upon him.

"Citizen Genêt."—While French feeling was running high, Genêt — Citizen Genêt, as he was called¹—landed at Charleston, having come to America as minister from France. In nearly every town through which he passed on his way overland to Philadelphia, which was still the seat of government, he was given an ovation. Believing his reception an evidence that the people would side with him against the stand their own government had taken, he endeavored, in the face of the President's proclamation of neutrality, to persuade them to aid France. He sent out privateers from American ports to prey upon the commerce of Great Britain and other nations, and he schemed to attack, with the help of Americans, the Spanish provinces of Louisiana and Florida. He was even disrespectful to the President himself. Genêt overreached his mark. At Washington's demand the French government recalled him. The impudence of a foreigner's interfering in our affairs cooled the ardor of the French sympathizers. Most of them came in time to realize that they had been wrong in opposing so strongly the position of our government.

Troubles with Great Britain.—While the American government was with difficulty keeping the people from siding with France, the British were making the task harder. They continued to cause irritation by holding the forts on the northwestern border. They also gave trouble in regard to trade; they closed their West Indian ports to American vessels, thus depriving the Americans of a trade that had always been profitable; they stopped American ships trad-

¹ The French republic, in its desire to destroy every vestage of the monarchy, abolished all titles. Even the terms of polite address, Monsieur, Madame, and Mademoiselle, were abolished. A man was to be addressed as "Citizen" and a woman as "Citizeness"—hence, "Citizen Genêt."

ing with France, boarded them, and seized goods which were not contraband of war,¹ and in many ways injured the commerce of the United States.

Impressment. — They claimed the right to stop vessels and to take from them seamen of British birth and force them to serve in the British navy. This was known as the right of impressment, and was based on the British doctrine that a man could not renounce allegiance to his native land, or, as the phrase went, “Once an Englishman always an Englishman.” Americans, however, claimed that a foreign-born person became, through naturalization, as much a citizen of a country as a native. Not only were British-born seamen impressed, but many sailors of American birth were carried off under pretense that they were British subjects. These unjust acts caused the American people more than ever to feel resentment against Great Britain. Washington, desiring to preserve peace, sent John Jay, the Chief Justice, to England to negotiate a settlement of the questions at issue.

Jay’s Treaty. — In 1794 Jay made a treaty by which Great Britain was to give up the forts in the Northwest, while the United States was to guarantee the payment of certain of the debts owing to Great Britain. The treaty met with



JOHN JAY

After the portrait by Gilbert Stuart

much opposition in America, because Great Britain had not agreed to open satisfactorily the West Indian trade or to stop seizing American goods or to give up her claim to the right of impressment — the three matters about which

¹ Under the law of nations arms and supplies of some other kinds, sent by a neutral people to a people engaged in war, are called **contraband** and are liable to capture.

Americans were mostly concerned. However, the Senate ratified the treaty, which was probably the best that could have been made under the circumstances. It averted, for a time, war with Great Britain.

John Adams, President; Troubles with France. — Washington having been twice elected President, declined to serve a third term, and John Adams, of Massachusetts, a Federalist, was elected to succeed him. When Adams



JOHN ADAMS

assumed the Presidency in 1797, the complications growing out of the European situation had shifted from danger of war with Great Britain to danger of war with France.

The French republic had already forced peace upon Prussia and Spain, and only in this year (1797) Napoleon Bonaparte by a brilliant campaign brought Austria to terms. The French government was displeased with Jay's treaty, claiming that it gave Great

Britain advantages over France. It announced that the French navy would treat the commerce of a neutral country in the same manner as that country allowed Great Britain to treat its commerce; and, thereupon French war vessels began plundering American commerce. Envoys whom President Adams sent to France to effect a settlement of the trouble were told by agents of the Directory—a body of five men who were then at the head of the French government—that the United States must pay them money for peace. In the report of the matter to Congress, the letters X.Y.Z. were substituted for the names of the French agents, and from this circumstance it became known as the "X.Y.Z. affair."

So outraged did the Americans feel at the suggestion that

they pay French officials for their rights that the government immediately took steps for war. Washington was placed at the head of the army, and the commanders of the ships composing the little navy were instructed to seize French war vessels. Some small naval engagements, in which the Americans won victories, occurred in 1799-1800.

Meanwhile the Directory proving weak, Napoleon Bonaparte, the military leader, had placed himself at the head of the French republic with the title of First Consul. Napoleon, seeing that the Americans would defend their rights, came to an agreement with the United States. By a treaty made in 1800, France acknowledged practically every commercial right of America that Great Britain denied. Soon afterward Napoleon made a treaty with Great Britain, the sole remaining antagonist of France, and, for a while, the whole world was at peace.

The Alien and Sedition Laws. — In the discussion of public questions, many of the writings that appeared in the American newspapers and pamphlets were slanderous, coarse, and violent, one political party being as guilty as the other. The Federalists held that the publications of their opponents tended to lessen the influence of the government and force the country into war with Great Britain. Besides, many of the writers for the Republican (Democratic) party were foreigners, and the Federalists thought the foreign element dangerous to the country. Therefore in 1798 Congress, in which the Federalists had a majority, passed the Alien and Sedition Acts.

The Alien Law gave the President power to send out of the country all foreigners whom he considered dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. The Sedition Law condemned to fine and imprisonment any person convicted of having written or published a false, scandalous, or malicious statement against the government, Congress, or the President. Persons were actually sent to jail for writing articles criticizing the administration.

The Virginia and the Kentucky Resolutions. — The Republicans (Democrats) were loud in their condemnation of the Alien and Sedition Laws as unconstitutional. They asserted that the Alien Law denied the right of trial by jury and violated the rights of the states to admit into their territory whom they pleased, and that the Sedition Law took away freedom of speech and liberty of the press. The legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky passed resolutions which have become famous. Each set of resolutions proclaimed the Union to be only a compact between the states;



WASHINGTON FROM THE POTOMAC IN 1801

From an engraving by R. Phillips

and asserted the right of the states to judge of the constitutionality of the acts of the general government, and to nullify those considered unconstitutional. Virginia strengthened her military forces and made ready for secession. The resolutions are important because they had great influence upon the doctrines of nullification and secession.¹

Washington Becomes the Capital. — In accordance with an act of the first Congress (see page 192) the seat of government was removed in 1800 to a point on the Potomac River. On the site selected a city had been laid out and called Washington. The District of Columbia, in which Washington is situated, was ceded to the general government by Maryland.

¹ *Nullification*: The action of a state to prevent the enforcement within its bounds of a law of the United States. *Secession*: The withdrawal of a state from the Union.

John Marshall. — In 1801 John Marshall, of Virginia, was appointed Chief Justice. He was one of the greatest jurists of the world. His decisions on questions relating to the Constitution did much to strengthen the view that the Constitution gives the United States the right to make of itself a strong government. He held the office of Chief Justice until his death in 1835.



JOHN MARSHALL

Jefferson Elected President. — In 1800 occurred a presidential election. John Adams was again the candidate of the Federalists for President, while Thomas Jefferson was the candidate of the Republicans (Democrats). The campaign was very bitter. The Federalists charged that the Republicans (Democrats) were anarchists who would destroy all government; the Republicans (Democrats) charged that the Federalists were aristocrats who desired to convert the United States into a monarchy. Both charges were, of course, untrue; yet the Federalists had lost public favor because of their openly expressed distrust of the ability of the masses to govern themselves and because of the unpopular laws they had passed, especially the Alien and Sedition Laws. Jefferson was elected, and his triumph was regarded as a victory of the people.¹ The Federalist

¹ Under the Constitution as it then stood each elector voted for two persons, the one receiving the highest vote becoming President and the one receiving the next highest, Vice President. In the election of 1800 Aaron Burr, of New York was the candidate for Vice President on the ticket with Jefferson. The Republican (Democratic) electors cast an equal number of votes for Jefferson and Burr. According to the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to decide which of them should be President. The House, carrying out the intention of

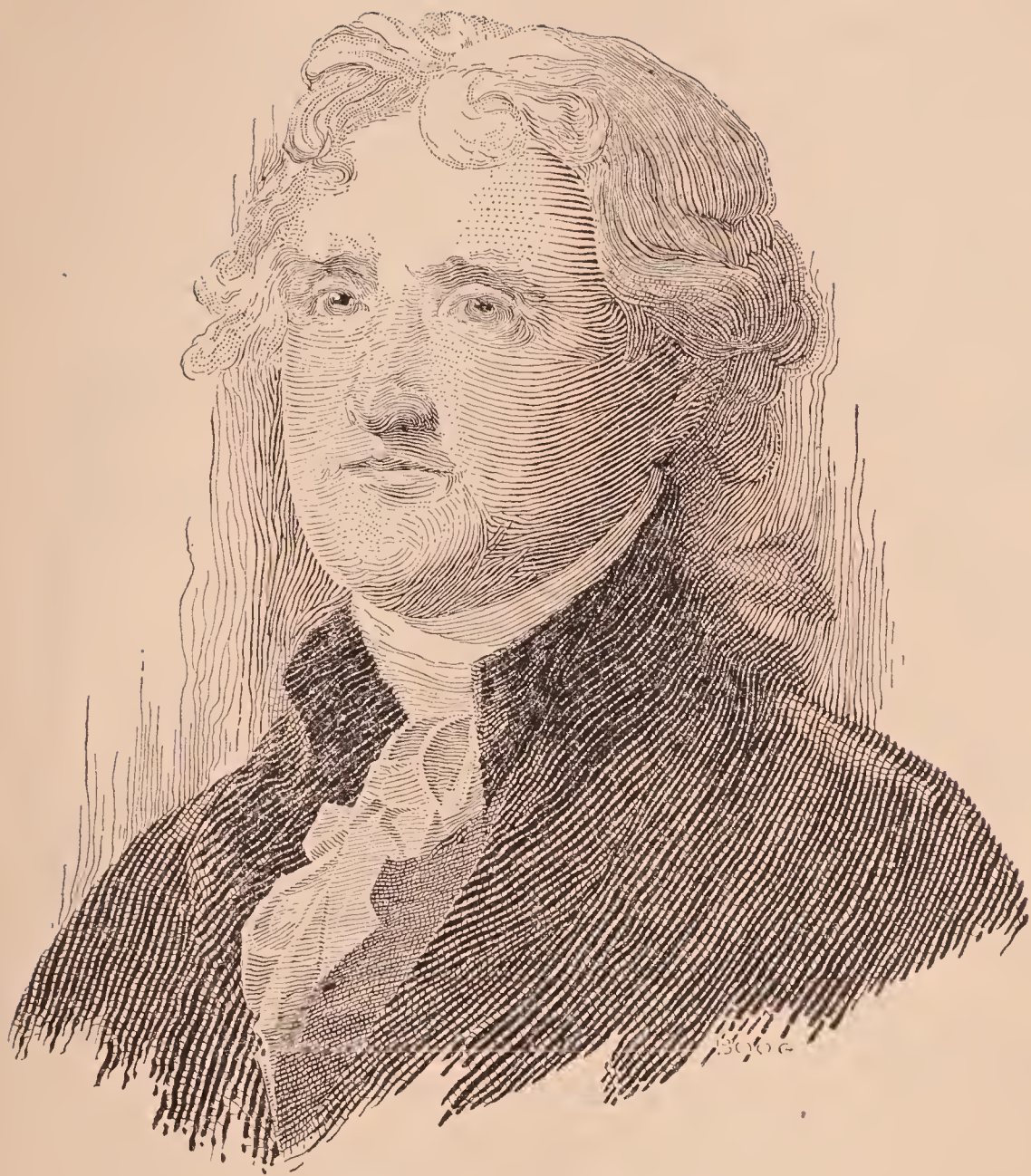
party should be held in grateful remembrance because it was the statesmanship of that party that successfully launched the new government.

Jefferson was very simple in his own habits, and he believed that the government should be conducted on the simplest and most economical lines. He looked upon large armies and navies as a menace to the liberties of the people, and as an unnecessary expense. Despite the fact that trouble was liable again to arise with European powers, his political followers, who controlled Congress, reduced the military and naval forces which the Federalists had strengthened when war with France was threatened.

Albert Gallatin. — Jefferson was consistent in his efforts to economize, for he reduced expenses in all departments. He was fortunate in having the assistance of an able Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania. Gallatin wished also to pay the national debt. He devised a plan whereby the taxes could be lowered, and at the same time expenses be cut so that a surplus would yet be left each year in the treasury to be used for paying the debt. He succeeded so well that, with lowered taxes, he reduced the debt, in twelve years, from \$87,000,000 to \$45,000,000. Gallatin was one of the greatest financiers of his time. Hamilton was better fitted for building up a treasury, but Gallatin was his superior in taking care of it through methods of economy.

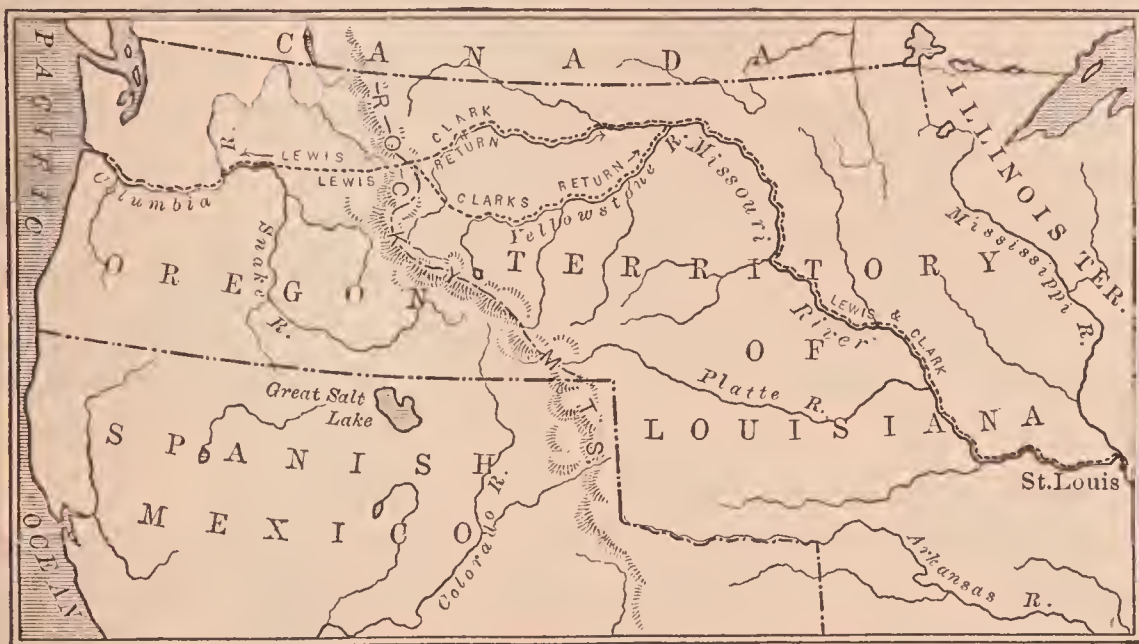
Purchase of Louisiana. — It will be remembered that, while the English colonies were yet struggling for a foothold on the Atlantic coast, the French had settled Louisiana; and that at the end of the French and Indian War, in 1763, France had ceded to Spain as the province of Louisiana the territory extending a great distance westward from the

the people, elected Jefferson. The Vice Presidency, of course, went to Burr. The tie vote caused the adoption of an amendment to the Constitution, which provides that each elector shall vote for one person for President and for another person for Vice President. This is the law to-day.



THOMAS JEFFERSON

Mississippi River. In the extreme south end of this immense domain, Louisiana occupied both banks of the river and included the city of New Orleans, which is on the east bank. Spain therefore controlled the navigation of the river. A treaty had been made with Spain whereby citizens of the United States were granted free use of the Mississippi and the use of New Orleans as a place to deposit their goods. In those days transportation on land was very difficult, and the Western people found it almost impossible to carry their produce across the mountains to the Eastern



LEWIS AND CLARK'S ROUTE

states. Instead they floated it down the river and deposited it at New Orleans, there to await some ocean ship to take it to the Atlantic states or to the West Indies.

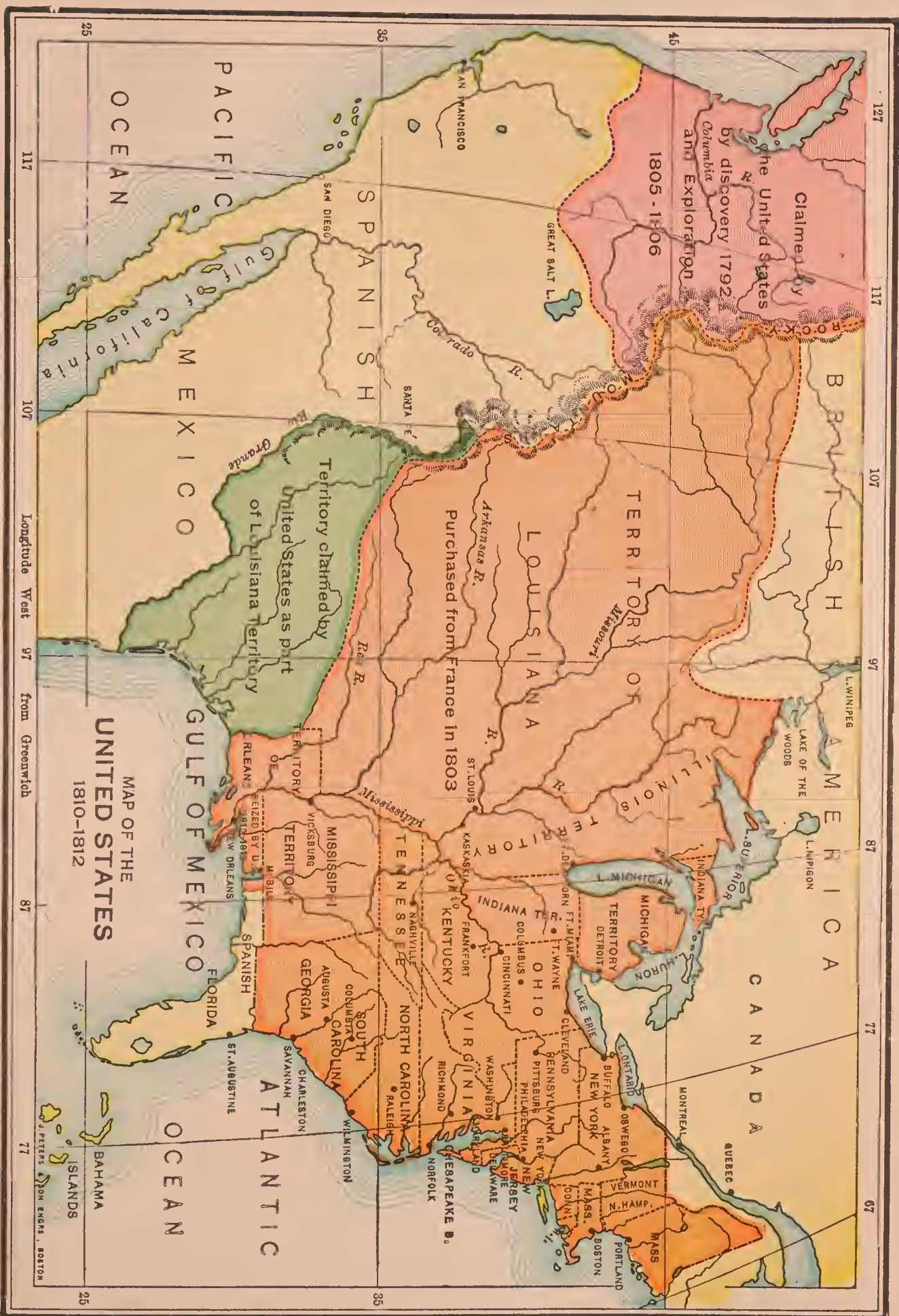
In 1800, as part of a plan to create a French colonial empire, Napoleon, the First Consul, persuaded Spain to cede Louisiana back to France; and Napoleon prepared to send over a large army to occupy the province. The Spanish officer in charge of New Orleans closed the port to Americans. The Westerners would have gone to war with the mightiest nation of Europe rather than lose the use of the Mississippi. Jefferson realized the danger of permitting so strong a power as France to control the great waterway to the sea, and offered to buy New Orleans and enough of

the territory to give us control of the river. War clouds were again hanging over Napoleon. He needed money and feared that Great Britain would seize the territory; he therefore sold to the United States, in 1803, not a portion but the whole of Louisiana. The price paid was about fifteen million dollars.

Extent of the New Territory. — The new territory stretched so far westward from the Mississippi that its acquisition more than doubled the area of the United States. Its vastness can be appreciated by consulting the map facing pages 388–389. So little was known of the new possession that the government sent out expeditions to explore it. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark went up the Missouri River, crossed the Rocky Mountains, traversed the region known as the Oregon country, floated down the Columbia River to its mouth, and gazed upon the Pacific Ocean. Lewis and Clark were the first white men to cross the American continent within the limits of what is now the United States. They were absent about two years and brought back much valuable information.¹

The Oregon Country. — The far distant Oregon country was not a part of the Louisiana Purchase. The United States and Great Britain both laid claim to it. For the present there was too much unoccupied land east of the Mississippi awaiting the emigrant for him to give much thought to the distant Louisiana country or the even more

¹ Aaron Burr, while still Vice President, killed Alexander Hamilton, in 1804, in a duel growing out of politics. Burr was now a ruined man. He had never possessed the entire confidence of the people, and from this time on was regarded by most persons as a criminal. Later he was accused of a plot against the Union. Though he led an armed expedition down the Mississippi River, exactly what his scheme was has never become known. It has always been believed by many that he intended to form another government, with himself at its head, in Mexico or some of the western states and the newly acquired Louisiana territory, or partly in Mexico and partly in this country. He was arrested and tried on the charge of treason. There was not sufficient evidence of guilt and he was acquitted.



MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1810-1812

Longitude West 97 from Greenwich

25

35

45

PACIFIC OCEAN

MEXICO

GULF OF MEXICO

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BAHAMA ISLANDS

PETERS & DENNERS, BOSTON

127

117

107

97

87

77

67

117

107

97

87

77

25

35

45

PACIFIC OCEAN

MEXICO

SPANISH TERRITORY

MEXICO

GULF OF MEXICO

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BAHAMA ISLANDS

PETERS & DENNERS, BOSTON

Claimed by the United States by discovery 1792
Columbia and Exploration

1805-1806

Purchased from France in 1803

Territory claimed by United States as part of Louisiana Territory

SEIZED BY U.S. 1810

SPANISH TERRITORY

FLORIDA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SPANISH TERRITORY

MEXICO

GULF OF MEXICO

ATLANTIC OCEAN

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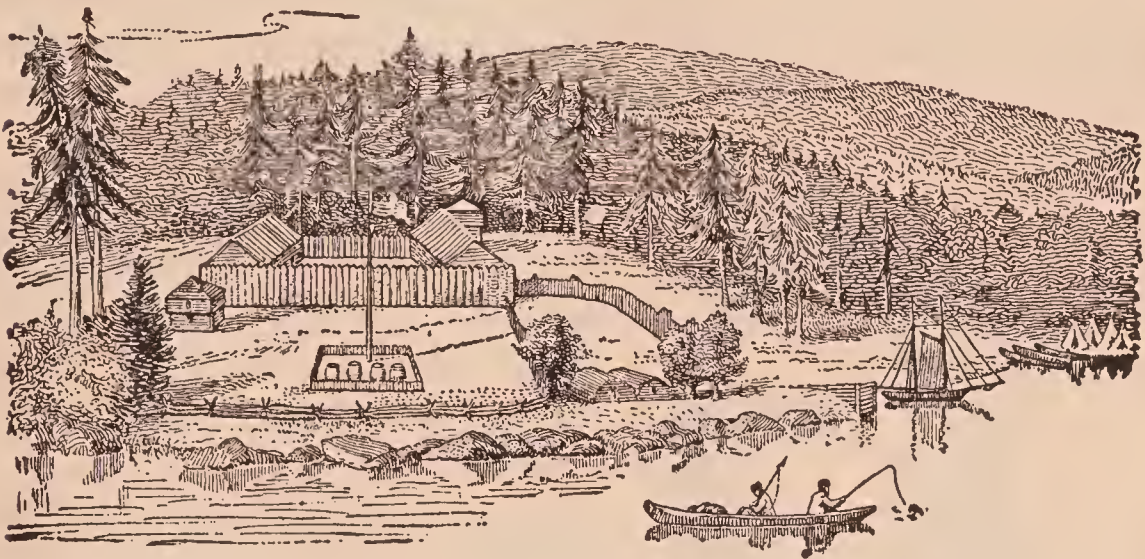
ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

distant Oregon country. While years had to pass before settlers would develop the wonderful resources of the far West, fur traders, both American and British, were attracted to Oregon, where the reports of Lewis and Clark showed that a profitable trade in furs and skins could be had only for the seeking. Stations for the fur trade were established in Oregon by Americans, but the British established the greater number.



ASTORIA IN 1811

The American fur traders' post of the Oregon country

Topics and Questions

1. Describe the power of the king of France. Describe the condition of the common people of that country. Why did the king call together the States-General? How was the National Assembly formed? What was its purpose?

2. Give an account of the French Revolution. Describe the effect of the French Revolution upon America. Tell about Washington's neutrality proclamation. Who was "Citizen Genêt," and what did he attempt to do?

3. How did the interference of Great Britain with American commerce make it harder for America to keep her citizens neutral? What was the purpose and what were the terms of Jay's treaty? Define impressment, contraband, embargo, and privateer.

4. What French general became famous in 1797? Give several reasons why John Adams was in a difficult position when he became President in 1797. Why did the Americans feel outraged over the X. Y. Z. affair? Explain how Napoleon Bonaparte came to be at the

head of the French republic. What treaty did Napoleon make with America in 1800? What treaty did he soon after make with Great Britain?

5. What ideas and conditions led Congress to pass the Alien and Sedition Acts? Define each carefully. On what grounds were the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions passed? What effect did these Resolutions have?

6. When did Washington become the capital? What is the District of Columbia? Who was John Marshall? What was his chief work?

7. What beliefs influenced the presidential election of 1800? What change was made in the Constitution relating to the election of the President and Vice President? How did Jefferson and his followers look upon large armies and navies? Tell all you can about Albert Gallatin.

8. Why did the United States buy and why did Napoleon sell the Louisiana Territory? How did the United States come to realize the great size of the Louisiana Purchase? How did Aaron Burr lose the confidence of the American people? Was he guilty? Tell about the Oregon country.

Project Exercises

1. Compare the American Revolution and the French Revolution. Were they fought for the same principle? Had the American people been treated as tyrannically as the French?

2. Write a brief account of the life and services of Thomas Jefferson before he became President (see biography in appendix).

Important Dates:

- 1789. Beginning of the French Revolution.
- 1794. Jay's Treaty
- 1800. Jefferson Elected President. ;
- 1803. Purchase of Louisiana.

CHAPTER XIX

THE STRUGGLE FOR COMMERCIAL RIGHTS

Emperor Napoleon I. — Napoleon Bonaparte for fifteen years controlled France and dominated continental Europe. At the commencement of the French Revolution he was only twenty years old and was then a lieutenant of artillery; for his services in the army of the republic he rose to the rank of general. The brilliancy of his campaign against Austria (see page 200) made Napoleon the foremost general of France. Every power of Europe except Great Britain succumbed, sooner or later, to his military prowess. In his whole career Napoleon was guided solely by his ambition. He was willful and unscrupulous; he treated his enemies cruelly, and with cold hearted indifference he saw his troops slaughtered in battle that he might gain his selfish aims. Yet, his victories made him the idol of his soldiers.



NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE

The failure of the government of the Directory gave Napoleon the opportunity to carry out his long cherished desire to rule France. The people, weary of feeble and changing governments, were ready to accept a strong ruler. With the support of the army it was easy for him to seize the reins of government and have himself made First Consul. As First Consul Napoleon ruled as tyrannically as any king, in fact, he was a monarch in all except name. He coveted

the glamor of the name of monarch; so, in 1804, he caused the republic to be abolished and had himself proclaimed Emperor of the French.

The Victory of Trafalgar. — The new emperor's ambition soared beyond ruling France; he dreamed of a world empire in which the monarch of every nation would bow to his will. His aggressions brought on war once more with Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. He quickly crushed Austria and Prussia and forced Russia to make peace. Again Great Britain was left alone to battle against the would-be world conqueror.

Napoleon's successes on land were offset by a telling victory that Great Britain won on the sea. Lord Nelson, commanding the British fleet, practically destroyed the French and Spanish fleets in a battle off Cape Trafalgar, Spain, in 1805.

Effect of Trafalgar upon America. — The battle of Trafalgar, one of the greatest naval victories in the history of



LORD NELSON

Great Britain, had a direct effect upon America. On account of the war the carrying trade of the world had passed to the neutral ships of America and one or two of the minor states of Europe. Great Britain, wishing to weaken the power of Napoleon by shutting off the trade of France with neutral countries, in 1806 declared many European ports in a state of blockade. At once the emperor retaliated by declaring the ports of the

British Isles closed. As the ports of colonies and allies were included, trade with nearly the whole world was forbidden by one belligerent or the other.

Of course there was no actual blockade, for neither power

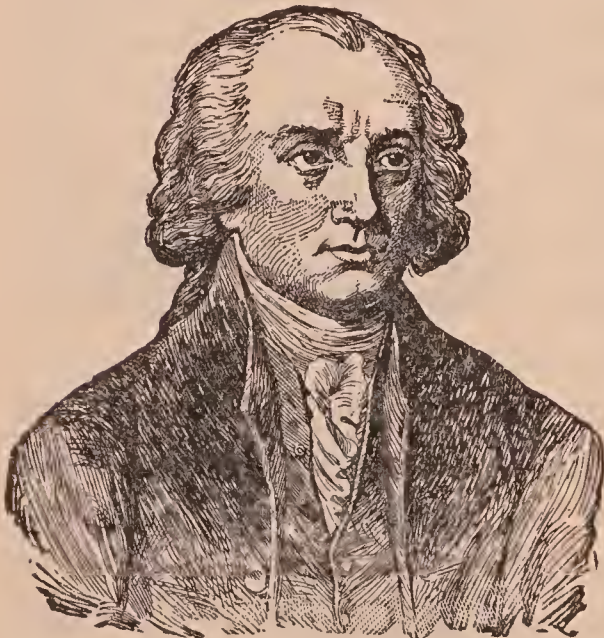
had enough war vessels to make such a blockade possible. A proclamation, declaring a port blockaded that is not blockaded in fact, is called a "paper" blockade and is not binding upon other nations; yet these unlawful measures had a far-reaching effect. The navy of each nation confiscated, wherever found, the cargoes of neutral ships bound for the enemy's ports. Great Britain, made mistress of the sea by the victory of Trafalgar, scoured the ocean; the loss to American commerce from British seizures was enormous. France, with her navy almost destroyed at Trafalgar, could not do so much damage. Consequently, feeling in America was stronger against Great Britain than against France.

The "Leopard" and the "Chesapeake." — Impressment of seamen by the British went on more actively than ever. In 1807, the British naval vessel *Leopard* fired upon the American naval vessel *Chesapeake*, off the coast of the United States, and, as the *Chesapeake* was unprepared for battle, compelled it to surrender. The attack was made because the American commander refused to give up members of his crew who, it was alleged, had deserted from the British navy. American seamen were killed and those charged with desertion were carried off by the British ship. The American people were indignant that one of their naval vessels should be attacked and boarded.

The Long Embargo. — War with Great Britain seemed near at hand, but Jefferson wished to avoid it if possible. In 1807 Congress passed, at the President's request, an embargo act, which forbade American ships to leave port for foreign countries. It was thought that the loss of supplies from America would induce Great Britain and France to rescind their hostile measures against neutral commerce, but the hope was in vain. The embargo, by keeping American commerce off the seas, did what the belligerents had endeavored to do with their paper blockade, while it seriously injured business at home. Ships lay idle at the wharves and trade became stagnant. Great distress followed.

New England, where commerce was still the chief industry, suffered most. There, more than anywhere else, the Embargo Act was unpopular; and there, more than anywhere else, it was evaded. It was derisively called the "O Grab Me" act, a name found by spelling "embargo" backwards. Federalism was still strong in New England, and the Federalists continued to be more favorably disposed toward the British as against the French. They asserted that the embargo was designed to provoke Great Britain to war.

Secession Feeling in New England. — When Congress passed a law to compel observance of the embargo, loud protests were made in New England against the so-called Force Act. Prominent officials refused to obey the law, or encouraged the people to evade it. Town meeting after town meeting condemned the law by resolutions. Secession



JAMES MADISON

After the Gilbert Stuart portrait,
Bowdoin College

was openly threatened. The legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut proclaimed the right of nullifying the law. John Quincy Adams informed the administration at Washington that there was a plan in New England to nullify the Embargo Act and to secede and form a union with Great Britain. In 1809 the Embargo Act was repealed, and the danger of disunion passed.

Non-Intercourse Act. —

In place of the embargo, Congress passed a Non-intercourse Act, which prohibited trade with Great Britain or France or their colonies, and left Americans free to trade with other countries. The act also provided that trade should be renewed with either Great

Britain or France when either revoked its measures injurious to American commerce.

After Jefferson had served two terms as President, James Madison, of Virginia, succeeded him. President Madison continued the attempts to bring Great Britain and France to terms. Soon after his inauguration, in 1809 Congress repealed the Non-intercourse Act, but declared that if either Great Britain or France should withdraw its objectionable measures, the law would be renewed against the other.

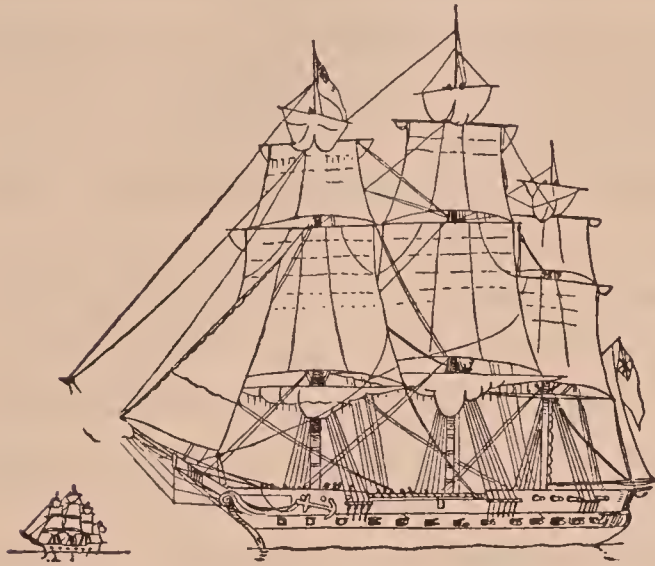
The administration was artfully led to believe that Napoleon had revoked his decrees so far as they applied to America, and intercourse with Great Britain was again forbidden in 1811. This caused the British to prey even more upon American commerce and the Americans to feel deeper resentment against them.

Affair of the "Little Belt." Battle of Tippecanoe. — There seemed no honorable way for averting war with Great Britain, and, in 1811, two events occurred that embittered the Americans against that country. An American war vessel, the *President*, and a British war vessel, the *Little Belt*, met in battle outside Chesapeake Bay. The British vessel, much the inferior, was badly worsted.

In the meantime, Indian tribes in the Northwest, under the famous warrior Tecumseh, formed a confederacy for the purpose of attacking the settlers. General William Henry Harrison defeated the Indians in a severe battle near Tippecanoe Creek, in the present state of Indiana. It was believed by many that British agents had incited the uprising.

War against Great Britain Declared. — Most of the older members of the Republican (Democratic) majority in Congress were still reluctant to go to war, but the leadership had passed from them to the younger men. The new leaders were so strongly in favor of hostilities against Great Britain that Madison felt compelled to recommend war. Congress declared war in 1812. On account of the date it is generally known as the "War of 1812."

There was utter lack of preparation for the conflict. The Republican (Democratic) party, the party that insisted upon the war, had in previous years so reduced the defenses of the country that, when war was declared, the army con-



American fleet

English fleet

RELATIVE SIZE OF THE AMERICAN
AND ENGLISH FLEETS

sisted of only about ten thousand men, poorly equipped and poorly organized and commanded by inexperienced, or in many cases, incompetent officers. It was planned to increase the military force by enlisting volunteers for the regular army and by using militia from the different states.

Volunteers were slow in coming forward and militia, it was found, could not always be depended upon. Only five ships were ready for sea.

Danger lurked on the frontiers. The Indian tribes in the Northwest had banded together to fight on the side of the British; those in the Southwest were ready to go on the warpath as soon as the British should give them aid.

New England Opposed to the War. — There was opposition to the war in New England, the section devoted to commerce. Although the war was waged for the protection of commerce, the New Englanders held it to be unwise. They argued that as commerce had been damaged by the embargo more than by the depredations of foreign nations, it would be completely destroyed by the war. They again talked of secession. When news of the declaration of war reached New England, bells were tolled, business was suspended, and flags were lowered to half-mast. The war was condemned in town meetings, and denounced by the

press and the pulpit. When the President, in accordance with an act of Congress, called on the states for militia, the governors of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island refused to obey, claiming that the Constitution gave the United States no right to make such a demand. In this act of nullification the governments of these states sustained their governors.

Reverses on Land. — America's plan in the first year of the war was to conquer Canada. For this purpose three

armies, one concentrated, at Detroit, another on Niagara River, and the third on Lake Champlain, were to advance into Canada, and meeting, seize Montreal and Quebec. The army at Detroit advanced into



Canada, but soon LAKE ERIE AND THE SURROUNDING COUNTRY retreated, and, without firing a gun, its commander surrendered Detroit to a force composed mostly of Indians and Canadian militia. With the fall of Detroit much of the Northwest territory was lost to the enemy. A small force from the army on the Niagara crossed the river and made a gallant attack upon the enemy's position. Many of the militia, asserting that the government had no right to use them for invading a foreign country, declined to cross the river, and the attack failed. The army on Lake Champlain marched to the Canadian boundary line, where the militia refused to go further.

Victories on the Sea. — The disasters on land were in marked contrast to the successes on the sea. In the first year of the war the vessels of the little American navy met ships of the British navy in a number of single combats. In nearly every instance the American vessel, being the

superior, won the battle. The most famous of America's victorious ships was the *Constitution*. The successes at sea caused much enthusiasm. That America's ships, from which little had been expected, should win victories over ships of the great British navy, served to offset the disappointment caused by the American reverses on land.



THE "CONSTITUTION"

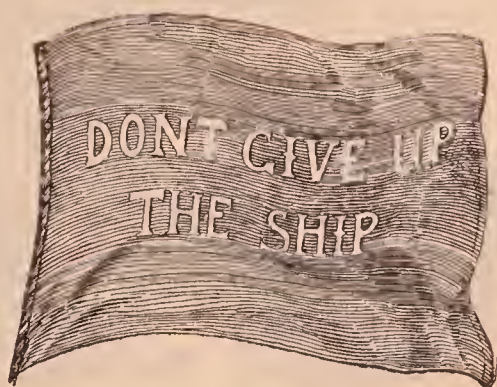
Great Britain was most disagreeably surprised. The luster that the victory of Trafalgar had shed upon her navy was dimmed by the achievements of a navy that she had held in contempt. The result was that Great Britain used her mighty navy to blockade the American coast for the double purpose of keeping America's war vessels in port and weakening America's resources

by destroying her commerce. Against Great Britain's best ships, our weak navy could do little.

Second and Third Invasions of Canada.—In the spring of 1813 an American army again invaded Canada. The object of the invasion was the capture of Montreal. York (now Toronto), on Lake Ontario, was taken in a battle in which the British lost more than half their number. Some private soldiers of the American army, acting without authority, disgraced their flag by burning the British parliament house. The army remained in Canada until autumn, but beyond taking York it accomplished nothing.

In the summer of 1814 the Americans for the third time invaded Canada. They crossed the Niagara River and won the battles of Chippewa River and Lundy's Lane. Winfield Scott, a young American officer who afterwards became very distinguished, acted with conspicuous gallantry in these battles. Again the Americans remained in Canada some months, and again the invasion ended in failure.

Perry and Harrison Win Victories. — On the other hand important successes were won on the western frontiers. General William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe, commanded a new army that had been sent into the Northwest. A British fleet on Lake Erie greatly hindered the operations of Harrison's army until Oliver Hazard Perry, in vessels that were built under his direction on the shores of the lake, captured this fleet in a hot engagement on September 10, 1813.¹ The defeat of the British fleet gave the Americans control of Lake Erie, and compelled Proctor, the British general who commanded in the Northwest, to abandon Detroit, and to retire once more into Canada. General Harrison followed Proctor into Canada and defeated the British and Indians on the river Thames. Tecumseh, the famous Indian warrior, was killed in this battle.



PERRY'S FLAG

The Americans recovered in the Northwest the territory that they had given up when Detroit fell in the previous year, and never again lost it.

Battle of Horseshoe Bend. — The Creek Indians, dwelling in what is now Alabama, had been incited to hostilities by Tecumseh and by British and Spanish agents. In the summer of 1813, the Creeks, led by a chief named Weathers-

¹ Perry announced his victory to General Harrison in a brief note: "Dear General: We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours with great respect and esteem, O. H. Perry."

ford, massacred settlers who had fled to Fort Mims on the Alabama River. Of four hundred men, women, and children, only about twenty escaped. The Indians then scoured the country and killed every white person they could find. Mixed bands of militia and friendly Indians avenged these outrages, defeating the Creeks in battle and refusing to give quarter.

It was necessary, however, to strike the Creeks a decisive blow. On March 27, 1814, General Andrew Jackson, with a force of Tennessee militia, fell upon the fortified camp of the Indians, at Horseshoe Bend, on the Tallapoosa



THE CAPITOL AFTER THE BURNING OF WASHINGTON

River, in Alabama. He inflicted upon them such heavy loss that they made peace, surrendering a large portion of their territory.

Capture of Washington. — The British now took the offensive. An army entered Chesapeake Bay under the protection of a strong fleet. A detachment landed and marched fifty miles across the country to Washington, which was in a defenseless condition because the militia, called out to guard it, had fled. The President and his cabinet made haste to get away. The British entered Washington on August 24, 1814. The President's house, the Capitol, and most of the other public buildings were destroyed. The British then made their way back to the fleet. They stated that they burned Washington because the Americans had burned the parliament house at York (Toronto) and committed other depredations in Canada.

The British army and fleet next attacked Baltimore. The army landed, but was defeated by Maryland troops. For nearly two days the fleet bombarded Fort McHenry in Baltimore harbor, and was finally driven off by the garrison. The gallant conduct of the Marylanders saved Baltimore from capture.¹

British Defeated on Lake Champlain. — In the following month the British army in Canada, strongly reënforced, marched into New York by the shore of Lake Champlain. It was supported by a fleet. The Americans had on the lake a fleet commanded by Thomas Macdonough. The squadrons met in a fiercely contested battle, and the British fleet was forced to surrender. On the defeat of the fleet the British army hastily retreated to Canada.

Battle of New Orleans. — The British assembled a large army and fleet at Jamaica, an island of the West Indies belonging to Great Britain, for the purpose of wresting from the United States the old province of Louisiana. In the army were many veterans who had served in the wars against Napoleon and in the fleet were many of Great Britain's best warships. Near the close of 1814 the expedition appeared off the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, near the



GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED BY CONGRESS
TO ANDREW JACKSON

mouth of the Mississippi River. Eight thousand soldiers landed and marched against New Orleans. General Andrew Jackson, who had been sent to defend the city, had collected a force of all sorts of men. He had a few regulars, a considerable number of militia from Tennessee, Kentucky, and

¹ The attack upon Baltimore furnished Francis Scott Key the occasion for writing "The Star-spangled Banner." Key had gone to a British ship to secure the release of a friend who had been captured. He was detained on the vessel against his will during the night of the

Louisiana, some volunteers from among the citizens of New Orleans, negroes from neighboring plantations, and laborers from the West Indies. His main reliance was upon the militia who were frontiersmen accustomed to the use of the rifle.

On January 8, 1815, the British attacked the entrenchments that Jackson had hastily thrown up south of New Orleans. Twice these veterans of Europe charged the motley army defending the entrenchments, and each time

the unerring fire of the frontiersmen mowed them down. So great was the slaughter that the enemy gave up the attempt to take the city. The American loss was very small.



A SCENE IN GHENT

Treaty of Peace; Results of the War. — The great victory of New Orleans was won after peace had been made. A treaty had been signed at Ghent, in Belgium, on December 24, 1814; but as only sailing vessels then crossed the ocean, and as about six weeks

were required for the voyage, news of peace did not reach America until February, 1815.

The European war had already ended with Napoleon defeated and sent into exile. Although Great Britain was now free to put all her efforts into the war with America, the British people, who had been suffering from war for more than twenty years, were weary and wished peace.

The Americans also were tired of the war. On account of the nation's utter lack of preparedness, the war from a military point of view had not been successful. For finan-

bombardment of Fort McHenry. His delight on the next morning that the stars and stripes still floated over the fort inspired the stirring words of this popular national hymn.

cial reasons, too, the war had come to an end most opportunely. The government was almost bankrupt; business had become so demoralized that there was great distress among the people.

Since both sides were very desirous of bringing the war to an end, none of the principles for which it had been waged were settled by the treaty. On the whole, however, the result was not without gain to America. The fact that the young republic would engage in war with the mightiest nation to protect its rights, increased the respect for the new government both at home and abroad. Other nations came to see the justness of America's stand, with the result that the principles proclaimed by America as the rights of neutrals are now international law.¹ Hence, the world at large gained by the war, which is often called the "War for Commercial Independence."

The Hartford Convention. — Although some of the bravest soldiers and seamen had volunteered from New England, the opposition of that section to the war continued to the end. New Englanders fed the British armies in Canada by selling them supplies; they refused to aid the American government financially by investing in its loans, yet they subscribed liberally to British loans. The New England coast was not blockaded with the rest of America, for Great Britain hoped that by treating that section gently New England would break up the Union.

A convention, to which Massachusetts invited the other New England states, met at Hartford, Connecticut, late in 1814. Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island sent delegates to the convention, which was attended also by representatives from some of the towns of New Hampshire and Vermont. The sessions were secret, and little of the proceedings has been made known.

¹ The fact that in the great World War, which broke out in 1914 (one hundred years later), Germany violated the rights on the sea of the United States, a neutral nation, was one of the causes for which the United States entered the war in opposition to Germany.

The published reports proposed some amendments to the Constitution and made several demands on Congress; justified secession and affirmed the nullification principles of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions (see page 202). The convention adjourned to meet again in the summer of 1815 if its plans were not complied with or if peace were not declared. As news of peace reached America before the time set for the second meeting, the convention did not come together again. The Republicans (Democrats) openly charged that the object of the convention was disunion. The Federalist party, whose leaders had advocated the convention, was ruined.

Finances. — Just before the beginning of the war, the charter of the national bank (see page 191) having expired, Congress refused to grant it a new charter, for a strong prejudice against the bank had spread among the people. The country, deprived of the safe currency furnished by the national bank, had to carry on the war dependent upon the currency of state banks. In the disruption of business caused by the war, nearly every state bank out of New England suspended specie payments; that is, quit paying out gold or silver when demanded. The people had to use paper money, issued by towns, "wild cat" banks, and even individuals, and this money, of course, had uncertain value.

When the war was over, Congress immediately gave attention to the finances. It established a new national bank and took other vigorous steps to inspire confidence in the government, but it was some years before business recovered.

Fixing the Northwestern Boundary. — The peace that settled over the world upon the downfall of Napoleon was reflected by two important treaties soon made by the United States.

James Monroe, of Virginia, who succeeded Madison in the Presidency in 1817, immediately set about arranging peaceably two vexing questions with foreign nations. A

treaty was made with Great Britain, in 1818, in which the boundary between the territory of the United States west of the Mississippi (the Louisiana Purchase) and the British possessions in Canada, from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, was fixed on the 49th parallel of latitude. Since both the United States and Great Britain claimed the Oregon country, decision as to the boundary west of the mountains was postponed. Meantime, people of both nations might occupy the disputed territory for a period of ten years.



JAMES MONROE

Andrew Jackson in Florida.—

The other vexing question related to Florida. For many years the United States had tried, but without success, to purchase Florida from Spain, for the occupation of that territory by Spaniards was a constant source of trouble. Spanish agents in Florida often incited Indians to attack settlers in Georgia and Alabama (see page 193), and during the recent war, British agents used Florida as a base from which to persuade the Creek Indians to rise up against the United States (see page 217). After the battle of Horseshoe Bend many of the Creeks took refuge in the territory. These Indians, together with the Seminoles of Florida and runaway slaves, formed bands that ravaged the southern borders. After peace with Great Britain had been declared, the government ordered General Andrew Jackson to move against the outlaws. With a force of regulars and militia, he followed them into Florida. Considering the Spaniards responsible for the raids of the Indians, Jackson seized the Spanish towns of Pensacola and St. Marks; and, moreover, he caused to be executed two subjects of Great Britain who

had been convicted by court-martial of having aided the Indians.

Purchase of Florida.—It was feared that Jackson's conduct would involve the country in war with Great Britain and Spain, and efforts were made in Congress to censure him. The general defended his course on the ground that public safety demanded it, and Congress sustained him. Fortunately war did not follow. On the contrary, a treaty was made in 1819, by which Spain sold Florida to the United States for five million dollars. By the terms of the treaty the boundary between the United States and the Spanish provinces west of the Mississippi was agreed upon.

Topics and Questions

1. Give the story of Napoleon Bonaparte and of how he made himself Emperor of the French. Describe the battle of Trafalgar and its effect upon America.

2. Describe and criticise the Long Embargo. What section of our country suffered most from it, and what protests were made? Define the Non-intercourse Act. Who succeeded Jefferson in the Presidency?

3. What did the *Little Belt* affair and Tecumseh's confederacy have to do with the War of 1812? Which political party desired war against Great Britain in 1812? Describe America's unpreparedness for war, and explain how this condition came about. Why was New England opposed to the war? How did that section practically defy the United States in its failure to respond to the call for militia?

4. What was the plan and result of the first invasion of Canada? Recount the American successes on the ocean. What did Great Britain do in consequence of the American naval victories?

5. Tell about the second and third invasions of Canada. Describe the victories of Perry and Harrison. What led Andrew Jackson to attack the Creek Indians? Tell about his battle with them at Horseshoe Bend.

6. What disgraceful defeat did the Americans meet with in 1814? What success did they meet with at Baltimore? What famous song owes its existence to this success? Tell about the naval battle on Lake Champlain. What signal but unnecessary victory did the Americans win in 1815?

7. When was the treaty of Ghent signed? Why was Great Britain weary of the war? Why America? What did America gain by the war? What did the world gain?

8. Could the United States thank all her citizens for loyal support in the war? If not, state why. Tell about the Hartford Convention.

9. Describe the financial condition of the country after the War of 1812 and tell what was done to improve it. State how the Northwestern boundary was fixed by a treaty with Great Britain in 1818. Describe Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida. How did the United States come into possession of Florida in 1819?

Project Exercises

1. Review the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and compare them with the action of the Hartford Convention of 1814.

2. Compare Germany's use of the submarine, which drew the United States into the World War, with Great Britain's commercial policy in the early nineteenth century, which drew the United States into the War of 1812.

Important Dates:

1804. Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of the French.

1805. Battle of Trafalgar.

1812. Beginning of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain.

1813. Battles of Lake Erie and the Thames.

1814. End of the Second War between the United States and Great Britain.

1815. Battle of New Orleans.

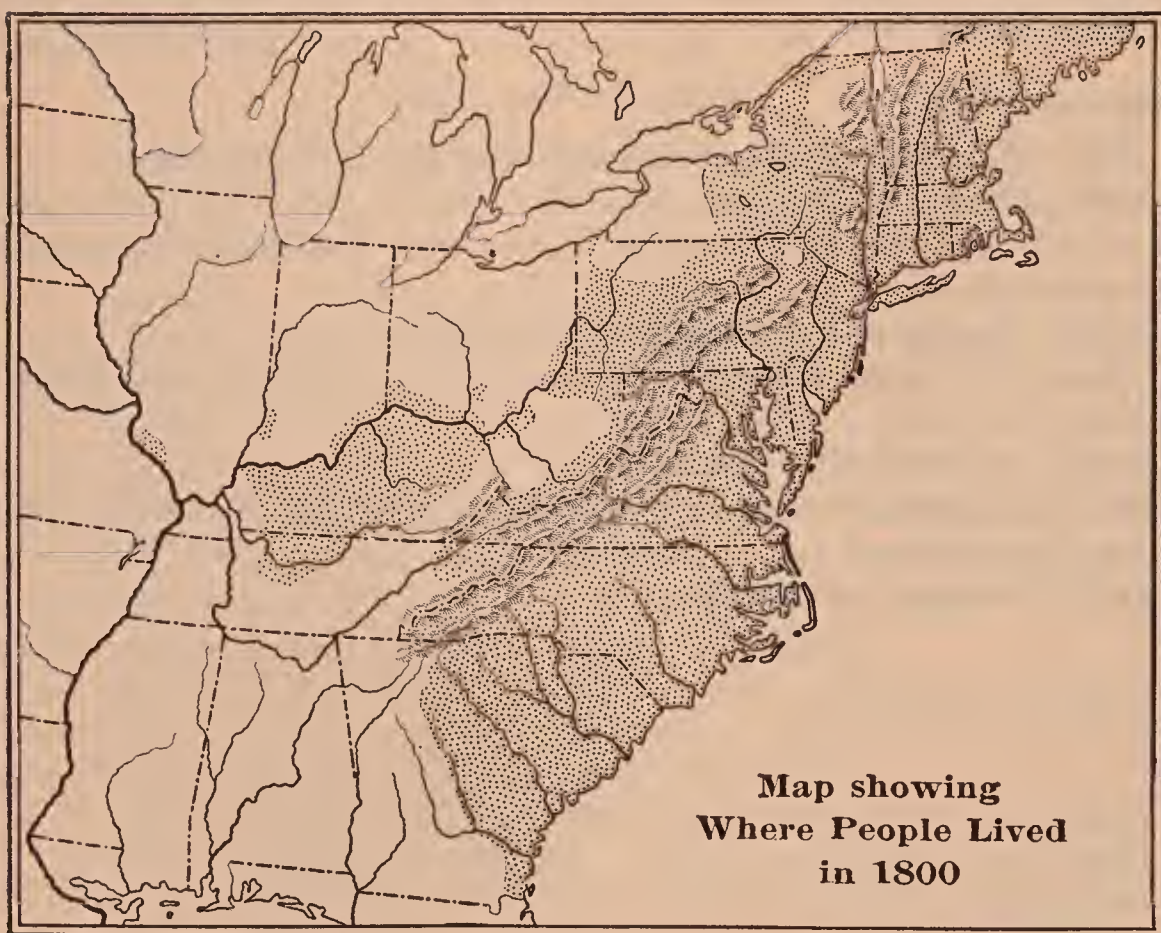
1818. Settlement of the Northwestern boundary as far as the Rocky Mountains.

1819. Purchase of Florida.

CHAPTER XX

THIRTY YEARS OF PROGRESS (1790-1820).

Population and Boundaries. — In the thirty years following the inauguration of the new government, great progress had been made. The population had increased from four million to nearly ten million. The western boundary was



Notice that the Western settlers are mainly south of the Ohio

no longer the Mississippi, but the Rocky Mountain region, and even the Oregon country beyond was claimed by the United States. Yet in 1820 our area was much smaller than now. The treaty made in the previous year for the purchase of Florida had not been ratified by Spain; hence

the Spaniards still held that territory.¹ All Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, California, Utah, and portions of Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma belonged to Spain.

Vermont. — In 1791 Vermont, the first state after the original thirteen, was admitted to the Union. The part of New England embraced in Vermont, formerly claimed by both New Hampshire and New York, had long been well settled and ready for statehood.

Emigration to the West. — It was to the fertile and unoccupied lands of the Mississippi Valley that the restless Americans looked with longing eyes. The rush to the West forms one of the most interesting phases of American history. Singly or in families the emigrants left their homes and formed traveling parties on the few roads that led to the West. Men on foot, men on horseback, wagons and carts loaded with household goods, women and children trudging along by the side of overburdened wagons, herds of cattle, and droves of hogs, presented a scene that could be witnessed almost any day on the dusty highways. Once over the mountains, the emigrants made use of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers and their tributaries. Down the streams they floated in flat-bottomed boats or barges.

Early Life in the West. — Life on the frontier was but the old story of the first colonial settlers repeated. The pioneer built a log cabin for his home and cleared a field for his first planting. His ready rifle protected him from the lurking Indian. Often the nearest white man was many miles away. Cut off from the outside world, he lived on the food crop he raised and the game he killed in the



A PIONEER HOME IN KENTUCKY

¹ Early in the next year (1821), when notified of the ratification of the treaty by Spain, the United States immediately took possession of Florida and organized it into a territory under the laws of Congress.

woods. The thrifty housewife made all the clothes for the family. With homes so scattered schools were rare, and these schools gave only a smattering of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Nor could a boy or girl always attend school regularly, for in the hard struggle for a living there was plenty of work for children to do at home. If, perchance, a passing preacher stopped at a settler's humble cabin, the family and neighbors gathered to hear his sermons. His coming was awaited often with eagerness that he might perform the baptismal or marriage ceremony.

The desire to own a home and be independent made the frontiersman willing to endure a life of excessive toil and few pleasures. Splendid was the heroism of the women who shared the frontier life. They braved every danger without flinching; they endured every hardship without complaining; and they reared their children to become strong-bodied, self-reliant men and women.

The Northwest and the Southwest. — In one respect there was a marked difference in the frontier life north and south of the Ohio River. Slavery had been prohibited in the country north of the Ohio when the Congress of the Confederation organized it, in 1787, into the Northwest Territory (see page 168); consequently, farms in that region were small.

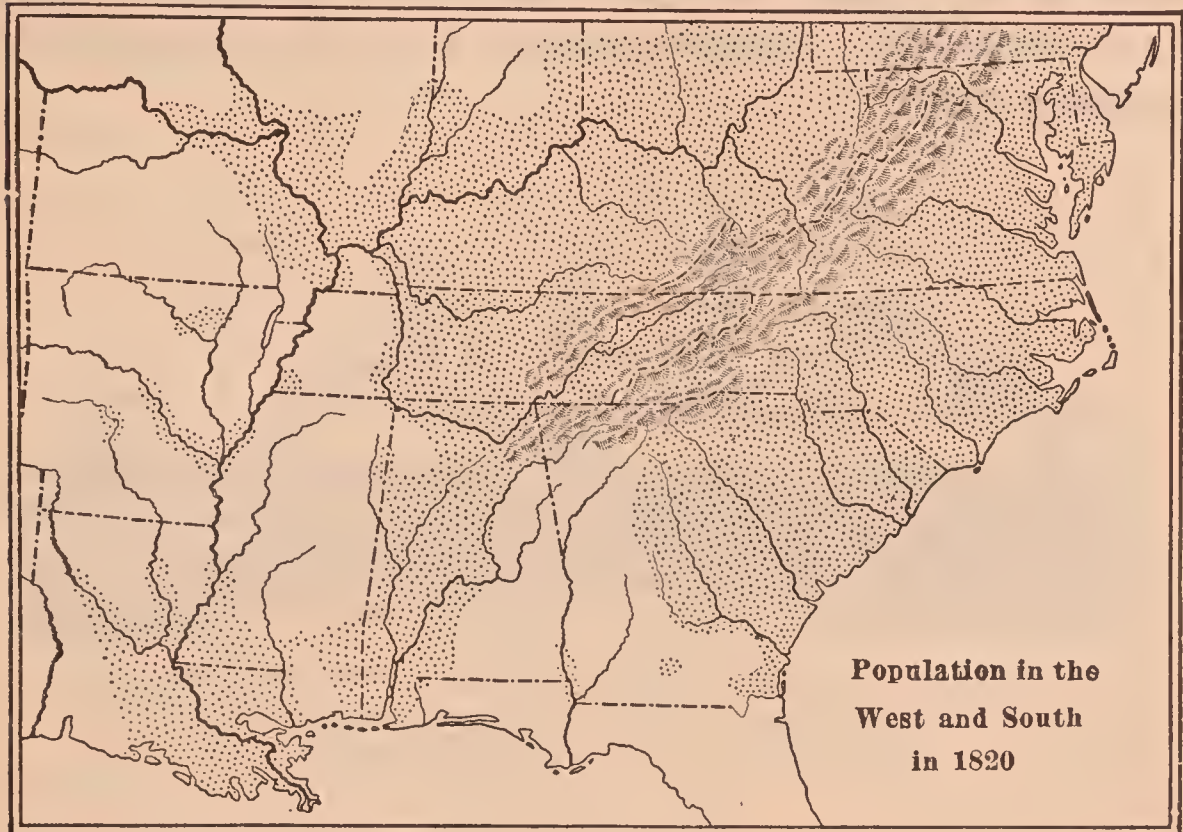


A WESTERN SETTLEMENT

Corn was the main crop. In the country south of the Ohio, where slavery was allowed and tobacco and cotton were the main crops, the settlers secured large tracts of land on which they employed many slaves. In both sections a few cabins clustering around a store or blacksmith forge would mark the beginning of a town.

Governing the Territories. — For governing the western country the plan adopted in organizing the Northwest

Territory was in most cases followed. When a section had come to contain sufficient population it was organized as a territory. The territory continued under the direction of Congress, but its inhabitants were given partial self-government. When the population had again increased sufficiently, the territory was admitted into the Union as a state with all the rights that the original states enjoyed.



Notice how Southern farmers are settling in the river valleys

New States in the West. — When a state was admitted, the frontier, moving westward, had usually passed its borders. Even before the Revolutionary War, pioneers had carried the frontier over the Alleghany Mountains into western Pennsylvania and into what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. In 1792, Kentucky, and in 1796, Tennessee, were admitted into the Union as states. Ohio, the first state carved from the Northwest Territory, was admitted in 1803. The southern part of the Louisiana Purchase, which already had a considerable population on account of its long occupation by France and Spain, was admitted, in 1812, as the state of Louisiana. Other states followed:

Indiana (1817); Mississippi (1817); Illinois (1818); Alabama (1819). By 1820 the frontier had moved westward across the Mississippi River and beyond Missouri and Arkansas, which had been erected into territories; north-westward it had gone beyond Michigan, which had also been made a territory. The "Far West," which was at Pittsburgh in Washington's time, had moved in Monroe's time to St. Louis; yet the Indians still occupied a large part of the region about the Great Lakes and much of the extreme South.



ST. LOUIS IN 1800

From Stevens' *Missouri, the Center State*

Immigration from Europe.— Meanwhile the population of the seaboard states had steadily increased. Though emigration to the West was made at the expense of these states, yet it was more than offset by the natural increase and by immigrants from Europe after 1815. The depression of all kinds of industry in Europe, caused by the long-continued Napoleonic wars, had deprived many thousands of employment; the disbanding of the armies and navies, with the coming of peace, threw many more upon the world without the means of livelihood; and taxes were constantly growing to pay the cost of the wars. These oppressed people, many of whom were most worthy, saw in America a refuge from

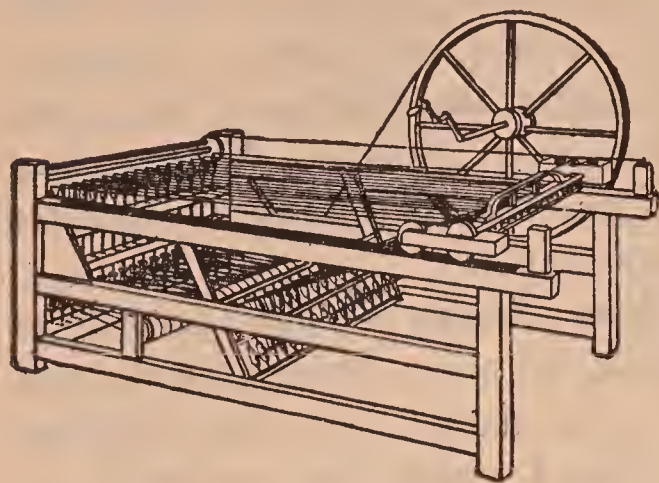
their burdens. Hardly had peace been declared in Europe, when they began coming over in large numbers. In the year that Monroe was inaugurated (1817) no less than fifty thousand immigrants reached our shores. Most of these were from England, Ireland, and Germany, but there were some from every country of Europe. While many of the newcomers pushed on into the West, much the greater part remained in the eastern states.

The Four Most Populous States. — The census of 1820 showed that New York, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts were, in the order named, the most populous states, and that their combined population exceeded the whole number of persons in the United States when Washington was inaugurated. The North had become more populous than the South.

The Industrial Revolution. — During the American Revolution and the period just following, England underwent marvelous changes in her industrial conditions — changes which ultimately affected the entire world. Hitherto, all manufacturing had been done by hand, with clumsy implements not much better than those used in ancient times. Indeed, the word “manufacture” comes from two Latin words that mean to make by hand. The manufacturer made his products at home, his sons aiding in the heavier and his wife and daughters in the lighter work. Women made yarn on the spinning wheel and men wove it into cloth on hand looms. The labor was slow and the cloth usually coarse. The ever-increasing commerce of England called for quicker work and better cloth, and, to meet the demand, machines were invented.

The first invention of importance in the manufacture of cloth was the flying shuttle which John Kay, an Englishman, completed in 1738. Although the loom was still worked by hand, the flying shuttle enabled weaving to be done so fast that a machine for spinning as rapidly became necessary. This need was met by James Hargreaves, an English weaver, who invented, in 1764, a machine for spin-

ning which is run by power and which he called a jenny in compliment to his wife. Hargreaves' jenny would spin



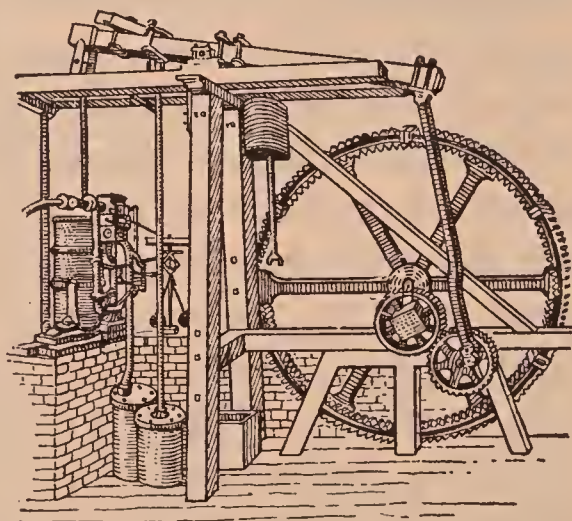
HARGREAVES' SPINNING JENNY

from 8 to 24 threads at one time. In 1769 Richard Arkwright, who was a barber by trade, put into practical use the process, known as roller spinning, of passing the roving between rollers revolving at different speeds. But the thread spun by Hargreaves' jenny and Arkwrights'

roller process was too weak to be used successfully for the warp in weaving; so, in 1779, Samuel Crompton, a mechanic, invented a machine which is a combination of the two processes and which produces a much stronger thread than either. Crompton called his invention the spinning-mule.

In 1785, an English clergyman, Dr. Edmund Cartwright, invented a loom to be run by power. Cotton and woolen cloth could now be made in vastly larger quantities and of much superior texture.

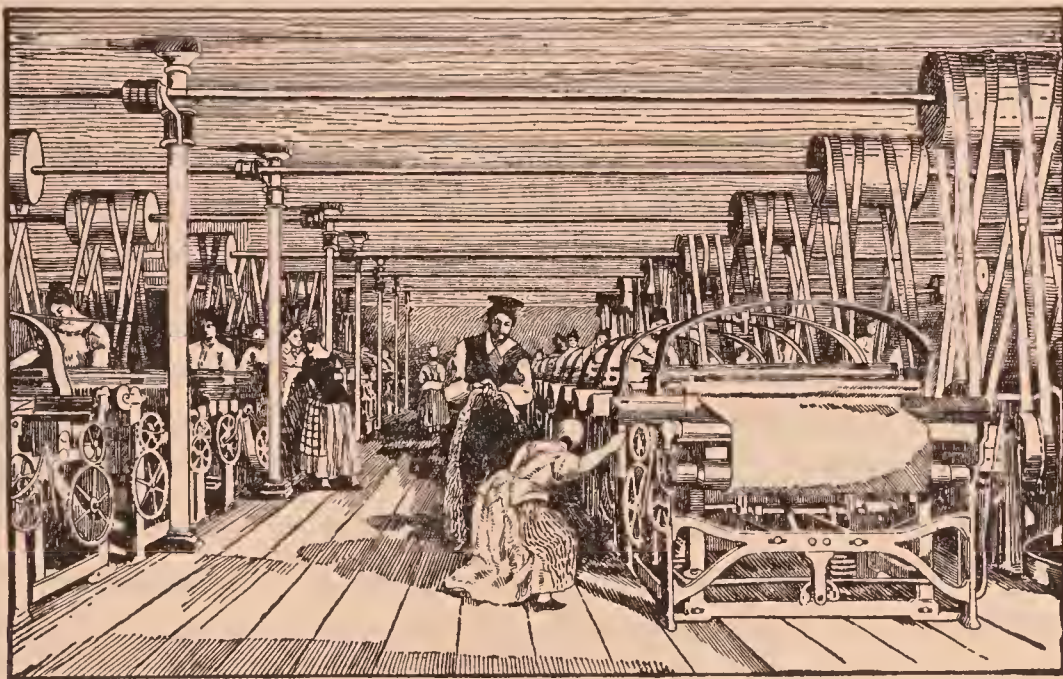
At first machinery was run by water power, but in the very year that the power loom was invented, James Watts, a Scotchman,



WATTS' STEAM-ENGINE

after twenty-five years of diligent effort, made a steam engine that would run the jenny and the loom. The power of steam had been known to the ancient Greeks, and steam engines had even been used in England; but until Watts made his improved engine they were of little value.

About the time of Watts' invention it was found that coal was a most excellent fuel for the engine. Previously iron had been worked with charcoal; the use of coal-burning steam engines increased the manufacture of iron and steel. These inventions and discoveries produced a marvelous change in manufacturing that is known in history as the "Industrial Revolution." The result of the revolution was to develop rapidly England's commerce, and, because it was many years before another country made general use



POWER LOOMS IN AN ENGLISH MILL, 1820

of machinery, England secured a lead in commerce that has never been overtaken.

The Factory System. — But industry did not advance without having a dark side. The man who had hitherto manufactured wares in a simple way at his home had not the money to buy the machinery or to erect large buildings to house it and employ the large number of laborers needed to run it. Consequently, manufacturing passed to the rich man or capitalist. Thousands of people thrown out of employment in pleasant surroundings were forced to move to factory towns, where not only the men but their wives and children worked for long hours and low wages in

unhealthful buildings, and where all lived cooped up in unhealthful tenements. The factory system also caused a division of those interested in manufacturing into two classes — capital and labor — a division which, on account of misunderstandings between the classes, has been a source of much trouble.

Conditions surrounding work about the factory have been steadily improving since the system began. In every manufacturing country laws have been passed for the protection of the operatives. Owners of the great establishments are coming to realize the importance of caring for the health and happiness of the people who work for them. The factory gives employment to thousands more than did the old system of handwork in the household, and it is one of the chief means for making it possible to supply the ever increasing wants of the world.

Pioneers in American Manufactures. — Great Britain, following the selfish commercial ideas of the times, sought to keep to herself the benefit of the inventions and passed a law forbidding the sending of models or descriptions of them out of the kingdom. The effect of the law was only temporary, for other countries were certain sooner or later to secure in some way such useful inventions. Samuel Slater, an Englishman who had worked some years with machinery, came to America in answer to an advertisement for some one to make machines for a cotton factory. He concealed his purpose for fear he would not be allowed to leave England; nor would he risk bringing with him models or descriptions. In 1790 Slater set up in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, the first successful spinning mill, run by power, in America. He duplicated from memory the machinery used in England. In 1814, Francis C. Lowell, an American who had traveled in England and studied carefully the machinery used there, erected a mill at Waltham, Massachusetts, the first in America where, under one roof, spinning, weaving, and all the processes in making cloth were done by machinery.

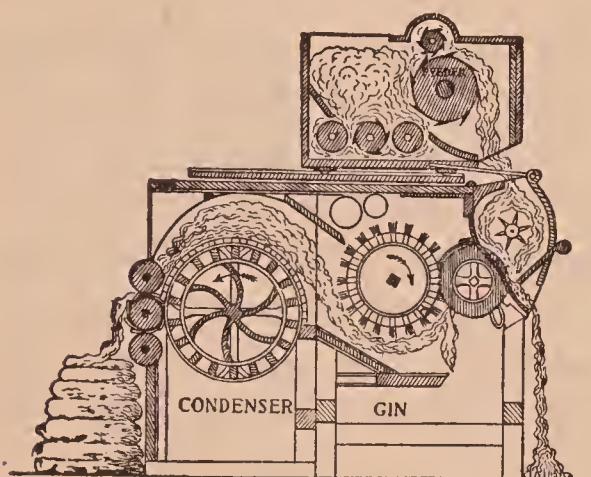
The Tariff Aids Manufactures in America. — Meanwhile other influences were operating to make the manufacturing industry in America, which in Washington's time amounted to practically nothing, assume a place of importance in Monroe's time. First, the tariff tax placed on foreign goods for the purpose of raising a revenue, tended to protect from foreign competition our "infant industries," as the manufactures were called; then the restrictions on commerce preceding the War of 1812 and the war itself shut out foreign goods. With the people compelled to buy home products, American manufactures grew. Many rich men formerly engaged in commerce turned their attention to manufacturing.

Prejudice against the Factory System. — The "industrial revolution" did not come as quickly in America, however, as in England. There was much prejudice against the factory system; statesmen could be found who asserted that America should "keep her workshops in Europe." It was argued that, with so much land needing settlement, people should not be crowded into unwholesome mills; that they should enjoy the open sky and broad fields rather than be subjected to the demoralizing influence of towns.

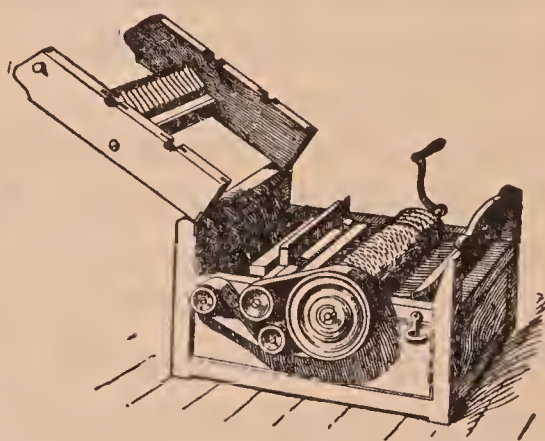
Growing Influence of Manufacturers. — Moreover, manufacturing in the household had by no means ceased by 1820. Many thousands of families still did their own spinning and weaving. Perhaps two thirds of the clothing, table and bed linen, blankets, quilts, soap and candles used in the interior were made at home. Nevertheless, the manufacturers had grown so strong that they were beginning to demand that Congress pass laws in their interest (see page 257).

Whitney and his Cotton Gin. — The invention of the cotton gin was an outgrowth of the industrial revolution in England. As manufacturing increased the demand for cotton increased; but, as long as the fiber of cotton was separated from the seed by hand, a method slow and costly, very little of the staple was produced in America.

Eli Whitney, a native of Massachusetts, had moved to Georgia to teach and was living in the home of the widow of the Revolutionary general, Nathanael Greene. On one occasion some planters, visiting Mrs. Greene, were deploring the slow method used to separate the cotton fiber from the seed. Mrs. Greene, knowing Whitney's aptitude for machinery, suggested that he try to make a machine for the purpose. The suggestion set Whitney to work, with the result that he invented, in 1793, a machine which he called a "gin," a contraction of the word "engine." Whitney's gin cleaned of the seed three hundred pounds of cotton a day, whereas the old hand method cleaned only one pound.



Improved model.



Whitney's model

COTTON GINS

The invention made cotton so profitable that it soon became the chief product of the South, and cotton planting developed the uplands of the interior, where rice, sugar cane and tobacco did not grow.

Emancipation of Slaves in the North. — All the original states north of Mason and Dixon's line (the boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland) had passed laws which gave the slaves their freedom; and the forbidding of slavery in the Northwest Territory had moved the line between the free-labor states and the slave-labor states westward along the Ohio River. Up to the time when Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, slavery had not gained such headway

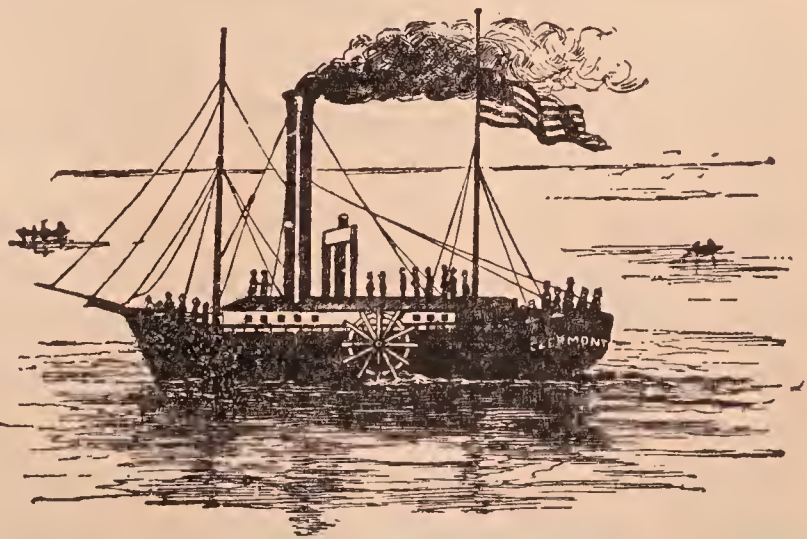
in the South as to forbid the hope of many persons, both North and South, that it would soon pass away.

Increase of Slaves in the South. — But the Southern people believed that slaves made the best laborers in the cultivation of cotton, and the result was that between 1793, when the cotton gin was invented, and 1808, when Congress, acting under a provision in the Constitution, forbade the further importation of slaves, great numbers of slaves were brought from Africa to the Southern plantations. Many of the cotton manufacturers shared in the belief that slave labor was best for cotton, and hence the influence of that class at the North was enlisted on the side of slavery.

Much of the cotton was exported to England, in exchange for which Southerners purchased English goods; for this reason the Southern people naturally opposed a high tariff — that is, a high tax laid on imported goods, which would thus increase their cost in this country.

Perhaps no invention had greater influence on the political history of America than Whitney's cotton gin.

Invention of the Steamboat. — Repeated attempts had been made in America to construct a boat that could be satisfactorily propelled by steam. Some would probably have succeeded if the inventors had possessed the money or perseverance to continue their efforts. Robert Fulton, an American temporarily

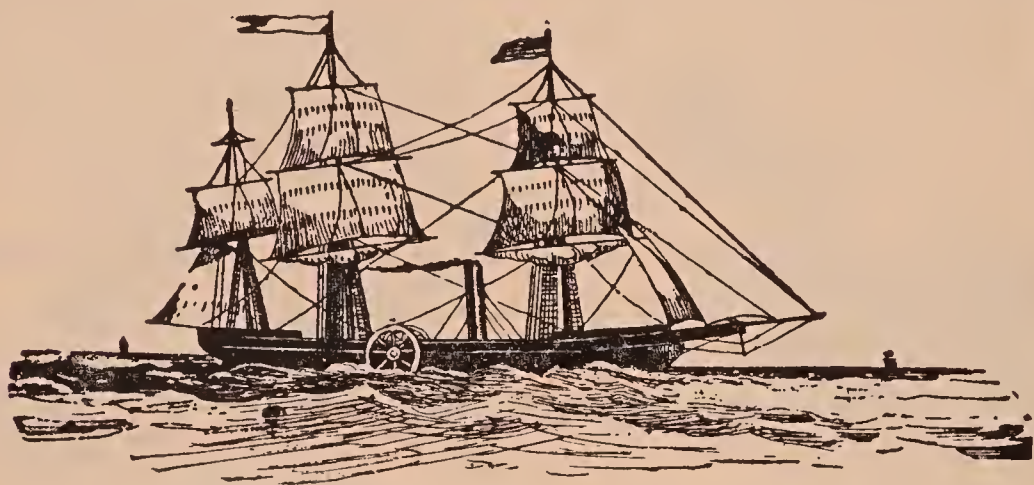


THE "CLERMONT"

residing in France, experimented on the Seine River, at Paris, with a steamboat of his invention. Not having the money to continue the experiments, he applied for assistance to Napoleon, who gave him little

encouragement. Nothing daunted, Fulton returned to America and with the financial assistance of a friend built a boat — the *Clermont*, — which was propelled by steam and in 1807 made a trip up the Hudson River from New York to Albany. The success of steam navigation was assured.

The First Steamer to Cross the Atlantic. — For the next few years steamboats were used only on the Hudson and Delaware rivers, but in 1811 a steamboat made the trip from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans. It was at first thought that steamboats could never be used on the ocean; this belief was dispelled in



THE "SAVANNAH"

The first steamship that crossed the Atlantic.

1815 when a steamboat went from New York to Norfolk. The voyage along the coast by steamboat was looked upon as a great event; yet it was soon followed by one even greater. In 1819, the steamer *Savannah* made a voyage across the ocean from Savannah to Liverpool, England, whence it proceeded to St. Petersburg (now Petrograd), Russia. The little vessel was regarded with great curiosity in Europe.

Steamboats came into general use slowly. It was some years after 1820 before they became numerous on the rivers and the Great Lakes, and it was still longer before they made regular voyages across the Atlantic.

Need of a Good Road to the West. — The early emigrants to the West had made their way across the mountains and through the forests along Indian trails and buffalo paths. The roads they made were miserable. As the West became more and more populous, the desire had grown for better roads to connect the Atlantic states with the states beyond the Alleghanies. Westerners naturally wished good roads in their section; eastern merchants wished them in order to secure the western trade, for it was easier for the people of the West, by using the Mississippi, to trade with New Orleans than to cross the mountains on bad roads. Since it would cost too much for individuals or private corporations



ROUTE OF THE NATIONAL ROAD, 1812-1840

to build these roads, the United States government was asked to build them.

The Cumberland Road. — In response to the demand, Congress began in 1806 the construction of the Cumberland, or National Road. This road was a broad, well-laid turnpike that ran westward from Cumberland, Maryland. By 1820 it had been extended as far as Wheeling, a distance of one hundred and forty miles.¹ The Cumberland Road soon became the main highway to the West. Any day one could see upon it a swarm of travelers. Meanwhile state governments and corporations had built roads of shorter length, with the result that in many parts of the country there were excellent turnpikes and good bridges.

The Erie Canal. — The people of New York, finding that the Cumberland Road carried the western trade to

¹ In 1840, when Congress stopped building the Cumberland Road, it had reached Vandalia, Illinois, a distance of eight hundred miles.

Philadelphia and Baltimore, formed a plan that would divert most of the trade to themselves. The state of New York began, in 1817, the construction of the Erie Canal, which extends from Albany on the Hudson to Buffalo on Lake Erie, thus connecting at New York City the Great Lakes and the Atlantic Ocean. The Erie Canal, the second longest canal in the world, was completed in 1825. Considering the amount of money and labor it cost, the building of the canal was, for the times, a remarkable achievement. The completion of the work was celebrated with elaborate



MAP OF THE ERIE CANAL

ceremonies, in which a keg containing water from Lake Erie was emptied into the Atlantic Ocean to symbolize the “wedding of the waters.”

The advantages of the Erie Canal were quickly shown. Trade sprang up between New York and the western country which soon gave New York a lead over her sister cities as a commercial center — a lead which she has never lost.

Although the Erie Canal was built primarily for the exchange of freight between New York and the western country, its boats also carried passengers. The canal became quite a popular route for travelers to and from the West. Encouraged by the success of the Erie Canal, other

state governments built canals, though they built none of the size of the Erie.

Topics and Questions

1. State approximately the population and area of the United States in 1820. What state was the first after the original thirteen to be admitted into the Union?

2. Describe the "tide of emigration" to the West. Describe early life in the West. Contrast the Northwest and the Southwest. State how territories, and then states, were formed in the West. Name the western states that were admitted prior to 1820.

3. Why did immigration increase rapidly after 1815? From what countries were most immigrants coming? In what part of our country did most of them settle? Which were the most populous states? Which section was more populous?

4. Describe the "Industrial Revolution" in England. Describe the factory system in England and its effect upon that country. Tell about the introduction of manufactures into America, and the prejudice against the factory system. How were the necessities of most families in America still supplied?

5. Tell about the invention of the cotton gin. Why had slavery been given up north of Mason and Dixon's line? Why had it not extended into the Northwest? How did the invention of the cotton gin influence the feeling of the South toward slavery and the tariff? Describe the invention of the steamboat. Why were Europeans interested in the steamship *Savannah*?

6. What were the needs that brought about the building of the Cumberland Road and other roads leading to the West? Describe the Cumberland Road. How did the Erie Canal "link up the East and the West"? Trace its route.

Project Exercises

1. If there is a factory near your home, tell all you can about it.
2. Tell in your own words what manufacturing is doing for the country to-day.

Important Dates:

1764. Invention of the spinning jenny, marking the beginning of the "Industrial Revolution."

1790. First spinning mill in America successfully run by power.

1793. Invention of the cotton gin.

1807. Invention of the steamboat.

CHAPTER XXI

HOW AMERICANS LIVED IN 1820

Life in the Cities. — According to the census of 1820, New York City had one hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants. Philadelphia came next with a population of one hundred and twenty thousand. Baltimore had outstripped Boston, the former having about sixty-five thousand and the latter about forty-five thousand population.

The condition of the cities had greatly improved since Washington's time. The streets were better paved and better lighted, and the buildings were more convenient. Though whale oil lamps could be seen now and then, yet the houses were commonly lighted with candles. Gas had not come into use for lighting.¹ Wood was still used almost universally as fuel in the house, for the value of coal for heating was not appreciated. Social life had grown gayer and had cast aside the sedate amusements of colonial and revolutionary days. The quilting party and spinning match were still rural pastimes, but were looked upon as old-fashioned in the cities, where balls and dances were numerous and well attended, and where the theater was now in high favor.

Dress. — The change in dress had also been great. The three-cornered hat of the Revolution was no more. In its stead men wore high stiff hats. Coats for everyday use and for the most ceremonial occasions were of the same style and were similar to the evening coat of the present time. Trousers reaching below the ankles had taken the place of knee

¹ Gas began to be used for lighting a few years later. Electricity was not used for this purpose until nearly three quarters of a century later.

breeches, and high boots had supplanted pointed shoes and buckles.

Women no longer followed the fashions of colonial dames. The lofty headdress and wide skirt and hoop had been discarded for the Grecian coil and the narrow empire gown. But the belles of that day were no less fond of brilliant colors and fine clothes than were their grandmothers. A writer of the period states that "French silks and Canton crapes are profusely worn even by the moderately gay, and female



"CONESTOGA" WAGON FOR CARRYING FREIGHT

dress is sometimes as splendid and sometimes as ridiculous in New York as in London."

Modes of Travel. — Since steamboats had not yet come into general use, the usual mode of travel for the fashionable was still by the stagecoach. As the roads had been much improved in the East, travel by coach in that section was quicker and more comfortable than it was in Washington's time. One could go by stage from Boston to New York in two days, and from New York to Charleston in about ten days. Sometimes a journey was made partly by steamer and partly by stage. Nor did the steamer make fast time. A steamboat consumed five days in going down the Mississippi from St. Louis to New Orleans and two weeks in returning against the current. Neither coach nor steamboat carried freight. Companies, similar to the express com-

panies of our day, hauled merchandise for the public. For this purpose they used sloops on the rivers and along the coasts, and wagons in the interior.

The Postal Service. — Post offices had increased from seventy-five in Washington's time to thousands in Monroe's



POST-RIDER OF THE OLDEN TIMES

time. Postage was still charged according to distance; the rate for a letter, written on a single sheet of paper, graded from six cents for distances of thirty miles or less to twenty-five cents for distances greater than four hundred miles. For every extra sheet the fee was charged again. As the letter was not enclosed in an envelope, but merely

secured by sealing wax, the number of sheets could be easily counted by the postmaster.

Newspapers. — The newspapers of this period were an improvement upon the little sheets that told of the surrender of Cornwallis. There were, perhaps, more newspapers in America than in any other country. A few were dailies. The reading matter generally consisted of items of local interest, brief summaries of the proceedings of Congress, essays on public questions, and foreign news taken from European newspapers six weeks old.

Schools. — The public school, as we know it, was not generally in existence. Free education was usually offered only to the poor, and many needy parents looked upon the acceptance of it as placing their children in the pauper class; hence, education of the poor had made little progress. Parents who could afford to do so sent their children to private schools or academies, many of which were well conducted. Colleges had been established in nearly every state.

Prison Reform. — Though many of the prisons continued to be loathsome, disease-breeding places, the work of prison reform had begun. Some of the states had adopted the penitentiary system. Punishment was less severe. The death penalty was inflicted only for such crimes as are to-day considered capital offenses. Public opinion was fast condemning the stocks, the whipping post, cropping, and branding. Persons were rarely imprisoned for debt.

American Literature. — The colonial period produced only two eminent writers, Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin (see page 103). There were many writers in the Revolutionary period and in the years immediately following, but their work is not considered of the highest order.



WASHINGTON IRVING



JAMES FENIMORE COOPER

American literature took on new life with the rise of the national spirit. Charles Brockden Brown published several novels shortly after the adoption of the Constitution. They were widely read at the time, but are not of much interest to present-day readers. Brown is remembered chiefly because he was the first American novelist of merit.

Washington Irving was the first American whose writings were recognized, not only in America but the world over, as classic. For this reason he is often called the “father of American literature.” His first book, *Knickerbocker’s His-*

tory of New York, appeared in 1809 and his *Sketch Book* in 1819. Irving's grace of style and delightful sense of humor are as refreshing to-day as they were a hundred years ago. In 1811, William Cullen Bryant, when only seventeen years old, wrote *Thanatopsis*, a sublime poem on nature and death, which stamped the author as the first great American poet. James Fenimore Cooper published *The Spy* in 1821. This was the initial number of a series of novels in which he portrayed American adventure. Cooper wrote the first novels of distinctively American flavor that have endured, and the popularity of his stories of frontier life, Indian warfare, and adventure upon the sea is not confined to America. To this day they are read with much interest in Europe.

By far the greater part of the contributions of Irving, Bryant, and Cooper to American literature were made after this period, but the work they had already done gave assurance that America would have a permanent place in the world of letters.

The "Era of Good Feeling." — Opposition to the War of 1812 having destroyed the Federalist party, Monroe, who was the candidate of the Republicans (Democrats), had been elected to the Presidency practically without opposition. His inauguration in 1817 ushered in a time so free from political strife that it was hailed as the "era of good feeling." Yet the tranquillity was soon broken by a question that aroused violent feeling between the people of the North and the people of the South. Missouri Territory applied for admission as a state in 1819, and the question arose whether Missouri should be a state with or without slavery.

The Contest for Missouri Political. — Slavery had been accepted by all America early in the colonial period. Yet from the very first it was deplored by leading colonists, and as time passed, protests against importing slaves went to the king, especially from the Southern colonists where slaves were more numerous. But their protests were vain, for the king, as well as his subjects in England, got revenue from the slave trade (see page 111).

Shipowners of the North also engaged extensively in the traffic. Down to the very time (1808) when the importation of slaves was prohibited, they continued to bring negroes from Africa to the South. Great Britain and the North "each had a hand in the establishing of negro slavery."¹

The controversy about Missouri was due to the struggle between the North and the South for control of the government, brought about by the conflicting interests of the sections. The movement of the abolitionists against the slavery system itself had not begun.

Differences between the Sections. — It was natural that the interests of the North and South should conflict. What suited one section did not suit the other, and therefore each desired to have control of the government. The two sections differed also in their views of the Constitution. The North generally believed that the Constitution should be construed liberally so that the Federal government should have much power; while the South generally clung to the doctrine that the Federal government had only such powers as are expressly granted in the Constitution.

With a view to preserving a balance between the sections in the making of new states, free-labor states and slaveholding states had hitherto been admitted almost alternately; so that, of the twenty-two states then composing the Union, eleven had free labor and eleven permitted slavery. The states forbidding slavery were New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The states permitting slavery were Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

Effect of Territorial Expansion upon Slavery. — The expansion of boundaries by the Louisiana purchase brought into

¹ Rhodes' *History of the United States*, vol. i, page 379. In order to avoid the loss that would ensue from the emancipation laws of their states, many Northern slaveholders sold their slaves to the South. See Stephens' *War Between the States*, vol. ii, page 102, etc.

the United States an immense domain which eventually must be divided into many states. The section that gained control of this domain would control the government. Northerners did not want the Louisiana purchase made into a slaveholding domain, for the formation of new slaveholding states would give the South control; and they looked upon the admission of Missouri with slave labor as the entering wedge for turning over the whole domain to slavery. Southerners desired to carry their slaves with them when they sought homes in the new lands, and wished to preserve the strength of their section in the Union; therefore, they favored the admission of Missouri as a slave-labor state. The difference of opinion regarding the Constitution came out very strongly in the controversy. Missouri herself wished to be a slave-labor state; in fact, as a territory she was already holding slaves. But the North asserted that Congress had power to forbid slavery in the public domain. The South denied that Congress had the power to do this.

The Missouri Compromise. — The question of slavery in Missouri caused angry debate in Congress and an intense bitterness throughout the whole country. Many feared that the Union would crumble to pieces. While excitement was at its height, Maine, with the consent of Massachusetts, of which it had previously been a part, applied for admission as a separate state. As Maine would be a free-labor state, the Southerners would not allow it to be admitted, unless to preserve the balance Missouri was admitted with slavery. So Congress agreed upon the Missouri Compromise in 1820. The compromise allowed Missouri to come in as a state with slaves, but prohibited slavery elsewhere in the Louisiana purchase north of latitude $36^{\circ} 30'$, which is the southern boundary of Missouri. Maine was admitted as a free-labor state.

The Missouri Compromise, so famous in our history, stood for many years, though like most compromises, it gave satisfaction to neither side



MAP OF THE UNITED STATES SHOWING THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE 1820

Topics and Questions

1. What was the population of the leading cities in 1820? Describe the streets and the homes in the cities. What were the pastimes in the cities? In the rural communities? Describe the fashionable dress of the times.

2. What were the facilities for travel in 1820? How was freight transported?

3. Describe the postal service, the newspapers, and the schools of the period. How was the reform of prisons and penalties begun?

4. Name three great American writers of the period and the titles of one or more of their works.

5. What is meant by the "Era of Good Feeling"? What question disturbed the good feeling? What interests helped to fasten slavery upon the South? What was the real cause of the controversy over the admission of Missouri?

6. In what definite ways did the Northern and the Southern states differ in their political views? Name the states of the Union prior to 1820, stating which prohibited slavery and which allowed it. How had the balance between free-labor states and slave-labor states been maintained? How did the expansion of territory affect the question of slavery? State the Missouri Compromise and criticise it.

Important Date:

1820. Adoption of the Missouri Compromise.

CHAPTER XXII

NEW NEIGHBORS AND NEW PROBLEMS

Spanish American States Separate from Spain.— The Spanish colonies in America were long-suffering. The colonial policy of Great Britain, on account of which the United States fought for and won its independence, was generous in comparison with the colonial policy of Spain (see page 109). All trade of the Spanish colonies was controlled absolutely in the interest of the parent country, and exorbitant taxes were collected for the benefit of Spain. Three hundred years of extortion and tyranny had brought the Spanish colonies in America very near to exhaustion. About the time of our revolution, Charles III, one of the best of the Spanish kings, reformed his colonial system, and better times seemed in store for Spanish America. Soon after Ferdinand VII, the grandson of Charles III, ascended the throne. Napoleon Bonaparte, as a part of his scheme for world power, invaded Spain, deposed Ferdinand, and placed Jerome Bonaparte, his eldest brother, on the throne of Spain 1808. Napoleon made no secret of his purpose of wringing from the Spanish colonies all the money that he could. When the news of what had happened in the mother country reached America, the Spanish colonies rose in revolt against the Bonapartist king. Pinning their faith to the promises of the old monarchy, they declared their allegiance to Ferdinand. For years the struggle went on with the Bonapartists unable to put down the insurrection. The defeat of Napoleon in 1814 restored Ferdinand to his throne. The young king showed no gratitude for the loyalty of the colonies, for instead of following the liberal policy of his grandfather, he began immediately to oppress them in every manner possible. Thereupon, Mexico,

Venezuela, Colombia, Argentine, Peru, and Chile declared themselves independent of Spain. In vain Ferdinand used the most atrocious methods in trying to suppress the revolutions; by 1822 these countries had practically established their independence.

Democracy vs. Autocracy. — The monarchs of continental Europe had long ruled under the theory that they had received by the “grace of God” the sole right to govern; that whatever freedom the people enjoyed was only a privilege which the king had given and which he might take away. In this theory the people had acquiesced. But now, as a result of the French Revolution, the people of all the countries of continental Europe were becoming restless. It was dawning upon them that the theory of the divine right of kings was all wrong; that the power of government comes not from kings, but from the people themselves.

The conflict between democracy and autocracy was spreading. In every country of continental Europe there was revolution or threat of revolution. The autocratic monarchs grew alarmed. They resolved to use their combined military forces to suppress revolution in whatever nation it showed itself, for they knew that if revolution should succeed in one country it would encourage revolution in another, and in the end they would all be shorn of their despotic power. Their joint agreement to crush the growing spirit of democracy is known as the Quadruple Alliance, and its leaders were the sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia. When Spain found that she could not reduce to obedience her rebellious provinces in America, she called upon the Quadruple Alliance to help her.

The Concern of the United States. — The people of our country sympathized deeply with the Spanish Americans in their struggle for independence. Self-interest was added to sympathy when they saw the danger to themselves should the Quadruple Alliance help Spain to recover her lost colonies. The autocratic monarchs of Europe looked with ill favor upon the United States. To their minds the American

Revolution and the successful republic that it brought into existence had been the starting of the spirit of democracy that had spread to France and thence to the rest of Europe. The people of the United States foresaw that if the Quadruple Alliance should crush the Spanish American republics, it might then hope to crush the United States and put an end to democracy in all parts of the world. The fact that Russia had planned to seize more territory in America increased this fear. Possessed already of what is now known as Alaska, the Czar of Russia laid claim to the Oregon country and even planted a colony on the California coast.

The Monroe Doctrine. — President Monroe determined to forestall the European monarchs. In a message to Congress, in 1823, he gave notice to the world that the United States would maintain the following principles: (1) No more European colonies should be planted on either American continent; (2) If other nations should assist Spain in her attempt to re-conquer the Spanish American republics, the United States would aid these republics; (3) The United States would not interfere with the internal affairs of any European state. Such was the origin of the Monroe Doctrine.

Great Britain had not taken part in the scheme of the Quadruple Alliance to suppress the rising spirit of democracy; on the contrary, the British government had encouraged the United States to take a stand in defense of the Spanish American republics. The British people, desiring the South American trade, received the Monroe Doctrine with much praise. The effect of the doctrine upon the absolute monarchs was immediate. Russia abandoned its purpose of gaining more territory in America and the Quadruple Alliance gave no aid to Spain. Never again did Spain get a foothold on continental America. The principles of the Monroe Doctrine have become a part of the policy of the United States.

Influence of the Plain People on Politics. — During the colonial period every colony restricted the suffrage. The

most common restriction was that a man should own a certain amount of property in order to vote. When the states entered the Union they continued to restrict the suffrage. By 1824, however, most of the states had removed



HENRY CLAY

all restrictions; and the influence of the large number of so-called common people, now given the vote, was shown in the presidential election of that year. Hitherto the candidates of a political party for President and Vice President had been nominated at a meeting, or caucus, of the members of the party in Congress. The plan was not satisfactory to the

country at large, for it was charged that by this plan the politicians gathered at Washington named the candidate without giving the people an opportunity to express their choice. So unpopular had the plan become that in 1824 a caucus called to name a candidate for President was attended by only a few members of Congress, and its nomination of William H. Crawford of Georgia was not greeted very enthusiastically throughout the country. State legislatures and state conventions endorsed three other candidates: Henry Clay of Kentucky; John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts, son of President John Adams; and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, the "hero of the battle of New Orleans."

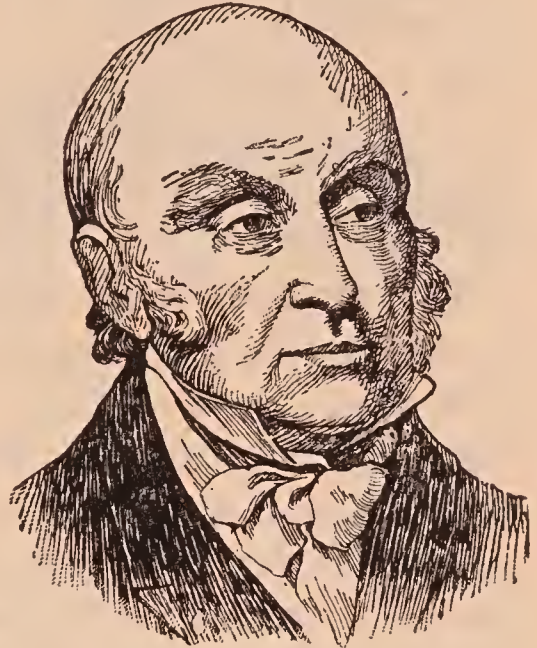
As there was but one political party, the Republican (Democratic), the campaign was solely a contest of persons. Crawford, Clay, and Adams had long been associated with the holding of high office in Washington. Jackson, a man of humble origin, who had risen to be a military leader, had

had little to do with politics. The plain people supported Jackson, and such was their strength that he received the largest number of electoral votes. As he did not receive a majority, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to elect the President.¹

Jackson's Friends Disappointed. — The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives, in selecting the President, shall choose from the three candidates who received the highest number of electoral votes. As Clay was the candidate who stood fourth, he could not be voted for. Clay threw his influence to Adams, who was elected. Jackson's followers were indignant; they felt that as their candidate had received the largest electoral vote he should have been chosen. When Adams appointed Clay Secretary of State, the friends of Jackson, from one end of the country to the other, set up the cry that Adams and Clay had made a corrupt bargain. To-day no one believes that these eminent men made such a bargain, but the charge followed them to plague them the rest of their lives.

The Doctrine of States' Rights. — With the satisfactory settlement of all foreign questions that had held the public mind from the beginning of the republic, domestic matters came to the front. Most of these matters, for the next fifty years, revolved around the question of whether or not the United States government should be restricted to the powers expressly granted it by the Constitution.

From the first there had been two views of the Consti-



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

¹ At only one other time has the House of Representatives been called upon to choose a President; namely, on the occasion of the first election of Jefferson (see note page 203).

tution (see page 192). There were those who believed that for the safety and development of the country, a strong central government was needed; and they argued that the United States government should use all implied powers; that is, powers that would aid in carrying out the powers expressly granted by the Constitution. On the other hand, there were those who thought that a strong central government, being removed from the influence of the people, might become a government that would oppress them. Therefore, they argued that for the best protection of the people all powers not expressly granted to the Federal government should be left with the home, or state government. This theory is known as the doctrine of "states' rights."

The Sections Hold Different Views. — When the states were colonies they regarded their colonial governments as safeguards to their liberty. When they entered the Union they still looked to their home governments to protect their interests, and consequently whatever powers they had given to the Federal government they gave very reluctantly. For this reason the doctrine of states' rights was strong in every section of the Union for the first thirty years following the birth of the republic. It was particularly strong in New England just preceding and during the War of 1812, when the commercial measures of the Federal government and the war itself were regarded as injurious to the interests of that section. We have seen how, during the War of 1812, New England states carried the doctrine of states' rights so far as to nullify Federal laws and even to threaten secession (see Chapter XIX). Soon there came a change of view in the North. Along with the industrial development of that section, there arose from the people of the North the demand that the Federal government aid their enterprises. Such aid could be given only by allowing the general government powers not expressly granted by the Constitution; consequently, the North generally came to believe in a strong central government. On the other hand, in the South, which was wholly agricultural, and which therefore would

not be benefited by governmental aid, the doctrine of states' rights took even deeper root. In this manner the question became largely sectional. The chief exponent of the states' rights doctrine was John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

The Tariff.— One of the chief matters upon which the people differed was the tariff. As has been explained, the tariff is a tax placed on foreign goods brought into a country for sale. At first the tariff was levied to raise money for



JOHN C. CALHOUN

support of the general government, and so long as America had no manufactures, but bought most goods from abroad, the tax was low and caused no complaint. But by Monroe's time the manufacturers in America had become so influential that they were pressing Congress to enact a tariff for their protection — that is, a tax so high that it would shut out foreign goods. They urged that the home industries, thus relieved of foreign competition, would grow faster and that their growth would develop the country. The advocates of states' rights, besides opposing a tariff for protection on the ground that the Constitution did not permit it, claimed that such a tariff was unfair, since it taxed one set of people for the benefit of another.

Opposition of the South. — In response to the appeal of American manufacturers, Congress during the administrations of Monroe and John Quincy Adams, placed high tariffs on foreign goods and on raw materials used in manufacturing, such as iron, lead, wool, and hemp. The high tariff laws benefited the North and the Northwest where most of the factories then were and where most of the raw material was produced, and consequently these sections favored them.

The South, whose crops were sold in foreign lands, looked upon high tariffs as unjust. Southerners became aroused in opposition. The feeling was most intense in South Carolina where the legislature threatened to nullify the law unless Congress gave relief by reducing the tariff.

Topics and Questions

1. Give briefly the reasons of the revolt of the Spanish-American colonies against the mother country and describe the result. How did the autocratic monarchs of Europe feel toward the rising spirit of democracy in Europe and America? What did they plan to do? How did the United States view their plans? Give the principles of the Monroe Doctrine and tell what effect the doctrine had upon Europe.

2. For a long time the so-called common people were not allowed to vote. Explain how their influence was shown in the first election in which they were allowed generally to vote. Why has the election of 1824 been called a contest of men and not of parties?

3. Explain the difference between the two views held of the Constitution. Why did the sections hold different views?

4. What is a tariff? What are the arguments for and against a tariff? Describe the effect of high tariffs upon the South.

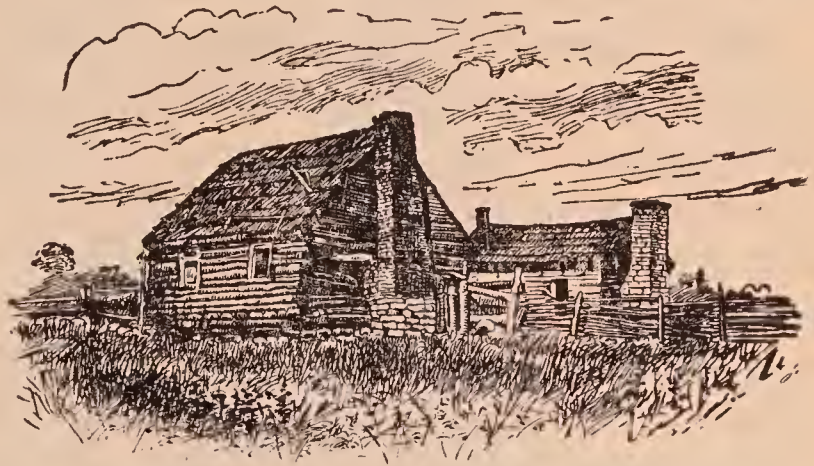
Important Date:

1823. Monroe Doctrine proclaimed.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE

Election of Jackson. — The friends of Andrew Jackson, incensed at the manner in which they claimed he was treated in the previous presidential election, had early begun a campaign to have him elected in 1828. John Quincy Adams was again his opponent. The supporters of Jackson were assuming the name of Democrats, a name first given the Republicans in derision. The Adams men called themselves National Republicans. This time Jackson was elected.



BIRTHPLACE OF ANDREW JACKSON

Andrew Jackson was the first President to come from the region west of the Alleghany Mountains, and his election was an evidence of the rising influence of that section. Jackson was typical of the new West. While a young man he had removed to Tennessee when that state was still on the frontier, and had shared in all the hardships of border life. He had become famous as an Indian fighter and as victor over the British at New Orleans.

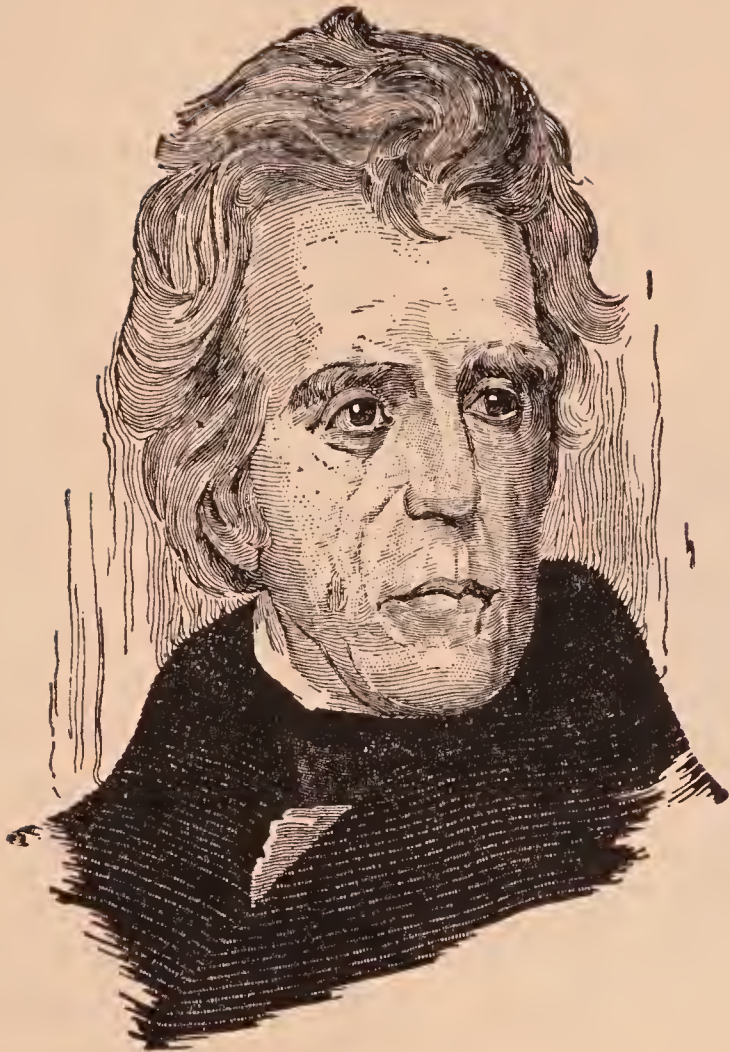
Jackson a "Man of the People." — But Jackson represented more than the new West; he represented the plain people everywhere. Born in poverty and reared in want and with little schooling, he had risen to distinction through sheer force of character. As one of the plain people he had been claimed by that class as their own particular candidate.

They had hailed him as the man who, if elected, would destroy the power of the class which they called aristocratic and which they claimed had too long controlled the government against the interests of the masses.

The candidacy of Jackson in 1828 was strengthened by the charge that had gone out that he was defrauded of the election four years previously by politicians and aristocrats. The country was called upon to avenge the wrong by defeating John Quincy Adams, the chief among politicians and aristocrats. The appeal proved irresistible. Jackson was swept into office by a large majority. The plain people who had so nearly won four years before were now triumphant.

The Scramble for Office. — Since the people regarded Jackson's victory as their own, they flocked to Washington from all parts of the country to witness the inauguration. The crowd overran the capital. Not all were disinterested in their enthusiasm for Jackson. Many, very many, wanted office. They could not see wherein lay the victory if they could not get the offices. They demanded of Jackson that he turn out the office-holders and give the places to those who had voted for him and, as Jackson was willing, a scramble for office began. Such a thing had never occurred before. With the exception of a few changes made by Jefferson to give both political parties a share in the administration of the government, the incoming of a President had not been followed by the dismissal of efficient office-holders to make places for political supporters. Jackson removed more men from office than all his predecessors combined had done.

The "Spoils System." — "To the victors belong the spoils" was the cry of the victorious party; and Jackson's ready compliance brought to American politics the vicious "spoils system." Since other political parties, when victorious, adopted the system, the evil took such deep root that it became most difficult to destroy. Nothing has so demoralized American politics or so lowered the efficiency of governmental work as the practice of appointing persons



ANDREW JACKSON

to office, not on their merit, but as a reward for their political support.¹

Nullification in South Carolina. — Meanwhile, excitement in the South over the tariff law had not subsided. The belief that the state should nullify it steadily grew in South Carolina. The right of nullification was, in 1830, the subject of a great debate in the United States Senate between Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, in favor, and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, in opposition.

South Carolina was still waiting to see whether Congress would give relief by reducing the tariff (see page 258). The Tariff Act passed by Congress in 1832 reduced the rate in some particulars, but it was still a tariff higher than was necessary for revenue. Thereupon, the state of South Carolina, in convention assembled, declared by solemn ordinance that protective tariffs “are null, void and no law, nor binding upon this state, its officers or citizens,” and forbade the collection of the tariff tax within the state after February 1, 1833. The ordinance also declared that if the United States used force, South Carolina would consider itself separated from the Union, and would organize an independent government. The state was agitated from one end to the other. Volunteers strengthened the militia for defense.

Jackson Opposes Nullification. — As has been shown, the doctrine of the right of a state to nullify a law of the



DANIEL WEBSTER

¹ Public opinion is steadily condemning the “spoils system.” The civil service law, which provides for the filling of many positions in the government service through tests for efficiency, is doing much to remedy the evil.

United States was not new. More than half the states then in the Union had, in one form or another, proclaimed the right.¹ But President Jackson did not believe in the right of nullification, and he was determined that the tariff law should be enforced. He issued a proclamation appealing to the people of South Carolina to desist from their course, and finding that it had no effect, he asked Congress for power to use the army of the United States to sustain the law.

A bill for the purpose, known as the "Force Bill" was accordingly introduced into Congress in 1833. This furnished occasion for another great debate in the Senate on the question of states' rights under the Constitution. Again Daniel Webster argued against states' rights, and this time the champion of the doctrine was John C. Calhoun. Jackson, in anticipation of the passage of the Force Bill, had already prepared to send troops to South Carolina, and the country stood aghast at the prospect of civil war.

The Compromise. — In this emergency Henry Clay poured oil on the troubled waters by coming forward with a compromise bill, which Congress passed. The bill provided that the tariff should be reduced gradually so that by the end of ten years it would provide only for the expenses of the government. At the same time, however, the Force Bill was enacted in order that the authority of the government might be sustained. Clay's compromise removed the cause of the trouble, and South Carolina rescinded its nullification ordinance.

Jackson Reëlected. — Before the nullification trouble in South Carolina, Jackson had been (1832) reëlected President. His supporters no longer called themselves Republicans, but Democrats. The other wing of the old Republican party supported Henry Clay for President. In this campaign the candidates were nominated by national con-

¹ Georgia, Virginia, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Ohio, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and Maine.

ventions — a method of making nominations that has ever since been followed.

The Country Lacking a Safe Currency. — The people had become very much prejudiced against the national bank. President Jackson, who shared the prejudice, vetoed an Act of Congress renewing the bank's charter. When the bank came to an end in 1836, there was nothing to take its place in furnishing the country with a sound currency. The state banks were not under the control of the Federal government, and most of them were conducted with lax methods and few safeguards.

Bank notes, which are merely promises of a bank to pay the bearer in gold or silver coin — a kind of paper money — were issued by the state banks to an amount far beyond the means of the banks to redeem. The abundance of cheap money was mistaken for prosperity, and people rushed into speculation. Railroads, canals, factories, all kinds of enterprises were wildly projected. There was great speculation in public lands, which, when purchased, were divided and sold again for city lots, factory sites, railroad stations, or farms that were to be brought close to a market through the locomotive or canal.

The Panic of 1837. — Near the close of Jackson's administration two events occurred which hastened the crash sure to follow such wild speculation: (1) President Jackson, becoming distrustful of the paper money of the state banks, issued his famous "specie circular," ordering that only specie — that is, gold and silver coin — should be received in payment for public lands; (2) The government having become clear of debt, Congress devised the plan of loaning the surplus funds to the states. The loans were to be made in four installments during the year 1837. These funds had already been placed in state banks, and the banks had loaned them out. Great pressure was thus put upon the banks for specie, for the people demanded it for the purchase of lands, and the government demanded it to loan to the states. The run upon the banks was more than could be withstood, and

every bank in the country suspended specie payment — that is, refused to redeem its paper money in gold or silver coin.¹

The business of the whole country was affected disastrously. Banks could no longer extend credit, and people could not pay their debts. Enterprises which had been begun came to a sudden end and laborers were thrown out of employment. Even the government could not meet its obligations, for the remainder of its funds deposited with the banks was lost.

Martin Van Buren, President. — Jackson had retired from the Presidency. His influence was still so dominant



MARTIN VAN BUREN

over the people, that he virtually selected his successor, Martin Van Buren, of New York. The new President who had to face, upon his inauguration in 1837, the great panic, called Congress in extra session to remedy the state of affairs. All that Congress could do was to make arrangements to meet the current expenses of the government.

Finally, in 1840, Van Buren persuaded Congress

to establish an “independent treasury,” or, as we know it today, a “sub-treasury.” This system protects the government funds by placing them in vaults in charge of heavily bonded officials. The distress in business, however, continued until the end of Van Buren’s term.

The Abolitionists. — The year 1831 saw the birth of the abolition movement. William Lloyd Garrison began in Boston the publication of the *Liberator*, a paper having for

¹ The states received three installments of the loan before the collapse came. They wasted the money in unwise enterprises. It has never been returned to the general government.

its object the emancipation of slaves. There had previously been men and societies in the North, especially among the Quakers, who earnestly strove for abolition by voluntary and legal means, but they were few, and their efforts had not been encouraged.

Congress had declared in 1790 (see page 192) that it could not abolish slavery in the states. The commercial interests of the North, and particularly the manufacturers of goods from cotton produced by slave labor, had been content for years to let the slavery question rest; now Garrison's paper started a movement of violent nature.

Extreme Views of the Abolitionists. — The new abolitionists, though few, were aggressive. They took the ground that as slavery was wrong it should be abolished without paying the slave owner for the loss of his property, regardless of the protection given it by the Constitution. In one of their first public declarations (1836) they cried, "War has broken out between the South and the North, not easily to be terminated. The sword now drawn will not be sheathed until victory, entire victory, is ours or theirs."¹ They wanted the Union dissolved, if the Union meant the continuation of slavery. Garrison pronounced the Constitution "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," — "the most bloody and heaven-daring compact ever contrived," — and "in the nature of things, and according to the law of God, null and void from the beginning."

Effect upon the South. — The freeing of slaves was not uncommon in the South, and societies organized in that section to promote it were active. But free negroes had already given trouble, and the Southerners thought it dangerous to increase their number while the abolitionists were exciting them. The Southern people might well feel alarm concerning the effect upon the slaves of the violent sentiments of the abolitionists. Only recently (1831) slaves had risen in insurrection in Virginia, under the lead of a

¹ Appendix to *Congressional Globe*, 24th Congress, Session I, page 616.

negro named Nat Turner, and murdered more than sixty white persons. Slave owners, always claiming the protection that was guaranteed them by the Constitution, now demanded that the abolitionists and their publications be suppressed.

The Negro in the North. — Even in the North the abolitionists found as yet but little encouragement. The business man wanting Southern trade, and the politician wanting Southern votes, frowned upon any movement unfriendly to Southern institutions. The Church held aloof.

Nor was there in the North much real sympathy for the negro except as a race of slaves. In no Northern state did the black man enjoy full citizenship. In some states he could not vote; in others he could not appear as a witness except in cases in which negroes were parties; in others he could not bear arms; and in still others he was to be publicly flogged if caught out at night at nine o'clock. Education was often denied him, and all employments, except the most menial, were practically closed to him.

The Abolitionists Condemned both North and South. — When the abolitionists first pushed their cause, they met with antagonism in the North. They were sometimes mobbed; Garrison himself received rough treatment at the hands of a lawless crowd in Boston. But they persevered and increased steadily in numbers and influence. Their constant agitation aroused the opposition of the North to slavery. Though the motives of the abolitionists were honest, their methods were extreme. Their strong assaults upon the South drew the Southern people together in defense of slavery and made a peaceful solution of the slavery question practically impossible.

Growth of the Abolition Movement. — In a few years the abolitionists had become so strong throughout the North that they were often able to turn the scales in closely contested elections. With their growth in numbers and in political influence they increased the agitation of the slavery question. They presented to Congress petition after petition against

slavery — so many, in fact, that Congress felt it wise to adopt a rule that no more such petitions would be received. But the abolitionists continued to present them through ex-President John Quincy Adams, at that time a member of the House.

The petitions asked that slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, that new states be denied admission unless without slavery, and that the slave trade between the states be prohibited. In the hope of restoring quiet, Congress, in 1838, declared that it had no right to do these things, and in strong terms condemned further agitation of them.

Rise of the Whigs. — The decided stand taken by President Jackson against the national bank and other measures of the “National Republican” wing of the Republican (Democratic) party caused the formation of a new political party, known as the Whig, which the National Republicans joined. The Whig party advocated internal improvements,¹ protective tariffs, and a national bank. The wing of the old Republican party which followed Jackson in opposing such measures had retained the name Democrat. In political views the Democratic party was the successor of the Republican party as organized by Jefferson, and the Whig the successor of the Federalist party as organized by Hamilton.

The Whigs Swept into Office. — The first presidential election in which the Whigs appeared was that of 1836, when Van Buren was elected. In the contest of 1840 the Whigs nominated as their candidate for President William Henry Harrison of Ohio, the “hero of Tippecanoe.” The Democrats renominated Van Buren. This campaign was more exciting than any that had previously occurred. It is known as the “Log Cabin and Hard Cider” campaign, because a Democratic newspaper, referring to the simplicity of Harrison’s border life, suggested that he would prefer a

¹ *Internal improvements*: the building of roads and canals, and the improving of waterways by the general government.

log cabin and a barrel of cider to the Presidency. The Whigs made use of the sneer to turn the tables on the Democrats. Twelve years before the Democrats had elected Jackson on the plea that he was the plain people's candidate who would turn the aristocrats out. Now the Whigs claimed that Harrison was the candidate of the plain people. The log cabin, the cider barrel, and the coon-skin became the symbols of the Whigs, and "reform" their cry to victory. They described Van Buren as an aristocrat who had caused the panic of 1837 while growing rich himself.

All Jackson's influence could not stem the tide that set in against Van Buren. The people, burdened by financial distress, turned to the Whig promises of reform and carried their candidate into office by a large majority.

Death of President Harrison. — President Harrison was old and in feeble health. The excitement of the campaign and the inauguration, together with pressure from office seekers (for the Whigs followed the practice for which they had condemned the Democrats under Jackson), proved too severe a test for his strength. He died just one month after his inauguration (1841). The death of the President was a profound shock to the country. John Tyler, of Virginia, who had been elected Vice President on the ticket with Harrison, took the oath, and assumed the duties of President two days later.

The Quarrel between Tyler and the Whigs. — Although Tyler was elected by the Whigs, he had been a Democrat, and soon a fierce quarrel broke out between the President and the Whig majority in Congress. Tyler vetoed in quick succession two bills providing for the establishment of a new national bank, for he shared the Democratic view that such a measure would be unconstitutional. When Tyler endeavored to secure the adoption of a financial system of his own, Congress refused to pass the necessary act, and the breach became complete. The quarrel between the executive and Congress lasted throughout the presidential term,

making the enactment of any important legislation almost impossible.

Tyler's administration was able, however, to perfect with Great Britain, in 1842, a treaty which settled the boundary line of the United States on the northeast. The line agreed upon is that which to-day separates Maine from Canada.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON



JOHN TYLER

The treaty was made by Daniel Webster, who was our Secretary of State at the time, and Lord Ashburton, who represented Great Britain; hence, it is called the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.

Topics and Questions

1. Who was Andrew Jackson? Why was he elected President? Give every reason you can. What men wished to share his good fortune? Describe the evils of the "spoils system."

2. What led to the ordinance, passed by South Carolina legislature in 1832, to nullify the United States Tariff Act within her borders? What great men debated in 1830 on questions of the Constitution, of the Union, and of the right of nullification? What was the ground taken by each? What states up to this time had proclaimed the doctrine of nullification? What did Clay's compromise do to settle this South Carolina case?

3. What change was made in the election of 1832 in the method of nominating candidates for President?

4. Relate the story of the panic of 1837. Could Congress have prevented it by any law it might have passed in 1836 or 1837? Describe

the specie circular; the surplus loan to states; the runs on banks. How did the panic affect the whole industrial life of the United States that year? What President had to face the panic of 1837? Was he responsible for the panic? What was done in Van Buren's administration to protect the government's funds?

5. What stand had Congress taken on the slavery question in 1790? What group of people was unwilling to let the question rest? What method did they advocate for getting rid of slavery? How was it received by people in general in the North and the South? By politicians? By business men? By the Church?

6. What was the treatment of the free negro in the North? Picture the life of the negro in slavery in the South. How did the agitation of the abolitionists affect the slaves' condition in the South? Describe the growth of the abolitionists.

7. How did the political party, known as the Whig, come into existence? Why were the Whigs swept into office in 1840? What hastened the death of President William Henry Harrison? Who succeeded him in the Presidency? Would the Whig party have voted for John Tyler as President?

Project Exercises

1. Write a brief account of the life of Andrew Jackson. (See biography in appendix.)

2. Compare nullification in South Carolina in 1832 with the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions of 1798-1799 and with the action of the Hartford Convention of 1814.

3. Find out whether slavery was finally abolished without payment to the owners for the slaves.

Important Dates:

1828. Andrew Jackson, a "man of the people," elected President.

1831. Publication begun of the *Liberator*, the first organ of the abolitionists.

1832. Nullification in South Carolina.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SOUTHWEST AND THE NORTHWEST

The Great Southwest. — The southwestern part of the United States, which is rapidly developing into one of the most important sections of the country, made but slow advancement under the three centuries of Spanish rule; yet it is a land of interesting history. In the extreme southwest — mainly in New Mexico and Arizona — are found remains of prehistoric villages built upon lofty cliffs or



VIEW OF PUEBLO, TAOS, N.M.

upon ledges in the rocky sides of great cañons. The people who dwelt in these villages — “cliff dwellers” they are called — had already disappeared when the Spaniards, began to explore the Southwest; but their descendants, the Pueblo Indians, are still living in the region.

At the time that the Spaniards found them, the Pueblo Indians were much more advanced than the other Indians

of the United States (see note, page 12). They could weave and spin fairly well, and they wore cotton clothes. They planted on quite a large scale, and it was from them that the



PUEBLO INDIAN POTTERY

white men who later moved into the far Southwest learned to irrigate the arid lands that are common there. The Pueblo Indians also made use of the adobe house which the white settlers adopted.

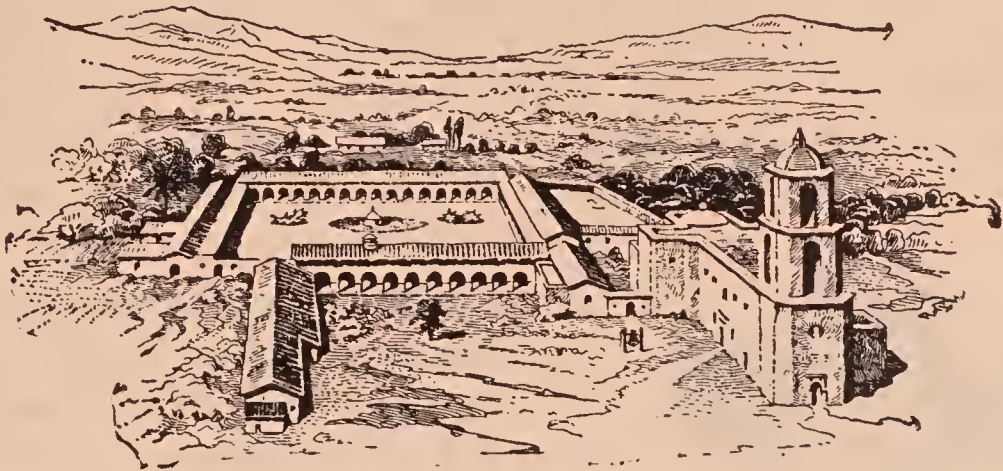
Early History of the Southwest.—

Before De Soto penetrated the forests of the Southern states in his fruitless search for gold, other adventuresome Spaniards had already explored Texas and New Mexico. In the year that De Soto died on the banks of the Mississippi, Spaniards from the city of Mexico visited California. At the same time the Spanish officer Coronado, in searching for the seven cities of Cibola, crossed Arizona and New Mexico and traveled probably as far north as Kansas and Nebraska (see page 20).

Two years before the English landed at Jamestown, Spaniards coming up from the city of Mexico had founded Santa Fé, New Mexico, which, next to St. Augustine, is the oldest town in the United States. The planting of settlements in the Southwest was exceedingly slow, because the Spaniards preferred to seek their fortunes farther south in Mexico, and in Central America and Peru, where gold had been found in abundance. Settlements in the Southwest usually began with Catholic missions, and long consisted mainly of priests and soldiers. Scattered over so vast an area, they were sometimes thousands of miles apart. Whatever was accomplished toward developing the country was done chiefly by the priests. Besides administering to the Indians, they raised cattle and horses on ranches and cultivated extensively vineyards and orange and olive groves.

Texas.—Spain had always included the Southwest, from Texas to California, in her province of Mexico, but

the United States, upon the purchase of Louisiana, laid claim to Texas as a part of the Louisiana territory. However, in the treaty made with Spain in 1819, whereby Florida was acquired, the United States abandoned its claim to Texas. When Mexico threw off the yoke of Spain, Texas became one of the states of the Mexican republic.



PLAN OF A SPANISH MISSION SETTLEMENT

Americans in Texas. — Even before Mexico had gained her independence, Americans, in their restless push westward, had been attracted to the fertile lands of Texas. One of the earliest of the American emigrants to Texas was Moses Austin, a native of Connecticut. In 1820 the Spanish government made him a grant of land in Texas upon which to found a colony of Americans. He died soon after, but his son, Stephen F. Austin, took up his father's unfinished work. When Mexico threw off the Spanish yoke, the younger Austin secured a renewal of his grant from the Mexican government. Grants to other American colonies were secured, and in a few years there were more than twenty thousand Americans in Texas. Most of the emigrants went from the South and carried their slaves with them.

Texas Revolts against Mexico. — The continual pouring of Americans into Texas aroused the jealousy of the Mexican authorities, who forbade further immigration and in other ways so oppressed the settlers that in 1833 the

Texans rose in revolution. Volunteers from the states aided them. In 1836 Santa Anna, President of Mexico, entered Texas with a large army. With overwhelming numbers he fell upon the Alamo, an old Spanish mission near San Antonio, used by the revolutionists as a fort. Every man of the small garrison fell in its defense. A few days later Santa Anna, at Goliad, put to death three hundred Texans who had surrendered on condition that their lives should be spared.

San Jacinto. — “Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!” became the battle cry of the Texans. Inspired



SAM HOUSTON

by the martyrdom of their countrymen, they completely routed the Mexican army at San Jacinto, April 21, 1836. The Texans were commanded in this battle by General Sam Houston, a native of Virginia and a former Governor of Tennessee. Texas had already issued a declaration of independence and formed a republic. Soon after the battle of San Jacinto Houston was elected President. The independence of Texas was recognized by the United

States in 1837, and shortly afterward by Great Britain, France, and Belgium.

The Republic of Texas. — The Texans, who were largely our own people, wished their republic to become part of the United States. This fact, together with the popular idea of the times that the United States should extend its territory, caused immediate agitation for the annexation of Texas to the United States. The fear that, unless it were annexed, Great Britain or France would gain control of the new republic, added strength to the movement. On the other hand, there was opposition in the North because Texas was a slaveholding country. It was also objected that annexation would probably involve the United States

in war with Mexico. For some years the question was discussed without positive action being taken by the United States.

Frémont's Explorations. — The desire for the annexation of Texas was but a part of the desire for western expansion that had taken hold of the people. Enthusiasts declared that nothing should stop the United States from reaching the Pacific, or, as they expressed the idea, it was the "manifest destiny" of the United States to extend from ocean to ocean. A great part of the Louisiana Purchase between Missouri and the Rocky Mountains had long been regarded as barren land, unfit for human habitation. Maps



MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS
Showing territory claimed by Texas

marked the immense stretch of prairie as the "Great American Desert." The United States still claimed the Oregon country, which lay far beyond this supposed waste, though Americans had practically abandoned it, while Great Britain was filling it with settlers who came by way of Canada. In fact, many had come to think that it was not worth while to hold our claim against Great Britain for a country so far away. The idea of our "manifest destiny" served to arouse new interest in the Far West. Congress made an appropriation of funds to provide for exploring the region and John C. Frémont, a young lieutenant of the army, was selected for the work.

Between 1842 and 1846 he commanded three expeditions. He went over the Rocky Mountains and explored the Oregon country. He even went into territory then belonging to

Mexico, visiting the valley of the Great Salt Lake and penetrating into the southern part of California. Frémont's achievements gained for him the name of "Pathfinder."

Whitman in Oregon. — Meanwhile Marcus Whitman, a missionary who had lived for many years among the Indians of Oregon, saw that unless Americans occupied that region Great Britain would soon control it, through her growing settlements there. He soon made a journey to the East and succeeded in returning to Oregon with a party of American settlers in 1843. Although it took six months to travel in wagons the two thousand miles between Missouri and the Oregon country, when immigration to the extreme

Northwest had once set in, it gained such an impetus that in a few years there were twelve thousand Americans in Oregon.



JAMES K. POLK

Annexation of Texas. — Already (1844) the election of a successor to President Tyler had occurred. The Democrats nominated James K. Polk of Tennessee for President and adopted a platform, the main plank of which advocated "the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of

Oregon."¹ As there was no opposition among the voters to the Oregon claim, the main issue of the campaign was the annexation of Texas. This issue, the Whigs, who nominated Henry Clay, tried to avoid.

Opposition to the annexation of Texas was very strong in the North, especially in New England. The Massachu-

¹ The United States had formerly claimed Texas as a part of the Louisiana Purchase, but had relinquished the claim in the treaty for the purchase of Florida (see page 273). Hence the catchy campaign phrase "reannexation of Texas."

setts legislature threatened secession in case it took place. The antislavery people, who of course opposed bitterly the annexation of Texas, put a presidential ticket in the field. Their candidate drew enough votes in New York from Clay, who at least had not advocated annexation, to give the election to Polk, who was pledged to annexation. Many abolitionists did not vote at all, insisting that the only way to settle the slavery question was to dissolve the Union.

President Tyler had already made a treaty of annexation with Texas, but the Senate had refused to ratify it. After the election had proved that the people were in favor of annexation, Congress passed an act for the admission of Texas as a state, and Tyler signed it three days before he retired from office (1845).

Settlement of the Oregon Question. — By the treaty of 1818 (see page 222) the United States and Great Britain had agreed to occupy jointly the Oregon country for a period of ten years. Just before the end of the ten year term, the two powers decided to continue the joint occupation indefinitely, each reserving the right to end the agreement by giving the other a year's notice.



THE OREGON COMPROMISE

Oregon extended from the northern boundary of California to latitude 54° 40', the southern line of Alaska. The United States and Great Britain had, through discovery, exploration, and settlement, about equally strong claims to this territory.

The most zealous expansionists urged that the United States should take possession of all Oregon. Their cry, "Fifty-four forty or fight," struck a responsive chord. Influenced by a demand so popular, Congress gave Great Britain the year's notice required for ending the joint occupancy. Many feared that war with Great Britain would follow, for it could not be hoped that the British would willingly surrender all Oregon.

Fortunately, through a treaty made in 1846, a compromise was reached. The country was divided about equally between the two nations by extending the boundary east of the Rocky Mountains (the forty-ninth degree of latitude) westward to sea water, thence through the strait of Fuca to the Pacific Ocean. From the part of the Oregon country secured by the United States have since been formed the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The part retained by Great Britain forms a large part of the Canadian province of British Columbia.

War with Mexico.— Unlike the Oregon question, the Texas question was not settled peaceably. Mexico still regarded Texas as a part of her territory; therefore the United States, in the annexation of Texas, had committed, in the opinion of Mexico, an act of usurpation. Furthermore, there was a dispute about the boundary between Texas and Mexico. The United States claimed that the western boundary of Texas extended to the Rio Grande River; Mexico claimed that it stopped at the Nueces River. Early in 1846, our government sent General Zachary Taylor with an army to occupy the disputed territory. The Mexicans demanded that Taylor should retire beyond the Nueces, and the American general declined. Soon afterward, Mexican troops came upon a scouting party of Americans on the Texas side of the Rio Grande and killed or captured all the detachment.

President Polk notified Congress that Mexico had shed American blood on American soil, and Congress promptly declared that war existed by the act of Mexico. Provision

was made for prosecuting the contest to a successful end. Because the North thought that the war was fought in the interest of slavery, it was very unpopular in that section. Almost two thirds of the volunteers came from south of Mason and Dixon's line.

Taylor Invades Mexico. — A Mexican force, greatly the



MAP OF THE MEXICAN WAR

superior in numbers, crossed the Rio Grande and attacked Taylor's small army. The Mexicans fought courageously, but their lack of discipline and leadership caused their defeat. They fled across the Rio Grande. Taylor followed into Mexico. His movements at first were slow, because he had to wait for reënforcements. Then pushing

on into the interior of Mexico he captured the city of Monterey by assault. He was making further advance when General Winfield Scott, the commander-in-chief of the American army, ordered him to detach a large part of his command for an advance against the city of Mexico.

Buena Vista. — President Santa Anna, who now commanded the Mexicans, saw a chance to crush the remnant of Taylor's army. Santa Anna had twenty thousand men; yet Taylor made ready to fight, although he had less than five thousand. The armies met in battle at Buena Vista, February 23, 1847, and the Americans put their enemies to flight. The splendid victory at Buena Vista, against such heavy odds, made Taylor the hero of America.

Operations in New Mexico and California. — Meanwhile General Stephen W. Kearny had been ordered to occupy the northern provinces of Mexico. With a small force



FRÉMONT'S "BEAR FLAG"

he left Fort Leavenworth, now in Kansas, and making a toilsome march of nine hundred miles over plains and mountains he captured Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, in the summer of 1846, and took possession of the province. Next he

moved toward upper California. Before his long march was ended, however, the province had already fallen into American hands. For more than twenty years Americans in small numbers had been finding their way into California. John C. Frémont, who was on an exploring expedition in California when the war broke out, gathered around him these few Americans and defeated the Mexicans. The Americans declared California independent. San Francisco and other towns on the coast surrendered to the Pacific squadron of the American navy.

Scott Captures the City of Mexico. — In the spring of 1847 the army of General Scott landed near Vera Cruz, the chief seaport of Mexico. The city, though strongly

fortified, was taken after a bombardment. From Vera Cruz Scott advanced upon the city of Mexico. The Mexican army under Santa Anna opposed the advance, but could not stop it. Sickness, brought on by the tropical climate and demands for garrison duty, however, caused Scott to halt his march for three months until reënforcements arrived. When the march was resumed it was marked by a succession of assaults upon Mexican fortifications. In every encounter the Americans were victorious, though the Mexicans made valiant resistance. Both armies lost heavily. On September 14, 1847, Scott entered the city of Mexico with a greatly reduced force. The gallant commander and his equally gallant command had made a remarkable march.

Treaty of Peace. — The fall of their capital brought the Mexicans to terms. A treaty of peace was signed in Mexico at Guadalupe Hidalgo, early in 1848. The western boundary of Texas was fixed at the Rio Grande, and New Mexico and upper California were ceded to the United States. In return the United States paid Mexico fifteen million dollars, and in addition agreed to pay claims against Mexico held by Americans to the amount of three and a half million dollars.

The territory ceded embraced all the present states of California, Nevada, and Utah, most of Arizona, and portions of New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming. The war itself cost about twenty-five thousand lives and sixty million dollars.

The "Gadsden Purchase." — Five years later (1853) the United States, through another treaty with Mexico, purchased a stretch of territory south of New Mexico and Arizona for ten million dollars. The territory was acquired in order to settle a dispute about the boundary line between the two countries and to secure a suitable route for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. It is known as the "Gadsden Purchase" because the treaty was made by James Gadsden, our minister to Mexico.

The Wilmot Proviso. — As was to be expected, the ac-

quisition of so large an area brought forward the slavery question, just as the purchase of Louisiana and the annexation of Texas had done. Even while the war was going on, but when it had become certain that territory would be acquired, David Wilmot of Pennsylvania introduced into Congress what is known as the Wilmot Proviso. Its purpose was to prohibit slavery in any territory that might be obtained from Mexico.

Sectional Discord Increases. — The proviso failed to pass, but it inflamed the passions of North and South. The former enthusiastically favored it; the latter bitterly opposed it. Slavery did not exist in Mexican territory, and the Northern people were unwilling to carry it there. On the other hand, the Southern people contended that the new territory belonged to the states jointly, that it had been purchased by the blood and treasure of all sections, and that any citizen should be allowed to carry his property into it. The South made many threats of secession if the proviso should become a law.

Topics and Questions

1. Describe the life of the Pueblo Indians. Relate the early history of the Southwest. Tell of the Americans settling in Texas.
2. Why did Texas revolt against Mexico? Explain the significance of the cry, "Remember the Alamo! Remember Goliad!" Give an account of the battle of San Jacinto. When and how did Texas become a republic?
3. What is meant by the "Great American Desert"? What did our people think about the Oregon country? Tell the story of Frémont in the Rocky Mountain region and of Whitman in the Oregon country.
4. State the main plank of the platform of the Democrats in the election of 1844 and explain how the plank caused the election of James K. Polk as President. How did Texas become one of the United States? What was the demand of the expansionists for Oregon? Discuss the Oregon Compromise.
5. Explain the origin of the Mexican War. Which section bore the brunt of the war in furnishing men? Give an account of General Taylor's campaign; of General Kearny's; of General Scott's. Explain the terms of the treaty of peace with Mexico. What is the Gadsden



MAP SHOWING THE TERRITORY ACQUIRED FROM MEXICO AS THE RESULT OF THE MEXICAN WAR

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Purchase? What is meant by the Wilmot Proviso? What effect did the Wilmot Proviso have upon the country?

Project Exercises

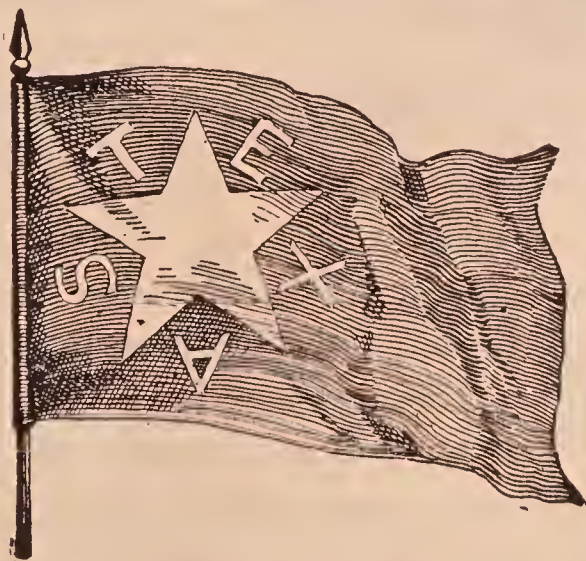
1. Point out on a map the scene of Frémont's adventures and of Whitman's endeavors.

2. Trace on a map the military operations of General Taylor; the march of General Kearny; the march of General Scott.

3. Locate on a map the territory acquired by the United States as a result of the Mexican War; the territory acquired by the Gadsden Purchase.

Important Dates:

- 1845. Admission of Texas.
- 1846. Beginning of Mexican War.
- 1847. Capture of the City of Mexico.
- 1848. Treaty of peace with Mexico. Cession of Mexican territory to the United States.
- 1853. The Gadsden Purchase.



FLAG OF TEXAS

CHAPTER XXV

THE UNITED STATES IN 1850

Area and New States. — Sixty-one years had passed since Washington's inauguration. The country's advancement had been great in area, in population, and in material prosperity. The United States proper embraced the same area that it does to-day, except a narrow strip on the southern borders of New Mexico and Arizona (the Gadsden Purchase).



AN OVERLAND TRAIN ON ITS WAY FROM MISSOURI TO THE PACIFIC COAST

The number of states had increased to thirty. The states that had been admitted since the controversy that ended with the admission of Missouri were Arkansas (1836), Michigan (1837), Florida (1845), Texas (1845), Iowa (1846), Wisconsin (1848). The balance between the slaveholding states and the non-slaveholding states had been preserved, for Arkansas, Florida, and Texas allowed slavery, while Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin prohibited it.

The first census (1790) had shown a population of only four million; the census of 1850 showed a population of twenty-three million.

Gold in California. — The year previous (1849) had witnessed the most remarkable rush of emigrants westward

that America has ever known. When upper California, or California as we know it, was given up by Mexico, it was regarded as a region of no great importance. Its white inhabitants were few, and Mexico had given them little attention except to extort taxes from them. But the province which was thought to be of little value soon proved to be a land of boundless promise. The lonely country was changed, as though in a night, into a populous, bustling commonwealth. The cause of this swift change was the finding of gold.

Early in 1848, shining particles of the yellow metal were found on the land of John A. Sutter, near the present city of Sacramento. The discovery happened just nine days before the signing of the treaty with Mexico, and the transfer of California to the United States was made without



SACRAMENTO IN 1848

any knowledge of it. By the beginning of the year 1849 the news had spread over the United States, and then began a rush to the gold fields.¹

The Way to California in 1849. — The route by sea to California was around Cape Horn or by the Isthmus of Panama. Many eager gold seekers made their way, however, across prairie and plain and over the Rocky Mountains.

¹ Before the acquisition of California the output of gold in the United States was small and was obtained from the mountainous regions of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia.

The journey across the continent presented hardships and dangers. Many a poor fellow died on the way. Tales of the sufferings of those who had gone ahead were borne back to the East, but they did not prevent other venture-



A FORTY-NINER

some spirits from following. All through the spring and summer so many thousands went that they formed an almost unbroken train from the outskirts of Missouri to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. Every kind of vehicle — the “prairie schooner” (a long canvas-covered wagon drawn by six horses or oxen), the farm wagon, and even the push cart and wheelbarrow — was to be seen in the line.

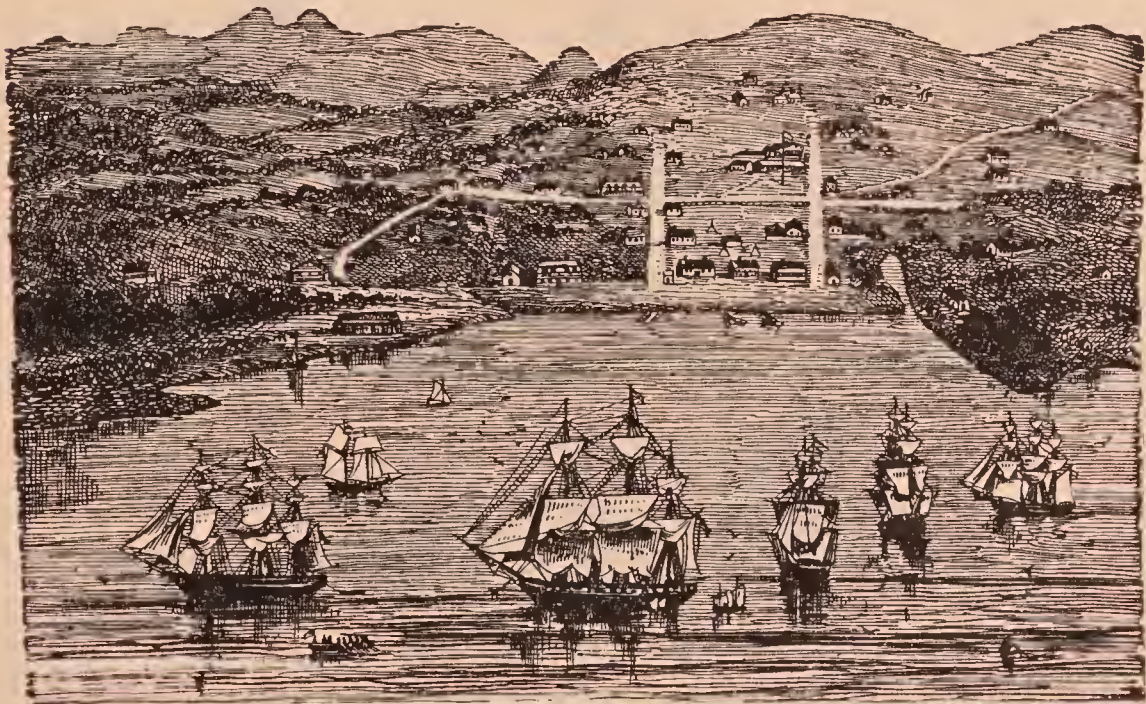
The “Forty-niners.” — By the end of December one hundred thousand people had reached the territory. On account of the year they are called the “forty-niners.” Sacramento, a settlement probably of not more than two hundred inhabitants in April, became a thriving city of nearly ten thousand by October. San Francisco, which had been a sleepy seaport of two thousand inhabitants, mostly Mexicans, had gained twenty thousand American inhabitants. In the mining camps, springing up so suddenly, a woman was a rare blessing, and a baby was a curiosity.¹

A State Government for California Organized. — The “forty-niners” were mostly Americans, though every part of the world was represented. Many were outcasts and criminals. As there were no laws for the territory, a condition bordering on anarchy prevailed. Robberies, mur-

¹ “Tickets to a wedding sold readily at five dollars each. Miners separated from home would frequently travel miles to see a child, and would weep at the sound of its voice. A child born in the diggings received presents of gold dust that would have constituted a modest fortune in the states.” — Sparks’ *Expansion of the American People*, page 342.

ders, and lynchings were frequent. The better element, considering it imprudent to wait for Congress to provide a government for the wild country, adopted a constitution in November, 1849. The constitution prohibited slavery. Men who had sped across plain and mountain had not the time to carry slaves with them, even if they had wished to.

Congress, however, had not, at the beginning of the year 1850, recognized the constitution which the gold seekers in California had adopted; nor had it provided a government for New Mexico, the eastern half of the Mexican cession.



VIEW OF SAN FRANCISCO IN 1847

With American ships in the harbor

The Middle West. — The gold seekers in their haste to get to the Pacific coast left behind them a vast region, practically unoccupied, between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains. Indeed, population was so sparse in that region that there were but five states west of the Mississippi: Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa. There were but two organized territories: Oregon (organized 1848), comprising the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho; and Minnesota (organized 1849), comprising the present state of Minnesota and a great part of

the two Dakotas. The states of Kansas, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Nevada, Arizona, and Oklahoma had no places on the map. A large area lying between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains was still described in atlases as the great "American Desert."

"Westward the Course of Empire Takes its Way." — Though population had not reached out into the extreme West, except on the Pacific coast, yet it had made a steady westward movement. West of the Alleghanies there were



KANSAS CITY IN 1852

Note the ferry-boat propelled by poles, the stern-wheeled steamboat, and the wagons three times as many people as were in the whole United States in 1790. Of the five most populous states two were west of those mountains.¹

The old pioneers of the Middle West, many of whom were yet living, could see the great reward for their labor and hardships. The bridle path had been widened into the turnpike and the pack horse had been succeeded by the stagecoach. The bateau, the raft, and the flat-bottomed barge had given way to the quick-moving steamer. The comforts of life were brought to the very door of the middle western man.

¹ The five most populous states were, in their order, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Tennessee.

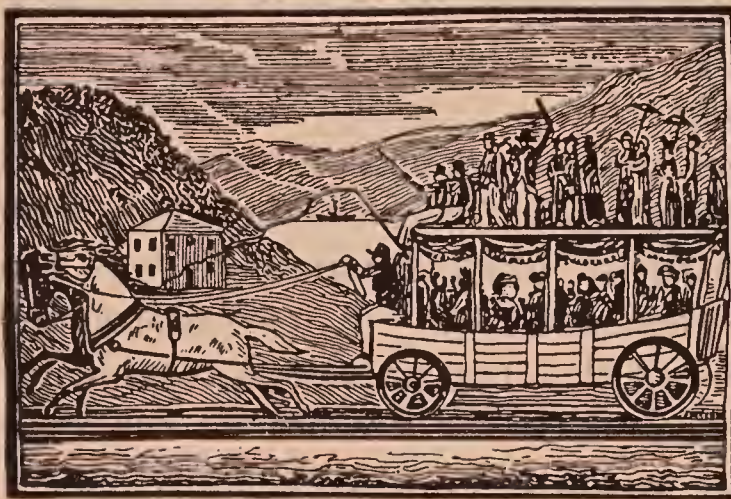
The Cities. — The cities showed remarkable growth. Most of the large ones were on the Atlantic slope. New York had grown from thirty-three thousand in Washington's time to five hundred thousand; Philadelphia, from thirty thousand to four hundred thousand; Baltimore, from thirteen thousand to one hundred and seventy thousand; Boston, from eighteen thousand to one hundred and thirty-five thousand. Beyond the mountains, Cincinnati, a hamlet in Washington's time, had grown to be a city of more than one hundred thousand. On the Mississippi, New Orleans had a population of about a hundred and fifteen thousand, and St. Louis seventy-five thousand. All these cities belonged, however, to the well-settled portions of America.

Towns in the "Far West." — Many of the cities farther west or northwest, whose names are to-day familiar to every household, were then only villages; the sites of others were but forest or prairie. In 1850 Chicago was twenty years old and contained only thirty thousand persons. Milwaukee was still younger, and its population did not exceed twenty thousand. St. Paul was a pleasant little village, with but eleven hundred citizens; while Minneapolis was too small to appear in the census of 1850. A few huts on the banks of the Missouri marked the present Kansas City. Omaha, Topeka, Denver, and Seattle are among the well-known cities of to-day which did not then exist.

Increase in Manufactures. — Manufacturing, which began to become important only after the close of the War of 1812, had increased to such an extent that by 1850 there were more persons dependent upon the factory system for support than there had been inhabitants in all the United States when Washington was President. New England manufactured cotton and woolen goods, while the Middle States and Ohio made iron wares. Almost every kind of manufactured article was now made in America. Mills and workshops abounded in the North, and thriving factory towns dotted that section. In the South, where agriculture was still the main industry, there were very few factories.

Increase in Commerce. — It had become common for steamers to cross the Atlantic. Regular voyages, requiring about twelve days, were made for carrying passengers and the mails. Commerce had kept pace with the general growth of the country. The American flag could be seen in the ports of every part of the world. "The navigation and commerce of the United States," wrote Webster in 1850, "are hardly exceeded by the oldest and most commercial nations." To encourage shipping, Congress had already begun granting large bounties¹ to steamships for the carrying of oceanic mails. This gave additional ground for complaint on the part of those who believed in the doctrine of states' rights.

Railroads. — Railroads, employing horse power or sails, had for many years been used both in Europe and America.



BALTIMORE AND OHIO RAILROAD, 1830

The first railroad in America was built in 1809, and extended only a short distance from a quarry to the Delaware River.² The cars were drawn by horses. This road was followed by a few others that used horse power or sails.

In 1825 the first locomotive to be used to advantage was employed on a short railroad in England. In 1829 a locomotive was first used in America. It was employed on a short line at Honesdale, Pennsylvania. This locomotive, however, had been built in England.

The first American-built locomotive, the "Tom Thumb,"

¹ A premium in money offered to encourage any branch of industry, as manufactures or commerce.

² McMaster's *History of the People of the United States*, vol. v, page 143.

was run in 1830 on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, but it was soon abandoned, as it was too small for service. The first American-built locomotive to be used with practical results was "The Best Friend," which was employed the same year on the South Carolina Railroad. This road, when completed in 1833 from Charleston to Hamburg, South Carolina, a distance of 136 miles, was the longest in the world.

The early railroads were built mainly as feeders for water traffic, and, therefore, usually ran east and west to connect a seaport

and a navigable stream in the interior. For some time the canal was thought to furnish a better method of transportation than the railroad, and consequently so little progress had been made in railroad building that in 1850 there were less than six thousand miles of track in the whole country.

The Telegraph. — Only six years before (1844) S. F. B. Morse, an American inventor, had completed between Baltimore and Washington the first successful telegraph line in the world. Mexican war news was slow in coming because there were so few telegraph lines, and the people were kept in anxious suspense about the fate of the army. Battles were fought and won, even on the Texas frontier, months before the news was known throughout the United States.

Immigration Increases. — Immigration, which had again set in after the close of the War of 1812, had continued without interruption, though it had rarely exceeded one hundred thousand persons a year. Now, however, immigration was swelling to great proportions. In 1846–1847 the failure



A RAILROAD TRAIN IN 1831

of the potato crop caused a terrible famine in Ireland in which many of the inhabitants starved to death. Thousands upon thousands of Irishmen were driven to seek relief in America. In 1848 an uprising against despotic government occurred in Germany. The revolution was unsuccessful, and many of the revolutionists fled to America where they could live under a free government. In 1847 nearly two hundred and fifty thousand immigrants came to America, and in 1849 three hundred thousand came. While most of those who were now seeking our shores were Irishmen and Germans, there were also many Englishmen and Welshmen.



THE EARLIER FOREIGN IMMIGRANTS

IRISH SWEDE GERMAN ITALIAN RUSSIAN CHINAMAN

Immigration Benefits Mainly the North. — Immigration, which continued to draw mainly from northern Europe, increased with every year until interrupted by the War of Secession. Since the immigrants were mostly laborers, they did not care to live in the South, where they could not hope to acquire large plantations, and where they would have to compete with slave labor. The English, the Irish, and the Welsh stopped in the North and East, where they found employment in the manufacturing industries; the Germans moved on into the Northwest, where, side by side with native Americans, they converted cheap but fertile lands into prosperous farms.

Topics and Questions

1. State the boundaries of the United States in 1850. Mention the states that had been admitted into the Union since the controversy in 1820 over the admission of Missouri. Which allowed slavery and which prohibited it? How had population grown since Washington's time?

2. In what way was gold discovered in California? Describe the life, journeys, troubles, gains and losses of the "Forty-niners." Did the Californians have slavery?

3. Mention ten states of the Middle West of the present day that were unorganized and unnamed in 1850. Which states ranked at that time highest in population? Which cities? Describe the "infant cities" of 1850.

4. What were the chief manufactures and the centers of manufacture in the United States in 1850? What may be said of America's commerce in 1850?

5. Tell the story of early railroad building in the United States; of the invention of the telegraph.

6. Tell of the conditions in Europe that caused immigration to America to increase. Show how immigration benefited the North more than the South.

Project Exercises

1. Do you think that the fact that the early railroads ran east and west had anything to do with increasing the division between the North and South? Give your reasons.

2. Contrast the progress made in modes of travel between 1790 and 1850, and between 1850 and the present time.

Important Dates:

1829. First locomotive used on a railroad in America.

1844. Invention of the telegraph.

1848. Discovery of gold in California.

CHAPTER XXVI

LIFE IN 1850

Progress Shown in the Cities.— The condition of the cities had improved in almost every respect. Men were amassing large fortunes. Houses were handsome and were fitted up with many conveniences. Gas was used for illuminating purposes and coal for fuel. The plumber was kept busy, for waterworks had supplanted the pump and well. Police service had taken the place of the night watchman. Yet there was not a street car, a steam fire-engine, a telephone, nor an electric light.

Dress.— Society, in the narrow sense in which the word is frequently used, laid great stress upon wealth. In dress, display was the aim, rather than simplicity. The man wore a tall stiff hat; a very large coat, cut low in front, with long skirts and big buttons; a waistcoat cut low to match the coat; a soft rolled collar, around which a huge bow was fastened. The woman wore a Quaker-shaped bonnet gaudily decorated, and tied under the chin; a long-waisted, tight-fitting basque; a very full skirt trimmed with flounces. Around the shoulders she wore a mantalet, a kind of shawl trimmed with lace or fringe. She brushed her hair smooth and close to the forehead and arranged it on the sides in such a way as to cover the ears completely. At the back of the head it was gathered into a knot from which hung curls.

Amusements.— The theater was very popular. Society had adopted round dancing—the waltz and the german. Little attention was given to athletics, even in the colleges. Town ball, the forerunner of baseball, was a favorite outdoor game.

Rural Life.— In 1831 Cyrus H. McCormick, a Virginia planter, invented the reaping machine to take the place of

the ancient scythe. By 1850 other machines for working grain and grass crops had come into use. These inventions mainly benefited the North and Northwest, where the crops were wheat, barley, oats, corn, and hay. Develop-



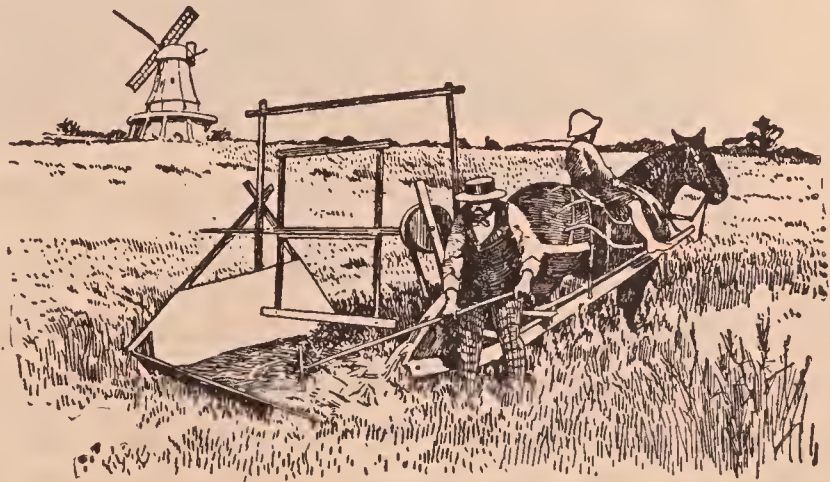
THE OLD WAY OF REAPING

ment of the farms of the Northwest was also greatly aided by the Cumberland Road, the Erie Canal, and the steamboats constantly plying on the Great Lakes, for through these means marketing was made easier. Life on the farm in the North and the Northwest was rapidly changing. Work was becoming less of drudgery and the crops were becoming more valuable.

In the South rural life had not

changed. There the planter still lived in his spacious home surrounded by his fields of cotton or tobacco cultivated by slave labor.

Discomforts of Travel. — With railroads so few, there were, of course, no great through systems. The traveler was fortunate if, after riding the short length of one road, he reached a town where another road would carry him farther



THE FIRST TYPE OF McCORMICK REAPER

on his journey. In journeying great distances he made many changes from car to steamboat, canal boat, and stagecoach. Schedule time was seldom kept, and connections were bad. Not many railroads sent out trains on Sunday; to do so aroused much opposition. Few people believed that a locomotive would ever be able to cross a mountain. Many a large river was yet unbridged, and a passenger had to leave his car, cross the river by ferry, and board another train on the other side.

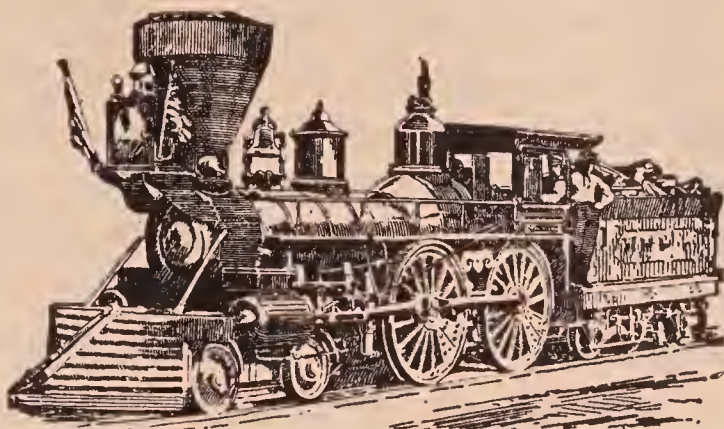
There was no direct line of railroad between Boston and New York. Trains connected New York with Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, but it was impossible to reach



A CANAL PASSENGER PACKET

the capital city from the South or West entirely by rail. It was better to go from Charleston or Savannah to Washington by steamer, via Norfolk, than to go overland partly by rail and partly by stagecoach. A resident of New Orleans or the Southwest, wishing to visit the capital, would go in a steamboat up the Mississippi and Ohio until Wheeling was reached; thence he would cross the mountains in a stagecoach along the Cumberland Road to Cumberland, Maryland, where he would find cars for Baltimore. At Baltimore he would change again for Washington. It was even more difficult to go from Chicago to Washington; the flourishing Western town had only one short railroad and was at a great distance from the steamboats of the

Mississippi and Ohio rivers. The discomforts of traveling would appall a man of to-day, and expenses were double what they are now. Those were still the times of state bank money. A traveler did well to carry plenty of coin with him, for the farther he went from his home bank, unless it were a bank of one of the chief cities of trade, the less were his bank-notes worth.

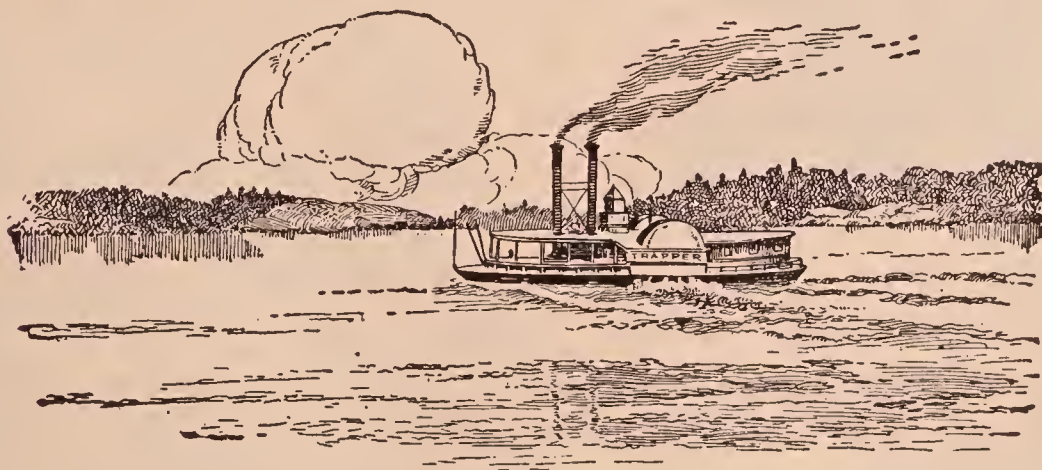


LOCOMOTIVE OF 1850-1860

Note the small size of this type of engine as compared with the modern locomotive

Hasty Building of Railroads and Steam-

boats. — Energy already characterized the American people. They wanted to move fast. More railroads must be built, and built rapidly, and with this year, 1850, railroad building may be said to have begun in earnest. The demand for



A STEAMBOAT OF 1850

quicker transportation could be met only by the hasty construction of roadbeds and of railroad and steamboat engines; and the haste led to many fearful accidents.

The loss of life in proportion to the amount of travel was much greater than at present. Accidents on land and water were so frequent that a great outcry was raised against such murderous modes of travel. A Senator remarked in the

course of a speech in the Senate, that he would rather go into an Indian battle than go in a steamboat to his distant home to see his wife and children. Finally Federal and state governments took the matter in hand. Congress passed a law requiring the inspection by Federal officials of every steamboat boiler, and states enacted statutes making the railroad companies liable for the death of passengers, or injury to them, when due to the negligence of the company. These laws are in force at the present time.¹

The Post Office. — Postage was still charged according to distance. A letter was carried three thousand miles at the rate of three cents for every half-ounce or fraction thereof, if prepaid, and for five cents if not prepaid. For distances greater than three thousand miles the rate was six cents if prepaid and ten cents if not prepaid.

Envelopes and postage stamps had come into use. The introduction of stamps came about in this way: before the letter-carrier system was established in the cities, private companies delivered letters, using stamps to show that the fee had been paid. Postmasters, seeing how well the stamps worked, adopted the plan. It was so much easier for postmasters to use a stamp than to write "prepaid" on the envelope before sending it on, that they had stamps printed on their own responsibility. In order to pay the cost of printing, they sold them at a price slightly in advance of their face value. People willingly paid the additional expense of postage; it was a convenience to buy a number of stamps at one time, and avoid the necessity for going to the post office and paying cash for each letter. The demand that the government make the stamps and sell them at face value became so general that in 1847 the government adopted the postage stamp system.

The Express Business. — In 1839 W. E. Harnden, an enterprising young man, started the express business. He

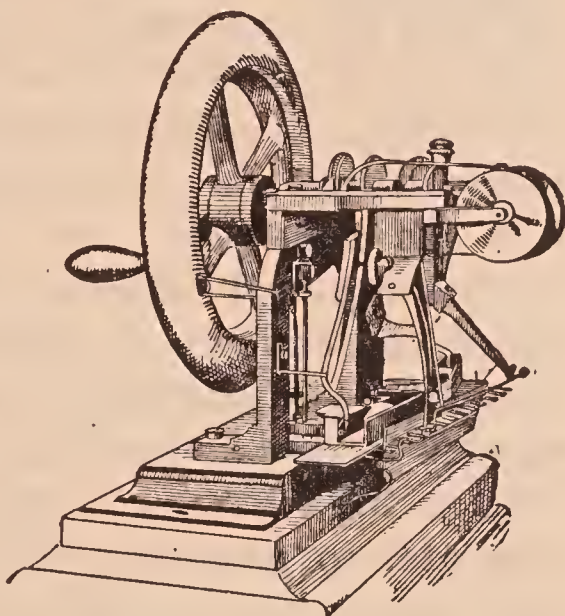
¹ In three years (1853) railroad mileage had increased threefold (15,000 miles), and in ten years (1860) had doubled itself again (30,000 miles). The present mileage is, in round numbers, 250,000.

advertised that he would carry money and small parcels between the cities of New York and Boston. His route between these cities was partly by water and partly by land. At first his business was so small that he could carry all the packages intrusted to him in a single carpet bag or valise; yet it grew so fast that in the next year a company was organized to compete with Harnden for the express business between New York and Boston. The express service was soon extended to all the large cities.

Discoveries and Inventions. — In 1842 Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia discovered that by the use of ether he could make a patient insensible to the pains of a surgical operation.¹ The discovery that chloroform could be put to the same use was not made until later (1847), and then by an English physician.

In 1843 Charles Goodyear, a native of Connecticut, discovered that a mixture of India rubber and sulphur forms a highly useful composition. The process is known as vulcanizing. Pure rubber melts in hot weather, and until Goodyear's discovery it was of little value for manufacturing purposes.

In 1846 Elias Howe, a poor mechanic of Massachusetts, patented the sewing machine. In the same year Richard M. Hoe of New York invented the revolving printing press,



HOWE'S SEWING MACHINE

¹ Dr. Long communicated his valuable discovery to medical men of his acquaintance, but before it became generally known, three other men, unaware of Dr. Long's success, experimented on the same line, and each claimed the credit for the discovery. These men were Doctors Wells of Hartford, and Morton and Jackson of Boston. To Dr. Long, however, undoubtedly belongs the prior claim.

which enables copies of a newspaper to be printed at a most rapid rate.

Newspapers; Schools. — By 1850 periodicals and newspapers numbered two thousand; more than three hundred of the newspapers were dailies. In many of the states the public school system was by this time very generally established.

Woman's Rights. — This period also saw two movements for reform take definite shape. Because her sphere of work was thought to be the home, and because, on account of her sex, she was thought to need protection, woman had never been given by law the same freedom as man. Nowhere did she have an equal right to hold property, to gain an education, or to work for a livelihood; nor could she vote or hold office. In colonial times there had been some agitation among women for equal rights. After the Revolutionary War the movement grew steadily, though very slowly; yet it had gained sufficient strength by 1848 for a woman's rights' convention — the first of its kind — to be held in that year at Seneca Falls, New York. The convention demanded for women equal rights in every respect with men. Though the movement long met with ridicule, its earnest advocates so persevered that they steadily won converts, men and women. Within the next fifty years women secured, in nearly every state, equal rights with men in matters of property, education, and employment, and in many states the right to vote and hold office.

Prohibition. — For years much attention had been given to the evils resulting from the excessive use of intoxicating liquors. Societies had been formed to promote, by voluntary methods, habits of temperance. Then came the demand to enforce temperance by the passage of laws forbidding the manufacture or sale of intoxicants for beverage purposes — a movement commonly known as prohibition. In 1851 Maine passed the first state prohibition law. In the course of time many other states followed the example of Maine.

American Literature. — The period produced many eminent men of letters. The pioneers of American literature — Irving, Bryant, and Cooper — were living. Irving had turned to history and biography. *The Conquest of Granada*, *The Alhambra*, and the biographies of Christopher Columbus and Oliver Goldsmith had already appeared. He was yet to write his life of Washington. Bryant, as editor of a newspaper in New York, had great influence in public affairs, yet he found time to contribute many poems to our growing literature. Cooper's work was done; death soon claimed him. Cooper wrote in all thirty-two novels. The most popular are five stories of Indian adventure, which, grouped together, are known as *The Leatherstocking Tales*.



EDGAR ALLAN POE

Edgar Allan Poe, a Southerner, and perhaps the most brilliant of American writers, had come and gone like the flash of a meteor. His brief life showed his genius to be most artistic, both in poetry and the short story. Among his poems may be mentioned *The Raven* and *The Bells*, and among his short stories, *The Fall of the House of Usher* and *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*.

WILLIAM GILMORE
SIMMS

William Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina, wrote interesting colonial, Revolutionary and border romances, which portrayed early life in the South as Cooper's novels portrayed early life in the North. Like Cooper, Simms was a prolific writer. Among his best romances are *The Yemassee*, *The Scout*, and *The Partisan*.

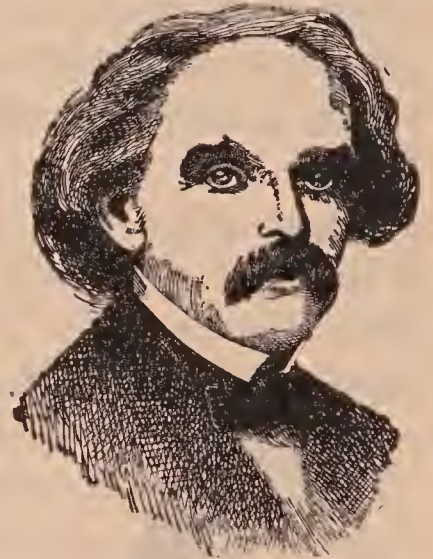
In New England lived a remarkable group of poets, novelists, and essayists. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the most popular of American poets, had already written *Evangeline*

and was soon to give to the world *Hiawatha* and *The Courtship of Miles Standish*.



LONGFELLOW'S HOUSE

Nathaniel Hawthorne, the greatest of American novelists, had just published *The Scarlet Letter*, which in a short time was to be followed by *The House of Seven Gables*. His other great novel, *The Marble Faun*, was not published until some years later. John Greenleaf Whittier, the Quaker poet, was composing stirring verses against slavery. James Russell Lowell, poet and essayist, had written *The Vision of Sir Launfal* and the first series of the *Biglow Papers*. The writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, the humorist, were charming every one, but that most delightful work, *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, had yet to come from his pen. Ralph Waldo Emerson, essayist and poet, had begun a lecturing career that extended over a period of nearly forty years. Henry David Thoreau was writing of nature and the simple life.



Another group of New Englanders were historians. William Hickling Prescott wrote mainly of the Spaniards in America. Among his works are *The Conquest of Mexico* and *The Conquest of Peru*. George Bancroft had completed the first three volumes of his *History of the United States*. Francis Parkman had just attracted attention by *The Oregon Trail*, a description of his experiences in the extreme Northwest, but greater fame came with his histories of the French in North America, the first number of which, *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*, soon followed. John Lothrop Motley, who devoted his studies to the history of the Dutch, completed his first work, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, a few years later.

Topics and Questions

1. What conveniences had come into use in the cities by 1850? Mention some of the conveniences found in a city of to-day that you would not have found in a city of 1850. What do pictures in books of 1850 reveal regarding the dress of men and women? What were the amusements of the times?

2. Mention some of the things that made rural life easier in the North and West. Explain why rural life in the South had not changed. Describe the discomforts of travel, and explain why travelers so often met with accidents.

3. Tell how postage stamps came into use. Give the story of the origin of the express business. What discoveries and inventions of great importance were slowly making their way in 1850? In how many daily newspapers might news of the "Forty-niners" be found in 1850? What of the public school?



4. Trace the origin and progress of the woman's rights movement and of the prohibition movement. **GEORGE BANCROFT**

5. Mention some of the foremost writers of the time and name the titles of some of their works. Which of the works have you read?

Project Exercise

Tell what you can of the status of the woman's rights movement at the present time; of the prohibition movement.

Important Dates:

- 1831. Invention of the reaper.
- 1839. Beginning of the express business.
- 1842. Discovery that ether could be used as an anaesthetic.
- 1846. Invention of the sewing machine.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WEST AND SLAVERY

Taylor Elected President. — In the election of 1848 General Zachary Taylor, the “hero of Buena Vista” and the nominee of the Whig party, was elected President. Neither the Democrats nor the Whigs took a decided stand



ZACHARY TAYLOR

on slavery. Abolitionists and antislavery Democrats and Whigs had organized the Free Soil party, and while the new party did not poll many votes, it drew from the Democrats a number sufficient to give the election to the Whigs.

The Quarrel over California. — The two great parties could not, by avoiding the slavery issue, set it at rest, for in providing a government for the immense

Mexican cession, the question whether slavery should be allowed or prohibited in the new territory was bound to come to the front again. When the first Congress of Taylor's administration met in December, 1849, it was well understood that California would adopt an antislavery constitution, though news that this step had already been taken had not reached the East. At once the admission of California became the leading topic of discussion, and the slavery controversy, with all its heat and bitterness, again threw the country into turmoil.

The North insisted not only that California should be immediately admitted, but also that slavery should be ex-

cluded from all territories, and abolished in the District of Columbia. The South was united in opposition to all these demands. It asserted that California was not ready for statehood, and argued that the legal course would be to place it first under territorial government, and leave the question of slavery to be decided by the inhabitants when the territory was ready for admission as a state. Though the South held that it was unconstitutional for Congress to exclude slavery from the public domain, it was willing for the Missouri Compromise line to be extended to the Pacific Ocean. Thus the Mexican cession would be divided between the North and the South, and California would be cut into two states.

Secession Feeling in the South. — Each side charged the other with encroaching upon its rights, and the Union was nearer to breaking up than it had been even in the struggle over Missouri thirty years before. Many Southerners believed that the time had come for their states to secede; for, they said, the North was already controlling the government and making laws in the interest of the North and to the injury of the South. Hardly a man in the South doubted the right of a state to secede. The majority preferred to remain in the Union if their interests could be secured; but they saw that the admission of California would put an end to the balance between the sections, since the South had no new state to propose as an offset.

The "Compromise of 1850." — Henry Clay, the "Great Pacificator," came to the aid of the Union when its life seemed hanging by a thread. In January, 1850, he proposed a compromise, the principal features of which were: California to be admitted without slavery; the remainder of the Mexican cession to be organized into territories in which the matter of slavery should be left to the inhabitants; a more stringent fugitive slave law to be enacted. The admission of California without slavery was intended to appease the North, and the two other provisions were intended to appease the South. There were some members

of Congress from each section who opposed the Compromise on the ground that it yielded too much to the other section.¹



MILLARD FILLMORE

The debate on the Compromise grew more and more heated and continued for seven months. The result was still in suspense, when President Taylor died in July, 1850, after a brief illness. Millard Fillmore of New York, the Vice President, took the oath as President on the day following Taylor's death.

Finally, in 1850, the Compromise was adopted. California was immediately admitted, and the remainder of the Mexican cession was organized into the territories of New Mexico and Utah.

The Fugitive Slave Law.—A more stringent fugitive slave law had been made a part of the Compromise of 1850, because the old law had not been enforced. The Constitution provided that a slave escaping into another state must be given back to his owner.² Congress, to carry this provision into effect, had passed a law in Washington's administration making it the duty of state officials to return the fugitive slave. Some of the Northern states had passed "personal liberty laws" which prevented the surrender of the runaway, thus nullifying not only a law of Congress, but even a mandate of the Constitution. The

¹ Discussion of the Compromise furnished the last occasion on which the immortal trio, Webster, Clay, and Calhoun, met together in debate. Webster joined Clay in support of the Compromise; Calhoun opposed it. The hand of death was already upon Calhoun. He was too feeble to deliver his speech, but sat in his seat in the Senate while a fellow-senator read it. He died only a few weeks later. Clay and Webster survived him two years.

² See Constitution, Art. iv, Sec. 2.

law of 1850, besides being much more stringent, placed upon the federal officials in each state the duty of returning slaves to their owners.

Franklin Pierce Elected President. — In the election of 1852 both the Democratic and the Whig parties endorsed the Compromise of 1850. The Democrats had been more nearly unanimous in their support of the Compromise, and their candidate, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, was elected President by an overwhelming majority. The result of the election was taken to mean that the Compromise of 1850 was so satisfactory to the country at large that it had settled the slavery question for many years to come. But from this dream of peace there was soon a rude awakening.



FRANKLIN PIERCE

The Kansas-Nebraska Act. — The rapid growth of the North which had set in about 1850 with the inrush of immigrants, the activity in railroad building, and the invention of machinery for farming had hastened the development of the Northwest. Settlers pushing westward had made it necessary to give a territorial government to the region now comprising the states of Kansas and Nebraska.

In 1854 Congress passed a law organizing the territories of Kansas and Nebraska and allowing the people of these territories to decide whether they would admit slavery. The area included in the new territories was a portion of the Louisiana Purchase lying north of the Missouri Compromise line, and therefore a part of the public domain in which Congress had prohibited slavery. However, the supporters of the Kansas-Nebraska bill claimed that the Compromise of 1850, in allowing territories in the Mexican cession north

of the Missouri Compromise line to decide for themselves the question of slavery, had set aside the Missouri Compromise.

The Kansas-Nebraska bill came as a surprise to the entire country, for the South, the section which would be benefited by it, had not asked for it.

The bill was introduced by Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, a Democrat, and was supported by many northern Democrats in Congress. The Southern members also naturally voted for it. In passing the bill Congress took the position



TERRITORIES FROM WHICH KANSAS AND
NEBRASKA WERE ERECTED

always held by states' rights men, who denied the right of Congress to legislate upon slavery in the territories, and who, consequently, denied that the Missouri Compromise was constitutional.

"Squatter Sovereignty." — The Kansas-Nebraska Act aroused much bitterness in the North, where it was believed that the Act violated a sacred compact forbidding slavery in the Northern portion of the Louisiana Purchase. Fear that the result of the Act would be to convert the greater part of the West into slaveholding states spurred the antislavery people to fight slavery more determinedly than ever; and it caused many, who had not already done so, to leave the Democratic party. The Kansas-Nebraska Act even divided those who remained in

the Democratic party into two factions, differing as to the time when the people of a territory should decide the slavery question. The Northern wing, led by Douglas, asserted that the Act gave the people power to decide while still in their territorial condition. This power was known as "popular sovereignty," or more generally as "squatter sovereignty."¹ The Southern wing contended that the decision could be made only when a territory had framed a state constitution, and that in the meantime slaves might be owned in the territory.

North and South Strive to Gain Kansas. — "Popular" or "squatter" sovereignty was soon given a test. The section that gained control of the new territories would gain a controlling influence in the national government. When Kansas was opened for settlement, many slave owners moved into the territory from the adjoining state of Missouri, and it seemed as if Kansas would become a slaveholding state. To prevent such a result emigrant aid societies in the North sent great numbers of people to Kansas. Then there began in earnest a struggle between Northern and Southern factions for the control of the proposed state. The men who went to Kansas, whether for or against slavery, carried their weapons.

"Bleeding Kansas." — The factions settled in opposite parts of the territory. Each had its legislature, and neither recognized the laws of the other. In 1856 a newspaper office and a hotel at Lawrence, a town of the antislavery faction, were destroyed by a sheriff's posse. The sheriff was an officer of the proslavery faction. In revenge a man named John Brown, assisted by his sons and a few antislavery neighbors, killed five proslavery men living near Pottawatomie Creek. Brown excused the deed with the assertion, "I have no choice. It has been decreed by the Almighty God." Guerrilla warfare broke out, hostile bands

¹ The name "squatter sovereignty" was given the doctrine by its opponents because, they claimed, it left the decision to the first settlers, who were known as "squatters."

met, and death was the result. John Brown's name became notorious for bloody work. The taking of life became so common that men who really desired to become settlers were compelled to have weapons at hand while they tilled their fields. Towns were plundered and burned, and every form of lawlessness went unchecked in the territory. It cannot be said "which faction surpassed the other in misdeeds."¹ The new territory became known everywhere as "Bleeding Kansas."

In 1857 a state constitution permitting slavery was adopted in Kansas. The antislavery inhabitants of the territory declared that the election was fraudulent. An attempt to have Congress admit Kansas as a state under this constitution, though it failed, provoked further angry discussion of the slavery question. For months Congress wrangled over Kansas, and the agitation spread to the remotest points of the land. North and South were drifting wider and wider apart. The fraternal feeling, for which the founders of the government had planned, was losing itself in sectional controversy.²

Personal Liberty Laws. — The indignation of the North because of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was shown in renewed opposition to the fugitive slave law. Personal liberty laws, more sweeping in their effect were passed. In every Northern state except two³ the Federal law was nullified either by state laws or by the interference of state officials.

Riots occurred in Northern cities when attempts were made to return slaves to their owners. Abolitionists and antislavery people in general united in helping the fugitives to Canada. They made use of a system known as the "underground railroad," by which the slave was assisted from place to place until he reached the boundary. The number of slaves who ran away from bondage was small,

¹ Spring's *Kansas*, page 176.

² Kansas was finally admitted without slavery in 1861, after the Southern states had seceded.

³ New Jersey and California.

and the number of attempts to recover them was even smaller; but resistance to the law in the North served to deepen the antagonism between the sections.

Rise of the Republican Party. — The Whig party did not long survive its overwhelming defeat in 1852. The pro-slavery wing of the Whigs joined the Democratic party. Antislavery Whigs, Free Soilers, and many of those who had been driven from the Democratic party by the Kansas-Nebraska Act united to form a new party, the Republican party of the present time. In the election of 1856 the candidate of the Republicans for President was John C. Frémont, the "Pathfinder." The nominee of the Democrats



JAMES BUCHANAN

was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. The main plank of the Republican platform was that Congress had the right, and it was its duty, to prohibit slavery in the territories. The Democrats advocated allowing the territories to decide the slavery question for themselves — the principle embodied in the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Buchanan was elected. The Republicans, though it was their first appearance in a presidential election, carried eleven of the sixteen states in the North and polled an immense popular vote in that section. Such evidence of the rapid growth of the antislavery feeling in the North following the Kansas-Nebraska Act caused alarm in the South. From this time on the lines were sharply drawn between Democrat and Republican.

The Dred Scott Decision. — Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner had taken him to what is now Minnesota before the Missouri Compromise was repealed. Scott

brought suit, claiming that he was freed by reason of his residence in territory in which Congress had forbidden slavery. In 1857 the United States Supreme Court denied his claim and in its decision announced that a slave was property which the owner could carry into a territory just as any other property, and that therefore any law of Congress forbidding slavery in the territories, such as the Missouri Compromise, was unconstitutional and void.

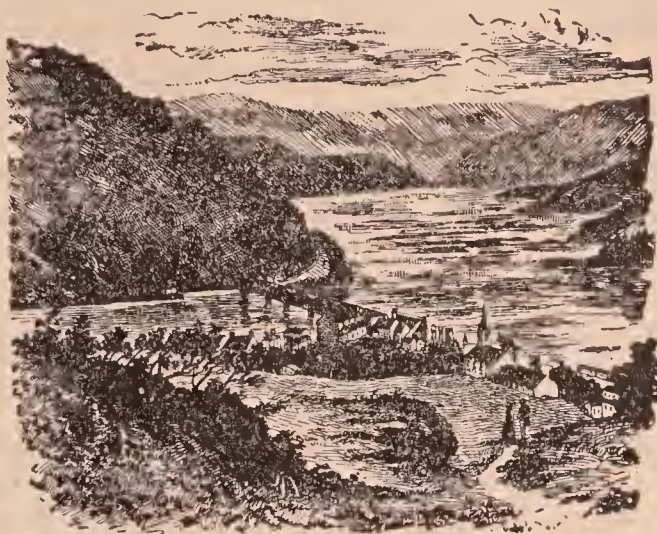
The decision was in accord with the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It sustained the position taken by the South and thus condemned the main plank in the Republican platform. But instead of allaying, it increased partisan strife. The Republicans denounced the decision as a political act of a Democratic Supreme Court, and declared they would not abide by it.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates. — In 1858 Stephen A. Douglas was a candidate to succeed himself as United States Senator from Illinois. Abraham Lincoln, a Republican, opposed him. The candidates canvassed the state in a series of joint debates, with slavery the sole issue. Douglas favored allowing a territory to decide for itself, before becoming a state, the question of slavery ("squatter sovereignty"); Lincoln advocated that Congress should forbid slavery in all territories. The campaign, the most famous one for United States Senator, was watched with keen interest by all the country. Douglas was elected by a small majority; yet the able speeches of Abraham Lincoln, hitherto a comparatively unknown man, made him immediately a prominent figure in national politics.

John Brown and his Raid. — One night in October, 1859, John Brown, already notorious for deeds of blood in Kansas, seized the arsenal belonging to the United States at Harper's Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia). He had with him eighteen men. His purpose was to free the slaves, and not doubting that they would flock to him, he brought arms for a thousand men. Residents of the town and neighborhood were forcibly taken and held as hostages. News of the

event spread rapidly and militia and armed citizens hurried to the scene. During the whole of the following day, fighting went on between Brown's men and the Virginians. Men on both sides were killed.

Two days later Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee, afterward so greatly distinguished, arrived with a company of United States marines. He forced open the engine house of the armory, into



HARPER'S FERRY IN 1859

which Brown, fighting with desperate courage, had retired, and captured the leader and his surviving followers. In the Virginia courts Brown and six companions were convicted of treason, murder, and advising with slaves to rebel, and were hanged.

Fortunately the slaves did not rise at the call of Brown. Yet the attempt to incite them sent a thrill of horror through the South. An uprising of slaves would have meant the massacre of whites. The majority of the people of the North condemned the conduct of Brown; still, the fact that prominent Northern citizens had furnished the money for Brown's diabolical scheme and that many others publicly proclaimed him a martyr increased the feeling among Southerners that, should the North gain complete control of the government, the South would not be protected in its rights.

Topics and Questions

1. No decided stand was taken on the slavery question by either of the great political parties in 1850. What brought the question to the front immediately afterward? What were the demands of the North? The offers of the South? Why did secession seem more and more probable in the South in 1850? What would make the South feel that **it** must leave the Union?

2. What were the main features of Henry Clay's Compromise of 1850? What effect was it hoped that the Compromise would have upon the country? Why did some oppose the Compromise? Why was it the task of the Federal officials to secure the return of runaway slaves? What change occurred in the White House in 1850? Account for the result of the presidential election of 1852.

3. Could the Compromise of 1850 silence argument on the slavery question? Explain the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Who supported it? What previous Act, passed by Congress, was held by states' rights men to be unconstitutional?

4. Why did both the North and the South fight so hard and so bitterly for Kansas? Describe the guerrilla warfare in Kansas and the work of John Brown. What was the final result of the contest for Kansas?

5. Explain the terms "personal liberty laws" and "underground railroad." Tell of the rise of the Republican party.

6. What stirred the nation in the first year of Buchanan's administration? State carefully the Dred Scott case and decision. Why were the Lincoln-Douglas debates watched with keen interest by all the country?

7. Describe the purpose, deed, and fate of John Brown at Harper's Ferry. Why did the people of the South condemn John Brown, and what effect did his crime have upon them?

Project Exercises

1. Do compromises usually settle questions finally? Give reasons for your opinion and cite cases to support it.

2. When the United States Supreme Court decides that a law is unconstitutional, is the decision final?

Important Dates:

- 1850. Adoption of Clay's "Compromise of 1850."
- 1854. Passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act.
- 1857. Dred Scott decision.
- 1859. John Brown's raid.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE SOUTH FORMS A SEPARATE GOVERNMENT

Election of 1860. — Four tickets were presented at the presidential election of 1860. The Democratic party had split in two. The Northern wing held that a territory could at any time decide for or against slavery within its borders; the Southern wing held that a territory could not decide until it formed a state constitution.

The Northern wing supported Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois for President; the Southern wing supported John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The Republicans, still demanding that Congress prohibit slavery in the territories, nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. A fourth party, called the Constitutional Union party, made no declaration regarding slavery. It relied on the simple platform, "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws." Its nominee for President was John Bell of Tennessee.

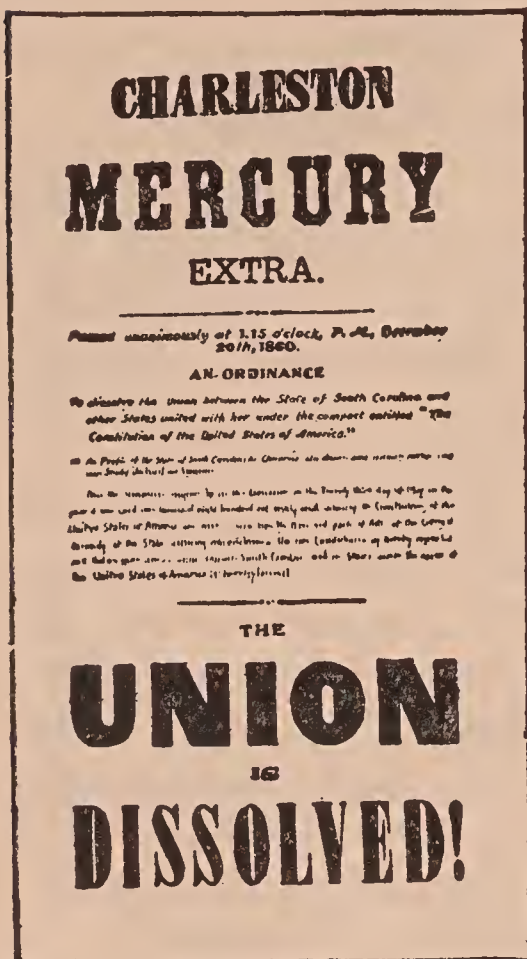
The Republicans carried the election. Lincoln received a majority of the electoral vote, though almost two thirds of the popular vote had gone against him — a fact which makes it possible that if the Democrats had not divided, Lincoln would not have been elected.

Secession of Seven Southern States. — The states that the Republicans carried were all in the North. The South looked upon the Republican party as sectional in character and hostile to Southern interests. It had long been a settled conviction in the South that the political success of such a party would leave only secession as a preventive of ruin. Therefore the state of South Carolina, assembled in convention, in December 20, 1860, declared that state no longer one of the United States. Secession ordinances were passed early in 1861 by other Southern States as follows:

Mississippi, January 9; Florida, January 10; Alabama, January 11; Georgia, January 19; Louisiana, January 26; Texas, February 1. Upon the secession of the states, their

Senators and Representatives, with but one or two exceptions, withdrew from Congress.

The Doctrine of Secession. — Advocates of states' rights had always regarded secession as the final resort for the protection of the interests of a state. Their argument for the legal right of secession was that the state had always been supreme; that the war for independence, though waged jointly by the states, was waged by them as distinct sovereignties, and that Great Britain acknowledged the independence of each state by name; that when the states united under the Constitution, not one of them renounced its sovereignty, and each could with-



A CHARLESTON BROADSIDE

draw from the compact whenever it saw fit to do so.

The Union when the Constitution was Adopted. — The common view taken of the Union at the time of the adoption of the Constitution was that it was a compact from which the states could withdraw. Indeed, if the right of a state to secede had then been denied, the Constitution could not have been adopted, and the Union could not have been formed. An attempt was made in the convention that framed the Constitution to give Congress power to use military force to compel a state to obey the Federal law. This attempt failed because it was well understood that the state so attacked would probably quit the Union.¹

¹ See *Madison Papers*, pp. 372, 914; *Elliott's Debates*, pp. 232-233.

The right of secession was so thoroughly recognized that most states did not consider its assertion necessary when they ratified the Constitution, yet as a precaution, Virginia, New York, and Rhode Island clearly proclaimed it (see page 174).

Northern View of Secession. — It has been shown that New Englanders, in the belief that the influence of the South and West was injurious to their interests, threatened secession for twenty-five years after the adoption of the Constitution (see Chapter XIX); that, when a change came in the business interests of the North, including New England, Northerners found it necessary to take a different view of the Constitution to suit their new conditions. They then wished to allow the Federal government powers not expressly granted (see page 254). So, because their larger population gave them greater power in Congress, protective tariffs multiplied mills and factories; bounties and subsidies developed commerce; and improvement of rivers and harbors made transportation easier. Through these benefits the Northern people in general came to look upon the government as the best on the face of the globe and to regard it as *national* in character, with the states subordinate. Otherwise the states could continue to separate from one another until there would be a number of petty states in the place of one great republic. To the North the Union became sacred and secession unlawful.¹

The Southern View. — On the other hand, the interests of the South had not changed since the framing of the Constitution. They were agricultural in 1860, just as they had been in 1787; hence the legislation that had so aided the Northerner had not helped the Southerner. Southern men complained that their section was burdened with taxes for the benefit of the other section, and insisted that the Constitution, which had been framed by the fathers to do equal justice to all, be strictly observed.

¹ As late as 1844, however, the Massachusetts legislature, in opposing the annexation of Texas, acknowledged the right of secession.

Then came the slavery question. The North believed that its control of the general government would be threatened by the admission of slaveholding states into the Union; moreover, the belief that slavery was in itself wrong intensified the North's objection to it.

And now the South saw the Republican party triumphant — a party which had declared that slavery should be excluded from the territories in spite of the Supreme Court's decision that such exclusion was unconstitutional. Believing that her rights would not be secure under a government which would soon be in the control of the Republicans, the South thought that the time had come for forming a separate government.

The underlying cause of the war between the sections was the conflict of Northern and Southern interests.

Efforts at Compromise. — When the Southern states seceded, differing opinions as to the proper course to pursue divided the Northern people into three classes: (1) Those who believed that states had a right to separate, and that the North should permit the seceding states to go in peace rather than attempt to hold them by force; (2) Those who denied the right of secession, but were willing to make a compromise of the questions that were dividing the Union; (3) Those who both denied the right of secession and opposed any compromise. The first two classes, combined, constituted a majority; while the third class, the minority, was the Republican party.

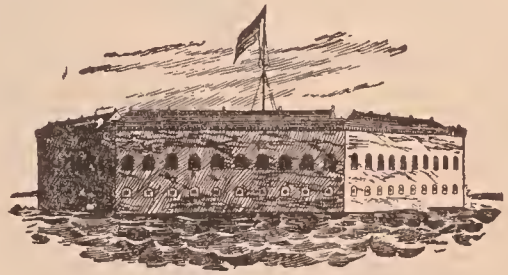
Compromise bills, intended to bring peace to the distracted country, had been introduced into Congress. The most important one was proposed by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky. It provided among other things: (1) For a Constitutional Amendment (the Dred Scott decision making an amendment necessary), extending the Missouri Compromise line to the eastern boundary of California; (2) For a less objectionable fugitive slave law. The former was intended to conciliate the South and the latter the North. The compromise might have averted war, but the Republicans

in Congress refused to agree to it." Nor would they consent to submit the matter to a vote of the people.

Virginia, hoping to save the Union, as once before it had done when the old Confederation was in danger of breaking up, invited the other states to join in a peace conference. In response, delegates from twenty-one states met in Washington, in February, 1861, the venerable ex-President Tyler presiding. The recommendations of the conference, however, were not accepted by Congress.

Buchanan's View.—In the few remaining months of his administration, President Buchanan did nothing to hinder the secession of the Southern states. He held that, while a state had no right to secede, the Federal government had no right to force it to remain in the Union. Commissioners from South Carolina waited upon the President to negotiate for the transfer of forts and other Federal property within the state on peaceable terms, but the President refused to treat with them.

The "Star of the West."—Fort Sumter, in Charleston harbor, was garrisoned by a small force of United States soldiers. South Carolina made no attempt to take the fort; but when Buchanan sent a vessel, the *Star of the West*, with provisions and reënforcements for its relief, the state felt justified in resisting. Militia fired upon the vessel on January 9, 1861, compelling it to retire.



FORT SUMTER

The Confederate States of America.—In February, 1861, delegates from six of the seceding states met in Montgomery, Alabama, to organize a government.¹ A temporary constitution for the "Confederate States of America" was adopted. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was elected President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia, Vice President. Soon afterward a permanent constitution was adopted.

The Confederate Constitution was similar in most respects

¹ Representatives from Texas did not arrive until later.

to the Federal Constitution, though there were some decided differences. The terms of President and Vice President were



ALEXANDER H. STEPHENS

fixed at six years, and these officers were ineligible to re-election. Powers which the Federal government had assumed, but to which the states' rights people had always objected, such as internal improvements, protective tariffs, and bounties, were forbidden.

Thus, when Lincoln was inaugurated, March 4, 1861, there were two governments where before there had been only one. The failure of all the attempts to bring the

sections together through a compromise caused keen regret. Excitement was intense throughout the country.

All forts in the seceding states that could be peaceably taken were occupied by the Confederacy. Fort Sumter, at Charleston, Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, and the forts near Key West contained small garrisons. Wishing to avoid war, the Confederates did not seize these forts, but relied upon securing them through negotiation.

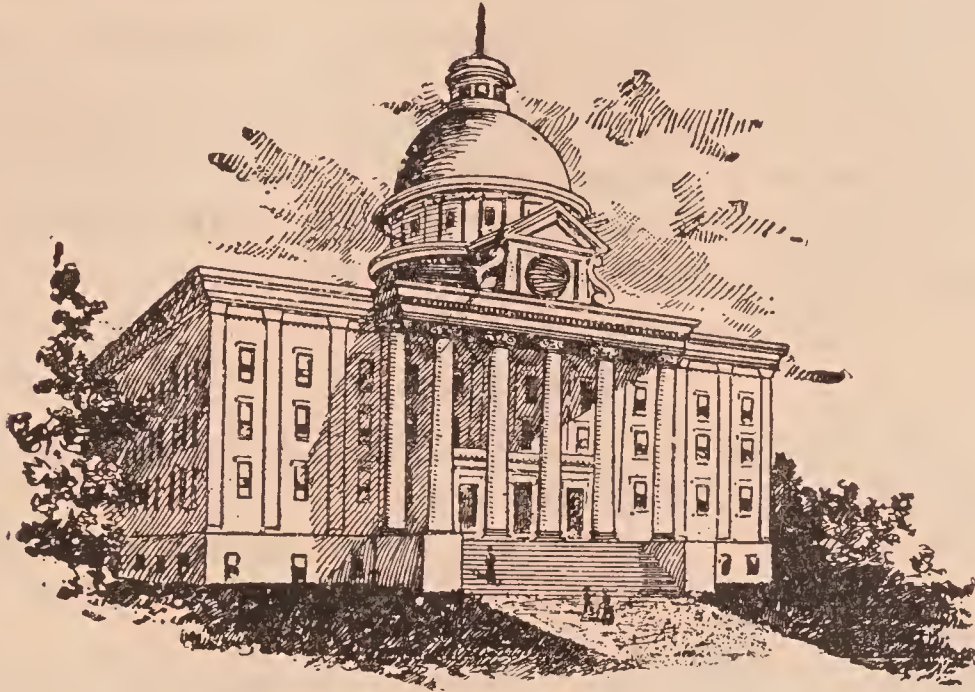
Lincoln's Policy. — The excitement and anxiety of the times are evident from the fact that unusual precautions were taken to prevent the assassination of Lincoln. The President-elect entered Washington secretly and was inaugurated under the protection of a military guard.

In his inaugural address Lincoln denied the right of secession, and announced that he would "hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and collect the duties and imports." Now that compromise had failed, and the only question was whether the Union should be allowed to divide, the people of the North heartily approved of Lincoln's announcement. On the



JEFFERSON DAVIS

other hand, the South, believing in its right to a separate government, regarded Lincoln's words as equivalent to a declaration of war. Hereafter the Federal government could not continue to hold Southern forts and to collect duties in the South except through force of arms.



THE CAPITOL AT MONTGOMERY

The Confederacy, hoping for peaceful secession, had sent commissioners to Washington to effect a transfer of forts and all other property within its borders, and an adjustment of the public debt, but the mission failed. The Federal authorities, not recognizing the Confederate government as legal, of course could not recognize its commissioners.

Topics and Questions

1. What were the parties, the platforms, and the names of the presidential candidates of 1860?
2. Recount the reason and the progress of secession in the South.
3. State the argument of those who believed in the right of secession. Give the view as to the right of secession that was generally accepted at the time of the adoption of the Constitution. Explain why opinion in the North changed, and in the South remained unchanged.
4. Describe the attempts at compromise. What was the result of the peace conference proposed by Virginia?
5. What was the attitude of President Buchanan toward secession?

State the object of the commissioners sent from South Carolina to the President. Why did President Buchanan dispatch the *Star of the West* to Fort Sumter, and why did the South Carolina militia fire upon it?

6. When and where was the government of the Confederate States of America organized? Who were elected its President and Vice President? Give some facts regarding the Constitution of the Confederate States of America.

7. What was the exact situation at the close of President Buchanan's administration?

8. What idea of the Union, and of his own duty in maintaining it, did Lincoln give in his inaugural address? How did the North receive his words? How did the South? Why did the Confederate commissions fail to adjust matters at Washington?

Project Exercises

1. Review all threats of secession and nullification which had been made in any part of the Union up to 1860.

2. Give briefly the history of the great compromises on slavery.

Important Dates:

1860. Election of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States.

1860. Secession of South Carolina.

1861. Secession of other Southern states.

1861. Organization of the Confederate States of America; Jefferson Davis, President.

CHAPTER XXIX

EARLY EVENTS OF THE WAR OF SECESSION (1861-1862)

Fall of Fort Sumter. — Major Robert Anderson, of the United States army, occupied Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor with a command numbering less than one hundred. The Confederates covered the fort with the guns of the other forts in the harbor and of the batteries they had erected, yet peace was unbroken as long as there was hope of a quiet evacuation of Fort Sumter.

Early in April, 1861, a Federal fleet was ordered to the relief of Major Anderson, and General P. G. T. Beauregard, commanding the Confederate forces at Charleston, summoned him to surrender. Anderson declined, and on April 12 the Confederates opened fire upon the fort with many guns. Sumter returned the fire, but the Federal fleet, which stood outside the harbor, took no part in the contest. On the afternoon of the second day, when the fort was on fire from shells, Major Anderson surrendered. Despite the heavy cannonade, not a man on either side had been killed or seriously injured. Thus with a bloodless encounter began the bloody War of Secession.

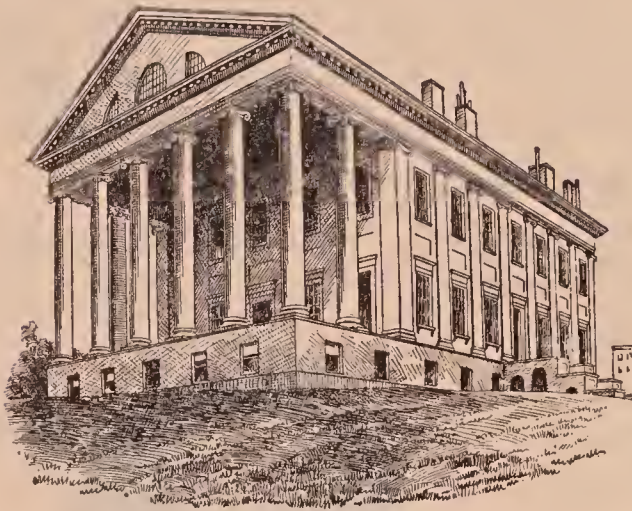
Effect upon the Country. — The fall of Fort Sumter acted like an electric shock. Everybody knew that the war had begun. The North, feeling that the government had been attacked, rallied to the cause of the Union; the South, believing that defense of Southern rights had become neces-



P. G. T. BEAUREGARD

sary, sprang to the support of the Confederacy. President Lincoln called for seventy-five thousand militia and many more than that number responded. President Davis asked for volunteers, and Southerners poured into the Confederate army. Americans faced Americans in fratricidal strife, each having faith in the justness of his cause.

Secession of Four Other States. — Lincoln's call for troops caused four other states to withdraw. Rather than join



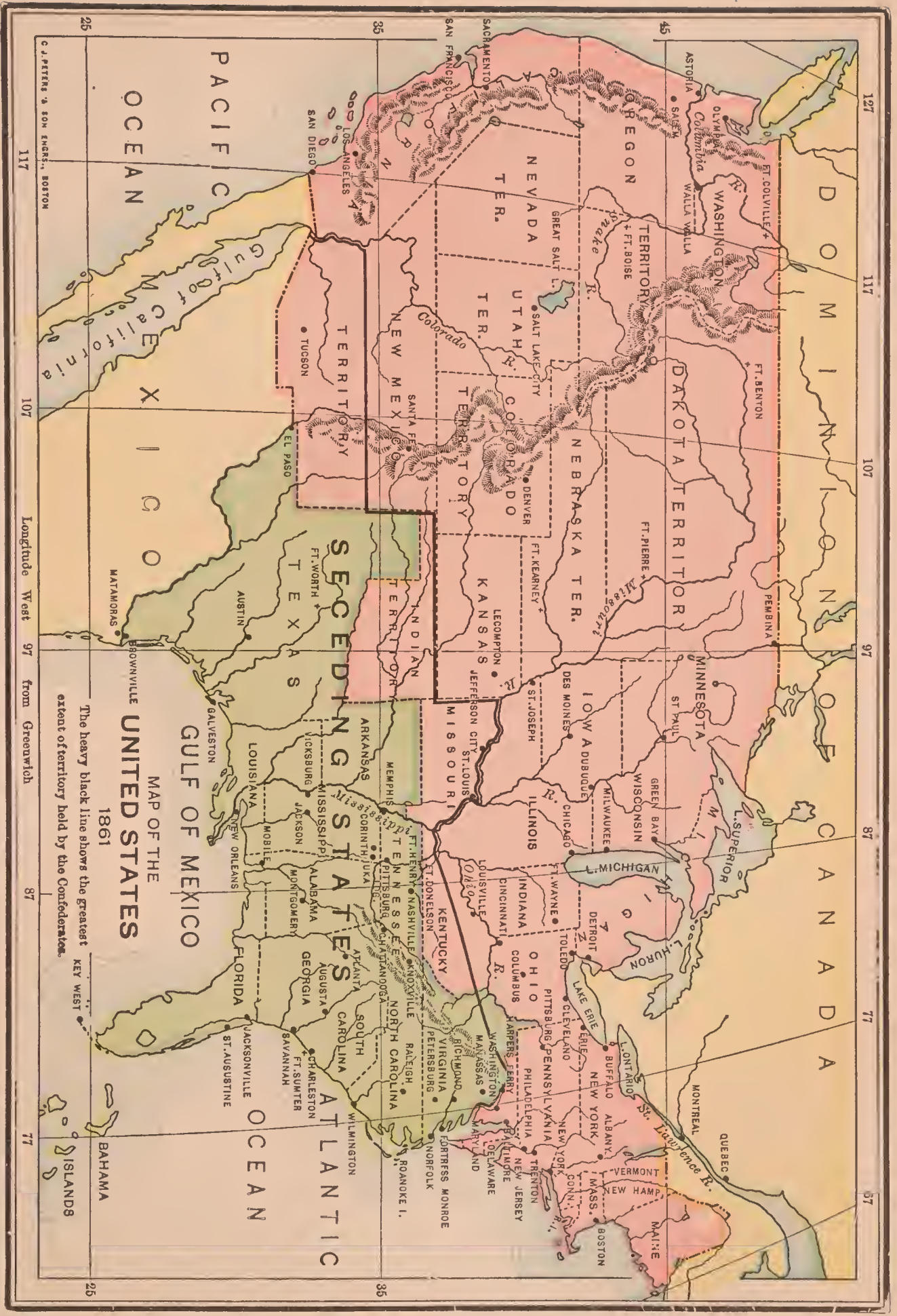
CAPITOL AT RICHMOND, 1861

in war waged to force the Confederate states back into the Union, Virginia seceded April 17; Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20; Tennessee, June 8. These states immediately joined the Confederacy. The Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond.

The Border States. — The feeling in favor of secession had never been very strong in Delaware. In Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, where it had many supporters, Unionists and Secessionists struggled for control; in these states the Union influence at length prevailed. Yet, although they did not secede, the ties binding them to the South were close, and they attempted to hold a neutral position in the war.

Neutrality was impossible. In order to reach Washington, Federal troops came into Maryland; and the state was held fast to the Union.¹ Missouri was quickly filled with hostile camps. After some sharp fighting a battle took place at Wilson's Creek, in which the Confederates were victorious. But by autumn the Confederates had

¹ The occupation of Maryland by Union forces inspired James R. Randall to write the well-known poem, "Maryland, My Maryland."



MAP OF THE
UNITED STATES
1861

The heavy black line shows the greatest extent of territory held by the Confederates.

C. J. PETERS & SON ENGRS., BOSTON

117

107

Longitude West 97 from Greenwich

87

77

127

117

107

97

87

77

67

25

35

45

25

35

45

been compelled to retire before a superior Federal army, and had fallen back to the extreme Southern part of the state, leaving Missouri to the control of the Federals. In the fall some skirmishing occurred in Kentucky without decided results, and the year ended with both armies occupying the state.

With neutrality at an end, the people of Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri were divided into two fierce factions, brother fighting against brother. Though the majority held to the Union, many men from these states became soldiers in the Confederate army.

Western Virginia. — The inhabitants of Virginia west of the mountains were opposed to secession, and seeing the state withdraw from the Union, they took steps to uphold the Federal government. A governor, legislature, and delegation to Congress were elected. The new government called itself the state of Virginia, and claimed to have taken the place of the state government that had gone into the Confederacy. Its delegation was admitted to seats in the Federal Congress as Senators and Representatives from Virginia. A strong Federal force was sent to aid the inhabitants in holding this section for the Union. Against this force the Confederates could bring only a few men and after some months of fighting abandoned western Virginia. In 1863 western Virginia was admitted into the Union as the separate state of West Virginia.¹

Unequalness of the Contest. — From the very outset the contest between the North and the South was unequal, and so it continued until the end of the war. The population of the North was in round numbers twenty-two millions. The South had nine millions, of which three and a half millions were slaves. Thus with respect to popu-

¹ The Constitution of the United States forbids the division of a state unless the legislature of the state consents. The legislature of the government newly formed in western Virginia, which the United States recognized as the government of Virginia, but which was not the legislature of Virginia proper, consented to the division of the state.

lation from which an army could be drawn, the North was four times as great as the South.¹

The armories of the North contained nearly three times as many muskets and rifles as did the armories of the South. Even after resorting to country rifles and shot guns, the Confederacy was long unable to provide enough small arms. All foundries for the manufacture of arms, except one for making cannon, and all except two powder mills, were in the Northern states.

The North had varied industries. Its farms raised food in abundance, and its factories could make all materials needed for war. The South planted cotton and tobacco, and did not in times of peace raise food sufficient for its inhabitants, but bought much from the North and Europe.

The Union had a treasury and a navy; the Confederacy had neither. The Union could add to its resources by purchases from Europe, but the blockade of the coast of the Confederacy, begun by the Federal government soon after the war commenced, closed Southern ports to trade. Not only did the blockade prevent the Confederacy from securing arms from abroad, but it shut out some of the necessities of life, and many commodities became very scarce.

Nature of the Contest. — The effort of the Southern states to withdraw, and of the North to prevent them, made the war an offensive one on the part of the North and a defensive one on the part of the South. This was almost the only thing in the South's favor; yet it meant much, because fighting on the defensive is of great advantage to an army.

The Confederacy set to work to make arms and ammunition, blankets, saddles, harness, and other things needed

¹ Census of 1860. The comparison is made between the population of the non-seceding states and that of the seceding states. The number of men that went into the Confederate army from Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri was nearly, if not quite, balanced by the number that joined the Union army from western Virginia, east Tennessee, and other parts of the South.

in war; and while it was never able to equip its armies properly, the results accomplished were great.

A Short War Expected. — Neither side believed that the war would last more than a few months. The North hoped to deal the Confederate army a crushing blow, then seize Richmond, and bring the war to a speedy close. The South thought that after she had gained a victory or two the North would abandon the contest. Federal armies were assembled on the borders of Virginia, and Confederate troops were hurried to the defense of the state.

General Irvin McDowell, commanding a Federal army in front of Washington, moved against a Confederate army,



JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON



"STONEWALL" JACKSON

under Beauregard, which was stationed on Bull Run, near Manassas, Virginia, about twenty-five miles southwest from Washington, thus barring the way to Richmond. General Joseph E. Johnston, who had a small force in the Shenandoah Valley, hastened to the aid of Beauregard.

First Bull Run, or Manassas. — On Sunday, July 21, 1861, men of the North and men of the South grappled in battle. The opposing forces were practically equal in numbers — each about eighteen thousand men. At first the Confederates were driven back, but rallying and making an im-

petuous charge, they routed the Federals. The retreat of the Federals became a panic, many of them fleeing until they reached Washington. The loss of the Union army in killed, wounded, and missing was about three thousand; the Confederate loss about two thousand.¹

The North Aroused. — The dismay at the North in consequence of the defeat was only for the moment. Con-



GEORGE B. MCCLELLAN

gress had already authorized the enlistment of an army of half a million men, and voted an immense appropriation for the expenses of the war. The Northern people, seeing now that a tremendous war was on their hands, gave the Federal government enthusiastic support. General George B. McClellan was appointed to the chief command of the Union armies.

Effect on the South. — In the South the effect of the battle was to give undue confidence. The people believed the Southern army would speedily bring the war to a successful close; so, for a time, there was great joy and little effort. But the leaders knew better, and they made ready as well as they might for a long struggle.

¹ In the first part of the battle, when the Confederates were being driven back, the incident occurred that gave the name of "Stonewall" to Thomas J. Jackson, a Confederate general soon to become famous. Jackson's troops occupied a rear line, presenting an unbroken front with Jackson at their head. "They are beating us back," exclaimed General Bee. "Well, sir," calmly replied Jackson, "we will give them the bayonet." Turning to the retreating soldiers, Bee called out, "There's Jackson standing like a stone wall." Immediately the cry passed from man to man, "Stonewall Jackson! Stonewall Jackson!" The Confederates rallied under the magic name — a name by which Jackson has ever since been known the world over.

Results of 1861. — The defeat at Bull Run had ended the first advance upon Richmond. The rest of the year 1861 McClellan gave to organizing and equipping thoroughly the great army under his command. The first year of the war ended with little advantage to either side. The Confederates had won the only important battle; but the North had succeeded in holding for the Union the border states and western Virginia.

The Armies in 1862. — At the beginning of 1862 the Union had six hundred thousand soldiers in the field; the Confederacy only half that number. The Confederate line of defense extended along the borders of Virginia, through southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee, and across the Mississippi River into southern Missouri.

The Federal plan of campaign for the Eastern army had for its purpose the capture of Richmond, the Confederate capital. For the Western armies the plan was to get control of the Mississippi, now strongly fortified by the Confederates. The opening of the Mississippi would cut the Confederacy in two, and would shut off from the Confederate armies the large supplies, especially of beef, which came from Texas and elsewhere west of the river.

Grant Captures Fort Donelson. — Operations began first in the West, where the Confederate main line, under General Albert Sidney Johnston, extended through southern Kentucky and northern Tennessee to the Mississippi River. The key to this line was Fort Donelson, near its center, on the Cumberland River, in northern Tennessee. About the middle of February General Ulysses S. Grant with a Federal force surrounded the fort. The Confederate garrison made a gallant attempt to break through, but were driven



ALBERT SIDNEY JOHNSTON

back. Hemmed in by superior numbers the Confederates surrendered.

The fall of Donelson was a great disaster to the Confederates. They could no longer hold the remainder of their line, and a new line was formed farther southward, extending from middle Tennessee through the borders of Alabama and Mississippi. Nashville, thus given up, was occupied by the Federals.

Battle of Shiloh. — After the capture of Fort Donelson, Grant's army moved in transports up the Tennessee River, accompanied by a fleet of gunboats. Disembarking at Pittsburgh Landing, in southwestern Tennessee, the troops camped near Shiloh Church, about two miles from the river.



DON CARLOS BUELL

There Grant waited for another Federal army under General Don Carlos Buell to reënforce him, before pushing farther southward into the Confederacy. The Confederate general, Albert Sidney Johnston, hoped that, by defeating Grant before Buell could join him and then defeating Buell, the ground lost by the fall of Donelson might be regained. On the morning of April 6, 1862, the Confederates fell with terrible onslaught upon Grant's forces at

Shiloh and by afternoon had driven the greater part of them to the river bank under the protection of the gunboats. At the moment when victory seemed assured, the Southerners lost their leader, General Johnston.

In the afternoon and night Buell's army reached the field. The arrival of reënforcements saved Grant's army. The battle, renewed the next day, resulted in forcing the Confederates to retreat. This was the severest battle that had yet taken place.

Following their success at Shiloh, the Federals continued their advance. The Confederates retreated farther into Mississippi. The giving up of more territory further lampered the Confederates; for it not only broke their second line of defense, but also cut the railroad system between the East and the West; over which they had moved troops and supplies.

On the Mississippi.— Another severe reverse in the West befell the Confederates when New Orleans was captured April 29, 1862. Commodore David G. Farragut



DAVID G. FARRAGUT

entered the mouth of the Mississippi and took possession of the city after running past the forts on the river and destroying an inferior fleet. New Orleans was the largest city and chief seaport of the Confederacy.



BRAXTON BRAGG

Shortly afterward the city of Memphis on the Mississippi fell into the hands of the Federals. The Mississippi was not yet entirely open to the Federals, for between New Orleans and Memphis was the city of Vicksburg, which the Confederates had strongly fortified. From Vicksburg southward the Confederates still

controlled about two hundred miles of the river.

Invasion of Kentucky.— General Braxton Bragg, who now commanded the Confederate army in the West, en-

deavored to carry the war beyond the borders of the Confederacy. Late in the summer he invaded Kentucky. The Federal army under Buell followed him. The opposing forces met in battle at Perryville, and Bragg, on account of inferior numbers, withdrew from the field. As he could not get reënforcements sufficient to cope with Buell, who had been heavily reënforced, Bragg retired to Tennessee. Beyond obtaining a large quantity of supplies, Bragg's campaign had accomplished nothing. The Confederates had hoped that Kentuckians would join their army in large numbers and that the campaign would compel Grant, who with his army had been left in western Tennessee and northern Mississippi, to release his hold upon that section; but neither result happened.

Murfreesboro, or Stone River. — The Federal government, dissatisfied with Buell for not crushing Bragg's army while in



WILLIAM S. ROSECRANS

Kentucky, put in his place General William S. Rosecrans. The new commander advanced against Bragg, whose army was in winter quarters at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, on Stone River, not far from Nashville. Here occurred a fiercely contested engagement on December 31, 1862, and January 2, 1863. It was a drawn battle; but as Bragg withdrew Rosecrans claimed the victory. Both armies had been so badly shattered that

they remained inactive for months.

The Virginia Armies in 1862. — While success attended the Union army in the West in 1862, it favored the Confederates in the East. The Union army under McClellan, known as the Army of the Potomac, whose purpose was to capture Richmond, was three times as great as the Confed-



ROBERT E. LEE

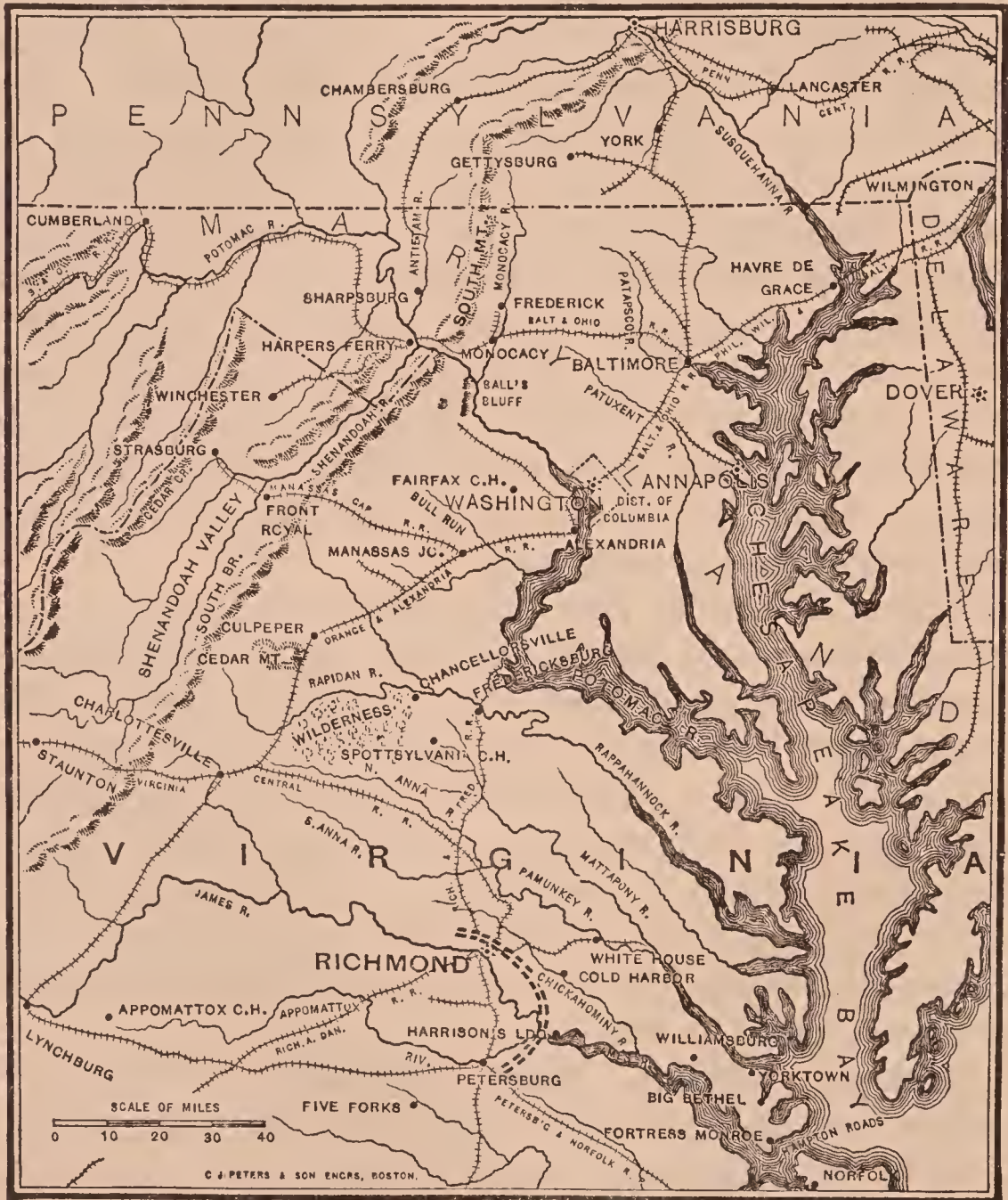
erate Army of Northern Virginia under Joseph E. Johnston. For months the two armies had remained near Manassas, separated by only a few miles.

McClellan decided that, rather than attack the Confederates at Manassas, a better plan would be to approach Richmond by way of the Peninsula, as the part of Virginia between the York and the James rivers is called. Early in April, 1862, he transported most of his army down the Chesapeake Bay and landed near the mouth of the York River. McClellan moved cautiously toward Richmond, although the Confederate force attacking him and impeding his progress was much smaller than his. After nearly two months, McClellan reached a position within seven miles of Richmond. With one hundred thousand men he was now within sight of the church steeples of the Confederate capital. Johnston stood between him and the city with only sixty-three thousand men.

General Robert E. Lee. — To allow the Federals to advance farther would mean the probable capture of Richmond; therefore the Confederates made a vigorous attack. The battle, known as Seven Pines, lasted two days (May 31 and June 1, 1862). Neither side gained any great advantage. General Johnston was wounded and General Robert E. Lee was placed in command of the Confederate army. McClellan begged for reënforcements, and an army under General McDowell, which had been held to protect Washington, was ordered to join him.

Jackson's Famous Valley Campaign. — "Stonewall" Jackson had been stationed, with a very small Confederate force, in the Shenandoah Valley in the western part of Virginia, to protect Richmond from an attack from the rear. By rapid marches and by attacking before they could unite against him, Jackson had defeated one Federal army after another. The dispersion of the Federal troops in the Valley left the way open to Washington. There was now consternation in the North, for it was feared that Jackson would capture the Federal capital. The militia of some of the

Northern states was called out; McDowell's army, which had started on its way to reinforce McClellan, was hurried back to defend Washington. But it was no part of the Confederate plan for Jackson to attempt the capture of Wash-



MAP OF CAMPAIGNS IN VIRGINIA

ington. With his small force he could not have held the city, even if he had taken it. He came out of the Valley and joined Lee in time to take part in the campaign against McClellan. Within a month Jackson had marched four hundred miles, fought six battles and many skirmishes.

captured thousands of prisoners and large amounts of supplies; he had defeated three armies, had for the time freed Richmond of danger from the rear, and had prevented McDowell from joining forces with McClellan.

Seven Days Battles Before Richmond. — Late in June, Lee's army renewed the attack upon the Federals. McClellan was forced to abandon his lines in front of Richmond. For seven days (June 25–July 1, 1862), the battles raged, McClellan retreating down the banks of the James River until he reached a point where a strong fleet protected his army. Thus failed the Federal campaign in the Peninsula.

Gloom set in at the North, but there was no intention of giving up the contest. Lincoln called for three hundred thousand more troops. Lee's success in this campaign gave his soldiers such confidence in him that they believed him invincible. In the seven days of fighting the Union loss was sixteen thousand; the Confederate loss was twenty thousand.

Second Bull Run, or Manassas. — The armies that Jackson had defeated in the Shenandoah Valley had been united near Washington and placed under command of General John Pope, while McClellan's army was yet on the Peninsula. Hardly had Lee defeated McClellan when he found Pope advancing against him. Lee determined to strike Pope before McClellan could reënforce him. As soon as he became certain that McClellan's army was being transferred by water from the Peninsula, he hurried forward and defeated Pope on the old battlefield of Bull Run, August 29–30, 1862, before McClellan could get more than a small part of his forces on the field.

Antietam or Sharpsburg. — The Confederate army had been greatly reduced by battle and disease, and it lacked most of the supplies needed for war. The men were ragged and many of them were without shoes, and Lee knew that his army was in no condition to capture the strong fortifications around Washington; still, wishing to relieve the pressure upon the South, he marched directly northward.

McClellan's great army followed Lee's, and at Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek in western Maryland, the armies met, on September 17, 1862, in "the bloodiest single day of fighting of the war." Neither army gained the victory, but as McClellan had received reënforcements, Lee recrossed the Potomac into Virginia. Antietam had the effect of a Union victory. No reënforcements could reach Lee, and his Maryland campaign failed.

Fredericksburg. — McClellan advanced once more into Virginia, but so slowly that the government removed him and placed General Ambrose E. Burnside in command of the army. Burnside attacked Lee at Fredericksburg on December 13, 1862. The Federals numbered twice as many as the Confederates, whose position, however, was exceedingly strong. Crossing the Rappahannock River, the Federals made six magnificent, but unsuccessful, attempts to dislodge the Confederates. After suffering fearful losses they retired across the river. This battle ended the efforts to take Richmond in 1862.

Results of the Campaigns of 1862. — The events of 1862 were, on the whole, favorable to the Federals. They had recovered much of Tennessee and Arkansas, and secured control of all but a small part of the Mississippi River; while the attempts of Bragg and Lee to carry the war into the North had been unsuccessful. Many ports on the southern coast had been captured; the blockade was thus made more effective, and in the South the want of supplies of every kind was steadily growing greater. Yet all efforts to take Richmond had failed, and the war was costing the Union vast sums of money.

Topics and Questions

1. Why, how, and when did Fort Sumter fall? What was the effect upon the North and the South? What states seceded after the fall of Fort Sumter? Why could not the border states be neutral? Tell how "Maryland, My Maryland" came to be written. Tell the story of West Virginia.

2. Contrast the resources of the North and the South. Why was

the South fighting on the defensive? What was the advantage of this?

3. Why was a short war expected? What was the object of the first campaign? Name opposing leaders and positions. Give details of the first battle of Bull Run or Manassas, and its effects upon the North and the South. Tell how General T. J. Jackson came to be called "Stonewall."

4. Contrast the opposing forces of the second year of the war. What were the plans of the Federals for their campaigns?

5. Why did the Confederates wish to hold Fort Donelson? How did the Union forces succeed in taking this fort? What did they gain by capturing it?

6. Describe General Albert Sidney Johnston's gallant action at Shiloh. What was the result of this battle? What successes did the Federals meet with on the Mississippi River?

7. How did Bragg take the offensive in the West? How did Buell meet him at Perryville? What was the result? What are the details of the battle of Murfreesboro?

8. What was the position of the armies in Virginia at the beginning of 1862? Describe McClellan's plan and his advance upon Richmond. How was his advance stopped? Who succeeded General Johnston in command of the Confederate army in Virginia?

9. Describe "Stonewall" Jackson's famous campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. What great fear did his campaign arouse in the North? How did the Federal campaign on the Peninsula fail? Tell the effect upon the North. Upon the South.

10. Describe the second battle of Bull Run or Manassas. Explain why Antietam had the effect of a Union victory. Tell of the battle of Fredericksburg. Sum up the results of the war in 1862.

Project Exercises

1. What had been the life of Abraham Lincoln up to 1861? Of Jefferson Davis? Describe General Robert E. Lee's training for chief command of the Confederate army. (See biographies of Lincoln, Davis and Lee in the Appendix.)

2. Find on the map all the places mentioned in this chapter. Show on the map how much of the Mississippi River had fallen under the control of the Federals by 1862.

Important Dates:

- 1861. Fall of Fort Sumter.
- 1861. First battle of Bull Run or Manassas.
- 1862. Battle of Shiloh.
- 1862. Failure of the Federal Campaign on the Peninsula.
- 1862. Battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg.

CHAPTER XXX

FOREIGN COMPLICATIONS, EMANCIPATION, CONSCRIPTION

South Hopes for European Aid. — Europe had always obtained most of her cotton from the South. Now that the blockade of the Southern ports by the Federal navy prevented the shipment of the staple, cotton factories in Europe were compelled to run on part time or shut down altogether. The suffering that followed was greatest in England where the livelihood of so many persons depended on the cotton industry. Many, though perhaps never a majority, of the English people wished that their government would recognize the independence of the Confederacy and use its navy to break the blockade. France, then an empire under Napoleon III, was willing to aid the Confederacy if Great Britain would do so. Of course, if another nation had aided the Confederacy, the United States would have been compelled to go to war with that nation. More than once war between the United States and Great Britain was imminent on account of that country's sympathy with the South, and not until many reverses to the Southern armies had shown that the Confederacy would probably fail did danger of war with Great Britain pass.

The "Trent" Affair. — Indeed, soon after the war began an incident occurred that came near causing the United States and Great Britain to clash. James M. Mason of Virginia, and John Slidell of Louisiana, were appointed commissioners of the Confederate government to Great Britain and France respectively, for the purpose of securing the aid of these countries.

The commissioners passed the blockade in the fall of 1861 and reached Cuba, where they took passage for England on the British mail ship *Trent*. The United States war-



98

89

LONGITUDE WEST

43

37

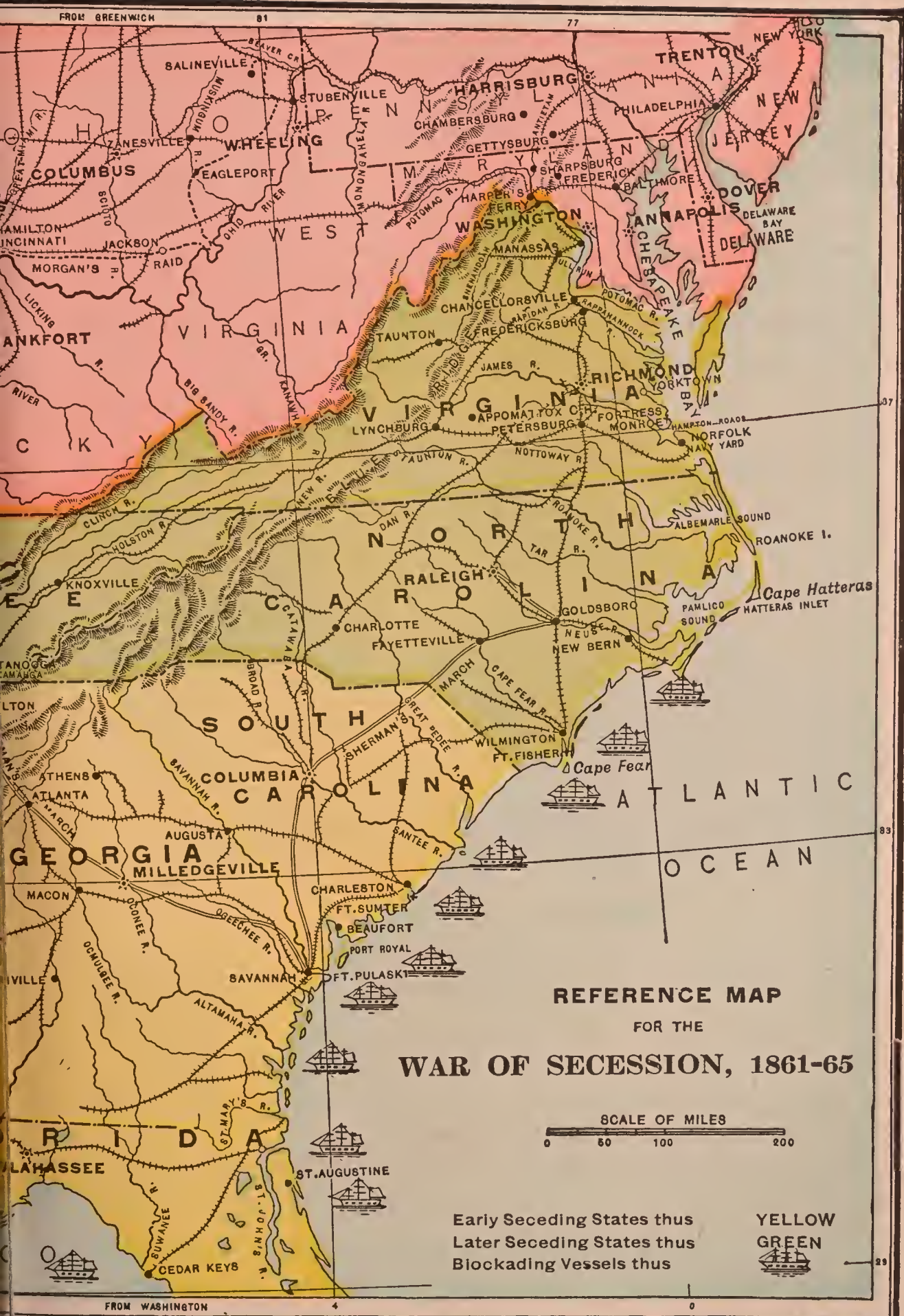
33

29

16

12

LONGITUDE WEST



FROM GREENWICH

81

77

NEW YORK

COLUMBUS

WHEELING

HARRISBURG

TRENTON

NEW JERSEY

JACKSON

WEST VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON

PHILADELPHIA

DOVER

ANKFORD

VIRGINIA

MANASSAS

ANNAPOLIS

DELAWARE

CLINTON

LYNCHBURG

RICHMOND

NORFOLK

KNOXVILLE

RALEIGH

GOLDSBORO

ROANOKE I.

ATLANTA

CHARLOTTE

WILMINGTON

Cape Hatteras

MAISON

COLUMBIA

CAPE FEAR

ATLANTIC OCEAN

SAVANNAH

CHARLESTON

FT. PULASKI

ATLANTIC OCEAN

LAHASSEE

ST. AUGUSTINE

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC OCEAN

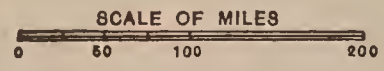
FROM WASHINGTON

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23

REFERENCE MAP
FOR THE
WAR OF SECESSION, 1861-65



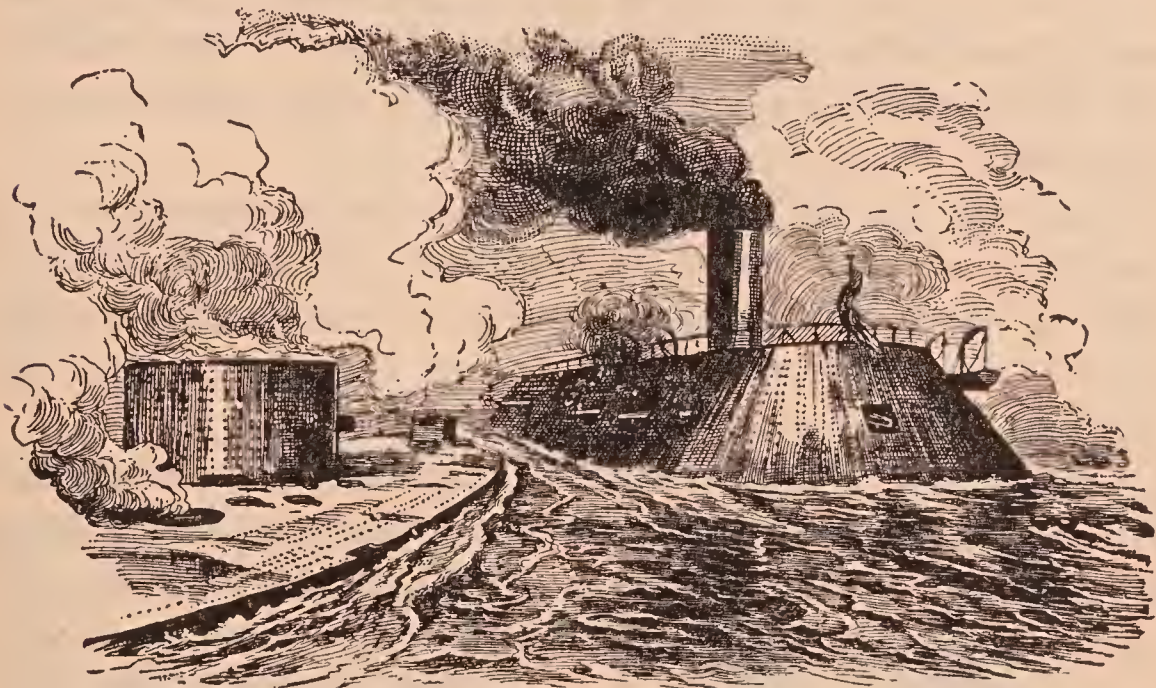
Early Seceding States thus
Later Seceding States thus
Blockading Vessels thus

YELLOW GREEN



ship *San Jacinto*, commanded by Captain Wilkes, forcibly overhauled the British vessel and carried off Mason and Slidell. The North applauded Captain Wilkes. But it was a serious matter to attack and board a vessel belonging to a neutral nation. To put a stop to such acts, the United States had fought the War of 1812.

Great Britain demanded the release of the prisoners, in the meantime preparing for war in case the demand was not complied with. The United States government, recognizing that a wrong act had been committed, delivered Mason and



MONITOR AND MERRIMAC

Slidell to Great Britain, and the danger of a foreign war was for a time averted.

Trying to Break the Blockade. — When the Federal authorities, upon the secession of Virginia, abandoned the navy yard at Norfolk, they sank the *Merrimac*, a war frigate. The Confederates raised the vessel and made it an ironclad, calling it the *Virginia*, though it is still generally known by the old name of *Merrimac*. The *Merrimac* when refitted resembled a huge ark. With this vessel the Confederates hoped to destroy the wooden ships of the United States navy and, by doing so, break the blockade. On an afternoon

early in 1862, the *Merrimac* steamed into Hampton Roads and destroyed two frigates, ran another aground, and scattered the rest of the Union fleet.

The completion of the work of destruction was expected next day; but in the night the *Monitor*, an invention of John Ericsson, arrived in Hampton Roads. The *Monitor* looked like a "cheese box on a raft," little of it showing above water except a small turret from which cannon were fired. When morning came the *Merrimac* and the *Monitor* met in a fierce duel. Not much damage was done to either vessel, but the engagement ended by the *Monitor's* getting into water too shallow for the *Merrimac* to follow. Nevertheless, the *Monitor* had, by saving the Union fleet, preserved the blockade.

This was the first time that vessels completely iron-clad had been in battle, and the harmless way in which shots struck their coats of armor showed that the days of wooden ships of war were over. Nations at once began to build armored vessels.¹

Confederate Privateers and Cruisers. — The Confederacy began the war with no navy. Under the authority of



THE CRUISER "ALABAMA"

the Confederate government, privateers caused many losses to the commerce of the United States. Afterward the Confederacy itself fitted out vessels of war, known as cruisers. The privateers and cruisers almost drove the commerce of the United States from the seas. The most famous of the cruisers was the *Alabama*, commanded by Captain (later Rear Admiral) Raphael Semmes. After sailing all over the world, everywhere capturing mer-

¹ Later in 1862, when the Confederates evacuated Norfolk, they blew up the *Merrimac* to keep it from falling into the hands of the Federals.

chant vessels belonging to the United States, it was sunk by the United States war vessel *Kearsage*, in a furious battle fought near the coast of France, in the summer of 1864. Semmes and most of his crew were saved.

Some of the Confederate cruisers, including the *Alabama*, were built in Great Britain, and this fact increased the feeling in the United States against that country. Great Britain in permitting the vessels to be built in her waters violated neutrality, and after the close of the war the United States obtained from the British government large damages in money (see page 385).

What the North Fought for. — The North was fighting to prevent the division of the Union, and not for the abolition of slavery. Lincoln declared in his inaugural address, “I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe that I have no lawful right to do so; and I have no inclination to do so.”

After the war began, however, the pressure upon Congress by the abolitionists became very great. The occasion appeared favorable to them for the forcible abolition of slavery. As a war measure, Congress passed, in 1861, a law declaring that slaves used by the Confederates in carrying on the war would be confiscated.

The Emancipation Proclamation. — As the war progressed and it became evident that the defense of the South could be broken down by only the hardest struggle, the idea that all slaves in the Confederacy should be set free in order to weaken the power of the South constantly gained strength in the North.

President Lincoln had entered upon his administration with the belief that he had no lawful right to interfere with slavery where it already existed, and with no intention of doing so; but he gradually reached the conclusion that, as the slaves were raising the supplies that fed the Confederate soldiers and were serving as laborers in the Confederate army, “it was a military necessity absolutely essential for

the salvation of the nation" that the slaves be emancipated. Moreover, since the feeling against slavery was strong in Great Britain, Lincoln believed that, if the destruction of slavery were made a part of the purpose of the North in waging the war, the desire among the British people to aid the Confederacy would decrease.

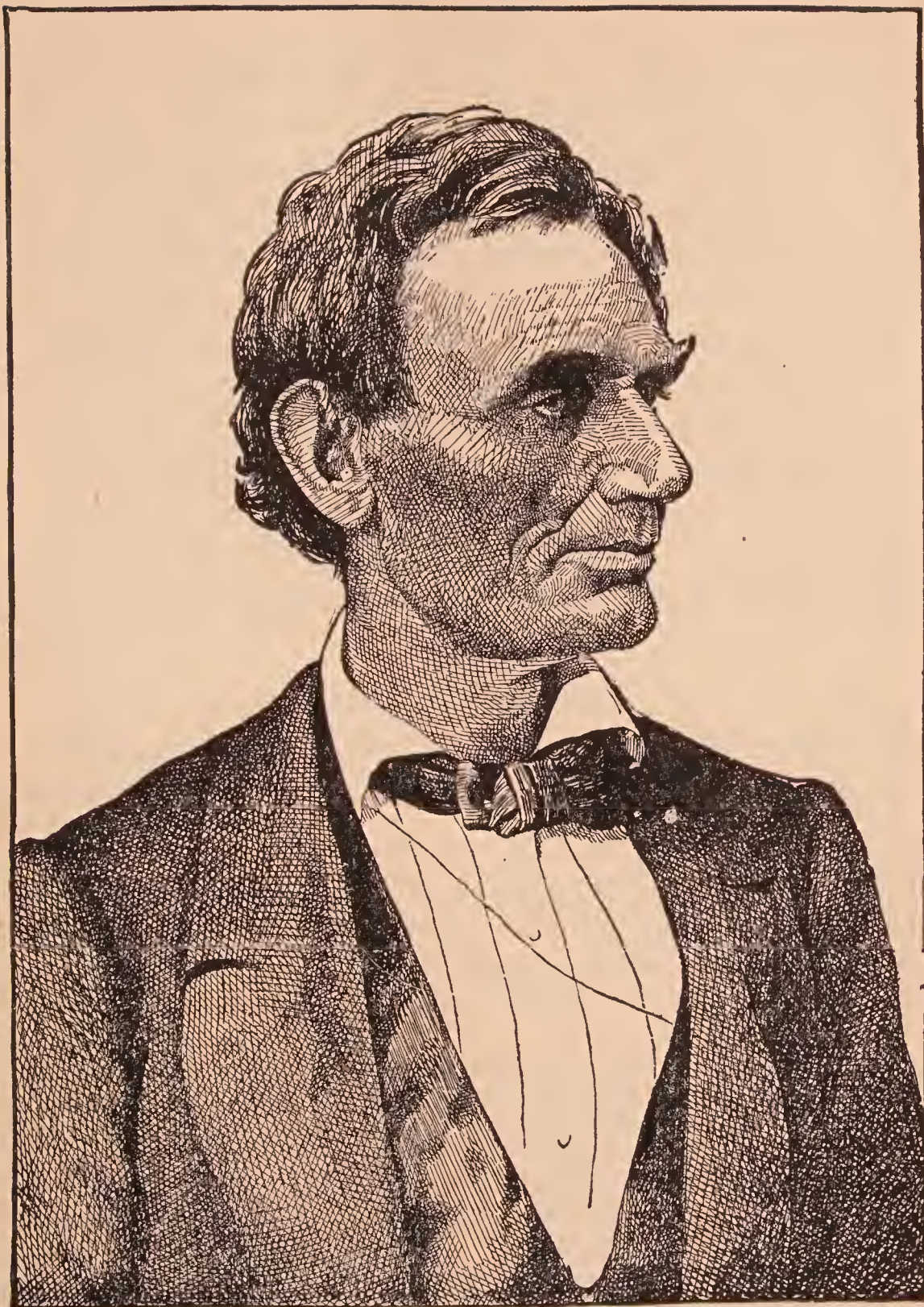
In September, 1862, Lincoln issued a proclamation giving warning that all persons held as slaves in any state, or part of a state, that was still in arms against the United States on January 1, 1863, would then be free. On January 1, 1863, he issued a second proclamation, declaring forever free the slaves in the states of the Confederacy except in such parts as were under control of the United States forces.¹

The Constitution did not give the President the specific right to abolish slavery, and Lincoln himself said the proclamation had "no constitutional or legal justification, except as a war measure"; of course the proclamation could become effective only through force of arms.

Conscription or Draft Laws. — In all previous wars, since the regular army was never large, the country had depended upon militia and volunteers. In no war had this plan proved satisfactory. The War of Secession had become one of such magnitude and so destructive of life that the plan was no longer possible. The large armies required could not be gained from militia and volunteers. The Confederacy passed, in 1862, a conscription, or draft law, requiring every able-bodied citizen between certain ages to serve in the army. As the war went on and the Confederacy became more and more in need of recruits, the law was so extended that it finally included old men and youths.

The Federal government passed a draft law that com-

¹ The proclamation did not free the slaves in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, which had not joined the Confederacy, or in Tennessee, which had been almost entirely regained for the Union. Certain sections of Virginia and Louisiana, which had come under control of Federal forces, were also not included.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN

From a photograph taken in 1860

pelled a citizen, whose name was selected by lot, to serve in the army or furnish a substitute.¹ In order to raise enough troops it became necessary to enforce the draft law so rigidly that much opposition to it was aroused. A riot occurred in New York City, in which a thousand persons were killed and a million and a half dollars worth of property was destroyed. Negroes especially were the victims of the mob. Many of them were beaten to death or hanged to trees or lamp posts. Nevertheless the draft was successful in securing soldiers for the Union army, while the constant loss of territory had reduced the area in which the Confederacy could recruit its armies by the conscription law.

The conscription, or draft, is the most democratic method of raising an army. In a democracy where the duties of citizenship fall equally upon every man, it is a right belonging to no man to stay at home while others fight his battles for him.

Topics and Questions

1. Explain why the South hoped to get aid from Europe. Why were commissioners sent to Europe by the Confederate government? Explain the "Trent Affair."

2. How did the Confederates try to destroy the blockade early in 1862? What was the result? What effect did the battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* have upon the naval history of the world?

3. Tell the story of Raphael Semmes and his ship, the *Alabama*. Why did the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers cause complications with Great Britain?

4. State the cause for which the Union men were fighting. What was the Proclamation of Emancipation? On what grounds was it issued? Had Lincoln been inconsistent on the slavery question?

5. What did the Confederate conscription laws demand? Why did the North need to draft soldiers in the Federal army? How was the draft received in the North? Why is conscription or draft the proper method for raising an army in a democracy?

Important Date:

1863. Proclamation of Emancipation.

¹ The Federal government did not enact a draft law until 1863, but some of the Northern states had to use the draft in raising their quotas of troops in 1862.

CHAPTER XXXI

HOW THE UNION FORCES WON (1863-1865)

The Armies in Virginia in 1863. — At the beginning of 1863, the Army of the Potomac was still on the Rappahannock River, opposite Fredericksburg. General Joseph Hooker was in command. The army numbered one hundred and thirty thousand men. The Army of Northern Virginia, under Lee and numbering sixty thousand, was at Fredericksburg.

Chancellorsville. — Hooker crossed the river and took a position at Chancellorsville, preparatory to attacking Lee; but Lee, not waiting for the attack, inflicted upon Hooker a severe defeat. This battle lasted two days, May 2 and 3, 1863.



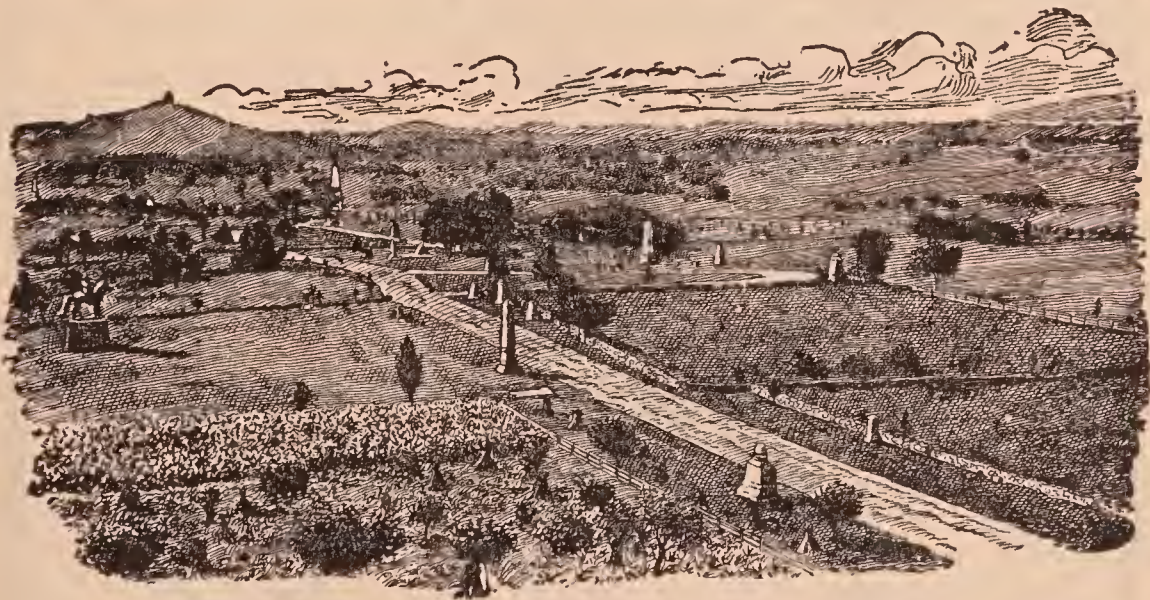
GEORGE G. MEADE

Great as was the victory, the Confederates had paid dearly for it, for they lost "Stonewall" Jackson, who was killed by his own men through mistake.

Gettysburg. — General Lee believed that the time for invading the North had again come. A victory on Northern soil might bring peace on Southern terms or it might, at least, cause European powers to aid the Confederacy. Therefore, in June he invaded Pennsylvania. The Army of the Potomac, now under command of General George G. Meade, followed. On July 1, the advance columns of the armies met at Gettysburg, and in a battle that raged until nightfall, the Federal forces were driven back through the town.

The Federals then concentrated on Cemetery Hill, while the Confederates occupied Seminary Ridge. These ridges are long, low hills facing each other. The full force of each army having come up, the battle of the second day, July 2, was vigorously contested, but the Federals withstood the assaults of the Confederates.

The third day, July 3, witnessed the last attempt of the Confederates to drive the Federals from their position — an unsuccessful, but superb, effort. Fifteen thousand Confederates, commanded by Generals Pickett, Pettigrew, and Trimble, moved steadily forward down the slope of



THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Looking southwest over the fields across which Pickett charged. Round top at the upper left part. The "clump of trees" in the middle distance

Seminary Ridge. They had almost a mile to march before reaching the Federal army, which was posted behind a stone wall and earthworks on the top of Cemetery Hill. Cannon from Federal batteries raked the gray line; deadly volleys from Federal infantry poured upon it. Pausing only to close the gaps made by the falling of the killed and wounded, the Confederates pressed on. Now a storm of shot and shell mowed them down, yet some hundred of the brave men succeeded in climbing over the stone wall. They pierced the first line of the Federals, capturing cannon and carrying their flags to the ridge, but they could do no more.

The position was too strong. The great charge had failed. Thousands of the Confederates had fallen, and the shattered ranks retreated down the hill. The Federals who repulsed the Confederate assault were General Winfield Scott Hancock and his veteran corps. The Federals gave up many lives in making their gallant stand. Cemetery Hill was red that day with the best blood of America.



MAP OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

Lee Retreats into Virginia. — At Gettysburg the Union army numbered about ninety-three thousand men and the Confederates about seventy thousand. The losses were: Union, twenty-three thousand; Confederate, twenty thousand. Lee retreated into Virginia, the Federal army following; but no general engagement occurred for the rest of the year between the two armies in the East.

Vicksburg. — Grant was still holding western Tennessee and northern Mississippi, as Bragg's invasion of Kentucky had failed to loosen his hold upon these districts. He

had already attempted without success to take Vicksburg when, in the spring of 1863, he renewed his campaign against that city. Twice Grant tried to take Vicksburg by assault, but each time he was repulsed with heavy loss by the Confederate army in the city, commanded by General John C. Pemberton. Then Grant laid siege for the purpose of starving the Confederates into surrender. The Federal fleet on the river and the siege guns of the army joined in a heavy bombardment of Vicksburg. Women and children found refuge from the shells in caves dug in the hillsides. Food became so scarce that rats and mules were eaten. The Confederate soldiers, wasted by disease and hunger, and by watching and fighting in the trenches, held out until July 4, 1863, when Pemberton was compelled to surrender the city.

Results of the Vicksburg Campaign. — The Confederate loss at Vicksburg in men killed and captured was very heavy, and in the reduced condition of the Confederacy these men could not be replaced. With the fall of Vicksburg the Mississippi River was quickly opened through all its length to the Federals; and the Confederacy, now cut in two, could no longer obtain for its armies east of the river supplies and recruits from the vast area west of the river.

Chickamauga and Chattanooga. — Since the battle of Murfreesboro, in which both armies were so badly shattered, the Federal army under Rosecrans and the Confederate army under Bragg had done little more than watch each other from their camps in middle Tennessee.

In the summer, Rosecrans advanced against Bragg. With his superior force he overlapped his opponent's lines and thus, by flanking movements, could get in the rear of Bragg. To escape being flanked, Bragg was compelled to retreat day by day. He gave up Chattanooga, which the Federals immediately occupied (Sept. 9, 1863).

On reaching northern Georgia, Bragg turned upon his pursuer, for his army had been reënforced and he was now able to cope with the Union army. September 19 and 20,

1863, in Chickamauga Valley, on a creek by the same name, the armies met in the severest two days' battle of the war. On the second day the right wing of the Federals was broken, but the left wing nobly held its ground against repeated charges. After nightfall it retired from the battlefield. The loss of the Confederates was nearly twenty thousand, and that of the Federals nearly seventeen thousand.

After the battle of Chickamauga, Rosecrans concentrated his army in Chattanooga. Bragg occupied strong positions on the mountains nearby, and laid siege to the city.

The Federal authorities hurried troops from Vicksburg and from the army in Virginia to the relief of Rosecrans. Grant, who had been placed in chief command of the Federal armies in the West, and had come in person to Chattanooga, determined to raise the siege. In battles lasting three days, November 23, 24, and 25, 1863, and known as the battles of Chattanooga, Lookout Mountain, and Missionary Ridge, the Confederates were driven from their positions overlooking the city. Compelled to raise the siege of Chattanooga, Bragg retreated into Georgia. The Federals in gaining Chattanooga had reached very near the heart of the Confederacy.

Results of the Campaigns of 1863. — The fortunes of the Confederacy were sinking. Gettysburg, Vicksburg, and Chattanooga were reverses that would have been sufficient to crush a less dauntless people. The results of the year had greatly cheered the North, and although its cost was increasing enormously, preparations were made to push the war still more vigorously.

The Opposing Forces in 1864. — The year 1864 found the Federals in a position to wage vigorous campaigns against the Confederates. Their army in Virginia, larger than it had ever been, faced the Confederate army reduced by its losses in the Gettysburg campaign. In the West, where the Federals had reached Chattanooga, their army also confronted a much smaller Confederate army. Both of the Federal armies were thoroughly equipped, while the dimin-

ishing resources of the South could keep the Confederate armies only poorly supplied.

Grant Commander-in-Chief. — Grant, who had managed affairs in the West with such great results for the Union cause, while one Federal commander after another in the East had met with defeat or only partial success, was placed in command of all the armies of the United States, with the rank of lieutenant-general.

Grant realized that the speediest way to overthrow the Confederacy was to destroy its armies at whatever cost to the Federals. Since the South now had all its men in the field, it could not replace those it should hereafter lose, while the North could keep the ranks of its armies filled with recruits.

While in command of all the armies, Grant took charge in person of the army in Virginia facing Lee. General William T. Sherman commanded the Federal army at Chattanooga, and General Joseph E. Johnston had succeeded Bragg in command of the Confederate army opposing him. Grant's plan was for his army to press Lee's, and Sherman's to press Johnston's, so constantly that neither Confederate commander would be able to send reënforcements to the other.



WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN

The Campaign against Richmond. — Early in May, 1864, Grant began operations with the intention of passing around Lee's right flank and getting between him and Richmond. Immediately the armies grappled in a duel to the death. Every time Grant shifted his army to pass around Lee, he found that Lee had also shifted his army and was again barring the way. Grant would then try to break through Lee's lines, but always without success. The severest

battles in this campaign were the Wilderness, Spottsylvania and Cold Harbor. The loss of life on both sides was fearful, but it was much greater on the Federal side. A month, spent in fighting and marching, carried the armies about sixty miles to the James River, east of Richmond. Grant had lost almost as many men as Lee had under his command when the campaign began, yet he was no nearer Richmond than McClellan had been two years previously. But Federal losses were repaired by reënforcements, while Grant's hammering process was wearing away the Confederate army. He "was simply giving two men for one, a thing that he could easily do and still have some left after the last Confederate had perished." On the other hand, the skill with which



SCENE IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY

Lee, in the face of such great odds, thwarted Grant's plan has placed the Confederate commander in the front rank of the world's greatest generals.

Siege of Petersburg. — Grant had hoped to give Lee a crushing blow north of Richmond, but having failed, he decided to cross the James River to approach Richmond from the south by way of Petersburg. Immediately after crossing the river, Grant made assaults upon the works at Petersburg. Unable, however, to break through, he laid siege to the city.

Early and Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley. — Lee, hoping to make Grant weaken his army in front of Petersburg by sending troops to the defense of Washington,

directed General Jubal A. Early to push rapidly down the Shenandoah Valley and make an attempt to capture the Federal capital. Early succeeded in reaching the fortifications of Washington, but finding the city very strongly guarded, marched his little force back to the valley. His raid alarmed the North and caused President Lincoln to call for volunteers to defend the capital.

Grant, seeing the importance of the Shenandoah Valley, which opened the way for invasions of the North and furnished a great amount of supplies to Lee's army, ordered General Philip H. Sheridan, with strong forces, to drive out the Confederates and lay waste the valley. Sheridan defeated Early in three hotly contested battles (September and October, 1864) and drove him southward up the valley. The Federal general laid waste the country so completely for miles around, that it was said that a crow flying over it would have to carry its rations.

Early's campaign had been a failure in all respects for the Confederates. The loss of supplies from the Shenandoah Valley seriously crippled Lee's army. Even the advance upon Washington had no results. Enough troops had been obtained for the defense of the city without reducing Grant's immense army.

Lee's Difficult Position. — Having failed to carry the Confederate works, Grant strengthened his own so that they could be held by a small force, and used the rest of his army in flanking Lee's position. The Confederates had a hard task. They had to defend both Petersburg and Richmond, cities twenty-one miles apart. As Grant swung his troops to the right or left, Lee would stretch out his line so far that, with his much smaller numbers, the Confederate works became thinly manned at every point.

When winter set in, active operations ceased. The Virginia campaign for the year 1864, including the movements in the valley, had cost the Union army one hundred and twenty-five thousand men. The Confederates had suffered a much smaller loss; but with Grant's grip tightening around

their diminishing forces, their position was becoming every day more difficult to hold.

The Georgia Campaign. — Soon after Sherman started from Chattanooga on his campaign against Johnston, his army was increased to one hundred and twelve thousand men. Johnston had sixty-five or seventy thousand. With his greatly superior numbers Sherman could press Johnston's front while threatening his rear by flanking. In the month of May, 1864, a series of engagements took place with no decided advantage to either side, but Sherman's flanking movements caused Johnston constantly to fall back. At Kennesaw Mountain, near Marietta, Georgia, Sherman



CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE, IN 1864

desisted from his flanking movements to assault Johnston's strong position, but was driven back with heavy losses.

Sherman then resumed his flanking tactics, and early in July Johnston retired to Atlanta. Johnston had succeeded well in his plans: he had avoided battle except when his smaller numbers could fight to advantage, and his retreat had been masterly. He had fortified Atlanta, hoping to hold the city against Sherman.

But the Confederate government, dissatisfied because Sherman had been allowed to penetrate so far into the Confederacy, removed Johnston and placed General John B. Hood in command just as the Union army appeared before Atlanta.

Battle of Atlanta. — Hood adopted an aggressive policy. He attacked whenever Sherman attempted to flank him. The battle of Atlanta, fought on the outskirts of the city, July 22, was the severest of the Georgia campaign; yet it did not relieve the situation for the Confederates.

Sherman seized the only railroad that carried supplies to Hood's army in Atlanta and compelled the Confederates to evacuate the city. The Federals immediately took possession of Atlanta.¹



JOHN B. HOOD

Sherman's "March to the Sea." — Hood moved his army northward, destroying, as he marched, the railroad from Chattanooga over which Sherman received his supplies. Hood believed that his movement would cause Sherman to retreat into Tennessee. But Sherman, after having "thoroughly destroyed Atlanta save its mere dwelling houses and churches," started his army, November 15, on a march to the sea, with the intention of joining Grant in a combined movement to destroy Lee's army. The resources of the Confederacy were now so nearly exhausted that, with Hood's army in Tennessee, there were no forces to oppose Sherman except a small body of cavalry under General

¹ When Sherman started on his Georgia campaign, he ordered troops at Memphis to give the Confederate cavalry under General Nathan B. Forrest, then in northern Mississippi, such a crushing defeat as would prevent them from interfering with the railroads in Tennessee over which his army received its supplies. Two expeditions were sent against Forrest. The Confederate general defeated each Federal force in turn, though in each case the Federal force was double the size of his own. Forrest continued so to annoy Sherman that the latter offered promotion to the general whose troops would slay or capture Forrest.

Joseph Wheeler, and a few Georgia militia. These troops resisted, but could do little to retard the great army in its march through Georgia.

Destruction of Property. — Having abandoned their line of supplies when they left Atlanta, the Federal troops lived upon the country. What they could not use for their own needs they destroyed, that it might not be used to feed the Confederate armies, and they tore up railroads in order that nothing might be sent from Georgia to Lee's army. Unfortunately the country was plundered of much property not needed for military purposes. Sherman estimated the ruin made by his march to the sea at one hundred million dollars. On December 21 his troops entered Savannah, the small Confederate garrison having already retreated into South Carolina.

The Confederate Army of the West Shattered. — Meanwhile Hood had continued to march northward. In a hotly contested battle at Franklin, Tennessee, in which the Confederates suffered frightful losses, Hood failed to prevent a strong Federal force from joining General George H. Thomas, who was collecting an army at Nashville to oppose him. Two weeks later (December 15 and 16, 1864), on the outskirts of Nashville, Thomas attacked Hood and put him to rout. The Confederate army crippled at the battle of Franklin and shattered at the battle of Nashville, retreated into Mississippi and went into winter quarters.

Tightening the Blockade. — In August, Admiral Farragut ran his fleet past the forts at the entrance of Mobile harbor, just as he had done two years before at New Orleans, and defeated the smaller Confederate fleet in Mobile Bay. Soon afterward the forts in the harbor fell. Though the city was not taken at the time, the port was closed so that Confederate ships could not use it to pass the blockade.

In the first days of the new year (1865) the Federals made a combined land and naval attack on Fort Fisher, which guarded the city of Wilmington, North Carolina, and, capturing it, compelled the evacuation of Wilmington.

Charleston was the only port of importance remaining to the Confederates.

Presidential Election of 1864. — In the election of 1864 Lincoln was again the candidate of the Republicans for President, and General George B. McClellan was the candidate of the Democrats. The contest began unfavorably for the reelection of Lincoln. The long and expensive war, and more especially the terrible sacrifice of life in Grant's campaign in Virginia, caused many persons in the North to despair of success. They looked with favor upon the Democratic party, which desired to open peace negotiations with the South. But the great victories for the Union that occurred in the summer and autumn — Sherman's at Atlanta, Farragut's at Mobile, and Sheridan's in the Shenandoah Valley — caused a turning of the tide. In the wave of enthusiasm that followed the North determined to fight the war to a successful close. Lincoln was reelected by an overwhelming vote.

The Confederacy Crumbling, 1865. — At the beginning of the year 1865 the Confederacy was crumbling to pieces. Its power had been so broken in the West by the ruin of Hood's army in Tennessee that little resistance could be made to the Union forces in that section. Lee's army at Petersburg and small commands scattered over the South were now its only reliance; and Lee's army was in peril.

The opening of the Mississippi River had cut the Confederacy in two. Sherman's march to the sea had cut it again so that only the Carolinas and a portion of Virginia could furnish supplies to Lee's army. Grant and Sherman were ready to cut his last props from under Lee.

Federal Plan of Campaign. — The Union armies combined now numbered almost a million men. Their plan of campaign was for Grant to continue his flanking movements to get to the rear of Lee's army, while Sherman marched from Savannah, through the Carolinas, to make a junction with Grant. Then the two were to overwhelm Lee if Grant's forces had not already done so.

Desperate Condition of Lee's Army. — Lee had been made commander-in-chief of all the Confederate forces. He placed Johnston in command in the Carolinas, with instructions to collect as many troops as possible to oppose Sherman. The condition of Lee's army was desperate in the extreme. As he himself said, the struggle was "to keep the army fed and clothed." Poorly clad, worse fed, and often without shoes, the veterans endured the snow and sleet and rains of winter. "Cold and hunger struck them down in the trenches." The "scant battalions grew smaller and smaller; the lines to be guarded longer and longer."

Lee knew that it would be only a short time before Grant's great army would be extended so far around him as to seize his only remaining railroad, not only taking away all chances of his getting supplies, but cutting off the only route for his retreat. He wished, therefore, to abandon Richmond and Petersburg, unite with Johnston's forces, defeat Sherman,

and then defeat Grant. But the winter rains had made the roads so bad that Lee's army horses, enfeebled from want of forage, could not pull the cannon and wagons over them. So he had to wait.



WADE HAMPTON

Sherman's March through the Carolinas. — Sherman did not tarry in Savannah. Early in February, 1865, his army crossed the Savannah River and began its march through South Carolina. Only small bodies of cavalry under

Generals Wade Hampton and Joseph Wheeler opposed it. The army marked its route by the destruction of property and laid Columbia, the capital of the state, in ashes.

Since Charleston could no longer be held with a Federal army in the rear, the garrison evacuated the city and re-

treated into North Carolina. Early in March Sherman entered that state. Johnston, who was in North Carolina endeavoring to collect enough troops to delay Sherman until Lee's army could join his own, could not stop the advance of the overwhelming Federal force.

Sherman marched to Goldsboro, where he was only one hundred and fifty miles from Grant's army before Petersburg. The Federal army of the West, whose operations had begun four years previously high up the Mississippi Valley, had, after fighting many bloody battles, marched through the heart of the Confederacy. It now stood ready to join the Eastern army in the operations against Lee.

The Confederate Line Broken. — Lee, forced to postpone his withdrawal from Petersburg until more favorable weather, assaulted the Federal intrenchments, late in March, with the hope of delaying the seizure of his railroad. General John B. Gordon led the assault. A fort in the Federal lines was taken, but the Confederates, unable to hold the position under a withering fire, retreated to their own lines after suffering heavy losses.



JOHN B. GORDON

Grant saw no need, with his army so much larger than Lee's, of waiting for Sherman, and thus giving Lee a chance to escape. He threw a force forward to seize Lee's railroad. The necessity of sending troops to meet this movement so weakened Lee's line that in many places in his intrenchments there was only one soldier for every seven yards. Grant's opportunity had now come, and he grasped it. On April 2 a great mass of Federal troops, thrown against a weak place in the Confederate line, broke through. To save his army from being cut off, Lee began his retreat that night. Not only was

Petersburg evacuated, but also Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy, which he had so long and so ably defended. An accidental fire destroyed nearly a third of Richmond.

Lee Surrenders at Appomattox. — In his retreat Lee's purpose was still to make a junction with Johnston in North Carolina. The Federals followed in hot pursuit, pressing closely upon the rear and hanging upon the flanks of the weary, ragged, hungry little army, whose ranks, harassed by the pursuers and engaged every day in skirmishes, rapidly dwindled. One of the Federal columns, hurrying along the flank, pushed ahead, and near Appomattox Court House massed so deeply across the line of retreat that the Confederates could not break through. The Army of Northern Virginia had been reduced to about twenty-eight thousand, many of whom were too weak from hunger and exposure to lift a musket to the shoulder. Hemmed in between the two wings of the Union army, each one larger than his entire force, Lee submitted to the inevitable, and on April 9, 1865, surrendered.

Grant's Generous Terms. — The terms of surrender offered by Grant were generous. He paroled the officers and men, and allowed them to go home, having first fed them from the supplies of his own army. He would not allow his troops to celebrate the victory, for he did not wish them to wound the feelings of the valiant men, once their foes, but now their countrymen.

End of the Confederacy. — After the surrender of Lee there was no more hope for the Confederacy. Two weeks later General Johnston surrendered to General Sherman near Durham, North Carolina, and in a few more weeks the last Confederate force had surrendered. Jefferson Davis, president of the Confederate States, was captured in Georgia and was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe. He repeatedly asked that he be tried on whatever charge might be brought against him; but after having been kept a prisoner for nearly two years, he was released without a trial.

Assassination of Lincoln. — The joy at the North over the surrender of Lee was checked by a horror that shocked the whole country, South as well as North. Abraham Lincoln was shot at a night performance in a theater at Washington by an actor who, sympathizing with the falling Confederacy, thought his deed would avenge the South. Lincoln died the next day, April 15, 1865.

Abraham Lincoln was taken away at a critical time when he could ill be spared. The same master mind that had guided the country through the war was needed to bring the sections into harmony. In this misguided zeal for Southern interests, the assassin had slain the South's most powerful friend.

Cost of the War in Men. — The War of Secession had ended, but only after a great cost in men and money. The enlistments in the Union armies from first to last were more than two and three quarter millions. About three hundred and sixty thousand Union soldiers were killed in battle, or died of wounds or disease while serving in the army. On account of its smaller population the Confederacy was never able to bring into the field armies to match in size those of the Union; but it is probable that the total number of enlistments in the Confederate armies was nearly a million. The deaths in the Confederate army are supposed to have equaled those in the Union army; hence the whole number of lives lost on account of the war was nearly three quarters of a million. The number of persons crippled or maimed for life probably reached four hundred thousand. No estimate has ever been made of the number receiving wounds that caused no permanent injury.

How Money for the War was Raised. — The war cost the country, North and South, about eight billion dollars. To raise the revenues for carrying on the war, the United States government borrowed money on bonds, increased the tariff tax, and established an internal revenue system. This system taxed not only luxuries, such as whiskey and tobacco, but it taxed the clothing one wore, the food he

ate, the property he owned, bought, or sold; it taxed every profession, every business, every corporation — in short, it taxed almost everything.

The demand for so much money soon exhausted all the gold and silver in the country, and the government issued paper money — notes which from their color were called greenbacks. To make these notes circulate as money, the government declared them “legal tender” — that is, good for the payment of debts. So much paper money was issued that it steadily decreased in value until a dollar in greenbacks was worth only forty-three cents in gold. The return of peace caused more confidence in the government, and the value of this money began to rise; but the greenbacks were not worth as much as gold until the government showed its ability to redeem them in coin, dollar for dollar.

The Union Army Disbanded. — Soon after the war closed, the work of disbanding the United States army began. The army then consisted of more than a million soldiers. In a very short time all the troops had been mustered out of the service except about fifty thousand that were retained for preserving order throughout the country. The soldier of the Union, having performed the task required of him on the field of battle, took up again his peaceful pursuits.

What the War Settled. — Though war never did, and never can determine which view of a controversy is right, yet it can decide that the view held by the victor shall prevail. First and foremost the result of the war made the Union supreme. There came out of the terrible conflict an “indestructible union of indestructible states.” Secession perished by the sword.

The war put an end to slavery — an institution which, though existing at first in both North and South, had come by reason of climate to be confined to the latter section. At the beginning, few would have believed that the war would result in the abolition of slavery. At the present day there are few, even in the South, who would deny that its destruction was a benefit.

The sections at length came to a better understanding of each other. Mutual respect took the place of mutual prejudice. The Union became greater and nobler because the people became truly one people. The men who died on the battlefield, whether they wore the blue or whether they wore the gray, did not die in vain.

Topics and Questions

1. Contrast the forces in the Army of the Potomac and the Army of Northern Virginia at the beginning of 1863. Tell of the battle of Chancellorsville. What did the victory cost the South?

2. What was General Lee's purpose in advancing into Pennsylvania? Picture the Federal army on Cemetery Hill. The Confederate army on Seminary Ridge. Can both Northerners and Southerners be proud of their armies at Gettysburg?

3. What was the plan of Grant's second campaign for opening the Mississippi for the Federals? Describe the siege of Vicksburg. Why did the Confederate army feel so keenly its loss in this campaign?

4. Why did the Confederates fail to hold their positions in eastern Tennessee? What generals were active in the battles around Chattanooga? What was the result of the Chattanooga campaign? At the end of 1863 which side had the advantage?

5. What change was made in the command of the Federal forces in 1864? What problems confronted the Southern armies? State definitely the plan of the Federals for 1864. Describe the way General Lee kept General Grant at bay in Virginia. What results came from General Grant's "hammering process"? Why did General Grant decide to lay siege to Petersburg?

6. What were the object and the outcome of General Early's advance to Washington? Why did General Sheridan make a barren waste of the Shenandoah Valley? What did this mean to the Confederacy? Describe the siege of Petersburg.

7. Contrast the forces used by the Confederacy with those used by the Union in the Georgia campaign. Describe General Johnston's policy in Northern Georgia while on his retreat to Atlanta. What cavalry leader of the Confederacy was a "thorn in the flesh" to General Sherman in this campaign?

8. What general succeeded Johnston in Georgia? What was his policy? How did the Federals get possession of Atlanta? What was the object of General Hood's next move? Describe General Sherman's "March to the Sea." What was the object of the destruction ordered by General Sherman? What had General Hood's army suffered before it went into winter quarters in 1864?

9. How did the Federals tighten the blockade? What nonpolitical events helped to decide the presidential election of 1864? Who were the candidates?

10. What was the condition of the Confederacy at the beginning of 1865? What was the Federal plan of campaign? What was the condition of General Lee's army? What were his plans? Trace and describe Sherman's march through the Carolinas. What was Lee's purpose in his retreat from Petersburg? Describe the retreat. Under what circumstances did General Lee surrender? How did General Grant treat his brave countrymen? What were the closing events of the war?

11. What did the South lose by Lincoln's death? What did the Union lose?

12. What did the war cost in lives? In money? In property? Did any leader on either side lose his reputation as a man? As a soldier? As a leader? Was there a "Benedict Arnold" on either side in the war? How did the United States government raise money for carrying on the war? What became of the large Federal army?

Project Exercises

1. Find on the map all the places mentioned in this chapter.
2. Do you think the Confederacy had a chance to win the war after 1863? Give reasons for your opinion.
3. Recount the history of General Grant (see biography in the Appendix).
4. Compare the careers of General Joseph E. Johnston and General McClellan.
5. What became the common fate of paper money issued by both the United States and the Confederacy? (See pages 360 and 364.)

Important Dates.

- 1863. Battle of Gettysburg.
- 1863. Fall of Vicksburg.
- 1863. Battles of Chattanooga.
- 1864. Grant's Campaign against Richmond.
- 1864. Capture of Atlanta.
- 1865. Surrender of Lee.
- 1865. Assassination of Lincoln.

CHAPTER XXXII

LIFE IN THE CONFEDERACY¹

War Demands Sacrifice. — In war the internal condition of a country has an important bearing upon the outcome. The people at home have to arm, clothe, and feed the soldiers and nurse them when sick or wounded; hence, “the success of a war depends largely upon men and women who never go near the firing line.” When war is waged on a large scale and is extended over a long period of years the duty of supporting millions of men, who otherwise would be supporting themselves, involves great sacrifices by the people, especially when the resources of a country are limited.

Effect of the Blockade. — The South could not have continued the war so long if it had not been for the willingness of her people to make sacrifices. Indeed, no correct idea of how the war was brought to a close can be obtained without a knowledge of the condition to which the South was reduced. The North, by its superior strength, starved out the Confederacy as well as battered away its armies. The South was shut off from the rest of the world by Federal armies stretching along its frontiers and Federal fleets blockading its coast. Its people, growing cotton and tobacco, had always depended largely on the North and Europe for the necessaries of life, and deprived of these sources of supply, their power to carry on the great war was weakened. Nothing showed the remarkable resources of the Union more than the ability with which it equipped, in so short a time, the large navy required to blockade the long southern seacoast.

It is true that vessels managed to slip through the blockade, but the trade they were able to carry on between the outside world and the Confederacy was never sufficient to

¹ Much of the material for this chapter was found in Dodge's *Domestic Economy in the Confederacy*, in Vol. LVIII, *Atlantic Monthly*.

relieve the wants of the South. The men and vessels engaged in this traffic were known as blockade runners. The vessels were built low to the water and painted a dull gray color so that they were almost invisible at night, the time always selected for an attempt to run the blockade. The blockade runners had exciting experiences. Many were captured.

Enormous Prices. — The necessaries of life soon became so scarce that prices rose enormously. Whatever gold there was in the South when the war began, quickly went out of the country in the purchase of the cargoes of the blockade

runners, and no more gold could come in, because the blockade prevented the sending of cotton and other southern products abroad for sale.



A SOUTHERN PLANTER

Confederate Paper Money. — The only currency was paper money issued by the Confederate government and by states and cities. The value of this money, which depended solely on faith in the ability of the government to redeem it some day in gold or silver, steadily went down as misfortunes befell the Confederate arms. As the paper money became of less value, prices rose; and as prices rose, more paper money was issued. The South became so flooded with this cheap money that by 1864 sixty dollars in Confederate money were worth only one dollar in gold.

In that year "flour was quoted at two hundred and fifty dollars per barrel in Confederate money; meal, fifty dollars; corn, forty dollars, and oats, twenty-five dollars per bushel; beans, fifty dollars, and black-eyed peas, forty-five dollars per bushel; brown sugar, ten dollars, coffee, twelve dollars, and tea, thirty-five dollars per pound." If a lady was able to persuade a blockade runner to accept Confederate

money for his precious wares, here are some of the prices she had to pay: French merino or mohair dress, eight hundred to one thousand dollars; cloak of fine cloth, one thousand to fifteen hundred dollars; Balmoral boots, two hundred and fifty dollars per pair; French gloves, one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and fifty dollars per pair.

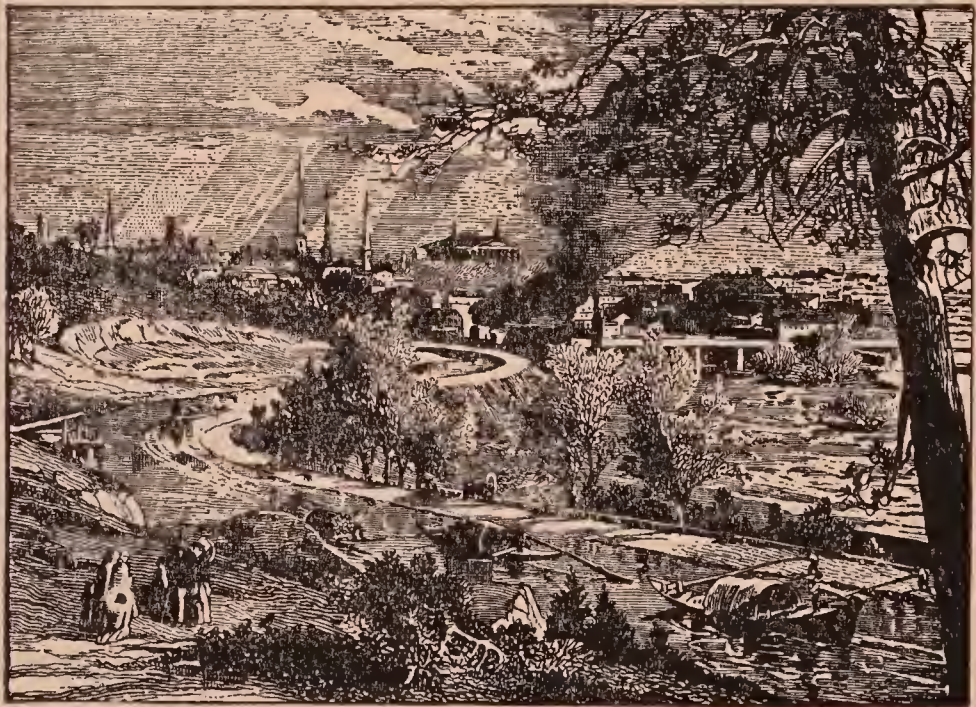
The War the one Engrossing Matter. — Business became so dull that it was rare even in large towns for stores to be kept open regularly. If a chance purchaser came by, the merchant would open his store to make the sale, and then closing it immediately would stroll off to discuss with his neighbors the progress of the war. Nor could the customer be certain in advance that he should succeed in making the purchase. If he filled his pockets with some hundreds of dollars to buy a sack of salt, a few bushels of corn, and a few pounds of bacon, he might find on reaching the store that prices had doubled, or perhaps that the stock had been sold, or else that some recent reverse to the army had determined the merchant not to accept Confederate money at all. Before Lee surrendered, Confederate money had become practically worthless.

Scarcity of Salt. — From the first, salt was most precious, because it was needed for the curing of meat. It became so scarce that the earthen floors of smoke houses, where salt from the bacon had dripped for years, were dug up and boiled in order to separate the salt from the earth. Stations were erected on the coast for obtaining salt from sea-water, but the blockading fleets made this method unsafe and uncertain. Wood ashes were sometimes used as a substitute in curing meat, but with little success. Salt increased in value to such an extent that it was used in some cases instead of money.

Lack of Meat. — As the territory in possession of the Confederates decreased, the supply of meat became less and less. Finally, it was almost impossible to obtain enough bacon to keep the soldiers alive. A story is told of General

Lee that he once invited some officers to dine in his tent when the only meat served was a piece of fat bacon, or "middling," so small that the guests with delicacy declined to partake of it. The servant thereupon apologized for the smallness of the piece by explaining that it had been borrowed for the occasion.

Substitutes for Coffee and Tea. — Many were the substitutes that necessity forced upon the people of the South. Rye, okra, corn, and bran were the most popular substitutes



A VIEW OF RICHMOND

From an old print

for coffee. Cotton seed was also used, and it was declared with enthusiasm that coffee made from the seed of sea-island cotton could not be told from the best Java, and that made from the upland cotton was exactly like Rio. Raspberry leaves, sassafras root, and corn fodder were substitutes for tea. Sorghum took the place of sugar. Another story told of General Lee is illustrative of the scarcity of table delicacies. On one occasion, when he was the guest of a lady in Richmond, he was offered a cup of tea. His hostess, not wishing him to know that it was all she had, filled another cup with water from the James

River, colored by rain and mud until it looked like tea, and sipped it without a grimace.

Scarcity of Iron and Other Metal. — Iron was much needed for war purposes, and so little of it was to be had in the South that church bells and plantation bells were melted and cast into cannon. Use was found for all stray pieces of metal. Implements for the farm and utensils for the house, when worn out, could not be replaced, so they were patched and repatched time and again. Old nails were carefully saved, and blacksmiths were kept busy making clumsy needles and pins and scissors.

Heroism of the Women. — At the beginning of the war, when the cause of the Confederacy seemed bright, women converted their silk dresses into banners. As reverses came, they cheerfully gave up everything for the army. Their homes and wardrobes were stripped. Woolen dresses and shawls were made into soldiers' shirts; carpets were made into blankets; curtains, sheets, and other linen articles were made into lint and bandages for the wounded. From morning till night their gentle fingers knitted socks, shirts, and gloves, to keep the cold from the men as they lay in the trenches. As medicines were declared contraband of war by the Federal government, the soldier lying in the hospital suffered not only from lack of proper food, but also from lack of medicine. The women, however, did all in their power to relieve his pain or soothe his last hours.

Dress of the Women. — Calico was a luxury, for it cost ten dollars a yard, and was as much valued as silk or cashmere in ordinary times. The usual dress was made of homespun, and the hum of the spinning wheel and the whir of the loom, so familiar in colonial days, again met the ear in almost every household. Buttons were made of persimmon seeds with holes pierced for eyes. Women plaited their own hats from straw or the palmetto leaf, and decorated them with feathers from the barnyard fowls. One mourning dress would often be used by an entire community. It would go from house to house as death entered one door

after another. And death came with appalling frequency when almost every day brought a battle or a skirmish.

Scarcity of Leather. — Leather was so hard to get that shoes were made of wood. Generally the entire shoe was



A PAIR OF WOODEN-SOLED SHOES

Worn by a Confederate Soldier in the latter part of the war

made of this material, but sometimes carriage curtains, buggy tops, saddle cloths, or anything bearing a resemblance to leather would be made into uppers and attached to wooden soles. In order to have these soles as thin as possible and yet strong enough, light irons, similar to horse-shoes, were nailed upon

them. The footstep would make a resounding noise and the irons would often cut into the floors now bare of carpet. Ladies patched their shoes with remnants of silk dresses that in better days it had been their good fortune to possess. Old morocco pocketbooks were made into shoes for children.

Newspapers. — With few exceptions, newspapers were printed on half sheets. The paper was rough, the type old, and the ink bad, yet the papers were eagerly read in the home of the planter in the lowlands and in the cabin of the humble dweller on the mountain side; for every household had a husband, a father, or a son in the army. Anxious as all were for news of the war, the newspapers often could give very little. Sometimes the account of a great battle would be told in half a column, and a skirmish, in which a score or more of brave men had given up their lives, would be mentioned in a single sentence.

Difficulties of Letter Writing. — Such writing paper as was manufactured was of the very coarsest kind, and was

so expensive that it was seldom purchased. The home was ransacked for every scrap of paper that could be used in letter writing, and even pages of old account books, often already written on one side, and flyleaves of printed volumes were used for this purpose. Envelopes were made of wall paper and the pictured leaves of old books, the white sides turned out. Glue was obtained from the gum of peach trees. Poke berries, oak balls, and green persimmons furnished the ink.

Actual Distress of the People.—Families were reduced to the greatest poverty, many living solely on sorghum and corn-bread or sweet potatoes, yet there was always a place at the table for the passing Confederate soldier, such was the devotion to the cause for which all were willing to suffer. Conditions grew worse as the Federal army seized more and more Confederate territory. The inhabitants of the captured territory would flee to such sections as remained under Confederate control. They were known as “refugees,” and had to be provided for from the rapidly diminishing resources of those with whom they sought shelter. To prevent waste of food, it became necessary to punish children when they took more on their plates than they could eat. Many were the acts of heroism. Instances were known where a sick person, having received some delicacy, would send it to a neighbor who was also sick, and thence it would pass from invalid to invalid until it finally came back to the person who had started it on its round.

Faithfulness of the Slave.—With the Southern soldiers at the front, the slave worked the crop by day, and guarded the women and children by night; or he followed his master into the army, where he cared for the soldier’s wants, rejoiced in his victories, and with sorrowing heart brought back to the old homestead the warrior’s lifeless body. The slave’s faithfulness to his master and to his master’s family causes still the admiration of the world.

The South Prostrated.—The North drew its armies from a large population and secured, besides, through its

abundant wealth, many foreigners to serve as soldiers. With its territory free from the pressure of invading armies, with its ports open to the world, and with a vast majority of its men at home and attending to business, the North prospered all the while. To many in the North the war was only something to read about in the newspapers.

The Confederacy, however, needed all its men for soldiers, and as a consequence, practically every man of the South served in the army. Every battle, except Gettysburg, was fought on southern soil. Throughout the South fertile fields and pleasant villages were ruined, and homes were destroyed by great armies moving to and fro. Railroads were torn up. Cotton, the chief staple of the South, was seized by the Federals, or burned by the Confederates to keep it from being taken. Two billion dollars invested in slaves were swept away, and the wealth placed in Confederate bonds was lost forever. The Confederacy died of exhaustion.

Topics and Questions

1. Why does war demand sacrifice? What effects did the Federal blockade have upon the South? What was the object of the blockade runners? What was often their fate? Describe the effect of paper money upon prices in the South. What risks did a blockade runner take on his sales?

2. Why was the scarcity of salt such a vital matter in the South? How was salt provided? How was metal provided? What food was flavored with Southern patriotism until it was palatable?

3. Tell of the sacrifices made by the Southern women to secure clothes and bandages for the army. How were shoes provided for men, women, and children?

4. How did the Confederate newspaper look and how was it welcomed? How did a Southern woman get together materials for a letter? Explain the exhaustion of which the Confederacy died.

Project Exercise

Compare the sufferings and deprivations of the whole South — men, women, and soldiers — with those of the men who first settled Virginia, of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, and of the Continental soldiers at Valley Forge. Why were each and all willing to endure such misery?

CHAPTER XXXIII

RECONSTRUCTION AND REUNION

Johnson becomes President. — On April 15, 1865, a few hours after the death of Lincoln, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, the Vice President, took the oath of office as President.

The Thirteenth Amendment. — As President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation was a war measure and affected only those sections of the country which were at the time in arms against the United States (see page 342), Congress proposed an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery anywhere in the United States or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States. This, the Thirteenth Amendment, was ratified in 1865 by the necessary number of states, and became a part of the Constitution.

The President's Trying Position. — At the beginning of his administration, President Johnson was confronted with the grave question of restoring to their former places in the Union the states so lately engaged in war with the United States. The President occupied a very trying position. He had taken the place of a man who was greatly beloved by the North — a man who had brought the country safely through the war, and by whose advice the people would have been willing still to be guided. Johnson, who had much ability, rugged honesty and firm character, was himself a Southern man, and moreover, he had been a Democrat until his feeling against secession had led him to join with the Republicans. So he could not secure the complete confidence of the North; in fact, almost from the first his official acts were distrusted by many through fear that sympathy with his own people might cause him to be too lenient with the South.

Johnson Adopts Lincoln's Plan of Reconstruction. — Lincoln had believed that civil government should be restored in the South as soon as armed resistance to the United States had been suppressed, and that it was the duty of the President to reconstruct the state governments. As early as 1863 he had issued a proclamation to the effect that a government organized in any state of the Confederacy, by voters who would take an oath to support the Constitution and laws of the United States, would be recognized by him as the true government of the state. The only



ANDREW JOHNSON

condition was that the number of such voters must be at least one tenth of the total number of votes cast in the state at the election of 1860. He excluded from taking part in the formation of the new government all persons who had borne a leading part in aid of the Confederacy, and all persons who had left the civil or military service of the United States to join the Confederacy.

While this regulation prevented a large number of white persons from voting, it did not require that negroes should be allowed to vote. President Lincoln knew that a race just emerging from bondage was not capable of voting intelligently. Governments had been organized in a few of the Southern states in accordance with the proclamation, and Lincoln had recognized them. If he had lived, he would probably have succeeded in carrying out his policy of reconstruction.

Johnson held very nearly to Lincoln's views regarding reconstruction, and he followed his predecessor's plan. The state governments in the South which Lincoln had recognized, he allowed to stand. For the other Southern

states he appointed provisional¹ governors, who began immediately to organize new state governments. By the end of 1865 all the states lately forming the Confederacy had adopted new constitutions, had repealed or annulled the ordinances of secession, and had abolished slavery; all had elected their governors, legislators, representatives in Congress, and United States Senators. Nearly all had ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. The President had issued proclamations, declaring that hostilities had ceased and that civil government conforming to the laws of the United States had been restored to every part of the country. In carrying out his policy of reconstructing the Southern governments, Johnson had followed Lincoln in limiting the right to vote to white persons.

The Freedman's Bureau. — The slaves had always looked to their masters for direction, and when emancipation threw them on their own resources, many of them were unable to earn a living. Congress realized that it was the duty of the government, at least for a time, to take care of these millions of helpless people. Accordingly, what was called the Freedman's Bureau was established.

Through the Bureau, lands in the South, seized by the United States government during the war, were leased on easy terms to the freedmen, as the late slaves were called. Food, clothing, and fuel were distributed among them. Schools were established and medical treatment was furnished. But the system intended for the good of the negroes worked only harm to them. Like children in their simplicity, many of them thought that something similar to the millennium had come. They saw no need of working if the government would support them, and they supposed that the government would support them forever. The belief became common among them that the government would give every freedman forty acres and a mule. They crowded around the offices of the Bureau; they idled away their

¹ *Provisional*: temporary. A provisional governor was to serve until a regular governor was elected.

time. Many who had been faithful slaves were fast becoming paupers and criminals.

Vagrancy Laws. — To guard against the dangers thus threatened, the provisional governments in the South enacted vagrancy laws. A negro who would not work voluntarily was to be fined, and if he failed to pay the fine, he was to be hired out to the person who would pay his fine. These laws were no harsher than the vagrancy laws of some of the Northern states; but as they were aimed against the negroes, many persons in the North thought them merely an effort on the part of the Southern people to place the negro under another form of slavery. These persons further thought that the negroes of the South should be allowed to vote, so that, by having a voice in the government, they could protect themselves against oppressive laws. There was, moreover, an extreme class in the North who wished to give the negroes the ballot in order that the Republican party might be kept in power in the South; for it was well known that the negroes, if allowed to vote, would vote with the party that had freed them.

Congress and the President Disagree. — For all these reasons Congress refused to recognize the governments which, under the direction of the President, the white people of the South had set up, and declared that no state of the late Confederacy should be readmitted into the Union until it had shown to the satisfaction of Congress that it was ready for readmission. Thus the President and Congress differed as to which branch of the Federal government should reconstruct the governments of the Southern states. This disagreement soon led to a bitter quarrel between the President and Congress. The President vetoed many of the reconstruction acts passed by Congress, but Congress usually made the acts laws by passing them over the veto (see page 172).

Making the Negro a Citizen. — In 1866 Congress proposed another amendment to the Constitution. The Thirteenth Amendment had freed the negro, and the proposed amend-

ment (the Fourteenth), when ratified by the necessary number of states—three fourths—would make him a citizen. It declared that “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,” and that all persons shall have “equal protection of the laws.” Section 2 of the amendment made it disadvantageous to a state, by reducing its representation in Congress, to refuse the negro the ballot. Section 3 prevented from holding office a person who had, as an official, sworn to support the Federal Constitution and had afterward aided the Confederacy, unless Congress by a two thirds vote of each House should remove the disability.¹ Tennessee promptly ratified the amendment and was thereupon (1866) readmitted into the Union.

Congress Undertakes Reconstruction. — All other states of the late Confederacy rejected the Fourteenth Amendment, so Congress determined to take the work of reconstruction into its own hands and begin it all over again. By a law passed in 1867 the ten states were divided into five districts and placed under military rule. Each district was under a general of the army, who had a sufficient number of soldiers to enforce his authority. He also had charge of organizing governments in the states of his district to take the place of those organized by the President. Influenced by extremists who wished to put the negro in control in the Southern states, the law provided that in the organization of the new state governments, the right to vote should be given to practically every freedman of voting age, and should be taken away from white men who had held certain offices in the Federal and state governments and had subsequently served the Confederacy. The law also provided that when a state constitution, satisfactory to Congress, had been adopted, and when the Fourteenth Amendment

¹ A proposed constitutional amendment is not sent to the President for approval, but is submitted directly to the states for ratification: hence Johnson had no opportunity to use the veto.

had been ratified, military rule would be withdrawn and the state readmitted into the Union.

Negroes in Control in the South. — Under this law the negroes voted, while very many whites were disfranchised. Constitutions were declared adopted in North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, Alabama,¹ Louisiana, and Arkansas, and these states were readmitted into the Union in 1868. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas refused to adopt new constitutions. Georgia adopted a constitution, but Congress objected to a law passed by the state which denied to the negro the right to hold office. Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia were kept out of the Union for some time longer.

Fourteenth Amendment. — In 1868 the Fourteenth Amendment was declared to be a part of the Constitution, having been ratified by the necessary number of states.

President Johnson and Congress. — Meanwhile the quarrel between the President and Congress had reached a crisis. One of the many Acts of Congress vetoed by the President was the Tenure-of-Office Act. This act forbade the President to remove any official, even a cabinet officer, without the consent of the Senate, although it had been regarded from Washington's time as the constitutional right of a President to remove an official whenever he thought proper. The purpose of the Tenure-of-Office Act was to tie President Johnson's hands, and Congress passed it over his veto.

One of the members of Johnson's cabinet was Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. The President and the Secretary did not work in harmony, because the latter was opposed to the President's reconstruction policy. Stanton was asked by the President to resign, but he refused to do so. Then the President suspended him, but he was reinstated by Congress. Finally, believing the Tenure-of-Office Act unconstitutional, the President dismissed him from office. Stanton appealed to the House of Representatives, and that

¹ The returns from the election in Alabama showed that the constitution failed of adoption, but nevertheless Congress declared it adopted.

body by resolution impeached the President of "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Impeachment of the President. — After resolving to impeach a President, the House of Representatives presents the charges to the Senate, which body, with the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court presiding, tries him. It requires a two thirds vote of the Senate to convict. If the President is convicted, he is removed from office (see Constitution, Article I, Section 3). The principal charge upon which President Johnson was tried was the violation of the Tenure-of-Office Act. The trial lasted nearly two months (1868). It resulted in the acquittal of the President. The number of Senators who voted to find the President guilty was one less than the two thirds necessary to convict.

Grant Elected President. — Johnson had but a short time longer to serve as President, for in the election of 1868 General Ulysses S. Grant, who had been nominated by the Republicans, was chosen to succeed him.

The "Carpet-bag Governments." — The governments that Congress forced upon the South over the opposition of President Johnson soon bore evil fruit. The South, just beginning to recover from the war, had now another trial before it. Years of misrule followed the giving of the ballot to the negro. Selfish white men secured control of the poor freedmen, who, unused to governing, could only follow where others led. Adventurers from the North poured into the South. They were called "carpet-baggers," because it was said that every one of them had brought from the North all he owned in a "carpet-bag," or valise. The few white Southerners who joined with these



CARPET-BAGGERS

Permission of Dr. Walter L. Fleming

adventurers in getting rich through misgovernment were generally known as "scalawags." The public treasuries were robbed, and the states were burdened with enormous debts. Taxes were raised so high that people lost their property because they could not pay them. The friendly relations that had always existed between the races were destroyed. It was as dark an hour for the South as the war itself. The white people saw ruin for themselves and their states, and were powerless, for United States troops were used to uphold the "carpet-bag" governments.

The Loyal League. — The negroes, guided by their white leaders, formed an association known as the Loyal League, for the purpose of keeping the white race under foot. They committed murder, arson, and crimes of every kind. The



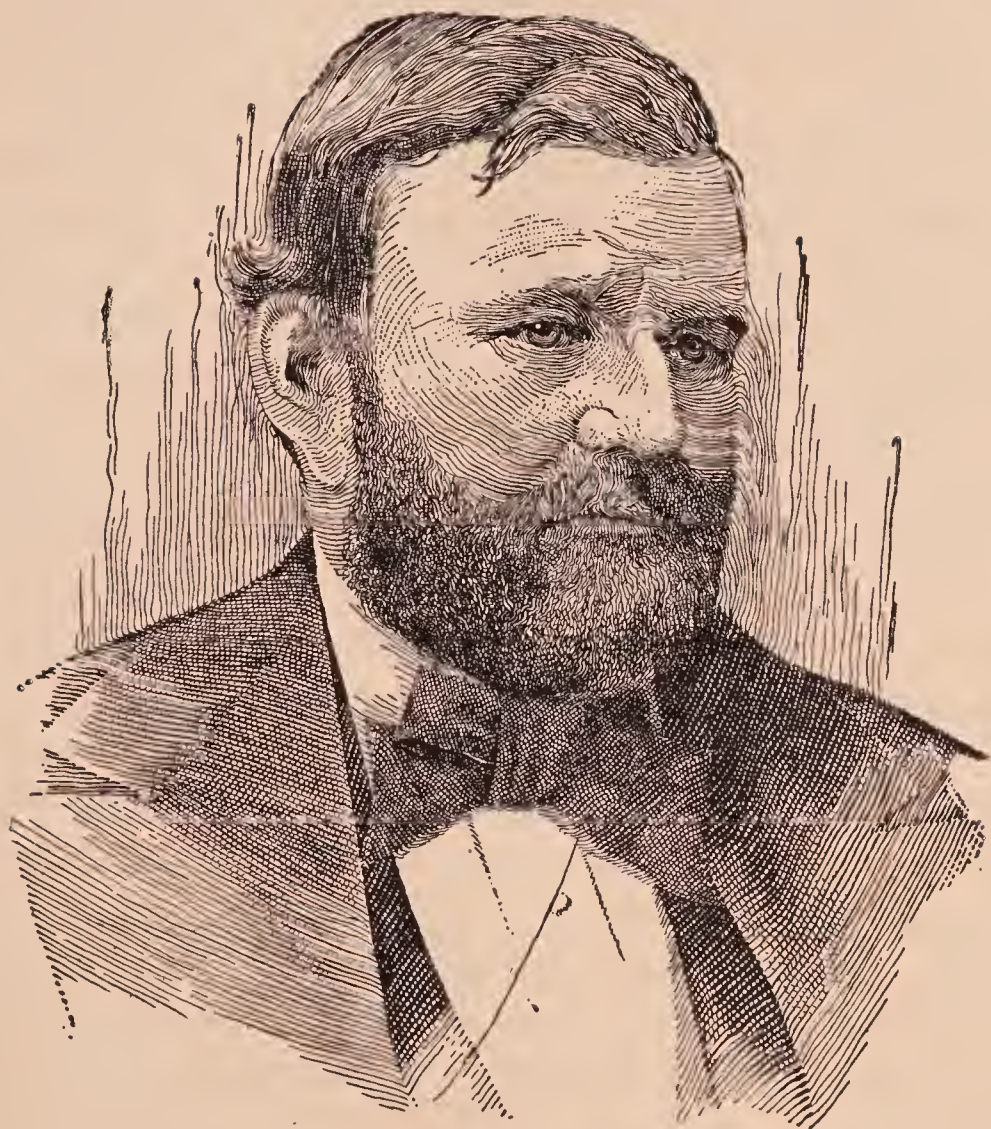
KU-KLUX MEMBERS

Permission of Dr. Walter L. Fleming

white people could get no protection from the courts, for judges and jurors were under the control of those who bred all the trouble. Organizations were therefore formed among the whites for self-protection.

The Ku-Klux Klan. — The most famous of these organizations was the Ku-Klux Klan. Its members were bound by an oath of secrecy, and did their work by night. By spreading terror among the negroes, they hoped to keep enough of them from the polls on election day to

enable the whites to regain control of the state governments. Some of the members of the Ku-Klux Klan resorted to extreme violence. The terrible condition of the South — robber governments, hatred between the white man and the negro, and constant lawlessness — could never have existed but for the measures employed by Congress in reconstructing the South.



ULYSSES S. GRANT

The Fifteenth Amendment. — In 1870, an amendment to the Constitution, known as the Fifteenth, was adopted, to make the negro secure in his right to vote. The laws allowing them to vote had been only state laws, which could have been changed at any time. The Fifteenth Amendment prevents the ballot from being taken from the negro for the reason that he is a negro. It declares that “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.” The four states of the late Confederacy that had not already been restored to the Union — Virginia, Mississippi, Texas, and Georgia — were readmitted by 1870, and the reconstruction of the South was declared to be complete.

Reëlection of Grant. — For the presidential campaign of 1872, the Republicans renominated Grant. Some of the most eminent Republicans were dissatisfied with the policy of their party in forcing the “carpet-bag” governments upon the South. To them the name of Liberal Republicans was given. They nominated Horace Greeley of New York, for President. Their platform demanded that the ballot be restored to all the white people of the South, and that the United States troops stationed in the South for the purpose of upholding the “carpet-bag” governments, be withdrawn. The Democrats, having the same platform, endorsed the Liberal Republican ticket. The feeling of the North against the South, on account of the war, was still so strong that the Northern people had not yet come to realize the injustice of the Republican policy toward the South; hence, they reëlected Grant.

White People Regaining Control. — Nevertheless, the Southern states gradually worked from out the throes of reconstruction. Some of the states suffered longer than others. As the white people gradually had the right of voting restored to them, they regained control of the government, first in the states where they were more numerous, and then in the others. By the end of Grant’s adminis-

tration (1877) every state except South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had been freed from "carpet-bag" rule. In many of the states the "carpet-bag" governments would have disappeared sooner had they not been supported by United States troops.

Election of 1876. — In the election of 1876 the Republicans supported Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President, and the Democrats supported Samuel J. Tilden of New York. For some time the Republican party, on account of its policy toward the South and on account of the corruption that had appeared in its administration of the Federal government (see page 412), had been losing ground. In the congressional elections two years previously the Democrats had carried the House by a large majority, and they had recovered control of most of the Southern states. The outlook was favorable, therefore, for the election of Tilden. On the next morning after the election it was believed that the Democrats had been successful; Republican newspapers conceded the defeat of their party.

The Election in Dispute. — But soon there arose a dispute about the result in certain states. In South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, each party claimed to have carried the state. In each of these states there was a "returning board," whose duty it was to canvass the votes and declare the result. The members of the "returning boards" had almost unlimited power; they were the sole judges of the legality of the votes cast, and could throw out enough ballots to change the vote of the state. South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana were still under control of the "carpet-bag" governments, and though the returns in each case gave the Democrats a majority, the "returning board," declaring that many of the Democratic votes were fraudulent, threw them out and gave certificates of election to the Republican electors. The Democrats protested that they had been defrauded, and in each state two sets of electors met and forwarded their votes to Congress. One electoral vote of Oregon was also disputed.

Hayes Declared Elected.—The excitement throughout the country was intense. The number of electoral votes necessary for election was one hundred and eighty-five and Tilden had received one hundred and eighty-four undisputed votes. In order for Hayes to be elected, he must be given every one of the votes in dispute. The Constitution provides that the electoral vote shall be counted in the presence of the two houses of Congress. It was hardly to be hoped that Congress would reach a conclusion about the disputed votes, since the Democrats controlled the House and the Republicans the Senate. Finally, Congress submitted the question of the disputed votes to a commission, each house agreeing to abide by its decision unless both houses voted to overrule it. The commission was composed of five members of the House, five members of the Senate, and five justices of the Supreme Court. Eight of the commission were Republicans and seven Democrats.¹ By a strict party vote—eight to seven—the commission decided that Hayes was entitled to every one of the disputed votes. As both houses would not vote to overrule the decision, Congress then declared that Hayes was elected.



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

¹ It was the intention of Congress that the commission should be composed of seven Democrats and seven Republicans, and that the fifteenth member should be David Davis, a justice of the Supreme Court and an independent in politics. But at the critical time Justice Davis was elected United States Senator from Illinois; the Act required that five members of the commission should be justices of the Supreme Court, and in that body there were only two Democrats, so that the place on the commission intended for an Independent was necessarily filled by a Republican.

End of "Carpet-bag" Rule. — One of the first matters to which Hayes gave his attention, after his inauguration as President in 1877, was the political conditions in South Carolina and Louisiana. In every Southern state, except South Carolina and Louisiana, the whites had now recovered control of the government; in each of these states there were two governments, one white and the other "carpet-bag," both claiming to have been legally elected.¹ The "carpet-bag," or Republican governments, were supported by United States troops. President Hayes, although a Republican, did not approve of the policy of forcing a "carpet-bag" government upon a state. Unwilling that United States soldiers should be used to prevent the people of a state from deciding for themselves which government they would have, he withdrew the troops, and the Republican governments in South Carolina and Louisiana fell to pieces. The political effect of the reconstruction measures was that the South became solidly Democratic.

Topics and Questions

1. Why was the Thirteenth Amendment adopted? What was the greatest problem confronting the country when Johnson became President? Why was President Johnson's position trying? What had President Lincoln already done toward reorganizing the Southern states? Why did President Johnson appoint provisional governors? What did he do about negro suffrage? Describe the condition of the free negroes, contrasting it with their condition under slavery. What was the object of the vagrancy laws? Why did the North fear them? Why did the Republicans wish to give the negro the ballot?

2. What test was put upon the Southern states when they applied for "readmission"? Why could not the President stop this change of plan in reconstruction? Quote the Fourteenth Amendment. What state availed itself of this offer of Congress? What was the plan of reconstruction advocated by Congress? Describe the military rule for the South. How did the negroes gain control in the South? Which states were readmitted in 1868? Which ones were still unreconstructed?

¹ In Florida, where the government had also been in dispute as the result of the election of 1876, the state supreme court, the majority of whose members were Republican, had already decided that the Democratic government was the legal one.

3. How and when was the Fourteenth Amendment adopted?
4. What new question showed the lack of agreement between President Johnson and Congress? What was the object of the Tenure-of-Office Act? Tell the story of the impeachment of Johnson.
5. Who was elected President in 1868? Describe "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" and their work in the South. Describe the Loyal League and the Ku-Klux Klan. Who was responsible for the unfortunate condition existing in the South? Up to this time how had the Constitution of the United States left the matter of suffrage? By the Fifteenth Amendment, how was the power of the states abridged in regard to granting suffrage? What were the last states to be reconstructed?
6. State the political platform of the Liberal Republicans in the election of 1862. Who was their candidate for President? What party joined them in this campaign? Who won?
7. How did "carpet-bag" rule gradually disappear? Tell the story of the election of 1876. How did President Hayes put an end to "carpet-bag" rule? Define the "Solid South."

Project Exercise

Is there a provision in the Constitution providing for an electoral commission such as was formed as a result of the election of 1876?

Important Dates:

- 1868. Impeachment of President Johnson.
- 1877. End of "carpet-bag" government in the South.

CHAPTER XXXIV

FOREIGN RELATIONS: FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

Attempt of Napoleon III upon Mexico. — While the War of Secession was in progress, Napoleon III, emperor of the French, attempted to establish an empire in Mexico that should be controlled by France. He knew that the United States would object, because his project was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine (see page 253); but he thought that the United States, engaged in a terrible war, would not be able to prevent him. Despite protests from the United States, French troops overthrew the republican government and took possession of Mexico.

The Monroe Doctrine Enforced. — Archduke Maximilian, a nephew of the emperor of Austria, was proclaimed emperor of Mexico. Maximilian found little support from the Mexicans, but by the aid of French troops he was able to rule over much of the territory. As soon as the War of Secession ended in the United States, the Federal government felt able to enforce its protest against this usurpation. United States troops were massed on the Texas frontier, and Napoleon was notified that he must withdraw his soldiers from Mexico. Napoleon was wise enough to avoid a war with the United States, and the last of his troops had left by 1867. Maximilian undertook to continue the empire without the aid of the French; but he was taken prisoner by Mexicans favoring a republic and was shot. The republic of Mexico was then reestablished.

Purchase of Alaska. — In the same year that the French troops were withdrawn from Mexico (1867), Russian power disappeared from America. The United States purchased Russian America for seven million two hundred thousand

dollars. The name of the territory, which is as large in area as the original thirteen states, was changed to Alaska. Though it was then known that Alaska was rich in furs, skins, fish, and lumber, there were many who thought that the purchase of that bleak country was a mistake. They said that the United States had bought only an immense area of "rocks and ice." Yet, although the development of the territory has just begun, the financial advantage of purchasing it has become clear to everybody. The resources of Alaska, especially gold which has since been discovered in large quantities, have already repaid the purchase price many times over.

The "Alabama" Claims. — In 1871 the United States and Great Britain agreed upon a treaty, known as the Treaty of Washington, which provided for a settlement of all matters of dispute between the two countries. The most important question concerned the damages arising from the injury done to the commerce of the United States, during the War of Secession, by Confederate cruisers fitted out in British ports. The United States had always asserted that it was the duty of Great Britain as a neutral nation to prevent the sailing of these cruisers from her waters, and since 1863 had been endeavoring to get Great Britain to pay for the damages done to American commerce in consequence of her neglect. Because the most famous of the cruisers fitted out in British ports was the *Alabama* (see page 341), the claims of the United States came to be called the *Alabama* Claims.

By the Treaty of Washington it was agreed that the *Alabama* Claims should be submitted for settlement to a tribunal of arbitration, consisting of five members, one to be named by the President of the United States, one by the queen of Great Britain, and the three others to be named, one each, by the king of Italy, the president of Switzerland, and the emperor of Brazil. The tribunal met at Geneva in Switzerland, and in 1872 announced its decision, known as the Geneva Award, to the effect that Great Britain had been

negligent of her duties as a neutral power, and should pay to the United States damages to the amount of fifteen million five hundred thousand dollars.

Resumption of Specie Payments. — To meet the expenses of the War of Secession, the government had issued paper money, known as “greenbacks” (see page 360). This money was not worth face value so long as the government was unable to redeem it in gold or silver coin. In 1875 Congress passed an act providing that on and after January 1, 1879, the government would redeem in coin all this money presented for redemption. Immediately the value of “greenbacks” began to rise, and before the time set for their redemption they had reached their face value.

In fact, when the day for the redemption of the “greenbacks” in coin arrived, only a very small amount of the paper money was presented to the government for redemption. When the people found that they could get coin for their “greenbacks” at any time, paper money became worth as much to them as coin, and as paper money is more convenient for trading, they preferred to continue to use it.

Reduction of the War Debt. — The War of Secession had left the United States owing nearly three billion dollars — a very large debt for the times. Much of it had been borrowed at high rates of interest. As soon as the war was over, the government set about paying the debt. Each year it was considerably reduced. When the ability of the United States both to pay the debt and redeem the “greenbacks” was seen, the credit of the government rose, and people were glad to lend it money at low rates of interest. The government borrowed money by issuing new bonds at a lower rate and with the money thus obtained paid the old bonds which had borne a higher rate. The difference thus saved was a clear gain to the government of many million dollars a year. To lessen the burden of a debt in this way is known as refunding.

Topics and Questions

1. What was the plan of Napoleon III of France for gaining power in North America? What well-known doctrine did he ignore? What was the outcome of his plan and the fate of Maximilian? When did the United States purchase Alaska? Did we suspect its value then?
2. Review the career of the Confederate cruiser *Alabama* and describe the claims that arose from this and other Confederate cruisers. How were the claims settled?
3. Describe greenbacks. What made them irredeemable? What made them redeemable? Why did the people not wish to redeem their greenbacks when allowed to do so? Tell how the war debt was reduced.

CHAPTER XXXV

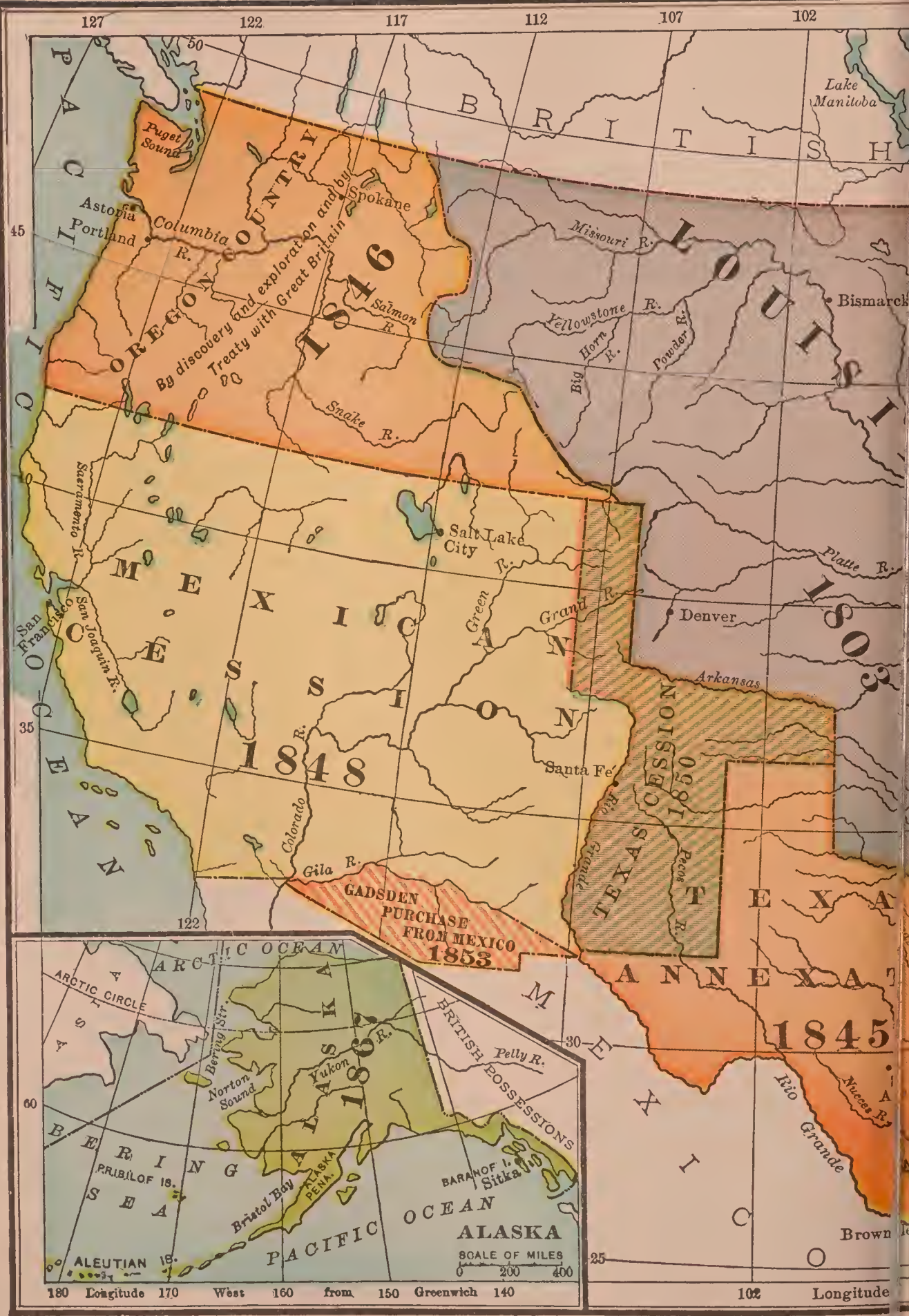
THE GROWTH OF THE COUNTRY

Population. — The latter part of the nineteenth century was marked by the wonderful growth of our country. During the same time all the civilized world had made rapid development, but no nation had surpassed the United States. The population of the United States had grown from thirty-one million in 1860 to fifty million in 1880. By 1900 it had reached seventy-six million, and by the next ten years ninety-one million.

Manufacturing. — The War of Secession had created such a demand for American products that every form of industry in the North advanced by leaps and bounds. At the beginning of the century the industry of the country was almost wholly agricultural; at the close of the century manufacturing exceeded agriculture. In fact, the United States has become the greatest manufacturing country in the world, its manufactures nearly equaling those of Great Britain, Germany, and France combined.

Agriculture. — Yet, agriculture has had its share in the progress of the country, for the farmer had begun raising immense crops. The United States grows more wheat, corn, oats, cotton, and tobacco than any other nation. The American farmer is also a successful raiser of live stock. More horses, cattle, and hogs are raised in the United States than in any other country.

Commerce. — The United States produces more coal, iron and steel, silver, copper, and petroleum than any other nation. Its commerce reaches to all parts of the world. Prior to the War of Secession the United States bought more from foreign countries than it sold to them; since the war it has sold to foreign countries more than it has bought from them.



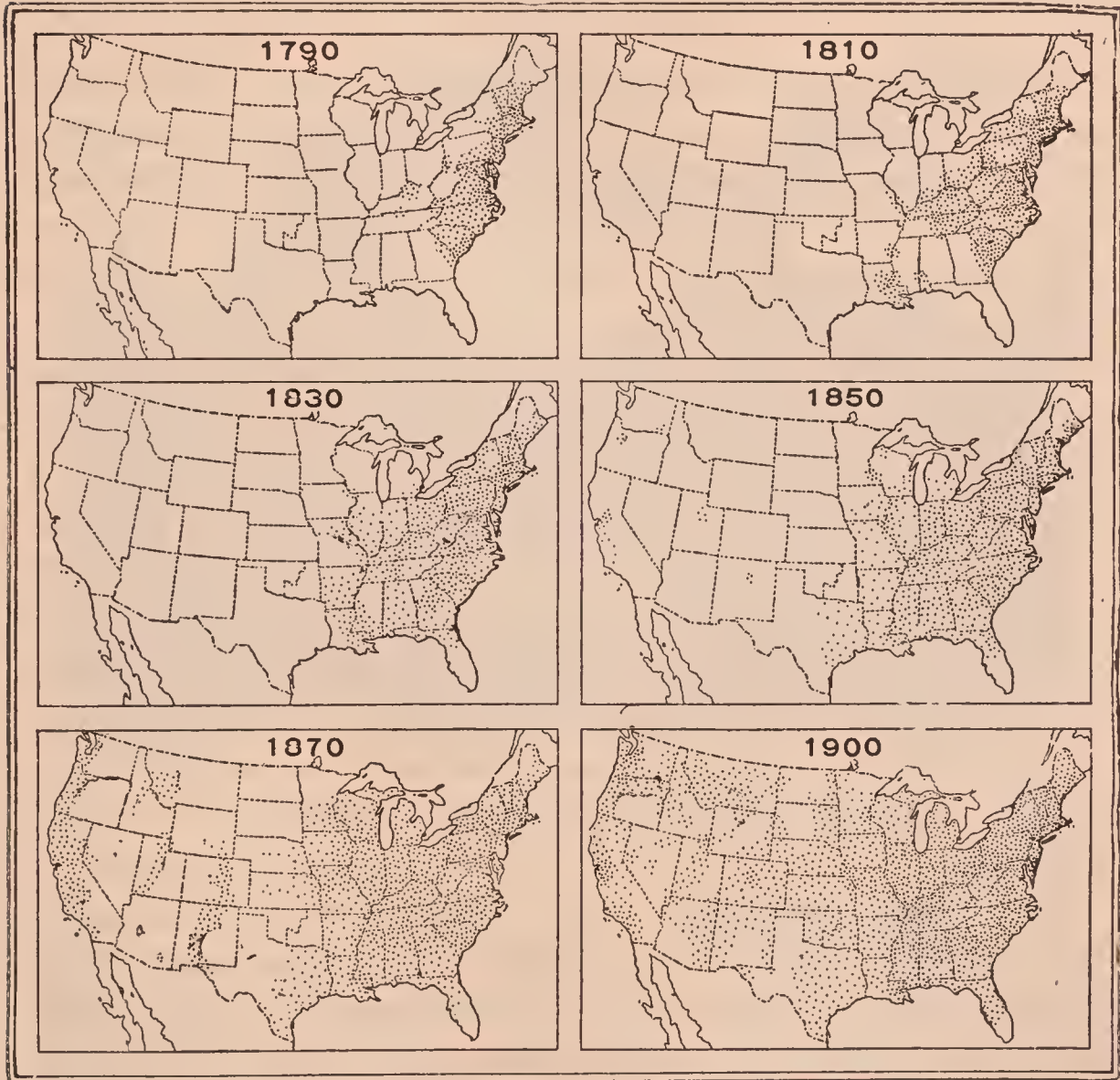


TERRITORIAL GROWTH
OF THE
UNITED STATES
1783 - 1867

SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300

NOTE.
The United States seized part of West Florida
in 1810, and part in 1812.

The North and the Middle West. — About three fourths of all manufacturing is done in the region north of the Potomac and Ohio rivers and east of the Mississippi, and nearly one half is done in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Massachusetts. Many of the factory towns in this region are so close together that in passing



THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT OF POPULATION

from one to another a person never gets beyond the sound of the whirling machinery. Yet, in the western parts of New York and Pennsylvania, and especially in the Middle West, agriculture continues to be an important industry.

The Far West. — On account of the discovery of gold in California, the country between the Rocky Mountains and

the Pacific Ocean had received many settlers before the War of Secession, but the country between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains remained longer unsettled because the lands were still supposed to be unsuited to habitation and were marked on maps as the "Great American Desert."

By the time California had been admitted to the Union the necessity for a railroad across the continent was seen. Such a road would bring the distant state into closer union with the rest of the country, and it was urged that Congress should appropriate money for its construction. With each succeeding year, as people moved to California or Oregon, the desire that Congress should aid in building the road grew stronger.

In 1858 gold was found in Colorado. The rush to the new gold fields was scarcely less than to California a decade before. In two years Denver grew from a mining camp to a thriving little city. Rich silver mines were found in Nevada; and there was another rush of fortune hunters. Then gold was found in Montana. It was evident that both gold and silver were abundant in much of the Rocky Mountains. At once emigration to that region set in. The men who sought fortunes in the Rockies joined with the settlers of the Pacific Slope in urging the necessity of a transcontinental railroad.

The Pacific Railroads. — By 1860 railroads had reached the Missouri River; the Pacific coast was nearly two thousand miles away. Lines of stagecoaches were established as means of communication with the still distant West; but the time was one of progress, and this method was too slow. Finally Congress consented to aid in building a railroad to the Pacific. Two companies were chartered: the Union Pacific was to build westward from Omaha, and the Central Pacific was to build eastward from Sacramento, until their tracks should meet. To each company Congress gave about twenty-seven million dollars, besides great areas of valuable land along their routes. Work

was begun in 1866. Guarded against hostile Indians by United States troops, ten thousand laborers toiled at the task of laying track over plains and valleys and through lofty mountains. Railroads from the east had not yet reached Omaha. Material for building the road westward from Omaha had to be hauled overland to that point or taken up the Missouri River in steamboats. Material for building



COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD

Meeting of the locomotives of the Union and of the Central Pacific Railroads

eastward from the Pacific had to be carried by way of the Isthmus of Panama or around Cape Horn. Within three years (1869) the last spike connecting the two roads was driven at Ogden, Utah, and the great continent was at last spanned by rails. Men were living who had once thought that Oregon was too far off to be of value, and that it was not worth holding against the claims of Great Britain (see page 276); they now saw the locomotive bring the distant country within a few days' journey.

Commercial Expansion. — The building of the first Pacific railroad was followed by the construction of others by

government aid. In all, the lands granted by the government to these western roads exceed Germany in area. The roads have not only given to the settlers of the West markets in the East for their products, but they have proved of great advantage to our commerce with Asia. Previously products from Japan, China, and India had been brought to America by the long route around the Cape of Good Hope; they may now be brought directly across the



A CATTLE RANCH IN 1880

Pacific Ocean and distributed throughout the country by the Pacific railroads. Since the Panama Canal was cut (see page 454), the Pacific railroads have become of less value to the Asiatic trade.

The Ranchman and the Farmer. — The transcontinental railroads first carried to the far West the ranchman. Men from the East made fortunes by raising thousands of cattle and sheep which were allowed to roam over miles and miles of the unoccupied lands and to fatten upon the excellent pasturage that the grasses of the great plains furnished.

When the farmer found out that most of the land of the far West was not as unfertile as the description given it — the “Great American Desert” — would indicate, he too

turned his face westward. The ease with which he could acquire ownership of land in the West was a further incentive. In 1862 Congress had passed a "homestead law" which gave to the head of a family free title to a tract of 160 acres after he had resided on it five years. A few years later another act gave land free to any man who would plant a certain number of trees upon it.¹ Under these liberal terms millions of acres were taken up. The farmer, fencing in his small holdings, crowded out the ranchman. While the West still raises most of our cattle and sheep, many thousand small farms have taken the place of the ranch. In the West, too, most of our wheat is grown.

Indian Troubles. — The government had placed the Indians on reservations, or tracts of land set aside for their use. The Indians of the far West viewed with jealousy the building of the Pacific railroads and the inrush of settlers that followed. Their jealousy turned to alarm when they saw gold seekers taking up lands on their reservations. They felt that they were about to lose the last homes to which they had been driven. For some years after the opening up of the far West there was considerable fighting between the Indians and the whites. United States troops were used to keep the Indians quiet.

In 1876 troops were sent against the Sioux Indians who had gone upon the war-path. General George A. Custer, with less than three hundred cavalrymen, came upon the Sioux in the Little Big Horn Valley in Montana. The Indians, numbering two thousand, were led by their chief, Sitting Bull. They overpowered the little band of cavalry before the rest of the troops could come to Custer's assistance. Custer and every one of his men were killed. The Sioux were subdued soon after, but Sitting Bull and a few of his followers succeeded in escaping into Canada. This was the last serious trouble that our government had with the Indians.

¹ Much of the prairie and plain is bare of trees -- hence the desire of the government to have trees planted.

The Panic of 1873. — It often happens that in thriving times business men become reckless. In the prosperity that followed the War of Secession many engaged in rash speculations, taking great risks in the hope of making large gains. The success of the Pacific railroad turned speculation to railroad building. Within five years more than one billion five hundred million dollars were spent in constructing railroads. Borrowed money furnished the capital for these roads, and they were built much faster than there was demand for them. Many ran through sections of country so sparsely settled that years must pass before they could become profitable. But interest on the money borrowed for their construction had in the meantime to be paid, and when the creditors began to press for their money the crash came. It started in 1873, with the failure of a Philadelphia banking house that was interested in the Northern Pacific Railroad, then in the course of construction. Other failures rapidly followed, causing a financial panic from the effects of which it took some years for business to recover.

The "New South." — By 1877 the last of the "carpet-bag" governments in the South had been overturned (see page 382). Freed from misrule, the South took on new life, and when the panic from which the whole country had suffered passed away, that section joined with the rest of the nation in the march of progress.

With the abolition of slavery, the old plantation system of the South had broken down. The plantation required a large force of laborers such as could not be obtained from the negroes so recently freed from slavery. How many of the ignorant black men, misguided by the "carpet-bagger" and "scalawag," refused to work has been told (see page 373). Yet the breaking down of the plantation system, which at first seemed unfortunate, eventually proved of benefit to both whites and blacks. The cotton planter, who had been accustomed to cultivating his wide acres by the use of slave labor, was compelled to divide his plantation into

small parcels which he rented to the poorer whites and to industrious negroes. Much of the cotton is now grown by these small farmers, some of whom have bought the land that they rented. The former cotton planter and his sons turned to planting crops besides cotton and to engaging in pursuits other than agriculture.

The South's Natural Resources. — The South had always, in addition to cotton, grown tobacco, rice, and sugar cane. After the War of Secession more fields were planted in these staples, while others were given over to wheat and corn and, later, alfalfa. Moreover, the mild winters of the South



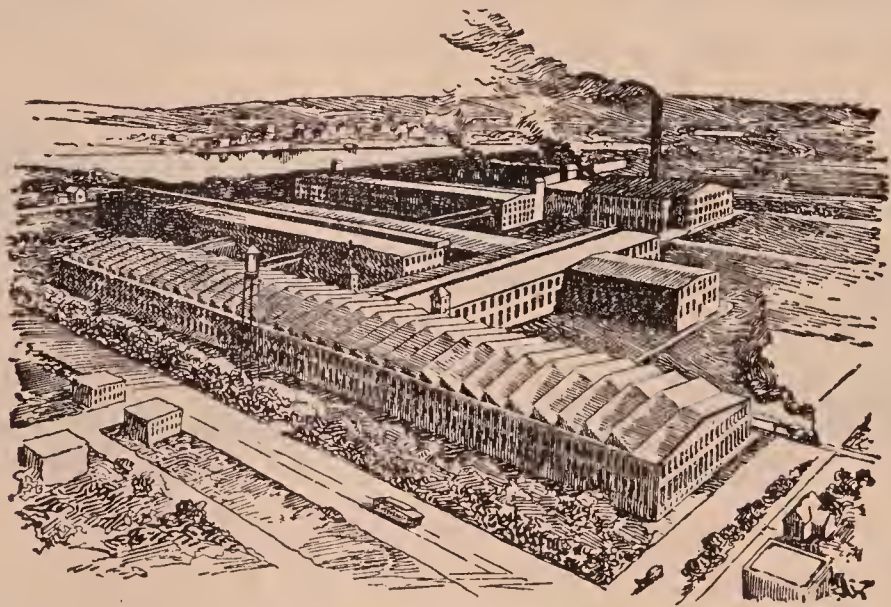
HARVESTING RICE IN LOUISIANA

make fruit growing profitable, and the early springs truck farming. To-day this section furnishes the North and Northwest with the early fruits and vegetables. The South is still, however, the land of cotton, for it produces nearly three fourths of the cotton grown in the world.

In the rivers of the South there is power sufficient to run countless factories, and nearby is the cotton for the raw material. In its mountains are vast quantities of iron, and by the side of the iron is the coal needed to work the metal; and its forests contain valuable lumber. The Old South, wholly agricultural, has given place to a New South that is taking advantage of the opportunities offered by its natural resources. Factories, furnaces, and lumber mills have been erected in the South. They have brought much wealth to that section, given employment to many persons,

and have converted towns into thriving cities. Northern capitalists, realizing the splendid resources of the South, have aided in their development. Northern people have removed into the South to live. The commingling of the people of the two sections hastened the time when the ill feeling between the North and the South, bred by the war, passed away.

Oklahoma. — The Indians when placed on reservations continued to live under their old tribal relation — that is, they did not individually own land; the members of a tribe



A SOUTHERN COTTON MILL

held in common the land allotted to the tribe by the government. The largest of the reservations was Indian Territory, lying west of Arkansas and north of Texas. After many years the government decided that the Indian would be better off if he individually owned land. The policy was therefore adopted of giving free to each Indian an allotment of the land and of buying the rest from the tribe and throwing it open to settlers.

The government first bought the central part of Indian Territory, known as Oklahoma, "Beautiful Land." In 1889 Congress passed an act for opening Oklahoma to settlement. A homestead could be secured by the first person who should "stake" the land. By proclamation of the President,

April 22 was set as the day for the opening, the proclamation declaring that any person entering the territory before noon of that day would be debarred from claiming land. Great crowds gathered on the border line, awaiting the signal for crossing. As a bugle sounded to announce the appointed time, there was a wild rush to take up land. More than fifty thousand persons poured into the territory on the first day. Where in the morning there was only the lonely prairie, by night the city of Guthrie had sprung up. A bank had been established, and steps had been taken to organize a municipal government. Within four months Guthrie had a population of eight thousand, four daily newspapers, waterworks, street car and electric light systems, and six



WAITING ON THE FRONTIER OF OKLAHOMA

banks. As other portions of Indian Territory were purchased, they were made parts of Oklahoma and opened to settlement. So marvelous was the growth of Oklahoma that the census taken only eleven years after its opening to settlement (1900) showed that four hundred thousand persons were living in the territory.

Passing of the Frontier. — By 1890 most of the public lands west of the Mississippi suitable for cultivation had been taken up. The frontier, which ever since the day the English landed at Jamestown had steadily moved westward, had now vanished. Thrifty farms dotted the country to the Pacific Ocean. The straggling towns of the "Wild West," where miners and cowboys used to gather to enjoy release

from their hard labor, have become neat villages; some of them, indeed, have become cities of considerable size. The border life, often picturesque, and often rough and lawless, has gone forever. Memory of it alone lives in stories, shows, and motion pictures.

Admission of States. — Since California was admitted into the Union in 1850, the following states have been admitted: Minnesota (1858); Oregon (1859); Kansas (1861); West Virginia (1863); Nevada (1864); Nebraska (1867); Colorado (1876); North Dakota (1889); South Dakota (1889); Montana (1889); Washington (1889); Idaho (1890); Wyoming (1890); Utah (1896); Oklahoma (1907); New Mexico (1912); Arizona (1912). With the exception of West Virginia, which was carved from the state of Virginia because its people did not wish to go into the Confederacy, all these states lie west of the Mississippi River. Their admission converts into states the entire area of the United States proper, except the District of Columbia, in which the Federal capital is located and which will always remain under control of Congress.

Foreigners Come in Great Waves. — Immigration from Europe, which during the War of Secession fell off considerably, began, with the coming of peace, to flood our shores in even greater waves than before. It became not unusual for the number of immigrants arriving in one year to exceed the whole number that came over during the time between the settlement of Jamestown and the breaking out of the Revolution. Until about 1880 the immigrants continued to be in the main people from northern Europe — from the British Isles, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries, — but since that time they have been mostly people from southeastern Europe, — from southern Russia, Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, Serbia, Greece, and Italy.

Undesirable Immigrants. — While the class of immigrants that has come to this country in late years has brought good people, yet on the whole the order of intelligence is lower than that of the class that had come

previously. In fact, many of the recent arrivals are undesirable. Immigrants of the undesirable type have in the main, stayed in the cities of the North and Northwest where it is easier for them to get employment, though some work in mines or as laborers on the railroads. Each race has gathered together in a "colony," there keeping up old habits and methods of living. These ignorant foreigners, are willing to work for low wages and when congregated in sufficient numbers to reduce wages, they affect American laborers, for no self-respecting American will live as they do. It is difficult for the influence of American life to reach them; yet in a short time — too short to learn the spirit of our institutions — they become citizens and are given the ballot. Downtrodden by tyrannical governments in the Old World, they are suspicious of all governments; consequently, they are easily led by agitators.

Immigration a Serious Problem. — In earlier times the belief was very general that our country should be an asylum for the oppressed of all lands. Every encouragement was given to immigration. America was called the "melting pot," for here the peoples of many different nations were welded into one citizenship. All went well as long as immigration was of the desirable class, but the influx of so many undesirables has brought about a change of sentiment. Congress has passed laws prohibiting convicts, lunatics, paupers, anarchists, and persons afflicted with loathsome or contagious diseases from entering the country, but the laws have not given much relief because the trouble lies deeper — it lies in the ignorance and the low standard of living of many of the immigrants who have come to America in recent years.

Growth of the Cities. — While the growth of our country has been remarkable, the growth of our cities has been more remarkable, for they have grown even faster than the country as a whole. Not only have most of the immigrants stopped in the cities, but also people from the rural districts have moved into them. In most cities a majority of the

inhabitants were born elsewhere in the state or in other states, and in some of the larger ones the majority are foreign born. Nearly half the people of the United States now live in the cities.

New York has become the largest city of the world. The census of 1910 gave it nearly five million inhabitants, and it has gained more than a million since that year. Chicago, with its two million, and Philadelphia with its million and a half, are our second and third largest cities. Nearly one tenth of the population of the country may be found in New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. The next largest cities, each having more than half a million inhabitants, are, in the order named: St. Louis, Boston, Cleveland, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. Ten others have a population of between three hundred and five hundred thousand; ten have between two hundred and three hundred thousand; while twenty-two have between one hundred and two hundred thousand. Most of these cities are in the North and West. The cities in the South that according to the census of 1910 had more than one hundred thousand inhabitants are New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, Memphis, Richmond, and Nashville.

All Classes Seek the Cities. — The rich and the poor and the middle class have alike sought the city. It is there that we see the extremes of wealth and poverty. In crowded tenements on the narrow streets of the old quarter we find the very poor; in imposing mansions on the wide streets and boulevards of the new part we find the very rich. In the business section are stores of all kinds, immense factories, and tall office buildings, known as "sky-scrapers."

Wealth has greatly improved the cities; yet most of the improvements have come since the beginning of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. With well-lighted and well-paved streets, with excellent water and sewerage systems, with electric railways, and with all other modern conveniences, the condition of the cities at the close of the nineteenth century was in marked contrast to their condition only a few years earlier.

Topics and Questions

1. How had population increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century? What effect did the War of Secession have upon manufactures? Tell of the growth of agriculture and commerce.

2. Describe the industrial conditions of the North and Northwest. Trace the growth of the demand for a railroad to the Pacific Ocean. Tell the story of the building of the first Pacific railroads. What commercial results followed the building of these roads? How did these roads aid in peopling the Far West?

3. What led to the massacre of General Custer and his men by the Sioux? Was it strange that the Sioux made this war on the whites?

4. Trace the causes of the panic of 1873. What was the result of the panic?

5. Describe the effect that the abolition of slavery had upon the old plantation system of the South. Was the change for the better? State the natural resources of the South and the industrial growth of the "New South."

6. Why did crowds gather on the border line of the "Beautiful Land," April 22, 1889? What did they do with their new land in the next ten years?

7. Name some of the states admitted since 1850. In what section are all these states, with the exception of one, located?

8. After the War of Secession immigrants from Europe came to America in great numbers. From what countries of Europe did most of the immigrants come prior to the year 1880? After that year? Why are so many of the immigrants who have come over in recent years undesirable?

9. Which is the largest city in the United States? The second largest? The third? Name the six largest cities in the South. What classes do we find in the cities? How did the cities improve in the last quarter of the nineteenth century?

Project Exercises

1. Review Chapters XXV and XXVI. Write an essay showing briefly the gain made in population, and the progress made in manufacturing, agriculture, commerce, and methods of travel, in the nineteenth century.

2. Contrast the South of one hundred years ago with the South of to-day (See pages 178, 226 and 237).

3. Are there many immigrants in your section of the country? If not, why?

CHAPTER XXXVI

THE AGE OF STEEL AND ELECTRICITY

The Centennial Exposition. — By 1876 a hundred years had passed since the United States had declared themselves free and independent. In celebration of the centennial, a fair was held that year at Philadelphia, the city in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed. The fair was the greatest that had been held up to that time. Nearly every nation of the civilized world was represented by an exhibit. Most of the states of the Union and many American commercial houses also sent contributions to the exhibition. People gathering from every clime saw what progress the people of other nations had made in art, science, trade, and industry. They returned to their homes with increased knowledge of the world. The exhibits of our own people surpassed all others.

From time to time other great fairs, or expositions as they are usually called, have been held in different cities, and each in turn has shown the progress that has been made in the world, especially in the United States, since the preceding fair was held.

The Uses of Steel. — Industry could not have made so great advancement if it had not been for the use of improved machinery. The discovery in 1856, by Henry Bessemer, an Englishman, of a cheap process for converting iron into steel, made possible great strides in the making of machinery, for steel is stronger and more durable than iron. All over the civilized world men turned their attention more than ever before to inventing machines that would save time and labor. In the period following the War of Secession more mechanical inventions have been made than in all previous periods of history combined. Many of the most important

inventions were made in Europe, but no nation has excelled America in inventive genius.

Nearly all kinds of work can now be done by machinery. Not only does the manufacturer turn out rapidly by machinery products that were once slowly and tediously made by hand, but also the farmer plows the ground, plants the seed, and gathers the crop by machinery,¹ and the miner uses machinery in extracting bulky ore and shipping it to market.

Steel is used to advantage in many ways besides in machinery. It is used in heavy construction work: large ships, railway coaches, bridges, and the frames of "sky-scrapers" are made of it. It is employed in making weapons of war, and common tools, it is also used to make the most delicate instruments.

The Atlantic Cable. — Through the efforts of Cyrus W. Field of New York, who

got his idea from Matthew F. Maury, an officer of the United States and Confederate States navies, a telegraphic cable was laid, in 1858, on the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean from Newfoundland to Ireland. After a few weeks of communication between the Old World and the New, the cable, through some imperfection, failed to work. A second attempt to lay a cable also proved a failure, yet Field did



A MODERN "SKY-SCRAPER"

Woolworth Building, New York; the tallest building in the world. This has a steel frame.

¹ Except in the case of cotton, for the picking of which no satisfactory machine has yet been invented.

not lose faith in the enterprise. In 1866 his third attempt was crowned with success. A cable was laid from Ireland to Newfoundland through which telegraphic service between America and Europe has since continued without interruption. Cables have also been laid in other oceans. The submarine cable brings all parts of the world into close touch; every day it carries to the readers of the newspapers the happenings of other countries; it has revolutionized methods of trade by reporting daily the condition of the markets of all the great cities.

Other Uses of Electricity. — But electricity was to be put to yet other uses. At the Centennial Exposition of 1876 Alexander Graham Bell of Washington exhibited the telephone which he had just invented. In 1878 an Englishman invented the arc light for illuminating streets by electricity and in 1879 Thomas A. Edison, a native of Ohio, invented the incandescent light for illuminating houses by electricity. Though for many years inventors in different countries had been working on a machine for producing electric currents, the results were not altogether satisfactory until about 1880, when the dynamo was perfected. The dynamo is a machine driven by steam, gas, or water power. The electricity generated by it may be carried great distances by means of wires, and be used in running machinery and street cars and in lighting cities and buildings. In 1888 the first street railway line in America, equipped to run its cars by electric power, was put in operation in Richmond.

One of the greatest of electric inventions is wireless telegraphy. For some years it had been known that electric messages could be sent a short distance without the use of wires. In 1895, Marconi, an Italian scientist, invented an instrument that would send and receive messages by electricity through great space without wires. Very soon steamships began using wireless telegraphy for making communications at sea. Messages are now passed between America and Europe by means of wireless telegraphy.

Uses of Petroleum. — Petroleum is an oil found in large quantities in the Middle West and in the Southwest, and is a great factor in the promotion of industry because of the many uses to which it may be put. Petroleum is used for lubricating machinery, for illuminating purposes, and for fuel; it is also used as an ingredient in many manufactured products and is valuable for medicinal purposes. Kerosene, which is used for lighting, is obtained from petroleum. Gasoline, used as fuel in stoves and engines, is a form of this oil.

Since gas-engines are lighter and more easily run than steam engines, they are better suited to many purposes. Engines, with gasoline as fuel, are used to run farm machinery, the automobile, and the aëroplane. Many warships are now run by engines using crude oil.

The Automobile and the Aëroplane. — Like most other inventions, neither the automobile nor the aëroplane is the result of one man's work. For very many years, men in every part of the world had experimented on both the horseless vehicle and the flying machine. By 1886 an automobile and, ten years later, an aëroplane had been constructed that were of practical use. The millions of automobiles that are now used daily show the importance of this invention. The value of the aëroplane for use in war has already been shown; without doubt its value for commercial purposes will eventually prove to be as great.



AN AËROPLANE

The Trusts. — With machinery turning out products rapidly and with railroads carrying them to every part of the country, successful business men saw that it would be to their advantage to combine their wealth so as to conduct

business on a large scale under one management. Such combinations are known as corporations, and they became common soon after the close of the War of Secession. Later combinations of capital began to be made on a more gigantic scale. To save competition among themselves, corporations which were already large consolidated. These immense combinations are usually known as trusts. By buying up smaller concerns, or forcing them out of the market, the trusts at one time seemed likely to secure control of the business of the country. Though it is true that combinations of capital enable business to be conducted more efficiently, yet, since the formation of a trust is sometimes followed by increased prices, many people came to look upon a trust as a monopoly formed for extorting money from them (see pages 415, 417, and 456).

Effect upon the Employed. — The formation of corporations made a great change in the relation between labor and capital. The laborer, instead of dealing directly with an individual as his employer, has to deal with the agent of a combination of men, not one of whom, possibly, he has ever seen. The sympathy between employer and employed lessened as their personal contact with each other lessened. There came instead a mutual distrust.

Combinations of Labor. — When capital began to combine, labor also began to organize, the laborers of each trade forming their own union. Then, "The Noble Order of Knights of Labor" was formed to unite all working-men into one organization for the protection of the laboring interests. The growth of this order was rapid. When, however, it united with a political party it lost its influence. Its place has been taken by the American Federation of Labor, an organization in which the union in each trade has representation. The American Federation of Labor has never united with a political party; its policy is to attain its ends by bringing pressure to bear upon all political parties.

Reforms Secured by Labor Unions. — The labor unions have done much to improve the lot of the laborer. Among

other things they have secured higher wages, shorter hours of work, better sanitary conditions about the shops, and safeguards against the dangers of machinery. The unions have not secured reforms without hard struggle. In fact, the contest between capital and labor is still going on, the capitalist claiming that the laborer often demands more than he is entitled to.

The most effective weapon the laborers have is the "strike." When they do not get what they regard as just, they tie up business by quitting work, or "striking." It has always been the wish of labor organizations to conduct the contest for their rights without violence, but unfortunately many of the immigrant laborers from the lowest classes of Europe that have settled in the North and West have but little respect for law and order. These men often turn a strike into an occasion for the destruction of life and property.

The Pittsburgh Riot. — The first great strike in the United States occurred in 1877 among the employees of leading railroad lines in the Middle and Western states, on account of a reduction in wages. The coal miners also struck. About a hundred thousand men in all quit work. The lawless element, gathering in an immense mob, held complete control of Pittsburgh for days. The rioters destroyed railroad cars and buildings and other property, and brought the business of the railroads to a standstill, while collisions between the militia and the mob resulted in bloodshed. United States troops, which President Hayes sent to the scene, quelled the riot. The value of property destroyed is estimated at ten million dollars.

Education. — The public school system now prevails throughout the country. The term has been lengthened, and the schools in all the cities and many of the rural districts have been graded. In rural districts, too sparsely settled to support properly their own schools, the plan has been introduced of combining two or more weak schools into one strong central school. Pupils from many

miles around are brought to the consolidated school in vehicles free of charge. The result of these improvements in our public schools is shown in the steady reduction of the number of persons who cannot read or write.

With the expansion of industry came a decided change in the course of study in the high school. Formerly the idea was to train the pupil for college, and as colleges then prepared only for the professions, such as the ministry, law, medicine, and letters, the course stressed Latin and Greek and mathematics. Such a course was not suited to the great mass of persons who were not to go into the professions. The new idea of education calls for the training of each pupil in a manner to make him most fit for the vocation which he is to follow. The fundamentals are still taught — for everybody needs them — but the pupil in the high school is given the opportunity of studying the classics, bookkeeping, typewriting and stenography, and agriculture. Boys may study manual training, and girls may study domestic science.

The Federal Government Gives Aid to Education. — In giving aid to education the United States government has been most liberal. When the Northwest Territory was organized in 1787, Congress set aside land for the purpose of using the funds derived from its sale for education. The policy was followed in organizing other territories, and from it have come the splendid public schools and state universities of the West. In 1862, the same year that the Department of Agriculture was established, Congress appropriated to each state in the Union, in proportion to its population, funds from the sale of public lands to be used for teaching agricultural and technical branches. Some of the states use the fund to teach these branches in their state universities, while others have organized separate agricultural and mechanical colleges. From time to time other appropriations have been made by Congress to promote the study of agriculture. The object is to make farming more scientific and hence more attractive and profitable. Already

the agricultural colleges and schools have done much to improve the farming industry.

Woman's Rights. — By the close of the nineteenth century women had come to take an active part in the affairs of life. Women were employed in shops, stores, and offices; they were practicing law and medicine; they were the heads of large business concerns. The conviction was growing that women should be given the same opportunities as men. Already the idea of the olden days, that a woman needed only the elementary education of an academy or seminary and some training in music, had passed away. Colleges had been established exclusively for women where they could get the same education as men, and many colleges originally founded for men had opened their doors to women.

But without the right to vote, women could never have an equality with men. The movement to give the ballot to women, which was begun fifty years earlier (see page 300), had gained in favor until by the end of the century a number of states had granted woman's suffrage. In other states women were given the right to vote on certain matters, such as school questions and the issuing of bonds.

Literature. — In this age of material progress were to be found eminent men of letters, but not such masters as the preceding period produced. The foremost novelists were Thomas Bailey Aldrich and William Dean Howells, both of New England, and Henry James, a native of New York. The South produced the sweet singers, Henry Timrod, Paul Hamilton Hayne, Father Ryan, and Sidney Lanier. From the Middle West came



SIDNEY LANIER

two poets who wrote charmingly of child life, Eugene Field and James Whitcomb Riley. The Far West was portrayed in the humor of Samuel L. Clemens ("Mark Twain") and the stories and poems of Bret Harte. The study of history had developed into a science, and some of our best historians belong to this period, among them James Schouler, Henry Adams, Hubert Howe Bancroft, John Fiske, John Bach McMaster, James Ford Rhodes, and Woodrow Wilson.

The Newspaper and the Magazine. — The modern printing press, the telegraph, and the submarine cable have brought journalism to a high degree of usefulness. The daily newspaper now prints news of the events of the world a few hours after they happen, and the railroads carry the newspaper to homes far away from the city where it is published. The modern magazine employs specially qualified persons to write on current matters. Through this medium the reader may receive the latest information on science, politics, history, religion, finance, and every other subject of interest.

Topics and Questions

1. What was the object of the Centennial Exposition in 1876? Describe the Exposition.
2. What discovery made iron more useful? Mention some of the uses of steel.
3. Tell of Cyrus W. Field's untiring efforts to lay a telegraphic cable in the Atlantic Ocean, connecting America and Europe. Give interesting facts about the following inventions: telephone, arc light, incandescent light, and the dynamo. Relate the story of Marconi and his wireless telegraphy.
4. Tell where petroleum is found and mention some of its uses. Give an account of the invention of the automobile. Of the aëroplane.
5. Why did successful business men form corporations? How have corporations affected the relation between the employer and the employed? Give the history of labor unions and mention some of the reforms that the unions have secured. Define the "strike." Describe the Pittsburg Riot of 1877 and its cost.
6. Trace the progress made in the public school system. Show how the Federal government has aided education. Describe the growth of the movement for woman's rights.

7. Name some of the authors prominent in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Have you read any of their works? How do the modern newspaper and magazine meet the demands of the people?

Project Exercises

1. Mention some of the inventions, discoveries, and conveniences which we now enjoy, that were unknown to people seventy-five years ago.

2. If you have a friend who is a member of a labor union, ask him to explain to you its objects and the plan upon which it is conducted. Write an essay telling what you have learned about labor unions.

3. Contrast the schools of Washington's time with the schools of to-day (see page 187).

CHAPTER XXXVII

GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS

Evils of the "Spoils System." — The practice of turning out office-holders belonging to the defeated political party, the "spoils system," which had begun when Jackson assumed the Presidency (see page 260), and which all political parties had followed when gaining control of the government, had so debauched the civil service¹ as to endanger the government. The War of Secession had required the spending of so much money by the government that officials had grown careless about the public funds; the upholding of dishonest "carpet-bag" governments in the South had set a bad example to office-holders of the Federal government; lastly, President Grant, though personally honest, was too credulous and was persuaded to give places of importance to men who were unworthy. Consequently, much corruption had crept into government circles.

The "Whiskey Ring." — The greatest of the schemes to defraud the Federal government was the "Whiskey Ring." In 1875 it was discovered that prominent officials were in league with illicit distillers to cheat the government out of the tax due on whiskey. The ring had its headquarters in St. Louis, and had branch offices in many of the principal cities. It even had an agent in Washington. Investigation showed that in one year the government had been defrauded of almost two million dollars. Most of the leaders of the ring were convicted and punished.

Corruption in Municipal Governments. — Corruption extended to state and city governments. A ring led by

¹ The civil service includes all persons employed by the government except those in the military and naval service.

William M. Tweed robbed New York City of ten million dollars in three years. When the fraud was discovered in 1871, some of the guilty persons were convicted and punished. Tweed died in prison while awaiting trial.

The stealing of public funds was accomplished in many ways. The most common method was to enter on the government accounts charges for work larger than the work actually cost and sometimes charges for work never performed. Officials kept for themselves the money thus illicitly taken from the treasury. As the guilty parties usually did the bookkeeping, it was often difficult to detect the fraud. The stealing of government funds by indirect methods is now known as "grafting."

Reform of the Civil Service Needed. — The punishment of some of the offenders did not get at the root of the trouble. Since the "spoils system" had honeycombed the civil service with unworthy office-holders, the remedy was to reform the service, and this could be done only by the appointment of persons to office on account of their fitness instead of their political influence.

President Hayes took a firm stand against the "spoils system," and did much to improve the service by filling vacancies with worthy appointees. Advocates of civil service reform demanded that a law be passed to prevent unworthy persons from securing the offices, but the average Congressman had come to look upon public offices as places that he should be allowed to use as rewards for his faithful constituents; consequently, no definite steps toward reform were taken in Hayes' administration.

Assassination of President Garfield. — James A. Garfield of Ohio, the Republican nominee, was elected to succeed Hayes in the Presidency. Garfield had been before the people so long as a distinguished member of Congress that his merits were well recognized. Everybody looked forward to a conservative, safe administration. But the evils of the "spoils system," which Hayes had done much toward checking, broke out afresh with Garfield's inaugu-

ration in 1881. Washington swarmed with applicants for office.

A few months after his inauguration, President Garfield was shot in a railway station at Washington by a disappointed office-seeker. For more than two months he made a brave struggle against death, while from every part of the country prayers went up for his recovery. He died, as the result of his wound, on September 19, 1881. Vice Pres-



JAMES A. GARFIELD



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

ident Chester A. Arthur of New York took the oath of office as President the day after the death of Garfield.

The Civil Service Reform Law.— The assassination of President Garfield brought the question of civil service reform home to the people; not only must the service be improved, but the President must be relieved of the pressure from office-seekers. So strong a demand arose for a civil service law that Congress could not ignore it. In 1883 Congress passed an act creating a Civil Service Commission. It is the duty of this commission to hold examinations of applicants for office; those who prove to be the best qualified must be selected, no matter to what political party they belong.¹ President Arthur, who favored civil service re-

¹ The Civil Service Act applies directly only to a few minor positions, as the Constitution gives to the President the right to make appoint-

form, aided in making the law effective. In fact, no administration has been more free from partisanship than his.

Grover Cleveland, President. — In 1885 Grover Cleveland of New York succeeded Arthur as President. Cleveland was the first Democrat after Buchanan to reach the Presidency and was a sincere advocate of reform in all governmental matters. But,

since the Democrats had been out of power for twenty-eight years, they set up a cry that the Republican office-holders should be turned out and the offices be given to them. Fortunately, Cleveland stoutly refused to turn out office-holders merely on account of their political belief, for if he had yielded to the clamor of the members of his party, he would have given a severe blow to the movement for civil service



GROVER CLEVELAND

reform, which was just beginning to get a foothold. President Cleveland took a firm stand also against the evils that had arisen in the pension system. Public sentiment, growing out of a feeling of gratitude, had called for liberal rewards in the shape of pensions to the soldiers who had fought for the Union. This liberality had been abused; many persons were drawing pensions that they did not deserve. Cleveland did not hesitate to veto acts of Congress granting pensions whenever he considered such pensions improper.

Governmental Regulation of Business. — The unrestments to most of the offices. Yet the President may place under the operation of the law such offices as he chooses. For the good of the service and to save themselves from the pressure of office-seekers, the Presidents have from time to time so extended the workings of the law that most of the positions can now be secured only through a civil service examination.

in the business world increased. As more trusts were organized and prices went higher, the feeling against "big business," as the controlling of industry was called, grew stronger. On the other hand, the repeated strikes of the laboring men, by shutting down the factories and mines, did their part toward causing prices to rise. The suffering public began to advocate that the Federal government should, in the interest of the people, regulate the methods of business.

Railroad Rates Regulated. — The railroad business was the first that Congress sought to regulate. The railroads had so combined that five or six large systems controlled the entire carrying trade of the country. Much feeling had been aroused against these systems because it was believed that they were unfair in making their rates. Acting under the power given it by the Constitution to control commerce between the states, Congress, in 1887, passed the interstate commerce law for the purpose of regulating the freight and passenger rates charged by railroads running from one state to another. The chief purpose of the act is to prevent the charging of exorbitant rates and the granting of special concessions that would give favored shippers or cities unfair advantage over others. A commission appointed by the President sees that the law is observed.

The Year of Strikes. — There were so many strikes in 1886 that the year is often called the year of strikes. The most memorable one occurred in Chicago, where many thousand laboring men quit work in an effort to secure the adoption of eight hours as a day's labor. In a riot anarchists threw into the ranks of the police a dynamite bomb which caused the death of seven policemen and the wounding of many others. Four anarchists, convicted of complicity in the crime, were hanged.

Cleveland Wishes to Reduce the Tariff. — President Cleveland believed that much of the discontent existing in business was due to the high tariff. This tax had been placed on goods brought into the country for the purpose of

meeting the expenses of the War of Secession, and in the years that had followed the war it had been reduced very little. The tariff was now bringing in a much larger revenue than the government needed for expenses and was accumulating an enormous surplus of money in the treasury; at the same time the tariff was enabling American manufacturers to exact higher prices for their goods, and for this reason it was charged that the tariff was the "mother of trusts." Cleveland held the view, which had always been a Democratic doctrine, that the tariff was a tax on the people that should not be higher than necessary to meet the expenses of the government, and being a reformer by nature, he wished to reform the tariff. The Republicans, on the other hand, claimed that a high tariff is proper because it protects American industries, and because, they alleged, it enables laborers to get higher wages.

Harrison Defeats Cleveland. — Cleveland sent a message to Congress recommending that the tariff be reduced. As the Republicans controlled the Senate, Congress did not comply with the President's suggestion; and the stand taken by Cleveland made the tariff the leading issue in the presidential campaign of 1888. The Democratic party declared for a tariff for revenue only, and renominated Cleveland. The Republicans, advocating a tariff for protection nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, a grandson of President William Henry Harrison. Cleveland had estranged many of his own party by his stand for civil service reform; he had offended the soldier vote by his vetoes of pension bills that he thought were not right, and the manufac-



BENJAMIN HARRISON

turers by his recommendation of a reduction in the tariff. The contest resulted in the election of Harrison.

New Tariff Act; New Pension Act. — The Republicans took the result of the election to mean that the people approved of a high tariff. Having gained control not only of the Presidency, but also of both houses of Congress, they enacted a new tariff law in 1890. This act raised the tariff still higher.

The Republicans determined to spend on pensions a part of the surplus in the treasury. In 1890 Congress passed an act which pensioned all soldiers of the Union who had served ninety days in the War of Secession, and who were unable to do manual labor; also the widows and children and parents of such soldiers. The result of the act was to increase enormously the number of persons on the pension roll.¹

In 1892 the people, dissatisfied with the way that the Republicans had managed the government, reelected Grover Cleveland to the Presidency.

Arbitration of International Disputes. — The United States claimed the right to control the seal fisheries in Bering Sea, off the coast of Alaska, and, to prevent the total destruction of these valuable animals, had placed regulations upon seal catching. Vessels violating the regulations were seized. As some of these vessels belonged to Canadians, the British government protested. The dispute was referred to a commission of arbitration. The decision of the commission, made in 1893, declared that the United States could not control the Bering Sea fisheries; yet the United States

¹ In 1917, fifty-two years after the close of the War of Secession, few of the soldiers of that war were surviving; yet the average amount of each pension had been so much increased, and so many relatives of these soldiers had been added to the pension roll, that the number of pensioners in that year was nearly a million, all of whom except about thirty thousand drew pensions on account of the War of Secession. The amount expended in 1917 for pensions was \$138,890,088.64, or about \$380,000 a day.

gained what it desired, for the commission made regulations for the protection of the seals, which became binding on both the United States and Great Britain.

For many years there had been a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela concerning the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela. Although Venezuela wished to submit the matter to arbitration, and the United States advised such a course, the British government refused to arbitrate. From time to time Great Britain pushed its boundary line farther into territory claimed by Venezuela. President Cleveland, holding that the action of Great Britain was contrary to the Monroe Doctrine (see page 253), in 1895 asked Congress for authority to appoint a commission to ascertain the true boundary between Venezuela and British Guiana, and recommended that the United States insist upon the acceptance of the commission's finding. Congress authorized the appointment of the commission, and war clouds for a while hung over the two great English-speaking countries, for unless Great Britain should accept this or some other satisfactory plan of settling the question, it did not seem possible to avoid hostilities. The British people did not want war with their kindred across the Atlantic, and more than two hundred members of parliament signed a petition asking that the question be submitted to arbitration. The British government yielded and the commission of arbitration settled the dispute in favor of Great Britain. The submission to arbitration of so many questions of dispute between the United States and Great Britain (see page 385) has promoted the good will between the two English-speaking countries.

The Panic of 1893. — When Cleveland came to the Presidency for the second time, the country was facing a panic which had been coming on for some years. Business had been prosperous, but there arose in the commercial centers a doubt concerning the value of the money in use. The quantity of paper money had been increased, and fear arose lest the government should not be able to redeem

all of it in gold. People hastened to exchange their paper money for gold before all the gold in the treasury should become exhausted. They withdrew their deposits from the banks. Gold thus secured was hoarded. Money became so scarce that banks failed and factories closed. Much suffering followed among the thousands thrown out of employment.

Many believed that gold was too scarce a metal to be the sole basis of money, and argued that the distress would be relieved if the government would coin into money, free of charge to the owner, all silver presented at the treasury at the ratio of sixteen to one.¹ This demand for the "free and unlimited coinage of silver" was opposed by others who did not believe that two metals could be successfully used as standards for money. As suffering from the panic continued, the money question became the subject of heated discussion in the newspapers and among the people.

The Pullman Strike. — Meanwhile strikes were further disarranging business. In some of the strikes there were rioting and loss of life. The most formidable strike at this time occurred in Chicago in 1894. The wages of the employees of the Pullman Car Company's works at Pullman, a suburb of Chicago, had been reduced. The strike grew out of the refusal of the company to restore the wages to the former scale. The employees urged the company to submit the matter to arbitration; committees of disinterested citizens also advised arbitration, but the invariable reply was, "The company has nothing to arbitrate." The strikers from the Pullman Company belonged to a labor organization known as the American Railway Union, which included in its membership a large number of the employees of the different roads. The members of the Union made common cause with the Pullman strikers and refused to handle trains to which Pullman cars were attached. The boycott effected the running of trains on nearly every railroad west of Ohio.

¹ That is, for every ounce in the gold dollar there should be sixteen ounces in the silver dollar.

The President Sends Troops to Chicago. — Since the stoppage of traffic interfered with the mails and inter-state commerce, President Cleveland ordered United States troops to Chicago to protect the running of trains. Lives were lost in collisions between the troops and the strikers. Finally the strike collapsed, though not until the lawless element had destroyed much property. The total loss to railroads in earnings and property and to the strikers in wages exceeded eight million dollars.

McKinley Elected President. — In the election of 1896 the money question was the leading issue. The Democrats advocated “free silver”—that is, the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one; the Republicans opposed unless the other great nations would also agree to coin silver at the same ratio. The Democrats nominated William J. Bryan of Nebraska for President; the Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio. The campaign was one of the most exciting that the country has ever experienced.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

In the intense interest aroused by the money question other issues were almost completely lost sight of. McKinley, the gold standard candidate, was elected by a large majority.

Within a few years gold was discovered in such large quantities in Alaska, Australia, and other parts of the world, that there was no longer a question of there being enough of that metal to furnish the currency, and the demand for “free silver” passed away.

Topics and Questions

1. When did the "spoils system" in the United States begin? What were its evils? Was President Grant directly or indirectly responsible for the corruption that was rife in his administration? How did the "Whiskey Ring" defraud the United States government? How did the "Tweed Ring" defraud New York City? What is meant by "grafting"?

2. Who improved the civil service by appointing men to office through merit and not through "pulls"? What lesson had the nation learned from the assassination of President Garfield? State the duties of the Civil Service Commission.

3. Give an account of President Cleveland's record to show that he was a reformer. What caused continued unrest in the business world? What was the need of the Interstate Commerce Act? Account for the great riot in Chicago in 1886.

4. How was the government accumulating more money in the treasury than it needed? What was President Cleveland's plan for reducing this surplus? Why was Cleveland defeated for the Presidency in 1888?

5. What did the Republicans do about the tariff in 1890? How did they increase the pension roll in the same year? How did the people show in the election of 1892 that they disapproved of the course taken by the Republicans?

6. What was the object and the result of arbitration over the Bering Sea fisheries? What was the object and the result of arbitration over the Venezuela boundary?

7. Describe the panic of 1893. What trouble did the Pullman strike of 1894 make for all the West? On what grounds did President Cleveland interfere?

8. What was the main issue in the presidential election of 1896? Who won?

Project Exercises

1. Ascertain, if you can, what kind of an examination the Civil Service Commission gives an applicant to test his fitness for office.

2. Why did President Cleveland think that Great Britain's action regarding the Venezuelan boundary was a violation of the Monroe Doctrine? (See page 253.)

3. Mention some of the purposes for which you think arbitration should be employed.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY¹

The United States and Europe. — In the three quarters of a century and more that had passed since the close of the second war with Great Britain, the United States had not been entangled in the political affairs of Europe. Such questions as had arisen between the United States and European countries had not been so serious as to prevent their being settled through negotiation or arbitration.

Yet the whole world was coming into closer contact. The railroad, the steamboat, the telegraph, and the ocean cable were making communication easier, while the growth of manufacturing and other industries was bringing about a keen rivalry among nations for the trade of foreign markets. One of the most active competitors for the commerce of the world was the United States. Americans could no longer be indifferent to the happenings of the world.

Democracy and Nationality. — The French Revolution had spread the spirit of democracy through continental Europe, and the Napoleonic wars which followed had spread the spirit of nationality. Briefly defined, nationality is the belief that every nation, however small, has a right to its own government.

The Congress of Vienna. — However, at the time of the overthrow of Napoleon I autocracy still had the upper hand in Europe. Emperors, kings, and princes met in a congress at Vienna (1814–1815) for the purpose of restoring the balance of power which Napoleon had upset when he conquered so great a part of Europe. The conquered territory was to be divided, and each monarch schemed to get for himself as large a share as possible. Monarchs had in the

¹ This chapter need not be learned as a lesson. Teacher and class may read it together.

past seized lands of helpless nations, and those gathered at Vienna could see no reason why they should refuse to take what they could get merely because the people were beginning to talk about their rights. Thus it came about that in the remaking of the map of Europe by the Congress of Vienna small nations were once more annexed to larger ones. Peoples were placed against their wishes under the rule of other peoples who differed from them in race, language, religion, custom, and tradition.

The Quadruple Alliance. — The Congress of Vienna had hardly adjourned when revolutions began. If the revolutionists were of a race different from their rulers, they usually fought for independence; if of the same race, they usually fought for a constitution giving them a share in the government and for free speech, free press, and trial by jury.

Alarmed at the growth of the revolutionary movement the autocratic monarchs, headed by the czar of Russia, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, formed the Quadruple Alliance, an agreement whereby each monarch promised to help with his armies a fellow monarch whose subjects should rise against him. In this effort to suppress democracy Great Britain refused to join.¹

Although successful in putting down some of the earlier revolutions, the Quadruple Alliance did not hold together long because of the jealousies of the monarchs. Each autocrat thereafter depended mainly upon the strength of his own armies to keep his subjects in check.

Countless thousands lost their lives in the many battles fought for liberty. The survivors of an unsuccessful revolution fared hard. The leaders were imprisoned and often executed or sent into exile, and the inhabitants of the rebellious territory were subjected to greater tyranny than before. Many patriots voluntarily left their native land to escape punishment or because they were unwilling longer

¹ It was because of the belief that the Quadruple Alliance contemplated attacking the democracies of America that President Monroe issued his famous Doctrine (see page 252).

to live under such despotism. Yet, in the face of adversities, democracy grew stronger.

Revolutions in France. — Only the most important revolutions need be considered here, and it is proper to begin with those of France, for that country long continued to be the center of revolutionary movements. When Napoleon I was driven from France, Louis XVIII, brother of the king who was beheaded in the great Revolution, was placed by the other powers on the French throne. Louis XVIII was wise enough to know that the conditions that existed in France before the Revolution, when the king had all the power and the people had none, could not be brought back. He ruled France under a constitution which he himself granted and which allowed the people some rights. When his brother, Charles X, who succeeded him on the throne, attempted in 1830 to do away with the constitution and rule as a despot, the people of Paris rose in revolution and forced him to abdicate.

The National Assembly, acting for the people, then chose as king Louis Philippe, a member of the younger branch of the royal house, who was made to promise to preserve the constitution. Louis Philippe was at heart greedy of power, and when in 1848 the people sought to secure for themselves a larger share of the government, he tried to thwart them. Thereupon the inhabitants of Paris again rose in revolution and drove him from the throne.

This time France established a republic. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, was elected president. Only four years had passed (1852) when Louis Napoleon persuaded the French people, as his uncle had done, to elect him emperor. He took the title of Napoleon III.

Meanwhile France, like England and the United States, was making great advancement industrially. Napoleon III, of course, had little to do with bringing about the changes, but the contentment that prosperity brought the French people during his reign enabled him to hold the throne longer than he would probably have otherwise done.

Neutrality of Belgium. -- The Congress of Vienna had annexed to the kingdom of Holland the country known as Belgium. The Dutch government treated Belgium so unjustly that when news of the success of the revolution of 1830 in France reached the Belgians, they rose in revolt. Defeating the forces of the Dutch sent against them, they declared their independence of Holland and set up for themselves a monarchy with a constitution protecting the rights of the people. The autocratic monarchies of Austria and Russia wished to force Belgium back into the union with Holland, but the more liberal governments of Great Britain and France forbade interference with Belgian affairs.

Later all the great powers signed a treaty guaranteeing that Belgium should always be a neutral country. Each power was pledged not to invade Belgium with an army, and Belgium was pledged to resist invasion if one should occur.

Reforms of Great Britain. — Great Britain had long before had her revolutions. It will be remembered that for their attempts to take away the people's rights Charles I had been beheaded in 1649 and James II had been driven from the throne in 1688, and that after the dethronement of the latter monarch parliament had become supreme. But it will also be remembered that for many years that body had not properly represented the people. (See page 115.) About the time of the American Revolution agitation began for the reformation of parliament. Nothing was accomplished, however, until 1832, when parliament passed the Reform Bill, which greatly increased the number of persons allowed the ballot and at the same time so distributed the seats in parliament as to give each community more equal representation. Other acts enlarging the franchise were passed until now suffrage in Great Britain is practically universal.

These reforms, making the British government one of the most democratic in the world, did not come in a short space of time; in fact, some were enacted within recent years. They were gained only by continual agitation by the people;

for the upper classes, who did not think the masses were competent to vote intelligently, were often able to defeat for a time bills for extending the franchise.

Contrary to the fears of the upper classes, the extension of the franchise has strengthened the government, because it has made the masses more contented. Through the influence of their votes the masses have secured better conditions for themselves. More laws have been passed by Great Britain for the benefit of the working people than by any other country of Europe.

Revolutions in Russia. — Before the time of Napoleon I the ancient kingdom of Poland had been divided between Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Whether under Russian, Prussian, or Austrian rule, the Poles were oppressed. Encouraged by the success of the revolution of 1830 in France, the Russian Poles arose against the tyranny of the czar; but the overwhelming power of Russia crushed the revolt. In 1863 the Poles made another unsuccessful attempt to throw off the Russian yoke.

Not only the Poles and other subject races, but the Russian people themselves suffered from oppressive government. Since all power centered in the czar, even the upper classes had no political rights; yet the hand of despotism fell heaviest upon the laborers in the cities and upon the peasantry. The condition of the peasants, who constitute by far the greater part of the population, is to this day deplorable. Until 1861 the peasants were serfs, and they continue to be the most ignorant and most miserable people of Europe.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century Russia reached a state of terrorism to be followed, with the opening of the twentieth century, by many clashes between the government and the people in which the lives of thousands of revolutionists were lost.

Revolutions in Austria. — The revolution of 1848 in France found its echo in the Austrian empire, which contained more nationalities than any other country of Europe. The Austrians proper (Germans), the Hungarians (Magyars), the

Bohemians (Slavs), and Italians who were subjects of Austria, all rose in revolution against the Austrian government. Unfortunately the revolutionists of the different nationalities did not unite, and the uprisings were put down.

In 1867 the government, finding that it needed the good will of the Austrian and Hungarian peoples to strengthen the empire, granted a kind of constitution under which the Austrians and Hungarians had equal rights and under which these two nationalities controlled all the others. It was then that the empire became known as Austria-Hungary.¹

Since the Austrians and Hungarians combined constituted only a minority, and since they gave the other nationalities scant justice, Austria became an empire of jarring peoples, all jealous of one another and most of them wishing to be independent of Austrian rule.

Unification of Italy. — Napoleon I had brought the Italian peninsula under his sway. After his downfall the Congress of Vienna divided Italy, giving a large section of the northern part to Austria and the rest of the peninsula to rulers who were under the influence of Austria and who were as autocratic as the Austrian ruler himself. The Italians, little liking the disposition made of them, almost immediately began revolutions. They met at first with no success.

In time there came to the throne of Sardinia — a kingdom composed of the island of Sardinia and a part of the mainland of northern Italy — Charles Albert, who was an exception to the despots ruling in Italy. Charles Albert gave his people a constitution guaranteeing their rights. Naturally the oppressed in other parts of Italy looked to this Sardinian king to free them from the Austrian and other autocratic rulers and unite all Italy into one nation.

Charles Albert aided the Austrian provinces of Italy in their unsuccessful revolution of 1848. Overcome by failure to free his fellow Italians, he resigned the throne of Sardinia

¹ For convenience, however, the empire continued to be spoken of as Austria.

to his son, Victor Emanuel II. The new king preserved the constitution that his father had given the Sardinian people, and he cherished his father's ambition to liberate Italy. He called to his assistance one of the ablest and most honorable of the statesmen of the times, Count Cavour, whom he made prime minister. He also had a faithful lieutenant in Garibaldi, a soldier patriot.

Two wars between Sardinia and Austria resulted in freeing from Austrian rule Lombardy and Venetia, large provinces in northern Italy. Another war overthrew the tyrannical ruler of Naples, a kingdom that embraced the southern half of the Italian peninsula. Encouraged by the success of Sardinia, other Italian states secured control of their governments. By 1870 most of Italy had joined Sardinia in forming the kingdom of Italy with Victor Emanuel II as king. The liberal constitution of Sardinia was retained for the kingdom of Italy, and under its provisions the Italians are living to-day.

We speak of Italy from the year 1870 as united; yet there remained under the rule of Austria a portion of northeast Italy, called by the Italians *Italia Irredenta*, "Italy unredeemed." In this region are the Italian cities of Trent, Trieste, and Pola. The Italians of Italy "redeemed" and of Italy "unredeemed" never ceased to wish to be reunited.

Germany Divided into States. — Germany in the early nineteenth century was not a nation, for it was divided into more than thirty states, many very small; though the largest states, Austria and Prussia, had long ranked among the strong powers of Europe. The German states were united, for the management of general affairs, in a loose confederation with Austria at its head. The states retained their independence, and with few exceptions their rule was autocratic.

Otto von Bismarck. — William I, king of Prussia, an autocrat, in 1862 called Prince Otto von Bismarck to assist him in governing. Bismarck was as much a believer

in autocracy as was his king and was a more forceful man. He was of iron will and ruthless in his contempt of the rights of the people. Where the king might hesitate to exercise his authority for fear of offending the people, Bismarck urged him on.

Bismarck's ambition was to unite Germany into one empire that would be the strongest nation of Europe. The Prussian king would be emperor, and, through his influence over his sovereign, Bismarck would control the affairs of Europe. The temper of the people suited Bismarck's plans. The Germans were never deeply imbued with the democratic feeling; they cared more for uniting their country into a nation than for securing popular rights. Revolutions that convulsed other parts of Europe had found echo in Germany only in a few small uprisings.

The Policy of "Blood and Iron." — Yet Bismarck, having no faith in the ability of the people to bring the union about, relied solely on military power. As he expressed it, the union could be accomplished only by "blood and iron." Bismarck's first thought, therefore, was to strengthen the army. Prussia had already adopted the conscription plan for keeping up a standing army. Every able-bodied young man was required to serve in the army for a certain number of years, and be ready during another period of years to rejoin the army in time of war. Bismarck increased the army by extending the period of service, and, with able generals, welded it into a splendid fighting machine.

Prussia then, under guidance of Bismarck, made war on Denmark and took from this weak neighbor two provinces needed to extend Prussia's coast line to the Atlantic. Next, to get rid of Austria as head of the German Confederation, war was declared against that country in 1866, Bismarck having first persuaded Italy to join in the hostilities against her old enemy (see page 427). The Austrian army, no match for the well-organized German army, was quickly defeated. In the treaty of peace Austria ceded Venetia.

to Italy and agreed to relinquish her right to take part in the affairs of Germany. Bismarck shrewdly exacted of Austria no harsher terms. He knew that Prussia would have to hurl France from the place she had so long held as the foremost military power of Europe before his ambition could be realized; and in a war with France he desired to retain Austria's friendship.

Bismarck's high-handed method was again shown by his forcibly annexing to Prussia states of northern Germany that had favored Austria. With the remaining states of northern Germany he formed a new league, known as the North German Confederation, with the king of Prussia as president. The states of southern Germany, uneasy over Prussia's aggressions, held aloof from the new confederation, but Bismarck, by making them believe that France had designs upon their territory, succeeded in getting them to make an alliance to help Prussia in case that country should have a war with France.

The Franco-Prussian War. — With all Germany thus united in a military alliance, Bismarck, by practicing a deception, provoked France into a war in 1870. As France was unprepared for war disaster soon befell her. One of her armies was captured at Sedan and another was penned up in Metz. After a siege of four months, Paris surrendered (1871), and with the fall of the French capital the war came to a close.

Germany Becomes an Empire and France a Republic. — Meanwhile both belligerent countries had changed their forms of government. Napoleon III had been captured with his army at Sedan, and when news of his capture reached Paris the populace demanded that France be made a republic. The National Assembly consented. Thus amid the thunders of war was established the Third Republic,¹

¹ The First Republic of France lasted from the Revolution to the election of Napoleon I as emperor (1789-1804). The Second Republic lasted from the overthrow of Louis Philippe to the election of Napoleon III as emperor (1848-1852).

the government under which France has continued to the present time.

The German armies were still besieging Paris when the rulers of the South German states joined those composing the North German Confederation in forming all Germany into an autocratic empire. In 1871, at Versailles, in the palace of the former kings of France, William, king of Prussia, was proclaimed emperor, or kaiser, under the title of William I. Bismarck became chancellor, as the prime minister of Germany was called.

Thus it came about that a war begun between the Prussian kingdom and the French empire was closed by a treaty between the German empire and the French republic.

Harsh Terms of Peace. — Very hard terms of peace were imposed, for Bismarck wished to reduce France to a second rate power. France was required to pay a heavy indemnity and to give up to Germany the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. Bismarck's ambition had been attained. Germany had taken the place of France as the strongest military nation, and he had become the foremost personage of Europe. Contrary to Bismarck's expectations, however, France did not long remain prostrate. Her thrifty population enabled her to pay off the indemnity in a very short time, and her resourcefulness soon restored her to a place among the powers.

The inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine cried out in bitter protest against being torn from France, and the French people never became reconciled to the loss of the provinces. Their violent wrenching away made a "running sore in the side of France."

The Turks Oppress Christians. — The Balkan peninsula, as the southeastern peninsula of Europe is called, had for many centuries been under the rule of the Turks, an Asiatic race of the Mohammedan faith, who make their capital at Constantinople. Turkish treatment of Christian subjects had been an unbroken record of diabolical cruelty. During the nineteenth century the Balkan country was the

scene of many massacres of the Christian peoples by their Turkish masters and revolts of Christians attempting to escape their desperate condition.

The Turks Protected by the Great Powers. — Turkey in Europe was a blot upon European civilization which could have been wiped out had it not been for the jealousies of the great nations. The powers feared to let one of their number drive the Turks out of the Balkan country lest that power should gain control of the region. Nevertheless, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and Bulgaria succeeded, one by one, in throwing off the Turkish yoke.

In a war between Russia and Turkey in 1877-1878 the Turks were about to be hurled back into Asia and their remaining territory in Europe divided among the Balkan states, when the powers interfered. At a congress of the powers held at Berlin, Great Britain and Austria succeeded in saving for Turkey much of her territory in Europe. Germany, under the guidance of Bismarck, supported Austria. The Congress of Berlin left many bitter heart burnings among the Balkan peoples, and it caused Russia, hitherto friendly to Germany, to feel strong resentment against that country.

Democracy and Autocracy. — Though all the countries of Europe, except republican France and Switzerland, continued to be monarchies, most of them had by the close of the nineteenth century become sufficiently democratic to allow the people a considerable share in the government.¹ The leading nations that clung to autocratic government were Russia, Germany, Austria, and Turkey; and it was mainly in these countries that subject nationalities continued to be oppressed.

The European Colonial System. — Great Britain maintained her position as the leading colonial power, having colonies on every continent and on islands in every ocean. The vastness of her colonial possessions has given rise to

¹ Portugal became a republic in 1910.

the saying that "the sun never sets on the British dominions." The growth of the democratic spirit in Great Britain has put an end to the unjust colonial policy that brought about the independence of the United States. Great Britain now gives her colonies as much self-government as they are fitted for. No people are more satisfied with their government than the Canadians, the Australians, and the New Zealanders, though they are subjects of the British king.

Next to Great Britain as a colonial power comes France, which also has colonies in all parts of the world. The other European nations that had colonial possessions in the nineteenth century are Russia, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and Germany.

The industrial progress that everywhere marked the latter part of the nineteenth century led many countries to manufacture more products than they could consume; and colonies became increasingly important because they furnished ready markets for the excess products. Germany, entering the colonial field last, found most of the land suitable for colonization already taken over by other nations. She was able to establish a few colonies in Africa and on some of the small islands of the distant Pacific, and to secure a seaport in China. But these holdings Germany did not think commensurate to her greatness. She looked with longing eyes upon the colonies of other nations; and she especially envied Great Britain her vast colonial possessions.

Standing Armies and the Balance of Power. — The German empire continued the Prussian practice of maintaining a large, well organized, standing army, and since the Germans had shown that they would put their army to aggressive use, other nations also were compelled in self-defense to maintain large armies.

Bismarck sought to strengthen still further Germany's military power through alliances. He could not expect friendship with France on account of the wrongful seizure of Alsace and Lorraine, and he had estranged Russia by

thwarting her efforts to drive the Turks from the Balkans. Taking advantage of Austria's jealousy of Russia and Italy's jealousy of France, Bismarck was able to form in 1882 an alliance, known as the Triple Alliance, between Germany, Austria, and Italy. Each member of the alliance agreed to go to the aid of another member if attacked by two powers. The Triple Alliance left France and Russia isolated; therefore, they formed a similar alliance known as the Dual Alliance.

The balance of power created by the two alliances served to preserve the peace of Europe for some years, for as long as the alliances were about equal in strength no one country would risk provoking war. Still, as the old hatreds of the nations were being fanned to greater heat by the growing commercial rivalry, the danger of war was always present; so the nations kept on increasing their armaments.

Topics and Questions

1. Explain why the United States cannot be indifferent to the happenings of the world.

2. Tell the story of how emperors, kings, and princes gathered at Vienna in 1814, for the purpose of dividing among themselves lands that did not belong to them. Tell how people gave up their lives that their countries might be free.

3. Describe the revolutions in France in 1830 and 1848. How did Napoleon III become emperor of the French? What were the conditions in France that enabled him to continue on the throne?

4. What is meant by the neutrality of Belgium? How did Great Britain become one of the most democratic of nations? Recount the revolutions in Russia. In Austria. Recite the facts leading to the unification of Italy. Define *Italia Irredenta*.

5. Give an account of Bismarck's highhanded methods for making Prussia the leading state of Germany, and for making Germany the leading country of Europe. Tell how he prepared to make war on France. In what condition was France for war? How did the Franco-Prussian War end? Tell how Germany became an empire and France a republic. Describe the harsh terms imposed upon France by Germany. What was Bismarck's purpose in imposing such harsh terms? Was France kept in the prostrate condition that Bismarck hoped? Why was the seizure of Alsace and Lorraine a "running sore in the side of France"?

6. Describe the sufferings inflicted by the Turks upon the Christians of the Balkan peninsula. Why had the Turks been allowed to stay in Europe so long? What effect did the Congress of Berlin have?

7. What republics were there in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century? Had most of the monarchies become more or less democratic? Which countries were still autocratic?

8. Describe the European colonial system. Why did Germany have so few colonies? What nation's colonial system did Germany envy the most? Which country of Europe began the practice of maintaining a large standing army? Define Triple Alliance. Dual Alliance. Why was war imminent in Europe at the end of the nineteenth century?

Project Exercises

1. Can a monarchy also be a democracy? Give an illustration.
2. Did the Monroe Doctrine check a design of the Quadruple Alliance? If so, what design? (See page 251.)
3. Did the revolutions in Europe in the nineteenth century have the same object as our Revolution in the eighteenth century?

Important Dates:

1814-1815. Congress of Vienna.

1830 and 1848. Revolutions in France and other countries of Europe.

1832. Reforming of the British parliament begun.

1870. Unification of Italy.

1870-1871. Franco-Prussian War.

1871. Formation of the German Empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX

WAR WITH SPAIN

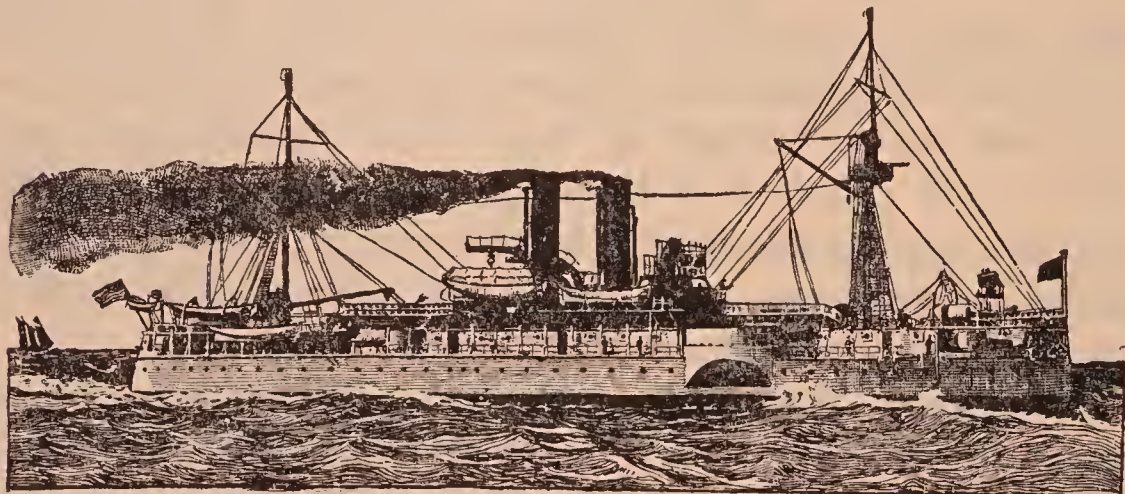
The Policy of Spain toward her Colonies. — By 1825 Spain had lost, through mismanagement, all her colonial possessions in America except Cuba, Porto Rico, and some smaller islands in the West Indies (see page 249). There had been frequent insurrections in Cuba, but Spain, heedless of the lesson which the loss of other territory should have taught, continued to oppress the island. The Spanish government fixed the rate of taxes to be paid by the Cubans, and spent in Spain almost all the revenue derived from these taxes. The people had little voice in their government; as a rule the officials were men sent over from Spain. Few public improvements were made, and there was no proper development of the island.

The Cuban Insurgents. — In 1895 Cubans once more rose in insurrection. They avoided open battle, but, dividing into small bands, fought frequent skirmishes with the government forces. Nearly all the rural population were suspected of furnishing the insurgents with supplies, and of keeping them informed of the movements of the Spanish troops. In order to deprive the insurgents of this aid, Weyler, the captain-general of Cuba, began in 1896 to destroy houses and crops, and to drive the inhabitants into reconcentration camps in the neighborhood of cities and towns. Men, women, and children were herded in these camps, where they were closely guarded by soldiers. They were given insufficient food and shelter, and no precaution was taken against the spread of disease. By the spring of 1897 three hundred thousand persons had been collected in the camps, and more than half of them had died. Still the war went on. The Spaniards could not conquer the

insurgents, and the insurgents could not drive the Spaniards from the island.

Relations of the United States with Cuba. — The people of the United States could not be indifferent to conditions in Cuba. The island lies but a little more than a hundred miles from Florida. So long as it was held by a foreign power it might, in time of war, become a source of danger as a base for the enemy's operations. Besides, through Spain's neglect of sanitary precautions, yellow fever infested the seaports, whence the disease was often brought to the coast of the Southern states.

Commerce between the United States and Cuba was seriously affected by every insurrection that occurred on



U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

the island. Furthermore, Americans had invested largely in Cuban industries, especially in sugar plantations. Spain's policy of laying waste the island in order to put down the insurrection brought ruin to much American property.

But over and above these considerations, the American people had a genuine sympathy with the Cubans in their struggle for liberty and an abhorrence of the Spanish mode of warfare. Popular demand was strong for the United States to give some kind of aid to the insurgents. President Cleveland and then President McKinley endeavored to bring about a peaceful solution of the Cuban question, but without success.

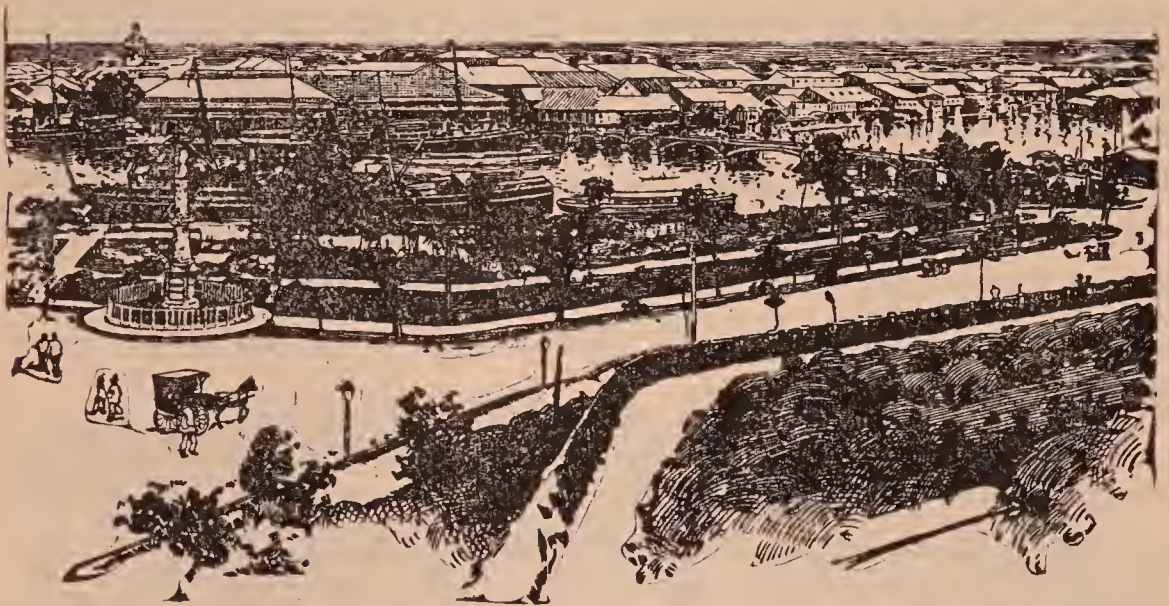
Explosion of the *Maine*. — Early in 1898 the United

States battleship *Maine* went on a friendly visit to Havana. At night, while lying at anchor in the harbor, the vessel was blown up and nearly three hundred of its officers and men met their death. "A wave of fierce wrath swept over the American people." While there was nothing to show that the Spanish government was in any way responsible for the disaster, the people of the United States believed that Spaniards had blown up the ship. "Remember the *Maine!*" was heard all over the country, and the angered people demanded that the United States put an end to Spanish rule in Cuba. Of course, for the United States to interfere would mean war, and President McKinley, wishing to avoid war if possible, again tried to find a peaceful solution of the Cuban question. But his efforts were vain. Spain would not consent to the independence of Cuba, and the people of the United States would be satisfied with nothing else.

War with Spain. — Meanwhile the conditions in Cuba grew worse. As President McKinley expressed it, they had become "intolerable." Therefore, on April 11, 1898, the President sent a message to Congress, in which he said, "In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, and in behalf of the endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop." He asked Congress for power to put an end to the war on the island and to establish for the Cubans a stable government. In answer to the President's message, Congress passed resolutions in effect as follows: (1) The people of Cuba are and of a right ought to be free and independent; (2) The government of the United States demands that Spain relinquish its authority over the island of Cuba and withdraw its forces therefrom; (3) The President of the United States is directed and empowered to use the land and naval forces of the United States and the militia of the several states to carry into effect these resolutions; (4) The government of the United States disclaims any intention to secure control of Cuba, but when peace is

restored to Cuba the government of the island shall be left to its people. Such was America's ultimatum. Four days after Congress passed the resolutions (April 24), Spain declared war against the United States. The United States declared war on the following day.

Increase of the Army. — At the outbreak of the war the regular army of the United States consisted of only about twenty-eight thousand men; and Congress authorized its increase to sixty-one thousand. The President called for



MANILA AND THE PASIG RIVER

Showing the Magellan monument

a volunteer army of two hundred thousand men. No better evidence of the passing away of sectionalism is needed than the roll of the army raised for the war with Spain. Distinguished ex-Confederate officers received commissions; sons of men who wore the blue and sons of men who wore the gray marched side by side under the Stars and Stripes.¹

The Naval Battle at Manila. — The first important engagement of the war took place in the far East. Commodore (later Admiral) George Dewey, who commanded the

¹ One of the volunteer cavalry regiments became famous as the "Rough Riders." It was organized with Leonard Wood as colonel, and Theodore Roosevelt as lieutenant colonel. The regiment was composed mainly of cowboys from the West, though many young men of wealth from the East enlisted in its ranks.

Asiatic squadron of the American navy, was ordered to capture or destroy the Spanish fleet in the Philippine Islands, an archipelago of the Pacific Ocean, then belonging to Spain. Early on the morning of May 1, the American fleet entered the harbor of Manila, the capital of the Philippines. There the Spanish fleet lay at anchor under the protection of forts. The guns of the Spaniards on the fleet and in the forts thundered away at the American vessels, but the marksmanship was poor. The Americans, hurling against the enemy a terrific volume of shot and shell, soon sunk or burned every Spanish ship and silenced every fort. Not an American vessel was seriously damaged. The Spaniards lost in killed and wounded more than six hundred men; the Americans had none killed and only eight wounded. As there was no army to support Dewey, he did not attempt to take the city, but blockaded the harbor and waited for troops to be sent to his assistance.



GEORGE DEWEY

Havana Blockaded.—

Before hostilities had actually begun, the President, in pursuance of the plan to drive the Spaniards from Cuba, had issued a proclamation declaring Havana and certain other Cuban ports in a state of blockade. An American fleet under command of acting Rear Admiral William T. Sampson had been sent to Cuban waters to enforce the blockade.

Cervera's Fleet Blockaded at Santiago.— News came that a Spanish fleet, under Admiral Cervera, was sailing westward across the Atlantic. For some time the location of the fleet was unknown and there was apprehension that it might bombard cities on the Atlantic. The coast from Maine to Florida was carefully watched by vessels of the American navy. At last it became known that Cervera's

fleet had entered the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, at the southeastern end of the island of Cuba. Commodore (later Rear Admiral) Winfield S. Schley, acting under instructions from Sampson, immediately blockaded the port. Sampson himself soon arrived with other vessels and made the blockade more rigid. Meantime he awaited the arrival of troops needed to take the city.¹



WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY

Land and Naval Battles of San-

tiago.—In the summer an American army of seventeen thousand men, under General William R. Shafter, sailed on transports from Tampa, Florida, and landed on the Cuban shore a short distance east of Santiago. The cavalry, led by General Joseph Wheeler, a soldier who had served with distinction in the Con-

federate army, advanced and met the Spanish troops and drove them back to their line. The American army followed the march of the cavalry. The strongest positions on the Spanish line were the fortified town of El Caney and the hill of San Juan. On July 1 a division of the American army attacked El Caney, while the main body

¹ The entrance to the harbor of Santiago is by a very narrow channel, the approach to which is protected by forts. In hope of closing the channel and preventing, at least temporarily, the escape of the Spanish fleet, Richmond Pearson Hobson, a lieutenant in the American navy, volunteered to sink a vessel across the mouth of the channel. The collier *Merrimac* was selected as the ship to be sunk. A few men picked from the scores of volunteers entered upon an undertaking that everybody thought meant almost certain death. One morning shortly before dawn they pushed the *Merrimac* into the narrow channel and blew her up with dynamite. As the vessel went down the crew clung to a raft. Although shells from the forts flew around them, none were hurt, for in the darkness the enemy's fire had missed them. When daylight came Hobson and his men were rescued by a Spanish launch. The *Merrimac* sank lengthwise instead of crosswise, and consequently did not block the channel.

assaulted San Juan. The Americans charged gallantly, and El Caney and San Juan were taken. Twice on the next day the Spaniards attacked, but were unable to drive the Americans from the ground from which they themselves had been driven.

Foreseeing the fall of Santiago, Cervera, on the morning of July 3, dashed out of the harbor with his fleet, hoping that some of his vessels might escape. Just then, Sampson's flagship was some miles distant from the rest of the fleet, for he was on his way to hold a conference with General Shafter. Schley, the senior officer in the absence of Sampson, signaled the fleet to clear for action and to close with the enemy. The American vessels lost no time in giving chase. It was a running, rapid fight. In less than four hours every one of the Spanish ships was a wreck. Three hundred and fifty Spaniards were killed or drowned. Cervera and more than fifteen hundred of his officers and seamen were taken prisoners. The Americans had only one man killed and one wounded, and their ships suffered little damage.



JOSEPH WHEELER

The Spanish commander in Santiago, seeing the hopelessness of holding out longer, surrendered the city, with a large part of eastern Cuba and about twenty-four thousand soldiers, on July 17.

Invasion of Porto Rico. — Late in July, General Nelson A. Miles, commander-in-chief of the American army, invaded Porto Rico. Moving rapidly into the interior, his army was taking one town after another, when a protocol, or preliminary treaty of peace, was signed. Hostilities ceased immediately.

Treaty of Peace. — Spain, through the French minister at Washington, had asked for peace, and the protocol was

signed on August 12. Before news of the cessation of hostilities could reach the Philippines, the American troops sent to Dewey's assistance had captured Manila (August 13).

A formal treaty of peace was signed at Paris on December 10, 1898. By the treaty Spain agreed to evacuate Cuba and cede to the United States: (1) Porto Rico and other islands of the West Indies then under Spanish rule; (2) Guam, one of the Ladrones or Marianne Islands of the Pacific Ocean, which the United States had captured in the war; and (3) the Philippine Islands. The treaty provided that the United States should pay to Spain twenty million dollars. In the world which Columbus discovered for Spain the treaty left that country not one foot of territory.

America's Unpreparedness. — The total number of Americans killed and wounded in the Spanish War was very small — less than three hundred killed and less than sixteen hundred wounded. It was well that the war was waged against a weak nation and did not last long, for the United States entered it unprepared. The Navy Department had the navy in good condition, but the War Department fell short of expectations. The ammunition it issued was poor, the clothing unsuitable, and the food bad. Then again, on account of the smallness of the regular army, reliance had to be placed upon volunteers and the militia of the states. There was not time to train this force properly. Many of the officers came from civil life and also were without military training. The conditions surrounding the concentration camps were unsanitary. A great many more soldiers died in camp from preventable diseases than were killed and wounded in battle.

Topics and Questions

1. Summarize the policy of Spain toward her colonies. Give a brief account of the Cuban War for independence. Trace and state carefully the cause and the occasion of the war between the United States and Spain.

2. What did President McKinley do to avert the Spanish War? Quote his message to Congress when Spain refused to grant independ-

ence to Cuba. State the four resolutions of Congress. What was Spain's response to this ultimatum?

3. How was an American army raised? Give an interesting detailed account of our navy's splendid work in Manila Harbor. What was the object of blockading Havana? What Spanish admiral sailed with a fleet to American waters? Where did the Spanish fleet anchor, and what action did Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley take?

4. Why has Hobson been considered a hero? Was his mission successful? Give the details of the land battle of Santiago. What brought about the naval battle of Santiago? What was its result?

5. Why did not General Miles complete his invasion of Porto Rico? What is a protocol? How did Manila fall into the hands of the Americans? State the terms of the treaty of peace with Spain. Describe America's unpreparedness for war.

Project Exercises

1. Compare the causes of Cuba's war for independence with the causes of the American Revolutionary War.

2. Find on a map of the world all the countries and cities mentioned in the text.

Important Date:

1898. War with Spain, independence of Cuba, and acquisition by the United States of Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines.

CHAPTER XL

THE UNITED STATES A WORLD POWER

Results of the War with Spain. — Perhaps no war has ever been attended with a smaller loss of life than the one between the United States and Spain, yet the results of this war were wide reaching. Begun solely for the liberation of Cuba, it brought a great change of policy for the United States. Up to this time the republic of the United States had confined itself to the North American continent, and with the exception of Alaska, had acquired only contiguous territory, which could be settled by Americans and quickly made into states of the Union. As a result of the Spanish War the republic, like the nations of Europe, has reached out and acquired possessions in distant seas.

Beyond carrying its trade to every corner of the earth and thus entering into commercial rivalry with other nations, the United States had hitherto held aloof from international affairs. The acquisition of foreign territory, giving us new interests and new responsibilities, brought our country into closer contact with world politics. The great western republic became a world power.

The importance of the United States in international questions was quickly recognized by Europe. In fact, our interests in the world's affairs were now such that the United States could not be kept from taking part in them. Immediately following the Spanish War the United States began to join with European nations in the settlement of international questions. From the first the influence of the United States has been great.

Opposition to Expansion. — But the distant islands were not acquired without considerable opposition in the United States. Those who opposed the action of the government

in taking control of them did so on three grounds: (1) The inhabitants of the islands would never become fit for citizenship; (2) To govern them and not make them citizens would be contrary to the principles of the Declaration of Independence; (3) The holding of distant territory would involve the United States in the quarrels and wars of the powers of Europe. The opposition was chiefly directed against holding the Philippines. On the other hand, it was asserted that it was the duty of the United States to care for the lands and peoples falling to them as the result of the war; that it would be wrong to turn these people over to the misrule of Spain, or to leave them to govern themselves, when they were incapable of self-government. Those who advocated holding the islands were called expansionists, or imperialists; those who opposed were called anti-imperialists. In the contest in the Senate over the ratification of the treaty, which lasted two months, the expansionists won by a very close vote, the treaty having been ratified by only two more votes than were necessary.

The Territories Received from Spain. — Of the possessions received from Spain, Porto Rico is nearest to our shores — about one thousand miles from Key West, Florida. This island has an area larger than Delaware, but smaller than Connecticut, and a population greater than both. The whites compose something more than half the population; the rest are negroes. The principal crops are sugar, coffee, tobacco, and maize.

The Philippine archipelago lies off the southern coast of Asia, and is more than six thousand miles from San Francisco. It consists of fifteen hundred or more islands, most of them small. The total area of the islands is estimated to be a little greater than that of Nevada. The population numbers about nine million, and is mostly of the Malay type. Only about twenty thousand are whites. The largest island is Luzon, nearly double the size of New England. Manila, which is situated on this island, has a population of about two hundred and sixty thousand, and one

of the best harbors in the Pacific. The chief products of the Philippines are hemp, rice, corn, sugar, tobacco, coconuts, and cocoa.

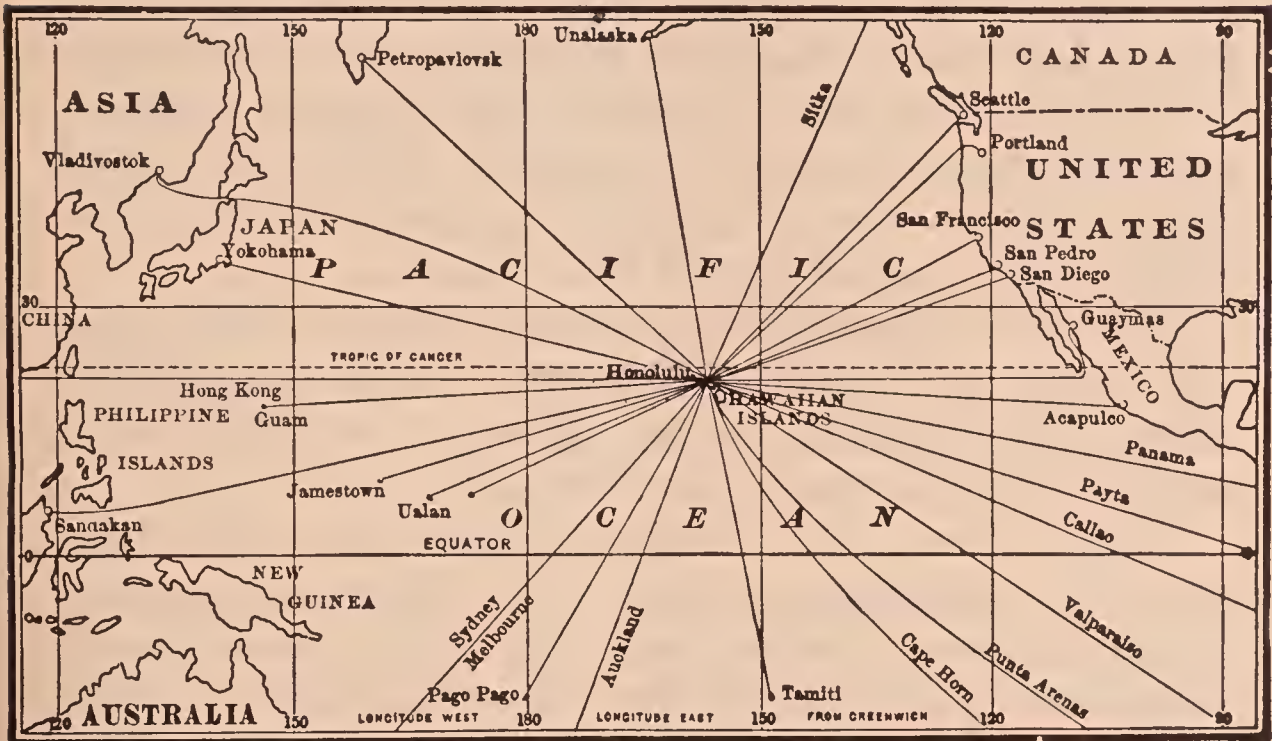
Guam is situated in the Pacific in a direct line between San Francisco and the Philippines, being about five thousand miles from the former and about fifteen hundred miles from the latter. It has an area of about two hundred square miles and has about twelve thousand inhabitants. It is the largest of the Ladrone or Marianne Islands, and is settled mostly by people from the Philippines. The soil is fertile, producing rice, corn, tobacco, sugar cane, and cocoa, besides tropical fruits.

Insurrection in the Philippines. — Although the natives of the Philippines did not like the rule of the Spaniards and had frequently rebelled against it, some of them objected to the taking over of their islands by the United States, and under the leadership of Don Emilio Aguinaldo they proclaimed a Philippine republic. Two days before the treaty between the United States and Spain was ratified by the Senate, a skirmish occurred between the insurgents and the American troops on the outskirts of Manila. War followed. Though there was no important battle, more than a thousand skirmishes occurred. The war was practically ended in the spring of 1901, by the capture of Aguinaldo. The insurgents represented only a small minority of the people of the Philippines.

Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. — While the Spanish War was in progress, Hawaii, a group of islands situated in the Pacific Ocean, nearly three thousand miles southwest of San Francisco, had been annexed to the United States. A few years previously the white inhabitants, though few in number, had, on account of the unjust treatment accorded them, deposed the queen of the islands and taken charge of the government. They then asked for annexation to the United States. President Cleveland, who did not believe that the revolutionists represented the wishes of the majority of the people of the islands, prevented annexation at

the time. But the great naval battle of Manila drew attention to the importance of the Hawaiian Islands as a base for naval operations in the Pacific and Congress, in the summer of 1898, agreed to annexation.

The Hawaiian Islands are twelve in number, and their total area is about equal to that of Connecticut and Rhode Island combined. The population is about two hundred and thirty thousand, mostly native Hawaiians, Chinese,



“THE CROSS-ROADS OF THE PACIFIC”

and Japanese. The white population, though small as yet, is steadily increasing. Sugar is the main product. Rice, bananas, and wool are also produced. Honolulu, the chief city and capital, has a good harbor and a population of about fifty thousand.

Other Acquisitions of Territory.—In 1899 the United States took possession of Wake Island. This is a small island in the Pacific, about two thousand miles west of Hawaii. The American flag had been raised on the island while the war with Spain was in progress.

The United States, Great Britain, and Germany had for some years joined in a protectorate over the Samoan Islands, an archipelago in the South Pacific Ocean lying

in an almost direct line between San Francisco and Australia. In 1899 the three powers agreed upon a treaty whereby the United States acquired the island of Tutuila and five smaller islands, and Germany the rest.

The six islands of the Samoan group that fell to the United States have a total area of about one third that of Rhode Island, and their population is about seven thousand. The inhabitants are of the Malay type. The chief products are copra, cotton, and coffee. The bay of Pago-Pago, on the island of Tutuila, is one of the finest harbors of the world.

Eighteen years later (1917) the United States purchased from Denmark, for twenty-five million dollars, three small islands lying just east of Porto Rico and known as the Virgin Islands or the Danish West Indies.

The Virgin Islands have a combined area of about twice the size of the District of Columbia. Their population is about thirty thousand, mostly negroes. The chief products are sugar, indigo, cotton, nuts, and salt.

Congress has given territorial governments to Porto Rico, the Philippines, and Hawaii. The governments of Guam and of the Samoan and the Virgin Islands are administered by an officer of the United States navy. Wake Island is only one square mile in area and is uninhabited.

The Republic of Cuba. — By the treaty with Spain, the United States agreed to establish self-government in Cuba. On January 1, 1899, Spain formally evacuated Cuba, and the United States thereupon placed a military government in charge, to continue until the island had sufficiently recovered from the effects of the war for the people to set up a government for themselves. Under the careful administration of the United States military authorities, order was soon restored to Cuba; courts and schools were reopened, industries were revived, and the cities were cleansed and provided with a sewerage system that quickly prevented the scourge of disease, especially yellow fever. In 1901 the Cubans adopted a constitution for the new republic, and early in the following year the United States troops withdrew

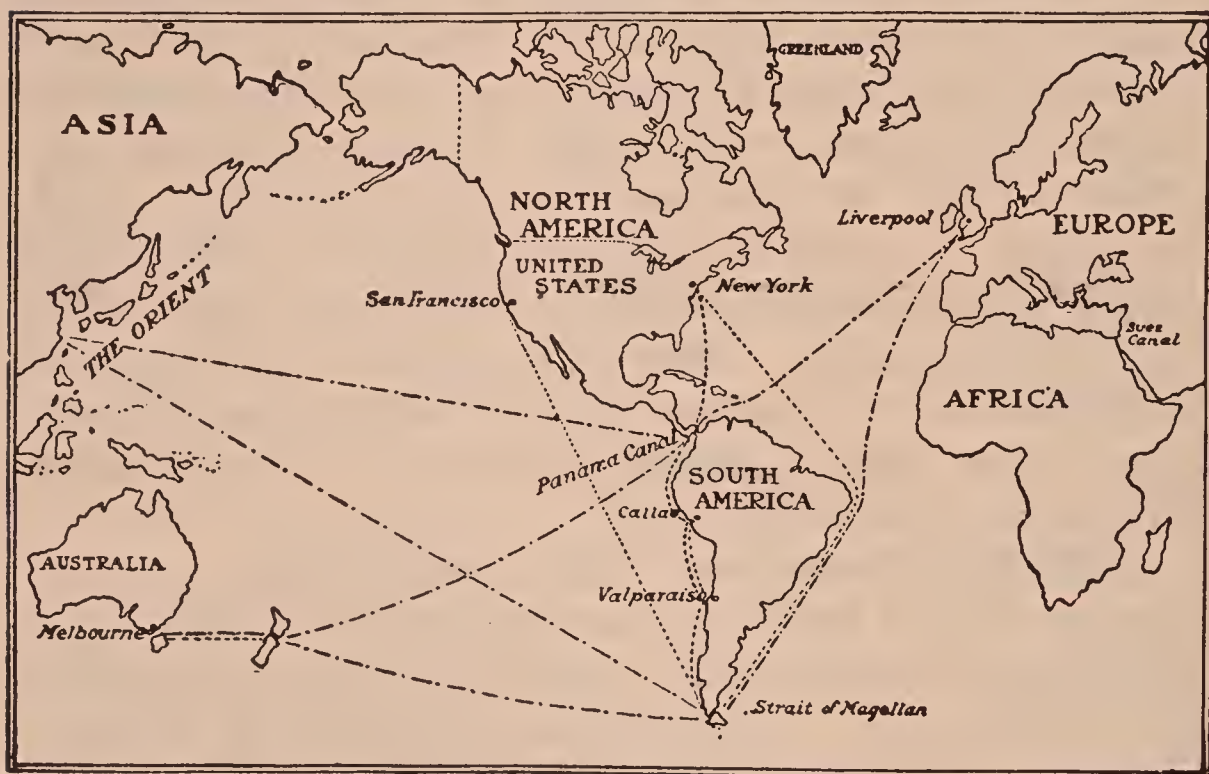
from the island, leaving to the people the management of their own affairs.

In withdrawing from Cuba, the United States retained a protectorate over the island. The constitution of the new government provides: (1) Cuba shall never make a treaty with another nation contrary to the interests of the United States; (2) Cuba shall never contract a debt that she cannot pay; (3) The United States shall have the right to intervene whenever necessary to restore order on the island. The last provision was included in the treaty because it was believed by many that the Cubans were not capable of governing themselves. It was a fortunate provision because, in 1906, an insurrection broke out which the Cuban government could not put down. The United States was compelled to put the island once more under military government. After three years, it appearing that conditions had so improved that the Cubans could manage their affairs without outside assistance, the United States troops once more withdrew.

McKinley's Reëlection; His Assassination. — At the election of 1900 McKinley was again the candidate of the Republicans, and William J. Bryan was again the candidate of the Democrats. The Republicans indorsed the administration's policy toward the insular possessions. The Democrats denounced as imperialistic the policy of holding distant islands, and opposed the retention of the Philippines longer than necessary to give the islands a stable government. The people, approving the policy of expansion, reëlected McKinley by a large majority.

A few months after his second inauguration, President McKinley, while holding a reception at an exposition in Buffalo, was shot by an anarchist who had approached him under the pretense of desiring to shake his hand. The President lingered about a week, death occurring on September 14, 1901. On the afternoon of that day Theodore Roosevelt of New York, the Vice President, assumed the duties of chief magistrate.

The Isthmian Canal.—For many years the plan of constructing a canal through the narrow neck of land connecting North America and South America had been of much interest to the people of the United States. It was realized that such a canal would be of great commercial value to the world, and especially to this country, since it would give sea-going vessels a route between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts much shorter than the route by Cape



ROUTES PASSING THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL

Horn. In the Spanish War the United States battleship *Oregon* made the long voyage around Cape Horn to get from the Pacific to the Atlantic waters. The suspense of the people, fearing that the *Oregon* would be attacked by the Spanish fleet before it could join the American fleet in the West Indies, caused every one to realize also the military value of an inter-oceanic canal. With the insistence that the canal be built went the demand that the United States government should control it, lest in time of war it should be used to the disadvantage of this country. Some favored the route across Nicaragua; others the route across Panama.

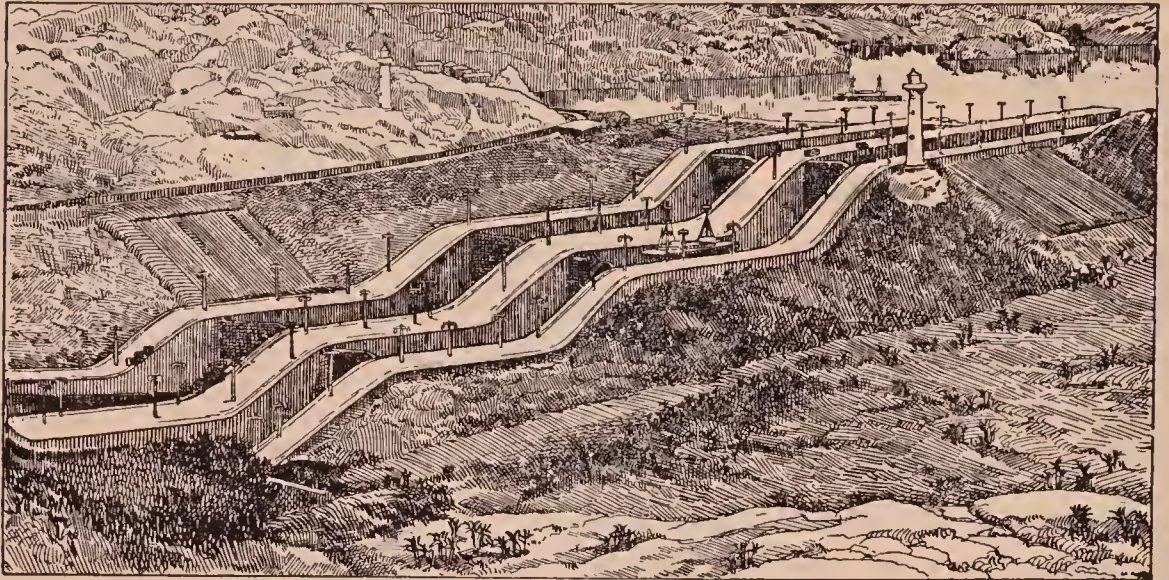
The Panama Canal.—A French company had endeavored

to construct a canal across Panama; but the company failed and the work was abandoned. A new company purchased the unfinished canal and offered to sell to the United States its franchises and property rights for forty million dollars. In 1902 Congress agreed to make the purchase from the French government and authorized President Roosevelt to acquire from the Republic of Colombia, in which Panama was then a state, the right of way for the canal, and the control of a certain amount of adjacent territory. Early in 1903 a treaty was signed between the representatives of the United States and those of the Republic of Colombia, whereby Colombia was to make the grants and to receive in return the sum of ten million dollars and after the expiration of nine years an annual rental of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars. But the congress of Colombia rejected the treaty.

The Republic of Panama. — The people of the state of Panama were dissatisfied with the action of the Colombian congress, and in the autumn of 1903, the state was declared independent of Colombia. The withdrawal of Panama from the confederation of Colombia occurred without bloodshed, the United States landing troops to protect the transit of business across the isthmus. The new republic was recognized by the United States and other governments. A treaty was promptly made between Panama and the United States for the construction of the canal on the terms previously offered to Colombia. However, in addition to giving the United States sovereignty over the strip of land through which the canal passes, the treaty gives this country a protectorate over the Republic of Panama. The United States guarantees the independence of Panama and has the right to intervene to keep order in the republic.¹

¹ The United States has extended a kind of protectorate over other neighboring countries. European nations have had much trouble in collecting debts due from weak Latin-American republics and in protecting the lives and property of their subjects in these countries. President Roosevelt took the position that if the United States would,

The Panama Canal Completed. — President Roosevelt immediately set about having the Panama Canal dug. Work was begun on this gigantic undertaking in 1904. The canal required ten years for completion, and its cost exceeded three hundred million dollars. It is impossible to estimate its value to commerce. An idea of the extent to which it saves distance may be found in the



LOCKS IN THE PANAMA CANAL

fact that it shortens the voyage from New York to San Francisco by 8000 miles. While the United States owns and operates the canal, its use is open to all nations.

Topics and Questions

1. Explain how the War with Spain brought about a change of policy with respect to the relations of the United States with the rest of the world. What objections have been made to the expansion of United States territory and the new policy it has brought about? Define the terms: imperialists, expansionists, anti-imperialists.

on account of the Monroe Doctrine, resist aggressions of European nations against these republics, it should in fairness see to it that the rights of the European nations are protected. In order to secure debts due to European countries, the United States has taken charge of the finances of Santo Domingo and Hayti, in the West Indies, and Nicaragua, in Central America — another step that increased the responsibility of the United States in the world's affairs.

2. Give a brief description of Porto Rico. Of the Philippine archipelago. Of Guam. What trouble did Aguinaldo and his insurgents make for the United States government?

3. How and when were the Hawaiian Islands annexed to the United States? State briefly their earlier relations with the United States.

4. How was Wake Island acquired by the United States? How were six islands of the Samoan group acquired? How the Virgin Islands? Give a brief description of Wake Island. Of the Samoan Islands. Of the Virgin Islands. How are our colonial possessions governed?

5. Tell the story of the establishment of the republic of Cuba. Why were the United States troops kept in Cuba until the year 1902? Was it in keeping with our pledge?

6. Why was President McKinley reëlected? How did he die? Who succeeded him in the Presidency?

7. What reasons led the United States government to complete and control the Panama Canal? How and why did Panama become an independent republic? Define a protectorate. Over what countries, besides Panama, does the United States exercise a protectorate?

8. Describe the work done on the Panama Canal. Give some idea of the value of the canal to commerce.

Project Exercises

1. Make maps of the two hemispheres and place all the colonial possessions of the United States. Would Cuba, Panama, Santo Domingo, Haiti, and Nicaragua be among them?

2. Compare the colonial system of the United States with the colonial systems of European countries (see page 433).

Important Date:

1904-1914. Construction of the Panama Canal.

CHAPTER XLI

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE PEOPLE

The New Democracy. — The opening of the twentieth century found not only a change of policy on the part of our government toward foreign affairs, but it found also a well defined sentiment among the people that the government should change its policy toward domestic matters. The idea of democracy that had prevailed so long in this country is that the government should leave as much as possible to each man the working out of his destiny. Thomas Jefferson expressed this idea when he said, “that government is the best that governs the least.” But there had grown up a new idea of democracy. The new idea — progressive, it came to be called — is that, since a democratic government is established for the benefit of all equally, it should use every means in its power to prevent one man from having an unfair advantage over another; and that it should go even further by giving direct aid to the people in their efforts to rise to a higher and better life.

Business and the People. — Trusts had so multiplied that by the opening of the twentieth century they were beginning to control all business. The cry went up for stricter laws for regulating “big business” in the interest of the people.

How to adjust properly the relation between business and the people is a great problem yet unsolved. The railroad and the telegraph, giving quick communication between distant points, have revolutionized business. Where in former times a business was confined to nearby territory, it now extends over the length and breadth of the country. The people are benefited by this expansion of trade, for it enables them to buy at home the best that any market affords. But for business conducted on so large a scale com-

binations of wealth are necessary. Companies with small capital could not conduct the business of the country with an efficiency that would satisfy the modern ideas of the purchasing public.

On the other hand, combinations of wealth, by placing control of business in the hands of a few men, enable them to force up prices. Trusts have often extorted money from the people in this way. It is difficult for the public to distinguish "good trusts" from "bad trusts"; and hence there is a strong prejudice against all "big business." Then, too, it is very difficult for the government to find a plan for regulating combinations of capital that will protect the interests of the people and not handicap business.

President Roosevelt was active in trying to regulate trusts in the interest of both the business of the country and the people. Public men are still seeking a way to allow large combinations of capital with restrictions that will not injure trade. It is hoped that the problem will soon be solved, for the condition of business affects the life of every man, woman, and child.

America's Wastefulness. — As a part of the belief that the government should give direct aid to the people, arose the demand that the government should conserve our natural resources. There has been, and is now, a shameful waste of these resources. For instance, if the present waste in the methods employed in extracting and marketing iron and petroleum is not checked, the supply of these products will not last half a century longer. The condition of the coal industry is quite as serious. Lands have decreased in fertility on account of unscientific farming, and streams suitable for navigation and for generating power lie idle. With nothing, however, have our people been more reckless in their wastefulness than with the forests. Through the careless cutting of timber and disastrous, though preventable fires, our forests have for a long time been stripped of more trees each year than the yearly growth of new trees can replace. It is estimated that "if the use and waste of the

forests continue unchanged, all the mature timber now standing will be used up by 1965." Besides the loss of timber, destruction of the forests causes streams at times to dry up and at other times to overflow, resulting in either event in much damage to crops.

Saving the Forests and Minerals. — President Roosevelt early took up the matter of conservation. Unfortunately, most of the public lands had been sold or given away before the people awoke to the fact that they were parting with their most valuable resources. In order to save as much of the forests as possible, the government withdrew many millions



The black portions indicate the Western reserves; the shaded sections show the Appalachian and White Mountain reserves

of acres of lands that were still for sale and repurchased many other millions. Not only are the forests on these lands carefully guarded, but new forests are being planted. Under the law these forests can now be purchased only under conditions that will prevent their waste. To preserve the metals, minerals, and oil, Congress passed a law providing that all such products found on public land sold after the passage of the act shall belong to the government and not to the purchaser of the land. The government hopes to find a way to regulate the use of the natural resources that are privately owned so as to prevent their waste.

Irrigation. — One of the most notable feats of conservation is the reclaiming by irrigation of many millions of acres in the Rocky Mountain region. These lands, though fertile, were unfit for cultivation because of the absence of rainfall. Individuals and companies, and even states, had tried to remedy this

condition by drawing water from the mountain streams and sending it over the fields through ditches, but the irrigation of so vast an area requires an enormous expenditure of money that only the Federal government can afford.¹

In 1902, through the urging of President Roosevelt and the members of Congress from the Far West, a law was passed providing that the funds thereafter derived from the sale of public lands in the states where the arid region

lies should be used for irrigation purposes. Acting under this law the government has, by building huge dams across mountain streams, created immense reservoirs, or artificial lakes, from which water may be drawn through canals to irrigate the land. The water is sold to the farmer on easy terms, and on lands once arid are now grown abundant crops. Indeed, the farmer who depends on irrigation is



IRRIGATION PROJECTS OF THE U. S. GOVERNMENT

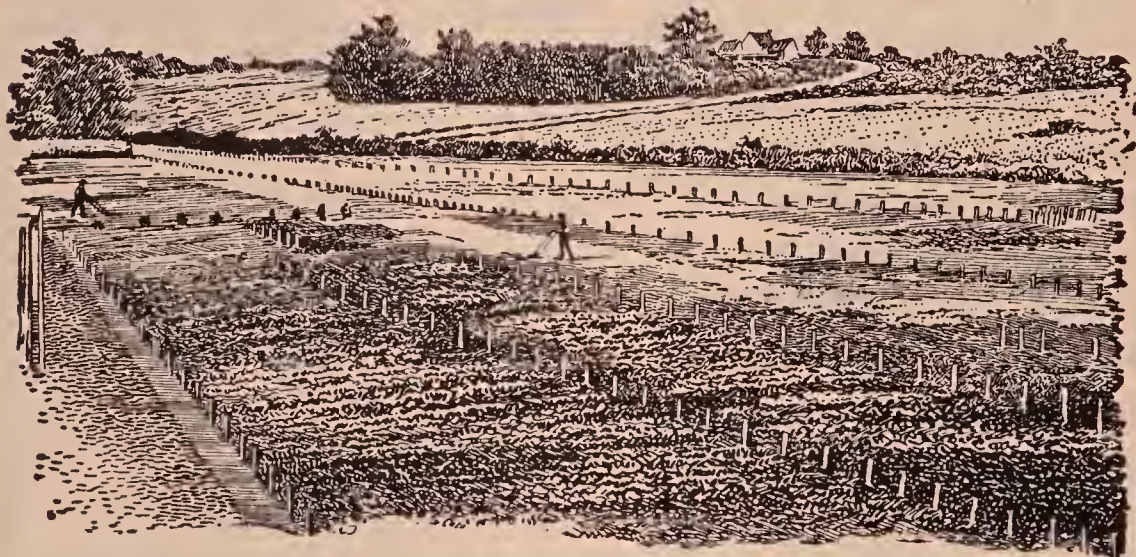
Sites of dams and reservoirs

¹ The early settlers found the Indians irrigating the land in this manner (see page 272).

more fortunate than the one who depends on rainfall, for he may have his land dry or moist when he pleases.

It would be hard to exaggerate the engineering skill displayed in constructing the irrigation works. In Idaho is the highest dam in the world, in Colorado the longest tunnel, and in New Mexico the largest artificial lake. Another remarkable work is the Roosevelt dam in Arizona. Already the United States government has spent nearly fifteen million dollars on irrigation.

Electricity Furnished by the Government. — The dams make water power which the government generates into electricity. The farmer, the miner, and the dweller in the



EXPERIMENT STATION FARM

United States Department of Agriculture

nearby town are permitted to use the electricity at a cheap rate. All fees received by the government for the use of the water and electricity are added to the fund for maintaining the irrigation works.

Other Methods of Helping the Farmer. — The demand for conservation stimulated the movement already begun for the improvement of life on the farm (see page 408). The Federal government is now spending millions of dollars every year in demonstrating how to improve the soil, how to select the most suitable crops, how to destroy insects and other enemies to vegetation, how to make live stock and poultry

raising and dairying profitable; in short, how to lighten the burden of the farmer and the farmer's wife. The government is also assisting in the building of good roads and is now studying the question of utilizing for navigation the inland waterways.

Pure Food Laws. — The public health has been cared for. In the old days all food was prepared in the home, but in this age of machinery most of our meats are prepared in packing houses and our fruits and vegetables canned in factories. Much of the food that passed from these large establishments into the homes of the people was impure. Congress has passed laws requiring the inspection of meat at the packing houses, and the labeling of other foods and of medicines to show their ingredients.

The Primary System and the Secret Ballot. — In order to carry out the ideas of the new democracy it was necessary for the people to take a more direct part in the government. Among the first matters in which changes were made was the selecting of candidates for office. Previously candidates had been selected by conventions, and it often happened that politicians who controlled a convention selected as the candidate a man who was not the choice of the people. By the primary plan each member of a political party votes directly for the person whom he wishes to be the candidate of the party at the general election. Most states have adopted the primary system.

But a free expression of the people could not be had in either the primary or the general election as long as the buying and selling of votes, which had become very common, should continue. Most of the states have, therefore, adopted the Australian system of voting. By this system the voter casts his ballot in such strict secrecy that no one but himself knows how he votes. Since there is no way to watch the bribe-taker to see whether he votes as he promised to do, the bribe-giver is not willing to risk money on him.

The Initiative and the Referendum. — Sometimes a legis-

lature may fail to pass a law that the people desire or may pass a law that the people do not desire. In order to make the legislature express the will of the people, some of the states — mainly states of the Far West — have adopted the Initiative and the Referendum. By the Initiative it is provided that, upon the petition of a certain percentage of voters, a measure shall be voted upon by the people, and if the vote is favorable, the legislature must enact the measure into law. In some states a measure favorably voted upon becomes a law without being referred to the legislature.

By the Referendum it is provided that, upon the petition of a certain percentage of voters, a measure passed by the legislature must be submitted to a vote of the people for approval, and, until it is approved, it does not become law.

The Recall. — Under the law that has hitherto universally prevailed, an office-holder who has proved an undesirable official may serve out his term unless he has committed some crime or misdemeanor for which he would be removed upon conviction. In order to get rid of an official who is not giving satisfaction, some of the states — again the far Western states, in the main — have adopted the Recall. By the Recall, it is provided that, upon the petition of a certain percentage of voters, the official must immediately go before the people in another election. If he is defeated, he gives up the office.

Municipal Reform. — Governmental reform has extended to the cities. The usual system of government for the cities has been vested in a mayor and council, the members of the council representing the several wards. Under this system corruption of the most vicious kind has grown up in municipal governments. The wards have been controlled by “bosses,” who have combined to form cliques or “rings” that have robbed the cities of much money (see page 410.) Many cities, discarding the old form of government, have adopted the commission system. Under the commission form the city is governed by a mayor and a small board of commissioners, rarely more than five. Each commissioner

has a separate department to care for. He is elected by the voters of the entire city, and is directly responsible to them for the manner in which he conducts his office. Most cities that have the commission form of government have also the Initiative, the Referendum, and the Recall. Sometimes we find a city that has gone further; it has turned over the administration of its affairs to a business manager.

Arbitration of Labor Disputes. — As combinations of capital multiplied, the unionizing of labor went steadily on, and the influence of the unions grew with the increase of members. In 1902 the miners of anthracite coal in Pennsylvania went out on a strike. Nearly 150,000 men quit work. The question was chiefly the matter of wages. The strike lasted for five months, and during that time the mines were practically closed. The quantity of hard coal already mined soon became so reduced that in many places the price rose from five dollars to twenty-eight or thirty dollars a ton. Great distress ensued throughout the country. President Roosevelt, to relieve the situation, suggested to the mine owners and the strikers that all questions at issue between them should be settled by arbitration, for which purpose he would appoint a commission. The suggestion was agreed upon. The commission, after an exhaustive investigation, presented a plan of settlement which was accepted by the contending parties.



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

The surest solution of the contest between capital and labor is believed to be the coöperative plan, whereby the employer and the employee share in the profits. This plan is now in operation to some extent, and until it comes to

prevail generally, arbitration is the best method for settling industrial disputes.

Taft Elected President. — In 1904 Theodore Roosevelt was elected President for a full term. In the election of



WILLIAM H. TAFT

1908 the Republican candidate was William H. Taft, of Ohio, a close friend of Roosevelt and a member of his cabinet. The Democrats for the third time nominated William J. Bryan. Taft was elected by a large majority.

Postal Savings Banks. — In Taft's administration two laws were passed with a view to making the post office system of further service to the people. The first was the law establishing the postal savings bank system.

The purpose of the law is to enable persons of small earnings to deposit their savings with the United States government for safe keeping. In every state of the Union there are now post offices designated by the government to receive deposits on which interest is paid.

Parcel Post. — Following the establishment of the postal savings bank system the government decided to use the post office also for conducting the express business, and for this purpose established the parcel post. For many years the government had allowed a few kinds of merchandise of very light weight to be sent by mail, but under the parcel post system one can now send by mail at very cheap rates nearly everything (within certain limits for weight, size, and shape of the package) that the express companies carry. The parcel post has proved of great benefit. Through the post office the merchant sends goods to a customer out of town,

the farmer sends his produce to market, and the people in general enjoy a convenient and cheap method of sending and receiving merchandise.

Wilson Elected President. — Taft was less successful than Roosevelt in persuading Congress to pass progressive measures. The progressive Republicans had joined with the Democrats in demanding a reduction of the tariff as the best way to curb the trusts. Congress, instead of lowering the tariff, raised it, and, when Taft signed the new tariff act the progressive Republicans claimed that he had betrayed them. In the campaign of 1912 the progressive Republicans hoped to secure for Roosevelt the Republican nomination for President. In the nominating convention many seats, claimed by delegates of both candidates, were given to Taft delegates, and in this way Taft secured the nomination. The progressive Republicans, charging that their candidate had been defrauded of the nomination, held another convention, organized a new party under the name of Progressive, and nominated Roosevelt for President. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey. As Roosevelt and Wilson both ran on progressive platforms, there was little difference between the policies they advocated; but Roosevelt and Taft divided the Republican vote, causing the election of Wilson.



WOODROW WILSON

Important Legislation. — The Democrats had, for the first time in twenty years, secured complete control of the government — they had elected the President and had a majority in both houses of Congress. They had promised reforms along progressive lines and consequently the people

looked to the new administration to bring about these reforms. Congress immediately set to work to pass laws reducing the tariff, curbing the trusts, and reforming the currency.

The first of the currency laws, commonly known as the reserve bank law, provided for establishing reserve banks in twelve cities situated throughout the country. Every national bank deposits a certain amount of its funds in the reserve bank of its district. One of the main purposes of the law is to enable the reserve banks so to use the combined resources of the national banks as to prevent panics.

The other currency law established farm loan banks in twelve cities in different parts of the country. From these banks farmers can borrow on their land as security at a lower rate of interest than they have hitherto been able to borrow from the ordinary banks.

Revolution in Mexico. — When Wilson came to the Presidency he was confronted with a civil war in Mexico which was endangering the interests of the United States. In 1910 a revolution had broken out against the government of Porfirio Diaz, who had, except for an intermission of a few years, been president of Mexico for more than thirty years. The revolution began with the *peons* — as the Indian population is called — because the lands of the country were held by a few wealthy persons who would not sell them and who charged the *peons* excessive rent for the use of them. In the battles that followed the revolutionists were so successful that Diaz resigned the presidency. Then followed civil war between factions claiming the government. Early in 1913, Victoriano Huerta seized control of the government. As many of the battles between Huerta and his opponents, under Venustiano Carranza, were fought near the line between the United States and Mexico, not infrequently shots were fired into American territory. Some American citizens were killed, and much American property in Mexico was seized or destroyed by one faction or the other.

Americans Occupy Vera Cruz.—President Wilson refused to recognize Huerta as president of Mexico because he believed that Huerta was guilty of the murder of one of the claimants to the presidency. On account of the arrest by Huerta's followers of some sailors from an American war vessel, who had gone ashore on a peaceful mission, the United States seized Vera Cruz, the chief seaport of Mexico. Little fighting was required to obtain complete control of the city, yet nineteen American soldiers and sailors were killed. When, a few months later, Huerta resigned the presidency and left the country, the United States government withdrew its forces from Vera Cruz.

Pershing's Expedition.—Carranza now acted as president of Mexico, though not long without opposition. Francisco Villa, a bandit who had served under Carranza, fomented a rebellion against him. President Wilson, believing it to be to the interest of Mexico, recognized the Carranza government. In the spring of 1916 Villa and his band attacked a town in New Mexico, killing a few American soldiers and civilians and then retreating into Mexico. A detachment of United States troops, under General John J. Pershing, was sent into Mexico to punish Villa. Claiming that he could subdue the bandit, Carranza protested against Pershing's expedition as an invasion of Mexican soil; whereupon President Wilson called out the militia of all the states—then known as the national guard—to assist the regular army in protecting the border. Skirmishes were fought in Mexico with the forces of both Villa and Carranza, in which a few American soldiers were killed. Villa escaped by fleeing into the mountains. It then appearing that the Carranza government could preserve order in Mexico, Pershing's force was withdrawn and, early in 1917, the national guard was sent home.

Topics and Questions

1. Describe the new idea of democracy. Show how it differs from the old idea. Who was the first President to take active steps to put the new idea into effect?

2. Tell how the American people have been wasteful of the natural resources of the country. What will be the result if this wastefulness continues? What steps has the Federal government taken to conserve our natural resources?

3. Describe the government's work on irrigation. How is the government helping the farmer? How is it looking after the public health?

4. What systems have many states adopted for giving the people greater voice in the government? Define: the initiative; the referendum; the recall. Explain the plan that many cities have adopted for securing better government.

5. Who was elected President in 1908? Relate the story of how President Roosevelt settled a great strike.

6. Explain how the post office has gone into the banking and the express business.

7. Who was elected President in 1912? Why was he elected? How did President Wilson prove to be a reformer? Explain the reserve bank; the farm loan bank.

8. Give a detailed account of the trouble with Mexico.

Project Exercises

1. Do you think that the government's giving direct aid to the public conforms to the theory that ours is "a government of the people, for the people, and by the people"?

2. Does your state have the primary system and the secret ballot? The initiative, the referendum, and the recall?

3. Does your town, or the one nearest to where you live, have the commission form of government?

4. What plan would you suggest as the best for settling industrial disputes? International disputes?

5. Tell briefly the facts of Theodore Roosevelt's life. Of Woodrow Wilson's life (see biographies in the Appendix).

CHAPTER XLII

GERMANY SEEKS TO DOMINATE THE WORLD

The Germans of Former Times. — In former times the Germans were admired for their work in science, philosophy, literature, and music. They were honored by all the world for their intellectual attainments. As late as the middle of the nineteenth century they were an agricultural people. Manufacturing and commerce came to Germany later than to England and France; but when they had once begun, these industries expanded so rapidly that by the close of the century Germany was the leading manufacturing and commercial nation of Europe, excepting England, and was beginning to rival that country. Everywhere the efficiency of the German in business was recognized.

Success in industry and commerce brought a change to German thought. A people who had been a "nation of poets and philosophers" came to regard as the highest aim the accumulation of material riches.

The German Military Autocracy. — A parliament had been given to Germany, but in so far as it protected popular rights it was a sham. It was a body in which the representatives of the people might make speeches, but which had so little power in the making of laws that it was likened to a debating society that has not the right to carry out its decisions. The kaiser controlled the government and was supported by the army. Every German soldier swore to support the kaiser instead of the constitution, and in the matter of declaring war the decision was left mainly with him.¹ Compare the power of one man over the people of Germany with the protection afforded the people of the United States.

¹ Power was given the kaiser to declare only defensive war, but he could decide that any war was defensive.

In the United States the soldier swears allegiance to the Constitution, and the people's representatives assembled in Congress alone may declare war.

The "War Lords" and the "Junkers." — The officials who assisted the kaiser in governing were selected from the "war lords," the high officers of the army, and the "junkers," the landed aristocracy from whom the war lords came. The German people had seen the kingdom of Prussia enlarged by force and the empire of Germany founded by force; and, since they had never been deeply moved by the spirit of democracy that had stirred the rest of the world, it was not difficult for kaiser, war lords, and junkers to convince them that it was due to their military government that Germany had become rich and prosperous. Thus, the twentieth century found the Germans, alone of the peoples of Europe, content to surrender their right of self-government to a military autocracy.¹

Kaiser William II. — In 1888 William II, grandson of William I, became emperor. The new kaiser ascended the throne with an exalted idea of himself and his office, claiming, like the medieval monarchs, to rule by divine right. He declared, "I represent monarchy by the grace of God" and "Considering myself as the instrument of the Lord, I go on my way." That he would brook no opposition was shown by such sentiments as, "The will of the king is the supreme law"; "One shall be master. It is I"; "Every one who is against me I shall crush."

Instead of relying upon the will of the people, this monarch looked more to the army to make him secure in his position. In addressing the army, on his becoming emperor, he said, "So we are bound together — I and the army —

¹ There are Socialists in Germany as in other countries. Socialists believe that all industry should be owned by the people in common and that the profits derived therefrom should be equitably distributed among the people; consequently, they are opposed to all ruling classes. But the Socialists in Germany in the opening years of the twentieth century were a minority; the great majority of the German people accepted without question the military autocracy.

so we are born for one another, and so we shall hold together indissolubly, whether, as God wills it, we are to have peace or storm." On another occasion he declared, "The soldier and the army have welded the German empire together. My confidence is placed on the army." Once when some of the people advocated political measures displeasing to him he said to his soldiers, "It may happen — though God forbend — that I shall order you to shoot down your relatives, brothers, yes, even parents; but you must obey my commands without murmuring."

Bismarck Forced out of Office. — During the reign of William I Bismarck's was the master mind. William II, with his claim of a direct commission from God to rule over his people, would not suffer himself to be overshadowed by the great statesman. Forgetting that he should feel only gratitude to the man who had made the German empire, William II, soon after he ascended the throne, forced Bismarck to resign the chancellorship. The officials called to the kaiser's side were still taken from among the war lords and junkers, but they were men who, instead of aiding him with their advice, merely did his bidding.

Pan-Germanism. — The rest of mankind had no quarrel with the Germans because they were willing to live under a military autocracy. It was their right to have a government of their own choosing. It was also their right to compete through their business efficiency for supremacy in the commerce of the world. If the Germans had been satisfied to stay within their rights, they might have gone on their way undisturbed.

But the spirit that accustomed the German people to look upon force as a proper means to all ends bore evil fruit. War lords and junkers, thirsting for the glory and booty of conquest, and merchants and manufacturers, eager for more colonies for the sake of their markets, played upon this spirit in persuading the people that peaceful methods would take too long to bring to Germany the commanding position in the world to which, they claimed, she was entitled. They

argued that Germany needed room in which to grow and that the quickest, and therefore the best, way to get more territory was to take it from other nations by force. From claiming the right to seize such lands as they needed they passed to the larger claim that Germany should dominate the world. The kaiser expressed this self-exalting view of the Germans when he proclaimed, "God has called us to civilize the world; we are the missionaries of human progress."

The claim that Germany should dominate the world is known as "Pan-Germanism." The success of Pan-Germanism meant crushing the democracy that had arisen in other parts of the world.

Increase of Armaments. — The people generally of other countries did not realize the extent to which militarism and Pan-Germanism had taken hold of the German people. Only faint echoes of the German sentiment reached their ears, and these they charged to the idle vapors of a conceited race. It is not strange that the people of other countries failed to take seriously the few reports they heard of Germany's ambition. They could not believe that a civilized nation would be willing deliberately to bring about a war which, involving all the powerfully armed nations, was certain to be more terrible than any war the world had ever known. Furthermore, they did not believe that a nation would risk such a war as long as the balance of power then existing between the nations might prevent it from gaining the victory. Other factors tended to confirm the belief that a great war was practically impossible. The people of other countries, lulled by a sense of security, went about their peaceful pursuits.

Statesmen and other leaders who had kept in close touch with the political conditions of Europe knew better. As Germany increased her army, they persuaded their governments to increase theirs. The introduction of an improved weapon of war into one army brought about the introduction of an even better weapon in another. A race in the building of heavy armaments set in between the great nations. Great

Britain depending, on account of her insular position, more on her navy than on her army, built many warships.

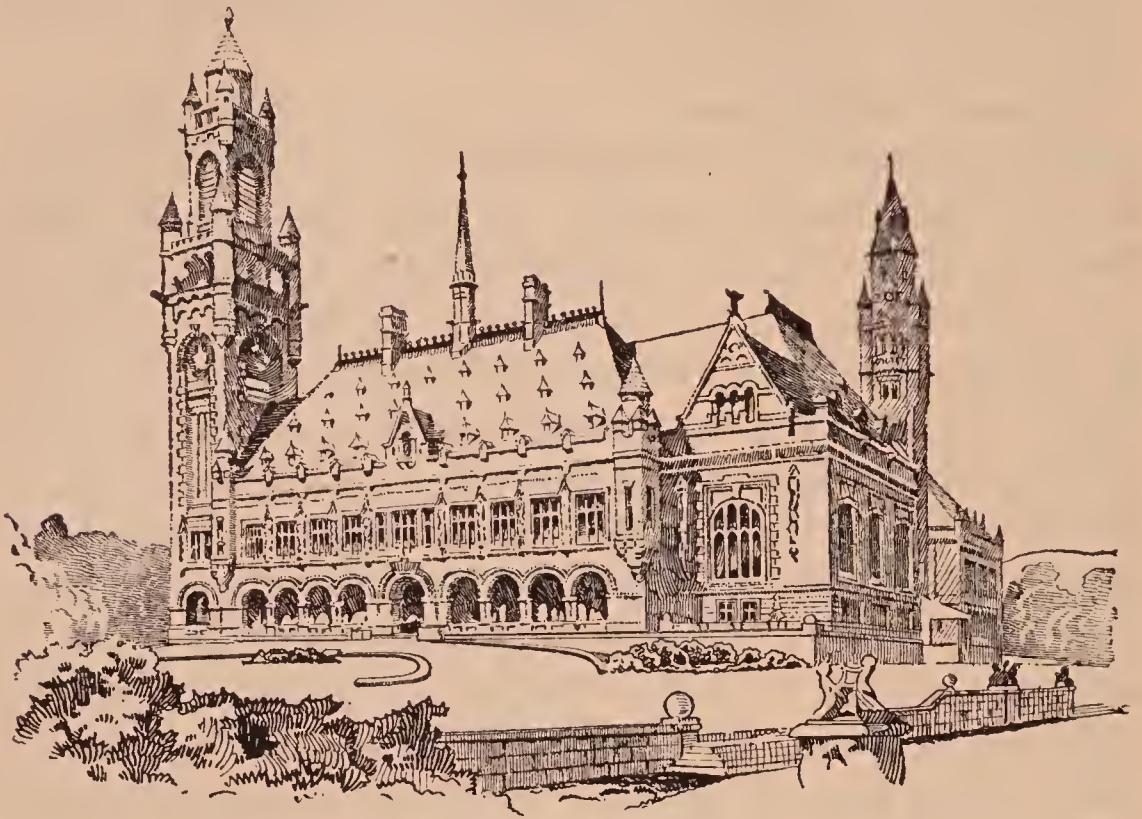
The piling up of heavy armaments was a grievous burden upon the people, for they had to pay taxes to meet the immense cost. The constant striving for military superiority increased the irritation between nations and thus brought nearer the possibility of war.

German Imperialism. — The Germans regarded as of prime importance to their scheme for world rule the expansion of the German colonial system. As already stated (see page 434) Germany had never been satisfied with the few colonies that she had been able to secure. Although she had failed to secure more colonies for the very good reason that she had entered the colonial field after most of the lands suitable for colonization had been taken over by other nations, yet she resented the fact that she did not have the colonial system which she thought her greatness deserved. She planned to get more colonies by her usual method of getting what she wished — force. But in modern war a country must have a strong navy both to hold her own colonies and also to seize those of another. So Germany began building a navy which she hoped would in time match her army in strength.

The Triple Entente. — It was plain to British statesmen that Germany, envious of Great Britain's vast colonial possessions, was directing her naval preparations against that country. Great Britain, therefore, built warships so fast that Germany could not catch up with her. It was a sore disappointment to Germany that Great Britain retained supremacy of the sea.

For some years Great Britain held aloof from both the Triple Alliance, between Germany, Austria, and Italy, and the Dual Alliance, between France and Russia. When Germany's animosity toward her became apparent Great Britain, regretting her isolated position, settled all differences between herself and France on the one hand, and Russia on the other, and made an agreement of friendship with these

countries. As there was no treaty of alliance the agreement became known as the *Triple Entente*.¹ The six great powers were thus aligned, three on a side, Great Britain's naval superiority about balancing whatever superiority the Triple Alliance had had over the Dual Alliance in land forces.



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE

A gift of Andrew Carnegie for the use of the Hague Tribunal and for international conferences

The Hague Peace Conferences. — With Europe like an armed camp and with nations suspicious of one another, there was constant danger of war. The czar of Russia, wishing to secure peace to the world, invited all the nations to send delegates to a conference to be held at The Hague, a city of Holland, for the purpose of agreeing upon plans for the reduction of armaments and for the submission to arbitration of questions between nations that might cause war. Two conferences met at The Hague, one in 1899 and the other in 1907. The opposition of Germany both to the reduction of armaments and to arbitration prevented the conferences from accomplishing much.

¹ *Entente* is a French word meaning agreement or understanding.

Then Great Britain proposed to Germany that the two countries enter into an agreement limiting the number of warships that each should build. But Germany refused.



“Berlin to Bagdad.” — The Pan-Germans did not rely solely upon a strong navy for securing German domination across distant seas. They planned to reach Asia and Africa overland. A railroad already ran from Berlin, through Austria, to Constantinople. Germany was to gain control of this road and extend it through Bagdad, in Asiatic Turkey, to the Persian Gulf, with a branch running to the Suez Canal. The “Berlin to Bagdad” road would furnish a quick route

by which to divert to Germany the trade of India and Egypt and would also lay these British possessions open to attack by land in case of war. Work upon the road in Asiatic Turkey was begun in 1904.

“**Mittel-Europa.**” — The overland movement toward the East involved even more than the control of the Berlin to Bagdad railroad. The countries traversed by the road were to be brought under German military and commercial influence, and lands of the nations on both sides of Germany were to be seized. Thus a mighty German empire would stretch through central Europe and spread over all western Asia; and a long step toward world domination would be made. To the Germans this overland movement was known as *Drang nach Osten*, the phrase meaning “push toward the East.” The idea of a great German empire in central Europe they called *Mittel-Europa*, “Middle Europe.”

The Balkan States. — German control of the Berlin to Bagdad railroad through its entire length seemed easy to secure, for Austria was already an ally of Germany, Turkey was friendly, and it remained only to gain the weak Balkan states lying between Austria and Turkey. For the subjugation of these states Germany supported Austria in her designs upon the Balkan peninsula.

But the Slavic peoples in the Balkans had to be reckoned with. The Slavic kingdom of Serbia lies across the path of the Berlin to Bagdad railroad. This little kingdom was very tenacious of her independence, but her material progress had been slow because, as she nowhere touched the sea, all her trade had to pass through Austrian territory, and Austria handicapped her with unjust trade laws. Yet Serbia was the center of hope for all Slavs in neighboring regions who groaned under the yoke of foreign masters. The Jugo-Slavs, or South Slavs, living in southern Austria and in the adjoining Turkish provinces, Bosnia and Herzegovina, were especially desirous of uniting with the Serbs to form a “greater Serbia.” It was to the interest of Austria and Germany to keep Serbia a weak country, for the creation

of a greater Serbia would, by lopping off a large slice of Austria, probably be the beginning of the end of that "ramshackle" empire and would, besides, block the Berlin to Bagdad scheme.

Austria Annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. — At the Congress of Berlin in 1878 (see page 433) Austria had been authorized to restore order in Bosnia and Herzegovina, where there had been much turbulence owing to the tyranny of Turkey. The provinces were to remain under the sovereignty of Turkey, and Austria was pledged never to annex them. In 1908 Austria, in violation of her pledge, annexed these provinces. The Serbs and the inhabitants of the annexed provinces were indignant at Austria's act of bad faith, for it would have been easier to free Bosnia and Herzegovina if they had continued under Turkish sovereignty. Russia, the "big brother" of all Slavs, was appealed to, but Germany notified Russia that if the latter interfered the German army would go to Austria's assistance. Russia had just been defeated in a war with Japan and was in no condition to risk a war with Germany and Austria. Little Serbia, unable alone to fight her stronger neighbor, was compelled to acquiesce in Austria's action; though she did not give up the hope of yet securing the coveted provinces.

The Balkan States Make War on Turkey. — In 1912-1913 the Balkan states combined to deliver from bondage the Christians who lived in the territory in Europe still held by Turkey. In a short war Turkey was defeated. The Balkan states then proceeded to divide the captured Turkish territory among themselves. Austria, backed by Germany, stepped in and prevented Serbia from gaining access to the sea, by erecting on the territory between Serbia and the coast, a new state to which the name Albania was given. The Balkan states next fell to quarreling among themselves over the rest of the captured territory. Germany and Austria, having still in view the weakening of Serbia, incited Bulgaria to make war on her allies. Bulgaria was defeated.

The interference of Germany and Austria in Balkan affairs

left the peninsula in a disturbed condition. Not one of the Balkan states was satisfied with the result, and the resentment of Serbia against Austria was increased. On the other hand, Germany, disappointed by the defeat of her Balkan friends, Turkey and Bulgaria, increased greatly the size of her army. The other powers became feverish with anxiety over this sign of Germany's intention to push vigorously her aggressive policy. The tenseness of the situation made Europe like a powder magazine which only a spark was needed to explode.

Murder of the Heir to Austrian Throne. — On June 28, 1914, the telegraph and cable carried to the four corners of the globe the news that on that day Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife had been assassinated while on a visit to Bosnia. The world was shocked at the crime, but went on in ignorance of what was to follow. A month passed. Then the world stood aghast at the prospect of a mighty war growing out of the assassin's deed.

The archduke's assassin was a subject of Austria, and the deed had been committed on Austrian territory. However, since the assassin was of Slavic blood, Austria regarded the assassination as a part of the Slavic movement to disrupt the Austrian empire by wrenching away the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina and annexing them to Serbia; and, since the Serbian government was believed to have encouraged the Slavic movement, Austria laid responsibility for the crime on Serbia. On July 23, Austria made upon Serbia a number of demands looking to the punishment of all who were connected with the murder and to the prevention of the use of Serbian territory by Slavic conspirators as a base for future hostile movements against Austria. The Serbian government agreed to practically everything that Austria asked except the demand that Austrian judges be allowed to preside over the trials in Serbia of persons accused of connection with the crime. Serbia could not accede to such a demand without sacrificing her position as an independent nation. Yet,

so great was the desire of Serbia to avoid war, that she offered to submit this question, although it involved her sovereignty, to the arbitration of the other nations at a conference to be held at The Hague.

Austria Declares War upon Serbia. — But Austria, still backed by Germany, was bent upon using the assassination of the archduke as an excuse for carrying out her long cherished scheme to increase her power in the Balkans by conquering Serbia. If the little nation should surrender without a fight, so much the better; if not, it would be wiped out. Treating with silent contempt the offer of arbitration, Austria declared war upon Serbia, July 28, 1914.

'Russia, Great Britain, and France Seek to Preserve Peace. — Meanwhile Russia had warned Austria that the Russian people would not be content to sit idly by and see their little Slavic brother Serbia destroyed. Following this warning, Russia, in order to be ready for whatever might happen, began mobilizing a part of her army on the frontier opposite Austria. Yet Russia did not wish war. She joined Great Britain and France, who feared that the war would spread over Europe, in appealing to Austria and to Austria's ally, Germany, to agree upon some plan whereby peace might yet be kept between Austria and Serbia.

Germany Declares War upon Russia.—Austria had thought that her declaration of war against Serbia would mean merely the overrunning of a weak neighbor; amazed when she found that her action might plunge Europe into a general conflict, she expressed a willingness to negotiate for a peaceful end to her quarrel with Serbia. But Austria's repentance came too late. Germany, who had for forty years been preparing for a world war and who believed that the time had come when she would be victorious in such a conflict, blocked all efforts for peace. Not only did she refuse to agree to any plan of settlement offered by Russia, Great Britain, or France, but she also refused to offer a plan of her own. Fearing that Austria would yield to the entreaties of other nations, and taking as an excuse the

mobilization of the Russian army, Germany declared war upon Russia on Sunday, August 1, 1914.

The murder of an Austrian archduke by an obscure Austrian subject had furnished the spark that caused a world conflagration.

Topics and Questions

1. Tell the story of how the Germans, who had been a "nation of poets and philosophers," came to be a commercial people.

2. Describe the government of the German empire. Tell all you can about William II. What man who had long served the German empire was forced by William II to retire from office? Why did the kaiser wish to get rid of Bismarck?

3. Explain in your own words what is meant by "Pan-Germanism." Tell how the people of other countries of Europe looked upon "Pan-Germanism." Describe the increase of armaments.

4. What was the Triple Entente, and why was it formed?

5. Tell how other nations tried to form a plan for preventing war and how Germany blocked their efforts. What is meant by "Berlin to Bagdad"? By "Mittel-Europa"? Tell about the troubles of the Balkan states.

6. What event that had dire consequences for the world occurred on June 28, 1914? Show how Russia, France and Great Britain sought to save Europe from a general conflict, and how Germany and Austria forced the issue.

Project Exercises

1. Write a brief essay pointing out some of the differences between the government of the United States and the government of the German empire.

2. Why does an autocratic government depend upon military force? From what source does a democratic government derive its strength?

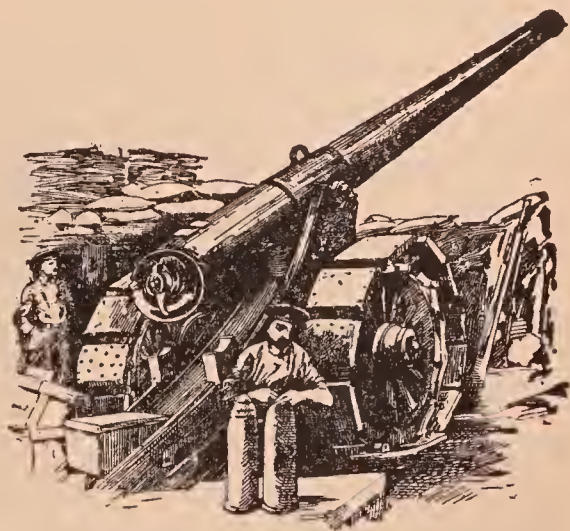
3. Compare the ambition of William II with the ambition of Napoleon I. (See page 211.)

CHAPTER XLIII

THE WORLD WAR

Magnitude of the World War. — Germany's declaration of war against Russia brought about a conflict that spread to every quarter of the globe and involved three fourths of the nations. Such was its magnitude that many volumes might be written and yet its details would not be fully described.

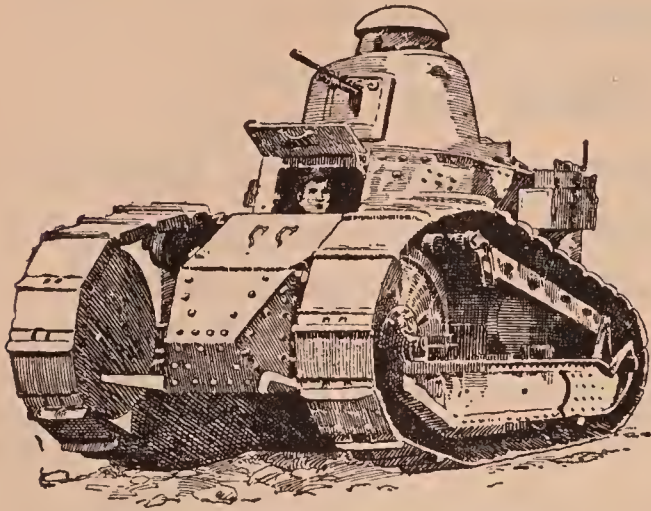
All other wars, when compared with the World War, dwarf in size. In previous wars battles were fought on restricted fronts and were considered most bloody if they lasted a few days. In the World War the battle line on the western front extended from the North Sea to the borders of Switzerland, a distance of six hundred miles; and the line on the eastern front extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea, a distance of more than a thousand miles. Battles often continued for months and at times covered a front of a hundred miles or more. In former times it was very rare for more than two hundred thousand men on each side to be engaged in battle; in the World War it was not unusual for a million men on a side to be engaged. Losses in battle once counted by the thousands were now counted by the hundreds of thousand. In fact, every day saw skirmishes at one point or another along the lines that in other wars would have been classed as battles.



A MODERN CANNON

Great cannon, larger than any ever used before and capable of hurling shells many miles, were employed by all armies, though at first the Germans had a superiority in these death dealing weapons.

New Inventions Used in Warfare. — Many of the recent inventions came for the first time into general use in warfare.

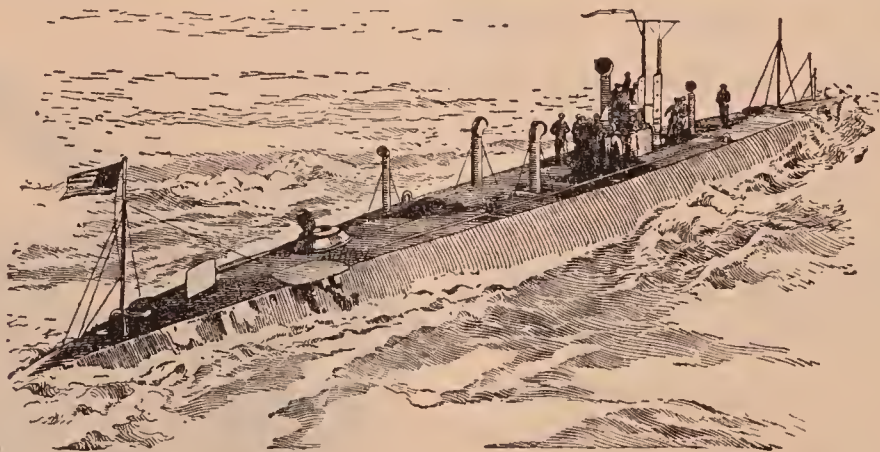


“A CATERPILLAR TANK”

The automobile and motor truck were used to carry men and supplies to the front and to bring back the wounded. From the motor car, using “caterpillar” chain drives instead of wheels to enable it to go over rough ground and through obstructions, the English evolved the

“tank.” Protected by armor plate and furnished with rapid firing machine guns, the tank spread consternation among the Germans as it crashed through their defenses.

The aëroplane took the place of the cavalry of former wars as “the eyes of the army,” for it watched the enemy’s movements and thus prevented surprise attacks. It also directed, by the use of wireless telegraphy, the aim of the big guns



A SUBMARINE

throwing shells beyond the gunners’ sight, and it caused much destruction by dropping bombs within the enemy’s lines. So important has the aëroplane become as a part of the military service that it has been said that an army equipped with this machine would be able to defeat in a very short time a much larger army not so equipped.

The submarine also became a prominent factor. This little tube-shaped vessel, navigating under the surface of the sea, may with a single torpedo sink the largest ship.

The "Second Line of Defense." — Few European nations produce in time of peace foodstuffs sufficient for their own use; much of their food is imported from the Americas, Australia, and Asia. The World War not only caused a decrease of the amount of food entering the belligerent countries by disrupting foreign trade, but it also caused a decrease of the amount raised at home by drawing into the armies many men who had been producers. In consequence soon after the war began these countries faced a food shortage, and as the war progressed the shortage became acute.

Food is of the utmost importance in war. Soldiers, if poorly fed, cannot fight their best; the people at home, if weakened by hunger, cannot maintain the courage and determination necessary to back up the men fighting the battles. To offset the scarcity of farm labor, old men, women, and children cultivated the fields. Their untiring efforts helped to relieve the situation but could not altogether overcome the shortage. Consequently, since the armies had first to be fed, governments took control of all food supplies, restricting the amount that each civilian might have.

Clothes, arms, ammunition, and the numerous other things that soldiers need had to be made; yet the war had drawn labor from manufacturing pursuits as well as from farming. Again old men, women, and children came to the rescue. In factories and munition plants they worked day and night. The people who, far from the scene of battle, sacrificed and labored that the armies of their country might be kept in good fighting condition have been aptly called the "second line of defense."

Plan of German Campaign. — France, as a member of the Dual Alliance with Russia was bound to aid that country when attacked. Great Britain's position was different. The Triple Entente existing between Great Britain, France, and Russia was only a friendly agreement that did not bind

Great Britain to fight the wars of France or Russia (see page 474). The Germans, mistakenly looking upon Englishmen as a people who liked their ease too much to fight unless compelled to do so, formed a plan of campaign based upon the belief that Great Britain would not enter the war.

Russia, having few railroads, was not expected to mobilize her army quickly. An Austrian army in the east, reënforced by some Germans, was to hold the Russians in check, while an immense German army in the west was to seize Paris and compel France to make peace. Then the German army, moving rapidly back to the eastern front, was to join the Austrians in crushing the Russian army before it was ready to fight.

Neutrality of Belgium Violated (1914). — For the execution of Germany's plan speed was the most important factor. On the boundary line between Germany and France are mountains over which it would be difficult for an army and its big guns to pass. France had further strengthened this frontier by the erection of massive forts. An easier and a quicker way for a German army to get into France was over the level lands of Belgium. But Germany was obligated by treaty, in common with the other great powers, not to violate the neutrality of this little country by invading it (see page 426). France, trusting to Germany to keep her promise, had not fortified her frontier opposite Belgium, nor had she guarded it with troops.

Two days after the declaration of war against Russia (August 3, 1914), Germany rushed troops into Belgium for a swift descent upon France. This method of attacking France was as cowardly as the act of an individual in stabbing another in the back, and was a crime against Belgium; yet it was but the natural outgrowth of the militarism that had taught that whatever can be done by force of arms is right.

Because the Germans had in their first act of war violated a pledge that they should have held sacred, they immediately lost the good will of most of the civilized countries. Their

act was made only worse in the eyes of the world when their Chancellor, in defending the invasion, contemptuously called the Belgian treaty a mere "scrap of paper."

Great Britain Enters the War (1914). — The British government was already disposed to help France, not only from friendship but also from self-interest, for if Germany should overwhelm France she would next, in her scheme for world conquest, turn upon Great Britain. The blow at Belgium threatened the safety of Great Britain; and it also assailed her sacred honor, for that country was one of the powers pledged to protect Belgium's neutrality. On August 4, 1914, Great Britain declared war on Germany.

The Germans did not mind the loss of the respect of the world so much as they did the wrath of Great Britain which their crime against Belgium had brought upon them. They now saw the war in a different light. With Great Britain helping France and Russia, victory would not come to Germany as easily as they had thought. Their surprise at Great Britain's action soon turned to fury. Of all the peoples who before the war ended came to be their enemies, the Germans hated most the English.

Belgians Resist Invasion (1914). — Meanwhile the little Belgian army had gone out to meet the hordes of Germans invading Belgian soil. The first battle of the war began on August 4, 1914, at Liège, a city of Belgium. For six days Belgians, commanded by General Leman, held at bay German forces outnumbering them three to one — held them until the last fort defending the city had been pounded to pieces by the German big guns.

Great Britain promptly sent as much of her small army as was available to the aid of Belgium. The handful of British and Belgians could not stop the onrush, but by bravely contesting every foot of ground they continued so to delay the advance of the Germans that time was given the French army to come up.

First Battle of the Marne (1914). — Even when united, the French, British, and Belgian armies were so outnumbered

that they were pressed farther and farther back into France. In a month's time the Germans had reached the river Marne, within a few miles of Paris. Here, on September 6, 1914, the Allies¹ under the French commander, General Joseph J. C. Joffre, turned upon the invaders. In this four days' battle the Allies, striking the right wing of the enemy and crumpling it up, compelled the entire German army to retreat to northern France and to Belgium. The first battle of the Marne is one of the most momentous battles of history, for it saved, not Paris alone, but civilization.

In Flanders (1914). — For a month fierce fighting continued daily without decided advantage to either side. Then the Germans began in Flanders, as western Belgium is called, a drive for the purpose of capturing the French ports on the English Channel. With these ports in German hands the British would have difficulty in sending troops and supplies to France. The battle lasted without cessation for a month and the losses were enormous; but the drive failed because the Belgians at Yser River and the British at the town of Ypres held out against overwhelming numbers.

Cruel Practices. — International law, which is the law between civilized nations founded upon the dictates of humanity, requires that all suffering not necessary to the winning of a war should be avoided. For this reason the lives of civilians should be spared, and property not of military value should be preserved. Warfare waged on the contrary principle descends to the warfare of savagery. Yet, German militarism justified the severest cruelty toward the civilian population of a hostile country on the ground that it would more speedily crush the spirit of resistance.

After Belgium had been overrun the Germans subjected the unoffending inhabitants to the most cruel treatment. Cities and villages were looted and then destroyed. Fields

¹ Great Britain, France, Russia, Belgium, and other nations in alliance with them for the war are commonly spoken of as the "Allies," while Germany and Austria and the nations fighting with them are called the "Central Powers."

were stripped of their products and factories of their machinery. In addition to the needless destruction of property, many thousands of Belgians were forcibly taken to Germany, where they were compelled to work in place of German laborers who had gone into the army. Those who remained in Belgium were made to pay enormous taxes in the shape of indemnities, just as if they were a people who had provoked war instead of having it forced upon them.

Many Belgians died of starvation. More of them might have met this fate if neutral countries, chiefly the United States, had not sent them food. The world lost the last shred of respect for a nation that could be guilty of the crime of first making war upon innocent Belgium and then laying her prostrate.¹

Belgium was not the only sufferer from the German policy. Occupied portions of France and Poland were devastated in the same manner. The Germans also used, contrary to international law, the aëroplane for dropping bombs upon cities and towns far from the war area. In both Paris and London non-combatants were killed and property was destroyed by air raids. How the Germans made illegal use of the submarine will be told later. The cruelty failed of its purpose, for the greater the adversity of the people of Belgium and France, the greater became their determination to drive out the invaders.

The Eastern Front (1914). — Meanwhile Russia had mobilized her army quicker than expected. Russians invaded East Prussia and, though defeated at the battle of Tannenberg and driven out of Prussia by the German general von Hindenburg, they had helped to save Paris, for just

¹ Before the war commenced it was generally believed outside of Germany that, since socialists usually oppose war except when waged to promote socialism, the socialists of Germany would disapprove of that country's going to war in the interest of autocracy. When war was declared, however, the German socialists with few exceptions supported it. They even acquiesced in the invasion and devastation of Belgium.

before the battle of the Marne Germany had to send to the aid of von Hindenburg troops from her western army. The Russians also invaded Austria, and by the end of the year 1914 they had gained possession of a large section of that country. In this campaign the Austrian losses were exceedingly large. The military machine which Germany had been perfecting for forty years had failed in its plan to force a quick peace upon France and then crush Russia.

Japan and Turkey Enter the War (1914). — About two weeks after the beginning of hostilities Japan entered the war on the side of the Allies, and a few months later Turkey joined forces with her friends, Germany and Austria. Japan took no part in the European phases of the war, but guarded the interests of the Allies in the Far East.

The British Army and Navy. — When the war began the regular army in Great Britain numbered less than two hundred thousand men. In a little more than a year it had been increased to a million and a half. But it was not yet an army large enough for so great a war; therefore the government resorted to the conscripting of able-bodied men between certain ages. Thereafter the stream of soldiers that flowed from Great Britain to the various fronts steadily increased.

One of the most notable evidences of patriotism that the war brought forth was the response of the British colonies to the call of the mother country. The self-governing colonies were not compelled to furnish troops, but many thousands of their sons volunteered. No soldiers fought for the cause of democracy with more gallantry than the Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders.

From the first Great Britain's splendid navy played a most important part in the contest. British warships immediately bottled up the German navy in German waters and there kept it bottled up throughout the war.¹

¹ Only once (May, 1916) did German warships venture out to attack the British fleet. In a severe battle which followed, known as the battle of Jutland, both sides lost ships, but no advantage resulted to Germany.

With the assistance of the other allied navies the British navy blockaded the ports of Germany and Austria and shut out much food and materials of war that would otherwise have reached these countries from the outside world. With the German navy shut off from the seas, the allied nations continued without interruption to import supplies until the Germans began a submarine warfare; and then it was largely due to the British navy that the submarine did not altogether destroy allied commerce. Had it not been for the British navy the war would have borne a different aspect.

Germany Loses her Colonies. — Deprived of the use of her navy, Germany could not protect her colonies. One after another they were all lost to her. Neighboring British colonies captured most of them.

Trench Warfare. — After the battles in Flanders, in the autumn of 1914, fighting on the western front developed into trench warfare. The opposing forces dug deep trenches parallel to each other for the whole length of the six-hundred-mile battle line. The trenches were strongly fortified, and down in the ground the armies found protection to a considerable extent from the daily storm of shells. In the covered parts of the trenches, called "dugouts," the men lived. The distance between the hostile trenches — where lay the shell torn area known as "no man's land" — varied from a few yards at some points to a mile or more at other points. Across "no man's land" the armies watched and fought, each seeking an opportunity to smash his opponent's trenches and drive him back to open ground. The soldiers spoke of leaving the trenches to attack the enemy as going "over the top."

The Western and Eastern Fronts (1915). — Beginning in the spring of 1915 the British made one, and the French made two, tremendous but unsuccessful efforts to break through the German defenses, the attack of the French at Artois ¹

¹ Only the most important battles are mentioned in the text. It should not be forgotten that throughout the war engagements were occurring every day.

continuing two months. The Germans, in their turn, tried again to break the British line at Ypres to reach the Channel ports, but after a month's struggle they gave up the attempt. Thus the year 1915 ended with the war on the western front a draw; yet many thousands of brave men on each side had given up their lives in efforts to gain a decisive victory.

The Allies had failed to break the German lines because they were still inferior in numbers, big guns, and ammunition. On the other hand, the Germans could not put forth their full strength because they had sent many troops from the western to the eastern front to take part in a campaign which Germany and Austria had prepared on a large scale for the purpose of destroying the Russian army.

The campaign on the eastern front began with the opening of the spring of 1915. An immense army of Germans and Austrians, well supplied with cannon and ammunition, advanced against the Russian army which was still occupying Austrian territory. At the battles of Gorlice, in Austria, the German big guns blasted away the Russian defenses. In the retreat that followed a great number of the Russians were slaughtered and a greater number captured, for they did not have enough ammunition to make an effective stand. Slowly, and fighting stubbornly all the way, the Russian army was driven out of Austria far back into Russia. The skilful generalship of the Grand Duke Nicholas saved the army from being destroyed; yet it was so badly shattered that it could not soon again take the offensive. Indeed, the Germans thought that they had succeeded in putting the Russians out of the fighting.

Italy Joins the Allies (1915). — Although Italy had formed with Germany and Austria the Triple Alliance, yet she was not obligated to give aid to these countries because the alliance had been purely for a defensive war and Germany and Austria had provoked this war. Besides, the Italian people had never given the alliance their hearty approval. It was unnatural for democratic Italy to be in league with autocratic Germany and Austria; and Austria still held "Italia

Irredenta" (see page 429). In 1915 Italy entered the war on the side of the Allies.

The Dardanelles Campaign (1915).— The capture of Constantinople, it was believed, would bring more quickly to the Allies a victorious end to the war, for it would cut the Turkish empire in two, open the way to sending to Russia the ammunition that she so much needed and afford an outlet for Russia's surplus wheat to reach the Allies, and probably gain for the Allies the aid of all the Balkan states that were still neutral. In a campaign that lasted for almost the entire year of 1915, the British and French made land and naval attacks upon the Dardanelles, the strait leading to Constantinople. The campaign proved a costly undertaking in both men and ships. It failed because of bad management, and the failure caused the Allies considerable loss of prestige.

Bulgaria Joins the Central Powers (1915).— Bulgaria, wishing to get for herself as much as possible out of the war, had waited to see which side would give the greater promise of winning. The defeat of the Russians and the failure of the attack upon Constantinople causing her to believe that the Central Powers would win, Bulgaria cast her lot with them in 1915.

The Conquest of Serbia (1915).— Twice in 1914 the Serbians had driven back Austrian armies that had invaded their country. After the retreat of the Russians in 1915 a large force of Germans was sent to aid the Austrians in a third attack upon Serbia. The combined German and Austrian army entered Serbia from the north, while a Bulgarian army entered from the east. Between the two forces Serbia was completely conquered. The neighboring state of Montenegro, which had joined the Allies, also fell to the Central Powers. The Austrians and Bulgarians who remained to hold Serbia and Montenegro treated the inhabitants as severely as the Germans treated the inhabitants of Belgium and France.

Verdun (1916).— The outstanding event on the western

front in 1916 was the gigantic battle of Verdun. The Germans massed troops opposite the French front to strike with tremendous force a blow that would destroy the French army and bring France to an immediate peace. Verdun, a city dear to the heart of every Frenchman from its associations with the defense of France in former wars, was selected for the attack. So confident of a complete victory were the Germans that the Crown Prince, wishing the glory for himself, commanded the attacking forces. General Henri Philippe Petain commanded the French who received the blow. For ten months, beginning in February, 1916, the battle raged around Verdun. So desperate was the fighting that often positions changed hands several times in one day. The battle cry of the French was, "They shall not pass!" and the Germans did not pass. The dogged determination of the defenders of Verdun to stand their ground despite the mass of troops hurled against them forced the Germans to give up their plan of destroying the French army with one mighty blow.

Such an enormous loss of men befell the French in their defense of Verdun that the Germans said that they were bleeding the French army to death; yet the Germans suffered a greater loss — about five hundred thousand men — and they had only failure to show for it.

On Other Fronts (1916). — The Germans, thinking that they had put the Russians out of the war, sent many of their forces from the Russian to the western front. Many Austrians on the Russian front were withdrawn to join their army that was resisting an Italian invasion from the south. In 1916 the Italians were being driven rapidly back toward their own frontier by the reënforced Austrian army, when, to the surprise of Germany, a reorganized Russian army invaded Austria for the purpose of relieving the pressure upon Italy. So successful were the Russians that Austria, in order to oppose their further progress, was compelled to withdraw a large part of her forces from the Italian front. Not only was the drive against Italy brought to a halt, but

the Italians were soon able to regain the ground that they had lost. Then Roumania entered the war on the side of the Allies.

Just as conditions on the eastern front were beginning to look brighter for the Allies, Russia again showed signs of weakness. When two armies, one composed of Germans and Austrians, and the other of Bulgarians and Turks, entered Roumania, the Russians failed to give their little neighbor the aid they had promised. The Roumanian army, which of course was small, had to retreat to escape being caught between the two invading armies and, in doing so, gave up practically all Roumania.

The Central Powers Offer Peace (1916). — At the end of two and a half years of war the Central Powers had reached a high point in their ambitious scheme. In spite of all efforts to dislodge them, they still held Belgium and northern France; they controlled the Balkan country; and they had overrun a large part of Russia. "Mittel Europa" seemed to them an accomplished fact. Considering the time favorable, the Central Powers made, near the end of 1916, an offer of peace. They agreed to evacuate the occupied portions of Belgium and France, but wished to keep their other conquests. Since the Allies were fighting to save the world from the German menace, and since Germany if allowed to retain her conquests would be even more powerful in future wars, the offer of peace was rejected.

The Russian Revolution of 1917. — Many of the high officials of the Russian government were of German blood or of German sympathy. They secretly used their official positions to help Germany. The lack of food and equipment from which the Russian army suffered and the failure of Russia to help Roumania were due to their treachery. Although the czar, Nicholas II, seemed at heart loyal to the cause of the Allies, he would not get rid of his disloyal officials. The people, becoming convinced of the treachery, rose in revolution on March 11, 1917, overturned the royal government, and compelled the czar to abdicate. A

provisional government was set up in behalf of the people of Russia; and the despotic rule of the czars, which had lasted for more than three hundred years, passed away

The new government announced that Russia would carry on the war vigorously. But the conducting of a revolution and a great war at the same time would tax the capabilities of an enlightened people, and the Russians are for the most part ignorant. Still, although it was uncertain what would be the effect of the revolution upon the war, the overthrow of despotism in Russia made clearer the great issue for which Europe was being drenched in blood. Only Germany, Austria, and Turkey now remained of the autocratic governments of Europe. The war had become truly a contest between democracy and autocracy.

Topics and Questions

1. Tell with some detail how the World War differed from all previous wars. Mention some of the new inventions used by all armies and state how they were used.

2. Why is it necessary for the people at home to make sacrifices in time of war? What did the people of Europe do to support their armies?

3. Explain the German campaign. Account for the invasion by the Germans of a country with which it was not at war. What important result came from the invasion of Belgium? What did the Belgians do when their country was invaded?

4. Why is the first battle of the Marne important in the history of the world? Define the terms, "Allies" and "Central Powers." Tell of the gallant stand of the Belgians at the Yser River and of the British at the town of Ypres.

5. Why did Germany incur the ill will of nearly the whole world? Relate in detail the cruelty of the Germans.

6. Relate the happenings of 1914 elsewhere than on the western front. What nation joined the Allies in 1914? What nation joined the Central Powers? How did Great Britain raise an army? What part did her navy take? What became of Germany's colonies? Describe trench warfare.

7. Trace the progress of the war on the eastern and western fronts in 1915. Why did Italy join the Allies? Why did Bulgaria join the Central Powers? Tell why it was important for the Allies to take Constantinople, and relate how their campaign against that city failed.

8. What happened in 1915 to the little country that Austria's effort to crush in 1914 brought on the World War?
9. Why will Verdun always be remembered with pride by the world, and especially by France? Explain why the Central Powers sought to make peace in 1916.
10. Tell the story of the Russian Revolution.

Project Exercises

1. Review Chapter XXXV, and compare the sacrifices made by the people of Europe during the World War and the sacrifices made by the people of the South during the War of Secession.
2. Why did Great Britain at the commencement of the World War have a small army and a large navy? (See pages 473, 474.)

Important Dates:

- 1914. Outbreak of the World War.
- 1914. First Battle of the Marne.
- 1916. Battle of Verdun.
- 1917. The Russian Revolution.

CHAPTER XLIV

THE UNITED STATES IN THE WORLD WAR

How America first Viewed the War. — Immediately upon the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, President Wilson issued a proclamation declaring the United States neutral. He also issued an address to the people requesting that they refrain from act or speech that would even seem to be unfriendly to one side or the other. From the first, however, Americans felt the keenest interest in the great conflict. They eagerly sought the newspapers that they might read the accounts of the battles that each day the cables brought, and carefully studied the map of Europe that they might the better understand the movements of armies, surging backwards and forwards.

The great majority of Americans sympathized with the Allies in their struggle against Germany's effort at military domination. Although at first they did not as a rule think that the war directly concerned America, yet, even then, there were some who, regarding Germany as a menace to the world, looked upon the Allies as fighting our battles. As the war progressed and Germany's method of warfare became more pronounced, pro-ally feeling in America deepened.

How the War Affected America. — It was impossible for a war of such magnitude not to affect the life of every American. The usual channels of world trade were dislocated. The articles that we were accustomed to get from abroad became scarce, and great quantities of our products went to supply the warring countries. Consequently prices went up by leaps and bounds. Complications soon arose as to our rights as a neutral to trade with other nations.

The British Blockade. — When Great Britain's navy drove German commerce from the seas and blockaded the

German ports on the Atlantic Ocean, Germany could still get supplies from adjoining neutral nations, such as Holland and the Scandinavian countries, for a belligerent must not blockade a neutral country. But these neutral countries did not produce sufficient supplies for their own peaceful pursuits, and it soon became evident that they were getting from outside sources and shipping into Germany material that might be used in war. Therefore, Great Britain's navy stopped on the high seas vessels bound for neutral countries bordering on Germany, in order to prevent more of such supplies going to them than they needed for their own use.

The supplies intended for these neutral countries came from other neutral countries, chiefly from the United States. According to international law neutrals are allowed freedom of trade with one another so long as they do not commit breaches of neutrality. Germany protested that Great Britain was illegally interfering with neutral trade. Later, when foodstuffs were included in the seizures, Germany, further incensed, declared that Great Britain was seeking to starve the German civilian population.¹ The United States and other neutrals protested that Great Britain's interference with their trade was illegal. Great Britain, denying that she was violating international law, continued to stop vessels bound for neutral countries.

Americans Sell Munitions to the Allies. — Germany was displeased with the United States for not compelling Great Britain to stop interfering with the trade of neutral nations, and she found even greater reason for feeling bitter toward this country in the fact that Americans were selling muni-

¹ Foodstuff intended for the civilian population is not contraband and therefore, under international law, is not liable to seizure. When Germany, fearing a food shortage, took over all foodstuffs in the country and doled out a certain amount to each inhabitant, civilian and soldier, Great Britain said that there was no way to distinguish what part of the food entering Germany from neutral countries would be used to support the civilian population and what part the army. For this reason Great Britain contended that she was justified in stopping foodstuff going to Germany's neighbors in excess of the amount needed for their own use.

tions, such as arms and ammunition, to the Allies. It has always been legal for citizens of a neutral country to sell munitions to a belligerent, though, since such articles are contraband, they are subject to capture. As there was no danger of capture with Germany's navy bottled up and as the profits were enormous, the traffic steadily increased. Americans would at that time have sold munitions to Germany if she had been able to get ships through the blockade.

In previous wars the Germans, as neutrals, had sold munitions to belligerents, but now that Germany was at war, the Germans took a different view of the matter. Germany had the largest plants in the world for manufacturing arms and ammunition and could keep her armies well supplied with these materials of war, while at first the Allies could not make them in quantities sufficient for their armies. Germany had hoped that her superiority in munitions would be of great help to her in winning the war. She was disappointed when she saw munitions pouring into the allied countries from America and was very angry because she could not prevent it. She asked the United States government to prohibit Americans from engaging in the traffic, claiming that in permitting it the United States was committing an unfriendly act. The United States declined to stop its citizens doing what they had a legal right to do.

German Spies in America. — Germany then sent spies to the United States to break up by secret and illegal methods the traffic in munitions. The spies sought to destroy plants making munitions and to blow up vessels carrying them to the Allies. They also tried to foment strikes among the laborers employed in the plants and attempted to secure the influence of German-Americans to persuade our government to do as Germany wished. Some explosions and a few strikes followed, but the work of the spies failed because as a rule the laboring people and the German-Americans remained loyal. Indeed, the chief thing accomplished by the spies was to increase the feeling in America against Germany.

Germany's Submarine Warfare. — Germany next decided to use her submarines in making war upon Great Britain's commerce. Her purpose was twofold: to stop the traffic in munitions and to starve out England. Crowded on an island, the British do not raise enough food to support themselves. Should the foodstuffs that they rely upon receiving from the outside world be cut off, they would soon perish from famine.

The submarine had proved of little use against armored war vessels, and, if the rules of civilized warfare were observed, it would lose much of its effectiveness against merchant ships. International law demands that, before a merchant ship is sunk, provision must be made for the safety of the crew and passengers; but the little submarine cannot take care of the crew or passengers of a big ship and, moreover, the ship might escape if it saw the submarine in time or it might sink the submarine, which is a very frail vessel.

In order to use the submarine as effectively as possible, Germany was willing to use it illegally. She would have it attack and sink a merchant ship without warning. Early in 1915 Germany declared the waters surrounding the British Isles, including the English Channel, to be in the war zone and announced that her submarines would sink without warning every merchant ship of a belligerent nation sighted within the zone. Neutrals were advised not to sail upon, or send their goods by, ships of belligerent nations bound for the zone, and were warned to keep their own ships out of the zone lest they be sunk by mistake.

The legality of Great Britain's method of enforcing the blockade was open to question, but there was no question about the illegality of Germany's proposed submarine warfare. Besides, there was this great difference: Great Britain seized cargoes, agreeing to pay for such as could be proved to have been seized wrongfully; Germany proposed to take the lives of innocent people. Americans were very indignant that Germany should threaten to kill them if they should exercise their right of using the seas. President Wilson

promptly notified Germany that she would be held to strict account for injury done by her to a citizen of the United States.

Sinking of the "Lusitania." — Within a few months German submarines sunk many ships, some of them belonging to neutrals. Among those who lost their lives were two Americans. The United States government was investigating the circumstances of the death of these Americans when the terrible news came that on May 7, 1915, the *Lusitania*, a large British passenger ship making a regular trip from New York, was torpedoed and sunk by a submarine off the coast of Ireland, and more than eleven hundred men, women, and children — of whom about one hundred were Americans — were killed or drowned.

The murder of American citizens, who had a right to be on the *Lusitania*, aroused the wrath of our people. A great clamor arose that Germany should be punished for her crimes against America. But President Wilson, not wishing that our country should rush into war, addressed a note to Germany calling on that country to disavow the sinking of the *Lusitania*, make reparation for the injury to American citizens, and promise not to commit again such a crime.

Because they knew that we were not prepared for war the Germans were not then afraid of the United States. They were not ready to admit that a crime had been committed. On the contrary, they celebrated with great rejoicing the deed whereby innocent men and women and even babes had been sent to watery graves. Germany's answer to President Wilson's note defended the sinking of the *Lusitania*. The exchange of a number of notes followed, but Germany never agreed to a settlement satisfactory to this country. Nevertheless, Germany seemed to have stopped for a time sinking ships without warning. Her course now, however, was hardly less inhumane, for sometimes the crew of a vessel attacked was forced to take to lifeboats far from land.

When, early in 1916, the French passenger steamship *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning, causing the loss of

American lives, the American people were unwilling to put up longer with Germany's lawlessness. President Wilson again sent a note to Germany, demanding that the murdering of our citizens cease. Germany then made a promise to desist from sinking vessels without warning.

Germany's Faithlessness. — Germany was not sincere in her promise, for she was not at heart repentant. Her first fleet of submarines had been crudely built, and the British navy had succeeded in capturing or destroying most of them. It was necessary to build a new fleet of submarines of improved type, and while it was building Germany was willing to be good.

Early in 1917, the new fleet of submarines having been completed, Germany announced that she would renew the sinking of merchant ships without warning. Her resumption of submarine warfare was to be on an even greater scale, for neutral as well as belligerent ships were to be sunk, and the zone was extended so that it would cover the waters of the coasts of France and the Mediterranean Sea. America was thus flaunted in the face. The insult was made more distasteful by Germany's saying that she would allow the United States to send one ship a week to England, provided it was painted with bright colored stripes that would make it easily recognizable.

Germany Plots Against the United States. — Nothing more was needed to make America go to war with Germany; yet just at this time Germany was detected in an attempt to persuade Mexico to attack the United States if our country went into the war. The scheme included inducing Japan to join with Mexico, and its purpose was to keep Americans so busy with a war at home that they could not take effective part in the war in Europe. Mexico was to receive as a reward Texas, California, and other southwestern states.

War with Germany Declared. — On April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before Congress and asked that body to declare that a state of war with Germany existed by reason of that country's acts. He showed that Germany's use of the

submarine was a warfare against the world — a warfare of military autocracy against humanity. He urged that the war with Germany be waged not for conquest but for the principle that “the world must be made safe for democracy.” He added: “To such a cause we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and the happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.”

On April 6, 1917, Congress resolved, “That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government, which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared.”¹

Why Germany Risked War with America. — The German people were feeling the pinch of hunger and were beginning to fear that the fortunes of war might turn against them. The war lords had to allay this fear. They believed, and they persuaded the people to believe, that the renewal of the submarine warfare would starve out England and bring her to her knees in a few months; that, while it would probably draw the United States into the war, having this country for an enemy would not matter, for Americans were too fond of money making to become good soldiers. They said that even if the Americans tried to raise and train an army the war would be over before they could do so, or, if it were not, the submarine would prevent any considerable part of the army from reaching Europe.

America's Unpreparedness. — It is true that America was unprepared for war. Americans are a people who have always wished to avoid becoming a military nation and,

¹ The nations that declared war against Germany, other than those mentioned in the text, are Brazil, China, Cuba, Greece, Liberia, Panama, Portugal, and Siam. Of these only Greece and Portugal took an active part in the war. A number of other nations severed relations with Germany.

although there was danger from the first of their being drawn into a war that was affecting the whole world, nothing had been done toward getting ready. It was important now that America enter actively into the war as speedily as possible, for Belgium, Great Britain, France, and Italy, in combating so long the powerful military machine of the Central Powers, had given the flower of their manhood, and Russia, in the throes of revolution, was wavering.

“Win the War!” — As soon as war was declared the President, the Congress, and the people set to work to gather together the strength of the nation for the conflict. The United States is the richest and one of the most populous of countries, and its resources would be used to their utmost limit if necessary. “Win the war!” became the slogan of America.

Raising the Army. — The first thing to be done was to take steps toward raising an army large enough to be effective in the greatest war of history. The regular army and the national guard of the several states were used as a nucleus, and as previous wars had shown that volunteering could not be depended upon, Congress passed a conscription law for raising the rest of the men needed.¹ The law required that every man from twenty-one to thirty-one years of age should register. From the list of about ten million men thus obtained, those who were physically disabled, or engaged in pursuits necessary to carrying on the war, or had dependent families, were exempted from service in the army, while the others were held in readiness to be sent to camps to be made soldiers.

The camps, which had all to be built, were located in different parts of the country. When completed they accommodated each about forty thousand men. The camps were cities in themselves, with their numerous buildings for offices and sleeping quarters, warehouses, commissaries, mess halls, and repair shops, and with their graded streets, electric

¹ It will be remembered that in the War of Secession both the United States and the Confederate States resorted to conscription (see page 342).

lights, water works, fire departments, and telegraph and telephone systems. So many laborers were employed in erecting the buildings and so rapidly did they work that all the camps were completed in the space of a few months.

Immediately upon the arrival of men in camp their military training was begun. When they had reached a certain degree of fitness, they were sent to Europe for further training near the battle line, and their places in the camps in this country were taken by others who, in their turn, were given training and then sent to Europe.

General Pershing in Command.—General John J. Pershing, who had been selected to command the American



JOHN J. PERSHING

army in Europe, arrived in France in June, 1917. A few weeks later a small contingent of America's regular army marched through the streets of Paris as a symbol of our promise to the gallant people of France that an American army was coming in force. By the summer of 1918 three quarters of a million American soldiers, most of whom had been civilians a few months before, were in Europe.

The Navy.—Fortunately the American navy was in excellent condition. A fleet, under command of Rear Admiral William S. Sims, was promptly sent to European waters, where very soon it was giving valuable aid to the allied fleets in blockading Germany and checking the submarine menace. Ships from the American and British navies convoyed across the ocean the transports carrying our troops, and so carefully did they guard the transports that of the two million and more men sent across in a little more than a year, only a few hundred met death from

submarine attack. It was a most remarkable military and naval feat that, in so short a time, a large army was raised and trained and convoyed three thousand miles over an ocean infested with hostile submarines.

Our navy had also to guard our long seacoast. That there might be vessels enough for this purpose the navy took over many ships, yachts, and motor boats belonging to citizens. All navy yards for building war vessels were enlarged. The number of seamen was increased to nearly half a million, and camps were erected at various ports for training the recruits.

Construction Work in France. — Several French seaports were given over for use by the United States. At these ports our government built many docks so as to receive a great number of ships at one time, and rows upon rows of immense warehouses. Most of the material used in building the docks and warehouses was prepared in this country, shipped to France in parts, and there put together. Our government also built at these ports large freight yards. Locomotives, cars and rails, were sent from America for use on the railroads that carried American troops and supplies from the ports to the battle line.

Highest Point of Submarine Warfare. — In 1917 the German submarines reached their highest point of activity. They now waged their warfare most ruthlessly, torpedoing even hospital ships and killing or drowning nurses, sick, and wounded. The submarines sank so many ships carrying food that the allied countries were threatened with starvation. Conditions in France became so serious that not only the people at home, but the brave soldiers in the trenches, were put on very limited rations.

“Ships, Ships, More Ships!” — The United States agreed to send food to the allied countries, but to do so ships were needed to take the places of those sunk by the submarines. “Ships, ships, more ships!” came as a cry from Europe to America. The United States government took over the country’s shipping. It reduced the number of ships used in

trade with the neutral countries of Europe, brought from the Great Lakes all vessels suitable for ocean service, and withdrew those trading with South America, Australia, and Asia. German vessels that had sought safety in our harbors at the beginning of the war were seized, and Dutch vessels visiting our ports were pressed into service. Still, there were not enough ships. So America began to build. Some ships were built of steel, others of concrete, and still others of wood. Such rapid construction of ships the world had never seen before. One vessel was launched in 27 days after the keel was laid, finished in another 10 days, and, after three days spent in loading, 40 days in all, it was sent with a cargo across the Atlantic.

England was at the same time building ships rapidly. By midsummer of 1918 the United States and England were building ships faster than the submarines could destroy them. Although submarine warfare had failed, yet so close had been the race that for a time the point was dangerously near when the Allies might have been starved into submission.

America Feeds the Allied Countries. — Obtaining the foodstuffs necessary for the Allies taxed the United States. Wheat is the main staple of food in Europe, and the Allies needed many million bushels more of the cereal than we ordinarily raise in excess of our own use. Meat, sugar, and dairy products were also needed by the Allies. The government, therefore, made rules regulating the use of these foodstuffs by our people. On certain days Americans abstained from eating wheat and on others meat. These days were known as "wheatless days" and "meatless days." The supply of sugar and dairy products for each person was also limited. In order to save coal to be used as fuel by ships carrying food, heat was on certain days cut off from public buildings and manufacturing plants, and on certain nights the use of electric lights was curtailed. Thus there were also "heatless days" and "lightless nights." By denying themselves food and comforts, Americans were able to feed their brave allies.

Government Assumes Control of Business. — The government took control of practically the entire industry of the country. Whatever part of a product the government needed for carrying on the war it used; the people contented themselves with what was left. The kinds of business that were not essential to winning the war were curtailed in their output whenever the raw material they used was needed for military purposes. That traffic might be speeded up, the government took charge of the railroads, and the express, telegraph, and telephone systems.

The Great Cost. — Only the barest outline has been given of what the United States did to make good its declaration of war against Germany. The things that the government accomplished far exceeded what most persons believed a nation could do. The cost exceeded twenty billions of dollars. It amounted, of course, to more than it would have if we had not been compelled to work with such haste. To raise the money the government imposed heavy taxes and issued bonds, known as "Liberty Bonds." The people bought so liberally of the bonds that every issue was oversubscribed.

Patriotism of the People. — As the government needed the aid of expert business men in controlling the industry of the country, many leaders of the commercial world laid aside their own affairs to give to the government their time and talent. Laborers in the factories, in the mines, and on the farms vied with one another to produce as fast as possible the necessities of war.

Voluntary organizations rendered valuable aid. The Red Cross sent its nurses to the battle-scarred countries of Europe to care for the wounded and sick and others in distress. The Red Cross also established in nearly every city and town in America chapters among the women to make bandages and knit garments. Other organizations looked after the entertainment and religious welfare of the men in the camps in this country and in the trenches in Europe. They gave the men touches of home life that the government could not give.

Prominent among these organizations were the Young Men's Christian Association, Young Women's Christian Association, Knights of Columbus, Jewish Welfare Board, War Camp Community Service, American Library Association, and Salvation Army.

The people bore the high taxes, the increased cost of living, the restriction of business, the limitation of food, and the surrender of comforts, — they bore all uncomplainingly, because America had joined the Allies in a war for world democracy and the war must be won.

Germany had made many miscalculations, but none greater than her prediction that America would count for little in the war.

Topics and Questions

1. Tell how the people of the United States at first looked upon the World War as regarding themselves; why they took so much interest in it and why their sympathy was more for one side than the other. State why it was impossible for the war not to affect the people of the United States.

2. Describe the British blockade and mention some of the countries that protested against it.

3. Relate the story of the Americans' selling munitions. What did Germany say about this action of the Americans? What had been Germany's previous record in the matter of selling munitions?

4. For what purpose did Germany send spies to the United States? Did the spies succeed in doing what they set out to do?

5. Describe the German submarine warfare. Tell the story of the *Lusitania*. What effect did the sinking of the *Lusitania* have upon the people of the United States? Upon the people of Germany?

6. When and why did the United States declare war upon Germany?

7. Why was Germany willing to risk war with the United States? Was she right in thinking the United States unprepared for war? What became the slogan of America and how was an army raised to make the slogan good? Who was selected to command the American army? Relate the record of the American navy. Tell of the construction work done in France by the United States.

8. Why were ships needed and what did the United States do to obtain them? Explain "meatless," "wheatless" and "heatless" days and "lightless" nights. Tell how the government took control of industry.

9. How was money raised for carrying out the plans of the United

States for winning the war? Tell how the American people showed their patriotism.

Project Exercises

1. Do you think that a neutral country should sell munitions to a belligerent country? Give reasons for your opinion.

2. Contrast the British blockade with the German submarine warfare.

3. Write an essay giving the reasons for the United States entering the war on the side against Germany.

4. Memorize the sentence in the text quoted from President Wilson's address asking Congress to declare war against Germany.

Important Date:

1917. April 6. Declaration of war against Germany by the United States.

CHAPTER XLV

THE FREE NATIONS TRIUMPHANT

The Hindenburg Line (1917). — After two years of unceasing labor Great Britain had raised a large army and manufactured vast quantities of war material, with the result that the Allies had become superior to the Germans on the western front in men, guns, and ammunition. This superiority was shown at the battle of the Somme in the autumn of 1916, when the British, under their commander, General Sir Douglas Haig, succeeded in breaking through the German line on a front of twenty miles, and were stopped in their advance only by bad weather. During the winter the British made preparations to continue the assault upon a large scale as soon as the weather permitted. With the coming of the spring of 1917, however, it was found that the Germans had retreated a considerable distance to a new line, which became known as the Hindenburg line in compliment to the general who had been brought from the eastern front to command the German army in the west.

The withdrawal of the Germans was an adroit military movement. Not only had the Hindenburg line been fortified until it was the strongest on any front, but, since it was much shorter than the line given up, fewer men were required to defend it. Besides, the British would have to spend some months in moving up to the Hindenburg line the immense stores of munitions that they had collected on the old battle front, and in the meantime their intended assault would be delayed.

The Germans had conducted their retreat most skilfully but still with harsh methods of war. By destroying practically every thing in the area over which they withdrew, they had made it a barren waste.

Collapse of Russia.—A severe blow befell the Allies on the eastern front in 1917. The socialists (see pages 470, 489) had gained control of Russia. It will be remembered that socialists generally do not approve of war except when waged in the interest of socialism. The moderate members of the party, who were at first in control, thought that Russia should continue in the war, for they realized that



the success of Germany would not only ruin Russia but would crush socialism. Kerensky, one of the ablest of the socialists, who was at the head of the government, used all the force of his eloquence to keep up in Russia the fighting spirit. But the influence of the extreme socialists, who clamored for immediate peace, spread rapidly in the army. Soldiers by the thousands left the battle front. Soon not much was left of the Russian army.

Effect on Other Fronts. — The collapse of Russia was quickly felt. A great number of German and Austrian troops left the Russian front to reënforce their armies fighting on the Italian and the French and Belgian fronts. Overwhelmed by the great odds against them, the Italians, who had advanced closed to Trieste, were driven back across the mountains to the Piave River in Italy. Venice was threatened, but the Italians making a stand on the Piave, saved the beautiful city.

Cambrai. — Although they were now confronted by an army much larger than their own, the British under General Haig attempted, while the campaign in Italy was in progress, to smash by a surprise attack the Hindenburg line opposite the town of Cambrai. The British, taking the Germans unawares, pierced the line; but the Germans, recovering from their surprise, threw into the breach such heavy reënforcements that the British were compelled to give up some of the ground that they had gained. In the battle of Cambrai each side lost hundreds of thousands of men.

End of the Year 1917. — With Russia out of the war and with the Central Powers superior in strength on every front, the year 1917 ended with the Allies waiting for the American army to reach France in force.

Anarchy in Russia. — Conditions in Russia went from bad to worse. Kerensky was overthrown, and the Bolsheviki, the radical wing of the socialists, got into power. The Bolsheviki are more anarchists than socialists. The socialistic theory is that the government should acquire gradually and by purchase the ownership of all industries and conduct them for the benefit of all the people. The Bolsheviki, impatient of this slow and orderly method, seized immediately, without compensation to the owners, railroads, banks, factories, mines, and other industries and placed them in charge of ignorant and often dishonest persons to conduct, they alleged, for the public good. Great confusion followed. Banks suspended, stores closed, and factories and mines shut down; the railroads, breaking down, could

not transport food from regions where it was grown to regions where it was needed. In many places famine threatened.

The Bolsheviki never represented more than a small proportion of the Russian people. They gained and held power by terrorism. Many who opposed them met with violent death. No autocratic government was ever more tyrannical; yet, however low Russia had sunk in misery, the blame must be attached to the rule of the czars. The oppression of the masses for centuries had not only made all of them discontented, but had also made some of them radicals of the most extreme type. The people at large, suddenly given their liberty, were unprepared to set up immediately stable self-government, and violent men got control.

Russia Surrenders. — German spies and agents had much to do with undermining Russia's power of resistance by spreading Bolshevik doctrines among the Russian people. Leaders of the Bolsheviki, who were secretly in the pay of the Germans, declared the war with Germany at an end, and proceeded to disband what was left of the army. Germany, however, had no intention of accepting the Bolshevik idea that war with Russia was over until she had gained even greater advantage from the sad plight of that country. German armies penetrated farther and farther into Russian territory. Then, early in 1918, the Bolshevik government agreed to a treaty with Germany whereby Russia gave up an immense stretch of territory extending from Finland, through Poland and Ukraina, to the Black Sea. In the territory passed over to German control were all the best seaports of Russia, all her industrial cities, most of her mineral lands, and much of her grain fields.

Roumania, deserted by Russia, was beyond the reach of aid from her other allies. She was forced to make a treaty of peace, giving the Central Powers her wheat fields and oil regions. The surrender of Russia and Roumania released many more troops for the Central Powers to use on other fronts.

The Great German Drive (1918). — Though Germany's "Mittel Europa" had apparently, through the surrender of Russia and Roumania, grown to an amazing extent, the German war lords knew that to hold what they had gained they must win a victorious peace, and to win such a peace they must destroy the allied resistance on the western front before the American army was ready to take an effective part in the war. They realized the fact, which they concealed from the people, that submarine warfare had failed to prevent American soldiers and American war material from arriving in France.

General Ludendorff was selected to command the Germans in the forthcoming campaign. The men brought from Russia and Roumania and all that could be spared elsewhere reënforced the army on the western front for the purpose of throwing against the allied line a great mass of troops that would crush it by sheer weight of numbers. The first blow fell, on March 21, 1918, upon the British, who were unable to withstand such a terrible onslaught and were driven out of their trenches. The falling back of the British compelled all the Allies to leave their trenches and retreat, for otherwise the Germans might have driven a wedge so deep that the allied armies would have been separated. With the trenches left behind, the fighting was now in the open. Valiantly struggling against tremendous odds, the Allies retreated thirty-five miles farther into France.

The Germans had used in the drive their best troops who were so exhausted by their effort that they had to rest. A month later the Germans again attacked the British in an attempt to reach the ports on the English Channel where they might stop the shipment of men and munitions to France. The British were forced so near to the Channel that General Haig told them that they must fight as if their backs were to the wall, for all would be lost if they retreated farther. The sorely pressed Britons responded by making such a brave stand that the Germans failed to reach the ports.

Foch in Supreme Command of the Allies. — Since the beginning of the war the forces of the allied nations had been fighting as separate armies, each with its own commander; and as a consequence their movements often did not fit well together. The Central Powers had from the first followed the wiser plan of having one commander who directed the movements of all their armies. The retreat of the Allies before the great German drive made it plainer than ever that they should be under a supreme commander, or generalissimo. All the allied nations agreed upon the French general, Ferdinand Foch, for this important position.



FERDINAND FOCH

The French Driven Back.

—When Haig and his British troops stopped the drive toward the Channel ports, the Germans again rested for a month; then, they struck in mass the French army with the hope of reaching Paris. The French in their turn were compelled to give way before the blow. Fighting step by step they were driven to the river Marne, a few miles from Paris. The Germans were now where they had been when checked in their attempt early in the war to capture the French capital. Their biggest guns threw shells into the city.

The drive had lasted three months and, owing to their method of mass attack, the Germans had lost about five hundred thousand men. Although the loss to the Allies in men was not so great, yet it was enormous, and the situation had become perilous for them. The Germans pushed on across the Marne and Paris seemed doomed; but at last the French, with the aid of a small force of American marines

and infantry who had been rushed to their assistance, were able to hold their ground.

Chateau-Thierry. — The Americans had been placed near the village of Chateau-Thierry, where their thin line was all that stood between the Germans and Paris. Courageously they held the enemy, June 5 and 6, 1918, inflicting upon them heavy losses. This was the first time that Americans had taken an important part in battle, and the way in which they repulsed the Germans showed that, though not veterans, they could be relied upon.

Americans Pouring into France. — When the United States entered the war the Allies asked for food as the first need; when the German drive began there came a greater need for quick reënforcements, which the allied countries after four years of exhausting fighting could not furnish. At the request of the Allies the United States hurried troops over. The situation became a race between Germany trying to win a decisive victory before enough Americans arrived in France to prevent it and the United States trying to get men there in time.

The Second Marne; Turn of the Tide. — When the Germans reached the Marne nearly two million American soldiers had already landed in France and others were pouring in at the rate of two hundred thousand a month. Those of the longest training — some four hundred thousand — were on the battle line, distributed among British and French troops. Foch believed that the time had come for a counter attack. On July 18 the French and Americans struck the Germans on the flank and promptly drove them back six or eight miles. Following up the attack the French and Americans made farther advance each day. Though the Germans contested obstinately for every foot of ground they gave up, by the end of July they had been driven away from the Marne. Once more Paris had been saved by a battle fought on this historic stream.

The three months of the German drive had been months of suspense. The world had watched with gravest anxiety

the headlong rush of the German hordes, yet hoped that each day would bring it to a stop. When the contest on the Marne resulted in the retreat of the Germans the world breathed freer. America was thrilled by the conduct of her soldiers. In the second Marne a greater number of Americans were engaged than in any previous battle.

Foch Continues the Offensive. — Having saved Paris, Foch kept on with his offensive with the view to hurling the enemy back into Germany. Ludendorff's use of his best troops in his massed attacks had caused a great slaughter of these veterans, and the force of the sledge-hammer blows had spent the strength of those remaining. Foch adopted the plan of striking at different points simultaneously or in quick succession. In this way the enemy could find no time to rest; nor could one part of their line give assistance to another. Whether the attacks occurred at adjacent or widely separated points, all were parts of one great battle extending along the whole front of six hundred miles.

The Advance on the Center. — The British and the French, the latter assisted by the Americans, continued to assault the Germans on the center of the line. All through August the fighting went on fiercely. By the first week in September the French and Americans had driven the enemy to the line which the French had occupied before the Germans began their drive in the spring.

Back to the Hindenburg Line. — Meanwhile the British had attacked farther north. Before the end of August they had pressed back the Germans to the old Hindenburg line and had even pierced the famous line slightly in two or three places.

St. Mihiel. — A sufficient number of American troops had by this time been trained well enough for them to be used in battle as an organization distinct from the other allied armies. They were formed by General Pershing into the first American army and were placed by General Foch near the southern end of the allied front. In this region the German line was thrust forward in a sharp projection known

as the St. Mihiel salient. As long as the enemy held this salient it was a source of danger to allied forces advancing on other sectors. In a battle of four days (September 12-15) the Americans succeeded in wiping out the salient by forcing the Germans back eight miles on a front of thirty miles.

The battle of St. Mihiel — the first that Americans had fought as a separate army — was not large when compared with other battles of the great war; yet in this battle more men were engaged on each side than were engaged on both sides in any battle that an American army had ever fought before. The Germans were beginning to realize their mistake of having held in contempt the fighting qualities of the Americans.

Smashing the Hindenburg Line. — The success of the British in reaching the Hindenburg line and of the Americans in abolishing the St. Mihiel salient enabled Foch to press the advance with greater vigor. Ludendorff had hoped to make a stand behind the Hindenburg line, but after a few days of furious battle the British pounded the line to pieces. Driving the Germans before them they captured Cambrai on October 9. American troops, fighting with the British, were the first to break through the Hindenburg line.

Argonne Forest. — After the battle of St. Mihiel the American army advanced on the right of the French. On September 26 the Americans engaged the enemy. Pushing forward they reached the Argonne Forest, where the Germans had placed some of their best troops to protect their railroad communications. Considering the obstacles to be overcome the battle in the Argonne Forest was one of the most difficult operations of the war. The Americans suffered severe losses as they fought their way through thick woods and undergrowth entangled with barbed wire and infested with machine guns. By the first week in October they had passed beyond the forest. By the middle of the month they had broken the old, fortified line of the Germans and, in conjunction with the French army were moving on toward the frontier of France.

The Germans in Full Retreat. — While British, French, and Americans were driving the Germans out of France, British and Belgians attacked them in Flanders, compelling them to give up considerable territory in Belgium. Before the middle of October the whole German army on the western front was in full retreat. Although the Germans had fought stubbornly all the way back from the Marne and were not yet overwhelmed, their *morale* was gone. They had put all their strength and hope in their great drive; and when it failed they had shot their last bolt.

On Other Fronts. — The Austrians in Italy had, in June, crossed the Piave River in an offensive against the Italians, which was intended to be a part of the German drive; but they had been disastrously routed and hurled in confusion across the river. The Italians, in a counter offensive, were advancing toward the Austrian border and the demoralized Austrian army was unable to stop them. An allied army moving northward through Serbia was threatening Bulgaria. British armies in Asia, which in 1917 had captured Bagdad and Jerusalem, were penetrating the heart of the Turkish empire in the direction of Constantinople. Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey, with their resources for war exhausted and their people facing starvation, were eager for peace. Bulgaria was the first to give up, surrendering on September 30, 1918.

Germany Asks for Peace. — The German war lords saw their scheme of world domination crumbling. They knew that their other allies would soon follow the example of Bulgaria and desert them as rats desert a sinking ship; and that then there would be invasions of Germany not only from the west by the allied armies in France and Belgium, but from the south by the allied armies in Italy, the Balkan country, and Asia. They knew that all the reserve man power of Germany had already been used in the army, that materials for war were running short, and that the food supplies expected from Russia and Roumania had failed on account of the disordered condition of these countries.

They saw about them the German people, pinched by hunger and mourning for their millions of dead, fearful of even worse to come with the final defeat of their armies. They heard murmurings of discontent and even threats of revolution.

Early in October the German Chancellor sent to President Wilson a note asking him to take up with the allied governments the question of an armistice — that is, a cessation of hostilities — with the view to making a treaty of peace. President Wilson had already declared the terms upon which the United States would make peace; and in his note to the President the Chancellor announced that Germany would accept them.

President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." — The terms upon which President Wilson had declared that the United States would agree to peace were fourteen in number, and they came to be commonly spoken of as his "fourteen points." Among them were: No more secret treaties or understandings between nations; free navigation of the seas alike in peace and war; reduction of armaments; disposition of the captured German colonies to be made with consideration for their populations; restoration of Belgium and evacuation of all foreign territory occupied by Germany and her associates; righting of the wrong done to France in the seizure by Prussia, in 1871, of Alsace and Lorraine, and the return to Italy of all territory properly Italian; protection of the rights of small nations and subject nations; formation of a league of nations for the purpose of making secure the independence of great and small nations alike. President Wilson's purpose was to compel fair dealing among nations in the future and thus prevent another such catastrophe as the World War.

The Armistice. — President Wilson referred Germany's request for an armistice to the allied governments who agreed, with a few modifications, to the fourteen points and turned over to the military authorities the matter of arranging the details of the armistice. The conditions as decided upon

for the armistice required that Germany should evacuate all occupied territory and give up Alsace and Lorraine; disarm a large part of her army and turn the arms over to the Allies; surrender all her submarines and part of her high seas fleet. To enforce these conditions the allied armies were to occupy certain strategic portions of German territory.

The conditions of the armistice were such as to make it impossible for Germany to renew the war if she should wish to reject the final terms of peace. Germany accepted the conditions, and hostilities, by land, in the air, and on the sea, ceased on the day set for the armistice to begin, November 11, 1918.

Turkey had already surrendered on October 31 and Austria on November 4.

Last Phases of the War. — During the month that negotiations for the armistice were in progress the allied advance had not slackened. The Germans had been driven practically out of France and much of Belgium had been taken from them. Only four days before the armistice went into effect the Americans had retaken the famous French city of Sedan, a few miles within the border, which is the key to one of the only two railway systems remaining to the Germans in their retreat. When hostilities ceased the Allies stood ready to cross into Germany and march on to Berlin.

Cost of the War in Lives and Money. — It is estimated that in the World War seven million men were killed in battle or died in service. Nearly nineteen million were wounded, many of them being disabled for life. Russia suffered the largest loss, and Germany next, though in proportion to population France lost more than either. The United States, on account of the short time that it participated in the war, suffered the smallest loss of the leading belligerents; yet the number of Americans who were killed or who died in the service was about seventy thousand, and the number of wounded about two hundred thousand.

To the appalling death toll must be added the countless

number of civilians who were killed or who died from ill treatment or disease in the areas overrun by Germany and her associates.

The combined cost to all the governments for carrying on the war was about two hundred billion dollars. The cost to Great Britain and Germany was about thirty-five billions each, and to the United States more than twenty billions. In addition each of these countries loaned money to other belligerents. The United States loaned to the Allies about eight billion dollars.

The loss to property in the war areas, where Germany and her associates ruthlessly destroyed cities and villages, factories, mines and other industries, amounted to very many billions of dollars. The inhabitants of these regions were left in such destitute condition that, after hostilities ceased, the Congress of the United States appropriated one hundred million dollars to feed them.

The Peace Conference at Paris (1919). — The world came from out of the war as from a long nightmare. The carnage of battle where millions of men fought and died, the ruined cities and wasted fields where famine and pestilence prevailed, the four years of agony such as had never been known before could not be forgotten; but now that the war had ended with the overthrow of autocracy the world turned with hope to the future. Hereafter democracy must stand united for the rights of man.

The thing first to be done was to fix upon terms of peace. For this purpose delegates from the victorious nations met, in January, 1919, in a conference at Paris. President Wilson headed the delegation from the United States. This was the first time that a President had left the bounds of the country for more than a day or so. Since only a just peace would be lasting and since both the Allies and the Central Powers had accepted as the basis for such a peace the principles outlined by him, President Wilson deemed it his duty to attend the conference that these principles might be clearly set forth. The United States, wishing no territorial

or other gains from the war, was in the best position to urge terms of peace that would do justice to all nations, great and small alike.

Topics and Questions

1. Tell of the military movements in 1917. Describe the condition of Russia in 1917. Describe the Bolsheviki. Relate the details of Russia's surrender in 1918. In what situation did the allied armies find themselves at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918?

2. Give an account of the great German drive of 1918. Why did the Allies need a supreme commander? Who was selected? Why do you think Foch was selected for this important position?

3. Why is Chateau-Thierry a name that fills Americans with pride? When, where and how did the tide turn in favor of the Allies? How did the British, French and Americans follow up the victory at the second battle of the Marne?

4. Tell of the British at the Hindenburg line and of the Americans at St. Mihiel. What effect did these successes have upon the contest as a whole?

5. Who smashed the Hindenburg line? Who won the battle of Argonne Forest? What was the condition of the German army at the middle of October, 1918? Describe the events on other fronts.

6. Tell in detail why Germany asked for peace. To whom Germany make its appeal? Explain President Wilson's "fourteen points." What is meant by an armistice? When did the armistice with Germany go into effect? What had happened in the meantime to Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria? Describe the last phases of the war.

7. What can you tell about the cost in lives of the World War? In money? Give the viewpoint of the world at the end of the war. Why did President Wilson attend the Peace Conference at Paris?

Project Exercises

Which do you think was the better general, Foch or Ludendorff? Give your reasons.

Important Dates:

1917. The Bolsheviki seize the government of Russia.

1918. The great German drive; battles of Chateau-Thierry, Second Marne, St. Mihiel and Argonne Forest.

1918. November 11. The Armistice, ending hostilities in the World War.

1919. Meeting of the Peace Conference at Paris.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE OPENING OF A NEW ERA

A Changed World. — The upheaval caused by the World War brought about such profound changes — changes affecting the remotest parts of the globe — that the war may be said to mark the end of an era of the world's history and the beginning of another.

Europe in Confusion. — All the world was left in an unsettled condition. In Europe, where most of the fighting occurred, confusion was greatest. Every belligerent nation was heavily in debt, the inhabitants of the devastated areas were still destitute, and even in parts of central and eastern Europe that hostile armies had not touched, people were starving because in those regions commerce and manufacturing had practically ceased and agriculture was at a low ebb.

The Rise of New Governments. — In central and eastern Europe new governments had taken the place of the old, and they were as yet very unstable. The German and Austrian emperors had abdicated and fled for safety, the former to Holland and the latter to Switzerland. Germany had become a republic, but some of the dissatisfied inhabitants were attempting to overthrow the new government by revolutions. The Austrian empire had collapsed. Austria proper had become a republic, and the other parts of the empire had separated largely on racial lines, some to form independent republics and others to join already established nations of their kindred. Russia continued to suffer from the excesses of the Bolsheviki, and in the southern and western parts of that immense country several republics had sprung up.

Of the new European republics, besides Germany and

Austria, the most important are Poland, formed from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Poland which had been seized by Germany, Austria, and Russia; Finland formed from Russia; Czecho-Slavia and Hungary, formed from the Austrian empire. The southern section of the Austrian empire, including Bosnia and Herzegovina (see pages 433 and 477), joined Serbia and Montenegro in forming a greater Serbia under the name of Jugo (South) Slavia.

Conditions in America.¹ — In the United States there was much unrest. Prices, which had gone up excessively during the war, had not come down after the signing of the armistice, as it was expected they would; on the contrary, they continued to go upward, with the result that the high cost of living had become a most serious problem.

Among the many causes for high prices were “profiteering” — that is, the making of enormous profits by manufacturers and merchants; the high wages paid labor and the failure of labor to produce enough to keep the public supplied with what it needed; the inflation of the currency, making a dollar worth less than formerly; and the extravagance of the public in buying.

The constant demands of labor for increased wages to meet the increased cost of living added to the problem. If wages were raised, prices immediately went higher; if wages were not raised, the union frequently struck and then prices went higher.

When in November, 1919, the coal miners went on a strike the country was brought, as winter was approaching, face to face with the possibility of a nation-wide coal famine. The government tried, through the courts, to bring the strike to an end, but with little success. Finally, President

¹ The army of nearly four million men that America had so quickly raised for the war was even more quickly disbanded. Soon after the armistice was signed our troops began coming back from Europe, and within a year practically every soldier, except those serving in the regular army, had been mustered out and had returned to the usual walks of life.

Wilson persuaded the miners to return to work upon his promise to appoint a commission to decide upon a just compensation for them.

Agitation by Radicals. — Some of the extreme Socialists, mostly persons of foreign birth, were increasing the unrest. They openly advocated the overthrowing of the United States government by force, the taking over of all industries by labor, and the establishing in this country of a government similar to that of the Bolsheviki in Russia. Labor, in the main, denounced these radical utterances. The government arrested many of the radicals and deported to Russia some of the leaders, who were unnaturalized foreigners.

A New Viewpoint. — Though industrial relations in the United States seemed awry, yet there had come out of the war a clearer understanding of the relations between capital and labor and the public that promises in time to make these relations better than they have ever been.

The government, in controlling the railroads and other industries during the war, had found it necessary to set aside many of the restrictions that laws had hitherto hedged around business. No better evidence was needed to prove that many of these restrictions had handicapped business while they had not benefited the public. The result is that a more liberal attitude is now assumed by the people toward capital and "big business."

At the same time there has come a deeper realization of what is owed to labor. It is now universally conceded that the laboring man should have proper working conditions and a wage sufficient for him and his family to live in comfort.

On the other hand, a third party — the general public — which vastly outnumbers capital and labor combined, is to be considered. Capital should not inflict injury upon the public by shutting down its factories, shops, or mines for the purpose of increasing prices or lowering wages, nor should labor use its right to strike in order to secure increased wages when the strike will endanger the life of the people.

Prohibition: Woman Suffrage. — The war gave decided impetus to two reforms that had long been advocated in the United States. Prohibitionists, urging that the traffic in intoxicating liquors interfered with making the men of our army fit for fighting, persuaded Congress to pass a law forbidding the sale of such liquors from July 1, 1919, until the end of the war and thereafter until the army had been demobilized. Before the date arrived for the wartime prohibition to go into effect, Congress passed an amendment to the Constitution permanently prohibiting the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors in the United States or its territorial possessions. A sufficient number of states ratified the amendment and it went into effect on January 16, 1920.

American women had done such splendid work in the war, not only in the battle area, where they nursed the wounded and sick, but also at home, where in office and in shop, in factory and on the farm they took the places of the men who had gone into the army, that many who had formerly looked with disfavor upon woman suffrage were converted to the belief that women are capable of the responsibility and entitled to the privilege of the ballot. Congress, listening to the advocates of woman suffrage passed, in 1919, an amendment to the Constitution granting women the right to vote everywhere in the United States on the same basis as men. Before the end of the summer of 1920 the woman suffrage amendment was ratified by the number of states sufficient to put it into effect.

Advancement of Aviation. — The varied uses made of the aëroplane in carrying on the war showed that aviation could be of great service in peaceful pursuits. In the spring of 1919 Lieutenant-Commander A. C. Read, of the United States Navy, and a crew of five men flew in a seaplane from Rockaway, New York, to Plymouth, England, making stops in the Azores and in Spain and Portugal. The time consumed in flying was a little less than two days and a half. This feat was soon afterward eclipsed by Captain John

Alcock and Lieutenant Arthur W. Brown, the former a British and the latter an American aviator. These officers flew in a biplane straight across the Atlantic Ocean, from Newfoundland to Ireland, in 16 hours and 12 minutes.

Already, though as yet to a limited extent, the United States government is using the aëroplane for carrying mail between cities of this country, and people are using it for short pleasure trips.

The Treaties of Peace. — Meanwhile the delegates from all the countries at war with Germany and her associates, who had gathered in conference at Paris, in January, 1919, for the purpose of fixing the terms of the treaties of peace, had been steadily at work. Theirs was a gigantic task, for they were called upon to bring a just and durable peace to a distracted world — to settle satisfactorily the conflicting claims of many nations without sacrificing the principles of democracy for which the war had been fought.

Most of the work of the conference was done by the delegations from the five great powers, the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. President Wilson took a most prominent part. Upon his insistence a plan for a League of Nations to promote the future peace of the world was made a part of the treaty despite the opposition of some of the statesmen of Europe, who preferred to rely upon the old system of a balance of power, though this system had bred wars instead of preventing them.

The treaty with Germany was completed first and was signed on June 28, 1919. Among other features, besides the League of Nations, this treaty provides for the payment by Germany for the wilful damages she had inflicted upon allied countries, rearranges her boundaries, fixes her military status so that she cannot soon make war again, and recognizes the independence of some of the new republics. The treaties made soon afterward with Austria and Bulgaria are similar to the one made with Germany.

The League of Nations. — The plan for the League of Nations calls for a loose confederation of all the nations of

the world (except Germany and her three associates in the war, together with Russia, Costa Rica, San Domingo, and Mexico, though provision is made for the admission of these countries into the League in the future). Under the plan the nations agree upon mutual concessions for the purpose of making war less probable, such as leaving to the league the arbitration of questions in dispute between nations and the supervision of the armaments of nations.

When in the summer of 1919, President Wilson submitted the treaty with Germany to the United States Senate for ratification, it met with opposition in that body — mainly on account of the League of Nations. Though the Senate did not divide strictly on party lines, most of the Republican Senators thought it advisable to add certain reservations to the plan of the League to preserve the sovereignty of the United States, while a majority of the Democratic Senators, thinking the reservations unnecessary, favored accepting the plan as submitted. A small number of Senators, mostly Republicans and known as “irreconcilables,” were opposed to a League of Nations in any form. President Wilson, of course, wished the acceptance of the plan as it stood.

After months of debate the Senate became deadlocked over the treaty, for the two thirds vote necessary for ratification could not be obtained for the League of Nations with or without reservations. Because of its failure to reach an agreement regarding reservations to the League, the Senate finally rejected the treaty with Germany and returned it to President Wilson (March 19, 1920).

The People Pass Upon the League of Nations. — In the meantime all the countries that had been at war with Germany had accepted the peace treaty and, together with the neutral countries invited to do so, had joined the League of Nations. Thus the United States, alone of the nations eligible to membership in the League, stood aloof. Moreover, by the refusal of the Senate to ratify the treaties made at Paris, the United States continued, though hostilities had ceased, technically at war with Germany and Austria.

The question of whether or not the United States should join the League of Nations had aroused so much interest among the people that it became an issue in the campaign of 1920 for the election of a President. The Democratic platform advocated that the United States become a member of the League of Nations; the Republican plat-



WARREN G. HARDING

form declared that, while the United States should form with other nations a league, or association, for preserving the peace of the world, it should not join the League as planned in the peace treaty. James M. Cox, of Ohio, was nominated for President by the Democrats, and Warren G. Harding, of Ohio, by the Republicans.

In the election of 1920 all women were, for the first time in our history, permitted to vote, and for this reason the number of votes cast was very much larger than in any preceding election. Harding was elected by an overwhelming majority. Though other issues entered into the campaign, yet, since the League of Nations was the chief issue, the great majority given Harding left no doubt that, while the people might be willing for the United States to join a league to maintain peace, they did not approve of the League of Nations in the form in which it appeared in the peace treaty.

Congress Declares War at an End. — As stated (see page 529), the refusal of the Senate, through its opposition to the League of Nations, to ratify the treaties of peace left the United States technically at war with Germany and Austria. To remedy this unnatural situation Congress, soon after the inauguration of President Harding and nearly three

years after hostilities had ceased, passed a resolution declaring war between Germany and the United States and war between Austria and the United States at an end.

The Armament Conference. — While the World War was in progress it was hoped that the suffering it brought in its train would cause the people of Europe to do everything they could, at least for a long time, to prevent future wars. Soon after the World War ended, however, and despite the misery that had fallen upon the people of Europe, many of the European nations began, either from fear or suspicion of one another, to raise large armies and build great navies. Even the United States had started upon a program for building a great navy.

A great navy is not only, on account of its cost, a burden to the people, but by giving a nation a sense of strength, it may be a fruitful cause of war. President Harding believed that, although the United States had refused to join the League of Nations, this country should lead in bringing about a curtailment of the building of navies. He, therefore, asked other nations to send delegates to meet in conference with delegates of the United States at Washington on the third anniversary of the Armistice, November 11, 1921.

The "Four Power" Treaty. — The invitation was cordially accepted, and the conference remained in session three months. The first treaty agreed upon was one between the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan. Each of these countries has possessions in the Pacific Ocean. Trade with the Far East had developed a keen rivalry between nations that might lead to war, and in this event a nation's far-distant possessions in the Pacific, unless guarded by a strong navy, might be seized by an enemy nation. By the "four power" treaty the four countries named agreed to respect one another's rights to their possessions in the Pacific and to confer together as to the best way to meet an attack upon such possessions, should one be made by a nation not a party to the treaty. The "four power" treaty also put an end to an alliance

between Great Britain and Japan, which had been in existence for some years and which gave these two nations jointly a great advantage in naval power in the Pacific. It was necessary that the treaty safeguarding the Pacific possessions of the four great powers be made before these powers could be expected to agree to limit their navies.

The Limitation of Armaments Treaty. — With the way thus opened, delegates from the five powers having large navies, — the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy, — entered upon a treaty in which each of the powers agreed that the size of its navy should not exceed the limit put upon it by the treaty. The limit in the case of each country was put at a point considered necessary for self-defense. The treaty is to remain in force until 1936. The limitation that the great powers willingly put upon the size of their navies is undoubtedly a long step in the direction of securing peace for the world, and it gives strength to the hope that in the near future plans will be agreed upon for the reduction of large armies; for large armies are also a fruitful cause of war.

The "Open Door" in China. — The rich trade with China had also been for a long time a source of ill feeling between nations. Because China is weak and cannot protect herself, often other nations, in their eagerness for trade, have disregarded the rights of that country. Often, too, a nation has paid little heed to the rights of other nations in trade with China. The five great powers who had signed the armament treaty joined with other nations having considerable trade with China in a treaty that guarantees the independence of China and forbids one nation securing from China concessions in trade that will give it unfair advantage over other nations. The policy of securing for all nations equal opportunities for trade is called the "open door," and the United States had long advocated this policy in respect to China. The several treaties that grew out of the Armament Conference are the outstanding accomplishment of President Harding's administration.

Death of Harding; Coolidge Becomes President. —

While returning from a visit to Alaska, where he had gone to study conditions in that distant territory, President Harding was taken ill. He died in San Francisco on August 2, 1923. The news of the death of President Harding shocked the country. Through his affection for the people he had won their affection. A few hours after Harding died, Calvin Coolidge, of Massachusetts, the Vice-President, took the oath of office as President of the United States.



CALVIN COOLIDGE

The Ruhr Question. —

For some time before his death President Harding had been trying to aid in settling the troubles in Europe that were threatening the peace and prosperity of the world.

A commission, known as the "reparations commission," representing different nations having claims against Germany and acting under the treaty of peace made at Paris, had declared that Germany had defaulted in the payment of reparations due other nations for illegal damages done during the World War (see page 528). Thereupon, France and Belgium, claiming the right to do so under the treaty, sent troops into the Ruhr, the industrial section of Germany, and seized the coal mines, factories, and railroads. France and Belgium hoped by taking charge of these industries to secure the reparations due them. The purpose failed, for the Germans, claiming that they had paid all reparations they could and resenting the invasion of their territory,

refused to work the industries while foreign officials were in charge. The feeling of the Germans towards the French and the Belgians was much embittered.

Meanwhile, the financial condition of Germany was going from bad to worse. Following the World War the German government issued so much paper currency that the money became almost worthless. Prices rose enormously, business was in confusion, and there was much unemployment and misery. The business of the rest of the world also suffered because other countries could not sell their products in Germany on account of its unsettled condition.

America Takes a Hand. — Since the reparations commission was composed of statesmen and diplomats, who naturally looked at the question mainly from a political standpoint, President Harding believed that the surest way to put Germany on a sound basis and enable the reparations to be paid would be to refer the question to a committee of expert business men who would seek to solve it in a businesslike way. He therefore suggested, through his Secretary of State, that such a committee be formed. The leading nations having claims against Germany for reparations agreed to the suggestion and appointed as members of the committee men who were experts in business or finance. As the committee was to work under the provisions of the treaty of peace made at Paris, which the United States has refused to ratify, our government could not appoint official members of the committee. However, three Americans of well-known business ability attended its meetings as unofficial members.

The "Dawes Plan." — The committee began its sessions early in the year 1924. It met part of the time in Paris and part in Berlin, and in the spring of the same year reported a plan of settlement. The chairman of the committee was an American banker, General Charles G. Dawes, and for this reason the plan has been given his name.

The "Dawes plan" provided for giving Germany a sound currency by the withdrawal of all German paper money then

in circulation and the establishment of a bank which alone, and under strong safeguards, should issue money. It provided for the payment of reparations by the setting aside every year of certain revenues received by Germany. Another feature of the plan was that other countries should lend to Germany two hundred million dollars, a part of which was to be used in starting the bank and the other part to be used by the German government in paying the reparations immediately due.

The "Dawes Plan" Goes into Effect. — All nations having reparation claims against Germany promptly accepted the Dawes plan. Germany also agreed to it. The two hundred million dollar loan for Germany was easily raised in other countries, Americans lending half the amount.

As a part of the agreement, France and Belgium began, as soon as the plan went into effect, to withdraw their troops from the Ruhr. It is believed that the Dawes plan will bring prosperity and good-will to Europe and hence to the world. Once again has it been shown that the United States can not hold aloof from world affairs.

Coolidge Elected President. — In the election of 1924, President Coolidge, the Republican candidate, was elected President for the term beginning March 4, 1925. The Democratic candidate was John W. Davis of West Virginia. Some persons, regarding both the Republican and Democratic parties as too conservative, put up as their candidate, Robert M. LaFollette, of Wisconsin. The people seemed to think that the country was doing well enough under Coolidge, for they gave him an immense majority over his two opponents, both in the popular vote and in the electoral college.

The World Court. — As a means of preventing war the League of Nations had provided for a permanent Court of International Justice, commonly called the World Court, to which nations might refer disputes arising between them for settlement according to international law. The plan of the Court was drafted by eminent lawyers selected from different

parts of the world, among them Elihu Root, of New York. The Court was organized in 1922 and forty-seven nations had joined it by 1927. An American, John Bassett Moore, of Columbia University, is one of the judges of the Court.

Shortly before his death (1923), President Harding had recommended that the United States become a member of the World Court. President Coolidge made the same recommendation. The "irreconcilables" who had prevented the United States from joining the League of Nations (see page 529) opposed participation in the Court on the ground that it was a step which might lead to drawing the United States into the League. After much delay the Senate voted (1926) to join the Court with certain reservations. One of the reservations prohibited the World Court from giving judgment on any question in which the United States has an interest without obtaining first the consent of the United States. This reservation would have given the United States the right to veto a judgment of the Court affecting this country, whereas the other nations had bound themselves to submit to judgments affecting them when made by a two-thirds majority of the Court. The League of Nations refused (1927) to accept the reservation, and, consequently, the United States remains outside a court for promoting international justice.

Aviation and the Radio. — Most remarkable progress has been made in aviation since the World War (see page 527). In Europe airways have been established between many cities for carrying passengers by aëroplane. In 1920 the United States government established a transcontinental air-mail service from New York City to San Francisco, a distance of 2,669 miles, and since then air-mail service has been extended over other routes.

American and European aviators have engaged in generous rivalry in establishing flying records. In 1924 four American planes left Seattle on a flight around the world. Two of the planes succeeded in circling the globe and returning to Seattle. The actual time consumed in flying around

the world was a little more than fifteen days. In 1926 Commander Richard E. Byrd, of the American Navy, and Floyd Bennett, flew over the North Pole.

Within the space of forty days, in the spring and summer of 1927, American aviators added greatly to their laurels. Charles A. Lindbergh, of the United States air-mail service, made a successful flight alone from New York to Paris in approximately thirty-three hours. A few days later Clarence D. Chamberlin, and Charles A. Levine, who accompanied him as a passenger, left New York on a flight to Berlin. They landed in Germany within a few miles of Berlin. After another interval of a few days, Lieutenants Lester J. Maitland and Albert F. Hegenberger, of the American army, flew from San Francisco to Honolulu. While the flight over the Pacific was in progress, Commander Byrd and three companions hopped off from New York for Paris, for the purpose of gathering during the flight scientific information regarding the air that would be of value to aërial navigation. Despite fogs and storms encountered most of the way they succeeded in reaching France with much scientific information. Each of these oceanic flights consumed less than two days.

In another way, man is conquering the air. From the wireless telegraph and telephone (see pages 404 and 482) has come the radio. Through the means of an amplifier, sound of any kind is broadcasted over land and sea without the use of wires. A person at his home may now hear of the world's happenings at the time of their occurrence or he may listen to a concert, a speech, a sermon, or a lecture coming from a distant point. Ships are using the radio for communication at sea. Commander Byrd used in his flight to France a plane equipped with a radio through which he kept in touch with the rest of the world during nearly the whole voyage. His signals were heard 1600 miles away.

The Kellogg-Briand Treaty Renouncing War. — In 1927 the French Republic, through its Minister for Foreign Affairs, Aristide Briand, invited the United States to join

with France in a treaty renouncing war as a national policy. The American Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, replied favorably and suggested that all civilized nations be invited to become parties to the treaty. France accepted the suggestion, and in the summer of 1928 representatives from the most prominent nations, including Secretary Kellogg, met in Paris and agreed upon a treaty. Since then practically every civilized nation of the world has signed the treaty. It is hoped that the Kellogg-Briand treaty will do much toward putting a stop to war.

Hoover Elected President. — In the election of 1928 the Republicans nominated as their candidate for President,



HERBERT C. HOOVER

Herbert C. Hoover, of California, who was then Secretary of Commerce, and who had been, in the World War, Chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium and later United States Food Administrator. The Democrats nominated Alfred E. Smith, who had four times been elected Governor of New York and who, while filling that office, had shown a remarkable grasp of governmental affairs. While the platforms of the respec-

tive political parties defined the issues upon which the leaders sought to wage the campaign, the people themselves raised many issues that affected so much the voting that it is impossible to say which issue, if any, was the controlling factor in deciding the election which resulted in the choice of Hoover by a large majority in both the electoral and the popular vote.

Topics and Questions

1. Explain why the World War marks the ending of an era and the beginning of another. 2. Describe the confusion in Europe following the World War.

3. Give the chief reasons for the unrest in the United States. 4. Mention some of the causes for high prices. 5. Show how radical agitators were adding to the unrest. 6. Describe the better understanding of industrial relations that has come as a result of the war. 7. How did the war help movements for reform in the United States? 8. What progress has been made in aviation?

9. Tell the story of the treaties of peace. 10. Explain the League of Nations. 11. What was the verdict of the people, in the election of 1920, upon the League of Nations?

12. How was the war between Germany and the United States and the war between Austria and the United States formally brought to an end? 13. What was the Armament Conference? The "four power" treaty? The "Limitation of Armaments" treaty? 14. Explain what is meant by the "open door," and tell how the policy came to be applied to China. 15. Who succeeded Harding in the Presidency? 16. What is meant by the "Dawes Plan?" 17. Who was elected President in 1924?

18. Explain what is meant by the World Court and tell why the United States is not a member of it. 19. Tell about the radio. 20. Explain the Kellogg-Briand treaty. 21. Tell about the Presidential election of 1928.

No.	President.	State.	Born.	Died.	Term of Office.	By whom elected.	Vice-President.
1	George Washington .	Virginia . . .	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789-1797	Whole people	John Adams.
2	John Adams	Massachusetts .	1735	1826	One term; 1797-1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson.
3	Thomas Jefferson . .	Virginia . . .	1743	1823	Two terms; 1801-1809	Democrats	Aaron Burr.
4	James Madison . . .	Virginia . . .	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809-1817	Democratic-Republicans	George Clinton.
5	James Monroe	Virginia . . .	1758	1821	Two terms; 1817-1825	Democratic-Republicans	George Clinton.
6	John Quincy Adams .	Massachusetts .	1767	1848	One term; 1825-1829	House of Rep.	Elbridge Gerry.
7	Andrew Jackson . . .	Tennessee . . .	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829-1837	Democrats	Daniel D. Tompkins.
8	Martin Van Buren . . .	New York . . .	1782	1862	One term; 1837-1841	Democrats	John C. Calhoun.
9	William H. Harrison .	Ohio	1773	1841	One month; 1841	Whigs	John C. Calhoun.
10	John Tyler	Virginia . . .	1790	1862	3 years and 11 months; 1841-1845 .	Whigs	Martin Van Buren.
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee . . .	1795	1849	One term; 1845-1849	Democrats	Richard M. Johnson.
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana . . .	1784	1850	1 year and 4 months; 1849, 1850 .	Whigs	John Tyler.
13	Millard Fillmore . . .	New York . . .	1800	1874	2 years and 8 months; 1850-1853 .	Whigs	George M. Dallas.
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire .	1804	1869	One term; 1853-1857	Democrats	Millard Fillmore.
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania . .	1791	1868	One term; 1857-1861	Democrats	William R. King.
16	Abraham Lincoln . . .	Illinois	1809	1865	One term and 6 weeks; 1861-1865 .	Republicans	J. C. Breckinridge.
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee . . .	1808	1875	3 years and 10½ months; 1865-1869	Republicans	Hannibal Hamlin.
18	Ulysses S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869-1877	Republicans	Andrew Johnson.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes . .	Ohio	1822	1893	One term; 1877-1881	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax.
20	James A. Garfield . . .	Ohio	1831	1881	Six months and 15 days	Republicans	Henry Wilson.
21	Chester A. Arthur . . .	New York . . .	1830	1886	3 years, 5 mos., 15 days; 1881-1885	Republicans	William A. Wheeler.
22	Grover Cleveland	New York . . .	1837	1908	One term; 1885-1889	Democrats	Chester A. Arthur.
23	Benjamin Harrison . . .	Indiana	1833	1901	One term; 1889-1893	Republicans	Thomas A. Hendricks.
24	Grover Cleveland	New York . . .	1837	1908	One term; 1893-1897	Democrats	Levi P. Morton.
24	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	1901	One term and 6 months; 1897-1901	Republicans	Adlai E. Stevenson. ¹
25	Theodore Roosevelt . . .	New York . . .	1858	. . .	3 yr. 6 mo., one term; 1901-1909	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart. ¹
26	William H. Taft	Ohio	1857	. . .	One term; 1909-1913	Republicans	Theodore Roosevelt.
27	Woodrow Wilson	New Jersey . . .	1856	. . .	Two terms; 1913-1921	Democrats	Charles W. Fairbanks.
28	Warren G. Harding	Ohio	1865	1923	2 yr. 4 mo., 27 days; 1921-1923 .	Republicans	James S. Sherman.
29	Calvin Coolidge	Mass.	1872	Republicans	Thomas R. Marshall.

¹ Died in office.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress Assembled

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 a 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 measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration 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 constitutions 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.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

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He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned 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 insurrection among 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 our 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 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 the 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 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,

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE 1

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

SECT. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. 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. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECT. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two

Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall 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. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECT. IV. 1. 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. 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.

SECT. V. 1. Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy;

and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SECT. VI. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases except treason, felony and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been 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.

SECT. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECT. VIII. The Congress shall have power

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States;

but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;
4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;
5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;
6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;
7. To establish post offices and post roads;
8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;
9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;
10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offences against the law of nations;
11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;
12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;
13. To provide and maintain a navy;
14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;
16. To provide for organizing, arming and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline 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 government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State, in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and
18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or office thereof.

SECT. IX. 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 1808; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 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.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECT. X. 1. 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. 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. 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

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of 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 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. 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. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5. In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:— “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECT. II. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECT. III. 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.

SECT. IV. The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and on conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION I. 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as 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.

SECT. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made or which shall be made, under their authority; — to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty 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; — between citizens of different States; — between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECT. III. 1. 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. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. 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.

SECT. II. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or 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.

SECT. III. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECT. IV. 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

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 amendments 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.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

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.

[Signed by]

G^o WASHINGTON
Presidt and Deputy from Virginia

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO AND AMENDMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES, PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION¹

ARTICLE I. Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Con-

¹ The first ten Amendments were adopted in 1791.

stitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. 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. [Adopted in 1798.]

ARTICLE XII. 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 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. [Adopted in 1804.]

ARTICLE XIII. Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation. [Adopted in 1865.]

ARTICLE XIV. Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United

States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, 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. [Adopted in 1867.]

ARTICLE XV. Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or 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. [Adopted in 1870.]

ARTICLE XVI. 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. [Adopted in 1913.]

ARTICLE XVII. Section 1. The Senate of the United States shall be com-

posed 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.

Section 2. 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.

Section 3. 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. [Adopted in 1913.]

ARTICLE XVIII. 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 by the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress. [Adopted in 1919.]

ARTICLE XIX. 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. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

BIOGRAPHIES OF EMINENT AMERICANS

Adams, John, second President of the United States, born in Braintree, Massachusetts, October 30, 1735; died in Quincy, in the same state, July 4, 1826. He was graduated from Harvard. Adams was one of the ablest leaders of the Revolutionary movement and was a signer of the Declaration of Independence and the treaties of peace with Great Britain. He was minister to Great Britain during the Confederation, and was the first Vice President. He was President from 1797 to 1801.

Adams, John Quincy, sixth President of the United States, son of John Adams the second President, was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, July 11, 1767; died in Washington, District of Columbia, February 23, 1848. He was graduated from Harvard. He was President from 1825 to 1829. No President enjoyed a wider diplomatic experience; he had filled with distinction the positions of Minister to the Netherlands, Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain, and had served as one of the commissioners for the treaty ending the War of 1812. He had also been United States Senator and Secretary of State under Monroe. Nor did his public service end with his Presidential term, for shortly afterward he was elected to the House of Representatives, and he continued a member of that body until his death. Adams was one of the most accomplished scholars that have graced American public life.

Adams, Samuel, patriot, born in Boston in 1722; died there in 1803. He was graduated from Harvard. He was one of the earliest champions of the people's rights. Ever on the alert, he was untiring in his resistance to Great Britain's attacks upon the liberties of the colonies, and by his writings and speeches quickened the spirit of opposition. So great were his efforts in the movement for independence that he is often called the "Father of the Revolution." In 1794 he became governor of Massachusetts.

Arthur, Chester Alan, twenty-first President of the United States, born in Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830; died in New York, November 18, 1886. He was graduated from Union College. After teaching for a short time he began the practice of law in New York city. In 1862 he became inspector-general and quartermaster-general of New York state troops. In 1871 he was appointed collector of the port of New York, which position he held until 1878. Elected Vice President in 1880, he became President upon the assassination of President Garfield, in 1881, and served until 1885.

Bryant, William Cullen, poet, born in Cummington, Massachusetts, November 4, 1793; died in New York City, June 12, 1878. He was a very precocious child. When only a year and a half old he knew the alphabet; at four he was attending school and showing remarkable skill in reading and spelling; at eight he was making creditable verses. During his long life Bryant wrote much poetry of the highest quality, but nothing more sublime than *Thanatopsis*, which he composed when seventeen years old. This great poem on nature the youthful author put aside after writing. It was found by his father, some years later, in the pigeon-hole of a desk. Bryant lived for thirty years in New England, and then removed to New York City, where for the rest of his long life he edited newspapers.

Buchanan, James, fifteenth President of the United States, born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791; died in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, June 1, 1868. He was graduated from Dickinson College. He was a representative in Congress and United States Senator, serving in the two houses twenty-two years. He represented the United States as Minister to Russia, and to Great Britain, and during Polk's administration was Secretary of State. He was President from 1857 to 1861. Buchanan was a man of ability, and was thoroughly informed as to public affairs. So much of his life was spent in holding high positions that he was called "Old Public Functionary."

Calhoun, John Caldwell, statesman, born in Abbeville District, South Carolina, March 18, 1782; died in Washington, March 31, 1850. He was graduated from Yale. He was a member of Congress and Senator from South Carolina, serving in the Senate, in all, sixteen years; he was also Secretary of War under Monroe; Vice President and Secretary of State under Tyler. Calhoun was one of the ablest of Southern leaders. He was the champion of states' rights, defending the doctrine with all the force of his logical mind. Southerners felt for him an admiration that was almost worship. This admiration was not unworthily placed, for he combined a lofty intellect with an irreproachable character.

Clay, Henry, statesman, born in Hanover County, Virginia, April 12, 1777; died in Washington, June 29, 1852. He removed to Kentucky, representing the state in each house of Congress. He was repeatedly elected Speaker of the House, and served in the Senate thirteen years; was one of the commissioners for the treaty of peace closing the War of 1812, and was Secretary of State under J. Q. Adams. Coming from a border state, Clay occupied a neutral position in the angry dissensions between North and South, and his was often the part to pacify the conflicting elements with a compromise. This he did with consummate skill. No leader ever had a following more strongly attached to himself personally than Clay; his persuasive eloquence held men like a spell.

Clemens, Samuel Langhorne ("Mark Twain"), author, born in

Florida, Missouri, November 30, 1835; died in Redding, Connecticut, April 21, 1910. In his younger life his career was varied. He passed his boyhood in border towns and then, in succession, worked as a pilot on a Mississippi River steamboat, served as a private in the Confederate army, acted as reporter for newspapers on the Pacific coast, and spent six months in the Sandwich (now Hawaiian) Islands. At the age of thirty-two he began writing under the *nom de plume* of "Mark Twain." His *Tom Sawyer* and *Huckleberry Finn* grew out of his youth on the border; his *Life on the Mississippi* came from his experiences as a pilot on that river; and his *Roughing It* found its inspiration in his life on the Pacific coast. After making a trip around the world he wrote *The Innocents Abroad*, and later having visited Europe again, he wrote *A Tramp Abroad*. His *The Prince and the Pauper* is a story of medieval England. The writings of Mark Twain are full of wholesome wit and humor, and at the same time are literary productions of high order.

Cleveland, Grover, twenty-second and twenty-fourth President of the United States, born in Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837; died in Princeton, New Jersey, June 24, 1908. He studied law at Buffalo, New York, where he was admitted to the bar in 1859. He was sheriff of Erie County (in which Buffalo is situated) from 1871 to 1874. He was mayor of Buffalo in 1882, and in that year was elected governor of New York by the Democrats, receiving nearly two hundred thousand more votes than his Republican opponent. He served as President from 1885 to 1889; was defeated for reëlection, but four years later was again elected to the Presidency, serving the second term from 1893 to 1897. As President he impressed the country with the courageous manner in which he followed his convictions.

Cooper, James Fenimore, author, born in Burlington, New Jersey, September 15, 1789; died in Cooperstown, New York, September 14, 1851. He attended Yale College, but did not graduate. Cooper had been reared in a border settlement, where he came in contact with the Indian and the frontiersman; soon after leaving college, he became first a sailor on a merchant vessel and then a midshipman in the United States Navy. His life on the border and on the sea was an excellent preparation for his literary labors. Among the best of his novels are Indian stories and sea tales. His Indian stories, grouped together and known as the Leatherstocking tales, are *The Deerslayer*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *The Pathfinder*, *The Pioneers*, and *The Prairie*. The most popular of his sea stories are *The Pilot* and *The Red Rover*. *The Spy*, a tale of the Revolutionary War, is also classed with the best. Cooper was not only the first great novelist in America, but he was also one of the most prolific. He wrote in all thirty-two novels.

Davis, Jefferson, President of the Confederate States, born in that part of Christian County, Kentucky, which now forms Todd County, June 3, 1808; died in New Orleans, December 6, 1889. He was gradu-

ated from West Point, but after serving a few years on the frontier as a lieutenant, he resigned from the army and settled in Mississippi, where he became a cotton planter. He was elected to Congress from Mississippi, but resigned to serve in the Mexican War as colonel of a Mississippi regiment. He acted with great gallantry in every battle in which he was engaged, and at Buena Vista was severely wounded. He was United States Senator from Mississippi; served as Secretary of War under Pierce; and once more entered the Senate, where he remained until Mississippi seceded. On the death of Calhoun the mantle of leadership of the states' rights party in the South fell upon Davis, whose talents early made him conspicuous. He was unanimously chosen to serve as President of the Confederate States. His "military skill, administrative capacity, and unwearied activity," combined with his personal disinterestedness and patience under suffering, made him the fitting leader of a cause which rose and fell in the smoke of battle.

Edison, Thomas Alva, inventor, born in Milan, Ohio, February 11, 1847. While still very young he started work as a newsboy on a train. Because, at the risk of his life, he saved a little child from being run over by a locomotive, the father of the child, a telegraph operator, taught him telegraphy. He became one of the most expert telegraphers in the country. Edison had always been fond of chemistry, and having an inventive term of mind, he soon began making experiments in electricity. The first of his best known inventions is the incandescent electric light for use in houses, which he perfected in 1880. Among his other well known inventions are the phonograph for reproducing human speech, and the kinoscope for making motion pictures. Edison is an untiring worker. He has patented in all more than seven hundred inventions, mainly electrical. In 1886 he built at West Orange, New Jersey, for the purpose of conducting experiments, the largest laboratory in the world.

Emerson, Ralph Waldo, philosopher and poet, born in Boston, Massachusetts, May 25, 1803; died in Concord, Massachusetts, April 27, 1882. He was graduated from Harvard and became a minister of the Unitarian Church. Resigning his pastorate, he took up Lyceum lecturing and continued in this work for nearly forty years. Emerson's lectures, which have been published in book form, always have life for their subject and have been of great influence toward pure living. His poems also usually treat of serious life. Those on love are, *To Rhea*, *Give all to Love*, *Initial*, *Daemonic*, and *Celestial Love*, and those philosophic, *The Sphinx*, *Brahma*, *Uriel*, *Guy*, and *Fore-runners*. A poem that touched the popular chord is *Concord Hymn*.

Fillmore, Millard, thirteenth President of the United States, born in Summer Hill, Cayuga County, New York, February 7, 1800; died in Buffalo, in the same state, March 8, 1874. In his youth he was very

poor. He learned the trade of a fuller, but soon became a lawyer. Besides holding state offices he represented New York in Congress for a number of years. As Vice President he became President upon the death of President Taylor, in 1850, serving until 1853. During his Presidential term his political opponents had a majority in Congress, and hence his administration, though an able one, was at a disadvantage. Fillmore retained the esteem of all because of his personal integrity, his dignified statesmanship, and his courtly demeanor.

Franklin, Benjamin, statesman and philosopher, born in Boston, January 17, 1706; died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, April 17, 1790. His parents were poor, and he was apprenticed at the age of twelve to the printer's trade. When seventeen, he removed to Philadelphia, arriving there almost penniless. He continued in the printing business, and through his writings while quite young gained considerable notice. His most famous publication was *Poor Richard's Almanac*. Franklin held many colonial positions of trust. He was untiring in his work for America, and enjoyed the distinction of signing the Declaration of Independence, the treaty of alliance with France, the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and the Constitution of the United States. He was also president (or governor) of Pennsylvania. Despite his busy life, Franklin found time to devote to science and to the advancement of the human race. He made valuable discoveries in electricity.

Fulton, Robert, inventor, born near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1765; died in New York City, February 24, 1815. Some years of his young manhood Fulton spent in painting portraits and landscapes; while yet a boy he had shown that his mind possessed a mechanical turn. While engaged in painting in England, he made some valuable inventions, mainly concerning navigation. He first attempted to propel a vessel by steam on the Seine River at Paris, but, failing, he returned to America, where with the financial aid of a friend he built the *Clermont*, which made the trip from New York to Albany and return by steam power in 1807. In the few years left to him, Fulton built many river-steamers and ferry-boats. He also experimented on a submarine for destroying vessels with the torpedo, but his efforts were not successful.

Garfield, James Abram, twentieth President of the United States, born in Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831; died in Elberon, New Jersey, September 19, 1881. His youth was spent in poverty. He studied while he worked, and saved his earnings, so that he was able to attend Williams College, from which institution he was graduated in 1856. Serving in the Union army during the War of Secession, he rose to be a major-general. From 1863 to 1880 he was a Republican Representative in Congress from Ohio. He was a member of the electoral commission of 1876. His state had just chosen him to represent her in the United States Senate when he was nominated for the Presidency. Shortly

after becoming President (1881) he was assassinated by a disappointed office seeker. Few Presidents have been better fitted, by reason of long public service, for the duties of the office.

Grant, Ulysses S., eighteenth President of the United States, born in Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822; died in Mount McGregor, near Saratoga, New York, July 23, 1885. He graduated at West Point in 1843 and served in the Mexican War as a lieutenant, acting with conspicuous gallantry in many battles. Soon after the outbreak of the War of Secession, Grant was appointed colonel of an Illinois regiment, and in less than two months was made a brigadier-general of United States volunteers. On account of his masterly conduct of campaigns in the West, he received steady promotion, becoming, in 1864, commander of all the armies of the United States. In 1866 he was appointed (full) general; this was an office of higher rank than had ever existed in the army, and had been created by Congress in recognition of his services. From 1869 to 1877 he served as President. With his aptitude for soldiership, Grant combined many of the truest traits of manhood. His magnanimity toward his defeated foes is remembered equally with his military achievements.

Hamilton, Alexander, statesman, born in the West Indies, January 11, 1757; died in New York, as the result of a duel with Aaron Burr, July 12, 1804. He came to America to seek an education, and at sixteen entered King's College (now Columbia University). While still a student, he wrote such able articles in defense of the colonies that they were thought to be the work of a mature statesman. He served in the Revolution on Washington's staff; was a member of the Congress of the Confederation and of the convention which adopted the Federal Constitution. He was the author of most of the numbers of *The Federalist*, the series of masterly papers which did so much to secure the adoption of the Constitution. The success which crowned his efforts, as the first Secretary of the Treasury, to put the disordered finances of the government upon a solid basis, has given Hamilton the highest place among American financiers.

Harrison, Benjamin, twenty-third President of the United States, grandson of President William Henry Harrison, born in North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833; died in Indianapolis, March 13, 1901. He was graduated from Miami University and practiced law in Indianapolis. He was a gallant soldier of the Union army in the War of Secession, becoming brevet brigadier-general. From 1881 to 1887 he was a Republican member of the United States Senate from Indiana, and from 1889 to 1893 was President. Harrison was an accomplished lawyer, and his administration of the Presidency showed him to be a statesman of no inconsiderable ability.

Harrison, William Henry, ninth President of the United States, born in Berkley, Virginia, February 9, 1773; died in Washington,

April 4, 1841. He attended Hampden-Sidney College. He gained distinction as a general in Indian conflicts and in the War of 1812. Like Jackson, he served in the civil as well as in the military branch of the government. He was a delegate to Congress from the Northwest Territory, governor of Indiana Territory, member of Congress and Senator from Ohio, and Minister to Colombia. He became President in 1841, and died one month after assuming office. Most of his time was spent on the frontier, and while he had the simple manners and habits usual in such surroundings, he was noted for the great firmness of his character.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, author, born in Salem, Massachusetts, July 4, 1804; died in Plymouth, New Hampshire, May 18, 1864. He was graduated from Bowdoin College. Except for holding two or three minor public offices he devoted his life to literary pursuits. Hawthorne wrote but few novels, yet three, *The Scarlet Letter*, *The House of the Seven Gables*, and *The Marble Faun*, are of such high merit that they make him easily the greatest of American novelists. Indeed, Hawthorne is one of the most artistic writers of the nineteenth century. Nowhere may be found more charming short stories than those in his *Twice Told Tales*, *Grandfather's Chair*, *Mosses from an Old Manse*, *A Wonder Book*, *The Snow Image and Other Tales*, and *Tanglewood Tales*. Many of his stories were written for children, but they are equally pleasing to mature readers.

Hayes, Rutherford Birchard, nineteenth President of the United States, born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822; died in Fremont, Ohio, January 17, 1893. He was graduated from Kenyon College. He served in the Union army in the War of Secession, rising to the rank of brevet major-general of volunteers; was a Republican member of Congress from Ohio, 1865-1867; was governor of Ohio, 1868-1872, and was again governor in 1876 at the time of his nomination for the Presidency. He served as President from 1877 to 1881. His administration was marked by his earnest efforts to improve the public service and by the success with which the public credit was maintained at a critical time.

Henry, Patrick, patriot, born in Studley, Hanover County, Virginia, May 29, 1736; died in Red Hill, Charlotte County, Virginia, June 6, 1799. He was admitted to the bar in 1760, and soon acquired a large practice. He was a member of the Continental Congress of 1774; was governor of Virginia from 1776 to 1779, and again from 1784 to 1786. There was no greater orator of Revolutionary times.

Holmes, Oliver Wendell, author, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, August 29, 1809; died in Boston, Massachusetts, October 7, 1894. He was graduated from Harvard; was admitted to the practice of medicine and held a professorship in the medical department of Dartmouth and then of Harvard. His most famous book is *The Autocrat*

of the *Breakfast Table*, in which sparkling wit, keen insight into human nature, and wholesome philosophy abound. This book has been described as a "brilliant talk over every topic, fancy, feeling, fact." His other works in this series are *The Professor at the Breakfast Table*, *The Poet at the Breakfast Table*, and *Over the Teacups*. Holmes was also poet and novelist. Among his poems are *The Chambered Nautilus*, *The Last Leaf*, *Old Ironsides*, and *The One-hoss Shay*. His best known novel is *Elsie Venner*.

Howe, Elias, inventor, born in Spencer, Massachusetts, July 9, 1819; died in Brooklyn, New York, October 3, 1867. His father, who was a miller, was very poor. The boy helped his father in the milling business. Then he went to Boston, where he became a mechanic. While following his trade Howe invented, in 1845, the sewing machine. For eight years he had worked upon the machine before completing it, and during the time was so poor that he was compelled to accept the assistance of a friend in supporting his family. The sewing machine made Howe a very rich man. In the War of Secession he volunteered and served as a private in a Connecticut regiment. He loaned the government funds to pay the regiment.

Irving, Washington, author, born in New York City, April 3, 1783; died in Irvington, New York, November 28, 1859. On account of delicate health he was not given much schooling. He was admitted to the bar, but seemed to have had no taste for the law. In 1809 he published his first book, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, a comic history of the early settlement of that state. Ten years passed without his doing further literary work. During that time he was engaged in the hardware business. When the business failed Irving gave himself entirely to writing, producing, in 1819, the *Sketch-Book* which made him famous throughout the world. Some of his best known works are historical and biographical, such as *The Alhambra*, *The Conquest of Granada*, *The Conquest of Spain*, and the biographies of Columbus, Cromwell, Mahomet, and Washington. Irving was the first American writer whose genius the whole world acknowledged.

Jackson, Andrew, seventh President of the United States, born in the Waxhaws, a settlement on the border line between North and South Carolina, March 15, 1767; died at his home, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, June 8, 1845. Though a mere lad, he served in the American army during the closing years of the Revolution. He was reared in poverty, and worked in the saddlery business before he was admitted to the bar. When a young man he moved to Tennessee. His victory at New Orleans gave him a national reputation. As the candidate of the "plain people," he was elected President, serving from 1829 to 1837. Before his election to the Presidency he had some experience in the civil service. He represented Tennessee in each house of Congress, and was governor of Florida Territory. Jackson's

character stands out boldly in American history. Of impulsive nature, he acted quickly; of high temper, he made many enemies, to whom he was unforgiving, while to his friends he was ever loyal; of strong will, he, more than any other President, forced his views upon Congress. Through all, his rugged honesty was never questioned.

Jackson, Thomas Jonathan ("Stonewall"), soldier, born in Clarksburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), January 21, 1824; died near the battlefield of Chancellorsville, Va., May 10, 1863. He was graduated from West Point in 1846, and served as a lieutenant in the war with Mexico. In 1851 he became a professor in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington. At the beginning of the War of Secession he received a colonel's commission in the Confederate army and was placed in command of Harper's Ferry. He rose rapidly in rank — receiving the grades of brigadier-general, major-general, and lieutenant-general. His Valley campaign in May and June, 1862, has frequently been likened to Bonaparte's campaign in Italy. "Stonewall" Jackson is regarded as Lee's greatest lieutenant.

Jefferson, Thomas, third President of the United States, born in Albemarle County, Virginia, April 13, 1743; died at his home, Monticello, in Virginia, July 4, 1826. He attended William and Mary College. He served in the Virginia House of Burgesses during the troublesome times before the Revolution, and was prominent in opposition to Great Britain. A paper by Jefferson, entitled "A Summary View of the Rights of British America," attracted the attention of the world. While a member of the Continental Congress he wrote the Declaration of Independence. He was Governor of Virginia, Minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice President, and President, serving in the last named office from 1801 to 1809. His papers in defense of the colonies were unexcelled. He was an advocate of simplicity in government, and his long life was devoted to the promotion of education and of political and religious freedom. It was with just pride that he wrote as his own epitaph, "Author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." By many he is considered the greatest political leader of his day.

Johnson, Andrew, seventeenth President of the United States, born in Raleigh, North Carolina, December, 29, 1808; died near Carter's Station, Tennessee, July 31, 1875. When only ten years old he was apprenticed to the tailor's trade. His fellow-workmen taught him the alphabet, and he borrowed books and learned to read. At the age of eighteen he removed to Greeneville, Tennessee. He was a Democratic member of Congress from 1843 until 1853, when he became governor of Tennessee. In 1857 he was elected United States Senator. He refused to follow Tennessee in the secession movement, and retained his seat in the Senate until 1862, when Lincoln appointed him military

governor of Tennessee. He was elected Vice President by the Republicans, in 1864, in recognition of the services rendered the country by the war Democrats. Upon the assassination of Lincoln (1865) he became President, serving until 1869. After his presidential term he was again elected United States Senator from Tennessee, but died soon after taking his seat. The unfortunate difference that arose between Congress and President Johnson made his administration very unpopular, yet it is now generally conceded that in the main points of the controversy Johnson's position was correct.

Johnston, Joseph Eggleston, soldier, born near Farmville, Virginia, February 3, 1807; died at Washington, D.C., March 21, 1891. He was graduated from West Point and saw much active service against the Indians. In the Mexican War he was a captain, but was brevetted for bravery. When he resigned from the old army to serve the Confederacy he had risen to the position of quartermaster-general. He is very generally regarded as, next to Lee, the ablest general of the Confederate army. During the different wars in which he was engaged he was wounded ten times. After the War of Secession he represented Virginia in Congress.

Lanier, Sidney, poet, born in Macon, Georgia, February 3, 1843; died in Lynn, North Carolina, September 7, 1881. Soon after his graduation from Oglethorpe College, he enlisted in the Confederate army. Although trained for the law, Lanier gave his attention to poetry and music. From early life he was a sufferer from ill health. While battling continually against the ravages of disease, he wrote poetry, supporting himself by lecturing at Johns Hopkins University and at Peabody Institute and by playing the flute, of which he was master, at concerts. Lanier's verse is distinguished for its musical effect. The poems that are rated his best are *The Song of the Chattahoochie*, *The Marshes of Glynn*, *The Stirrup-Cup*, *From this Hundred-Terraced Height*, *Corn*, *Sunrise*, and *The Symphony*. Lanier wrote a treatise, *The Science of English Poetry*, to show the relation between poetry and music. He is also author of a novel, *Tiger Lilies*, besides books for boys. The world was the loser when such a sweet singer died so young.

Lee, Robert Edward, soldier, son of General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry" of the Revolutionary War), born in Stratford, Westmoreland County, Virginia, January 19, 1807; died in Lexington, Virginia, October 12, 1870. He was graduated from West Point in 1829. For his notable services in the Mexican War he was three times brevetted. From 1852 to 1855 he was superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point. When the Second Cavalry was formed, Lee became its lieutenant-colonel. Three days after Virginia seceded, Colonel Lee resigned from the United States army, and was at once appointed to command the troops of his native state. Later he was made a general in the Confederate army and became its

commander-in-chief. In the War of Secession his fame rose high. Lee is now recognized as one of the world's great generals, while his noble character stamps him as an ideal American. From 1865 until his death he was president of Washington College, now Washington and Lee University. The anniversary of his birth is observed throughout the South.

Lincoln, Abraham, sixteenth President of the United States, born in a cabin in Hardin (now Larue) County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809; died in Washington, April 15, 1865. As a child he moved with his father to Indiana and later to Illinois. Reared in extreme poverty, the boy had a hard struggle in what was then a wilderness. He went to school very little, but taught himself to read and cipher by the fire-light after working at odd jobs by day. The few books that he could get he read over and over. Lincoln's early attempts at making a livelihood were not successful. He followed one business and then another. His neighbors appreciated his genuine worth, however, and elected him, while a young man, to the Illinois legislature. During his service in the legislature he was admitted to the bar, and his rapid rise in the legal profession showed that he had at last found the calling for which he was suited. He sat one term in Congress as a Whig. In 1858, as Republican candidate for the United States Senate, he canvassed his state with his opponent, Stephen A. Douglas, and although defeated, attracted the attention of the country by his able speeches. He became President in 1861 and was holding the office when assassinated in 1865. Though he had had no advantages in youth and came to the Presidency with little experience in statecraft, yet he successfully guided the republic through one of its most perilous periods. The passing of time serves but to make more prominent the greatness of the man.

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, poet, born in Portland, Maine, February 27, 1807; died in Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 24, 1882. He was graduated from Bowdoin College. For six years he was professor of modern languages at Bowdoin, and for eighteen years he held the same chair at Harvard. Among his longer poems are *Evangeline*, *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, *Hiawatha*, and *The Spanish Student*. Among his shorter poems are *A Psalm of Life*, *The Rainy Day*, *The Village Blacksmith*, *The Old Clock on the Stairs*, *The Building of the Ship*, *The Wreck of the Hesperus*, and *Excelsior*. Longfellow was a poet of the people. He wrote of homely joys and sorrows, of the familiar truths of life. His style, simple yet beautiful, reaches the hearts of all his readers. He had a strong affection for young people, and so many of his poems appeal to them that he is called the "Children's Poet." Not only in America, but in the world at large, Longfellow's poems are the most popular of all American writings.

Lowell, James Russell, author and diplomat, born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 22, 1819; died there August 12, 1891. He

was graduated from Harvard, in which institution he subsequently became a professor. He was also Minister to Spain and to Great Britain. Lowell was a poet, essayist, and editor of literary periodicals. The three poems that made him famous are *The Vision of Sir Launfal*, *The Fable for Critics*, and *The Biglow Papers*. Later poems that greatly added to his reputation are *The Commemoration Ode*, and *The Cathedral*. Among his best known essays are *Fireside Travels*, *Among my Books*, and *My Study Windows*.

McClellan, George Brinton, soldier, born in Philadelphia, December 3, 1826; died in Orange, New Jersey, October 29, 1885. He was graduated from West Point, and served with distinction in the Mexican War as a lieutenant. He was also prominent in the War of Secession. McClellan's skill in organizing a great army was unsurpassed, and his military plans were excellent, but the War of Secession was a war of quick moving armies, and the public generally thought him too slow in carrying out his plans. His officers and soldiers, however, had great confidence in him and were very much attached to him. They called him "Little Mac." In 1864 McClellan was the unsuccessful candidate of the Democrats for the Presidency. In 1877 he was elected Governor of New Jersey.

McCormick, Cyrus Hall, inventor, born in Walnut Grove, Virginia, February 15, 1809; died in Chicago, May 13, 1884. Helping on the farm, he watched his father try for years to invent a machine to take the place of the scythe and sickle for cutting grass and grain. When his father gave up the problem he took it up. In 1831 he succeeded in making the reaper. McCormick removed to Chicago, where he built a large factory. From the immense fortune which he amassed from his invention, McCormick made generous gifts to educational institutions.

McKinley, William, twenty-fifth President of the United States, born in Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843; died in Buffalo, New York, September 14, 1901. He attended Alleghany College, but was prevented from graduating by ill health. He served in the Union army in the War of Secession, and rose to the rank of major. From 1879 to 1891 he was a Republican member of Congress from Ohio. In 1889-1891 he was chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in Congress, and as chief author of the McKinley Tariff bill, his name became famous in every part of the country. In 1891 he was elected governor of Ohio, and in 1893 was reelected. He became President in 1897 and held the office until 1901, when he was assassinated by an anarchist. As President he won, by his kindly nature and high sense of justice, the esteem of every one, regardless of political party.

Madison, James, fourth President of the United States, born in King George County, Virginia, March 16, 1751; died at his home, Montpelier, in Virginia, June 28, 1836. He was graduated from Prince-

ton; was a member of the Continental Congress and of the convention that framed the Federal Constitution. So much of this instrument was his work that he is often called the "Father of the Constitution." He was also one of the contributors to *The Federalist*. From the First through the Fourth Congress he was the leader of the Republicans (Democrats) on the floor of the House, and during Jefferson's administration was Secretary of State. He was President from 1809 to 1817.

Marshall, John, jurist, born in Fauquier County, Virginia, September 24, 1755; died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, July 6, 1835. He attended William and Mary College. In the Revolutionary War he volunteered as a private in the patriot army and rose to be a captain. He was a member of Congress from Virginia, and Secretary of State in the cabinet of President John Adams. In 1801 President Adams appointed him Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, which position he held until his death, thirty-four years later. He is held in grateful remembrance because, serving as Chief Justice while the Federal government was in its infancy, he gave the government by his decisions strength that was much needed. Marshall was the greatest of American jurists, and one of the greatest of the world.

Meade, George Gordon, soldier, born in Cadiz, Spain, December 31, 1815; died in Philadelphia, November 6, 1872. He was graduated from West Point in 1835, and served in the Mexican War, under Taylor in the Monterey campaign, and afterward under Scott. He served on the Federal side in the War of Secession. He commanded a brigade in McClellan's Peninsular campaign, and at Malvern Hill was severely wounded. In all the later campaigns of the Army of the Potomac, Meade took a distinguished part. He led a division at Antietam, Fredericksburg, and Chancellorsville, and on the retirement of Hooker, was raised to the command of the army. Gettysburg won for him a name among the greatest of American soldiers. He remained in command until the surrender of Lee's army, being the only commander of the Army of the Potomac who was not superseded.

Monroe, James, fifth President of the United States, born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, April 28, 1758; died in New York, July 4, 1831. He left William and Mary College to serve in the Revolutionary War. He was Governor of Virginia, United States Senator, Secretary of State, and Minister to France and to Great Britain. He was one of the negotiators of the Louisiana Purchase. He became President in 1817 and served until 1825. Monroe was distinguished for his virtues more than for his talents. His long public service was marked by uprightness of character and devotion to duty.

Morse, Samuel Finley Breese, inventor, born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, April 27, 1791; died in New York City, April 2, 1872. He was graduated from Yale in 1810, and became a portrait painter. While at college he had become much interested in electricity, which was then

a new study. On a ship coming from Europe, Morse heard from a fellow passenger that by experiments in Paris the electro-magnet had been made to send a current along a hundred feet of wire. Morse could see no reason why the current could not be sent along wires for an indefinite distance and he conceived the idea of using it for transmitting messages. For three years he labored, completing his system in 1835. With the aid of money appropriated by Congress he built, in 1844, a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore. Morse also made experiments with the submarine cable and, while they were not successful, they showed that it was both possible and practicable to send messages under water by electricity.

Pierce, Franklin, fourteenth President of the United States, born in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, November 23, 1804; died in Concord, New Hampshire, October 8, 1869. He was graduated from Bowdoin College. He represented his native state in each branch of Congress and served in the Mexican War as a brigadier-general. He was President from 1853 to 1857. Pierce was an able lawyer and a fluent speaker. He believed in a government of limited powers, conducted with the strictest economy, and he consistently upheld this view of government throughout his administration.

Poe, Edgar Allan, author, born in Boston, Massachusetts, January 19, 1809; died in Baltimore, Maryland, October 7, 1849. His father was of a prominent Southern family and his mother was an English woman. Both were actors. His parents died when he was very young, and he was adopted by a relative in Richmond, Virginia. Poe entered the University of Virginia, but owing to a disagreement with his adopted father he left before graduation and enlisted as a private in the army. An appointment to West Point was secured for him; though he took a high stand in his studies, he was discharged for neglect of military duties. Becoming editor of a literary magazine, he gained fame by the publication, in 1833, of his short story, *The Manuscript Found in a Bottle*. Poe excelled in the short story. Among his other stories that are widely popular are, *The Fall of the House of Usher*, *The Murders in the Rue Morgue*, *The Purloined Letter*, and *The Gold Bug*. He was a genius in poetry also. Among the best known of his poems are *The Raven*, *The Bells*, and *Annabel Lee*. Poe's life was a continual struggle against poverty and intemperance. His inability to overcome them cut short a brilliant career.

Polk, James Knox, eleventh President of the United States, born in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, November 2, 1795; died in Nashville, Tennessee, June 15, 1849. When a boy, he moved with his father to Tennessee. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina. He was a member of Congress from Tennessee for fourteen years, and was twice elected Speaker. Then he served one term as governor of Tennessee. He was President from 1845 to 1849.

Polk was a laborious and methodical worker, applying close personal attention to all public matters. These powers served to give him executive capacity of the highest order, and enabled him to carry through successfully every important measure of his administration.

Roosevelt, Theodore, twenty-sixth President of the United States, born in New York City, October 27, 1858; died in Oyster Bay, New York, January 6, 1919. He was graduated from Harvard University. When only twenty-eight years old he was the Republican candidate for mayor of New York. He was a member of the United States Civil Service Commission, 1889-1895, and president of the Board of Police Commissioners for the city of New York, 1895-1897. He was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Navy in 1897. On the outbreak of the war with Spain, he resigned to become lieutenant-colonel of the First Regiment of Volunteer Cavalry, more commonly known as the "Rough Riders." Returning from the war with a well-earned distinction for gallantry, he was, in 1898, elected to the governorship of New York, and was holding this office when he was nominated for the Vice Presidency. In 1901 he became President, filling out the unexpired term of President McKinley. Elected for a full term, he served until 1909. Roosevelt was also an author of great ability. Among his books are *The Winning of the West* and *The Naval War of 1812*. His progressive policies while President, especially his efforts to control the trusts, made him exceedingly popular with the people. Soon after the World War began he became outspoken in his advocacy of America's taking an active part in the conflict. The vigorous manner in which Roosevelt urged his views on all public matters excited the admiration not only of his friends but his political opponents as well. Few Americans have made a greater impress upon the people. No President has been more versatile. He was ranchman, hunter, explorer, naturalist, soldier, scholar, and statesman.

Sherman, William Tecumseh, soldier, born in Lancaster, Ohio, February 8, 1820; died in New York, February 14, 1891. He was graduated from West Point in 1840, and served in the war against the Seminole Indians. In the War of Secession Sherman's services to the Union were second only to those of Grant, whom he succeeded in command of the armies in the West. When General Grant became President, Sherman was raised to the position of commander-in-chief of the army.

Simms, William Gilmore, author, born in Charleston, South Carolina, April 17, 1806; died there June 11, 1870. His father, who was poor, could give him very limited schooling. Ambitious to overcome this handicap, Simms improved his education by diligent reading. Adopting a literary career, he continued through life to labor industriously, with the result that he was a most prolific writer. The South of Colonial and Revolutionary days furnished the field for most of his

work. Among his most successful novels may be mentioned *The Yemassee*, *The Scout*, *The Partisan*, *The Wigwam and the Cabin*, *Mellichampe*, and *Catherine Walton*. Simms was also a poet and a historian.

Stephens, Alexander Hamilton, statesman, born near Crawfordville, Georgia, February 11, 1812; died in Atlanta, March 4, 1883. He was graduated from the University of Georgia. Prior to the War of Secession he served in Congress as a Representative from Georgia for sixteen consecutive years. Then he became Vice President of the Confederate States. Directly after the war he was elected United States Senator, but was not seated; later he was elected to Congress, serving nine years. At the time of his death he was governor of Georgia. Stephens had a very weak body but a giant intellect.

Taft, William Howard, twenty-seventh President of the United States, born in Cincinnati, September 15, 1857. He was graduated from Yale and practiced law in Cincinnati. He has held many judicial positions, among them judge of the superior court of Ohio and judge of the circuit court of the United States. President Roosevelt appointed him first civil governor of the Philippine Islands, a position which he held for three years. From 1904 to 1908 he was Secretary of War in the cabinet of President Roosevelt. He served as President from 1909 to 1913.

Taylor, Zachary, twelfth President of the United States, born in Orange County, Virginia, September 24, 1784; died in Washington, July 9, 1850. When a young man he received a commission as first lieutenant of the army. He served in the War of 1812, the Indian wars, and the Mexican War, and rose to the rank of major general. His brilliant successes in the Mexican War gained him the Presidency. He had served only one year of his term when he died. Having spent his life in the army, Taylor had never held a civil office before he became President. His opponents charged that he had never voted, and that his unfamiliarity with public affairs made him an unsuitable person for chief magistrate. On assuming the office, however, he showed such remarkable knowledge of the duties required of him that had he been spared to serve his term he would doubtless have proved to be one of our best Presidents.

Tyler, John, tenth President of the United States, born in Greenway, Virginia, March 29, 1790; died in Richmond, Virginia, January 18, 1862. He was graduated from William and Mary College. He was member of Congress, governor of Virginia, and United States Senator. As Vice President he became President in 1841, upon the death of President William Henry Harrison, and served until 1845. Tyler held the Presidency under trying circumstances. He was a man of considerable talent. He presided over the famous Peace Conference of 1861, and served as a Confederate Congressman.

Van Buren, Martin, eighth President of the United States, born

in Kinderhook, New York, December 5, 1782; died there July 24, 1862. He served as United States Senator, governor of New York, Secretary of State under Jackson, Minister to Great Britain, and Vice President and President, holding the last named office from 1837 to 1841. In 1848 he was the unsuccessful candidate of the Free-soil (Antislavery) party for President. Van Buren was not a great statesman, but in the management of men for political purposes he has had few equals.

Washington, George, first President of the United States, born in Westmoreland County, Virginia, February 22, 1732; died at his home, Mount Vernon, in Virginia, December 14, 1799. At the age of sixteen he left school to become a surveyor. When not much more than a boy he showed his aptitude for military affairs. His conduct in the French and Indian War gave him a reputation for soldiery that caused him to be selected as the commander-in-chief of the Continental army. How during the weary years of the Revolutionary War he struggled against almost overwhelming obstacles and how he finally brought victory to the patriot cause have already been told in these pages. With one voice a grateful people made him their first President. He served from 1789 to 1797. Washington was a man of strong sense and sound judgment, of stainless character, and unselfish patriotism. Firmness of purpose and devotion to duty guided him through his eventful life. Reverses did not make him despair, nor did successes make him overconfident. During the darkest hours of war, when slander and intrigue were busy against him, he remained steadfast. The successful Revolution exalted him above all others of his countrymen, and he might have grasped power for himself, but he was still the firm, devoted patriot. His character is not surpassed by that of any hero in history. (For portrait see frontispiece.)

Webster, Daniel, statesman, born in Salisbury (now Franklin), New Hampshire, January 18, 1782; died in Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852. He was graduated from Dartmouth College. He served as a member of Congress from New Hampshire. Afterward he removed to Boston and became a member of Congress and then a Senator from Massachusetts. He served in the Senate, in all, nineteen years. He was Secretary of State under Harrison and Tyler, and again under Fillmore. His greatest fame lies in his forceful presentation of the principle that the Union is supreme; that the Constitution rests upon its own strength, and not upon the will of the states. Webster was a master of oratory, and many of his orations are classic.

Whitney, Eli, inventor, born in Westboro, Massachusetts, December 8, 1765; died in New Haven, Connecticut, January 8, 1825. His parents were very poor. By selling nails made with his hands and by teaching school, he gained enough money to pay his way through Yale, from which college he was graduated in 1792. Immediately afterwards he went to Georgia to engage in teaching. While living in that state

he invented the cotton gin, a machine for separating the fiber of cotton from the seed. Much of the money he received from his invention Whitney spent in efforts to prevent others from unlawfully making and selling his machine which he had patented. Removing to Connecticut, Whitney made a fortune in the manufacture of firearms.

Whittier, John Greenleaf, poet, born in Haverhill, Massachusetts, December 17, 1807; died in Hampton Falls, New Hampshire, September 7, 1892. Whittier was a Quaker and the simple faith of the sect flavors his writings. In early manhood he devoted most of his literary labors to attacks upon slavery but his fame rests mainly on poems having as a background the rural life of New England. Notable among them are *Snow-Bound*, *Maud Muller*, *Telling the Bees*, *The Barefoot Boy*, and *In School Days*. Among his excellent historical ballads are *The Witch's Daughter*, *Skipper Ireson's Ride*, and *How the Women went from Dover*.

Wilson, Woodrow, twenty-eighth President of the United States, born in Staunton, Virginia, December 28, 1856; died in Washington, February 3, 1924. He attended Davidson College and then, entering Princeton University, was graduated from the latter institution. He was graduated in law from the University of Virginia, and he took a postgraduate course in history and political science at Johns Hopkins University. He held professorships in history and kindred subjects at Bryn Mawr College, Wesleyan University, and Princeton University. Of the last named institution he became president. While holding educational positions Wilson also engaged in literary work. His writings are mainly on governmental and historical subjects. Prominent among his books are *Congressional Government*, *The State, Division and Reunion*, and *A History of the American People*. Wilson left the presidency of Princeton University to become governor of New Jersey, and while serving in the governorship he was elected (1912) to the Presidency of the United States, assuming the duties of the latter office in 1913. He was reelected in 1916. No man more scholarly than Wilson has ever been in American public life. In politics he is a reformer and his record as Governor of New Jersey and President of the United States shows him a successful one. It was his zeal for the cause of the masses that made him insist, at the close of the World War, on a peace based upon their interests. His sincerity and his high intellectual attainments, together with the fact that the United States wished to gain nothing from the war, gave him a commanding position in the peace conference at Paris in 1919. The oppressed of all nations looked to Wilson to safeguard their rights.

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1. Cooke, John E., *Virginia*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
2. Thwaites, *The Colonies*. Longmans, Green and Co.
3. Brookes, *Stories of the Old Bay State*. American Book Co.

For Pupils

1. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co. (Semi-Source Material.)
2. Hart and Hazard, *Colonial Children*. The Macmillan Co. (Source Reader.)
3. Magill, M. T., *Stories from Virginia History*. New Edition by W. S. Currell. Bell Book Co.
4. Barstow (editor), *Explorers and Settlers*. The Century Co.
5. Stevenson, *Dramatized Scenes from American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Settlement of Jamestown. Puritans of Scrooby, Pilgrims and their Journey.)

CHAPTER IV

For Teachers

1. Thwaites, *France in America*. American Nation, Vol. VII, Harper and Bros.
2. Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*. Little, Brown and Co.

For Pupils

1. McMurry, *Pioneers in Mississippi Valley*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Barstow (editor), *Explorers and Settlers*. The Century Co.
3. Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
4. Tappan, *American Hero Stories*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Stuyvesant.)
5. Coffin, *Old Times in America*. Harper and Bros. (Affairs in Manhattan.)

CHAPTER V

For Teachers

1. Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Fisher, *Life in Colonial Times* (2 vols.). J. B. Lippincott Co.
3. Lodge, *Short History of the English Colonies in America*. Harper and Bros.

For Pupils

1. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co.
2. Stone and Fickett, *Every Day Life in the Colonies*. D. C. Heath and Co.
3. Tiffany, *Pilgrims and Puritans*. Ginn and Co.
4. Tappan, *Letters from Colonial Children*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
5. Gordy, *Life in Colonial Days*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
6. Usher, *Story of the Pilgrims for Children*. The Macmillan Co.

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CHAPTER VI

For Teachers

1. Smith, *The Colonies*. Silver, Burdett and Co.
2. Thwaites, *The Colonies*. Longmans, Green and Co.

For Pupils

1. Guerber, *Story of the Thirteen Colonies*. American Book Co.
2. Stimpson, *Childs' Book of Biography*. Little, Brown and Co.
3. Tappan, *England's Story*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
4. Hart and Hazard, *Colonial Children*. The Macmillan Co.
5. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*. Book I. D. Appleton & Co.

CHAPTER VII

For Teachers

1. Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*. Little, Brown and Co.
2. Thwaites, *France in America*. American Nation, Vol. VII Harper and Bros.

For Pupils

1. McMurry, *Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Catherwood, *Heroes of the Middle West*. Ginn and Co.
2. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book I. D. Appleton and Co.
4. Thwaites, *Father Marquette*. D. Appleton and Co.
5. Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
6. Parkman (edited by Pelham), *Struggle for a Continent*. Little, Brown and Co. (Wolfe.)

CHAPTER VIII

For Teachers

1. Roosevelt (edited by Hitchcock), *Episodes from The Winning of the West*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
2. Pryor, *The Mother of Washington and her Times*. The Macmillan Co.
3. Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days, and Stage Coach and Tavern Days*. The Macmillan Co.

For Pupils

1. Mowry, *American Pioneers*. Silver, Burdett and Co.
2. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. The Century Co.
3. Eggleston, G. C., *Life in the Eighteenth Century*. A. S. Barnes and Co.
4. Bruce and Others, *Social Life of the South*. Southern Publishing Co.
5. Barstow (editor), *Westward Movement*. The Century Co.
6. Stevenson, *Children's Classics in Dramatic Form*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Capture of Daniel Boone by Indians.)

CHAPTER IX

For Teachers

1. Coman, *Industrial History of United States*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Howard, *Preliminaries of the Revolution*. American Nation, Vol. VIII, Harper and Bros.
3. Andrew, *Colonial Self-Government*. Harper and Bros.
4. Morgan, *The True Patrick Henry*. J. B. Lippincott Co.

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For Pupils

1. Hart and Hill, *Camps and Firesides of the Revolution*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Baldwin, *Four Great Americans*. American Book Co.
3. Jenks, *When America Won Liberty*. T. Y. Crowell and Co.
4. Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*. American Book Co.

CHAPTER X

For Teachers

1. Lodge, *George Washington*. American Statesmen Series. Houghton Mifflin Co.
2. Ford, *The True George Washington*. J. B. Lippincott Co.
3. Fisher, *The War for American Independence*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Tory Viewpoint.)
4. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*. American Nation, Vol. XI. Harper and Bros.
5. Schauffler, *Washington's Birthday*. Moffat, Yard and Co. (Contains much interesting material.)

For Pupils

1. Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
2. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton & Co.
3. Jenks, *When America Won Liberty*. T. Y. Crowell and Co.
4. Stimpson, *Child's Book of Biography*. Little, Brown and Co.
5. Brooks, *The True Story of George Washington*. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard.
6. Stevenson, *Dramatized Scenes from American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (First Continental Congress.)

CHAPTER XI

For Teachers

1. Van Tyne, *American Revolution*. American Nation, Vol. IX. Harper and Bros.
2. Lodge, *George Washington*. Houghton Mifflin Co.

For Pupils

1. Deming and Bemis, *Stories of Patriotism*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Bunker Hill, Declaration of Independence.)
2. Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
3. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*. Book II. D. Appleton and Co.
4. Stevenson, *Dramatized Scenes from American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Declaration of Independence.)

CHAPTER XII

For Teachers

1. Lodge, *Story of the Revolution*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. Century Co. (Campaign in New Jersey.)
2. Barstow (editor), *Westward Movement*. The Century Co.
3. Deming and Bemis, *Stories of Patriotism*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Valley Forge.)

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4. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton and Co. (Burgoyne's Campaign.)
5. Coffin, *Boys of '76*. Harper and Brothers.

CHAPTER XIII

For Teachers

1. Roosevelt (edited by Hitchcock), *Episodes from Winning of the West*. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Stimpson, *Child's Book of Biography*. Little, Brown and Co.
2. Cooke, *Stories of the Old Dominion*. American Book Co. (Cornwallis and Lafayette.)
3. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. The Century Co. (King's Mountain.)
4. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton and Co. (Yorktown, J. P. Jones, Sumter and Marion.)
5. Tappan, *American Hero Stories*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
6. Stevenson, *Dramatized Scenes from American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Man who Bore the Burden.—Washington.)
7. Seawell, *Paul Jones*. D. Appleton and Co.

CHAPTER XIV

For Teachers

1. Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
2. McLaughlin, *Confederation and the Constitution*. American Nation, Vol. X. Harper and Bros.
3. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co. (Northwest Territory.)

For Pupils

1. Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*. American Book Co.
2. Jenks, *When America Became a Nation*. T. Y. Crowell and Co.
3. Baldwin, *Conquest of the Old Northwest*. American Book Co., pp. 179-182.
4. Sparks, *Men Who Made the Nation*. The Macmillan Co. (Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin.)
5. Thompson's *Primary History of the United States*, D. C. Heath and Co. (Contains biographies of many of the heroes of the United States.)

CHAPTERS XV AND XVI

For Teachers

1. Turner, *Rise of the New West*. Harper and Bros. American Nation, Vol. XIV.
2. Wilson, Woodrow, *Mere Literature*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (Course of American History.)
3. Crothers, *The Pardoner's Wallet*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (The Land of the Large and Charitable Air.)

For Pupils

1. Eggleston, G. C., *Life in the Eighteenth Century*. A. S. Barnes and Co.
2. Bruce and Others, *Social Life of the South*. Southern Publishing Co.
3. Hart and Hill, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*. The Macmillan Co. (Source Reader.)

4. Smith, J. R., *Story of Iron and Steel*. D. Appleton and Co., pp. 28-41.
5. Lessons in Community and National Life, Department of Interior, Bureau of Education, B 2, C 2. (Occupations of Colonial Farm Life.)
6. McClellan, *Historic Dress in America*, Vol. I, 1608-1800. G. W. Jacobs and Co. (Fine Pictures of Costumes.)

CHAPTER XVII

For Teachers

1. Fiske, *Critical Period of American History*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
2. McLaughlin, *Confederation and the Constitution*. American Nation, Vol. X. Harper and Bros.
3. Roosevelt (edited by Hitchcock), *Episodes from Winning of the West*. (Indian Troubles in Northwest — St. Clair and Wayne.) G. P. Putnam's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton and Co.
2. Thompson, *Primary History*. D. C. Heath and Co.
3. Hart, *Source Book* No. 71. The Macmillan Co. (A Democratic View of Washington.)

CHAPTER XVIII

For Teachers

1. Webster, *Modern European History*. D. C. Heath and Co. (French Revolution.)
2. Morse, *Thomas Jefferson*. Houghton Mifflin Co.

For Pupils

1. McMurry, *Pioneers of Rocky Mountains and West*. The Macmillan Co. (Lewis and Clarke.)
2. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co.
3. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. The Century Co.
4. Deming and Bemis, *Stories of Patriotism*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (*Man Without a Country* dramatized.)
5. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*. Book II. D. Appleton and Co.
6. Hitchcock, *Louisiana Purchase and Exploration*. Ginn and Co.

CHAPTER XIX

For Teachers

1. Hart, *Source Book of American History*. The Macmillan Co. (Capture of the Capitol.)
2. Webster, *Modern European History*. D. C. Heath and Co. (Europe and Napoleon.)
3. Latané, *History of the United States*. Allyn and Bacon, pp. 224-250. (War of 1812.)

For Pupils

1. Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*. American Book Co.
2. Guerber, *Story of Modern France*. American Book Co. (French Revolution.)
3. Tappan, *England's Story*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
4. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. The Century Co. (Battle of New Orleans.)
5. Hart and Chapman, *How our Grandfathers Lived*. The Macmillan Co. (Source Reader.)
6. Seawell, M., *Twelve Naval Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

CHAPTER XX

For Teachers

1. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Foresman and Co. (National Road, Erie Canal.)
2. Turner, *Rise of the New West*. American Nation, Vol. XIV. Harper and Bros.
3. Cheyney, *Industrial History of England*. The Macmillan Co. (Industrial Revolution.)

For Pupils

1. Brooke, E. C., *Story of Cotton*. Rand, McNally and Co.
2. McMurry, *Pioneers in the Mississippi Valley*. The Macmillan Co. (Lincoln's Early Life in Kentucky and Illinois. Settlements along the Ohio River.)
3. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co. (English Immigrant's Journey, Western Pioneer Life.)
4. Morris, *Heroes of Progress*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Clinton, Fulton, Whitney.)
5. Lessons in Community Life, Department of Interior. Al. 8. B 3, C 10, 11, 12, 29.

CHAPTER XXI

For Teachers

1. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. IV. D. Appleton and Co., pp. 381-429. (Development of Canals and Roads.)
2. Simonds, *Student's History of American Literature*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (American Literature.)

For Pupils

1. Hart and Chapman, *How Our Grandfathers Lived*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Howells, *Recollections of Life in Ohio*. Stewart and Kidd Co.
3. Drake, *Pioneer Life in Kentucky*. Stewart and Kidd Co.
4. Stimpson, *Child's Book of American Biography*. Little, Brown and Co.
5. Parkman, *Heroines of Service*. The Century Co.
6. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co. (Early Steamboat Travel, stage and mail. Note especially chapter xviii, Glimpses from Western Pioneer Life.)
7. McClellan, E., *Historic Dress in America*, Vol. II. (After 1800.) G. W. Jacobs and Co.

CHAPTER XXII

For Teachers

1. Latané, *From Isolation to Leadership*. Doubleday, Page and Co. (Chapters i, ii, Monroe Doctrine.)
2. Hart, *Monroe Doctrine: An Interpretation*. Little, Brown and Co.
3. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*. Henry Holt and Co. (Quadruple Alliance.)

For Pupils

1. Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*. American Book Co.
2. Morris, *Heroes of Progress*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Calhoun, Clay.)
3. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton and Co. (Clay and Missouri Compromise.)

CHAPTER XXIII

For Teachers

1. Brady, *The True Andrew Jackson*, J. B. Lippincott Co. (Chapter xv, Nullification.)
2. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co., pp. 402-411. (Abolitionists.)
3. Latané, *History of the United States*. Allyn and Bacon.

For Pupils

1. Brown, *Andrew Jackson*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
2. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*, Book II. D. Appleton and Co. (Andrew Jackson.)
3. Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., pp. 162-181. (Slavery.)
4. Thompson, *Primary History*. D. C. Heath and Co. (Andrew Jackson.)

CHAPTER XXIV

For Teachers

1. Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co. (Chapter xxv, Oregon, chapter xxvi, Texas. Brief.)
2. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, American Nation, Vol. 17. Harper and Brothers.

For Pupils

1. Mowry, *American Pioneers*. Silver, Burdett and Co. (Houston, Crockett.)
2. Gordy, *Stories of Later American History*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
3. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales of American History*. The Century Co.
4. Otis, *Philip of Texas*. American Book Co.
5. McMurry, *Pioneers of the Rocky Mountains and the West*. The Macmillan Co. (Fremont, Parkman among Sioux Indians, Coronado.)
6. Sprague, *Davy Crockett*. The Macmillan Co.
7. Faris, *Real Stories from our History*. Ginn and Co. (A Day in the Republic of Texas.)

CHAPTER XXV

For Teachers

1. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Foresman and Co. (Chapter xxv, Gold in California; Chapter xxx, Railroads, Steamboats.)
2. Garrison, *Westward Extension*. American Nation, Volume 17. Harper and Brothers.

For Pupils

1. Paxson, *The Last American Frontier*. The Macmillan Co. (Mormons, California — and the Forty-Niners.)
2. Morris, *Heroes of Progress in America*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Morse.)
3. Mowry, *American Pioneers*. Silver, Burdett and Co. (Sutter and Burnett, First Governor of California.)
4. Faris, *Real Stories from our History*. Ginn and Co.

CHAPTER XXVI

For Teachers

1. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, Vol. VII. D. Appleton and Co. (Chapter lxxiii, The East in the Forties.)
2. Dickens, Charles, *American Notes*. (Numerous editions.)

For Pupils

1. Morris, *Heroes of Progress in America*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Brief but very interesting biographies of Fulton, Howe, Goodyear, Frances Willard, Susan B. Anthony, Discoverers of anasthesia, Horace Mann, Dorothea Dix.)
2. Mowry, *American Pioneers*. Silver, Burdett and Co. (Education for women, pp. 279-292, for blind and deaf, pp. 292-306, betterment of, pp. 266-279.) (Prohibition, John B. Gough, pp. 347-357.)
3. Mowry, *American Inventions and Inventors*. Silver, Burdett and Co.
4. Perry, *Four American Inventors*. American Book Co. (Fulton, Morse.)
5. Brooks, E. C., *Story of Corn*. Rand, McNally and Co.
6. Sanford, *Story of Agriculture*. D. C. Heath and Co.

CHAPTER XXVII

For Teachers

1. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. I. The Macmillan Co.
2. Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*. American Nation, Vol. 19. Harper and Brothers.
3. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*. Longmans, Green and Co.

For Pupils

1. Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*. American Book Co.
2. Hart and Stevens, *Romance of the Civil War*. The Macmillan Co. (Source Reader.)
3. Hitchcock, *Louisiana Purchase and Exploration*. Ginn and Co.

CHAPTER XXVIII

For Teachers

1. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*. Longmans, Green and Co.
2. Curry, *The Southern States of the American Union*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co.
3. Hapgood, *Abraham Lincoln*. The Macmillan Co.
4. Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*. G. W. Jacobs and Co.

For Pupils

1. Sparhawk, *Life of Lincoln for Boys*. T. Y. Crowell & Co.
2. Nicolay, *Boys' Life of Abraham Lincoln*. The Century Co.
3. Mabie, *Heroes Every Child Should Know*. Grossett and Dunlap. (Lincoln, Lee.)
4. Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., pp. 181-196. (Secession.)
5. Thompson, *Primary History of the United States*. D. C. Heath and Co. (Lincoln, Davis, Lee.)

CHAPTER XXIX

For Teachers

1. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vol. III. The Macmillan Co.
2. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*. Longmans, Green and Co.
3. Hosmer, *Appeal to Arms*. American Nation, Vol. XX. Harper and Bros.
4. Page, *Robert E. Lee*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Southworth, *Builders of Our Country*. Book II. D. Appleton and Co. (Grant, Lee.)
2. Williamson, *Robert E. Lee*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co.
3. Brooks, *The True Story of U. S. Grant*. Lothrop, Lee and Shepard.
4. Scoville, *Brave Deeds of Union Soldiers*. G. W. Jacobs and Co.
5. Bruce, *Brave Deeds of Confederate Soldiers*. G. W. Jacobs and Co.
6. McCarthy, *Soldier Life in the Army of Northern Virginia*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co.

CHAPTERS XXX AND XXXI

For Teachers

1. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850*, Vols. IV and V. The Macmillan Co.
2. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*. Longmans, Green and Co.

For Pupils

1. Morris, *Heroes of Progress*. J. B. Lippincott Co.
2. Roosevelt and Lodge, *Hero Tales from American History*. The Century Co. (Monitor and Merrimac, Death of Stonewall Jackson, Charge at Gettysburg.)
3. Hart and Others (Hitchcock, editor), *Decisive Battles of American History*. Harper and Bros. (Appomattox.)
4. Hart and Stevens, *Romance of the Civil War*. The Macmillan Co.
5. Williamson, *Life of Stonewall Jackson*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co.

CHAPTER XXXII

For Teachers

1. Hosmer, *Outcome of the Civil War*, American Nation, Vol. XXI. Harper and Bros. Chapter iv (Life in War-time, North and South.)
2. Chestnut, *A Diary from Dixie*. D. Appleton and Co.
3. Smith, *Forty Years of Washington Society*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Hart and Stevens, *Romance of the Civil War*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Knipe *Girls of '64*. The Macmillan Co.
3. Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., pp. 215-239. (Life in the South during the War of Secession.)

CHAPTER XXXIII

For Teachers

1. Wilson, *Division and Reunion*. Longmans, Green and Co.
2. Dunning, *Reconstruction, Political and Economic*. American Nation, Vol. XXII. Harper and Bros.

For Pupils

1. Barstow, *Progress of a United People*. The Century Co. (Reconstruction.)
2. Guerber, *Story of the Great Republic*. American Book Co., pp. 252-256.
3. Hall, *Half Hours in Southern History*. B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., pp. 266-304. (Reconstruction.)

CHAPTER XXXIV

For Teachers

1. Latané, *History of the United States*. Allyn and Bacon.
2. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co.

For Pupils

1. Dole, *New American Citizen*. D. C. Heath and Co., pp. 345-352. (Arbitration.)
2. Blaisdell, *The Story of American History*. Ginn and Co., pp. 396-399. (Alabama Claims.)

CHAPTER XXXV

For Teachers

1. Sparks, *Expansion of American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co., pp. 366-376. (Transcontinental Railroad.)
2. Paxson, *Last American Frontier*. The Macmillan Co. (Railroads, Sioux War.)
3. Bruce, *The Rise of the New South*. George Barrie and Son.

For Pupils

1. Faris, *Real Stories from Our History*. Ginn and Co.
2. Custer, *The Boy General, A Story of the Life of Custer*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
3. Riis, *The Making of an American*. The Macmillan Co.
4. Sterne, *My Mother and I*. The Macmillan Co.
5. Hughes, *Community Civics*. Allyn and Bacon (Chapter xxvi, *America The Melting Pot*.)
6. *Lessons in Community and National Life*, Department of Interior. C 29, C 31.
7. Antin, *Story of a Little Immigrant*. Houghton Mifflin Co. (From *The Promised Land*.)

CHAPTER XXXVI

For Teachers

1. Sparks, *National Development*. American Nation, Vol. XXIII. Harper and Brothers. Chapters iii and iv.

For Pupils

1. Bolton, *Poor Boys Who Became Famous*. T. Y. Crowell and Co. (Sir Henry Bessemer.)
2. Baker, R. S., *Boys' Book of Inventions*. Doubleday Page and Co. (Wireless, X-Ray, Motor Vehicles.)
3. Doubleday, *Stories of Inventions*. Doubleday, Page and Co.
4. Morris, *Heroes of Progress*. J. B. Lippincott Co. (Susan B. Anthony, Elizabeth C. Stanton, Lucretia Mott, and Horace Greeley, Premier of American Editors.)
5. Barstow (editor), *Progress of a United People*. The Century Co. (Associated Press, Wright Brothers Aeroplanes, account by C. and W. Wright.)
6. Mowry, *American Inventions and Inventors*. Silver, Burdett and Co. (Kerosene, Printing Press.)

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7. Meadowcroft, *Boy's Life of Edison*. Harper and Brothers.
8. Stone and Fickett, *Famous Days in the Century of Invention*. D. C. Heath and Co.

CHAPTER XXXVII

For Teachers

1. West, *American History and Government*. Allyn and Bacon.
2. Sparks, *National Development*. American Nation, Vol. XXIII. Chapters x and xii. Harper and Brothers.

For Pupils

1. Dunn, *Community and Citizen*. D. C. Heath and Co., pp. 210-213 (Civil Service), 229-241 (Government of City), 102-104 (Interstate Commerce).
2. Hughes, *Community Civics*. Allyn and Bacon. (Chapter xxii, Labor and Industry.)

CHAPTER XXXVIII

For Teachers

1. Hazen, *Europe Since 1815*. Henry Holt and Co.
2. Schapiro, *Modern and Contemporary History*. Houghton Mifflin Co.

For Pupils

1. Ashley, *Modern European Civilization*. The Macmillan Co.
2. Guerber, *Story of Modern France*. American Book Co.
3. Tappan, *England's Story*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
4. Webster, *Modern European History*. D. C. Heath and Co.

CHAPTER XXXIX

For Teachers

1. Hart and Others (Hitchcock, editor), *Decisive Battles of American History*. Harper and Brothers. (Manila, Santiago.)
2. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. Scott, Forsman and Co. (438-453.) (Colonial System.)
3. Latané, *America as a World Power*. American Nation, Vol. XXV. Chapters i, ii, v. Harper and Brothers.

For Pupils

1. Gordy, *American Leaders and Heroes*. Chas. Scribner's Sons.
2. Barstow (editor), *Progress of a United People*. The Century Co. (Oregon's Great Voyage, Battle of Manila Bay, Account of War by William McKinley.)
3. Hodgson, *First Course in American History*. (Book II.) D. C. Heath and Co.

CHAPTER XL

For Teachers

1. Latané, *America as a World Power*. American Nation, Vol. XXV. Harper and Brothers. (Chapter iv, Peace Negotiations.) (Chapter v, Phillipine Insurrection.) (Chapter xii, Panama Canal.)
2. West, *American History and Government*. Allyn and Bacon.
3. Roosevelt, *An Autobiography*, New Edition, 1919. Chas. Scribner's Sons.

For Pupils

1. Parkman, *Heroes of To-day*. The Century Co. (Goethals.)
3. DuPuy, *Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles*. Frederick A. Stokes Co. (Chapter xvii, Teaching Sanitation to World, Gorgas, Reed.) (Chapter ii, Awakening the Filipino.) (Chapter viii, Rejuvenating Porto Rico.)

REFERENCES FOR TEACHERS AND PUPILS xlvii

3. Morris, *Our Island Empire*. (Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines.) J. B. Lippincott and Co.
4. Hagedorn, *Boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt*. Harper and Bros.

CHAPTER XLI

For Teachers

1. Barstow (editor), *Progress of a United People*. The Century Co., pp. 160-179. (Civic Improvement, Irrigation, Conservation.)
2. West, *American History and Government*. Allyn and Bacon.

For Pupils

1. Hughes, *Community Civics*. Allyn and Bacon. (Chapter xxxiv, Saving Our National Resources.) (Chapter xxxvii, American Country Life.)
2. Dunn, *Community and Citizen*. D. C. Heath and Co. (Chapter xx, Changing Methods of Government.)
3. Lessons in Community and National Life. Department of Interior. C 5, C 6, C 7: B 5, B 11.
4. DuPuy, *Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles*. Frederick A. Stokes Co. (Mail, Immigrants, transforming deserts, weather bureau.)

CHAPTER XLII

For Teachers

1. Seymour, *Diplomatic Background of the War*. Yale University Press.
2. Wilson, *Why We are at War*. In our First Year of War. Harper and Bros. (Addresses to Congress, and the People by Pres. Wilson.)
3. Davis, William S., *Roots of the War*. The Century Co.
4. Gibbons, *The New Map of Europe*. The Century Co.
5. Schurman, *The Balkan Wars*. Princeton University Press.
6. Sarolea, *The Anglo-German Problem*. Amer. ed., G. P. Putnam's Sons. (See chapter on character of Kaiser written and published before the war; very interesting.)

For Pupils

1. McKinley, *School History of Great War*. American Book Co.
2. Tappan, *The Little Book of the War*. Houghton Mifflin Co.
3. Nida, *Story of the World War*. Hale Book Co.
4. McLaughlin, *Sixteen Causes of War*. University of Chicago Press. (Pamphlet; five cents each.)
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PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

Key to Symbols

ā	as in bāy,	ē	as in hēr,
ǎ	as in băt,	e	as in they,
â	as in bâre,	ī	as in pīe,
ä	as in färm,	ı̇	as in bıt,
ạ	as in solạce,	ō	as in gō,
à	as in cask,	ö	as in gőt,
ạ	as in wạlk,	ô	as in côm,
ē	as in bē,	ōō	as in mōōn,
ě	as in bět,	ū	as in tūne,
ê	as in thêre,	ũ	as in bũt,

e represents a sound similar to, but shorter than, short u — sometimes almost silent.

ġ hard as in get.

ñ as in ink, hunger.

ow has the sound of ow in how.

Acadia, a-kā'dī-a

Alamo, ä'lä-mō

Alsace, ăl-säs'

André, ăn'drạ or ăn'drī

Andros, ăn'dros

Annapolis, ăn-năp'o-līs

Antietam, ăn-tē'tam

Artois, ăr-twä'

Bahama, ba-hā'ma

Balboa, bäl-bō'ä

Beauregard, bō're-gard'

Bienville, bē'ăñ-vēl'

Biloxi, bīl-ōx'ı̇

Bon Homme Richard,

bo-nom'rē-shärr'

Breton, brēt'on

Buena Vista, bwā'nä vēs'tä

Cabot, kăb'ot

Calvert, kăl'vert

Cambrai, cam-brā

Canon, kăn'yŭn

Carteret, kăr'ter-et

Cartier, kăr'tyā'

Cavour, kă-vōōr'

Cerro Gordo, sēr'rō ġôr'dō

Cervera, thār-vā'rä

Champlain, shăm'plān'

Chateau-Thierry, shä-tō'tyě-rē'

Chippewa, chīp'pe-wä

Cibola, sē'bō-lä

Coligny, Gaspard de,
gäs-pärr də ko-lēn'yē
Concord, kōŋk'urd
Coronado, ko-ro-nä'tho
Corsair, kōr'sâr

De Grasse, də gräs'
De Kalb, də kälb'
D'Estaing, dēs'tän'
Diaz, də'äth
Duquesne, du'kän'

El Caney, el kã'nã
Entente Cordiale, äŋ-tant' kōr-dyäl'
Eric, ər'ik
Ericson, ər'ik-son

Farragut, fãr'a-güt
Foch, fōsh
Frémont, frē-mönt'

Garibaldi, gã-re-bäl'dē
Genet, zhe-nã'
Goliad, gō'lĩ-äd'
Gourges, Dominique de,
do'me'nēk də gōorgē
Guam, gwäm
Guiana, gē-ã'nã

Hawaii, hä-wĩ'ē
Hayti, hã'tĩ
Houston, hũ'ston
Huerta, hwēr'tã
Huguenot, hũ'gē-nōt

Iberville, ē-ber-vēl'
Iroquois, ir-ō-kwoi'

Jesuit, jēz'ũ-īt
Joffre, zhōff

Kosciuszko, kos-sĩ-us'ko

La Espagnola, lä es-pän-yō'lã
La Fayette, lä'fã'yēt'

La Salle, Robert de,
ro'bairr də lä sãl'
Laudonnière, Rene de,
rē-nã' də lõ'do'ne-ēr'
Liege, lē-ãzh'

Magellan, ma-jēl'an
Manila, ma-nil'la
Marconi, mār-kō'nē
Marquette, mār'kēt'
Menendez de Aviles, Fedro,
Pē'drō mə-nēn'deth də ä-vee'lēs
Monterey, mõn-tē-rã'
Moultrie, mool'trĩ

New Orleans, nũ ôr'le-anz
Nina, nēn'yã

Oglethorpe, ô'g'l-thorp
Oklahoma, ô-klã-hō'mã

Palos, pä'lōs
Pamlico, pãm'lĩ-kō
Pascua Florida, päs-cwã flōr'ĩ-dã
Pequot, pē'kwot
Philippine, fil'ip'in
Pinta, pēn'tã
Pitcairn, pĩt'kãrn
Pocahontas, po-ka-hōn'tas
Ponce de Leon, pōn'thã də lã-ōn'
Porto Rico, pōr'tō rē'kō
Powhatan, pow-hã-tãn'
Pueblo, pwēb'lō
Pulaski, pũ-lãs'kē

Raleigh, raw'lĩ
Ribault, Jean, zhōŋ re'bō'
Roosevelt, rōz'ē-vēlt
Rosecrans, rō'ze-krãns

Samoa, sä-mō'ã
San Juan, sãn hōō-ãn'
Santa Maria, sãn'tã mã-rē'ã
Santiago, sãn-tē-ã'gō
Santo Domingo, sãn'tō dō-mēn'gō

Schley, slī	Tomochichi, tom'ō-chē-chī
Schofield, skō'fēld	Tuscarora, tus'ka-rō'ra
Schuyler, ski'ler	
Serapis, se-rā'pis	Valladolid, vāl-yā-thō-lēth'
Sevier, se-vēr'	Venezuela, vën'ē-zwē'la
Seville, sē-vīl'	Verdun, vēr-dūn'
Shaftesbury, shafts'ber-ī	Vespucci, Amerigo,
Sioux, sōō	ä-mā-ree'go vës-poot'chee
Slidell, slī-dēl'	Vincennes, vīn-sēnz'
Steuben, stū'ben	
Stuyvesant, stī've-sant	Watauga, wä-tā'gā
	Whitefield, whīt'fēld
Tarleton, tārl'ton	Wilmot, wīl'mot
Tecumseh, tē-kūm'seh	
Tippecanoe, tīp'ē-ka-nōō	Ypres, ēpr

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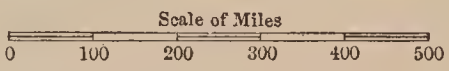
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