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kept overtime.

31. Balboa discovers the "Pacific." — Balboa, a Spanish adventurer, was the first to leave the coast. In 1513 he crossed the Isthmus of Panama, discovered the great ocean which he called the "South Sea," since named the "Pacific," and took possession of it in the name of the King of Spain.

32. Ponce de Leon explores and names Florida, 1513. — In the same year (1513) Ponce de Leon, a Spanish soldier and governor of Porto Rico, came to what is now Florida in search of the mythical "fountain of youth." He found no such fountain, of course, but he gave the country its present name because he first saw it on Easter Sunday, which in the Spanish is called *Pascua* (pas'-coo-ah) *Florida*, meaning "the flowery passover."

33. Cortez and Pizarro — A little later (1519-1521) Cortez made his famous conquest of Mexico and became a national hero. In 1532 Pizarro, another Spanish soldier, made a similar conquest of Peru. William H. Prescott, the American historian, has written of these two conquests in a very interesting and instructive way.

34. Narvaez explores the Southwest, 1528-1536 — In 1528 Narvaez, also a Spaniard, landed at Tampa Bay, Florida, with three hundred men bent upon exploring the interior. They met with indescribable hardships, and the company was finally reduced to four men. For eight years these luckless survivors floundered about in the forests, swamps, and deserts of the present Texas and northern Mexico, and finally reached the Gulf of California in 1536.

35. De Soto discovers the Mississippi River, 1541. — Another hardy Spanish explorer was Hernando de Soto. He and his followers landed in Florida in 1539, and after wandering about in the swamps and jungles of the Gulf region for two years discovered the Mississippi River in April of 1541. On May 21 of the following year De Soto died of swamp fever, and was buried in the bed of the river which he had discovered. His company, much reduced in numbers, soon after abandoned the expedition, and made its way down the Mississippi and along the Gulf coast to Mexico.

36. Coronado seeks the "Seven Cities of Cibola." — An equally remarkable expedition was undertaken in 1540 by another little band of Spaniards under the lead of Coronado. It was reported that the four survivors of the ill-fated Narvaez company claimed that they had seen the famous "Seven Cities of Cibola." The inhabitants of these cities were said to be fabulously wealthy, and to live in magnificent stone houses and to use household utensils made of solid gold and silver. These reports beguiled Coronado and his followers into the interior. They found the "Seven Cities," but they also found that the people instead of dwelling in marble palaces lived in large communal houses which were long, rude structures, large enough, in some instances, to hold fifty families. The Spaniards failed to find the gold and silver which they sought so eagerly. These would-be conquerors "beat for three years, up and down the southwestern wilderness," a part of them reached the interior of what is now Kansas, and some of them gazed upon the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. They finally realized that they were the victims of idle tales, and abandoned the project in 1542.

Coronado's
disappoint-
ment.

37. St. Augustine, the First Permanent Colony in the United States, founded, 1565. — Up to this time the Spaniards had not succeeded in planting a colony on the Atlantic coast of North America. However, in 1565 they founded the first permanent colony in what is now the United States at St. Augustine, Florida.¹

FACTS AND DATES

- 1000 (about). America discovered by the Norsemen.
- 1497. Vasco da Gama reaches India.
- 1492. Columbus discovers America.
- 1497. John Cabot reaches North America.
- 1519-1522. Voyage of Magellan.
- 1513. Balboa discovered the "South Sea" (Pacific Ocean).
- 1541. De Soto discovered the Mississippi River.
- 1565. St. Augustine founded.

¹ Vera Cruz had been founded in 1519, and Panama earlier.

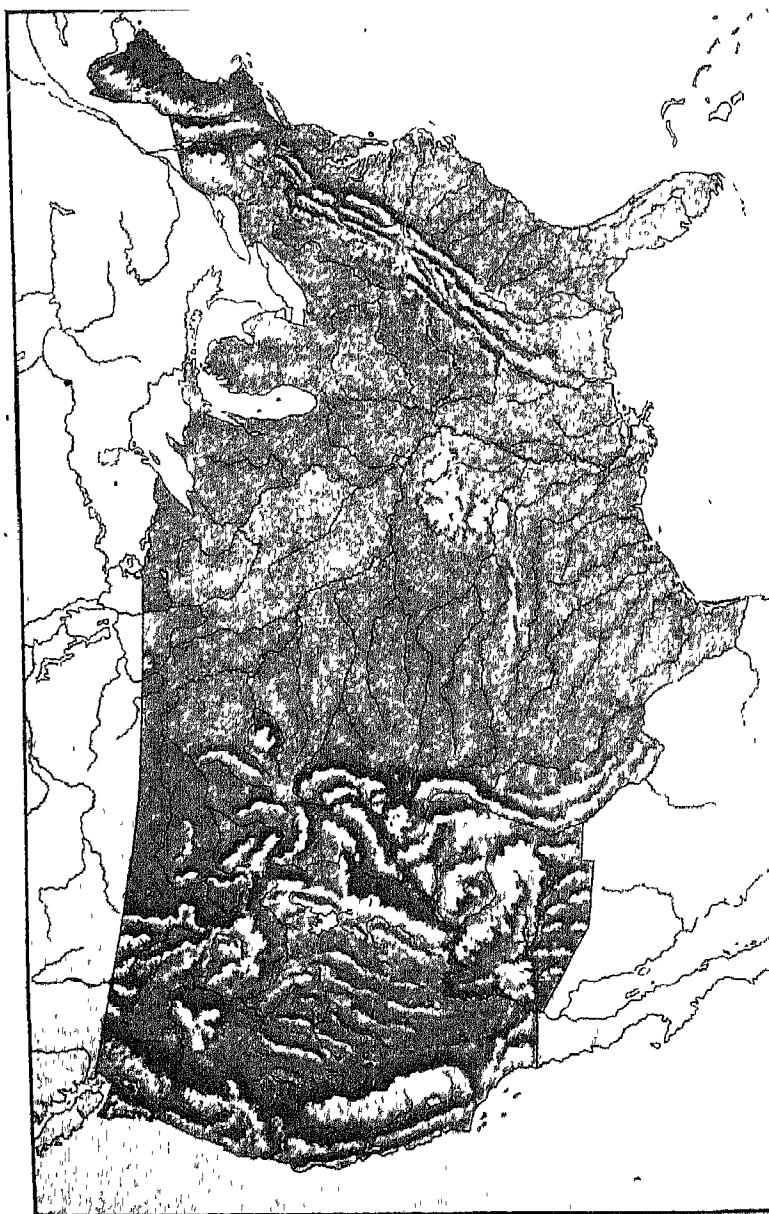
CHAPTER III

PHYSICAL FEATURES

38. Physical Features have a Marked Influence upon the History of a Country — From your study of geography you have learned that the physical features of a country have a very marked influence upon its history. The political, religious, and social life of the people is directly influenced by the soil, climate, and elevation of the country. The height of the mountains, the speed and depth of the rivers, and the nature of the seacoast have their influence upon the history of a nation. If an intelligent traveler had carefully studied the physical features of the United States, even before a single settlement had been made, he would have been able to foretell, to some extent, what the future history of the country would be.

39. The Atlantic Coast is more Accessible than the Pacific. — By referring to the map, it will be seen that the highland of the United States is, for the most part, west of the Mississippi River. The Pacific coast is high and steep, has but few good harbors, San Diego, San Francisco, and Puget Sound, and it is thus very difficult to make a landing upon it. The eastern coast is more inviting. The Atlantic seaboard extends inland for about one hundred miles, and slopes gently up to the mountains. There are many excellent harbors scattered along the coast from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to Galveston. The Pacific slope has few navigable rivers, while the Atlantic has many such.

40. Exploration and Colonization were Easier from the East to the West. — It will be evident from what has been said and from a study of the map that the exploration and colonization of North America were very much easier from the east to the



PHYSICAL MAP OF THE UNITED STATES.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

west than they would have been in the opposite direction. Explorers from Europe easily gained a foothold upon the Atlantic coast. They then found it possible to reach the interior of the continent by going up the St. Lawrence, the Potomac, the Hudson, or the James. These rivers led by easy portages to other waterways, and thus made it possible for explorers to reach all parts of the continent. The explorer might, for example, ascend the St. Lawrence River, pass on to the Great Lakes, and by carrying his canoe a short distance at any one of several places, reach the upper course of the Mississippi. By going down the Mississippi to the present site of St. Louis he could reach the mouth of the Missouri River, and by going up this river to its headwaters, and by carrying his canoe again for a short distance, he could reach the tributaries of the Columbia. By paddling down this river he could reach the Pacific, having crossed the continent almost entirely by water. By making use of the map you will be able to trace other routes which the early explorers might, and actually did, take into the interior, or even across the continent.

Taking it all together, it seems now a very fortunate circumstance that it was the eastern and not the western shore of the American continent that was first discovered by the Europeans.

41 The Hudson River and Chesapeake Bay divide the Atlantic Seaboard into Three Parts. — Although the eastern coast of the North American continent, taken as a whole, differs from the western, the physical features of the Atlantic border are by no means uniform. The north Atlantic coast differs very much from the south in this respect. It also happens that the Atlantic seaboard is divided into three great parts by the Hudson River and the Chesapeake Bay and that these divisions were the seats of three distinct groups of colonies, — the New England colonies, the Middle colonies, and the Southern colonies. Since these groups differ in many ways, it will be convenient to tell the story of the colonization of these three great divisions separately.

CHAPTER IV

THE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTH

1607-1700

42. Definition of a Colony — A colony is composed of a number of people who go from their native land to make homes in a new country. They and their descendants may or may not remain under the control of the mother country.

When a nation obtains territory by discovery or exploration, it usually wishes to get a firmer hold upon it by the establishment of colonies. It was so with the European nations in the sixteenth century. They were busy with plans of colonization for the New World.

43. There are Six Motives for Colonization — There are six principal motives which have led to the founding of colonies: (1) the desire for empire; (2) the love of adventure and enterprise; (3) the desire for gain; (4) overpopulation; (5) an oppressive government; and (6) a desire for religious freedom. It will be interesting to note as we progress the extent to which these motives entered into the founding of the American colonies. In most instances two or more of them were combined.

44. The Colony is sometimes Dependent upon the Mother Country. — The relation between the colony and the mother country has not been the same in every instance. The old Greek idea was that the colony was a new state descended from the mother country. It was in no sense a dependency. It was bound to the mother country by certain natural ties of blood relationship and religion, but was independent in matters of government.

The English idea of a colony in the seventeenth century was very different from the Greek idea. The English colony was governed by the mother country and was dependent upon her.

THE COLONIZATION OF THE SOUTH

29

The colony was looked upon also as a source of revenue. It was compelled to pay taxes to the mother state and was expected to furnish her a valuable trade. This narrow view of the relation of the colony to the home government led to the separation of the American colonies at the time of the Revolution.

The English idea of a colony.

England is now the most successful colonizing nation on the globe, but her policy is more liberal than it was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In speaking of the loss of the American colonies a recent English writer says: "England learnt thereby the true mode of dealing with colonies. Her liberal colonial policy in the present century, which stands out in brilliant contrast to the systems of other times and other nations, is the direct fruit of her greatest mistake and her most striking failure."

England's dealings with her colonies are more liberal now than formerly.

45. The Sea Rovers.—The first permanent English settlement in America was made at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1607. This was one hundred and ten years after John Cabot had made his famous voyage. Although England is generally very vigorous in the matter of colonization, she was slow to follow up the advantage gained by the voyage of John Cabot. There was a good reason for this. The Pope's decree of 1493 had given North America to Spain, and as long as England was subject to the Pope and friendly to Spain, she did not wish to disregard this decree. Consequently the colonization of North America was not taken up in earnest by England until the time of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603).

England was late in beginning the colonization of America.

The reign of Elizabeth was a brilliant period in English history. It was a time of great material prosperity and intellectual vigor. Trade and industry flourished, and some of the greatest masterpieces in English literature were written. The people were active and enterprising as they had never been before, and the achievements of their daring seamen were brilliant in the extreme. Sir

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was a brilliant period.

Francis Drake made the second circumnavigation of the globe in 1577-1580, and Frobisher and Davis carried the English flag to the extreme northwest. These daring sea rovers, however, were intent upon exploration, gold hunting, and the plundering of Spanish ships, and apparently had no thought of colonization.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH

The famous soldier, sea rover, and colonizer was born in England in 1552. He was well educated, and for years a favorite at the court of Queen Elizabeth. In 1603 he was convicted of treason and imprisoned in the Tower for thirteen years. He was then released, but in 1618 was beheaded on the old charge of fifteen years before. He was one of the first to introduce tobacco into England.

was lost on the voyage, and Gilbert went down with her. The companion ship, bearing the worthless rock, came to port in safety.

Raleigh persevered and spent a fortune of forty thousand pounds in the attempt to found a colony in America. He determined to abandon Newfoundland and to go to the milder climate

Virginia is
named,
1584.

of the South, and in 1584 he sent two vessels under the command of Amadas and Barlowe to the south Atlantic coast. These men explored the shore for a considerable distance, and the country was named "Virginia"

46. Gilbert and Raleigh attempt to found Colonies, but Fail — Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a member of Parliament, was the first Englishman to attempt to found a colony in the New World. He was a good man and deserved better success, and a less tragic fate. In 1579 he and his stepbrother, Walter Raleigh, went to Newfoundland, being attracted, no doubt, by the fisheries, and attempted to establish a colony there. They failed. Four years later (1583) Gilbert went to the same place and found that four hundred vessels, most of them owned by the Spaniards and Portuguese, were engaged in the Newfoundland fisheries. He loaded one of his ships with rock supposed to contain silver ore and set out for home. His ship, the *Golden Hind*,

in honor of Elizabeth, the maiden queen. They made no settlement, but came into contact with the Indians and reported them to be "people most gentle, loving, and faithful." Later colonists had a different story to tell.

In the following year (1585) Raleigh sent out another fleet of eight vessels, carrying one hundred and eight colonists, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville. Grenville scoured the seas and plundered the ships of the Spaniards for some time and finally landed his company on Roanoke Island. They were not good material for a colony. They enjoyed the chase and capture of a rich Spanish ship, and the search for gold mines, but agriculture was not to their liking. They were also depressed by homesickness, and in 1586 Sir Francis Drake touched at Roanoke and carried the entire company back to England. A few days after their departure a supply ship sent by Raleigh found the place deserted. About two weeks later Grenville returned to the spot and left fifteen men to the lonesome task of retaining possession of the site. So this expedition ended in practical failure.

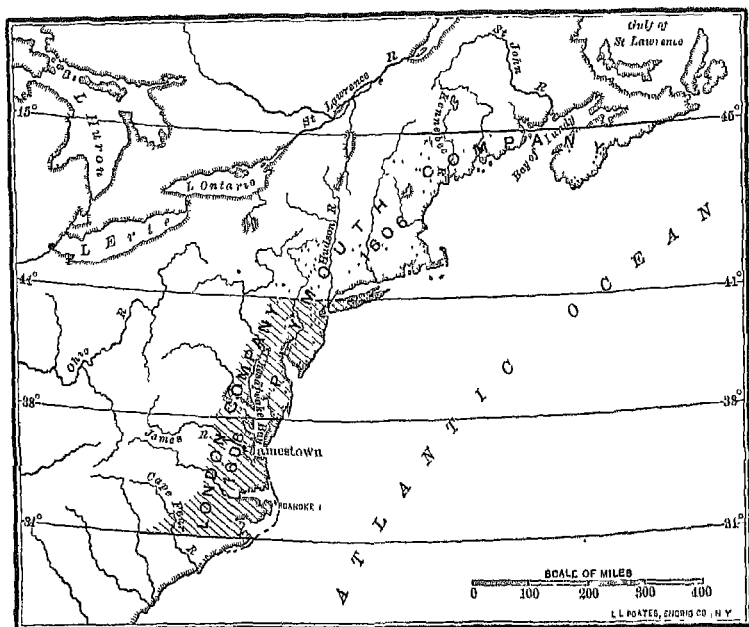
Raleigh's
colony at
Roanoke a
failure.

Raleigh was not discouraged, but in 1587 sent out another expedition, this time at his own expense, as the queen had had enough of the business. They came to the Carolina coast, but could find no trace of the fifteen men. "At Roanoke, deer were quietly grazing in a field fertilized by the bones of Grenville's contingent of the year before, and the fort was in ruins." John White was in command of the expedition, and on August 18, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, gave birth to a child which was named Virginia in honor of the new country. This child was the first one born of English parents on American soil. Leaving a colony of eighty-nine men, women, and children, White returned to England in the same year (1587).

He founds
another
colony on
the
Carolina
coast.

47. The Defeat of the Armada humbled Spain and made England more Powerful. — Stirring times were coming on in Europe. Catholic Spain had been the leading nation of the world, and now Protestant England was about to challenge her supremacy.

The other nations, keenly sympathetic with the one side or the other, looked on with interest. They had not long to wait. In 1588 the Spanish fleet, the so-called "Invincible Armada," set out to destroy the English navy. The result is well known.



GRANTS OF LAND TO THE LONDON AND PLYMOUTH COMPANIES, 1606.

The grants were as follows:—London Company (or Branch), 34°-41°; Plymouth Company (or Branch), 38°-45°; common to both, 38°-41°. According to the charter of 1606 the grant of land extended inland a distance of one hundred miles and also included all islands within one hundred miles of the coast. In 1609 the London Company was separated from the Plymouth and its domain was said to extend "from sea to sea, west and northwest," and to include the coast islands as before. Under this charter of 1609 Virginia later claimed land northwest of the Ohio River.

The Armada was defeated and almost totally destroyed by the English fleet aided by severe storms. When Grenville returned from America in 1587, the clash was about to come. There could be no thought of colonization in such a time, and the unfortunate people of Roanoke were left to shift for themselves for three years. White returned to the place in 1590, only to

find that the colonists, including his daughter and granddaughter, Virginia Dare, had disappeared. They had probably been massacred or had gone to live with the Indians, and are spoken of to this day as Raleigh's "lost colony."

48. Trading Companies, when Individuals failed, were organized to found Colonies. — It soon became evident that colonization in America was too large an enterprise for individuals to undertake. The personal efforts of Gilbert and Raleigh had failed, and the next step was to organize companies for the purpose of founding colonies. On April 10, 1606, King James I granted a charter to a company consisting of two branches or parts. One of these branches had its headquarters at London and was known as the London Company. To this company the king gave the right to occupy a tract of land one hundred miles square, situated anywhere between 34° and 41° north latitude.

The London
Company,
 34° to 41° .

The other company, with headquarters at Plymouth, and hence called the Plymouth Company, obtained a similar grant between 38° and 45° north latitude. The domain of the London Company thus extended from Long Island on the north to the mouth of the Cape Fear River on the south, while that of the Plymouth extended from the northern boundary of New York to the mouth of the Potomac River. It will be noticed that there was an overlapping of three degrees, but to avoid conflict it was provided that neither company should establish a settlement between 38° and 41° nearer than one hundred miles to one already established within this zone.

The
Plymouth
Company,
 38° to 45° .

49. The King governed the Colonies. — The government of the colonies was placed in the hands of the king. Each colony was to have a governing council of thirteen men, residing in America, and appointed by the king from among the colonists. Over each of these local councils there was to be another council residing in England, composed of fourteen men, and also appointed by the king.

The councils in America were subject to any rules which the

king might see fit to make. In accordance with this clause the king sent some very definite instructions with the body of colonists sent out by the London Company. These instructions provided that the supremacy of the king and that of the Church of England should be maintained. They also provided for trial by jury and set forth the way in which land should be held. The penalties for certain offenses were also fixed. It was agreed that the proceeds of the enterprise were to go to the Company for twenty-one years and then to the king. It will be noticed that the power of the king, under the charter, was absolute. The Company was very anxious to obtain favorable trading privileges, but cared little for the political freedom of the colonists. Money was apparently more important than self-government. And yet, we shall see, as we proceed, that the king was too weak to profit much by the vast power given to him by the charter, and that the colonists really did obtain a large measure of self-government. It should also be said that the colonists were guaranteed the rights of Englishmen before the courts.

VIRGINIA, 1607

50 Jamestown, the First English Colony in America, founded, 1607. — The London Company was the first to move under the new charter. On December 19, 1606, one hundred and forty-three colonists embarked for the New World under the command of Christopher Newport. Among the noted men of the company were Gosnold, the navigator, Wingfield, a merchant, and John Smith, a brave but boastful soldier whose ability was destined to save the colony from destruction. Land was sighted on the 16th of April, 1607, and soon after, the company sailed up the river which they named the James in honor of the king. On the 13th of May they landed on the north bank of the river, about forty or fifty miles above its mouth, and there selected the site for their colony, which they named Jamestown. Captain Newport and a small party went on an exploring expedition to

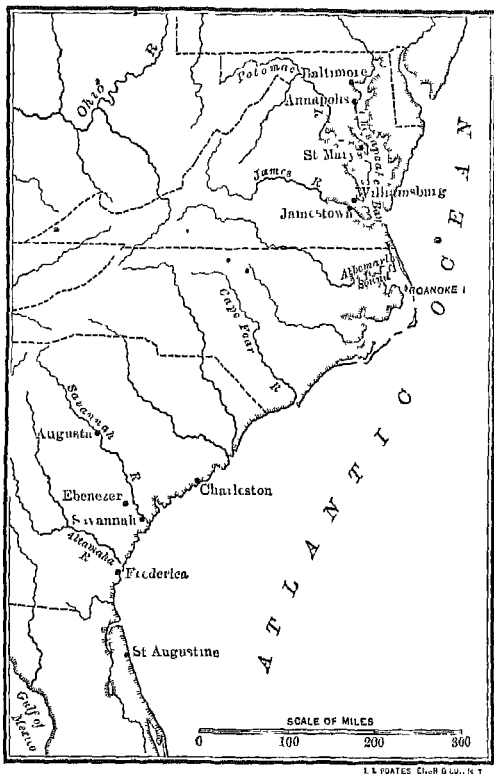
the present site of Richmond, and on June 22 their leader went back to England.

Wingfield was chosen president, but after the departure of Newport he found it impossible to control the colony and was removed from office. Things

were in a bad way. The colonists were quarrelsome and not industrious. "Gentlemen" were poor material for a colony

were "gentlemen," so-called, and not accustomed to work with their hands. They had come to America to find gold mines and get rich rapidly, but not to till the soil. They were generally inclined to lawlessness. A play written in 1605 sets forth the views of American colonists in a somewhat exaggerated way. One of the characters, in speaking of the New World, says: "Gold is more plentiful there than copper is with us. . . . Why, man, all their dripping-pans are pure gold, and all chains with which they chain up their streets

are massive gold, all the prisoners they take are fettered in gold; and for rubies and diamonds, they go forth on holy days and gather them by the seashore, to hang on their children's

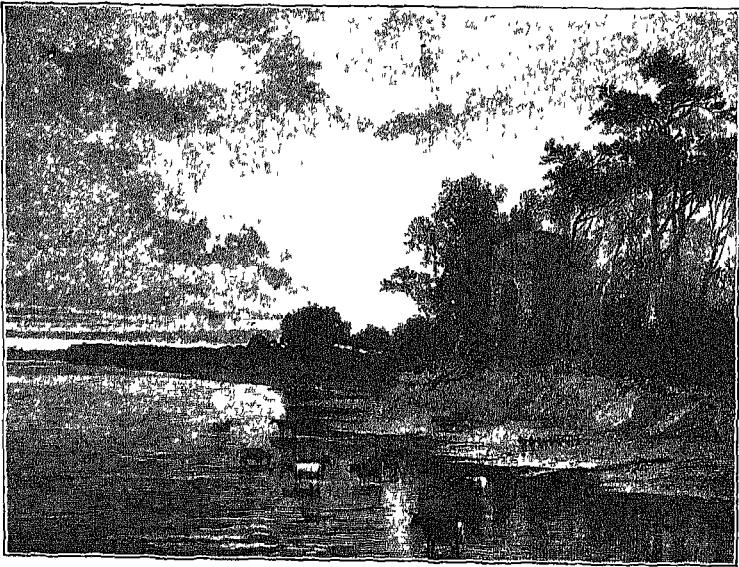


THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The English controlled the entire coast represented in the above map from Maryland to Georgia. St. Augustine (1565) was Spanish.

coats and stick in their children's caps " It was apparently the idea of the colonist that all he had to do in America was to eat, drink, and be merry. He soon found, however, that such was not the case. Within two weeks from the time of the landing the Indians made an attack upon the settlement. Disease lurked in the swamps, the water was bad, and the heat was intense. One half of the colonists died during the first summer, and the outlook for Jamestown was a gloomy one.

The colonists wished to find gold, but not to till the soil.



THE SITE OF JAMESTOWN AS IT APPEARED IN 1859.

Jamestown was built upon low land. It was unhealthful and difficult to defend against the Indians. A great many of the people died and the colony was partly supported from England for several years. During Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 the town was burned and never rebuilt. In the picture are seen the runs of the brick church tower, all that remains.

51. John Smith was the Savior of the Colony — At this time John Smith appeared as the savior of the colony. Smith was vain, boastful, and deceitful, but he was at the same time a man of courage, energy, and ability. When he became president he

put the idlers at work and declared that "he that will not work shall not eat." He drilled the men, repaired the fortifications, and explored the surrounding country. For two years Smith was the mainspring of the Jamestown colony, and undoubtedly saved it from failure. He was shrewd enough to see the real difficulty, and he pleaded with the Company in London to send carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and gardeners instead of the "gentlemen, goldsmiths, and libertines," already there. The Company, however, complained of the small profits of the enterprise and was slow to see that "the air of Virginia could work no charm to turn idle spendthrifts into hard-working settlers."

52. New Charter is granted, 1609.—On May 23, 1609, a new charter was given to the colony. The boundaries of the grant of land were more definitely set forth, and it was stated that the domain extended from "sea to sea, west and northwest." The government was also somewhat simplified. The power was now placed in the hands of a single council, appointed originally by the king, but with vacancies filled by the Company.

In England an effort was made to arouse an interest in the Jamestown colony. Sermons were preached in its behalf, and pamphlets were printed for the same purpose. More immigrants came; "unruly gallants," said Smith, but he put them to work. The severest blow which the colony suffered in its early days was the departure of John Smith for England in October, 1609. The strong arm



CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

"The Saviør of the Jamestown Colony" was born in England in 1579. He was a soldier and led a life of thrilling adventure. He was a natural leader. He wrote several books, one of which was "The True Travels, Adventures, and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America." He died in London in 1631.

Jamestown
in
wretched-
ness.

was taken away and was not returned. After Smith's departure the colony sank into a wretched condition. It suffered from disease, Indian attacks, and, worst of all, from laziness. The colonists were so shiftless that they chopped up their houses for fuel although they were living in a dense wilderness. Affairs were in a desperate condition and the colony was about to be abandoned in 1610, the year after Smith's departure.

53 Lord Delaware a Good Governor — Lord Delaware, the new governor, arrived just in time to prevent the step. Delaware was an able and energetic man and soon infused new life into the colony. He found Jamestown "a forlorn ruin full of dead men's bones," but soon caused things to take on a new form. The little church, which had been abandoned, was enlarged and repaired and the worship of God was resumed. Fresh misfortunes, however, were in store for the distressed colonists. The well from which they drew their water supply was shallow and probably foul, and a large amount of sickness was the result. Delaware became unpopular and left Jamestown in the March after his arrival.

54. Governor Dale restored Law and Order — Delaware was succeeded in 1611 by Sir Thomas Dale, a man of vigor and even of harshness. Dale brought with him a code of martial law and soon reduced the colony to order. His vigor was necessary, as the "starving time" was not yet over. New immigrants of a more useful class, including servants and workingmen, arrived, and the condition of affairs improved under Dale's government.

55. The Virginia House of Burgesses was the First Representative Legislature ever convened in America, July 30, 1619. — The little colony had a long list of governors, — some good and some bad, — but continued on the whole to advance and to increase in strength. Governor Yeardley arrived in the spring of 1619, and under his direction some very important changes were made. On July 30, 1619, the first House of Burgesses was assembled. This assembly is notable as being *the first representative legislature ever convened in America*. It was made up of twenty-two

"burgesses," or representatives, there being two from each of the eleven "towns, plantations, and hundreds"

56. Slavery introduced, 1619. — In the same year slavery was introduced into America. A Dutch vessel sailed up the James River in the summer of 1619 and sold twenty negro slaves to the colonists. The seeds of the great Civil War of 1861-1865 were thus sown at this time.

The colony continued to flourish, and in 1620 it contained about three thousand people. Tobacco was the staple crop and for a time was used as money. The Church of England was the principal church. Women came, and family life was established.

57. The Indians, at first Friendly, became Hostile. — The colony suffered somewhat from Indian attacks. The Indians of North America were much more savage than those which the Spaniards had met in the South. They were, however, at first very friendly to Smith and his followers. Powhatan was the famous chief of the red men in the vicinity of Jamestown, and his daughter Pocahontas married John Rolfe, a young Englishman. But in 1618 Powhatan died, and his brother, who succeeded him, was not so cordial. The relations between the Indians and the white men became unfriendly, and in 1622 a fight between a colonist and a red man brought on an Indian attack. About three hundred and seventy colonists were slain, and the very life of Jamestown was in danger. Such an attack would probably have been fatal during the "starving time" which followed the departure of John Smith.

58 The Charter withdrawn, 1624. — In the following year the king, who was not friendly to the Company, demanded the surrender of the charter, and on June 16, 1624, the court declared the charter null and void. The colony now passed under the absolute and immediate control of the king, and the Company was deprived of its rights. The act of the king was tyrannical and harsh, but it worked for the good of the people in the end. The colony was not interfered with, and great advancements were made in self-government.

59. Governor Berkeley was an Able but Narrow Man. — Of the later governors Sir William Berkeley was one of the most notable. He was a man of ability, yet narrow-minded. In 1671 he wrote a description of the colony as it was in 1670. He placed the population at forty thousand, and urged the ministers to "pray oftener and preach less." He showed his hostility to education by writing, "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years."

60. A Period of Gloom followed by Prosperity. — The latter part of the seventeenth century was a gloomy period in the colony notwithstanding the fact that the people were, for the most part, under able governors. During the administration of Governor Francis Nicholson riots and other disorders prevailed, and hangings were numerous. Nicholson said of the people that he would "beat them into better manners" or "bring them to reason with halters about their necks."

Yet the colony grew, and in 1700 the population had reached nearly one hundred thousand. Education, too, was not entirely neglected, as William and Mary College was founded at Williamsburg in 1693. This was the second college founded in America, Harvard being the first, in 1636. The success of the colony was now well assured, as the people had settled down to agriculture and the fever for gold hunting had largely passed away. Popular government, too, was growing stronger.

William
and Mary
College
founded,
1693.

MARYLAND, 1634

61. Lord Baltimore proposes to found a Colony on a Religious Basis. — While these events were occurring in Virginia, another colony of a different character was being founded a short distance to the north. George Calvert, or Lord Baltimore, was a member of the Virginia Company, and came to the conclusion that a colony on a purely commercial basis could not succeed. He therefore made up his mind to found one in which religion

should play an important part. Calvert was a Roman Catholic and a great favorite at the court of the king, and obtained from Charles I a grant of land of indefinite boundaries, lying to the north of the Potomac River. He also got a very liberal charter for the government of any colonies which he might found. He was to pay a yearly rent of two Indian arrowheads, and to give to the king one fifth of all the gold and silver which he might find. The power of the proprietor over the colonists was practically absolute. The land in the grant was named Maryland, at the king's request, in honor of the queen, Henrietta Maria.

Lord Baltimore died before taking steps to colonize the new land, and his rights under the charter descended to his son Cecil. In November, 1633, Cecil Calvert sent out his brother Leonard with about two hundred colonists, and in the following March they founded St Mary's on the Potomac River.

62. Religious Toleration is granted, 1649.—The proprietor was a Roman Catholic, but many of the colonists were Protestants and were granted religious toleration. The result was that they were contented and the colony prospered. Oppressed religious sects soon came from all quarters to seek a haven of refuge in the new colony. They were not disappointed. In 1649 the famous Toleration Act was passed which provided that no Christian should be interfered with in any way in the practice of his religion. This liberal and enlightened statute was the cause of much of the prosperity of the colony. The people also gained a degree of self-government and had a representative legislature which was divided into two houses, or chambers, in 1650.

63. Maryland became a Royal Province, 1691.—In a short time a marked change took place. In 1691 Maryland became a royal province, with the government vested in the crown. The Church of England was made the established church, other Protestant sects were frowned upon, and the Catholics were persecuted. The capital of the colony was moved from St. Mary's, which was a Catholic center, to Annapolis, which was

controlled by members of the Church of England. Thus a very great change was made in the original plans of Lord Baltimore. The change was not for the good of the colony. Its prosperity declined until 1715, when the heirs of Lord Baltimore were restored to power.

In 1729 the city of Baltimore was founded and soon became an important commercial seaport.

THE CAROLINAS, 1663

64. The Carolina Grant, 1663. — There was an immense tract of territory lying to the south of Virginia which had not as yet been given to any company or proprietor, and in 1663 Charles II gave the Carolinas to a group of eight of his friends, of whom the Earl of Clarendon and Governor William Berkeley of Virginia were members. In 1665 the boundaries were specified more definitely as extending from 36° 30' on the north to 29° on the south. The country had been named Carolina by Jean Ribaut a century before this time in honor of Charles IX of France, and as a Charles was now on the throne of England, there was no need of a change in the name.

Albemarle
the first
permanent
settlement
in North
Carolina.

65 North Carolina was an Offshoot of Virginia. — A settlement had already been made on Albemarle Sound, the first permanent one within the present boundaries of North Carolina. In 1653 Roger Green had led a small band of followers from Virginia and had made the settlement. North Carolina was thus an offshoot from Virginia. It was provided in the grant given to Berkeley and others that the proprietors should recognize the claims of Green and his followers.

In 1664 the colony of Clarendon was established farther to the south, on the Cape Fear River. It was not the intention that two different colonies should be founded, but since the two settlements at Albemarle and Clarendon were so far apart, it was found convenient to give them separate governments.

William Drummond was appointed governor of the Albemarle settlement after it had been organized by Governor Berkeley of Virginia. John Yeamans was made governor of Clarendon. The colonists were given self-government on a simple plan, although the power of the proprietors under the charter was nearly absolute. Clarendon founded, 1664

The rich soil and the profitable trade in lumber and fur attracted many settlers to the Carolinas, and others, not so desirable, were attracted by the peculiar laws. It was decreed that no debts contracted abroad before coming to the Carolinas could be collected there. This law served to bring many who wished to escape the payment of debt.

66. Locke's Constitutions a Failure. — In 1669 the proprietors asked John Locke, the great English scholar, to draw up a form of government for the Carolinas. He did so, and the result was the famous *Fundamental Constitutions*, which have been ridiculed ever since. The scheme was complex and impractical and was never put into operation. It could not be. It provided for "landgraves" and "caciques" and other unheard-of orders of nobility which were impossible in the wilderness of the New World. The result of the whole matter was to make many of the settlers disgusted with every kind of government.

67. Charleston founded, 1670-1671. — The site of the Clarendon colony on the Cape Fear River was not a good one, and the settlement did not prosper. In 1670-1671 William Sayle made a settlement where Charleston now stands. The site was an excellent one, and the place soon became the most important one in South Carolina.

The southern settlements in Carolina were the more promising, and hence more attention was given to them. Englishmen came from the Bahamas, Virginia, and New England, Protestants came from France, and Scotch Presbyterians made a settlement at Port Royal, which was destroyed by the Spaniards in 1686.

68. Ludwell the First Governor of the Two Provinces, 1691. — In 1691 Philip Ludwell became the first governor of the two

provinces. He had a difficult time. Many of the settlers were dishonest debtors and worthless adventurers, and the governor was not equal to the task of controlling them. In 1695, however, John Archdale, a sensible Quaker, was made governor, and peace and prosperity followed. The factions ceased their quarrels, and there was religious toleration for all Christians except Roman Catholics. Yet even with this increase in prosperity the Carolina colonies were still weak at the close of the century. Sometimes they had separate governments, and sometimes one man was governor of both.

Carolina divided, 1729. In 1729 they were divided and became separate and distinct royal provinces, having been sold to the king by the proprietors.

GEORGIA, 1733

69. Georgia was founded by Oglethorpe, 1733. — Georgia was the last of the thirteen English colonies to be established on the coast of North America. Its founding was due, not to commerce or religion, but to charity, and its founder was James Edward Oglethorpe, one of the greatest and best men of his time. Oglethorpe was an Oxford University man, and was prominent in the public life of England for nearly three quarters of a century. He was a member of Parliament and had been chairman of a committee of the House of Commons to visit the prisons. His humane and sympathetic nature was touched by the terrible sufferings which the prisoners were compelled to undergo. It was the custom at the time in England to imprison men for debt, and the unfortunate debtors appealed especially to Oglethorpe. He conceived the idea of founding a colony in America where the best of these debtors could go and begin life anew. He also thought that it would be a good idea to place his colony south of those already planted, so that it might serve as a bulwark against the Spaniards in Florida. The colony of Georgia was thus the result of two ideas of which the charitable one was the more important. Oglethorpe would also have his colony take

A colony composed largely of debtors.

part in the profitable fur trade with the Cherokee Indians, but this also was a matter of less importance.

70. The Land Grant and the Form of Government. — Before Oglethorpe could begin this enterprise it was necessary that a large sum of money be raised. The prisoners could not be taken away until their debts were paid, and the cost of making the expedition to the New World and of founding the colony would be considerable. Oglethorpe succeeded in getting a number of wealthy and charitable men interested in his reform colony, and a grant of land was obtained extending from the Savannah to the Altamaha River. The grant was named Georgia in honor of King George II. Georgia named for King George. The governmental power was placed in the hands of the company, or trustees, as they were called, as the unfortunate debtors were not considered capable of governing themselves. The charter had many excellent features, but it was found impossible to put some of them into force. Slavery was prohibited, the importation of rum was forbidden, and no one man was permitted to own more than five hundred acres of land. Religious toleration was granted to all sects except the Roman Catholics.

71. The Colony started. — In November, 1732, Oglethorpe set out with thirty-five families, and in February following he founded the city of Savannah. This was the starting point of the new colony. He did not take the land away from the Indians by force, as many others had done, but he made an alliance with the Creeks and treated them with justice.

It was soon seen that the unfortunate debtors were not good material for the making of a colony. They had failed in England, and most of them did the same in America. Hence Oglethorpe sought new and better colonists to strengthen his enterprise. In 1734 some thrifty and industrious German Protestants came, and these furnished an excellent example to the shiftless debtors. Debtors proved poor material for a colony. Scotch Highlanders also came, and these, too, were a vast improvement over the original colonists. Ebenezer, Augusta, and Frederica

were founded, and the fur trade with the Indians became profitable.

It was the intention of the trustees to make silk culture an important feature of the colony. The mulberry tree was to be cultivated and the silkworm bred, and silkworms were placed on the seal of the colony as a symbol of its most important industry. The whole project, however, was a failure.

In 1743 Oglethorpe went to England, never to return to Georgia. After his departure matters went from bad to worse. The debtors were discontented and troublesome, but the Scotch and Germans were thrifty and contented. It was found impossible to exclude slaves and rum, as these were smuggled over the borders from other colonies. The Rum Act was repealed about the time of Oglethorpe's departure, and slaves were admitted in 1749.

72. Georgia made a Royal Province.—The charter was surrendered to the king in 1752, and Georgia became a royal province. This change was beneficial in many ways. At this time Georgia, although a fairly successful colony, was not a strong one. The whites numbered about twenty-four hundred and the blacks about eleven hundred. The silk culture had proved a failure; the debtors had been a disappointment; but the general condition of the colony was fairly satisfactory. Rice and indigo were raised with success, and the lumber and fur trades were profitable.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1607. Jamestown founded.
- 1619. Virginia House of Burgesses organized.
Slavery introduced into Virginia.
- 1634. St. Mary's founded.
- 1663. Carolina Grants made.
- 1729. The Carolinas separated.
- 1733. Savannah founded.

CHAPTER V

THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

1620-1700

73 The Early New England Colonists sought Religious Freedom in America — The history of New England forms a striking contrast to that of the South. The southern colonies were founded, for the most part, on a commercial basis. It is true, of course, that religion had much to do with the colonization of Maryland, and that Georgia was founded primarily for unfortunate debtors; but as a rule the southern colonies were established by trading companies who wished to make money in the business. In New England there was a very different motive. The early settlers came to that locality, not for the purpose of gain, but that they might worship God in their own way. In England at the time they were not permitted to do this.

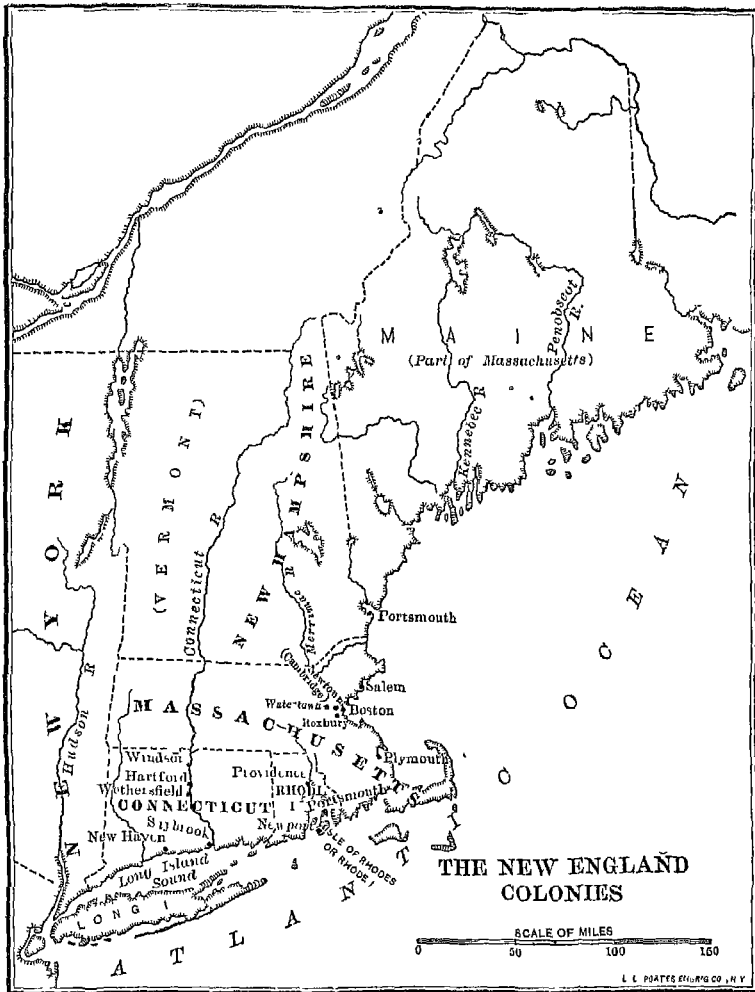
74. John Smith explores the New England Coast, 1614 — John Smith returned to America in 1614, and after exploring the northeastern coast, gave to the country the name which it still bears, "New England." Aside from the explorations of Smith there was very little activity about New England for several years. Men were afraid of the climate of the North and preferred to go to Virginia. The fisheries, however, did attract some hardy navigators, and a few fishing boats were sent out by the Plymouth Company. In 1620 the Company got a new charter giving it the land between 40° and 48° north latitude. It was subsequently known as the Council for New England, but the change of name does not seem to have stirred it to much activity.

PLYMOUTH

75. The Plymouth Colony is founded, 1620.—The first permanent colony in New England was founded at Plymouth, in Massachusetts, in 1620, but its founding was not due to the activity of the colonizing company. It was almost accidental, as we shall see later.

The founding of this colony leads us to the story of the "Pilgrim Fathers." In order to get a clear understanding of the causes which led the Pilgrims to come to America, it will be necessary to note briefly the various sects or divisions into which the Protestants of England were divided at the time. Many of these Protestants were members of the Church of England, or of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as we call it in the United States. But there was also a large number of sincere and earnest Protestants who did not conform in every respect to the Church of England. Some of these wished to remain in the Church, but were desirous of "purifying" it, as they said, and hence were called "Puritans." These men were very strict and rigid in the observance of what seemed to them to be their religious duties. In addition to the Puritans there was another body of Protestants who considered the purification of the English Church to be a hopeless task, and who, as a result of this view, determined to separate themselves from it. These were called "Separatists" or "Independents." It was a company of Separatists who founded the first permanent colony in New England, as we shall soon see.

There was no religious toleration in England at the time of which we are speaking. The Catholics were persecuted under Edward VI, and the Protestants under Mary, while under Elizabeth and her immediate successors all who did not conform to the Established Church of England were punished very severely. James I, who came to the throne in 1603, was especially harsh toward all who would not conform to his Church. "I will make them conform," he exclaimed in anger, "or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse."



The New England colonies, founded in 1620 and later, had an individuality peculiar to themselves. This individuality has been retained to some extent to the present day.

In their distress many of the oppressed people thought of going to Holland, where they might have religious freedom, and

in 1608 the congregation from the town of Scrooby in north central England went to Amsterdam under the leadership of their able and beloved pastor, John Robinson. The little flock was a sincere and devoted band, quite different from the gentlemen and idlers who had gone to Jamestown the year before. After remaining in Amsterdam a short time they went to Leyden. Here they found the religious freedom which they were seeking, but they were not contented. They were "strangers in a strange land" They were being influenced somewhat by their surroundings, and their children were slowly adopting Dutch customs. This they regretted, for they were Englishmen and dearly loved the country from which they had been driven. They accordingly determined to go to America, where they could worship God in their own way and still live as Englishmen. They made arrangements with the Virginia Company for the planting of a colony near the present location of New Jersey.

A part of the congregation left Holland in 1620 and stopped in England on the way to America. After a short delay they set sail for the lonely Jersey shores in two ships, the *Speedwell* and the *Mayflower*. They had not gone far when it was discovered that the *Speedwell* was unseaworthy. They put back to England, and on September 16, 1620, the *Mayflower* set sail alone on her memorable voyage with about one hundred persons on board. The voyage was a stormy one, and the little boat just narrowly missed going to the bottom. On November 19 they saw the shores of Massachusetts. The captain had lost his reckonings, and contrary winds had driven them farther north than they wished to go. Instead of landing they turned toward the south, but being unable to make much headway, they returned to the Massachusetts coast, and on December 21, 1620, landed at the spot which John Smith had called Plymouth — tradition says on "Plymouth Rock."

About a month before the landing the colonists felt the need

of some kind of an agreement in regard to their government. Hence they assembled in the cabin of their ship and signed the famous "Mayflower Compact." By this they declared that they had formed "a civil body politic" and that they would make just laws for the general good. This famous compact was signed by forty-one adult males of the company

The "Mayflower Compact."



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS.

When the Pilgrims landed on the bleak New England shore in 1620, they fell on their knees and thanked God for preserving them from the perils of the ocean.

76. Early Trials of the Plymouth Colonists. — John Carver was the first governor of the colony, but he died in less than a year, and was succeeded by William Bradford, one of the ablest and best men in American colonial history. Bradford served the colony as governor almost continuously until his death in 1657. We are also indebted to him for an excellent history of the Plymouth colony. Elder William Brewster and Myles Standish, the famous soldier, were among the leading men of the colony.

Building homes on the bleak New England coast in midwinter was a very serious matter, but the courage of the Pilgrims did not fail them. The trials of the first winter were very severe. At one time only six or seven of the entire company were able to care for the sick and bury the dead, and when spring came about one half of the whole number were in their graves. Yet the brave hearts of the Pilgrims did not falter. They put in crops and built houses and made ready for the coming winter. It is a notable fact, too, that when the *Mayflower* returned to



PILGRIMS GOING TO CHURCH.

The Pilgrims were a very religious people. The Church was their most important institution, and they were regular in attendance. Their guns were necessary for defense against the Indians.

England in the spring of 1621, not a single colonist returned with her. The colonists obtained a grant of land from the Council for New England, into whose territory they had chanced to come, and they also made suitable arrangements with the Indians. After the harvests of the first year had been gathered they appointed a day of thanksgiving and prayer—the first Thanksgiving Day ever observed in America.

77. Other Towns established.—Other settlements were established in the vicinity of Plymouth, and it is a noticeable fact that even at this early time the life of New England was a town life.

In the South the people were spread out over isolated plantations, but in New England they clustered around the "meeting house."

In 1643 the Plymouth colony consisted of eight towns with a population of three thousand people. In 1670 the number had risen to eight thousand, and in 1691 the colony lost its identity by being joined to Massachusetts Bay Colony, which had sprung up around the present site of Boston.

Plymouth is joined to Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1691.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

78. Charter granted to Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629.—A new king, Charles I, came to the throne of England in 1625. He was no more tolerant in religious matters than his predecessors had been. In addition to religious intolerance he oppressed the people very severely in matters of government. This caused many Puritans to seek new homes in America. In 1628 John Endicott established a settlement on the Massachusetts coast at a place which the Indians had called Naumkeag, but which he changed to Salem, meaning "Peace." The most important steps in the colonization of New England, however, were taken at a later time. In 1629 a charter was obtained from the king, incorporating the Massachusetts Bay Company. This company was destined to do important things.

79. Boston and Other Towns settled, 1630; the "Puritan Exodus"—The charter was granted at a very favorable time. In 1629 King Charles made up his mind that he would rule absolutely and give the people no part in the government. He consequently dismissed Parliament in that year and summoned no other until 1640. During these years of oppression the great "Puritan Exodus" took place, during which twenty thousand people left England and sailed for America. Soon after the granting of the charter (April, 1630), John Winthrop, one of the best of men, sailed for Salem. He left Salem almost

Twenty thousand Puritans leave England for America in about ten years

immediately after his arrival and went to the present site of Boston. During this year about one thousand colonists came. This was the most important attempt yet made in the colonization of the New World. The stream thus started continued to flow for ten years. Settlements were made at Watertown, Roxbury, Newtown, Boston, and other places in that locality. Eight distinct settlements were made within a single year, and in September, 1630, Boston was made the capital of the colony. In 1634 the colony had four thousand inhabitants scattered in twenty towns.



AN INDIAN WELCOME ON THE CHARLES RIVER

The Indian would have been much less hostile toward the colonists if he had been treated fairly. In this instance he is meeting the white settlers with a present instead of a tomahawk.

Although the Massachusetts Bay Colony prospered as no other in America had done before, its policy in religious and political matters was exceedingly narrow. The Puritans came to America to find religious freedom for themselves, but would not tolerate views in

The Puritans would not allow religious toleration.

politics or religion which were different from their own. With them the Church and the State were inseparably connected, and no one not a church member was allowed to vote. The Quakers and other religious sects were harshly dealt with. Sometimes they were imprisoned, sometimes hanged on Boston Common, and sometimes driven with lashes out of the colony. The Puritans of Massachusetts were thrifty, sincere, and upright men, but in matters of religion they were exceedingly narrow and bigoted.

In educational matters they showed rare foresight. In 1636 the General Court, or Legislature, of Massachusetts appropriated four hundred pounds (about two thousand dollars) for the establishment of a college at Newtown, that "the light of learning might not go out, nor the study of God's word perish." Two years later the Rev. John Harvard died and left his library and one half of his estate (about four thousand dollars) to the college. The General Court then decreed that the college should bear his name, and that the name Newtown should be changed to Cambridge in honor of the seat of the English University.

RHODE ISLAND

80. Roger Williams leaves Massachusetts and founds Providence in 1636 — The Rhode Island colony was an offshoot from Massachusetts. The founder of the colony was Roger Williams. Williams was an able and honest man, but he must have been a very uncomfortable neighbor. He was a man of high standards, with a very sensitive conscience, and ready to fight against anything which did not seem to him to be exactly right. He was by nature a disturber, and was soon quarreling with the colonists of Massachusetts. He declared that the king had no right to give away the land upon which they were living, as that rightfully belonged to the Indians. He also disagreed with his fellow-men on matters of religion, and declared that there should be no connection between the Church and the

State. He also insisted on religious toleration. He was in advance of his time on many points, and as a result was brought to trial and banished in 1635. In January, 1636, he fled with a few followers to the Narragansett Bay country, purchased a tract of land from the Indians, and founded the town of Providence. He set up a very simple kind of republican government in which the will of the majority ruled. Two years later he founded the first Baptist church in America.

81 Mrs Anne Hutchinson and Followers found Portsmouth and Newport. — Other colonists of similar character came to Rhode Island soon after. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson was another troublesome person whom the authorities banished from Massachusetts. She was tried in the fall of 1637, and in the following spring she too sought refuge on Narragansett Bay, where some of her friends had preceded her. They purchased the island of Aquedneck, situated eighteen miles south of Providence, from the Indians for some white beads. Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers founded Portsmouth and Newport, and in 1644 these two towns and a third and newer one called Warwick were united with Providence and were known as the Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

CONNECTICUT, 1635

82. Connecticut was an offshoot from Massachusetts. — Connecticut was also an offshoot of Massachusetts, the parent colony. At the time that Roger Williams was stirring up such a commotion in that colony, John Winthrop, the son of the governor of Massachusetts, was founding the town of Saybrook near the mouth of the Connecticut River. In 1631 Lord Say and Sele, Lord Brooke, and others had obtained a grant of land along the river from the New England Company, and the new settlement was founded under the auspices of these men and named in their honor.

The most important movement to Connecticut came a little later. There were two motives which impelled the Massa-

chusetts men to seek the inviting Connecticut valley. In the first place there was not enough tillable land in the colony for all; then again many rebelled against the religious test for voting. In 1636 and 1637 there was a large migration from Massachusetts to the Connecticut valley, where eight hundred persons established themselves in Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. A little later (1638) a small company of men of high standing came from England and established an independent settlement at New Haven.

83. "The Fundamental Orders," 1639 — These people who left Massachusetts and came to Connecticut were supposed to be under the control of the Massachusetts government, which as a matter of fact exercised but very little control over them. Finally, in 1639, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield adopted a written constitution called "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." This practically made them an independent republic. The form of government resembles the present United States Constitution in some respects and is based on the right of the people to rule, making no mention of the king of England. This Connecticut document is notable as being "the first written constitution known in history, that created a government." It will be remembered that the compact made in the cabin of the *Mayflower* was not really a form of government, but rather an agreement to make one at a later time. The Connecticut form of government was more liberal than that of Massachusetts, and, as we might expect, there was no religious test for voting. This Connecticut constitution virtually ignored the power of the king and that of Massachusetts as well.

The Connecticut people framed a form of government for themselves without reference to Massachusetts or the king of England

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

84. Settlements were made about 1622. — Two other New England colonies yet remain to be noticed. In 1622 Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason obtained a grant of land between the

Merrimac and Kennebec rivers, and colonies were planted in that territory soon after. Some independent settlements were being made in New Hampshire at the time that Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were made a royal province, 1679. being settled. At some time before 1628 a settlement was made at Dover, and some others were made soon after. These independent towns were joined to Massachusetts in 1641-1643, and so remained until made a royal province in 1679. Six years later New Hampshire was again annexed to Massachusetts.

The early history of Maine is quite similar to that of New Hampshire. It, too, was a dependency of Massachusetts. As a result of the grant to Gorges and Mason settlements were made in what is now Maine, and during the years 1652-1658 these were joined to Massachusetts. Massachusetts now controlled all of the settlements north of Plymouth.

THE NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION, 1643-1684

85. Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven form the New England Confederation in 1643. — Up to 1643 the various New England colonies had very little to do with one another. Each managed its own affairs and there were almost no neighborly dealings. The time had now come, however, when a need of some kind of union was felt. The colonies might be called upon to defend their rights at any time. The king was displeased at the growing independence of the colonies, the Dutch at the south and the French at the north and west had shown some signs of hostility, and the Indians were threatening the frontier. To guard against these enemies the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven formed an alliance under the name "United Colonies of New England." A constitution was adopted, and the governing body was composed of eight commissioners — two from each colony. These commissioners had charge of all affairs of

common interest to the colonies, while each colony managed its own local affairs without interference. The establishment of the New England Confederation was an important step in the development of the American Union. New Hampshire and Maine wished to enter the confederation, but were not permitted to do so.

The confederation served a good purpose, but soon began to languish, particularly after the capture of New Netherland. The four colonies contained twenty-four thousand people, and fifteen thousand of these were in Massachusetts Bay; yet that colony had no more voice in the proceedings than any other. She paid most of the taxes and had to bear the most of the burdens of the wars, but the colonies were not willing to allow her more than one fourth of the votes. In some instances she presumed to dictate to the other colonies, and jealousy was aroused.

The Confederation grew weaker after the English captured New Netherland, 1664.

THE INDIANS

86. The French managed the Indians better than the English did.—Although the Indian is now of little importance in American history, he was a very important factor in the history of the colonies. The Englishman never got along with the red man as well as the Frenchman did, and the English colonies were planted on our shores in the face of the most stubborn opposition on the part of the Indian. Some few Englishmen, like William Penn, Roger Williams, and James Edward Oglethorpe, succeeded in winning the affection and confidence of the Indians by kind and just treatment, but such instances were rare. The policy of the Englishman seemed to be to drive out the Indian rather than to conciliate him.

87 The Pequot War.—In New England the Indians were constantly threatening the frontier settlements. The Pequots were especially hostile toward the people of Saybrook, Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, and were chastised most severely in the spring of 1637. In May of that year an army of three

hundred colonists under John Mason and John Underhill made an attack upon the principal Pequot town and wiped it out of existence. Only a very few of the red men escaped. "It is reported by themselves," said Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, and not above five of them escaped out of our hands." Other reports say that six or seven hundred of the dusky savages fell in the awful slaughter. Only two of the colonists were killed. After this terrible lesson the little colonial army spread desolation by fire and sword throughout the entire Pequot territory. The Indians were sold into slavery, their food and wigwams were burned, and the entire tribe scattered. It was never again brought together. This was the end of the Pequots.

On the whole the New Englanders treated the Indians in a more kindly way than the other colonists did, with the single exception of the people of Pennsylvania. The land was purchased from them, treaties were made, and thousands of them were converted to the Christian faith. Meetings of the "praying Indians" were held, and John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," translated the Bible for their use. There were, however, occasional outbreaks.

88. King Philip's War. — In 1674 Philip, the chief sachem of the Pakanokets, whose territory was on Narragansett Bay, made a plot to exterminate the white men or drive them out of the country. For two years the settlers carried on a most desperate war with Philip and his allies. In one contest (at South Kingston) about one thousand red men lost their lives. This was one of the fiercest Indian battles ever fought on American soil. Finally Philip and his army, greatly reduced in numbers, were driven into a swamp near the bay, and on August 12, 1676, the great leader was shot and killed by an Indian friendly to the whites and "fell upon his face in the mud and water, with his gun under him; . . . upon which the whole army gave three loud huzzas." The great war was over, but it took the colonies several years to recover their

King Philip
defeated,
1676.

strength. About a dozen towns had been entirely destroyed by the Indians and others partially so. Six hundred men had lost their lives and a burdensome war debt had been piled upon the colonies. One fact was settled, however: the white man was supreme in New England and the power of the Indian was broken.

SIR EDMUND ANDROS

89. Andros attempts to deprive the Colonies of their Charters, 1686. — The New England colonies continued to grow in wealth and numbers without serious interference from the kings of England until Charles II (1660–1685) came to the throne.

This king detested free government, and made New Hampshire a royal province in 1679 and caused the Massachusetts charter to be annulled on June 21, 1684, in spite of the protests of Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, and others. King Charles died in the following year (1685) and was succeeded by his brother James, a man even more cruel and tyrannical than himself. James sent over as his agent Sir Edmund Andros, a man "neither cruel nor rapacious, but coarse in fiber and wanting in tact." It was the duty of Andros to reduce the colonies to subjection to the crown. In 1686 Andros came over as



KING PHILIP.

Philip became sachem, or chief, of the Wampanoag Indians in 1662, and later made a plot against the English "out of the naughtiness of his own heart," as he himself said. At a later time he waged "King Philip's War" and failed.

royal governor and demanded that the charters of the colonies be surrendered. Rhode Island complied with the demand, and the charter of Connecticut, tradition says, was hidden in the famous "charter oak," to prevent its falling into the hands of Andros. Things were looking very gloomy for the colonies when suddenly the "glorious Revolution" of 1688 in England changed the entire scene. The people of England in three short years grew tired of the tyranny of James and practically drove him out of the country. The rule of Andros was at an end, and great joy prevailed in New England.

The
Revolution
of 1688
saved the
liberties of
the English
colonies.

The new monarchs, William and Mary, were more liberal toward the colonists. The charters of Rhode Island and Connecticut were returned, and a new one was granted to Massachusetts. The Revolution of 1688 came just in time to save the liberties of New England.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1620 Plymouth founded
- 1630 Massachusetts Bay Colony founded.
- 1636 Roger Williams founded Providence
- 1639 Fundamental Orders of Connecticut
- 1643 New England Confederation organized.
- 1636 Harvard College founded.

CHAPTER VI

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

1609-1700

NEW YORK, 1609

90 New York was colonized by Dutch Trading Companies. — Virginia was founded by adventurers and fortune hunters; Maryland by Roman Catholics; Georgia by bankrupts; New England by Puritans in search of religious freedom; and New York, or New Netherland, as it was at first called, by colonists sent from Holland by a trading company. The Dutch had long been a prominent nation in Europe and now appeared in the colonization of America.

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, when Drake, Gilbert, and Raleigh were scouring the seas and exploring unknown coasts, the Dutch took no part in the New World enterprises. They were employed at the time in a more serious business. They were contending in a desperate struggle for life and liberty against the Spaniards — one of the most notable and gallant contests ever waged by man. But in 1609 Philip, King of Spain, was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the valiant Dutch, and they were free to act. They turned their attention naturally to America.

91. Henry Hudson attempts to find a Water Route to India. — Henry Hudson, a famous English navigator and explorer, was in Holland at this time, and the Dutch eagerly sought his services. He was employed by the Dutch East India Company, which was much interested in the Eastern trade.

The idea of finding a water route to India had not yet been given up, and on April 4, 1609, Hudson sailed from Amsterdam

in his famous little boat the *Half Moon* in search of such a passage. It was thus two years after the founding of Jamestown and one year after the cold and hungry survivors of the "Popham colony"¹ had returned from New England, that Henry



HENRY HUDSON.

The great English navigator and explorer was born about 1550. He sailed four times in search of a north-eastern or a northwestern passage to India, through the polar seas. He perished in the northern seas in 1611, having been set adrift in an open boat by his heartless crew.

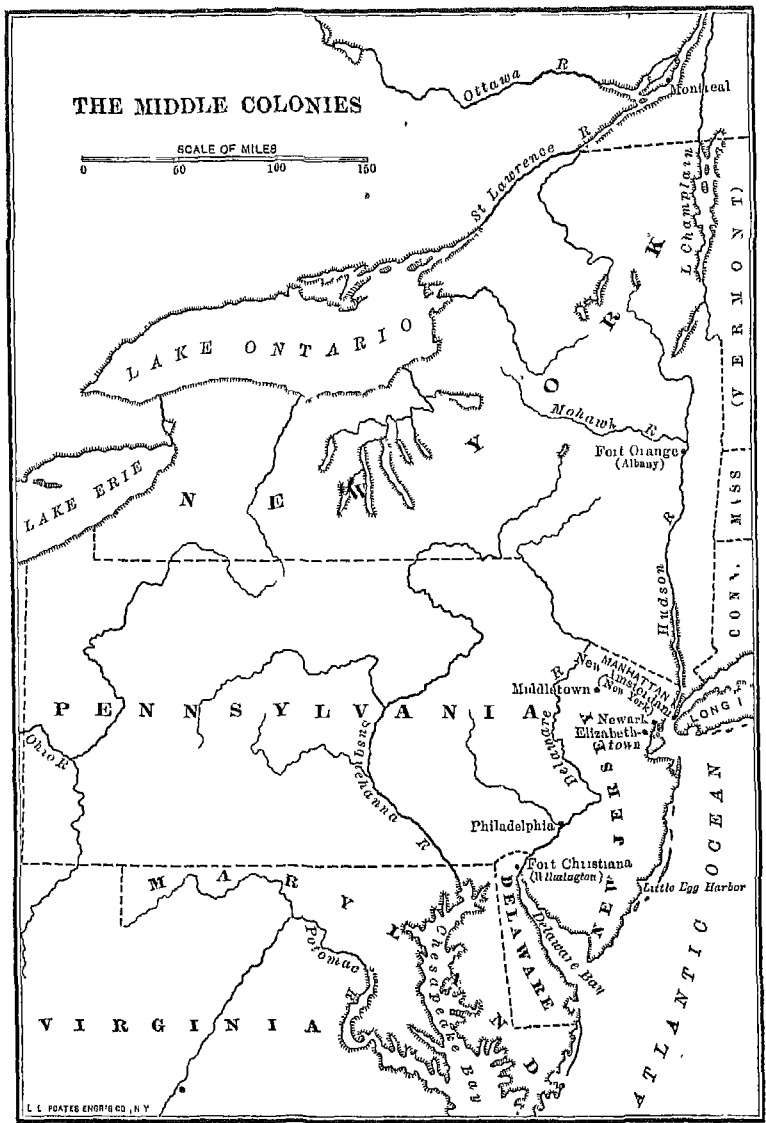
Hudson put out from the Zuyder Zee upon his memorable voyage. He thought that there might be a northwestern passage to India, and so he beat about the icy coasts of Norway for a time, and then turned his prow toward America. After being compelled by a hostile climate and mutinous sailors to abandon the quest for a northwestern passage, he attempted to find a passage by sailing in a southwesterly direction. He had received a letter from Captain John Smith in which it was stated that there might be such a passage somewhere to the north of Chesapeake Bay. So Hudson sailed in that direction, and on September 3, 1609, he weighed anchor in what is now

New York harbor. He sailed up the river which now bears his name, as far as the present site of Albany, and saw prospects for a profitable fur trade with the Indians. He was also impressed with the wonderful beauty of the scenery, and any one who has visited the famous Hudson River Highlands will agree with him when he says that the land is "as beautiful as the foot of man ever trod upon." He had many friendly visits with the Indians, and in one instance they prepared a feast for him consisting of two pigeons and a fat dog, but he tells us that he did not accept the invitation of the red men to dine.

¹ A colony near the mouth of the Kennebec River, 1607-1608

THE MIDDLE COLONIES

SCALE OF MILES
0 60 100 150



Soon after this expedition Hudson disappears from history. His end was tragic and pathetic. He did not abandon his cherished idea of finding a northwest passage to India, and the year after he sailed up the Hudson he went to that bay in the frozen north which still bears his name. There, from November of 1610 to June of 1611, his little boat was firmly locked in fields of ice. The crew became discontented and even mutinous, and wanted to abandon the project and go home. Hudson, however, was not so easily discouraged and insisted on pressing on. The result was the rebellious crew set the hardy navigator with his son and seven sick companions adrift in an open boat in the Arctic seas, and then put back to Europe. Hudson was never seen again.

92. Fort Nassau built near Present Site of Albany, 1614. — Shortly after Hudson's time Adrian Block and others explored the country around Long Island and Manhattan, and in 1614 Fort Nassau was built near the present site of Albany

93. Settlements made on Manhattan Island, 1615 — In the following year another trading post with a few cabins was built on Manhattan Island. In this same year (1615) the New Netherland Company was organized for trade and colonization, but did nothing, and gave way in 1621 to the Dutch West India Company. This company began operations in a businesslike manner and sent out a company of emigrants in 1623. A few of them remained on Manhattan, but the most important settlement was made where Albany now stands. It was called Fort Orange, in honor of the famous family which had done so much for Dutch liberty. Cornelius Jacobsen May was the first governor or director of the Company. The colony grew, and in 1625 there were more than two hundred inhabitants on Manhattan Island.

In 1626 Peter Minuet came over as director, and he purchased Manhattan Island, about twenty-two thousand acres, from the Indians for about twenty-four dollars. This sum would be equivalent in purchasing power to about one hundred and twenty dollars at the present

**Peter
Minuet pur-
chases
Manhattan
Island from
the Indians.**

time, — an insignificant amount when compared with the fabulous wealth now piled upon the island. Minuet consolidated the settlements of New Netherland under one head and founded New Amsterdam (now New York City) as the central trading post.

94 The Patroons. — The colony, however, did not make satisfactory progress, as too much attention was paid to trade and too little to agriculture. In order to encourage agriculture a peculiar and interesting experiment was tried in 1629. In that year the Company obtained a charter from the legislature of Holland which permitted

Agriculture
was encouraged by the
Patroon system

it to transplant the feudal system to America. It was provided in the charter that any one founding a settlement anywhere outside of Manhattan, of fifty or more persons above fifteen years of age, should be given a grant of land on the Hudson River, extending for sixteen miles on one side or for eight miles on the two sides, and as far into the interior as the situation of the occupiers would permit. This "Patroon," or patron, was to be the "lord of the manor," and the people living on his plantation were to be his subjects. In this way many large family estates were established on the Hudson, and some of them continued to comparatively recent times. In 1640 the estate of the Patroon was limited to one mile of river front extending two miles into the interior, but the governmental privileges remained the same. The Patroon system was successful in stimulating an interest in agriculture.

95. The Dutch were Tolerant in Religious Matters — Another fact which should be noticed favored the growth of the New Netherland colony. In religious matters the Dutch were an exceedingly broad-minded people. Both in Holland and in America there was religious toleration among them when other nations were persecuting. The result was that New Netherland became a haven for the oppressed of all nations, and in 1643 there were eighteen different languages spoken on the streets of New Amsterdam.

96. Peter Stuyvesant a Gruff but Able Ruler. — In 1647 Peter Stuyvesant, strutting "like a peacock," came to the colony as

director. Stuyvesant was a strange mixture of good and evil qualities. He has been well described as a "noble, honest,



PETER STUYVESANT

The last governor of New Netherland was born in Holland in 1602, and served with distinction in the Dutch army. He became known as "Peter the Headstrong," and often, when in a rage, stumped furiously about upon his wooden leg, which was bound with bands of silver. After New Netherland was taken by the English he retired to a farm, and died in New York City in 1682.

headstrong, opinionated, generous, kindly, conscientious, eager, lion-hearted old soldier." He was extremely tyrannical in his methods and could not tolerate the idea of self-government. He wished to rule the colony like a Czar, and would permit no appeal to a higher authority. On one occasion he remarked, "If a man tries to appeal from me to the States General [the legislature of Holland], I will make him a foot shorter, pack the pieces off to Holland, and let him appeal in that fashion." On another occasion he said to a man who had been sentenced to banishment, "If I thought there was any danger of your trying an appeal, I would hang you this minute to the tallest tree on the island!" The people, however, were not to

The colonists
obtained
some self-
government

be awed by this blustering talk, and demanded a share in the government. They saw that their neighbors in New England had representative governments, and they desired similar rights. Stuyvesant grudgingly granted them a small part of their request.

In other respects Stuyvesant was the strong defender of the colony. There is evidence of this in his capture of New Sweden in 1655. In 1638 Peter Minuet, once director of New Netherland, was sent out by the South Company of Sweden to found a colony in America. He built Fort Christina on the Delaware River, where Wilmington now stands, and called the country "New Sweden." Both the English and the

Dutch looked upon the Swedes as intruders and viewed their enterprise with hostile eyes. Finally, in 1655, Stuyvesant appeared with seven war ships and seven hundred men and demanded the surrender of the fort. New Sweden had but five hundred people in all, and there was nothing for them to do but to surrender. This was done and the control of the place passed into the hands of the Dutch. The Swedes were not disturbed in their mode of living. The change was one of allegiance and government simply. It is interesting to note that nine years later New Netherland fell in exactly the same way that New Sweden did.

97. The English capture New Netherland and name it New York, 1664. — In the meantime the English were viewing the success of the Dutch with alarm. The little Holland colony was entered like a wedge between the English colonies in New England and those in the South. There could be no unity among the English colonies, and even now trouble had arisen over boundary disputes. Furthermore, the Dutch had possession of the best harbor on the Atlantic coast, and the Hudson River was an important highway for the Indian fur trade. Under these circumstances it was not difficult for Charles II of England to convince himself that the Dutch were intruders and that the country rightfully belonged to the English. Although he had no valid reason for doing so, he sent out an expedition in 1664 to take possession of New Netherland. In August of that year Colonel Nicolls appeared before New Amsterdam, then a city of sixteen hundred people, and demanded its surrender. Nicolls had four ships and about four hundred and fifty men and was reenforced by a large number from New England. Stuyvesant had only one hundred and fifty trained men and two hundred and fifty citizen soldiers, upon whom he could not fully rely. The bluff old director blustered about a good deal, but was finally compelled to yield. "I would rather be carried to my grave," he said, but he surrendered, and New Amsterdam became New York, and Fort Orange became Albany, both names having been changed in honor of the king's brother, the

Duke of York and Albany. By October the English had possession of all the Dutch towns, and New Netherland was no more. The capture of New Amsterdam was an important



GOVERNOR STUYVESANT OF NEW NETHERLAND DESTROYING THE DEMAND FOR SURRENDER, 1664.

When the English Colonel Nicolls appeared with his troops before New Amsterdam in 1664, he sent in a demand for the surrender of the town. The council and magistrates asked Stuyvesant to read the demand to the people, but the governor refused and, in a rage, tore the paper to pieces.

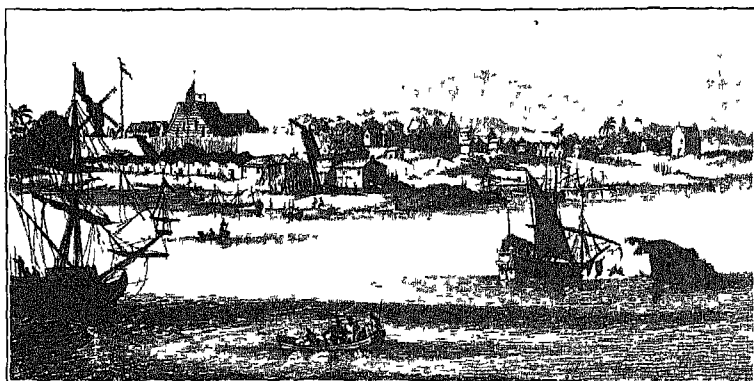
event in the uniting of the English colonies in America, and Charles II aided the development of American liberty without intending to do so. The English now had control of

the entire Atlantic coast from the present site of Savannah to Maine.

The Duke of York became the proprietor of the new English possession, but Dutch manners and customs continued, and some of the offices were still held by the Dutch. Self-government was quietly introduced and the colony prospered greatly under English rule.

Dutch manners and customs continue

In 1664 there were about ten thousand people in the province, and about sixteen hundred of these were in New York City. At the end of the century the population was about twenty-five thousand.



THE CITY OF NEW YORK ABOUT 1670

In 1673 New York was retaken by the Dutch, much to the joy of the old settlers, but was given back to the English by treaty in the following year.

98. Andros is made Governor of New York and New England in 1688. — From 1683 to 1688 Thomas Dongan, an enlightened man, was governor of the province, and during his administration the people secured a greater part in the government. In 1688, however, there came an important change. When James II became king of England, he made New York a royal province and appointed Edmund Andros governor of New York and New England in 1688. The rule of Andros was short-

lived, however. James was detested in England, as we have seen, and was driven out of the country by the Revolution of 1688. The revolution in England caused one in America, and Jacob Leisler usurped control of the government. In 1691 Leisler surrendered to Colonel Henry Sloughter, the royal governor, who, while intoxicated, signed the death warrant of Leisler. A new form of representative government was introduced, and things went on in New York in a quiet and uneventful way for the remainder of the century.

NEW JERSEY, 1664

99 Berkeley and Carteret.—Before the conquest of New Netherland by the English some of the Dutch had wandered down into the territory now known as New Jersey and had made settlements there. The systematic colonization of New Jersey, however, begins with 1664. In that year the Duke of York granted to two of his favorites, Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, the land between the Delaware and Hudson rivers. The territory was called New Jersey in honor of Carteret, who as governor of the island of Jersey had valiantly defended his land from the enemies of the king. The grant also gave the proprietors full power to govern any colonists who might occupy their lands.

In 1665 the proprietors drew up a charter called the "Concessions and Agreements," which was to serve as a form of government for present and future settlers in their territory. This was the first constitution of New Jersey. It gave the colonists some part in legislation, but provided that all the laws were to be made subject to the approval of the proprietors.

Philip Carteret, a relative of one of the proprietors, immediately set out with a company of emigrants to establish a colony under the new charter. He came to New Jersey in 1665 and founded Elizabethtown, of which he was the governor. Middletown and Newark were founded in 1666

A short time after the coming of Carteret the colonists and proprietors quarreled over the rents, and Berkeley, becoming disgusted with the whole matter, sold his undivided half of the territory to a party of Quakers for one thousand pounds

100. William Penn and Others purchase West Jersey. — By two successive purchases (1674 and 1676) the Berkeley interest fell into the hands of William Penn and other Quakers. Up to 1674 the territory was undivided, but in that year, after the Dutch had lost New York for a second time, the king confirmed the grant of New Jersey, and the new grant gave Carteret the eastern part, and the Quakers the western. Two years later (1676) Carteret and the Quakers agreed on a definite boundary line separating East and West Jersey. It was agreed that Carteret should have all the land situated on the east side of a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor to the point where the parallel $41^{\circ} 40'$ crosses the Delaware River. The Quakers were to have the land on the west of this line.

The Quakers set up a liberal and enlightened government in West Jersey. They were being persecuted elsewhere, and appreciated the blessings of political and religious freedom. They granted religious toleration to all who kept the peace, and they set up a system of self-government. "They put power in the people," to use their own words. In 1677 about four hundred Quakers came from England to enjoy the blessings of this haven of liberty. In 1680 Sir George Carteret died, and two years later William Penn and twenty-four associates, many of whom were not Quakers, purchased East Jersey from the Carteret heirs. The two parts were united under one head, and both prospered.

101. Charter surrendered to the King in 1688 — When James II came to the throne of England, he demanded the surrender of the New Jersey charter. In 1688 the grants were surrendered to the crown, but the landed rights remained in the hands of the proprietors. New Jersey was annexed to the northern colonies under the rule of the infamous Andros. Finally, in 1702, weary of the quarrels

Penn and the
Quakers
grant political and religious liberty

New Jersey
became a
royal province in 1702.

over rents and other matters, the proprietors surrendered all their rights to the king, and New Jersey became a royal province. From this time until 1738 New Jersey was under the control of the governor of New York, who ruled it through his deputy.

PENNSYLVANIA, 1681

102. William Penn — The Pennsylvania colony has an interesting history, largely because it is so closely identified with the personality of William Penn, one of the most famous men of his time. The father of Penn was an admiral in the English navy, a member of the House of Commons, a favorite with the king, and one of the most influential men in England. The younger Penn was sent to Oxford University, where he became famous as a scholar and an athlete. He was a powerful oarsman and well versed in ancient and modern languages. He could read and speak Latin, Italian, French, German, and Dutch, and was also proficient in Greek. In addition to this we know from his letters and other writings that he was an expert in the use of his mother tongue. While at Oxford he became a convert to the teaching of George Fox, the leader of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. This displeased his father, and he was removed from college and sent to Paris with the hope that he might forget his new religious ideas in the gayeties of the French capital. It did not turn out so, however, and Penn clung to his religious beliefs to the day of his death.

When he left Oxford he was eighteen years of age and was described as "tall, lithe, and strongly built, a picture of manly beauty, with great lustrous eyes under wide arching brows, a profusion of dark hair falling in curls on his shoulders, a powerful chin, a refined and sensitive mouth."

103. Penn obtains a Grant of Land in what is now Pennsylvania in 1681. — In 1670 Admiral Penn died and left a large estate to his son. He also bequeathed to him a claim of sixteen thousand pounds against the government and committed him with his dying words to the care of the king's brother, the

Duke of York. We have already seen how Penn, by the purchase of land in New Jersey, became interested in American colonization. At a later time he concluded that he would like to go into the enterprise on a more extensive scale. Fortunately it so happened that the king had very little ready money for the payment of debts, but he had an abundance of land in America which he was very willing to dispose of. It was consequently arranged that Penn's claim against the government should be paid in land. In 1681 Charles II gave him a grant of forty thousand square miles of territory in the New World. Penn wished to call his possession "New Wales," because he had been informed that there were ranges of hills to the west of the Delaware River. There seemed to be some objection to this name on the part of the king, and Penn substituted the name "Sylvania," or the woodland. To this name the king prefixed the word "Penn," thus forming the name as we now know it. Penn objected with becoming modesty to the new name because he thought it might be "looked on as vanity"; but the king quieted his fears by bluntly remarking: "Don't flatter yourself. We will keep the name to commemorate the Admiral, your noble father."



WILLIAM PENN

Born in 1644, and while imprisoned in the London Tower for religious convictions wrote his principal work, "No Cross, No Crown." On the site of the famous "Treaty Elm" in Pennsylvania a monument was placed with this inscription: "Treaty Ground of William Penn and the Indian Nation Unbroken Faith." He died in 1718.

Penn was now ready to enter upon what he called his "holy experiment." He advertised his plans widely and offered to sell small holdings of land at very low rates. He also held out self-government and religious liberty as additional inducements to colonists. The result was that in the autumn of the same year

(1681) in which the grant was obtained three shiploads of people set out for Penn's forests under the command of William Markham, the cousin of Penn, as deputy governor. Some settlers had found their way into these domains long before Penn obtained possession of them, and to these Penn sent a friendly and candid greeting in a letter carried by Markham. "My friends," he said, "I wish you all happiness, here and hereafter. These are to let you know that it hath pleased God, in his Providence, to cast you within my lot and care . . . I shall not usurp the right of any, or oppress his person. . . . I beseech God to direct you in the way of righteousness, and therein prosper you and your children after you. I am your true friend, — William Penn."

In the following year (1682) he wrote a tender letter of farewell to his wife and came to America in person to care for the interests of his "holy experiment." He was delighted with the beauty and repose of the woodland, and exclaimed, "O how sweet is the quiet of these parts!" The site for the capital had already been chosen, and Penn proceeded to lay out its streets in regular order between the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers. The place was named Philadelphia, or the City of Brotherly Love. The first streets of this now famous city were named after the various trees which grew in great abundance where the pavements have long since been laid.

The form of government which Penn gave to the settlers was a very liberal one — much like that which he had set up in

West Jersey. He kept his promises in regard to self-government and religious toleration, and the laws made soon after his arrival were equally enlightened.

They provided, among other things, for the care of the poor and humane treatment of prisoners.

After a short stay in Pennsylvania the proprietor returned to

England in 1684, where he remained for fifteen years. During his absence the colony continued to prosper, but there was a good deal of turbulence and discontent, as there was in proprietary colonies generally.

He begins
his "holy
experi-
ment."

Grants a
liberal form
of govern-
ment.

Pennsyl-
vania pros-
pers

In spite of the disorder the colony, as we have seen, prospered. It was compelled to endure no such trials and privations as those which afflicted Jamestown and Plymouth, but was a success from the very start. In 1684 there were three hundred and fifty-seven houses in Philadelphia, and in 1685 there were more than eight thousand inhabitants in the colony. Pennsylvania had grown more rapidly than any other colony except Massachusetts, and had grown as much in three years as New Netherland had in fifty. It established schools as early as 1683, and became an asylum for the oppressed of every nation. In its early years about one half of its inhabitants were of English origin, but the Dutch, Swedes, French, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and Finns were well represented in Penn's colony.

It becomes a
haven for the
oppressed

DELAWARE

104 Penn obtained Delaware in 1682 — In 1682 Penn obtained by a special grant from the Duke of York that territory now known as Delaware. Pennsylvania was called the "province," and Delaware the "territories," but both were under the rule of Penn until 1703. In that year the proprietor, becoming weary of the continued discord, set up the territories as a separate colony under the name of Delaware.

105 Penn was Just in his Dealings with the Indians. — Penn's dealings with the Indians were remarkably successful. It has been truly said that he "knew instinctively what chords in the Indian's nature to touch." And yet his policy was a very simple one. He was humane, honest, and just in his dealings with the red men and never broke his promises to them. The Shackamaxon treaty made with the Indians in 1682 under the famous elm, which stood until the nineteenth century, is a remarkable example of justice — "the only treaty," says Voltaire with fine sarcasm, "between savages and Christians that was never sworn to and never broken."

Although Pennsylvania was settled three quarters of a cen-

tury after the founding of Jamestown, she soon caught up with some of the older colonies and even surpassed many of them. A writer whose book was published in England in 1698 speaks of the "stately houses" and the "fine squares and courts" of Philadelphia and the "great and extended traffique and commerce" of the colony. "Of lawyers and physicians," says the writer, "I shall have nothing to say, because the country is very peaceable and healthy. . . . There are no beggars to be seen, nor, indeed, have any here the least temptation to take up that scandalous, lazy life."

The growth of Pennsylvania was rapid.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1609 Henry Hudson reached New York harbor
- 1655 New Sweden captured
- 1664 Conquest of New Netherland
- 1664 New Jersey Grants to Berkeley and Carteret.
- 1681 Grant to William Penn
- 1688 "Glorious Revolution" in England.
- 1703. Delaware separated from Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER VII

THE PROGRESS OF THE COLONIES

1700-1750

106. Population. — During the first half of the eighteenth century the American colonies made considerable progress. Their general prosperity is fairly well indicated by the growth of their population. In spite of Indian attacks, disease, and the hardships of a pioneer life the colonists increased in numbers. Religious disputes and quarrels with the mother country over commerce also tended to check the growth of the colonies, but notwithstanding all of this the population continued to increase.

The total population of the colonies in 1700 was about 253,000. In 1750 it had increased to 1,370,000. In 1700 New England had 105,000 people, in 1750 it had nearly 400,000. In 1700 the Middle Colonies had 59,000 inhabitants, and in 1750 they had about 355,000. The South had a population of 89,000 in 1700, and by the middle of the century the number had increased to about 620,000. Virginia was the most populous colony, having about 300,000 people in 1750. Many of these, however, were negro slaves. Massachusetts was second in size, and Pennsylvania third. Georgia, the youngest colony, was also the smallest and did not have more than 5000 inhabitants in 1750.

Population increased steadily during the first half of the eighteenth century

107 Pursuits. — Agriculture was the principal occupation, and the colonists depended for the most part upon their own farm products for a livelihood. In Virginia tobacco was the leading crop, and large quantities of rice were raised in the swamps of South Carolina. Lumbering was carried on, tanneries and distilleries

Agriculture was the principal occupation

were built, and shipbuilding was an important industry. Much of the manufacturing was done in the homes of the people. Nails were made in this way, so also was the homespun cloth from which the clothing of the colonists was made.

Fishing, particularly along the banks of Newfoundland, gave occupation to many, and others were engaged in a profitable commerce with the West Indies.

108. Slavery — Slavery existed in all of the colonies, but was much more profitable in the South than in the North. Slavery was more profitable in the South than in the North. Slaves could not be used to good advantage on the small farms of New England, and slavery was dying out in that locality. In the South, on the other hand, slave labor was exceedingly profitable. The slave could be used to a good advantage on the large southern plantations, and he was particularly useful in the tobacco fields of Virginia and in the rice swamps of South Carolina. In the Middle Colonies the slaves were not numerous. In Pennsylvania the Quakers were opposed to slavery on moral grounds, and in New York the slaves constituted only about ten per cent of the population. In South Carolina they made up sixty per cent of the whole people, and new supplies were constantly coming from the wilds of Africa. In the malarial rice swamps of the South the average life of a slave was short, and new recruits were necessary. Many of these new slaves were savages from the jungles of Africa, and in some localities the people lived in constant dread of slave rebellions.

In many of the colonies — particularly in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia — there was a class of people known as **Indented servants** indented servants. These were not slaves, but were bound to service for a term of years. In many instances they had their passages paid to America, and agreed to work for a certain time to repay the money thus advanced.

109. Religion — The influence of religion was very strong in the colonies. The Congregational Church and the Church of England were the most powerful. In Maryland the Church of England was established by law and supported by the gov-

ernment. All of the people, whether members of this church or not, were obliged to pay taxes for its support. In Virginia and the Carolinas the arrangement was about the same. The Congregational Church bore about the same relation to New England that the Church of England did to the South. Religious toleration had not advanced very far. Roman Catholics were oppressed everywhere except in Pennsylvania

The Congregational Church and the Church of England were the most influential

110. Education.—There was a desire for education among the colonists, but their means to provide for it were scanty. Public schools were started at an early date, though many children were educated in private schools, or by private teachers in the households. In all of the New England states, with the exception of Rhode Island, provisions were made for public schools. In these schools reading, writing, and arithmetic were the most important studies. In a few of the larger towns there were academies which prepared students to enter the colleges. These colleges were about equivalent to our high schools.

Public schools were not numerous in colonial times.

In New York the public school seems to have been neglected at this time. There were some public schools in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, but only a very few in Maryland. In Virginia there was none. The children of this colony were educated privately or sent to England for that purpose.

111. Witchcraft—There did not seem, however, to be education enough to banish the superstition of the time. People somehow thought that certain elderly women were possessed of evil spirits and thus caused whatever misfortune befell the colony. The people of Salem, Massachusetts, thought that certain women whom they called witches brought on the Indian attacks, small-pox, and various diseases, and should be put to death. They acted upon the command which they found in their Bibles, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and before the witchcraft delusion disappeared a large number of unfortunate but innocent persons had lost their lives.

112. Attacks on the Charters.—It is customary for histo-

rians to say that the first half of the eighteenth century was a prosy period in the history of the American colonies. There were not many dramatic scenes or picturesque events in that period, yet it is now plain that the struggle for American liberty had begun even then.

The New England colonies — and especially Rhode Island and Connecticut — had succeeded in obtaining very liberal char-

ters from the kings of England. These favorable documents aroused the jealousy of the English Parliament, and various attempts were made to annul the charters, and to set up the colonies as royal provinces. The colonies, however, had shrewd agents in London who succeeded in protecting their rights

When it was proposed, for example, in 1715, to unite Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire in one royal province, Jeremiah Dummer, the colonial agent from Connecticut, made a vigorous protest. He said that the colonies had an "undoubted right" to their charters, since they had been granted by the king for all time. He also said that the colonies had not forfeited their charters through misbehavior, since they were loyal

to the mother country, and he expressed the opinion that the repeal of the charters would check the prosperity of the colonies, and at the same time injure the commerce of England. This line of argument was successful, and the members of Parliament ceased their attacks for the time upon the New England charters.

113. Boundary Disputes were Frequent. — In addition to the quarrels with the mother country the colonies had numerous disputes concerning the location of boundary lines. The kings of England when granting tracts of land to companies and to individuals had been exceedingly careless about exact boundaries. They thought apparently that there was land enough for all, and they did not look forward to the time when the settlements would expand sufficiently to come into contact with each other. The boundary difficulties, however, were not all due to the carelessness of the kings. The fact is, that America

had not been surveyed, and its geography was not accurately known. For these reasons it was not possible to set forth exact boundaries in the charters.

The boundary disputes were, in some cases, long drawn out. The line between Connecticut and Massachusetts was not finally fixed until 1826, and that between Connecticut and Rhode Island not until 1840. The dispute between Pennsylvania and Maryland was settled in 1732, and in 1767 Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, eminent English surveyors, fixed the famous "Mason and Dixon's line" which has since been looked upon as the dividing line between the North and the South. This line marks the boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. The survey of Mason and Dixon extended over a number of years, having been interrupted by Indian attacks in 1751-1752.

114. Quarrels between the Governors and the Colonial Legislatures — The first half of the eighteenth century witnessed many important struggles between the colonists and their royal governors. These struggles furnished an excellent training for the more important ones which preceded the Revolution. A few examples of these contests will serve to show their general nature. In several of the colonies the legislatures differed with the governors in regard to the amount of salary which the latter should receive. The people of Massachusetts insisted upon their rights in this respect very vigorously. They considered themselves Englishmen, and held that they had a right to raise money and to spend it as they saw fit. As a result of this, "deadlocks" occurred and public business was frequently brought to a full stop.

In South Carolina the governors favored the Church of England, and this also aroused the opposition of the people.

In Pennsylvania the controversy was perhaps the most vigorous. The Penn family owned a large amount of land and refused to pay taxes on these proprietary estates. After a long struggle they yielded in 1759. Another source of difficulty in Pennsylvania lay in the fact that the Quakers were opposed to

war and refused to give money to equip and maintain troops. A small army seemed to the governors to be absolutely necessary for purposes of defense.

The people of New York had a most distressing experience with their governor, Lord Cornbury. Lord Cornbury was a cousin to Queen Anne of England, and so thought perhaps that he was entitled to special privileges. On one occasion the legislature of New York voted twelve thousand dollars for fortifications, and the governor promptly stole the money and used it for his private purposes. He was removed from office and imprisoned to await the payment of his debts, while the legislators said that they would not vote any more money for public purposes until they were sure that it would be expended by honest officials.

On the whole it may be said that the legislatures gained in power as a result of these quarrels with the royal governors. The legislatures insisted on their rights, and the governors were, in many instances, weak characters.

The chart-
ers of Rhode
Island and
Connecticut
were liberal. In Rhode Island and Connecticut no such disputes took place. The charters of these colonies were exceedingly liberal and provided for self-government and the election of governors by popular vote. The people thus had matters in their own hands.

115. Plans of Union appear Early in the Eighteenth Century — From the founding of the colonies until about 1700 each colony had its own separate existence and had almost nothing to do with its neighbors. But in the early part of the eighteenth century they began to realize that they had some interests in common. The Indian wars and the growing hostility of the French made them feel that some kind of a union was necessary for the common defense. Virginia became the natural leader of the South, and Massachusetts of the North, while Pennsylvania and New York were prominent among the Middle Colonies.

Plans of union were suggested from time to time. The New England Confederation of 1643 was the earliest of these plans and served as a model for many of those which followed. (See § 85.)

In 1754 Benjamin Franklin, one of the leading men of Pennsylvania, made a sort of constitution for the colonies which resembled somewhat the Articles of Confederation of a later time. Franklin's plan provided for a central or general government which was to have charge of all matters of common interest to the colonies, such as wars, dealings with the Indians, and the sale of public lands. Each colony was to manage its private affairs as it had been doing, and as the various states now do.

Franklin's
plan resembled
the
Articles of
Confederation

Although a great war with the French and Indians was about to begin, and the necessity for some form of union was clearly seen, the plan was not adopted. Franklin remarked that it was rejected by the king because it gave too much power to the colonies, and was rejected by the colonies because it gave too much power to the king. It was evidently impossible to please the king and the people at the same time. At a later time the plans of union sprang from the people with no thought of pleasing the king.

It was
rejected

116. The Westward Movement began in the Early Part of the Eighteenth Century. — Up to the eighteenth century the English colonies in America were but a fringe on the Atlantic coast east of the Alleghany Mountains. In the first half of this century, however, the territory beyond the mountains was opened up for settlement. In 1716 Governor Spotswood of Virginia with a large party of men in hunters' garb crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains and entered the Shenandoah valley, since made famous in the Civil War. Hitherto this locality had been veiled in mystery, but after Governor Spotswood's expedition many immigrants came to take advantage of the great fertility of the valley.

In 1748 another band of hunters and adventurers crossed the ridge and took possession of land claims in what is now Kentucky and Tennessee. In the following year the Ohio Company was formed for the purpose of making settlements in this western country. Many leading Virginians, including two brothers of George Washington, were members of this company.

They obtained a grant of five hundred thousand acres of land from the king and proceeded to make settlements.

This westward movement was a very important event in the early history of America. It opened the way for the settlement of that immense area west of the Alleghany Mountains, and it also brought the English into contact with the French who were occupying the interior. While the English were colonizing the Atlantic coast, the French were distributing themselves along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Ohio and Mississippi. Now that the English had crossed the Alleghany Mountains a conflict between the two nations was certain. This conflict broke out in 1754 and resulted in establishing the supremacy of the English. We shall see in the following chapter how this came about.

The English come into contact with the French in the interior

When the reader remembers that the Pope by a decree issued in May of 1493 divided the heathen world between Spain and Portugal and that all of North America fell to Spain, he may be puzzled to know how England, France, and Holland succeeded in obtaining land in what is now the United States.

The "right of discovery" theory takes the place of the Pope's decree of 1493.

When the decree was issued, the Pope was exceedingly powerful in the affairs of Europe and his decision was received with great respect. Soon, however, England, France, and Holland came to look upon it as unjust and made up their minds to disregard it. Then the doctrine called the "right of discovery" came to take the place of the Pope's bull. Under this doctrine it was held that a Christian nation which discovered a heathen land was the owner of it, but must take possession by actual occupation within a reasonable time. The native inhabitants were looked upon as occupants of the soil merely without legal right to the land which they occupied. Under the "right of discovery" theory Spain and Portugal lost their special privileges and all the nations of Europe contended for territory on the American continent on equal terms.

In conclusion, then, it should be said that although the first

half of the eighteenth century was in some respects a dull period, nevertheless the colonies grew in numbers and increased in wealth, that the spirit of liberty was increasing, and that the idea of self-government was growing. There was also a feeling of unity among the colonies which prepared them for the great struggle with France, to which we must now turn our attention.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1716. Governor Spotswood starts westward movement.
- 1754. Franklin's plan of union.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

117 France and Britain contend for the Possession of India and America — France and Britain were the two leading nations of the world in the eighteenth century, and both were striving vigorously at this time to obtain more territory. The two nations were natural rivals. They differed in race and in religion, and had been at swords' points for centuries. In 1066 William, the Duke of Normandy, came from the northern part of France and took forcible possession of England in the so-called Norman Conquest, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the two countries contended in the Hundred Years' War. Now, in the eighteenth century, they were again engaged in a life and death struggle in India and in America.

It will be necessary for us, before taking up the story of this contest for supremacy in North America, to consider the work of the French explorers and the establishment of the French colonies in America.

FRENCH EXPLORATION AND COLONIZATION

While the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch were sending out exploring expeditions, the French were by no means idle. They were an active and ambitious people and were desirous of building up a French empire on the American continent.

118. John Verrazano, 1524. — Accordingly, in 1524, John Verrazano, an Italian in the employ of the king of France, set out in an attempt to find an all-water route to the East. He failed in this, but he explored the American coast from the Cape Fear River to Newfoundland.

119 In 1534 Jacques Cartier sailed up the St Lawrence. — Ten years later the French appeared in the region of the St Lawrence River. In 1534 Jacques Cartier, while searching for a route to the Indies, entered the mouth of the St. Lawrence and sailed up the river for a considerable distance, or "until land could be seen on either side." He thought at one time, while sailing on the broad river, that he had found at last the long-sought water route to India, but he, too, was mistaken.

He went home to France, but returned to America in the following year (1535) and sailed up the St. Lawrence to the present site of Montreal. In fact, it was he who gave the place the name *Mont*

In 1535
he reached
the present
site of
Montreal.

Royal, meaning *Royal Mountain*.

The winter which Cartier spent in this northern locality on shipboard was a particularly severe one, even for Canada, and the reports which he brought back to France did not encourage colonists to come to the St. Lawrence country in great num-



JACQUES CARTIER.

One of the earliest of the French explorers, born 1494; made several voyages to the New World in the service of the King of France. Died, 1555

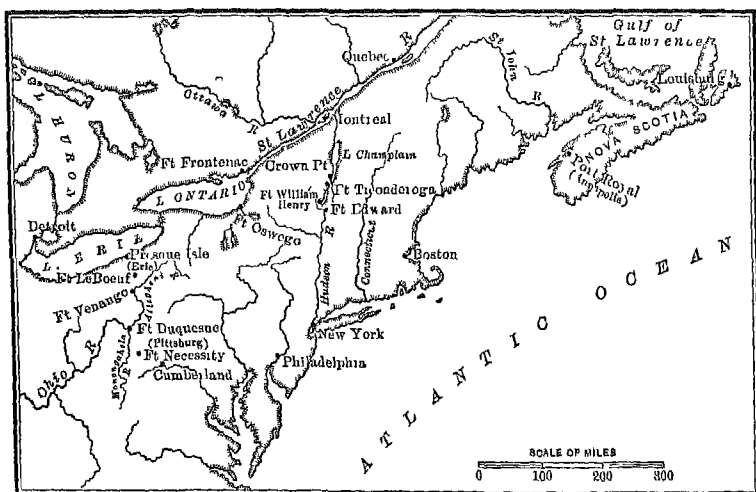
bers. A war with Spain also turned the attention of the French away from exploration and colonization for the time. In the summer of 1541, however, the rollicking Cartier again came to the St. Lawrence region and reached the present site of Quebec, where he built a rude fort. No colony was established, however, as Cartier returned to France a few months after his arrival in America. He took home a quantity of rock crystals, which he thought were diamonds.

120. Coligny and the Huguenots. — The first really serious attempt on the part of the French to found a colony in America was made by the Huguenots under the leadership of Admiral

Coligny. The Huguenots were staunch Protestants and were persecuted for their religion. Because of this persecution Ad-

miral Coligny, an able leader, determined to establish a haven for his people in America. Accordingly in 1562 he sent Jean Ribaut to the new country with a band of emigrants. These colonists avoided the frozen North which Cartier had explored and turned their prows toward the South. On May Day Ribaut came to the St. John's River in Florida and named it the River of May.

The Huguenots established a colony on Port Royal Island, 1562.



FRENCH EXPLORATIONS AND THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, 1524-1763.

He then established a colony on Port Royal Island and named the whole locality Carolina in honor of King Charles of France. The Port Royal colony was weak, however, and soon perished. Only twenty-six were left by Ribaut when he returned to France, and these, or the remnant of them, left for home a year later.

121. Laudonnière establishes Fort Carolina in Florida, 1564. — In 1564 Laudonnière, a companion of Ribaut, came to Port Royal with a small band of followers. They were unable to find Ribaut's colonists, as the latter had sailed for home in a

rude vessel made by their own hands. Leaving the ill-fated Port Royal, Laudonnière's colonists pushed on to the River of May in Florida. On the bank of this stream a fort was built which was named Carolina in honor of the French king, Charles IX. This colony was another weakling. The men were shiftless and dissolute and could not contend successfully against disease, starvation, Indian attacks, and other misfortunes which they were compelled to face. Mutiny sprang up among them and the colony was in a sorry plight.

122. The Spaniards destroyed the French Colony in Florida. — In the meantime the Spaniards were keeping up a very serious thinking. They looked upon the French as intruders and determined to destroy the colony. The Spaniards disliked the French and were particularly bitter toward the Huguenots. In 1565 Menendez came to America, founded St. Augustine, and said that it was his intention to "gibbet and behead all the Protestants in those regions." He immediately set out upon his bloody work and completely exterminated the French colony on the River of May. Several hundred persons are said to have lost their lives in the massacre. The French were in no way prepared to meet the attack. As stated above, the colony was in a sad condition. In fact, the project had been given up as a failure. The French were about to abandon the locality and had traded the heavy guns of Fort Carolina to Sir John Hawkins for one of his vessels. Before they could depart, Menendez appeared and easily captured the defenseless fort. The French were either killed on the spot or thrust into the Spanish dungeons. This was the sad ending of the French colony on the River of May.

123. Sable Island. — Another French attempt at colonization — this time in the far North — met with no better success. In 1598 the Marquis de la Roche established a colony of liberated criminals on Sable Island, off the coast of Nova Scotia. The result was what might have been expected. The unfortunate criminals were not good material for the founding of a colony and were not properly assisted by the mother country. They were

In 1598
Marquis de
la Roche es-
tablished a
colony on
Sable Island.
It failed

left to shift for themselves and soon became savages on their barren sands. Five years later twelve of the survivors, clad in the skins of animals, were carried back to France. Their story is a weird and horrible one.

124. Samuel de Champlain. — The story of the French attempts at colonization in America during the sixteenth century is a story of dismal failure. In the early part of the following century, however, there was a marked change, and France succeeded in laying the foundations of what promised to be a magnificent empire. There were good reasons, too, for the brilliant successes which followed the list of sorry failures. In the fifteenth century the French people were fighting among themselves. Civil and religious wars had turned their attention away from the exploration of the new continent. But peace came with the dawn of the new century, and the warriors of the former period became the explorers and colonizers of the new.

The founder of New France in America, the greatest of the French explorers and colonizers of this period, was the resolute and dauntless Samuel de Champlain. Champlain, the skillful navigator, bold cavalryman, and daring explorer, was made lieutenant general of Canada, and sailed from France in the spring of 1603. His company ascended the St. Lawrence in their single ship and landed near the present site of Quebec. Six of the men then pushed on in a canoe up the river to Lachine Rapids, nine miles above Montreal. Champlain returned to France in the fall, but came back to America in the following spring and spent three years beating about the coasts of New England and the St. Lawrence region. He made an unsuccessful attempt to plant a colony in Nova Scotia, and returned to France in 1607. In the following year he came again to the New World and founded a settlement, — the first permanent one in Canada, — which he named Quebec from an Indian word meaning "the narrows." The site was a beautiful one for a post, overlooking as it did the magnificent river and the picturesque

Champlain, the founder of New France, was the greatest of French explorers

In 1608 he founded Quebec, — the first permanent colony in Canada.

Canadian country Champlain's practiced eye was also quick to see that the heights about Quebec would be important from a military standpoint.

After Champlain had opened the way the French came in larger numbers. Brave soldiers, daring adventurers, enterprising fur traders and trappers, devoted priests and lawless wood-rangers, pushed into the interior of the continent where the face of a white man had never been seen before. These hardy explorers broke the stillness of the primeval forest with the splash of their canoe paddles and the crack of their guns. Champlain was persevering and for years was the soul of New France. In 1609 he discovered the lake which now bears his name, and by 1615 he had pushed as far west as Lake Huron.

In 1609 he made a very serious mistake, which later aided the English and from which the French suffered severely. He took up the cause of the Algonquin Indians against their deadly foes the Iroquois, and helped to defeat the latter on the shores of Lake Champlain. He won the skirmish, but he also gained the lasting enmity of the powerful Iroquois, who were known and dreaded over a large part of the continent. The hostility of these fierce savages turned the course of the French explorers to the north, and aided the English in their later contest with the French. Instead of going directly up the St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes, the French explorers were forced by the Iroquois to bend their course to the north by the Ottawa River and Georgian Bay. Lake Huron was thus the first of the Great Lakes to be discovered; then Ontario, Superior, Michigan, and Erie were found in the order named. The site of Detroit was not discovered until 1669, but a settlement was made there as early as 1701, because the importance of the location was recognized.

Champlain died in 1635, but Jesuits and other French explorers took up his work and enlarged the boundaries of New France. At the time of Champlain's death the dominion of France had been extended as far west as the present state of Wisconsin.

He incurs
the hatred
of the
Iroquois
Indians

The course
of the
French ex-
plorers is
turned to
the north
by the
Iroquois.

125. Other Explorers.— Other French explorers were not slow to follow in the wake of Champlain. Priests, traders, adventurers, and rangers flocked to the great Northwest. In 1641 some Jesuits said mass in the presence of two thousand naked Indians at Sault Ste. Marie, and in 1673 Father Jacques Marquette and

Joliet, a trader, went down the Wisconsin River to the Mississippi. These were the first white men to set eyes upon the upper course of the great river which De Soto discovered in 1541.



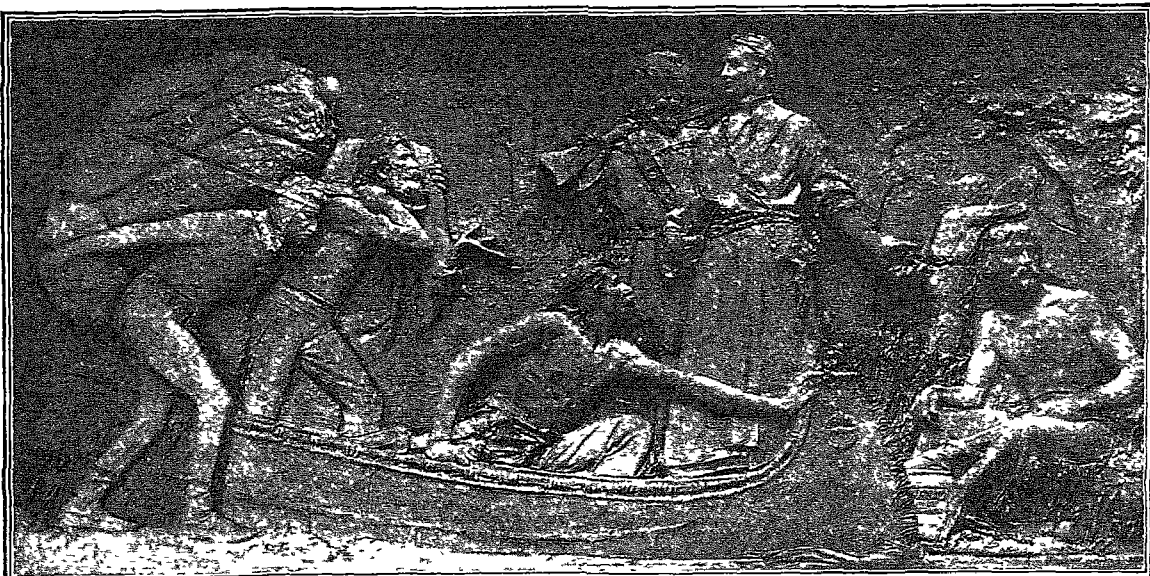
ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE.

The resolute and hardy Jesuit explorer was born in France about 1635. After exploring the interior of North America from the present state of Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico, he was treacherously slain in what is now Texas, in 1687.

A little later (1679-1682) La Salle, "one of the most brilliant of American explorers," as well as a man of iron determination, explored the entire Mississippi valley. In 1680 he went as far north as St. Anthony Falls, where Minneapolis now stands, and later (1682) made his way down the river to the Gulf of Mexico. He built a fort which he called St. Louis, and gave the name Louisiana to an indefinite tract of land on the banks of the Mississippi, in honor of King Louis of France.

126. Objects of the French.— It should be noted that the French were not taking possession of the interior of the continent for immediate colonization. They wished to hold the country for future occupation by their countrymen. To this end they established a chain of forts at important points along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi. These forts were centers of activity for the priest and the trader. In order to make their claim to the land more secure the explorers buried plates of lead with inscriptions on them laying claim to the land in the name of the

The French
were taking
land for
future occu-
pation.



MARQUETTE ENTERING THE WISCONSIN RIVER AT PORTAGE

Father Marquette, one of the most noted French explorers, was born in 1637, and came to Canada in 1666. He was a Jesuit priest and did missionary work among the Indians. In 1674 he built a rude hut where the city of Chicago now stands. Worn out by his faithful work among the Indians, he died in 1675.

king of France Several of these plates have since been found. New France was thus founded, as has been said, with one end in the canebrakes of Louisiana, the other in the snows of Canada.

It was plain that the French were occupying the territory to the north and west of the English colonies, and were thus preventing the English from extending their sway into the interior. In 1687 Governor Dongan of New York wrote to England as follows, "If the French have all they pretend to have discovered in these parts, the king of England will not have a hundred miles from the sea anywhere." It was also plain that the English would not permit themselves to be cut off from the fertile valleys of the Ohio and the Mississippi without a struggle. The clash came in the valley of the Ohio. Both the French and English had entered this valley and both were anxious to retain it.

French and
English
clash in the
Ohio valley

EARLIER FRENCH WARS

Before following the story of the final contest of the French and English in North America, it will be well to note the several minor wars which took place between them.

127. King William's War, 1689-1697.—When King William III came to the throne of England in 1689, a war broke out between France and England which is known in history as King William's War. The war spread to America, and soon New France and New England were fighting the battles of the mother countries. In 1690 a company of New England men, under the command of Sir William Phips, captured Port Royal—now Annapolis—in Nova Scotia. Quebec was threatened, but was not taken, and a kind of guerrilla warfare was waged along the New York and New England border. The contest was an indecisive one, although New England had about one hundred thousand people and New France but twelve thousand. The French, as usual, had the assistance of the Indians, and their governor, Frontenac, was able and active. The war came to an end with the

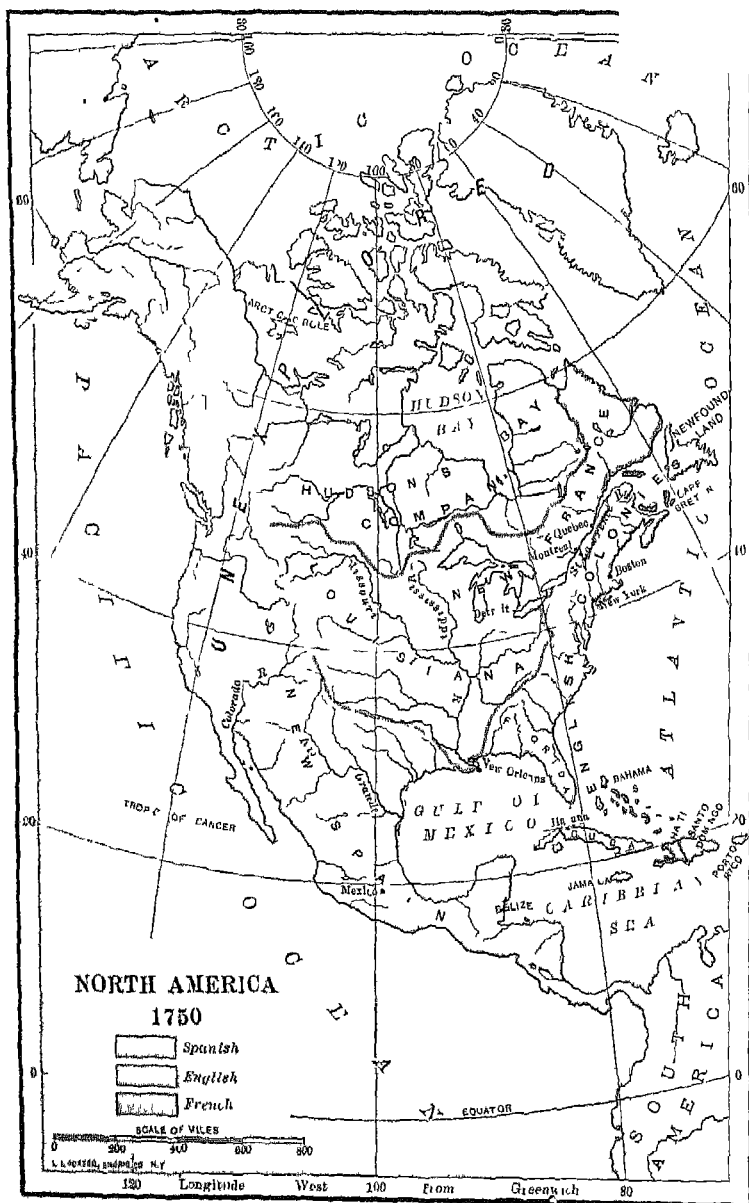
No territory
was gained
or lost in
King Wil-
liam's War

treaty of Ryswick in 1697, whereby each nation received back the territory which it had lost during the war. The thrilling story of the French and English wars in the wilderness is well told by the American historian, Francis Parkman.

128. Queen Anne's War, 1702-1713. — The next war between the French and English in America broke out when Queen Anne came to the throne in 1702. This war is known in America as Queen Anne's War, and in Europe as the War of the Spanish Succession, because an attempt was made to place a French prince on the Spanish throne. There was very little real fighting done and not much open warfare. Port Royal was again taken, and again an effort to take Quebec failed. Again the French and the Indians ravaged the New England frontier. The torch was applied to the settler's cabin, and the scalping knife and the tomahawk were doing their deadly work. Finally the peace of Utrecht put an end to the war in 1713. The English gained important territory in this war. The French gave up Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay country. The English changed the name of Acadia to Nova Scotia, and Port Royal was named Annapolis in honor of Queen Anne.

The English
obtained
Acadia,
Newfound-
land, and
the Hudson
Bay country
in Queen
Anne's War.

129. King George's War, 1744-1748. — The land had rest for thirty years after the peace of Utrecht in 1713. In the reign of King George II of England, however, hostilities were renewed in a war known as King George's War. The most important and picturesque event in this war was the capture by the English, or rather by the New England colonists, of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island in 1745. In that year four thousand of the young men of the colonies moved against the Canadian stronghold and after a brilliant siege of six weeks succeeded in taking the fortress. The fall of Louisburg was greeted with shouts of joy both in England and in America, but when the war came to a close with the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, Louisburg was given back to the French. The return of this fortress did much to turn the colonies away from the mother country.



THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

1754-1763

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle simply afforded a breathing spell for the two contending nations. It was plain that the war would soon go on and would continue until either France or England was supreme in North America.

130. The Ohio Valley. — During the sixty years of these intercolonial wars the French priests and traders were busy, and the English explorers were not idle. The advance guards of each nation had penetrated into the valley of the Ohio and were destined to clash at the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, where the city of Pittsburg now stands. The French had taken possession of this locality and had buried leaden plates bearing the royal arms of France to indicate that fact. The Ohio Company also claimed the region and was authorized to use force, if necessary, to drive out the French. Both nations were making ready for the conflict which every one saw was destined to come.

The French and English obtain possessions in the Ohio valley.

131. Claims. — Perhaps it might be well to note at this time the extent of the claims of the English and French. The English had actual possession of the Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Florida and had recently penetrated into the valley of the Ohio. The French, on the other hand, claimed all of the land drained by the St. Lawrence, the Mississippi, the Missouri, and their tributaries, as well as that surrounding the Great Lakes. The French claims thus extended from the Alleghanies on the east to the Rockies on the west and from Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. A line of posts had been strung along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi in such a way as to confine the English to the eastern part of the continent. It was plain that the enterprising Englishman would not submit to such an imprisonment. He loved exploration and conquest

and delighted in pushing his way into the interior with gun, ax, and canoe.

In the meantime the French were not depending upon their leaden plates alone to hold the valley of the Ohio, but were busy in increasing the number of their posts. In 1752 they began to string a line of forts from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. A log fort of rude construction was made at Presque Isle, where the city of Erie now stands. Forts Le Bœuf and Venango were also erected in western Pennsylvania on the present sites of Waterford and Franklm

132. Governor Dinwiddie warns the French not to intrude on English Territory.—This activity on the part of the French aroused Robert Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia. Dinwiddie was a leader among the English colonists. He was a Scotchman of rugged honesty and of good ability. He was, moreover, intensely interested in the movements of the French for two reasons. In the first place, the Virginians claimed the Ohio valley because their charter of 1609 gave them all the land "from sea to sea, west and northwest." In the second place, Dinwiddie was a member of the Ohio Company, to whom the king had given five hundred thousand acres of land in the Ohio valley. For these reasons the governor was the first to act on the part of the English.

133. George Washington carries Dinwiddie's Message to the French.—The action of Governor Dinwiddie introduces us to George Washington, the foremost character in American history. Washington was born in Virginia on February 22, 1732, and at the age of sixteen was employed to make a survey of the estates of Lord Fairfax lying beyond the Blue Ridge Mountains. He was engaged in this work for three years and gained a valuable experience. He built up a rugged physical constitution and became familiar with the geography of the country and with the manners, customs, and the feelings of the people, both white and red. Upon finishing his task in 1751 he became one of the adjutant generals of the Virginia militia, at the age of nineteen.

It was this rugged young Virginian whom Governor Din-

widdie called to his assistance against the French. In the fall of 1753 the governor decided to warn them that they were encroaching on English territory and to ask them to withdraw. He chose Washington to carry the message. On the very day upon which he received his instructions the young surveyor set out on his perilous journey. For weeks he pushed on with his little band of white men and a few Indians as guides, over mountains, through forests, and across rivers filled with floating ice. He finally found St. Pierre, the commander of the French, at Fort Le Bœuf, and there delivered to him the letter of Governor Dinwiddie. After receiving the reply of the French commander he set out for home. While crossing the swift Monongahela on a shaky raft of rude construction, he narrowly missed going to the bottom; and on another occasion he barely escaped death at the hands of hostile Indians. He finally arrived at Williamsburg, Virginia, in midwinter of 1754, after an absence of nearly three months and a journey of seven hundred and fifty miles.

Washington's trip into the interior is a picturesque incident in American history, but the reply which he brought from St. Pierre was an unsatisfactory one, as had been expected. The French paid no attention to the warnings and demands of the English. They had no intention of turning their backs upon the fertile valley of the Ohio. On the contrary, they pushed on to the south, to the junction of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers, drove out the English from the place, and built Fort Duquesne where the

Washington's journey is one of dangers and hardships



WASHINGTON'S POCKET CASE, USED ON HIS SURVEYING TRIPS.

At seventeen Washington was one of the most skillful and accurate surveyors in Virginia, and at eighteen he was appointed public surveyor. In the practice of his profession he obtained a good knowledge of the interior of the country and of the Indians. This knowledge was afterward of great value to him.

city of Pittsburg now stands. This occurred in the spring of 1754. The war had really commenced, although it was not formally declared until 1756.

Before taking up the story of the war it will be well to note briefly the conditions under which the contest was begun. A review of these conditions will show that the English had the advantage in most respects.

134. England seemed Stronger than France in 1754. — In 1754 France and England were the leading nations of the world. France claimed to be the strongest power in Europe, and her claim was not an idle boast. She had a large and well-disciplined army; yet the power of England was constantly increasing, and she was particularly strong on the sea.

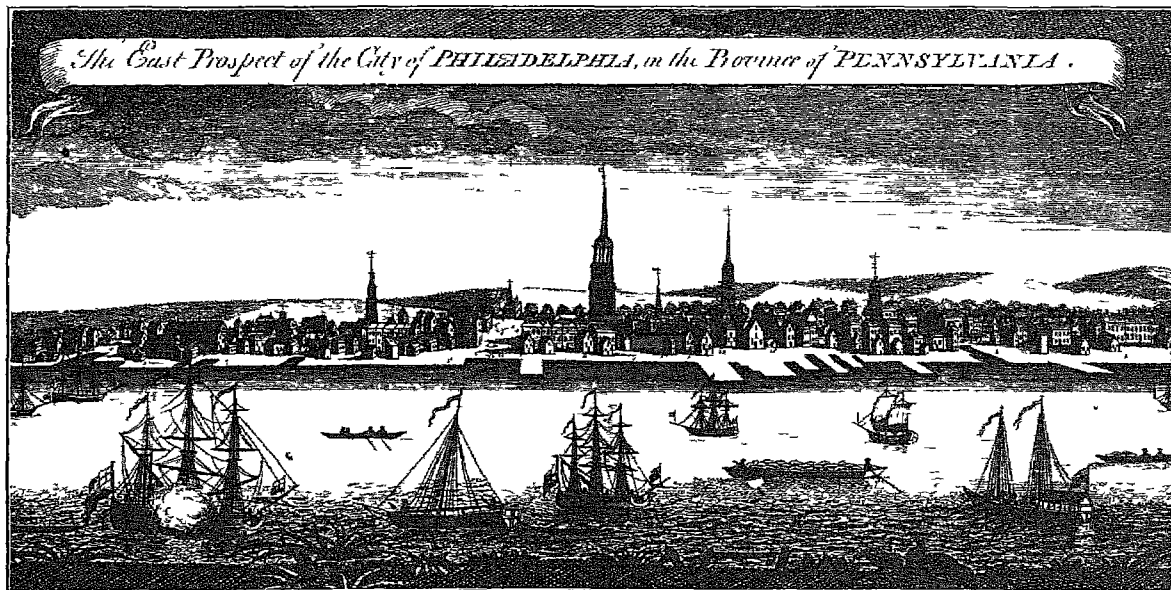
For the first few years the mother countries took no direct part in the war. It was carried on, for the most part, by the French and English colonists in America. Here the English had the advantage in numbers, as there were one million one hundred thousand English colonists and only eighty thousand French.

In the matter of government the English colonists also had an advantage. New France, on the whole, had not been well governed. Some few of the governors, like Champlain and Frontenac, were good and able men, but under the rule of many of the governors there was much dishonesty in office.

The govern-
ment of
Britain was
better than
that of
France.

Then again, the English colonists had a large measure of self-government, while the French had practically none. They had no voice in the selection of their officers, but were governed directly from Paris. This latter fact was an aid to the French in one respect. While the English colonists found it difficult to raise volunteer troops, the French commanders could practically force the whole male population of military age into the army. However, the lack of self-government and compulsion from without took away some of the enthusiasm and patriotism from the French troops.

135. The Albany Congress, 1754 — In September, 1754 about



PHILADELPHIA, ABOUT 1754

Philadelphia at this time and long afterwards was the largest city in the country. The spire on the left is that of the old Pennsylvania Statehouse, now called Independence Hall. This picture is from an old print which shows the eastern side of the city from the Delaware River.

the time that Washington was preparing to set out on his errand to the French, and when war between France and England seemed certain, the English government instructed the colonial governors to send commissioners or delegates to meet in a congress at Albany. The objects of the meeting were to make a treaty with the Iroquois Indians and to adopt a plan of union for the colonies.

In June, 1754, about two months after the English had been dislodged from the present site of Pittsburg, delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland met at Albany. They made a treaty with the Indians and declared that a union of the colonies was "absolutely necessary for their security and defense." Franklin submitted a plan of union, but it was not adopted for reasons which have already been explained (§ 115).

This congress was held to unite the colonies.

136. Washington's Expedition. — Washington returned from his famous mission to the French at Fort Le Bœuf in January, 1754. The reply which he brought from St. Pierre made it plain to Governor Dinwiddie that the time had come to put an army in the field. Preparations were made at once to that end. The legislature of Virginia made an appropriation for the support of the troops, and in March Washington, at the head of seventy-five men, set out for the headwaters of the Ohio. While on his way, and at the present site of Cumberland, Maryland, information came to him that the English had been driven out and that the French were constructing a fort where the Alleghany and Monongahela join to form the Ohio. This information caused Washington to change his plans. Instead of pushing on to Fort Duquesne he built a breast-work which he very appropriately called Fort Necessity. While he was thus engaged, the French appeared, and Washington gave battle, taking them by surprise. It was soon over. The French party numbered thirty-two men. Ten of these were killed and twenty-one were captured, leaving one lone survivor to tell the tale to his people. This was the first

Washington defeats the French near Fort Necessity.

bloodshed of the contest known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War.

Washington then took up the work again on Fort Necessity, and on July 3 the French appeared and demanded a surrender

Washington declined, and the fighting went on all day. At night his men were hungry and tired, their ammunition gone, and their guns made useless, in many cases, by the rain. They were also outnumbered four to one. The English surrendered, but were allowed to march away with their arms. This ended Washington's first campaign.

He surrendered Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754.

137. General Braddock comes to America, 1755 — In the following year, 1755, the English took the aggressive, while the French determined to fight on the defensive. Major General Edward Braddock came over from England to be commander-in-chief of the forces in America. Braddock was an able man and a brave soldier, but he knew nothing of the conditions and methods of frontier warfare. His military tactics which had been so successful on European battlefields failed utterly in the forests of North America.

It was difficult to plan a campaign against New France. The domains of the French were surrounded by dense forests

The British planned to send three expeditions against the French.

through which it was not easy for an army to hew its way. Nature had left three great openings, however, and the English planned to make use of them. They determined to send one army into New France by way of Lake George, Lake Champlain, and the St. Lawrence River. Another was to ascend the Hudson and the Mohawk rivers, and pass along the southern shore of Lake Ontario to the Niagara River. The third was to ascend the Potomac to Will's Creek (later named Fort Cumberland) and then cut its way across the country to Fort Duquesne.

138. Braddock defeated July 9, 1755. — General Braddock took command in person of this third expedition. He started in the spring of 1755, and after a tiresome march of twenty-seven days reached Fort Cumberland in May. After drilling the colonial

troops at this place for a time he set out on his march of one hundred and thirty miles through primeval forests to Fort Duquesne. The journey was an exceedingly difficult one. Much time was spent in felling trees, making bridges, and constructing roads over quagmires for the passage of the army. The progress was slow, the army making on an average only a little more than three miles a day.

General Braddock led the forces over a very difficult course, taking almost no advantage of the natural waterways. Washington, who knew the country well, was a member of the company, but his advice in regard to the route was rarely sought by the headstrong commander. Finally, on the 9th of July, Braddock reached a point on the Monongahela River only eight or ten miles from the fort which he intended to attack. On this spot, still called Braddock's field, and now dotted with factories and furnaces, there occurred one of the most pitiable massacres in all our colonial history. While Braddock was making his painful progress toward the fort, he was watched by the scouts sent out by the French, while he himself sent out no scouts at all.

In the meantime there was dismay within the walls of Fort Duquesne. The French commander felt that he could not hold out against Braddock's force of fifteen hundred men and was about ready to abandon the fort. Finally a reckless adventurer, Beaujeu by name, proposed that a trap be set for the English in a ravine through which their course would lead them. This was done. The rest is soon told. The French and Indians, hiding behind trees and hilltops, poured a deadly fire into the ranks of the English as they marched along in regular order. For two or three hours on a hot July day the English regulars and the colonial militia faced the fire, returning it as well as they could, while the forests and hills echoed with the war whoops of the savages. Braddock had forbidden his men to break ranks and to seek the shelter of the trees, consequently there was little for them to do but to furnish a mark for the enemy to shoot at. "We would fight," they said, "if we could see anybody to fight with."

The English
are led into
ambush
and
slaughtered.

Both the regulars and the militia displayed the highest bravery. Two horses were shot under Washington, and four bullets pierced his coat. Braddock, too, fought well, if not wisely. He lost five horses in the fray, was wounded, died two days after the battle, and was buried near by. It was Washington who placed him in his forest grave and read over his silent form the beautiful burial service of the Church of England. The day was utterly lost. About eight hundred of the English were killed or wounded, while the enemy had about sixty killed and wounded out of a force of more than eight hundred men.

139. **Acadians were Removed from Nova Scotia, 1755.** — Only two months after the defeat of Braddock the deportation of the inhabitants of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, began. The story of this simple people is a sad one, and Longfellow in his "Evangeline" has not exaggerated very greatly the wrongs which they suffered.

It will be remembered that the French province of Acadia was surrendered to England by the peace of Utrecht in 1713. A treaty of peace, however, cannot change the nationality or the feelings of a people, and the Acadians in their hearts remained loyal to France and to the Catholic religion. This incensed their English masters. The poor people were governed in an oppressive and tyrannical manner, and finally they refused to take the oath of allegiance to the English king. Later, when they were ready to do so, the English declined to permit them. It was decreed by the British that the Acadians should be forced, as a war measure, to leave their native land. This decree was carried into effect with unnecessary harshness and severity. About seven thousand of them were seized and scattered along the Atlantic coast from Canada to Louisiana, to get on as well

as they could. The emigration began in September, and was not completed until the following December. It cannot be justly claimed that the Acadians were wholly loyal to Great Britain, and their deportation may possibly be justified as a war measure, but there can be no excuse whatever for the severity with which the orders of the government were carried out.

Harsh
measures
were used
by the
English.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR, 1756-1763

140. England formally declares War, 1756. — All of this fighting occurred without a declaration of war, but on May 18, 1756, England formally declared war against France. The Seven Years' War which ensued was a terrible contest in which France, Russia, and Austria fought against Prussia and England. William Pitt of England, one of the greatest statesmen in the history of the world, and Frederick the Great of Prussia, one of the world's greatest warriors, did much to bring about the success of England and Prussia. The result was that England drove France out of India and America, and that Prussia got a firm hold in Europe.

The French and Indian War in America was a part of the Seven Years' War in Europe.

1756

After the formal declaration of war the English apparently made preparations to carry on the contest with more vigor. In June, 1756, General Abercrombie came over from England, and General Loudon followed in July. Still, nothing of importance was done. The French were more alert. Montcalm, an able commander "of the old sound stock," had reached Quebec in May, and was not slow to take advantage of the inactivity of the English generals. He strengthened the French forts, captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario, and later withdrew in safety behind the walls of Fort Ticonderoga, near the southern extremity of Lake Champlain.

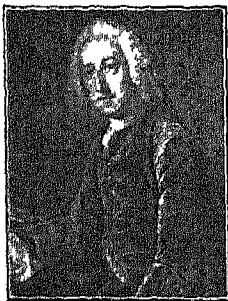
It was impossible to carry on the war in the regular way during the winter months on account of the severe northern climate and the almost impassable forest tangles, yet hostilities did not entirely cease. Small companies of men on skates and snowshoes traversed the frozen waterways, and ranged through the forests, defying the wintry blasts for the purpose of striking the enemy an unexpected blow. Nothing decisive, however, could be accomplished in this way.

The war in winter.

1757

In the following year Montcalm was again active. He sang the war songs and attended the war feasts of the neighboring Indians and enlisted many of them under the banner of the French. By the middle of the summer he had gathered at Ticonderoga a formidable force of six thousand Frenchmen and Canadians and two thousand Indians.

141. The Indian Massacre at Fort William Henry. — On the 1st of August this lawless and bloodthirsty band bore down upon the English at Fort William Henry, on the southern extremity of Lake George. The fort was taken after a stubborn resistance of five days. Three hundred of the Englishmen were killed, many more were wounded, and an epidemic of smallpox broke out in their midst. Nothing remained but surrender. Montcalm was a generous victor and allowed the English to march out of the fort with all the honors of war. The Indians, however, were not so honorable. After having promised Mont-



WILLIAM PITT.

First Earl of Chatham. He was a steadfast friend of the American colonies and constantly opposed oppressive measures against them. Born in 1708, died in 1778.

calm that they would live up to the conditions of the surrender, they fell upon the English unexpectedly at dawn of the following day and massacred them in large numbers. In spite of the threats and entreaties of Montcalm, seventy men were killed — even the sick and wounded in the hospitals did not escape — and about two hundred were taken captive. The torch completed the scene of destruction. The fort was burned and the bodies of the dead were cremated.

142. William Pitt guides the War for the English. — The military record for the year 1757 is a dismal one for the English, but preparations were being made which brought better things to pass in the two following years. The most important event occurred in June, 1757. William Pitt, the Great Commoner, as

he was then called, obtained control of the government of England, and his great power at once made itself felt. He planned to reduce the French by striking them at Louisburg, Quebec, and Fort Duquesne. There was nothing new in this plan of campaign, but he saw to it that men of action and wisdom were chosen to conduct the war in America. The leadership was placed in the hands of Amherst, Forbes, Howe, and Wolfe. Amherst was wise and prudent, Forbes was the "man of iron," a tried and successful soldier, Howe was a manly, able, and lovable character; and Wolfe was the greatest of them all — a man who had distinguished himself on many battlefields, although now but thirty years of age. Evidently greater successes were in store for the English army.

1758

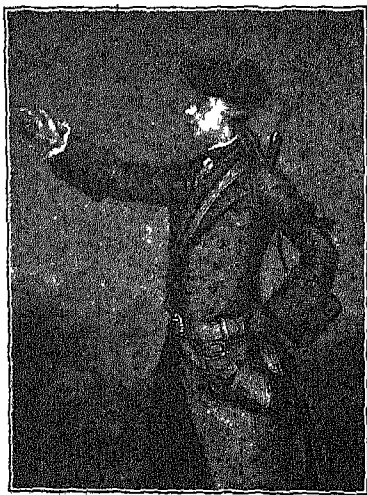
143. Louisburg Falls. — On the 7th of June, 1758, an English fleet under Boscawen carrying ten thousand men under the command of Amherst and Wolfe appeared before Louisburg. The English were met with a galling fire, but the gallant Wolfe, wading through the shallow water in order to land quickly, led his men in a spirited attack on the fortifications. The place was taken, and as a result 5637 prisoners were sent to England.

144. Abercrombie is repulsed by Montcalm at Ticonderoga. — While Wolfe and Amherst were taking Louisburg, another English force under Abercrombie and Howe marched on Ticonderoga. Abercrombie, known among the colonists as "Nabbecrombie," was a timid and faltering leader, while Howe, "the mirror of military virtue," was the real leader of the expedition. Howe was killed in a skirmish with some French stragglers, and the English army under Abercrombie was defeated with terrible slaughter by Montcalm with a force not one fourth as large. The English fought bravely, but were poorly commanded. "A braver or more stupid conflict," says Professor Sloane, "is not recorded on the page of history." When the

retreat was ordered, two thousand Englishmen were left dead before the walls of the stronghold. Abercrombie returned to England and took a seat in Parliament.

145. Washington and Armstrong capture Fort Duquesne. — In November George Washington and John Armstrong bore down upon the French at Fort Duquesne. When they reached the place, they found nothing but smoking ruins. The French, despairing of holding the fort, had set fire to the place and had

departed on the day before the arrival of the English. The English flag was hoisted, and a day of thanksgiving was observed. A little later the company went out to Braddock's ill-fated field and buried the whitening skeletons of the victims of three years before. A small garrison was left at the place and the name of Fort Duquesne was changed to Pittsburg in honor of England's greatest statesman.



JAMES WOLFE.

The Conqueror of Quebec was born in England in 1726, and was a noted soldier at the age of twenty. He fell at Quebec in 1759.

146. Wolfe captures Quebec, 1759 — The English were fast pushing on to the crowning glory at Quebec. Pitt mapped out the campaign

for the year with wonderful skill. Amherst was made commander-in-chief, although Wolfe stands out most prominently in the operations of 1759. It was he who took Quebec after a brilliant attack and thus virtually ended the war. The story is a thrilling one. Wolfe was frail of body but wonderfully alert of mind. He saw that a crisis was coming. It was his greatest wish, he said, "to be without pain for a few days and able to do his duty." His task was a difficult one. Quebec

was the strongest fortified place on the American continent and was defended, moreover, by the gallant Montcalm at the head of a fine body of men. It was located on a high eminence far above the river and was thus very difficult to reach. But the shrewd and dashing Wolfe determined to lead his men under cover of the darkness up a steep winding and narrow path to the plains above. It was a perilous undertaking, and Wolfe felt the seriousness of the attempt.

At two in the morning the signal was given for the army to move. The men crept noiselessly up the steep bank of the river, being compelled to drop on their hands and knees where the hill was almost perpendicular. But they reached the top, and at dawn on the 13th of September Wolfe with his five thousand men was in possession of the now historic Plains of Abraham. Montcalm was completely surprised and saw at once that he must either fight or surrender. He was not the kind of man to surrender unless compelled to do so, hence he gave battle. In the terrible conflict which followed, the gallant Wolfe was wounded twice, and a third time fatally. He was carried to the rear, refused surgical assistance, and died giving his commands to the army.

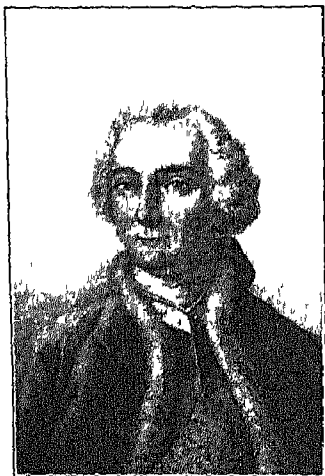
Montcalm also fell fighting bravely. He was wounded but did not withdraw, and while rallying his troops was struck by the fatal bullet. He died on the day after the battle and was buried in a convent chapel in the city which he defended so well. It is said that his grave was made for the most part by the bursting of a shell during the bombardment. In the governor's garden at Quebec there is a fitting memorial to the two brave men. A monument bears the name of Wolfe on one side and that of Montcalm on the other, with the inscription: "Valor gave a united death, History a united fame, Posterity a united monument."

Wolfe had won the day. Quebec fell on the 18th of September, and the fate of the French was practically sealed. New France
is no more

On the 8th of September of the following year Montreal fell.

New France was no more, and the English were supreme on the continent of North America.

147. The Treaty of Paris, 1763 — The war went on in Europe



LOUIS JOSEPH MONTCALM

The brave "Defender of Quebec" was born in France in 1712, and entered the French army at fourteen. In Canada he displayed "skill, courage, and humanity." He said that he would conquer the English or "find his grave under the ruins of the colony." He fell defending the flag of his country in 1759.

for three years longer, and a treaty of peace was not made until 1763. By this treaty, France surrendered to Great Britain all of her possessions on the continent east of the Mississippi River except New Orleans. All of Canada and the eastern half of the great Mississippi valley thus fell into the hands of the British. France was permitted to retain the West Indies and two

small islands, St Pierre and Miquelon, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, for fishing purposes. Spain, which had been drawn

into the war as an ally of France, surrendered Florida to England and received Louisiana from France in return. The treaty was concluded at Paris on the 10th of February, 1763. It marked the close of the struggle between

France and Great Britain which had been going on for three quarters of a century for possession of North America.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1603. Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence River.
- 1608. Champlain founded Quebec.
- 1754-1763 The French and Indian War.
- 1754. The Albany Congress.
- 1755. Braddock's defeat.
- 1759. Quebec fell.
- 1763. Great Britain supreme in North America.

CHAPTER IX

THE CAUSES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

148. Great Britain triumphs over France. — The treaty of 1763 marks the close of a long struggle, nearly three quarters of a century of conflict, between Great Britain and France for territory in America. France had lost, Great Britain had won. A little over half a century before it seemed that the power of France would be triumphant, and her influence dominant in America. By 1690, besides their well-grounded hopes of empire in India and their power in Cayenne, the French had in North America, Canada, Acadia (Nova Scotia), Cape Breton Island, the fishing banks of Newfoundland, the mouth of the Mississippi, and inland Louisiana. They "held North America by its two ends, the mouths of its two great rivers." But by the Seven Years' War France lost her merchant and military marine and her hope of control in India, and in America she gave up Canada to Britain and Louisiana to Spain and retired from the continent. France ceased forever to be an American power.

The power of Great Britain was wonderfully advanced by this famous war. Besides her empire in India she gained Canada from France, and Florida from Spain, and thus became the owner of all North America west to the Mississippi River. France had now been removed from the north side of the colonies and Spain from their south side, and the colonists "were no longer between the upper and the nether millstone." Could England now provide for the peaceful government of these colonies, the growth of their trade, and their inevitable expansion toward the west? Thus we see that the Seven Years' War was a world war, and

as the result of it England had to face the problem of governing a world empire.

140. **British Government.** — She had to do this at a time when her government was corrupt and when a stupid and obstinate king was coming to the throne who would no longer trust great ministers to rule. The cause of the American Revolution lay in England as well as in America, and one of its principal causes was George III. George's grandfather, George II (1727-1760), had complained that England was a country in which "the minister was the king." George III's mother said to him when he came to the throne, "George, be king!" She meant for him to take the government into his own hands. George III tried to follow this foolish advice.

The govern-
ment corrupt
and the
king obsti-
nate.

He did not attempt to govern without Parliament, by having a standing army and levying taxes without the consent of the people's representatives, as the Stuart kings had done; but he attempted to control these representatives. He would not choose for his ministers the great men of the realm, like Pitt and Fox and Burke. He set about systematically to get a body of supporters in Parliament who came to be known as the

"King's friends," and who could control enough votes in that body to do what the king wanted. George was able to do this by bribes and threats, titles and appointments, and by royal attentions and favors which were then, even more than now, powerful social forces in controlling public men. Thus the king managed Parliament by a kind of bribery.

The king
tried to con-
trol Parlia-
ment.

Members of Parliament did not represent the people. In America the representatives, who taxed and governed, represented a body of people who lived in certain definite local areas, in towns and counties. In England representation was of interests and classes, not of districts of people, and many of the populous manufacturing cities in north and central England that had grown up in recent years had no representation at all in Parliament, while

The common
people had
no influence
in Parlia-
ment.



little "rotten boroughs," like Gatton and "Old Sarum," consisting only of a green mound and a ruined wall, still had members of Parliament merely because they had had them long ago. Thus we see that Great Britain was facing new colonial problems with a stupid and wrong-headed king and a deformed and corrupt legislature. It was a situation calculated to promote bad policies and trouble with the colonies.

150 British Debts and Expenses — Great Britain had been at great expense in the late war. Her debt had more than doubled. Her expenses in America for colonial government were now to be nearly five times what they had been before the war. It was thought to be necessary to send soldiers and ships to America to prevent France from attempting to recover what she had lost, and to protect the colonists from the dangerous Indians upon the frontier. No part of the British Empire had received more benefit from the Seven Years' War than America, and it was thought that it was now only reasonable and fair that the colonies should help bear some of the burden of their protection and support. The Indians had gotten on better with the French than with the English, and they were not ready to submit to English rule. Pontiac's Conspiracy which led to a great Indian war lasting for fourteen months, resulting in the massacre of hundreds of families on the frontier and the burning of their homes, seemed to show the need for protection by English soldiers.

In this situation, when Lord Grenville came into power, under George III, in 1763, he found the landlords seeking to shift some of the burdens of increasing taxation on to the colonies, and the commercial classes trying more fully to monopolize the colonial trade. Under the influence of these two classes Grenville, who was not much of a statesman, instituted a new colonial policy. He determined upon three measures which a great English historian says produced the American Revolution: —

1. To enforce the trade laws.
2. To quarter in America a part of the British army.

3. To raise by Parliamentary taxation a part of the money necessary for the army's support.

151. The Trade Laws.—For more than a hundred years before the quarrel with the mother country began, Parliament had, from time to time, passed "navigation acts," to regulate colonial trade. The purpose of these laws was to secure for British subjects a monopoly of this trade. They were more liberal and more favorable to the colonies than those of other nations, but in many ways they restricted colonial trade. The British were seeking to beat the Dutch and the French in trade, and they wanted colonies as a market for British merchandise and as a place from which needed supplies could be obtained.

Great Britain wished to carry her own goods over the sea and to increase the number of her ships and sailors. So the first Navigation Act, passed in 1660, provided that no goods should be imported into the colonies except in British, or colonial, vessels manned by British seamen. Colonial manufactures were to be suppressed. New England timber could not be freely exchanged for the molasses and sugar from the French West Indies. Only British subjects and vessels could trade with the colonies, and the Americans had to sell all their exports in British ports, and all goods brought from Europe had first to be landed in Great Britain. All this added to the profits of British merchants, sometimes at the expense of American merchants.

Great Britain wished to use the colonies as a source of revenue.

Now these restrictive trade laws had not been carefully enforced. Colonial merchants, especially those in New England, had evaded them. John Adams said they had ceased to be used, and their enforcement was no longer expected. Much smuggling was indulged in. It was the attempt to prevent this evasion of the trade duties that had led to the celebrated "Writs of Assistance" in 1761. British customhouse officers applied to the courts for writs authorizing them to search merchants' stores and houses for smuggled goods. These writs, legal and proper under some

The trade laws had not been enforced.

circumstances, might be used as a means of annoyance and injustice. They could be transferred by one person to another, and report was not bound to be made to the court to show how they had been used and what houses had been searched. James Otis, an eloquent young lawyer in Massachusetts, resigned as state's attorney to speak, without fee, against these writs; and John Adams, who heard Otis's famous speech in 1761, said that Otis was "like a flame of fire," and that "then and there American independence was born."

Otis opposed the "Writs of Assistance."

The British ministry now proposed strictly to enforce these laws. It had been costing three dollars to collect one dollar of British revenue at American ports. Revenue officers who had been living in England, drawing their pay and neglecting their duties, were ordered to their posts, or naval officers were appointed in their stead.

The British try to enforce the trade laws.

The governors were urged to suppress smuggling, and ships were stationed on the American coasts for this purpose. American ships and goods were seized, and offenders were tried in naval courts, without a jury. It is quite clear that if these hard trade laws were to be rigidly enforced the Americans would find it to their interest to do without British protection, as they were now able to do since the French had been driven from Canada.

152. The Quartering Policy. — The colonists had a dread of a standing army. They had not liked the king's troops in

The Americans felt able to protect themselves and objected to providing for British troops.

England, and their fathers had opposed the Stuart kings in the seventeenth century for quartering soldiers on them. They liked militia better than regulars, and they felt that they had always readily responded with their own militia in time of danger. Now that there was less danger than before, the Americans felt able to protect themselves. They believed that the purpose of bringing troops to America was to strengthen the royal authority and prevent the violation of the revenue laws. They did not want to pay for the support of these soldiers, and they took the ground that soldiers could

be stationed among them only by the consent of their colonial assemblies. With the Annual Mutiny Act of 1765, to provide for the control and discipline of the army, Parliament passed a Quartering Act, to provide for the accommodation of the larger number of soldiers to be sent to America. New York refused to furnish barracks for these troops, and Parliament suspended the New York Assembly (1767) until it would make amends. The British rulers ought to have seen that if they persisted in this policy it would surely lead to a serious quarrel.

153. The Taxing Policy; the Stamp Act, 1765.— To get money for his troops and to enforce his laws the king or his minister proposed an entirely new scheme of taxation. In an almost empty Parliament where there was very little interest in the matter, a law was passed which in its consequences "must be deemed one of the most momentous legislative acts in the history of mankind." This was the famous, or infamous, Stamp Act, levying duties on legal documents, wills, licenses, newspapers, pamphlets, etc. The proceeds of the tax were to go toward paying England's expenses in governing America, which were now about \$1,700,000 a year; and it was thought the Stamp Act would produce about \$500,000, or nearly one third of this amount. Offenses against the act were to be tried in admiralty courts, without a jury.

The old system of getting money for the king's wars or his colonial government was by "requisitions"; that is, the king, through his royal governor, asked each colony for the money, stating the purpose of his request; and the colonial assemblies, in which the people were represented, levied the tax if they chose to do so. / Grenville did not believe that all the colonies would furnish money in this way, and it is pretty certain that they would not have done so. They did not like the purpose for which the money was wanted. Grenville believed the stamp tax was as easy as any (as it probably was), and he gave the colonies a year in which to agree upon a better taxing measure, or one more to their liking; but he gave notice that the tax must be provided for, or Parliament would assess it.

A storm of protest arose among the Americans against this enforced taxation by a legislature in which they were not represented. When the stamp officers were announced, riots occurred.

The Americans protest against the Stamp Act

The "Sons of Liberty" marched through the streets shouting, "Liberty, property, and no stamps," they compelled the stamp officers to resign, and pulled down an image of the king; the people agreed not to import English goods, and they destroyed the stamps, so that when the time came to enforce the act (November 1, 1765), in many colonies there were no stamps to be had.

The Americans did not wish to be represented in Parliament, for they would be in a small minority there, and that would not save them from the tax. Nor was it merely paying they objected to, for they had always been ready to pay a fair share for their own support and defense and to raise troops and fight against the enemies of Great Britain. They were even willing,

They object to all internal taxes.

for the sake of the whole empire, to submit to a reasonable *external* tariff tax on imports. They held that a domestic *internal* tax like the stamp tax, whose purpose was *not to regulate trade but to get revenue*, and to make taxes lighter in England, — that such a tax could be levied only by their colonial assemblies. They resolved to resist this tax and not to give up the right to tax themselves, which was a right of Englishmen as old as Magna Charta. In doing this they only stood by English principles and examples. The principle that taxation and representation are not to be separated and that no people should be taxed except by themselves or their representatives, "lay at the very root of the English idea of liberty." The English people had asserted this principle time and again — in Magna Charta (1215), in the Petition of Right (1628), and in the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688.

154. Patrick Henry stirred the House of Burgesses. — Virginia sounded the first note of alarm, and sent forth the first public reassertion of this old English doctrine on taxation, destined to be proclaimed and fought for again in the American Revo-

lution. Patrick Henry, the greatest orator of the Revolution, offered a set of resolutions in the Burgesses (May 29, 1765). Henry was a bold and radical advocate of liberty. His resolutions against the Stamp Act asserted that self-taxation was "the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, that the Assembly of Virginia alone had the right to tax Virginians, and that any attempt to vest this power in any other body tended to destroy British as well as American freedom." One of the old traditions of the Revolution relates that Henry in defending these resolutions, at the climax of an eloquent passage exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III —" ("Treason! Treason!" shouted several members) "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." Such was the fiery spirit of Patrick Henry.

155. The Stamp Act Congress, 1765. — The colonies now began to unite. Their leading men began to correspond with one another. Massachusetts took the lead in calling a congress of the colonies. This was done by a circular letter sent out to the colonial assemblies. South Carolina was first to respond. Nine states — Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, South Carolina — sent delegates to the "Stamp Act Congress," or meeting, in New York (October, 1765), to consult together about their circumstances, to represent dutifully their condition to the home government, and to implore relief from the tax measures of Parliament. Here were the seeds of union, the first example of final combination among the colonies.

This congress could not pass a law nor act like a government in any way. It merely *spoke* for the colonies, recommended them to have agents in London, petitioned the king and the Commons, and published a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." This was a very able state paper. It was written by John Dickinson, and it sums up well the rights of the colonies. It said the colonists owed allegiance to Great Britain, but they had the same rights as Englishmen at home; that no taxes ever had been, or could be, right-

The colonies
unite and
announce
their principles,
1765.

fully imposed upon them except by their own legislatures in which they were represented; that they could not be represented in Parliament, that supplies to the king were gifts of the people, and that it was unconstitutional for the people of Great Britain to grant to the king the property of the colonists, that trial by jury was an old and precious right; that there was a difference between legislation and taxation; that while Parliament might make new laws or pass acts to regulate the trade of the whole empire, *taxes* were always to be consented to by the representatives of the people who paid them.

156. **Able English Statesmen sided with the Colonists** — These principles were accepted in Great Britain as firmly as in America. The English people did not mean to oppress the Americans or deprive them of their rights. We ought not to think of this quarrel over taxes and the rights of the colonies as being between the English people on one side and the Americans on the other. It was rather between two *parties*, the *Tories* in England and America, on one side, and the *Whigs* in both countries, on the other. Pitt and Burke and Fox and Barré and Camden, the ablest statesmen of England, were on the American side. Pitt (Lord Chatham) said he rejoiced that America had resisted, and he spoke boldly for the same principle of taxation as that advocated in America by Hancock, Adams, Henry, and Otis. He said Parliament had no right to tax America. It had a right, he said, to legislate for the Americans and "to bind them in all cases whatsoever, except to take their money out of their pockets without their consent." Burke did not think so much of the right of taxation, but he pleaded for the old *practice* (of requisitions), which, he said, had worked well. He thought it was *unwise* to tax the Americans, as it would cause disturbances and ill feeling.

157. **Stamp Act repealed, 1766.** — In spite of the arguments of the government and the wish of the king, Grenville had to give way. Rockingham became minister, and the Stamp Act was repealed the year after it was passed (1766). It was seen that it could not be enforced without great expense and perhaps

bloodshed. The British merchants found their goods were not selling so well in America, and they urged Parliament to repeal the act. With the repeal Parliament passed a *Declaratory Act*, without opposition, asserting the *right* to tax America.

The repeal caused universal rejoicing throughout the British dominions. The Americans celebrated with bonfires and speeches. They wanted to be loyal Englishmen. John Adams said they were "as quiet and submissive to government as any people under the sun, and as little inclined to tumult and sedition." They took no notice of the Declaratory Act, for they cared very little about what resolutions, or platforms, were adopted so long as they were not put into force.

158. American Tories became Unpopular. — Unfortunately it was now proposed by the British government to strengthen the royal authority in America, to sustain the royal governors and judges by the army and make them more independent of popular favor, and to revise the democratic constitutions of some of the colonies. The Whigs believed, as Governor Hutchinson's letters which Franklin sent to America showed, that these proposals came to Parliament from the Tories in America, and this made the Tories very unpopular. The American Tories led the English rulers to believe that the orderly classes in America were in favor of more authority and taxes, and if Parliament would only show a firm hand, the disorderly element would have to submit. In 1767 Parliament resumed the taxing policy and "from this time," says an English historian, "the English government of America is little more than a series of deplorable blunders."

159 Townshend Acts passed, 1767. — In this year the Townshend Acts were passed: one suspended the New York Legislature till it would provide barracks for the royal troops (§ 152); another provided for further enforcing the trade laws, a third laid taxes on glass, lead, painters' colors, paper, and tea. Townshend said he would observe the American distinction between *internal* and *external* taxation; so he provided that his taxes were to be collected at the ports, like an external tax. But

the Americans were not to be caught by a smart trick like that. They saw that while the *form* of the tax was different from that of the stamp tax, the *purpose* was the same, — it was to raise revenue, not to regulate trade, and they would not submit to it.

The colonists got up non-importation agreements, promising not to buy English manufactures, especially those on which

duties were laid.

Samuel Adams, the "Father of the Revolution" in

Massachusetts, who

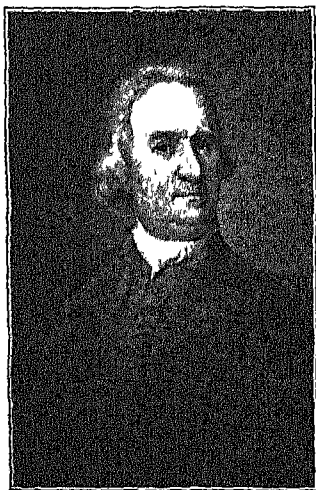
knew how to organize the people and stir them up to resistance, got the Massachusetts Assembly, of which he was the leading member, to adopt a notable *Circular Letter* to the other assemblies. This letter, which Adams wrote (Febru-

ary 11, 1768), protested

against the Townshend Acts, and again set forth boldly the American argu-

ments and principles on taxation.

It asked the other assemblies to protest and try to get the acts repealed. Adams said that the Townshend Acts were *unconstitutional* and that to make the royal governors and judges independent of the people would endanger their



SAMUEL ADAMS.

"The Father of the American Revolution" was born in Boston in 1722, and was graduated from Harvard in 1742. The chief work of his life was his resistance to the tyranny of the king of England, and he did more than any other man to bring on the American Revolution. He died in 1803.

liberties. He did not want the people to pay a tax for a standing army forced on them in time of peace nor to support officers who were unfriendly to the people and whom the people could not control. This letter gave offense to the king and his ministers, and the Massachusetts legislature was dissolved for refusing to recall it, and the assemblies of Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia were dissolved for

The Townshend measures were resisted.

Samuel Adams stirs the colonists to protest again.

Great Britain and America drift apart.

expressing approval of it. That of Virginia was dissolved for expressing disapproval of Parliament's treatment of New York. So the breach was widening

160. British and Colonists come to Blows.—The Americans also resisted the British policy by outbreaks of riots and mob violence, — a resistance which was not always to their credit and which did their cause more harm than good, as lawless violence always does. The revenue officers were disliked. They were too arrogant and strict. When some of them seized a ship of John Hancock's, a mob chased them back to the British frigate. The *Gaspée*, a revenue cutter, which was too active in suppressing smuggling, ran on a sand bar, where it stuck fast. It was then boarded and burned to the water's edge by a band of Rhode Islanders, and no one would testify and help punish the offenders (1772). In North Carolina the "Regulators," who felt oppressed by heavy taxes and who had sought in vain for peaceable relief, met a body of Governor Tryon's militia in a pitched battle and were defeated in the battle of Alamance, May 16, 1771.

On the other hand, the conduct of the British government was worse than the violence of the Americans. In the winter of 1768-1769, as a means of enforcing the Townshend measures, Parliament revived an old law of Henry VIII's time, authorizing the king to bring to England for trial any one accused of treason in the colonies, and in 1772 it was ordered that those who had burned the *Gaspée* should be sent over if they could be caught. To carry out such a policy (it may have been only a threat) might result in injustice and tyranny, for it violated the old right of every Englishman to be tried by a jury in the neighborhood where he was charged with crime. Burke denounced this law, and said that under it "a person may be executed according to form, but he can never be tried according to justice."

When the British soldiers came, they found a hostile people. Their presence stirred up bad blood. In New York they cut down a liberty pole which the people had erected, and this caused

a riot In Boston (March 5, 1770) a crowd of men and boys hooted at a corporal's guard of soldiers in the streets, calling them "lobsters," "rascals," and "bloody backs," and with sticks and stones and threats they provoked the soldiers into firing on the crowd. Five citizens were killed outright, and six were wounded. All Boston was excited to fierce anger and resentment against the British



OLD SOUTH MEETING HOUSE,
BOSTON.

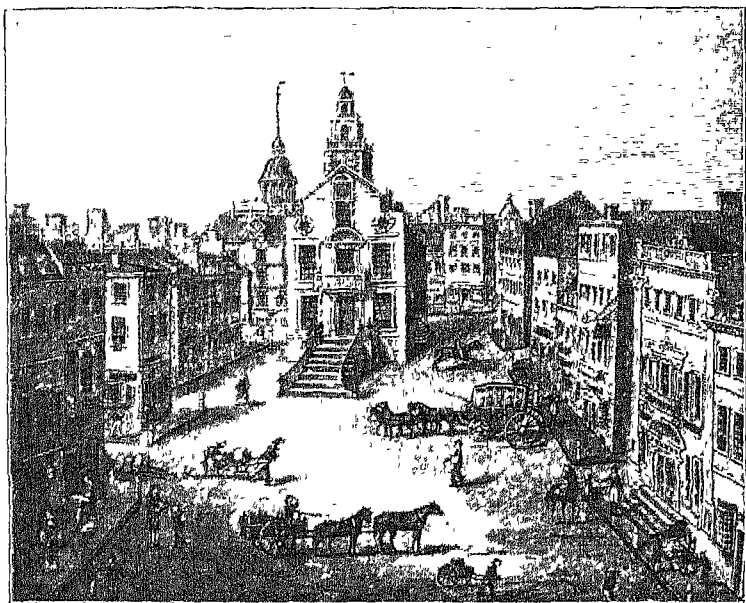
It was often used for meetings before the Revolution. An organization meeting was held here for only after the Boston Massacre. The first church building on this site was a wooden one, destroyed in 1694. The present one, which was built in 1729, and which has been used as an assembly room and lecture room.

A great mass meeting expressed the indignation of the people and demanded the withdrawal of the troops. Governor Hutchinson felt compelled to comply, and the soldiers were removed to an island in Boston Bay. This event, called the "Boston Massacre," was altogether unnecessary and was almost accidental, but it was called to mind from year to year by memorial meetings and speeches, and was thus used as a means of arousing hatred against the British. It did as much as any other event to cause separation and war.

161 The Tea Tax and Boston "Tea Party." — In 1770 the Townshend tax measures were all repealed except the tea tax. This was retained for the sake of the principle, to show that Parliament would not give up the *right* to tax the Americans. It was a most foolish policy, one that no real statesman would ever be guilty of. The tea tax was useless for revenue, and the only purpose it

served was to keep up the agitation in America. Burke pleaded in vain for its repeal and for full restoration of the old way of letting the colonies tax and govern themselves. The ministry arranged for the Americans to get their tea cheaper than before, even after the tax was paid. But the Americans felt that the whole issue on taxation was involved in this tax on tea. To give up this would be to give up all, — the principle of self-taxation and the

Tea is
dumped into
the Boston
harbor

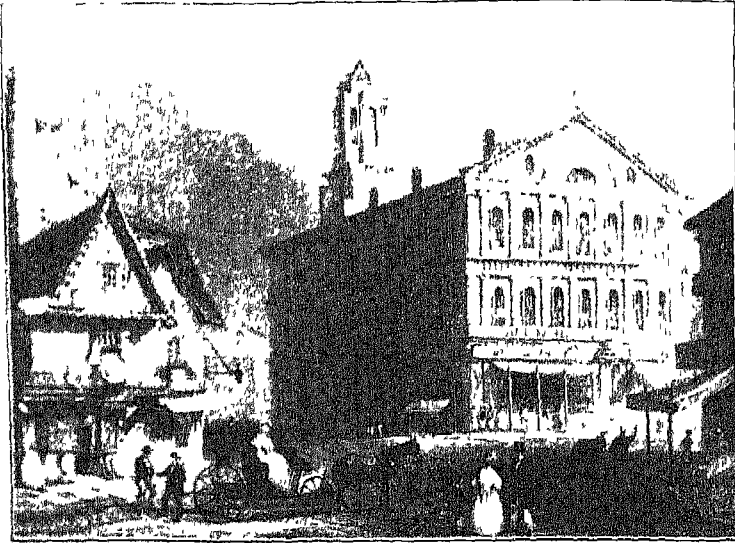


OLD MASSACHUSETTS STATEHOUSE, BOSTON

The "Old Statehouse," built for British officers in 1712, is the oldest public building now standing in Boston. From the balcony over the steps the English governors used to read the royal proclamations. When Washington visited Boston in 1789 a large reception was given to him in this building. It is no longer used for official purposes.

rights of popular assemblies. So when the tea came, it was sent back or destroyed or stored away to mold. In Boston, when the governor refused to send back the tea, a party of citizens disguised as Indians boarded a vessel and threw the tea into the

sea. Americans generally felt that they did right in resisting this unlawful tax. "Shame on the American," said Wendell Phillips many years later, "who calls the tea tax a *law*."



FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON.

Faneuil Hall, or the "Cradle of Liberty," as it came to be called because so many important liberty meetings were held within its walls, was built about 1740, as a market house for Boston, at the expense of Peter Faneuil, a French merchant of that city. It was enlarged in 1806.

All these disturbances and disorders excited the anger of the king and his ministers. They felt that the Americans were rebels and rioters and must be made to obey the law.

The king
looked upon
the colonists
as rebels

The Tories in America were urging the government to exercise a firmer authority and to send more troops.

"More government, too much liberty," was their cry. The true policy would have been to do as Pitt and Burke advised, to repeal the tea tax and seek peace and conciliation with America. But instead of this Parliament turned to the fatal policy of coercion.

162 Summary of American Grievances to 1774. — Before we notice the coercive measures which Parliament adopted let us summarize American grievances up to 1774. —

1. A Parliament in which Americans were wholly unrepresented claimed and had exercised the power —

(a) to restrict their commerce

(b) to tax them

(c) to suspend their assemblies

2. British troops were planted among them to coerce them.

3. Their governors and judges were to be made independent of their assemblies.

4. The protection of the right of trial by jury had been taken away in certain cases

5. Their citizens were threatened with transportation for trial

163. The Intolerable Acts — Instead of retracing its steps and relieving the fears of the Americans on these matters, Parliament proceeded to pass three intolerable coercive measures. —

1. *The Boston Port Bill* — This closed the port of Boston, allowing no ships to come or go, till the tea that had been destroyed had been paid for. Only food and fuel could be brought in. The customhouse was removed to Salem and an English man-of-war was to blockade the port. So Boston was to be punished by having her trade and prosperity destroyed. "The property of unoffending thousands is arbitrarily taken away for the act of a few individuals."

2. *The Massachusetts Act.* — This revoked the Massachusetts charter of 1691, and a new form of government was given to that colony. The upper house (senate) was now to be appointed by the crown. The governor's power was to be increased and he was no longer to depend on the people. The judges, magistrates, and sheriffs were to be appointed by the royal governor, and the jurors were to be summoned by these sheriffs and be no longer elective. The right of public meeting was to be abridged, — the old town meetings, as "nests of sedition and self-govern-

ment," were to be broken up. Men like Samuel Adams were not to be given a chance to arouse the people against the government. If Americans submitted to this act, "their chartered rights and liberties were annihilated."

3. *The Act for the Administration of Justice* — This provided that if any person were indicted for murder in Massachusetts and it appeared to the governor or judge that his act was committed in aiding magistrates to suppress tumults and riots and that a fair trial could not be had, the prisoner should be sent to England or to another colony for trial. Captain Preston had been given a fair trial and had been acquitted for the "Boston Massacre," but the British government was determined not to allow Massachusetts juries to try British soldiers for offenses committed in preserving order. The Americans felt that this was to encourage the soldiers to use force and to shield them from punishment for violence, and that the "lives of citizens might be destroyed with impunity."

In addition to these three measures a new *Quartering Act* was passed, by which General Gage was made governor of Massachusetts, and more troops were to be quartered in Boston.

The same year (1774) the *Quebec Act* was passed, extending Canada to the Ohio River under French law, arbitrary rule, and the Catholic religion. This act was one of wise toleration. It had no reference to the Thirteen Colonies and it did not take away any legal privileges of Englishmen. But the colonies believed it was directed against them, it was offensive especially to New England and the colonies claiming territory in the West, and it was an important influence in producing the American Revolution.

164 The Colonies unite ; Committees of Correspondence — The coercive acts were directed against Massachusetts, but they threatened the rights of every other colony. In the face of a common danger all were ready to unite to support Massachusetts. Provisions were sent to Boston from other colonies. Virginia appointed a day for prayer and fasting, and it was recognized that such an injury to one was the concern of all.

The colonies were far apart, travel was difficult, but they had a means of acting together. In 1772 the Massachusetts towns under the leadership of Samuel Adams began to correspond with one another. In 1773 Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson secured from the Burgesses in Virginia a permanent *Committee of Correspondence*, "to maintain a correspondence with our sister colonies." Other colonies followed this example. This was important as a means of cooperating in their resistance to the acts of Parliament, and was one of the early steps in forming the union.

165 The First Continental Congress, 1774. - Through these Committees of Correspondence several assemblies suggested a congress of the colonies. Massachusetts issued the call, and the congress met at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. There were delegates from every colony except Georgia, where the governor interfered. This was one of the most important meetings thus far held in the colonies. It began a movement which later resulted in throwing off British authority and erecting a new government in America.

The Congress published a famous "Declaration of Rights" in which it approved the course of Massachusetts, demanded the repeal of the coercive measures and the Quebec Act, denounced as illegal a standing army in time of peace without the consent of the colony, and complained of the dissolution of their assemblies. The colonies now denied the right of Parliament to legislate for them, though they were willing to submit to honest trade regulations; they sent addresses to the king, to the people of Great Britain and to Canada (asking Canada to join in resistance), and finally and most important, the Congress formed the *American Association*, for the non-importation and non-consumption of British goods. This agreement was to be enforced in the colonies by their own town and county committees, and any colony not cooperating was to be regarded as "an enemy to the liberties of the country." The Congress let it be understood that force against Massachusetts would be met

Declaration of Rights

Agreement not to import or consume British goods

by force from the united colonies. Before adjourning it called another Congress to meet in May, 1775.

166 Lord North's Proposals — Lord North now proposed that if the colonies would tax themselves to the satisfaction of the British government, all tax measures of Parliament would be withdrawn. This offer was rejected by the colonies, and Parliament now declared Massachusetts in a state of rebellion, and General Gage was ordered to subdue the insurrection. Instructions were sent to arrest Hancock, Samuel Adams, and other popular leaders for trial. The members of the patriot party of Massachusetts were now obeying the Provincial Congress, organized and controlled by these leaders. They began to organize "militiamen" to assemble at a minute's warning, and to gather military stores.

167 Battle of Lexington. — General Gage sent some soldiers from Boston to destroy some of these stores at Concord. Paul Revere, on his famous ride, aroused the country along the road, shouting the warning, "The regulars are coming!" The minutemen seized their rifles, and from village and farm came together at Lexington, April 19, 1775. When the British troops under Major Pitcairn reached Lexington, they found fewer than fifty men drawn up on the green. "Don't fire unless you are fired on," said their captain, Parker, "but if they want a war, let it begin here." "Disperse, ye rebels," shouted Pitcairn. But the yeomanry stood their ground, and were fired upon by the soldiers. Eight patriots fell and eight more were wounded, and on that famous day at Lexington the war of the American Revolution began.

The minutemen fell back, and the soldiers went on and destroyed the ammunition at Concord, but there at Concord bridge they had to meet by this time four hundred and fifty Americans, who resisted, "And fired the shot heard round the world." The British turned to flight, and on the retreat to Boston they found the country alive with riflemen who, from behind tree and house, haystack, fence, and wall, poured in a deadly fire; and it is said that before the exhausted troops reached the shelter of

reinforcements, "then tongues were hanging out like dogs' after a chase." The British had lost two hundred and seventy-three men, the Americans, ninety-three. It had been shown that American militiamen dared resist British regulars.

168 The Americans were compelled to fight for their Rights. — This attack and resistance aroused the spirit of war in the whole country. It was felt that the king had made war on his people. The time to petition and to pass resolutions had gone; the time to fight had come. Warren called New England to arms "to prevent an inhuman soldiery from ravaging this devoted country with fire and sword." Patrick Henry in the Second Continental Congress expressed the feeling of the patriot party of America. "We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves at the foot of the throne, and it has been all in vain. We must fight! I repeat it, sir, we must fight!"

The war had begun in defense of American rights. We are now to study the influences leading to American independence.

FACTS AND DATES

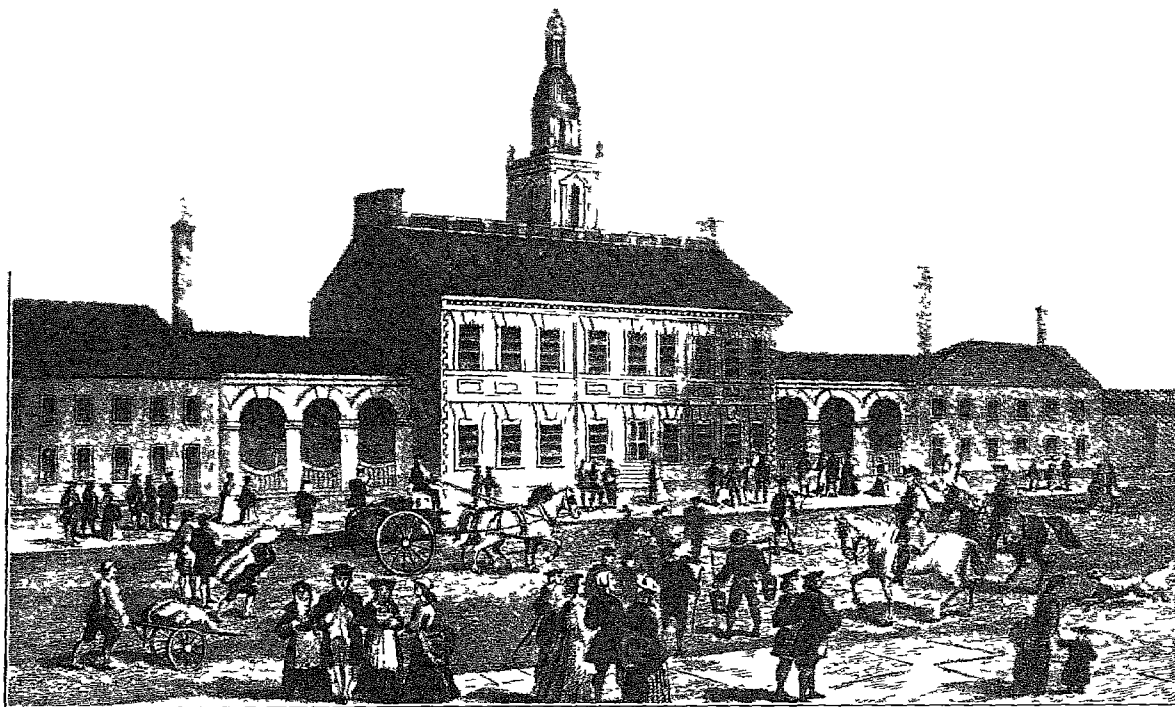
- 1763 Close of the Seven Years' War — Treaty of Paris.
- 1764. Parliament proposes to enforce the Trade Laws, to quarter Troops in America, and to tax the Colonies.
- 1765 Stamp Act passed — Stamp Act Congress.
- 1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act — Declaratory Act.
- 1767 Townshend Measures, Commercial Taxation.
- 1768. Troops quartered in Boston. — Massachusetts Circular Letter.
- 1770. Boston Massacre — Taxes removed except on Tea.
- 1772. Burning of the *Gaspee*.
- 1773 Boston Tea Party.
- 1774. Three Intolerable Measures. (1) Boston Port Bill. (2) Massachusetts Act, (3) Transportation Act.
Quebec Act.
- 1774 Meeting of First Continental Congress.
- 1775. Beginning of War at Lexington and Concord, April 19.

CHAPTER X

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

169. The Americans were defeated at Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775. The Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia, May 10, 1775. On the same day Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont seized the important fortress of Ticonderoga, "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." Congress voted to raise an army of twenty thousand men and appointed Washington to the chief command. After the fight at Concord and Lexington a New England army, consisting of troops of several colonies under no single commander, soon gathered around Boston. Under Warren, Putnam, and Prescott the Americans took a position on Bunker Hill. Gage's troops assaulted their works (June 17, 1775). The Americans resisted two desperate assaults. At the third they fell back, defeated but far from discouraged. The British had lost one thousand men out of the three thousand engaged. The Americans lost about four hundred and fifty. Among them was General Joseph Warren, one of the bravest and most unselfish patriots of the Revolution. Bunker Hill was a moral victory for the Americans, for they showed again that they could stand against the regulars and could fight with courage.

170. Washington takes command, July 3, 1775. — Washington now took command of the American army at Cambridge, July 3, 1775. It is well to recall the great services of Washington. He is properly called the "Father of his Country," for no one did more to help win our independence and establish our government. He is the greatest man of the American Revolution, one of the noblest men of the English-speaking race. It



INDEPENDENCE HALL IN PHILADELPHIA, 1776

Here the Continental Congress met, Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the Continental armies, the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and the Constitution of the United States was framed

was most fortunate for the Americans that they had such a noble leader at this time. He was patriotic, ready to serve his country without pay and at great sacrifice. He was patient in suffering, wise in judgment, self-controlled but quick and decisive in action. He believed in right and duty and had faith in God. As he is pictured at Valley Forge, praying for his country in the darkest hour of the Revolution, we think of him as bearing upon his shoulders the fortunes of his country. Probably no other leader could have borne the burden so well.

Washington found an army disorganized, without discipline, or supplies or heavy guns, and he could not take the offensive about Boston till the spring of 1776. On March 17, 1776, he seized Dorchester Heights, and the British were compelled to evacuate Boston. They and many of their Tory friends boarded the fleet and "went to Halifax." The army was in bad condition

In the fall of 1775 an American expedition under Montgomery and Benedict Arnold made an unsuccessful attack on Canada; while in June 1776 the British were repulsed from Fort Moultrie in Charleston harbor.¹

171 Americans were Ready for Independence after a Year of Fighting.—A year of war had now made the Americans ready for independence. It was not for independence that they took up arms. Washington said, "When I first took command of the army I abhorred the idea of independence;" he even then hoped for "a lasting and happy union with Great Britain." Jefferson said, "Before the 19th of April, 1775, I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country." Franklin told Pitt in England that the colonists did not desire independence and such was not their purpose in resisting the measures of Parliament. In July, 1775, Congress published its *Declaration of the Causes of Taking up Arms*. This sums up the long list of grievances that we have described. It then charges that General Gage had begun hostilities at Lexington and Concord.

¹ Here it was that Sergeant Jasper, in the midst of the hottest fire from the British, climbed the parapet and restored the flagstaff that had been shot away.

Phila^a July 5. 1775

Mr Strahan,

You are a Member of Parliament;
and one of that Majority which has
brought my Country to Destruction
— You have begun to burn our Towns
and murder our People, — Look upon
your ~~Flags~~ ^{Flags}! — They are stained with the
^{your} Blood of Relations! — You and I were
long Friends; — You are now my En-
emy, — and

I am,

Yours,
B Franklin

* FRANKLIN'S FAMOUS LETTER TO A MEMBER OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT.

The long friendship between Franklin and Strahan,
interrupted by the war, was afterwards renewed

"Parliament claims unlimited power over us, to make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever. We have no voice in the body that proposes so to govern us. Fleets and armies are sent to force us into submission. We have but the two alternatives, unconditional submission or resistance by force. We prefer to die freemen rather than to live slaves. But we have no intention to dissolve the union. Our armies are not for separation. We have taken up arms against violence actually offered, we shall lay them down when hostilities cease on the part of our aggressors, not before. May our adversaries be reconciled on reasonable terms and the Empire relieved from the calamities of civil war."

Congress
stated the
causes for
the war

These are the words of Congress, and they no doubt express the sentiment of the country in the summer of 1775. Some say Congress did not act in harmony with these words. It is, no doubt, true that there were radical men in Congress and in the country who secretly favored independence and who were watching every chance to influence public opinion in that direction. But the evidence goes to show that perhaps not one fifth of the people of America had independence in view at the time the Americans took up arms. They were fighting in self-defense, to preserve old rights and an old constitution, not to set up new ones, and they constantly disavowed the purpose or the desire for independence. They still hoped for honorable reconciliation. They had pride in Britain's dominion, they gloried in her history, and they were most reluctant to cut themselves off forever from being a part of the old mother country. But when the king arrogantly refused the last petition of Congress, — their "olive branch of peace," — when Parliament and the king declared the colonies in a state of rebellion and said that all the resources of the Empire would be used to subdue them, and when some of their towns were burned by the king's forces, as Norfolk, Charlestown, and Falmouth, the sentiment of the colonists began to change. They saw in the future other towns in ashes, the redcoats overrunning the land, and the British

Many did
not wish to
separate
from Great
Britain

navy blockading their ports. Still some favored submission, while others, who very much disliked the acts of the government, thought it useless to resist.

At this opportune time, in the early part of 1776, when the people were very bitter against the king and the British government, but wavering as to what course to take, appeared Thomas Paine's powerful pamphlet, "Common Sense." Paine was the first to argue openly and boldly for independence. In "Common Sense" he sought first to get the minds of the people away from their foolish worship of kings. "One honest man is worth more to society in the sight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived," he said, and when the king referred "the matter from argument to arms, all considerations prior to the battle of Lexington were like last year's almanacs,"—they were out of date. He showed that the connection with Great Britain was no longer to the advantage of America, that it would continually involve us in European wars and quarrels, and interfere with our markets, and he said it was absurd that a great continent should continue to be dependent on the people of a little island three thousand miles away. This was like making a satellite larger than its planet. Other writers and essayists throughout the colonies supported Paine, and the country was being roused against any more British rule.

There was one thing that had more influence even than Paine's writings in promoting the spirit of independence. This was the coming of the Hessians. These were "foreign mercenaries" that the king had hired in Hesse-Cassel, a little state in Germany, to fight against the Americans. In May, 1776, it became known to the Americans that ten thousand of these Hessians were already on the sea coming to help subdue them. As many as thirty thousand came together. They had no principle at stake, no love of country to fight for, but they were coming merely for pay, hired by the British to fight against British flesh and blood in America. This was the crowning political blunder of the British government.

It aroused resentment and bitterness in America, and after such a wrong it was useless to hope for reconciliation with the colonies.

Virginia now led in the movement for independence. In May, 1776, that colony instructed her delegates in Congress to propose this final step. Accordingly on June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, who was the chairman of the Virginia delegation, pro-^{Lee's} posed his famous resolution: "*That these United Colo- resolution nies are, and of a right ought to be, free and independent states.*"

172 The Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776) — Some of the colonies were not yet ready, and the resolution was opposed by Dickinson and Wilson of Pennsylvania, Wilson, and Rutledge of South Carolina; but a committee was appointed consisting of Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston to draft a declaration in harmony with this resolution. Jefferson wrote the Declaration, "without reference to book or paper." Adams and Franklin made a few verbal changes. On July 1 it was debated. Jefferson sat silent, he was not a debater. "John Adams was our Colossus on the floor," said Jefferson after-^{Jefferson writes the Declaration of Independence.} ence.

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General 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.

THE OPENING LINES OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

This is one of the most important documents ever published in the history of the world. This illustration shows in reduced form the handwriting of the author of the Declaration, Thomas Jefferson, and some of the changes made in the original draft.

ward, "not graceful nor elegant nor fluent, but he came out

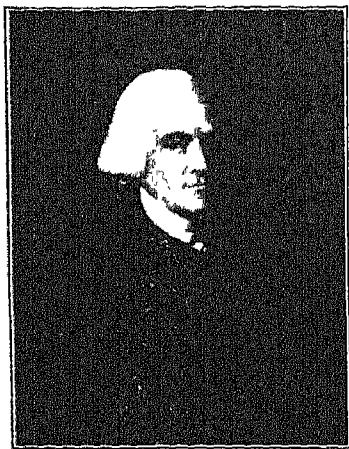
with a power of thought and expression that moved us from our seats." Dickinson led the opposition. He admitted the *justice* of the Declaration, but doubted its *policy* at that time. He did not want "to shut the door of accommodation with Great Britain." He did not think the Declaration would be a means of obtaining foreign help, it might unite parties in England against us, and we ought not to take such a step, he said, until we had made a compact with France, and a confederation among ourselves. Independence was a step of stupendous importance; it was crossing a river that could never be recrossed, and Dickinson pleaded for delay. Dickinson had done as much as any man in defending the rights of America in the ten years' debate that had gone before. He was not a Tory, and when he was voted down on this occasion and the colonies voted for

independence, he patriotically entered the army of the Revolution and fought on the side of his country.

Finally, on July 2, all the colonies except New York, which

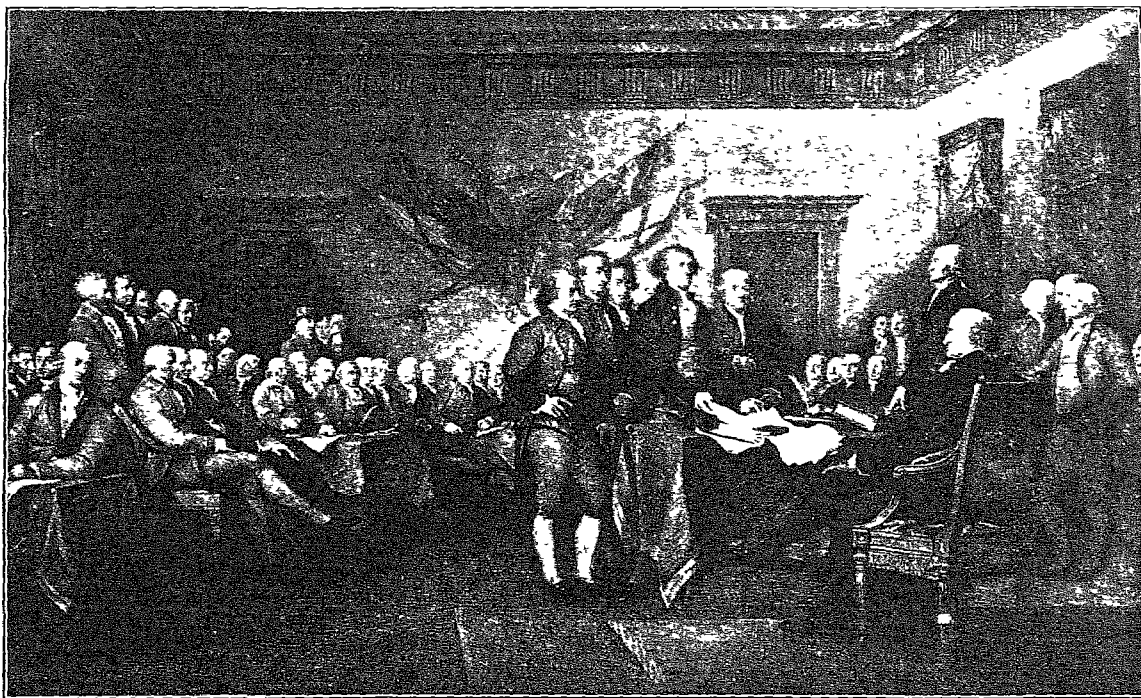
assented later, voted
 Lee's resolution for Lee's motion
 passed Some of them did so
 July 2, 1776. reluctantly (South

Carolina and Pennsylvania), desiring to make the vote unanimous. For two days more Congress considered the form of Jefferson's Declaration. It struck out Jefferson's unsparing condemnation of the king for keeping open the slave trade, a "piratical warfare," "a market where MEN should be bought and sold." This was omitted, as Jefferson afterward testified, out



JOHN HANCOCK.

Born at Quincy, Mass., 1737, graduated from Harvard, became a member of the "Sons of Liberty," and, with Samuel Adams, was declared an outlaw by the British. As President of Congress he was the first signer of the Declaration of Independence. Was a soldier in the Revolution, and later Governor of Massachusetts. Died at his birthplace in 1793.



SIGNING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ADOPTED JULY 4, 1776

The Declaration was signed by fifty-five delegates, headed by John Hancock, the President of the Continental Congress. The members signed on August 2, 1776. The first copy of the Declaration giving the names of the signers was published in January, 1777.

of regard to South Carolina and Georgia and also because the New Englanders, though not having many slaves themselves, were considerable carriers of them to others and were therefore a little sensitive on that point. Finally, on the 4th of July, 1776, the Declaration received the final sanction of Congress.

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR FOR INDEPENDENCE

173. Principles more Important than Battles. — We cannot go into the details of the battles of the Revolution. It is more important to know the principles underlying a war, — to know how and why a nation gets into a war and how it gets out, — than to trace the history of marches, sieges, battles, and campaigns. The glory of war is in its courage, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and devotion. These qualities were brought out in America by the seven years' struggle for independence, in which two million five hundred thousand people, "armed in the holy cause of liberty," won their independence against a nation many times more powerful in resources and in men

THE WAR IN THE MIDDLE STATES, 1776

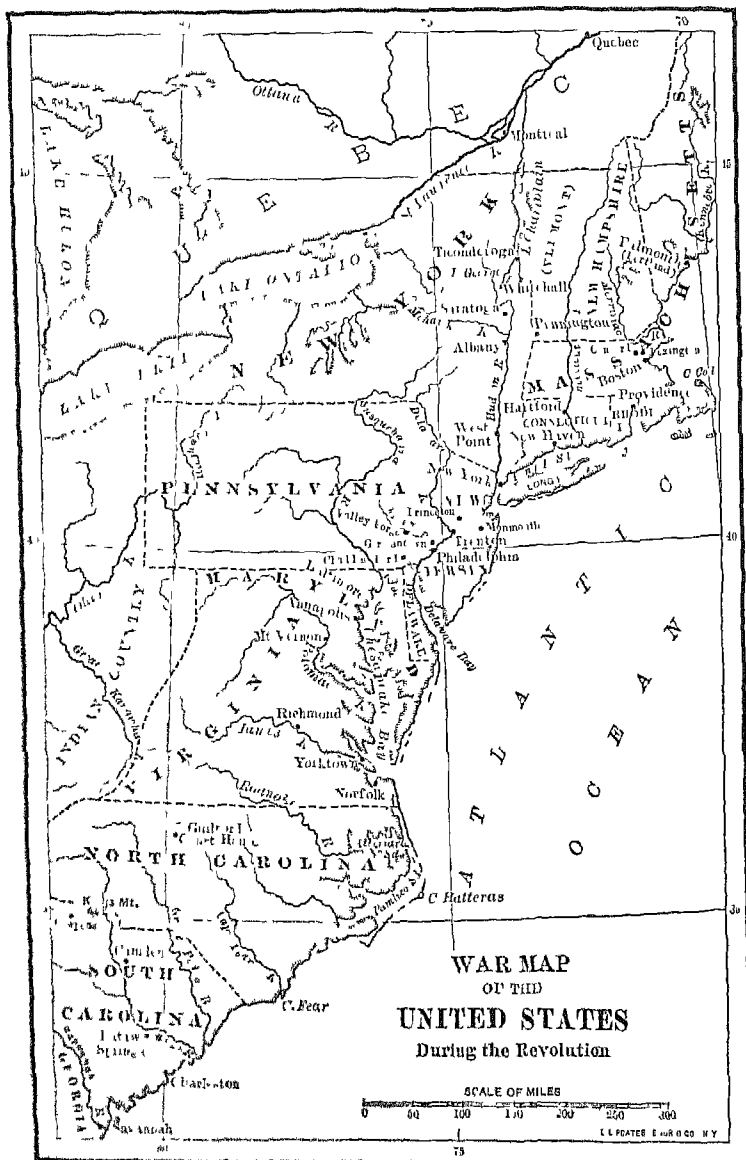
174. The British seek Control of the Hudson. — The first object of the British in the war was to take New York, Philadelphia, and the Hudson, and thus cut the colonies in two by separating New England from the South. They would then conquer each section separately. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were not so hostile to British rule as was New England. There were more Tories in the Middle Colonies, and there was considerable Tory sentiment south of Virginia. The British thought if New England and Virginia could be cut off and suppressed, the war would soon be over. So the Middle Colonies became the scene of the war for the first two years after independence was declared.

Washington tried to defend New York. He had moved his troops to that place from Boston in April, and he now fortified

Brooklyn Heights. The Americans also built Fort Lee and Fort Washington a little way up the Hudson from New York to keep the British fleet from going up that river. The British army was commanded by General William Howe, and the fleet by his brother, Lord Howe. The British army soon numbered about thirty thousand men, nearly double that of the Americans. Washington was attacked by Howe in the battle of Long Island (August 27, 1776) and was defeated. The American army was barely saved from capture by the skill and strategy of Washington, who, leaving his camp fires burning, had his forces ferried across the East River to New York, leaving the British only his empty camp.

Howe
defeats
Washington
at Long
Island and
captures
New York

175. Washington's Memorable Retreat to Trenton. — Howe followed Washington up the east side of the Hudson and defeated the Americans again at White Plains, and then captured Fort Mifflin. The American army crossed to the west side of the Hudson a little below Peekskill, and General Charles Lee was left with seven thousand men on the east side of the river. Lee was ordered to join his forces to Washington's, but in jealousy and mutiny he refused to obey, and Washington began his long and memorable retreat through New Jersey to Trenton. As the British followed, Washington crossed to the west side of the Delaware. The British hoped to catch Washington's army and end the war in this one campaign. If Howe with his overwhelming force had ordered Cornwallis vigorously to pursue Washington, instead of ordering the troops to stop at New Brunswick, if he had quickly struck at Philadelphia, he could no doubt have captured the city and he would probably have completely broken the American resistance. But Howe made the mistake of seeking his comfort in winter quarters in New York to rejoice over his victories. This illustrates one of the causes of American success in the Revolution, — the incompetency of the British commanders and the greater ability of Washington and the greater sacrifice his soldiers were ready to undergo.



176 Dark Hour in the Revolution. — With Washington's army in retreat, after repeated defeats, it was a dark hour for America, perhaps the darkest of the war. The defeated army was ragged, poorly armed, without pay or rations; many terms of enlistment were about to expire, and the number of troops was rapidly decreasing. The people were disheartened. British and Hessian soldiers were plundering Tories and patriots alike in New Jersey. Many were deserting the American cause and were ready to take advantage of Howe's offer of pardon and to seek British protection. Philadelphia was in a panic of fear, and Congress, committing absolute authority to Washington, abandoned that city and fled to Baltimore. It was during these dark days of retreat, defeat, and despair that Thomas Paine's first number of *The Crisis* appeared.

"These are the times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it *Now* deserves the love and thanks of man and woman. Tyranny is not easily conquered; yet the harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph . . . Britain with an army to enforce her tyranny has declared that she has a right to enforce her will upon America, not only to *Tax*, but to *Bind us in All Cases Whatsoever*, and if being bound in that manner is not slavery, then is there not such a thing as slavery upon earth."

Thomas
Paine stirs
the people in
The Crisis

In such stirring words Paine continued from time to time to arouse the people to fight on against the British. In the cause of American liberty Paine's powerful pen was as mighty as Washington's sword.

177. Washington revives America by the Victories of Trenton and Princeton. — It was at this dark hour, too, that Washington's greatness appeared. He had not lost heart, and he determined upon a bold stroke. On Christmas night, 1776, while the Hessians stationed at Trenton were in a Christmas carousal, Washington crossed the Delaware, amid snow and ice,

surprised the enemy, captured one thousand Hessians and one thousand stands of arms, with the loss of only two officers and two privates. It was a great victory. Washington made a quick retreat before Cornwallis could come up, but he soon recrossed the river and won another complete victory over the British in the battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777). Cornwallis was completely outgeneraled, supposing that Washington was in his front until he heard the guns in his rear on the morning of the battle.

1777

178 Robert Morris raises Money for the Army. — After the battle of Princeton Washington went into winter quarters at Morristown, and reinforcements came to his army. The country rejoiced over his victories, with renewed hope and courage for the conflict. In this period Robert Morris, "the financier of the Revolution," rendered great services to his country by raising money and by giving from his own fortune. By these means Washington's soldiers were clothed and fed.

179. Howe takes Philadelphia — Howe determined to capture Philadelphia. Leaving a garrison in New York, he put about eighteen thousand men on board his fleet and sailed, no one knew where. The Americans obstructed the Delaware River, and Howe, after delays and difficulties at sea, finally landed his troops at the head of Chesapeake Bay, at Elkton, August 25, 1777. Washington, who was waiting until he learned of Howe's landing place, marched to Wilmington, Delaware, to meet him. As Howe advanced, Washington fell back to Chadd's Ford, on Brandywine Creek, where a battle was fought September 11, 1777. The Americans were defeated, losing twelve hundred men, but Washington retired in good order to Philadelphia. He was not able to defend the city, and Howe entered it in triumph. Washington, planning a bold surprise, attacked the British again at Germantown (October 4, 1777), but fog and confusion among his men, which led one division to fire upon another, prevented

Battles of
Brandywine
and German-
town.

his success. Washington now went into winter quarters at Valley Forge

180. Burgoyne comes down from Canada — The capture of Philadelphia did not help the British much. Howe should have gone north, along the Hudson, to cooperate in Burgoyne's invasion. His failure to do so brought to the British one of the most decisive losses of the war. The British wished to gain control of the Hudson. Their plan now was for General Burgoyne to come down from Canada, while Howe was to meet him by going north from New York. Another expedition under St. Leger was to go by Lake Ontario to Oswego, take Fort Stanwix, and come down the Mohawk. Howe failed to do his part, either from lack of orders, or lack of sense, or both. When he withdrew the main body of his army in order to take Philadelphia, all the American forces in the north could go against Burgoyne.

Burgoyne started south in June. On July 5, 1777, Ticonderoga, with provisions, stores, and cannon, was taken without a blow in its defense, and John Adams said that some American commander would have to be shot before their forces would learn to defend a fortress. But the farther Burgoyne got into the enemy's country, the greater his difficulties became. Schuyler, the American commander, with hardly more than four thousand men, put all kinds of difficulties in his way, destroying bridges, felling trees, burning what could be used for supplies, and harassing his flanks. Burgoyne could hardly make a mile a day. His provisions gave out and he had to forage. He sent a detachment under Colonel Baum with eight hundred men to capture some military supplies at Bennington, Vermont. They were met (August 16) by Colonel John Stark and General Warner, with nine hundred American militiamen, and were cut to pieces, Baum losing almost his whole force. Meanwhile St. Leger's expedition coming from the west down the Mohawk failed to unite with Burgoyne. Fort Stanwix (or Fort Schuyler, near Rome, New York) held out against him. General Herki-

Schuyler
harasses
and delays
Burgoyne.

mer attacked his forces in an attempt to relieve the fort, and a bloody hand-to-hand battle followed at Oriskany (August 6, 1777). Herkimer was killed, and the battle was not decisive, but when reinforcements under Arnold came to the Americans in the fort, St. Leger was driven back to Canada.

General Schuyler, the American commander, who had done well, was replaced by General Horatio Gates, a man of no merit. Encouraged by Stark's victory and St. Leger's repulse, the American militia rallied to reinforce the army. They were stirred to energy also by their fear of Indian atrocities under incitement of the British, and their army was soon increased to thirteen thousand men.

181. Burgoyne surrendered at Saratoga, 1777.—Burgoyne was now doomed. St. Leger was beaten, there was no hope from the South, where Washington was keeping Howe engaged all summer. Burgoyne's forces were being cut off from Canada, and his hope of retreat would soon be gone. Attempting to cut his way out and save his army, he attacked the American forces at Bemis Heights, but was held in check by the skill and valor of the troops under Arnold and Morgan. Burgoyne then retreated to Saratoga, where he was again defeated and then completely surrounded. Nothing remained for him but to lay down his arms and surrender his entire army of more than six thousand men.

This was the most important military event of the war. It was the turning point in the struggle. Its immediate result was the alliance between France and America, bringing such aid in men and money as finally brought about American success.

Saratoga
was the de-
cisive battle
of the war

182. The Assistance of the French was Important.—It is not easy to see how America could have won her independence without French aid. In 1775 Congress had appointed a secret committee "to correspond with our friends abroad." In 1776 Silas Deane was sent to France to solicit aid. He was later joined by Doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee. It was Franklin's great influence and diplomacy and his wonderful popularity in

Paris that brought about French good will. At first the French king would give no open aid to the Americans, but he secretly furnished supplies through Beaumarchais, who claimed to be a merchant selling arms to America on credit. The French wanted to make sure that the Americans would not be reconciled to Great Britain. France was pleased when independence was declared, but still she held off to see if America could make the Declaration good by military success. Burgoyne's surrender convinced the French, and in its tidings "they heard the knell of English dominion in America." France now came out openly on the American side.

On February 6 and 7, 1778,

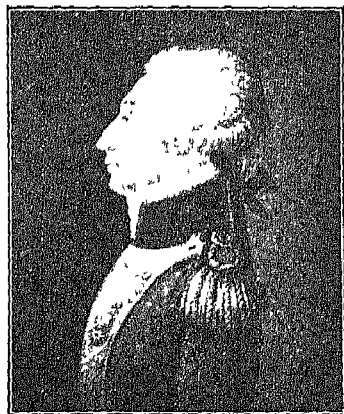
France made two treaties with America. One was a treaty of

The alliance with France made, 1778

commerce, which gave great commercial advantages to America, the other was a treaty of alliance, the first and only treaty of the kind our country has ever made. By this treaty France acknowledged the independence of America. The French king knew that the treaty of alliance would lead to a war between France and Great Britain, but he promised to continue the war

until American independence was secured. This he did, and the aid of France was most valuable. During 1777 Lafayette and other Frenchmen came to America to aid Washington; and Steuben, De Kalb, Pulaski, and other foreigners greatly aided the American cause.

The French alliance led to other difficulties in Europe for



THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

Born in Auvergne, France, 1757, died at Paris, 1834. Became a major-general in the American army in 1777. Fought his first battle at Brandywine, and there was wounded in the leg. Spent his own money freely for clothing and equipping the soldiers under his command. After the Revolution he visited the country twice, in 1784, on Washington's invitation, and in 1824, when he laid the cornerstone of Bunker Hill Monument.

England In 1777 Congress sent Jay to Spain (as Franklin had gone to France) to induce that country to recognize our independence, to lend us money, and to come into the alliance. Spain was not friendly, she wanted to control the Mississippi River, and did not want the colonies to grow strong and expand toward the west, as she thought that would endanger her American possessions. Jay got a little money from Spain, but that country would not recognize our independence nor join the French-American alliance. However, Spain made war on England on her own account, chiefly for the sake of recovering Gibraltar, which Great Britain had held since the treaty of Utrecht, 1713. Soon after, Holland and Russia became hostile to Great Britain, and that country found herself without a friend or ally in the world. This situation in Europe came largely from the French alliance, and was very important, almost decisive, in compelling Great Britain to recognize American independence.

183. The Soldiers suffered Hardships at Valley Forge — We left Washington in winter quarters at Valley Forge. His army had a terrible winter. Some of the soldiers mutinied, and Washington informed Congress that nearly three thousand of his men were unfit for duty, as they were barefooted and naked. Their line of march to winter quarters had been marked by their blood oozing from frost-bitten feet upon the snow. The commissary department was at fault, for there were shoes, stockings, and clothes lying unused at various places. During this winter some officers had formed a combination, called the "Conway Cabal," to displace Washington from the command and put Gates in his place. The plot fell through and Washington stood higher than ever with the country. At Valley Forge the American army received one great benefit; that was good drill and discipline by Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer who had joined the Americans. This discipline counted for much in their subsequent fighting.

1778-1779

184. Howe evacuates Philadelphia. — In the spring of 1778 Howe was succeeded by Clinton. On the approach of the French fleet Clinton abandoned Philadelphia for New York. Washington pursued Clinton's forces across New Jersey and attacked them at Monmouth (June, 1778) without any decisive results. The British then, in the summer of 1778, occupied New York and Newport, and Washington was in his old position about White Plains.

The Battle
of Mon-
mouth,
June, 1778

After three years of war the British had not subdued either New England or the Middle Colonies, and were no better off than when the war began. They had gained nothing to offset their losses, and many of the leading men in England saw that America could not be subdued. Lord North saw this, and if he had acted the part of a constitutional minister, he would have resigned and left the king without a minister, as long as the king was bent on a war policy. But the king controlled the minister instead of the minister controlling the king, and North remained in office and continued the war against his better judgment.

The king
subordinates
the minister
contrary to
the Consti-
tution

The French fleet under D'Estaing could not take New York, and it failed also in connection with General Sullivan's land forces to capture Newport. D'Estaing then sailed for the West Indies, and his presence there required the attention of a British force. England's troubles were increasing. On July 15, 1779, "Mad Anthony" Wayne, leading a body of twelve hundred Americans, stormed Stony Point, captured five hundred prisoners, and recaptured that strong fortress in one of the most daring exploits of the war. "Light Horse Harry" Lee also recaptured Paulus Hook, on the New Jersey coast.

185. Tories and Indians ravage in Pennsylvania and New York. — In the summer of 1778 Tories and Indians under Colonel Butler and Joseph Brant plundered and killed many settlers in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and in Cherry Valley,

New York An expedition under General Sullivan retaliated on the Iroquois Indians and effectually broke their power.

1779 AND 1780

186. John Paul Jones, 1779 — During 1779 and 1780 the more important and interesting events of the war were in the South. But before turning in that direction let us notice the work of John Paul Jones upon the sea, and the treason of Benedict Arnold at West Point.



JOHN PAUL JONES.

"The founder of the American Navy" was born in Scotland in 1747 and died in Paris in 1799. His remains, or a body supposed to be his, were brought from France in 1905 and buried with honor at Annapolis, Maryland, in the county of his adoption. He was commander of a vessel in the West Indian trade at seventeen, and came to Virginia when twenty-six. After an illustrious career in the American Revolution he entered the Russian military service and won renown. Upon his death the National Assembly of France ordered a public funeral in his honor.

John Paul Jones was a Scotchman (born in 1747) who came to Virginia shortly before the Revolutionary War. When the war began, the Americans had no navy, but soon Congress or the colonies commissioned private vessels to prey upon British commerce. These vessels are called privateers. They are not public armed vessels, but private vessels, authorized by letters of marque and reprisal, to arm themselves and capture or destroy merchant vessels of the enemy. It is piracy under the form of law, and civilized nations have now nearly abandoned the custom of authorizing privateers. John Paul Jones was in command of the most famous of these privateers, the *Bon Homme Richard*, with a few other vessels. He "bearded the

lion in his den," by sailing to the very coast of England and Scotland, attacking exposed places, scouring British waters for

merchant vessels, and finally the *Richard* engaged the British vessel the *Scraps* in one of the bloodiest sea fights in history, considering the forces engaged. Jones ran his vessel alongside the *Scraps* and lashed the two boats together. It was then a death struggle hand to hand. The *Scraps* finally surrendered, but not until the *Richard* was so disabled that Jones had to transfer his men to the British vessel, while his own vessel soon sank in the sea. This was the beginning of American sea power. The American sailors won prestige and praise in Europe, and the Dutch, because they harbored Jones, whom the English demanded as a pirate, became involved in a war with England.

187 Arnold's Treason. — Benedict Arnold had rendered great service to his country in the war. He had, through great hardship, led an expedition to Canada in 1775, he had helped to relieve Fort Stanwix in the Burgoyne campaign; he had been one of the bravest and ablest leaders in defeating Burgoyne, and he had been severely wounded in the battle of Saratoga. It would have been better for him if he had been killed, for then he would have been honored as one of the heroes of the Revolution and his memory saved from disgrace.

In the summer of 1778, when Arnold's wound disabled him from active service, Washington placed him in command of Philadelphia, after the British evacuated that city. Here Arnold married a Tory woman, and he came to believe, with his Tory friends, that the French alliance was a bad policy and that the victory of Saratoga and Lord North's terms of peace ought to have ended the war. He was accused of favoring the Tories, of high living and extravagance, and of taking government property for private use. He ran in debt and engaged in speculations. On the charges brought against him by his Whig enemies he was acquitted by court-martial, but Washington was directed to give him a public reprimand for imprudence. Washington did this as gently as possible, but Arnold felt himself persecuted and insulted. He had already been in correspondence with the British authorities, and he now decided upon the infamous course

of selling himself and his country to the enemy. He resigned his command at Philadelphia, but Washington still had confidence in him, and in July, 1780, he gave Arnold command of West Point, a fortress necessary to the control of the Hudson. Arnold was resolved not to go over alone to the enemy, and he accepted the command of this important fortress with the intention of surrendering it to the British. It was an act of mean ingratitude to Washington and of the basest treason to his country. By secret correspondence with General Clinton a meeting was arranged between Arnold and Major John André, a British officer, who came disguised within the American lines to arrange the plan for carrying out Arnold's treason. Arnold gave André a pass through the lines and papers describing the fortress and the disposition of the troops. André put these papers in his boots, and on his way back to the British lines he was captured by three Americans, who could not be induced by bribes or threats to let him go. They disregarded his pass, searched him, and found the papers from Arnold. André was sent to Washington, but the papers were sent to Arnold, and this gave the traitor a chance to escape. He went to the British, received pay for his perfidy, and he served for a while in the British army. After the war he lived in England and died in poverty, despised and scorned by all men. André was hanged as a spy, meeting the same fate that the American patriot Nathan Hale had met, who had been hanged as a spy by the British general, Howe, four years before.

Arnold in
command of
West Point,
1780

The treason
is discovered
and André
hanged

THE CAMPAIGNS IN THE SOUTH

188. The British in Georgia and the Carolinas, 1778, 1779.—For two years after June, 1776, the South was free from invasion. But in 1778 the British captured Savannah. In the summer of 1779 the Americans under General Lincoln and Count Pulaski, aided by the French fleet under D'Estaing,

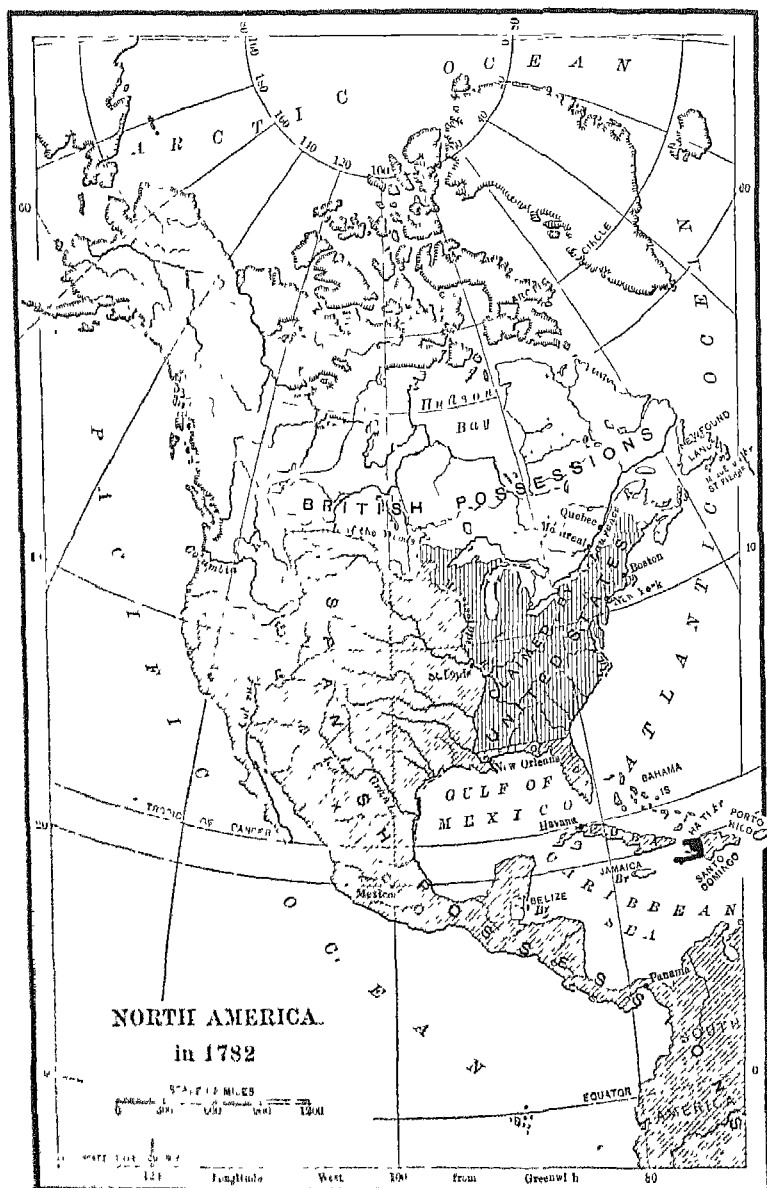
attempted to recapture Savannah, but were repulsed with the loss of one thousand men, Pulaski being among the slain. The British then invaded South Carolina and captured Charleston with General Lincoln and his army of three thousand men.

South Carolina was overrun by the British, and the Americans, under the incompetent Gates, were totally defeated at the battle of Camden, August 16, 1780. Georgia and South Carolina seemed lost to the American cause, but Marion, the "Swamp Fox," and Sumter and Pickens and other South Carolina patriots kept the Whig spirit alive and continued the fight, annoying the British forces by an irregular warfare. There was bitter partisan strife between Whigs and Tories and excesses on both sides. At King's Mountain (October 7, 1780) the hardy patriot riflemen of the frontier, under John Sevier, killed or captured a body of eleven hundred Tories.

At Cowpens (January 17, 1781) a new American army under General Nathanael Greene, one of the best generals of the Revolutionary War, and General Daniel Morgan, one of the heroes of Saratoga, defeated and nearly destroyed the British forces under Tarleton. This was one of the most notable and effective victories in the southern campaign. But Greene was not able to stand against Cornwallis's full forces, and he began a masterly retreat across North Carolina. Cornwallis tried in vain to overtake Greene's army, but the rains favored the Americans, and the rivers rose at the right time to delay the British pursuers. Greene gave battle at Guilford Court House, March 15, 1781. He was defeated, but Cornwallis lost so heavily that he was unable to pursue farther, and retreated to Wilmington, North Carolina. Greene then returned to South Carolina and fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, near Camden. The British, under Lord Rawdon, held the field, but Rawdon's forces were crippled and his communications cut, and he was compelled to retreat into Charleston. Greene then won the battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781) and drove the

The
Americans
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defends
the South.



British from the interior of Georgia into Savannah. Thus in a little over a year Greene's brilliant campaign had compelled the sections of the British forces to retire to three seaport cities, — Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah.

The British were confined to three seaports.

189 The British surrender at Yorktown, 1781. — The end was now near at hand. Cornwallis went to Virginia, where a British force under the traitor Arnold had been plundering for several months. Cornwallis joined Arnold's forces to his own, sent Arnold to New York, fortified Yorktown, and settled himself to await reinforcements. The British were now in their trap. A French fleet under De Grasse sailed up the Chesapeake in September. The French troops at Newport joined Washington at New York, and the combined forces marched rapidly southward to cut Cornwallis off by land, leaving Clinton in the belief that they intended to attack New York. The French fleet drove off the British ships, and Cornwallis, finding himself surrounded by superior forces on land and sea, on October 19, 1781, surrendered his entire army of seven thousand men.

The surrender at Yorktown virtually ended the war. The British held New York, Charleston, and Savannah for a while longer, but there was no more fighting. When Lord North heard of the news of Cornwallis's surrender, he threw up his hands and exclaimed, "O, God! it is all over!" The king was still obstinate, and he said he would never consent to the independence of America.

The surrender at Yorktown practically ended the war.

The Parliament, however, soon voted against continuing the war, and Lord North's ministry was forced out of office (March 20, 1782). The king had to submit. George's personal government had broken down, and constitutional government was again restored. This was one of the great results of the American Revolution. It brought a better liberty not only to America but to Great Britain as well. The king had to call the Whig party again to power, — Rockingham, Shelburne, Fox, Burke, and the younger Pitt. The Whigs were the friends of America, and they came into power with the avowed purpose of ending

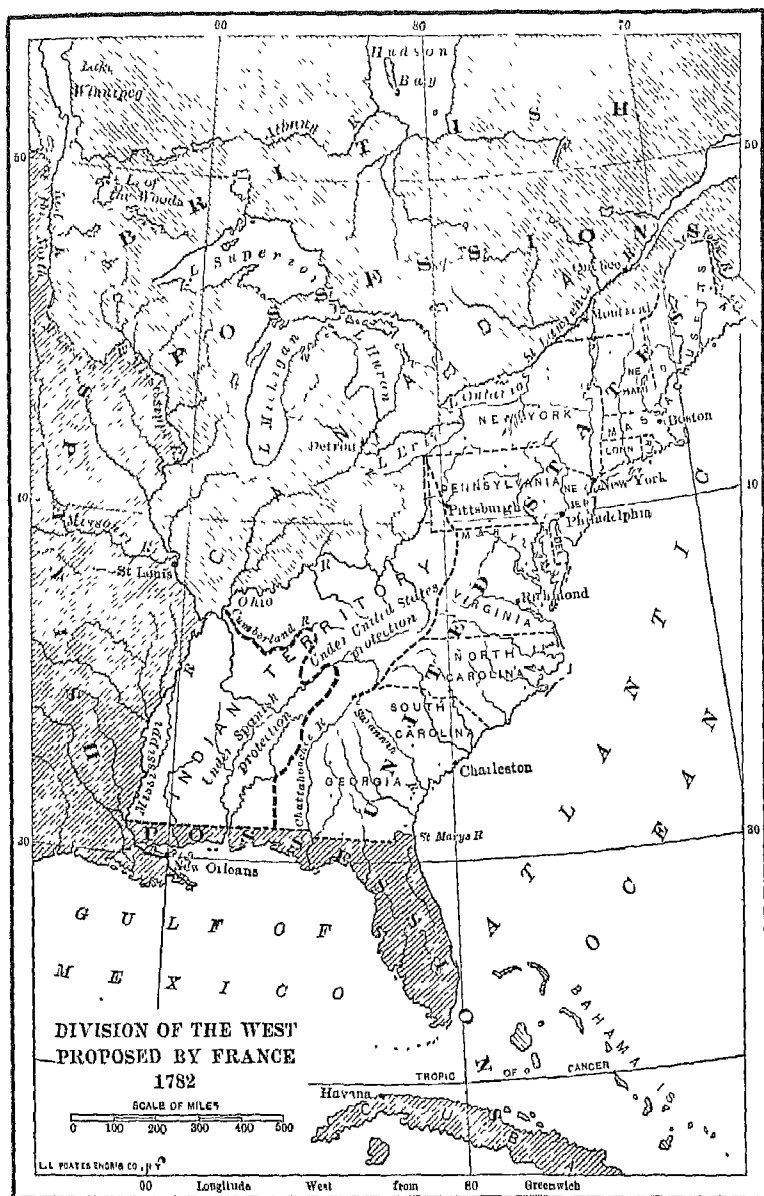
the American war by recognizing American independence. They wished to detach America from France, and they were ready to agree to very generous terms of peace.

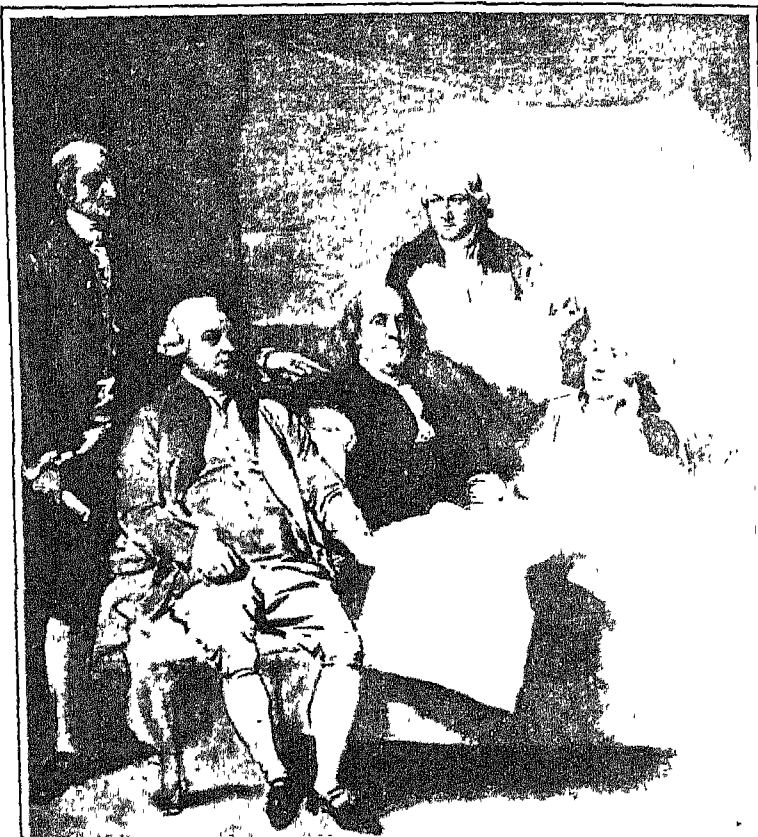
190 The Treaty of Peace, 1783. — The preliminary terms for a treaty were agreed to at Paris, November 30, 1782, but the final treaty was not signed till September 3, 1783, on the same day that France and Great Britain made peace

The American negotiators were Doctor Franklin, John Adams, and John Jay, and their diplomacy won a great victory for the Americans. They had instructions from Congress to enter into no peace plans without the knowledge and consent of France. But Jay and Adams became suspicious of France, believing that she was seeking certain advantages for Spain at the expense of the Americans. They became convinced that France and Spain

The Americans became suspicious of France. were trying to prevent the Americans from extending their boundaries to the Mississippi, and that Spain was trying to deprive them of the right to the free navigation of that river, and France to take from them the rights in the fisheries which the colonists had enjoyed ever since 1713, by the treaty of Utrecht. France was willing to let the territory north of the Ohio go to Great Britain and that south of the Ohio she would have made an Indian country under the protection equally of Spain and the United States. The American ministers thought they should look out for the interest of their country, and so disregarded the instructions of Congress and came to terms with Great Britain without letting France know of it. Franklin apologized to the French minister, Vergennes, for having made a treaty without his knowledge, and France and Spain were surprised and somewhat chagrined at the liberal terms the Americans had obtained.

American independence was recognized, and the boundaries of the United States were fixed at the Great Lakes and Canada on the north, the Mississippi on the west, and Florida on the south, at 31° north latitude. This gave America an area of about 827,800 square miles, with a population of about 3,250,000 people. The navigation of the





JOHN JAY. JOHN ADAMS. BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. HENRY LAURENS.

The United States Commissioners in 1782 to sign the Treaty of Independence. The story is told that when the Commissioners became convinced that France did not desire to settle the western boundary of the United States where the Americans thought it should be, Franklin asked Jay, "Would you break your instructions?" "Yes," said Jay, "as I break my pipe," breaking and throwing his pipe into the fire. The Commissioners ultimately decided that in the circumstances they might ignore the letter of their instructions and an unexpectedly favorable treaty with Great Britain was secured without the aid of France. This picture is from an unfinished painting by Benjamin West. The figure behind Franklin is that of his grandson.

Mississippi was to be open and free to both nations, and the Americans were to have fishing rights on the banks of Newfoundland and on the Canadian shores.

The Americans agreed, on their part, that Congress should recommend to the states that all debts due from Americans to British merchants should be paid, and that no legal obstacles be put in the way of their collection in the courts; and Congress was to recommend that the property of the Tories which had been taken away should be restored and that these loyal subjects of the king should be allowed to return to the states. These parts of the treaty were very displeasing to some of the states, and they refused to carry them out, partly because the British carried away some of the negroes of the Americans when their armies withdrew from the country, and partly because of the bitter feeling toward the Tories.

In many places the Tories had been driven from their homes and in other ways had been harshly treated. It was felt that they had turned against their own countrymen, and that they had done more than any other class to bring on and continue the war. In some states they were very numerous, comprising nearly one half the people, and this made the war for independence in some of its aspects like a civil war. Many of the Tories were respectable people, men of property and standing; it was their class interests that led them to take the British side. They considered themselves true friends of liberty, and many of them were in favor of American rights to a certain extent, but they were opposed to agitation and change, and were especially opposed to independence and the French alliance. In spite of the treaty, some of the states continued their hard laws against the Tories, and many of them left for Halifax and other British settlements. A milder course would have been wiser, for in their departure America lost some worthy citizens. The bitter feeling between Patriot and Tory of the Revolution continued for many long years in America.

Americans
agreed to
pay debts
due British
merchants.

Tories were
harshly
treated.

191. *The Army disbanded, and Washington retires, 1783.*—

After peace was assured, the American army was disbanded, the British withdrew their forces, and Washington went to Annapolis and resigned his command into the hands of Congress. In these closing days of the war Washington gave renewed evidence of his great and noble spirit. After Cornwallis's surrender he had led the army to Newburgh on the Hudson, where he held the forces together till peace was assured. The army had been neglected. The soldiers were unpaid, and Congress was making no provision for their payment. The soldiers were about to be dismissed to their homes, many of them to face want and destitution, their only pay being the memory of their victories and their scars. While the army was feeling

The New-
burgh Ad-
dress

the injustice and ingratitude of this treatment, an anonymous address was distributed among the soldiers,

urging them not to disband until they had forced payment for their claims. This meant a military revolution, and a king might have been set up. Washington opposed the proposal. In a meeting of his officers he appealed to them to remember the liberty of their country and the honor of the service, and to have confidence in their government, and he promised to try

The soldiers
were dis-
satisfied,
but Wash-
ington
pacified
them

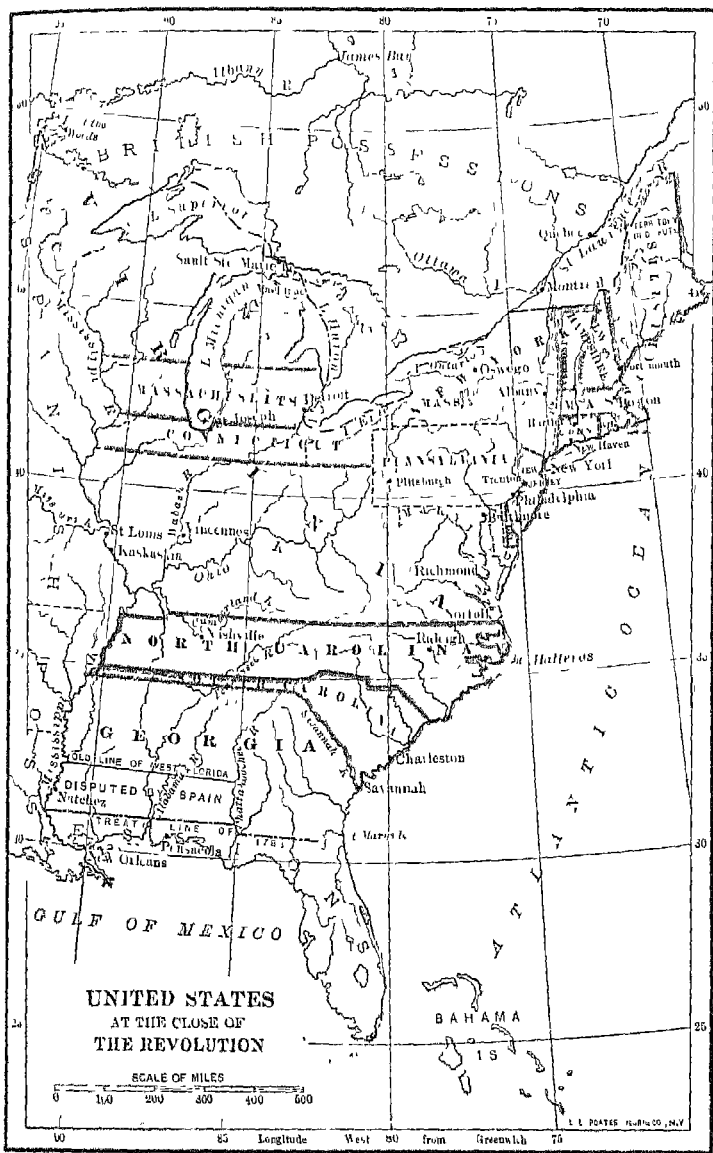
to get fair pay for the soldiers. Washington himself had served without pay, receiving only his necessary expenses, and when he spoke of his growing both blind and gray in the service of the army, his appeal won the approval of all. Congress could get no money; but it voted the soldiers full pay for five

years in government certificates, and with these and their arms, and the gratitude of their country, the Revolutionary soldiers went back to their homes to cultivate the arts of peace. Washington went to his

Washington
retired to
Mount
Vernon.

home at Mount Vernon, where, he said, he "would rather live in quiet retirement than to be the emperor of the world."

The states were now free and independent. It remained to be seen whether they could govern themselves and live in har-



mony and union. They were now to enter upon another long, though peaceful, struggle for a central government.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1775 Meeting of Second Continental Congress, September 5 — Washington appointed Commander-in-chief, June 15. — Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17 — Montgomery and Arnold's Attack on Canada, November and December
- 1776 The British evacuate Boston, March 17 — The British repulsed at Fort Moultrie, June 28 — Declaration of Independence, July 4 — Battle of Long Island, August 27 — Americans evacuate New York, September 16 — Battle of White Plains, October 28 — Washington retreats through New Jersey — Washington's Victory at Trenton, December 26
- 1777. Washington's Victory at Princeton, January 3 — Howe transfers his Army to Chesapeake Bay — Battle of Brandywine, September 11. — Battle of Germantown, October 4. — Battle of Saratoga or Stillwater, October 7 — Burgoyne's Surrender, October 17. — Washington's Army at Valley Forge
- 1778 The British capture Savannah, December 29 — The French Alliance, February 7 — George Rogers Clark's Expedition to the Northwest
- 1779 The Americans are repulsed at Savannah. — The British conquer Georgia — Wayne captures Stony Point
- 1780 The British capture Charleston, May 12 — British Victory at Camden, August 16 — Arnold's Treason, September. — American Victory at King's Mountain, October 7. — General Greene takes Command in the South
- 1781 Battle of Cowpens, January 17 — Greene's Retreat across North Carolina — Battle of Guilford Court House, March 15. — Battle of Hobkirk's Hill, April 25 — Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8. — Cornwallis's Surrender at Yorktown, October 19
- 1782 Peace Negotiations
- 1783. Washington takes leave of the Army — The Newburgh Address. — Final Peace Treaty.

CHAPTER XII

THE OLD CONFEDERATION AND ITS FAILURE

192. *The "Old Confederation" existed from 1781 to 1787.*—When we speak of the "Old Confederation" in American history we mean the form of government for the United States which was in operation just before the adoption of the Constitution, from 1781 to 1787. This was a very weak government and it soon became necessary to set it aside. In this chapter we are to learn the reasons for its failure.

First, let us see when and how the "Old Confederation" was formed.

When the Continental Congress met at Philadelphia in September, 1774, to consider ways of opposing the offensive acts of the British Parliament, there was yet no political union among the colonies. The colonies were not independent of Great Britain, but they were independent of each other. The meeting called the "Continental Congress" was the means by which they were to act together until they could form a league of friendship or adopt some rules and regulations by which they could live in union with one another. They had stood by one another in the ten years of controversy with the mother country over taxation and other matters in dispute, and in 1775, when it was seen that Great Britain proposed to make war upon them to coerce them into submission, and that they would have to fight to defend their rights, they proposed to stand by one another more closely than before. Their delegates in Congress resolved on union as soon as they resolved on independence, because in their struggle for independence they wished to present a united front to their enemy and to the world, and they knew, as

Franklin said while they were signing the Declaration of Independence, that "they must all hang together or they would all hang separately."

On June 12, 1776, the day that a committee of the Continental Congress was appointed to draft a declaration of independence, another committee was appointed to draw up "Articles of Union" among the colonies. This committee, composed of one member from each colony, reported a plan of union called the "Articles of Confederation" (July 12, 1776). This plan of union was debated in Congress from time to time until its adoption on November 15, 1777. After it was adopted by Congress it was referred to the states for their acceptance, with the understanding that this union, or league of friendship, was not to go into force until every single state had given its consent, that is, had ratified the "Articles of Confederation." This was not done until March 1, 1781.

Articles of Union were adopted by Congress in 1777 and ratified by the states in 1781

193. Reasons for Delay in forming the Union.— Thus, we see, the war for independence was nearly over before the states all agreed on a plan, or constitution, for their union. The reason for this delay was that there were several subjects of controversy upon which they could not readily agree.

In the first place, it was not easy to agree as to the method of voting in Congress. Should the states vote equally, each state having one vote, or should their votes be in proportion to their population or wealth? This question brought into view the fears and jealousies of the small states toward the large ones. The small states were afraid their rights and the liberty of their citizens would be endangered unless they had equal voting power in the union. They would consent to no union without an equality of states. This does not mean that they wanted the country carved up into new states equal in population and area, but that they wanted the small states to have equal political power with the large ones. It was to be a union of states, not of individuals. The small states gained this point.

1 Controversy over the method of voting in the Congress.

Another subject of dispute was, How shall the common expenses be distributed among the states? The small states insisted, of course, that expenses should not be borne equally, but in proportion to the wealth of the states. Benjamin Franklin thought that if the states voted equally they ought to pay equally, and he was sure the small states would not wish to purchase equal voting at that price. The small states got their way in this contention also, for it was finally decided that "in determining questions in Congress, each state shall have one vote, and that all expenses should be borne by the states in proportion to the value of their lands and houses." This plan for voting and assessing the common expenses on the states was a very poor one, and it soon broke down.

Another controversy that delayed the formation of the Union was over the regulation of commerce. New Jersey at first refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation because power was not given to Congress to pass "navigation acts"; that is, to regulate the foreign trade of the states and to determine import duties. Each state was allowed to regulate its own trade and fix its own port duties or tariffs. No state was allowed to collect a duty that would interfere with the treaties that it was hoped would be made with France and Spain. But with this exception each state was left free to do as it pleased with its trade laws. New Jersey's objection was a sound one, but she patriotically decided to forego this objection for a time and to ratify the Articles of Confederation, in order that the states might be able to avoid divisions and thus show Great Britain and the world that they were united in their struggle for independence.

Another cause that delayed the Union — the most important of all — was the controversy over the Western lands. Some of the states claimed that their western boundary extended to the "South Sea"; *i.e.* as far west as the continent extended. Others, like New Jersey and Maryland, had no such claim. These contended that

2. Con-
troversy
over the
distribution
of expenses

3. Con-
troversy
over the
regulation
of com-
merce

4. Con-
troversy
over the
Western
lands.

the boundary of each state should be definitely fixed, and that the vacant lands in the West — commonly called "crown lands" because they lay beyond the limits clearly recognized in the colonial charters — should be owned by the United States, and that this land should be used for paying the expenses of the war and for other common purposes. The Articles of Confederation made no provision for this, and Maryland held out and persistently refused to ratify the Articles of Union until the claiming states promised that the Western territory would be ceded to the United States government. In this Maryland performed a great service in the formation of the union, for the common ownership of the Western territory was afterwards a very important influence in promoting stronger union and nationality.

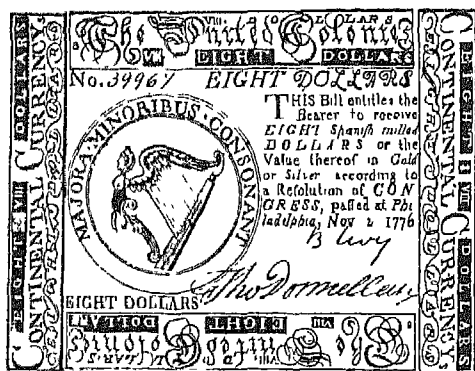
194. There was no Constitution for the Union under the Continental Congress — Thus we see there was no common, or central, government for the states for seven years after they began to act together (1774-1781). The only government they had in common was that of the Continental Congress, but this body is not to be thought of as a regular government, or as a legislature with recognized powers. It had no powers conferred upon it. No constitution or convention created it or provided for it. There was no law to govern its action, no rule nor precedent for it to go by. It was an unconstitutional and revolutionary body. It was composed of delegates who had come together by appointment of rebellious colonies in order to consult about their dangers and grievances, and to plan how the colonies could best act together in defending their rights. Its members could deliberate and decide what was best to be done, and then advise the colonies all to stand together in carrying this out.

In some respects the Continental Congress acted like a national government, issuing bills of credit (continental money), organizing a post office, raising a continental army, appointing Washington to the chief command, declaring independence, and proceeding to make treat-

It was a
revolution-
ary govern-
ment.

The
Revolution
was con-
ducted by
cooperation.

ties with foreign nations. That is, in some very important and pressing matters, Congress proceeded to carry out its own decisions by its own agents, expecting to be sustained by the united support of all the states. The people of the various states were generally wise and patriotic enough to follow the direction and leadership of this assembly, or not to interfere



CONTINENTAL PAPER MONEY

This at times became almost valueless

with its policies and decisions; for they believed that a congress like this, representing all the states and standing for united strength and action, could tell better than any one assembly what ought to be done and could do it better for all. So while they were arranging a plan of union and were in the

midst of the dangers of the war, they allowed Congress, by common consent and good will, to conduct important government affairs in which they all had a common interest and which Congress could do so much better than the states could separately. Congress attended only to foreign affairs and the war, while on matters of government, of controlling their people, it merely *advised* the states. There was no central government with power to tax, arrest, and control the citizens of the states.

195 Government was attended to in the States — But we must not think the people were without government during this period. They believed in law and order and the rights of property, and they intended to preserve these, although they were conducting a revolution by throwing off old governments and setting up new ones. But the governing of the people, — the legislatures they chose, the laws they obeyed, the taxes they

paid, the property and civil rights they secured, the officers and civil courts set over them, — all this was attended to within the states

It was to the commonwealths of Virginia and Massachusetts that the people of those states looked for control and direction in the usual affairs of government. They did not think of looking to the Continental Congress. During this period (1776-1781) all the states adopted new constitutions, except Rhode Island and Connecticut, which retained the liberal charters which they had as colonies — Connecticut till 1818 and Rhode Island till 1842. These constitutions adopted by the representatives of the people in the several states created a complete government, separate and independent for each of the states. In doing this they were following the advice of the Continental Congress.

Many of these new state governments were only the old colonial governments modified to suit the new conditions. These had been in existence for over a hundred years. When independence had been declared and the royal power had been thrown off and the king's governor and legislature were no longer obeyed, the people of Massachusetts, for instance, felt that the supreme power that once abided in the king had fallen to the people of that state, the people of the state were now to be the source of power, of honors, appointments, and authority. It was so in the other states.

These new state governments began usually in "Provincial Congresses." As early as October, 1774, the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, which was elected by the people, broke off relations with Governor Gage, the royal governor, and organized itself as a "Provincial Congress." It organized a Committee of Safety and afterward a state government. In 1776 New Hampshire adopted the first state constitution, and by the close of 1777 all the states had separate, independent constitutions of government in working order. The most famous of these state constitutions was that of Virginia (adopted June 12, 1776), whose "bill of rights," written by George Mason, announced most of

New state
constitu-
tions are
adopted.

the principles contained in the Declaration of Independence. Virginia, declaring independence for herself, asserted that the powers of government are derived from the people and that rulers are only trustees and servants of the people, that government exists for the people's protection, and when the government is *inadequate, the people have a right to alter or abolish it*. Virginia's government and its principles became the model for many later state governments.

Each state in its constitution provided for the following. —

Provisions of the state constitu- tions.	(1) Civil liberty of its citizens, by a bill of rights
	(2) Representative government, including three departments, — legislative, executive, and judicial.

(3) The legislature consisted of two houses, except in two of the states (Pennsylvania and Georgia) there was only one house. The principal powers in the state were vested in the legislature, and in most cases the governor and other administrative officers, as well as the judges, were chosen by it. All officers elected by the people generally had short terms.

(4) All these state constitutions provided modes of amendment and recognized that the supreme power such as could make a new constitution abided no longer in king and Parliament, but in the people of the state.

Thus we see that all this system of government within the states had been set up — or retained from colonial times — and

State govern- ments pre- ceded the Con- stitution.	was in full operation nearly four years before the plan of union (Articles of Confederation) for the states had gone into operation, and fully ten years before the Constitution of the United States was made.
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This will lead us to understand that the states made the Union, and that the Union did not make the states.

196. Defects of the Articles of Confederation. — Let us now see what kind of a government the Confederation was. This can best be understood by noticing its weaknesses and defects.

1. There was no executive power. There was no President to execute the laws. Congress had a Secretary for Foreign

Affairs, like Livingston and Jay, who sought to make treaties with foreign powers. It had a Secretary for Finance, like Robert Morris, but these men were mere agents of Congress and could only do what Congress had power to sanction.

2. There was no national judiciary. Men could not be tried in the national courts for violation of the laws. There were no national courts. Prize courts were erected to try cases in international law, like the capture of prizes at sea, in time of war. But all ordinary lawsuits were attended to in the states. As far as the Confederation was a government, all its powers were vested in one body, that is, in Congress.

3. The organization of Congress was defective. It consisted of a single house. Its debates were in secret. Its members were elected by the states, were paid by the states, could be recalled by the states, and they voted by states. A state might have as many as seven delegates, but must have as many as two or lose its vote; and each state, whether it had seven delegates or two, had but one vote. Thus Virginia or Pennsylvania counted for no more than Delaware or Rhode Island. Nine states were required to carry important measures. If only ten states were represented, as was frequently the case, and only two states voted against a measure, it was lost. So the minority could control the majority, or, at least, prevent action. It was to the interest of a state to keep its delegation small. A full Congress would have ninety-one members. Seldom were more than thirty in attendance.

4. Congress had no power to raise revenue. It could not collect a dollar by taxation. It had to depend entirely upon the states for money, or issue paper or borrow from foreign nations. The custom was to make an estimate of how much would be needed within a certain time—say, eight million dollars. Then this amount was allotted by “requisitions,” or requests, among the several states, to be collected by them and paid into the United States treasury. The

¹ Lack of executive power

² Lack of judiciary.

³ Defective organization of Congress.

⁴ Lack of revenue power.

states did as they pleased about paying, and they usually chose not to pay the amount asked for. So the Confederation could not pay its own debts. Foreign nations refused longer to trust our government. Even the Revolutionary soldiers could not be paid for their patriotic and self-sacrificing service, and they were given certificates, or promises to pay, which they had to sell at a great discount in order to get money to provide for their families.

A government cannot exist without revenue, and so a special effort was made to secure a "revenue amendment" to the Articles of Confederation, by which Congress was to be allowed to assess a small, uniform five per cent duty, or tariff, on imported goods, in order to pay our ally, France, what we owed and to pay the patriot soldiers what they had fairly earned. The consent of every state was required before any amendment to the Confederation could be obtained, and Rhode Island refused to give her consent. At another time New York refused, and Virginia withdrew her consent which she had already given. Remembering the Stamp Act, the people were afraid to allow any power outside the state to control or tax them. Virginia had said in her constitution of 1776 that it was unbecoming that any other government than that of the people of Virginia should be erected in that state. Richard Henry Lee said he would rather see the United States government "a rope of sand than a rod of iron." It was certainly at this time no better than a rope of sand. Lee spoke for those who feared tyranny and oppression and wanted the people of each state to govern and tax themselves entirely, and who, in a large degree, looked upon Congress as a foreign or outside power. Requisitions on the states proved a complete failure in raising revenue, and it was evident the Confederation would be broken up and the states fall apart if there were not a change.

5. In the next place, Congress had no power to regulate commerce. Commerce with foreign countries and between the states was under the control of the states. If Congress had

A five per
cent tariff
duty was
rejected

been given power to regulate commerce, it could have raised a revenue by import duties, but now these duties were paid into the treasuries of the states. The states were in rivalry, each trying to gain advantage in foreign trade over the others. Some sought free trade, others protection. Duties were levied on goods carried from state to state. Pennsylvania laid duties on more than one hundred articles, many of them the products of sister states. New York taxed garden truck and dairy products from New Jersey and firewood from Connecticut. These states tried to retaliate, and New Jersey taxed a New York lighthouse on the Jersey shore eighteen hundred dollars a year. This reminds us of the wise objection New Jersey had made in the first place. Madison said that state was "like a cask tapped at both ends," and North Carolina was "like a patient bleeding in both arms." These two states had no good seaports. The foreign goods their people used were brought in at New York, Philadelphia, or at the ports of neighboring states, and the tariff tax their people paid went into the treasuries of the states with good harbors.

5 Lack of
power to
regulate
commerce

States made
selfish and
unwise
tariff laws

So North Carolina, New Jersey, and Connecticut were especially anxious that the regulation of commerce should be placed in the hands of Congress and that the duties should be uniform in all the ports of the country. Without this power the states could not protect themselves against the trade restrictions of Great Britain and other countries. Before independence the colonies had a fair amount of free trade with the other parts of the British dominions; but now Great Britain cut them off from trading with the British West Indies and in other ways put restrictions on their trade, treating them as she treated other foreign nations. Thirteen independent state legislatures could not act together, except through Congress, in adopting a uniform trade policy that would bring better terms. Hard feelings were engendered toward Great Britain and bickerings and jealousies among the states. The need for a common regulation of commerce was one of the first causes leading to a new constitution.

1786

The result of these conditions was financial and trade depression. People had to pay for their imports in gold and silver, and the country was being drained of its specie. The people had no money, they could find no market for their produce. There were hard times, and as is usual in such times a demand arose that paper money should be issued. There were riots and disorders in various parts of the country. Farm lands, cattle, and products were being taken for taxes and mortgages, and sometimes men were thrown into prison for debt. In western Massachusetts nearly two thousand men, mostly farmers, rose in insurrection, under Daniel Shays, a captain in the Revolutionary War. They sought to close the courthouses and stop suits against debtors, and they attacked the arsenal at Springfield. Governor Bowdoin acted with promptness, and the state militia under General Lincoln suppressed this insurrection after a few months (1786-1787). These Massachusetts farmers were not unpatiotic, they were not unruly anarchists by nature. They were good citizens, and with half a chance would have been law-abiding; but civilized men cannot live without buying and selling, and they cannot buy and sell without markets and money. The people were suffering from the lack of a uniform currency and of trade opportunities, which Congress ought to have been able to provide.

6. This insurrection and these disorders illustrated another defect of the Confederation. Congress could not enforce order. It could not command the service of a single soldier or do anything to command obedience or enforce a law. It had no force or authority even to protect itself against insult. Congress was driven by a band of mutinous soldiers from Philadelphia to Princeton. It was seen that if an insurrection occurred within a state too powerful for the state authorities to overcome, the general government could not come at the call of the state to render aid. These dangers alarmed men of ability and property, and when they saw that there was no hope of amending the government, since

6. Lack of
power to
enforce
order.

it was required that every state should give its consent before an amendment could be in force, they saw that a new government was necessary. The general government could do nothing to provide for domestic tranquillity or promote the general welfare.

197. *The Nation is a Growth, not a Sudden Creation.* — So we see that the government of the United States, before the Constitution was adopted, was purely a confederate government, a mere league, or band, of states. "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power not expressly delegated to Congress" So stated the Articles of Confederation. This was agreed to by all when the Confederation was formed. The truth is, the people distrusted power outside of the states. The states were supreme. The feeling of unity and nationality had not yet grown among the people, so it was impossible that it should be represented in their central government. That government represented *union*, but not nationality, it stood for the states united, — loosely united, — but not for the *United States* as a nation, such as we know to-day. A union of states is not a nation. The nation had yet to grow. It was not created at a single time by any single act. It grew from year to year, and it took two generations, nearly eighty years, before it was made certain by the Civil War that we had any nation at all. The Declaration of Independence made a new nation possible by making dependent colonies into independent states. The old Confederation was an important step toward a more perfect union. What the Constitution did in the making of the nation we have now to see.

198. *Ordinance of 1787.* — But before we leave the Congress of the Confederation we must notice the famous Ordinance of 1787 (July 13), one of the greatest pieces of legislation in American history. It provided a government for the Northwest Territory which became a model for the governments of almost all subsequent territories.

The Northwest Territory embraced the land west of the orig-

inal states, north of the Ohio River, and east of the Mississippi, including (besides a small part of Minnesota) the present great

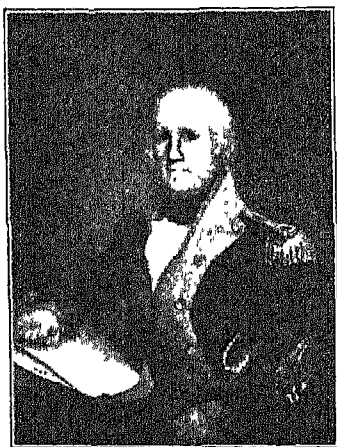
The Northwest Territory includes five states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The Western lands came into possession of the states (not of the United States) by the treaty of peace of 1783. South of the Ohio there was no

dispute as to ownership, each state — Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia — receiving what was immediately

back of it to the Mississippi. But north of the Ohio there were conflicting claims. Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia each claimed a portion.

Virginia's claim in the West was based on Charter of 1609 and on the expedition of George Rogers Clark Virginia's claim was the largest and strongest. It was based on an early charter of 1609, and on the expedition of George Rogers Clark (1778-1779), who captured Kaskaskia and

Vincennes and gained military possession of the country.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK

The daring frontier fighter was born in Virginia in 1752 and died in Kentucky in 1818. "His great services to his country in making the frontiers a safe dwelling place were overlooked by his countrymen, and he died in poverty and obscurity."

New Jersey and Maryland, as we have seen (§ 193), refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation and come into the Union until it had been agreed that the western lands would be given

over to the general government. In order to induce the claiming states to do this, Congress passed a famous resolution (October, 1780) guaranteeing that this land should be

The principle of our territorial policy was to erect the territories into states. "held for the common benefit of all, and be erected into republican states, which shall become members of the Federal Union." Here was the wise principle set forth for the treatment of territories on which



Congress has ever since acted. It has done much to extend and build up our great republic.

The states were induced to relinquish their claims. Connecticut reserved a strip in Ohio south of Lake Erie till 1800, known as the "Western Reserve." All the states then had a common interest in the territory. Congress could then sell the land to settlers and use the money to pay the national debt. In 1785 (May 20) a land ordinance suggested by Jefferson was passed which was the beginning of our public land system. The western territory was to be divided into townships six miles square, each township into thirty-six sections, and one section was to be reserved for school purposes. Here was the foundation of the congressional school fund of the Western states. In

The Ordinance of 1784

1784 Jefferson introduced into Congress a plan for the government of this territory. This prohibited slavery after 1800. In 1786 the "Ohio Company" of Revolutionary veterans was formed in Boston. They planned to settle in the West, and to buy from Congress, through their agent, Manasseh Cutler, more than a million acres of land, if the laws and institutions of the new country were made to suit the settlers. Congress needed money and had land to sell, and the great Ordinance of 1787 was passed providing that the Northwest should be kept free from slavery, that there should be freedom of religion, that education should be encouraged, and that the civil liberty of the inhabitants should be guaranteed.

CHAPTER XIII

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

199. The Regulation of Commerce had Much to do with the Making of the Constitution. — It was the defects of the Confederation that led to the adoption of the Constitution. The two most pressing needs of the government were the power to levy duties and the power to regulate commerce. The struggle for uniform commercial regulations was the immediate occasion of bringing about the Constitutional Convention. The leading men, like Washington, Madison, and Hamilton, saw clearly that Congress must have control over commerce and that this would never be given by the separate action of the states. Madison proposed a motion in the Virginia Legislature for a convention to consider the whole subject of commerce. His motion was not passed at first, but Virginia and Maryland appointed commissioners to consider trade on the Potomac.

These commissioners met in 1785, and they saw that both states must have the same laws for trade on the Potomac and the Chesapeake, and that a uniform currency was also necessary. Maryland saw that Pennsylvania and Delaware were also interested in a common trade agreement. These states also had neighbors. So it was suggested by Maryland that all the states should send delegates to a trade conference. Then Madison got the Virginia legislature to pass his motion calling a meeting of the states. Thus Virginia again took the lead. This convention met at Annapolis in September, 1786. Only five states were represented—New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia. Madison and Hamilton were there, and they saw the convention had no power, except about trade, and it could not do much even on that subject. So they had a com-

The
Annapolis
Convention
prepares
the way.

Mount Vernon Sep^r 25th 1785

Dear Sir,

Amid the public gratulations on your safe return to America, after a long absence, and the many eminent services you have rendered it - for which as a benefited person I feel the obligation - permit an individual to join the public voice in expressing his sense of them, and to assure you, that as no one esteems more respect for your character, so none can salute you with more sincerity, or with greater pleasure than I do on the occasion.

I am - Dear Sir

Y^r Most Obed^t & aad

Most Aff^l Serv^t

G. Washington

The Hon^{ble} Mr

Doct^r Franklin.

WASHINGTON'S GREETING TO FRANKLIN UPON THE LATTER'S RETURN FROM FRANCE IN 1785.

The wording of the letter shows the courtliness of Washington, and the handwriting indicates the great care with which he did things. The writing is somewhat reduced in size.

mittee appointed to draw up an address to the states, calling another convention "to devise such provisions as would satisfy the needs of the Union." Madison and Hamilton probably had greater designs in mind than they dared reveal.

200. The Constitutional Convention meets, 1787 — Congress approved this plan, and a call was issued for a convention of all the states to meet in Philadelphia, in May, 1787

This was the greatest convention that ever assembled in America. It was composed of the wise and able men who made our Constitution, which Gladstone called "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The Convention contained many of the ablest men in the United States.

Washington, Madison, Mason, and Randolph were there from Virginia, Hamilton, Lausing, and Yates from New York, Franklin, Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris from Pennsylvania; King, Geary, Gorham, and Strong from Massachusetts, Dickinson from Delaware, Patterson from New Jersey, Martin from Maryland, Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson from Connecticut; Rutledge and the Pinckneys from South Carolina, and Davie from North Carolina. Jefferson was in France, John Adams in England, John Jay was Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and other able men, like Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams, did not believe in such a convention. Of the fifty-five members more than half were college graduates, many were able lawyers, some had signed the Declaration of Independence, nearly all were experienced in politics. The oldest member was Franklin, who was eighty-one, among the young members was Hamilton, who was thirty. Twelve states were represented, but most of the time only eleven states. New Hampshire came late, and Rhode Island did not come at all.

The Convention held its debates in secret, after the manner of governing bodies in those days. Seven states made a quorum, and each state had one vote, if a state delegation was evenly divided, its vote was lost. Washington was made president, no other name being thought of except Franklin's.

Rules of the Convention.

Madison, who was called the "Father of the Constitution," came to the Convention resolved to preserve a record of its debates, because he had not been able to find in history any good account of the reasons given for forming other federal governments. He took a seat near the center of the hall, attended every day, took notes of what the members said, and sat up at night to write out these notes. It cost him great pains and labor, but in this way Madison preserved a "Journal of the Convention," one of the greatest services any man ever rendered to his country. Fifty years later, in 1836, when Madison died (and after all the other members of the Convention were dead), his widow, Dolly Madison, wrote to President Jackson calling attention to this "Journal" which her husband had left to her in his will. President Jackson secured an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars from Congress and bought the "Journal" and other Madison papers. It was then published, and it is the most important single volume on American history. It tells how this great Convention carried on its work and what the members said.

201. A New Government was made.—The Convention had been called "to amend the Articles of Confederation," but it threw these aside and made a new Constitution instead. It thus acted beyond its powers, and some, for this reason, have called its action a revolution. Its members, however, were wise enough to erect a worthy standard and, although they could not adopt anything themselves, they would *propose* to the states what they saw was necessary. The sources from which they drew the Constitution were the constitution and government of England, the constitutions of the various states, their experience in the colonies and in the Confederation, and their knowledge of law and the science of government. Not very much that was new, that was "struck off at a given time," was put in the Constitution; everything was the result of experience.

202. Difficulties of the Convention.—There were many problems to solve; there were hot debates, and on several occa-

sions the Convention almost broke up in serious conflicts of opinion. Franklin by his genial wit and good stories kept pouring oil on the troubled waters. He said he had lived long enough to learn that "God governs in the affairs of men," and at one time he asked that the Convention be opened with prayer for divine guidance, and when the members showed hot tempers Franklin reminded them that it was light, not heat, that was wanted, that they

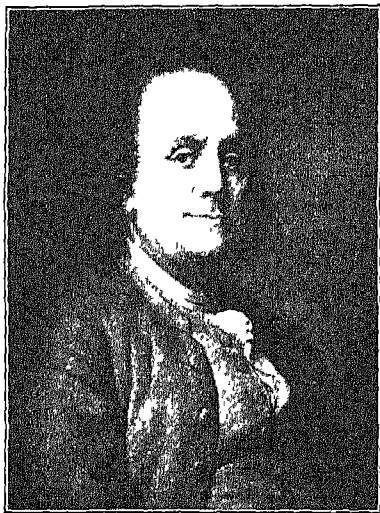
^{Franklin} was a peace-maker

"had come together to consult not to contend", that the members should do what they could to enlighten and convince one another, but expressing fixed opinions with determination never to change them would not help along any. When a cabinet-maker, Franklin said, wanted to fit two boards together, he had to plane a little off each edge; so, now, each side would have to give way a little in order to fit together all the pieces of the new government. It was

this spirit of mutual concession and compromise that held the Convention together and enabled it to make a Constitution.

203. Compromises — The Constitution has been called a "series of compromises." There were three notable struggles and compromises in the Convention.

1. The large states wanted to form a national government



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The "Sage of the Constitutional Convention" was born in Boston in 1706. He was a printer and editor and later became famous in literary, scientific, political, and diplomatic lines. He was a many-sided man. He organized the first fire company in Philadelphia, drilled troops for the Revolution, founded the first public library in America, as well as the first scientific society, invented the lightning rod, and the Franklin stove, which he declined to patent, and did many other things for the public good. He died in Philadelphia in 1790.

with an executive and judiciary, with two houses of Congress, with direct representation of the people, and proportional representation in both houses. "Proportional representation" meant that the number of votes a state was to have in Congress should depend upon its population or its wealth. They would not abolish the states, but they would erect a national government and would subordinate the states to the nation. This was the "Virginia Plan." Some of the large state party, like Hamilton, were in favor of a very strong government. Hamilton would have the President and the Senate appointed for life or good behavior, the governors of the states appointed by Congress, and the laws of the states to be vetoed by Congress when they were not in harmony with the general welfare. This would have made a much more centralized government.

The small states wanted to retain, and amend, the government of the Confederation, in which the states had equal power. They were willing to give more power to Congress,—power to regulate commerce, to raise money, and to "coerce" any state that would not pay its federal obligations, but the *nature* of the government was not to be changed. It was to remain a confederate government. the states, not the people, were to be the sources of its power; it was to operate only through the states, not on the people directly. This was the "New Jersey Plan." The "series of compromises" were chiefly between these two "plans," or ideas.

The bone of contention was proportional representation. This would tend to nationalize the government. It would give Virginia sixteen votes to Delaware's one. The large state party won at first and carried proportional representation in both houses. The small state men then got together in caucus and let it be understood that they would not "federate" on such a plan; they would break up the Convention first. They felt that their statehood and their liberties would

Between
the large
states and
the small

The large
states
wanted a
strong gov-
ernment

The small
states
wanted a
loose one, or
a league.

The small
states
wanted
"equal,"
while the
large states
wanted
"propor-
tional,"
representa-
tion.

be "swallowed up" by a combination of three or four large states which would be able to control everything. Dickinson, who was from a small state, but who was a "friend to an efficient federal government," told Madison it was "carrying things too far," and one member said they would "take a foreign power by the hand" before they would submit to it. Some of the men from the large states yielded, and the "Connecticut Compromise," proposed by Ellsworth and Johnson from that state, was agreed to, by which there was to be proportional representation in the lower house of Congress but equal representation in the Senate. Thus the form of the Senate came out of this struggle. Each state was given two votes in that body, and the small states having obtained this point were the quickest to adopt the new Constitution.

2. The next great compromise was between the slave states and the free. The question arose as to whether the slaves should be counted in allotting representatives and taxes among the states. The South wanted to count them for representatives, but not for taxes. The North took exactly the opposite view. It was agreed that "taxation and representation ought to go together." That was the principle of the Revolution. In 1783 Congress had agreed to a revenue amendment to the Confederation, assessing expenses on the states in proportion to population, counting three fifths of the slaves. This had passed Congress, but it was not ratified by the states. Madison and Wilson now called this old agreement to the attention of the Convention, and it was agreed that "representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to numbers," counting all free persons, those bound to service (apprentices and indented servants) and "three fifths of all other persons" (meaning slaves), but excluding Indians, who were not taxed. This was the famous "three-fifths compromise," which had more influence on our subsequent history than any of the others.

Between
the slave
states and
the free

The three-
fifths com-
promise.

3. The third important compromise was over the slave trade

and the regulation of commerce. Most of the states wanted to abolish the slave trade, but Georgia and South Carolina gave notice that they would not adopt the Constitution if this were done. The commercial states, especially those in New England, wanted Congress to have power to regulate commerce by a majority vote. The plantation slave states would have this done only by a two-thirds vote of Congress, and they would have no interference with their exports. New England and the North finally agreed that the slave trade should be left open till 1808, and the South agreed that Congress might regulate trade by a majority vote, but no duties should ever be levied on exports

204. Signing and Ratifying the Constitution. — The majority of the Convention were at last able to agree to the Constitution, though it was not exactly what any one wanted, and some of the members, like Randolph, Mason, and Gerry, refused to sign it. It was finally signed by thirty-nine members, delegates from twelve states. When it was signed it was referred to Congress, and Congress submitted it to the states for acceptance or rejection. Each state was free to do as it pleased about ratifying, but ratification was to be, not by the state legislatures, but by state conventions, called especially for that purpose. This made the Constitution more national, as it came, not from the state governments, but from the same power that made the state governments, the people themselves in the several states. Most of the small states soon ratified, but in some of the large states, notably in New York, Massachusetts, and Virginia, there were hard contests. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay published a series of articles in a newspaper explaining and defending the Constitution. These essays are now collected in a book called *The "Federalist."* The "Federalist," and it is one of the best works ever written on the Constitution and the science of government. Of the eighty-five papers Hamilton wrote fifty, Madison thirty, and Jay five — Jay writing on the subjects relating to treaties and foreign affairs.

Hamilton defended the Constitution in the New York conven-

tion, Madison and Marshall in Virginia, and King and Gorham in Massachusetts. Patrick Henry and George Clinton and many other patriotic men opposed it. They did not like it because it changed the character of the government, it said "We, the people," instead of "We, the states," indicating the source from which the Constitution came, they were afraid the new government would become too strong, that the President might become a king, that the rights of the states would be interfered with and the people would be oppressed. Some of the states would not ratify until they were sure amendments would be added including a "bill of rights," such as the state constitutions contained, guaranteeing protection to the life, liberty, and property of the people. The first Congress added this "bill of rights" in the first eight amendments. They were soon ratified by the states, and they may be regarded as a part of the original Constitution, together with the ninth and tenth amendments, which say that Congress shall exercise only those powers that are delegated to it in the Constitution and that "all other powers are reserved to the states." Thus the states guarded their rights.

Objections
to ratifying
the Constitu-
tion

The "bill of
rights" was
soon added

205. The Constitution goes into Operation. — The Constitution was to go into operation when nine states had ratified it. New Hampshire was the ninth state (June 21, 1788), and the "federal arch" was completed. North Carolina and Rhode Island did not ratify until after the Constitution went into operation, and for nearly two years Rhode Island was not under the laws of the Union.

The Constitution was a beginning, not an end. The first experiment at union had failed. A new experiment was now to be tried, and the good ship, the *Constitution*, was now not entering the harbor, but was being launched for a trial trip.

FACTS AND DATES IN THE GROWTH OF THE UNION AND THE FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1774. First Continental Congress.

1775. Second Continental Congress.

FACTS AND DATES (Continued)

- 1775-1781 Revolutionary Government of the Continental Congress.
1776-1780. Formation of State Constitutions
1776 Committee of Congress appointed to draft Articles of Union, June 12.
Committee reported July 12
1777. *Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress and referred to the States, November 15*
1781 Articles of Confederation went into Operation, upon Maryland's Ratification, March 1
1780-1786 Cession of Northwest Territory by Claimant States
1781-1783. Attempts to amend the Articles of Confederation
1784. Jefferson's Northwest Ordinance.
1785. Beginning of Public Land System and Congressional Township School Fund
1786. Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts. — The Breakdown of the Confederation. — The Annapolis Convention.
1787. Constitutional Convention, May-September — Ordinance for the Northwest Territory.
1788. Ratification of the Constitution by the States — The "Federalist" Essays. — Hamilton, Madison, and Jay defend the Constitution
1789 The Constitution goes into Operation — Washington becomes President

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW GOVERNMENT

206. The Constitution remedied the Defects of the Confederation. — We have studied the government of the Old Confederation and we have seen how the Constitution was made. Let us now see what kind of government the new Constitution established.

The new Constitution remedied the defects of the Confederation in various ways. —

1. Three departments of government were created instead of one, — a two-house Legislature to make the laws, an Executive to enforce the laws, and a Judiciary to interpret the laws, with courts to try citizens for offenses. We are to study each of these departments

2 The limitations placed on the powers of the states could now be enforced and some new limitations were imposed. These limitations would prevent the states from interfering with the work of the central government ¹

3. The powers necessary to make the central government effective were added —

(a) To make uniform commercial regulations and port duties.

(b) To raise revenue by taxation.

(c) To coin money and provide a uniform currency.

(d) To enforce its own laws through the courts and by its own executive power.

Let us try to understand more fully the deep meaning and importance of this law-enforcing power.

207. A New Citizenship and a New Allegiance are created. — The great problem in making the Constitution was to retain the states, and allow them to do their proper work, and at the

¹ Note the things the Constitution says a state may not do, Appendix, pp xxviii, xxix.

same time to create a central government with power to do its proper work. To do this it was necessary to have two real governments for the people of every state, each in its own sphere, each supporting the other, and neither interfering with the other's affairs. This meant a double citizenship for each individual. So the important thing to notice is, that citizens of the states were made also citizens of the United States and the United States was thus given a *real* government with power to make and execute laws by its own authority. It was no longer to live by the grace of the states. Officials, both state and national, were now required to swear to support the Constitution and government of the United States. This had not been required before. The people now recognized a new allegiance and a new treason

208. The United States enforces its Own Laws through its Own Courts. — The necessary power for the new government did not come from giving to the United States the power to coerce a state or to veto the acts of the states. Both of these powers were proposed, but were denied in the Convention. But the new power came from making the "Constitution and the laws and treaties made in pursuance thereof the supreme law of the land," to be enforced in the courts just as the state law was enforced. This was the great work of the Convention. It made vetoing a state law or coercing a state unnecessary. If now a state passes an act contrary to the Constitution and laws of the United States, the courts declare it unconstitutional. It is no law at all, and no one is bound by it. If the government or the citizens of a state attempt to resist the laws of the United States, the United States Government proceeds, not to coerce a state, but to suppress its own citizens in rebellion or insurrection.

This was what occurred in the Civil War. A conflict arose between the two citizenships, or the two allegiances. Some men in the South, like General Scott and General Thomas, of Virginia, thought their allegiance to the nation was the higher, but most

There are two citizenships in the United States.

The essential feature of the new government. Making the Constitution "the supreme law of the land" enables it to work and overcome state opposition

of the Southern people thought their state allegiance was the higher. The states were not coerced, nor destroyed, nor any of their rights taken away, but their citizens, who were also citizens of the United States, were compelled to acknowledge their allegiance to the United States government, or to the nation. They could not be released from that even by the command of the state. The Convention of 1787 did not clearly recognize this kind of conflict nor provide for it, but it is now recognized that this is the kind of government we have under the Constitution. Its powers derived directly from the people may be used directly over the people to compel obedience. So the *very nature* of the power was different from anything the Confederation had known. The change was not so much in the number of powers that were added, as in the nature of the power that was created. This was the power of the *nation*.

209. **The States are Supreme in their Own Sphere.** — But while new powers were added to the central government and many were denied to the states, and the very nature of the central power was changed, we must not suppose that the nation is supreme in all affairs of government. The laws of the states are supreme in all things that belong to the states, the laws of the United States are supreme in all things that belong to the nation. Each government, state and national, is supreme in its place. The Constitution fixes the place and assigns the powers for both state and nation. The Supreme Court by unfolding the meaning of the Constitution seeks to keep each government in its own place. The national government possesses only those powers which it can be shown from the Constitution the people have conferred upon it, and no more. All the rest of the powers of government belong to the states. The states may exercise all powers they are not specifically forbidden to exercise.

The United States Government exercises powers granted to it in the Constitution

The general restrictions of the Constitution do not apply to the states, but only to the national government. If a state is to be prevented from passing a certain kind of law or exercising

a power, the word *state* must appear in the language prohibiting the act. For example, the Constitution says, "No *ex post facto* law shall be passed." An *ex post facto* law is one which makes a man's act a crime and punishable which was not a crime when it was committed, or which changes the penalty of a crime after its commission. The language of the Constitution, quoted above, prevents the United States from passing such a law, but it does not prevent any of the states from doing so. To prevent the state, it was necessary to say in the Constitution, "No state shall pass an *ex post facto* law." So the general government may do only those things which the Constitution says it may do, while the states may do all things which they are not specifically forbidden to do. Thus the states have many powers—*more than can be named*—and *important rights, which it is the duty of the nation to respect and defend.*

A few definitions and explanations of the forms of government may help the student to understand the character of the American Republic. There have been three different forms of government in history.

Forms of
Govern-
ment.

Monarchy is the form in which the power is vested in a single ruler. If the ruler's powers are unlimited by law, or by a constitution, if he can govern at his own will without restraint, it is an unlimited or absolute monarchy. Russia and Turkey are the only countries in Europe of this kind. If the ruler is restrained by a constitution, it is a limited or constitutional monarchy. Great Britain is a good illustration of this kind of government, where the king is bound by the law and the constitution.

Aristocracy is a government of a few, supposed to be of the best citizens. The few who rule are generally hereditary nobles, or landholders, or rich men. If it is a government merely of the rich it is a *Plutocracy*. If the few govern only in their own interest, as they are likely to do, it is an *Oligarchy*.

Democracy is a government by the people. A *pure* Democ-

racy can exist only in city states, or in very small areas, for the people cannot get together to make the laws in a country of great extent.

A *Republic* is a form of government in which the people rule through their representatives. France and the United States are republics, but France is a *Centralized Republic*, while the United States is a *Federal Republic*. From 1781 to 1789, under the Confederation, the United States was a *Confederate Republic*. Let us see the difference between these three kinds of Republics.

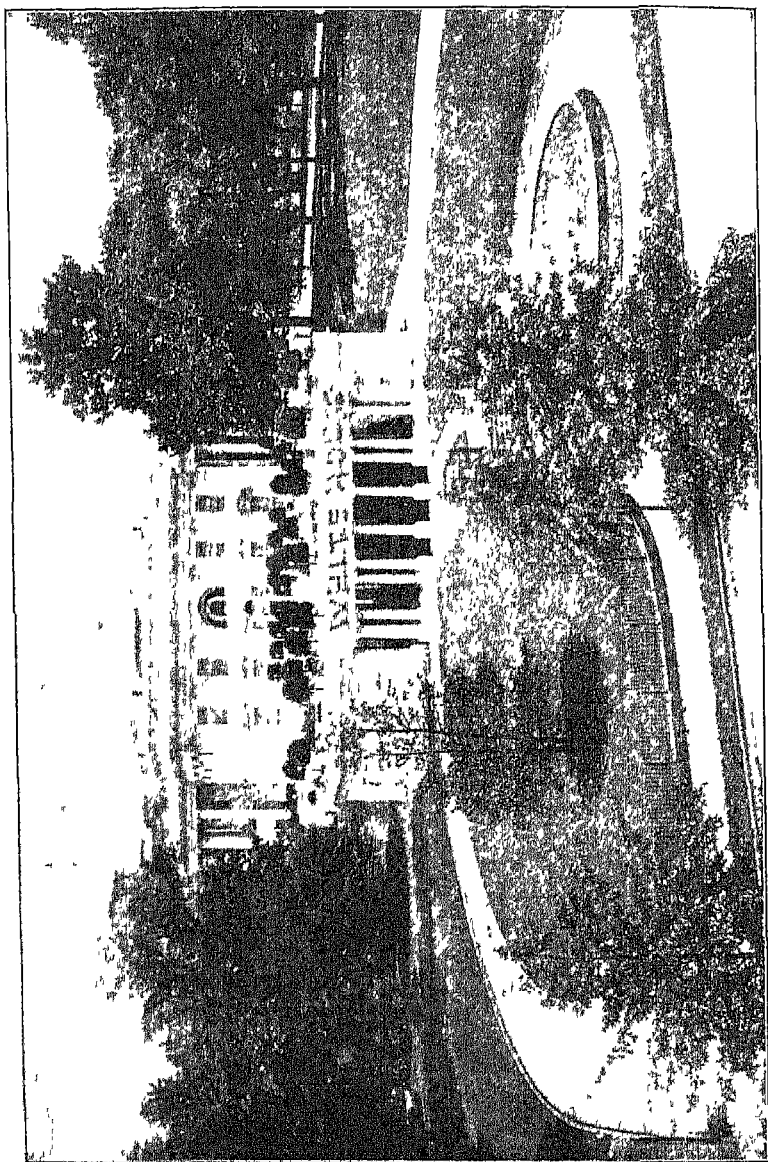
A *Confederate Republic* is a mere league of smaller republican states, bound together for certain purposes. The members of such a league are not individual men, but the states. It deals with and acts upon the states only. With the individual citizen it has nothing to do, no right of taxing him, or judging him, or making laws for him. Such was the old government of 1781, and it was this kind the South attempted to establish in 1860 to 1865.

A *Centralized Republic* is one in which all governmental powers are vested in one legislature, and all its people are considered as in one political community to be governed from a common center. Its country may be divided into provinces or counties, but these are created and could be abolished by the central government, and they exist for its convenience, that the laws and policies of the central government may be more conveniently carried out. The state of Ohio can subdivide its counties, or combine two or three counties into one; it can determine what powers its counties, townships, and cities shall exercise, what officers they shall have and how these officers shall be elected. Any political division, or community, in the state is dependent for its powers and its very life on the central, or sovereign, authority of the state. Therefore the state of Ohio (considered alone) may be spoken of as a *Centralized Republic*, or a Consolidated Republic.

A *Federal Republic*, like the United States, stands between these two. It is not merely a union of states, but it is a nation made by a union of states. Its component parts are individual

citizens, and it claims the direct obedience of its citizens and acts directly upon them by its laws and officers. But its states are not mere subdivisions of the Union, mere creatures of the national government, as are the counties of a state. No state can be subdivided, nor two states combined, without their consent. The states have powers, rights, and authority of their own which existed years before the federal government was created and which that government has no right to take away. In 1861 the South said that the Constitution of 1787 left the United States a confederacy, as they had been from 1781 to 1787, in which the states were supreme and could decide on their own destiny. The North said that a *federal nation* had been created, with power to enforce its own laws, and that even the command of a state could not release a citizen from his allegiance to the nation.

The word *national* was not put in the Constitution. It was proposed in the Convention but was discarded, and for this and various other reasons it was not clear that the Convention of 1787 intended to make a national government. Many of its members desired such a government, and some thought such a government had been formed, while others thought not. The interpretation of the Constitution, the course of events, and especially the Civil War have decided the question, and all recognize that we now have a *National Federal Republic*.



WHITE HOUSE, EAST VIEW

CHAPTER XV

THE PRESIDENT

210. Single or Plural Executive.—The Presidency was created by the Convention of 1787. Under the Old Confederation there was no President. There were disputes in the Convention about many things, but all agreed that the new government must have a chief executive to execute the laws. This is the principal duty of the President.

Some of the members of the Convention were afraid to give this important duty to one man. Mr Randolph thought that would be the beginning of monarchy. He said, "A single magistrate would never secure the confidence of the people," but would be "too much like the English king," and that the people would reject the plan on this account. He wanted a plural executive, *i. e.* an executive council of three or five. Mr Wilson thought since all the thirteen states, agreeing in scarcely anything else, agreed in placing their executive power in the hands of a single governor, that they would not object to having a single president; that energy, unity, dispatch, and responsibility would be promoted by a single executive. The majority of the Convention agreed with Wilson, and *one* man, not several men, was made responsible for executing the laws.

211. Term of Office — The President's term was fixed at four years, and he was made eligible for reelection. Some favored six years, some seven, some ten, and Hamilton would have made the Presidency a life office. Hamilton was not democratic, and he wanted a strong government

No President has ever been elected for more than two terms.

Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson might have been reelected for third terms, if they had chosen to be, but Washington set the example of but two terms and the others followed, and it is now almost a fixed custom, a law of the unwritten Constitution, that no President is eligible for a third term. Many think it would be better if the President could be elected for only one term, say for six years; then he would not be tempted to use the power and patronage of his office to secure a second election.

212. Method of Electing the President — The Convention had a hard time in deciding how the President should be elected. Several ways were proposed, — by both houses of Congress, by the Senate, by the governors of the states, by the people directly, by electors chosen in districts of states, and even by lot, — a blindfolded page to draw a name from a list selected by Congress. It seems strange so many ways were seriously thought of. It was finally decided to have each state appoint electors in any manner the state legislature may choose, these electors to meet in their respective state capitals and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, "one of whom shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves." The whole body of these electors are called the *electoral college*. Each state has as many electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. Every state has at least three because it is a state, and then as many more as its population entitles it to. New York, the most populous state, has thirty-nine; Pennsylvania, thirty-four; Indiana, fifteen. Until the twelfth amendment was adopted (1804) the electors put two names on their ballots without indicating which was intended for President and which for Vice President. A majority vote was required to elect the President, but the "next highest number," whether a majority or not, would elect the Vice President. The twelfth amendment changed this. The electors must now designate whom they want for President, and a majority is also required to elect the Vice President.

By custom a President is limited to two terms.

The electoral college chooses the President.

Congress may determine the time for choosing the electors and also the time for their meeting to choose the President. The popular election is now held every fourth year on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. The electors meet to choose the President on the second Monday in January, and the two houses meet together to count the electoral vote on the second Wednesday in February.

Congress may fix the time for choosing the electors.

The state legislatures determine the *method* of choosing the electors. It may be by the legislature itself or by the people directly on a common ticket, or by the people in districts as they elect the representatives, or the legislature might even authorize the governor to appoint them. Originally, they were elected in various ways. In many states the legislatures elected them till Jackson's time (1829), and in South Carolina this was the case until the Civil War. Now in all the states the electors are chosen by the people on a common ticket.

State legislatures determine the method

Michigan tried the "district plan" as late as 1892, and this was constitutional, but it was done for party purposes, as the party in control of the state at the time knew it could carry some of the districts but could not carry the whole state. The district plan seems more popular and democratic than the common ticket plan; for it seems hardly fair when a party carries a state by a very small majority that it should have *all* the electors from that state and the other party should have none. There are over 1,200,000 votes in New York. If one party has 601,000 and the other 600,000, it seems unfair to give all the thirty-nine votes of New York to one party, while the minority party could carry at least seventeen or eighteen districts. But by having all the voters vote for all the electors on one ticket the state can go solid for one candidate. This preserves statehood and allows the state to count for more in the election. It also makes the parties fight harder to carry a large, doubtful state, like New York, and to try to get a ticket that will carry that state.

The Michigan plan, or choosing the electors by districts, 1892.

Of course the electors do not really choose the President. He has already been nominated by the party and chosen by the people before the electors meet. But the framers of the Constitution expected the electors to do the choosing. They did not think the people were competent to elect the President. Gerry said the people would be "the dupes of demagogues," and Mason said it would be like "referring the choice of colors to a blind man," to let the people choose. It was thought they would not know what men were fit to be President. The plan was to let the states choose some men wiser than the people, who would meet and select the President. This plan broke down before the third election in 1796, and ever since then the electors have been expected to vote for their party candidate already chosen. They are not free to vote for whom they please, but are mere agents to ratify an election already made. It would be perfectly legal for an elector to vote for some other candidate, but it would be a base betrayal of a party trust for him to do so, and the people would universally condemn him. This is another law of the unwritten Constitution that an elector must vote for his party candidate for whom he has been elected to vote.

The electoral college, which has been such a failure, was adopted to avoid popular election on the one hand and election by Congress on the other. It was thought to be dangerous to allow Congress to elect the President, for this would subject the Executive to the Legislative, and it was thought essential to good government for the three departments, or divisions, of government — Executive, Legislative, and Judicial — to be separate and distinct.

But in case the electoral college fails to elect, if no candidate gets a majority, then the House of Representatives elects the President and the Senate elects the Vice President. For this purpose the House votes by states, each state having one vote. This is a confederate, not a national, method of voting. Only the three highest on the list

The electors
are not free
to vote for
whom they
please

Why the
electoral
college was
adopted.

Final elec-
tion by the
House of
Representa-
tives.

may be voted for — Jefferson, in 1801, and John Quincy Adams, in 1825, were elected in this way.

213 **Qualifications of the President** — The President and the Vice President must be native-born citizens of the United States, thirty-five years of age, and have been for fourteen years residents within the United States. "Citizens of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution" were made eligible. This was done to include such men as Hamilton, Wilson, and Robert Morris, who were foreign-born, but who helped to make the Constitution, and who rendered great services to the country. All these and their colleagues have long since passed away.

214 **How the President is Removable** — The President is removable only by impeachment. The House brings the charges, the Senate tries the case, the Chief Justice presides, and it requires a two-thirds vote to convict. If the President is found guilty of the charges brought against him, he may be removed from office and disqualified from again holding office under the United States. President Johnson is the only President ever tried by impeachment, and he was not found guilty.

215. **Vacancy in the Presidency.** — The President's office may be vacated by death or disability, by impeachment, or by resignation. The Vice President would then succeed to the office. He is elected by the same method, and he must have the same qualifications as the President. The Vice President has two functions to perform, — to preside over the Senate and (in the emergency) to succeed to the Presidency.

The Vice
President
may suc-
ceed the
President

If a Vice President who has succeeded to the Presidency should die in office, the law of 1792 provided that the President *pro tempore* of the Senate should become President, and if *he* should die, the Speaker of the House should come next. The objection to this was that it would make a man President who had been elected by Congress, or by one of its houses, and he might be a man of a different party from that of the man chosen by the people, and this would

The
Presidential
succession.

lead to a reversal of the policies the people had voted for. For these reasons a change was made by the Presidential Succession Act of 1886, by which, after the President and Vice President the members of the Cabinet succeed to the Presidency, Cabinet officers may succeed to the Presidency — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and so on, in the order of the creation of the departments down to the time of the act, which does not include the later departments of Agriculture and of Commerce and Labor.

✓ 216. The Cabinet. — The Cabinet consists of the heads of the Executive Departments, who act as advisers of the President. They are as follows:—

1. The Secretary of State (1789).
2. The Secretary of the Treasury (1789).
3. The Secretary of War (1789).
4. The Secretary of the Navy (1798).
5. The Postmaster-General (1829).
6. The Secretary of the Interior (1849)
7. The Attorney-General (1870).¹
8. The Secretary of Agriculture (1889).
9. The Secretary of Commerce and Labor (1903).

The President appoints these officers, the Senate never refusing to confirm the men the President wants. He is given a "free hand" in choosing his "official family." Cabinet members are chosen by the President. The Cabinet officers should be in pretty close personal relations with the President.

The Cabinet is not mentioned in the Constitution. It only says, "The President may require the opinion *in writing* of the principal officer in each department." Washington generally consulted the members of his Cabinet individually; the Cabinet did not often meet. The President may follow the advice of his

¹ The Attorney-General was a member of the Cabinet from the organization of the government in 1789, but the Department of Justice over which he presides was not organized until 1870.

Cabinet officer or not, just as he chooses. The President is responsible for the policy of his administration, and if his Cabinet members cannot agree with him in carrying this out they must resign, as Tyler's Cabinet did in 1841, or he may remove them, as Jackson did in 1833. Jackson settled it once for all, that a Cabinet officer is to be subordinate to the President.

The President may or may not accept the advice of his Cabinet

217. Duties and Powers of the President. — The powers and duties of the President may be classified as follows —

1. *Purely executive* — He is to see that the laws are executed. This he does through his subordinates. Appointing and removing officers are purely executive powers, for without this power the President could not "take care that the laws are faithfully executed."

The President has legislative, executive, diplomatic, military, and advisory duties.

2. *Diplomatic* — This includes his power to make treaties, to appoint and receive ambassadors.

3. *Advisory*. — The President recommends measures to Congress, and informs that body of the condition of the country and of the government.

4. *Legislative*. — The President has power to convene Congress, veto bills, and to make treaties, which are a part of "the supreme law of the land."

5. *Military*. — The President is the commander-in-chief of the army and navy and of the militia when called into the service of the United States. In time of war this is a great power. It is said President Lincoln exercised more power than any Englishman since Cromwell. He called out troops, declared a blockade, increased the army, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*, suspended newspapers, made arbitrary arrests, and freed the slaves, — all by the exercise of his war power. It is a dangerous power in the hands of one man.

218. The Veto Power — The President has power to veto a bill. *Veto* means "I forbid." So the President may forbid a bill to become a law. How does a bill become a law? It is first introduced by a member into one of the houses of Congress. It is then referred to the proper committee and dis-

cussed there. If the committee is in favor of it, its chairman will report it to the house. If the committee disapproves of the bill it will be killed ("smothered") in the committee, and that is the end of it. After the bill passes both houses of Congress by a majority vote and is signed by the President, it becomes a law. But if the President disapproves of the bill, instead of signing it he will "veto" it, that is, he will send it back to the house in which it originated with a message stating his objections. If he does not sign it, or return it with his disapproval within ten days, it will be-

It passes
over his veto
if it obtains
a two-thirds
majority in
each house.

come a law without his signature. If he vetoes it, it must then pass by a two-thirds majority in both houses or it cannot become a law. If Congress adjourns within ten days after passing a bill, the President may veto the bill without sending it back with a message. He may leave it unsigned, or "put it in his pocket" and say nothing about it. This is called a "pocket veto." It is used because the President has not time to consider a bill or write out his message explaining his objections to it.

The Presidents down to Jackson's time did not use the veto much. It was given to the President to check hasty legislation, or legislation that violated the Constitution or encroached on the power of the President or the Supreme Court. Washington and the early Presidents thought it should be used only to prevent unconstitutional legislation. But Jackson vetoed any bill he did not like, any which he thought was unwise or hurtful to the welfare of the country. The early idea was that Congress should determine the legislative policy of the country, and that the President was not to interfere unless the Constitution was violated. Jackson increased the President's power, and made him equal with Congress in determining policies and laws. Jackson's idea of the veto has since prevailed, and it has become an important power.

219. The Treaty-making Power.—The President has power to negotiate treaties. He does this either through the Secretary of

State, or some ambassador. He then submits the treaty to the Senate for its consent, and if two thirds of the Senators present agree, the treaty becomes binding when confirmed by the other nation. The President seeks the cooperation of the Senators, especially of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, while the treaty is in process of making. He may ask the advice of the whole Senate before a treaty is completed, for he does not like to have his treaty defeated in the Senate.

A treaty is drawn up by the President and approved by the Senate.

220 The Power of Appointment. — The power of appointment is one of the most important of the President's powers. He appoints men to office with the consent of a majority of the Senate, but he may remove officers without that consent. To execute the laws he must have faithful officers under him in all the states, — revenue officers, postmasters, judges, marshals. This is the chief source of the President's political power. It is a vast power, since nearly two hundred thousand men, a great army of officeholders, are appointed by the President. He cannot know all these, of course, and he must rely upon the advice of others. The custom arose for senators and representatives to advise the President in making these appointments, until the congressmen came to think it was their right to name, or dictate, the men who should be appointed to post offices and to other important places in their states. The President may, of course, consult members of Congress, but he has no right to surrender the appointing power to them. If this were done, then, by the "spoils system," only men of one party could hope to have a place in the government service. The "merit system" has now largely taken the place of the "spoils system," and in these offices every one has an equal chance. Civil Service examinations are held, and those who pass best are put on a preferred list to be appointed when vacancies occur. Thus competent men are secured. The men who made the Constitution supposed that any President who would use the offices merely to reward party workers and secure his own reelection would be impeached.

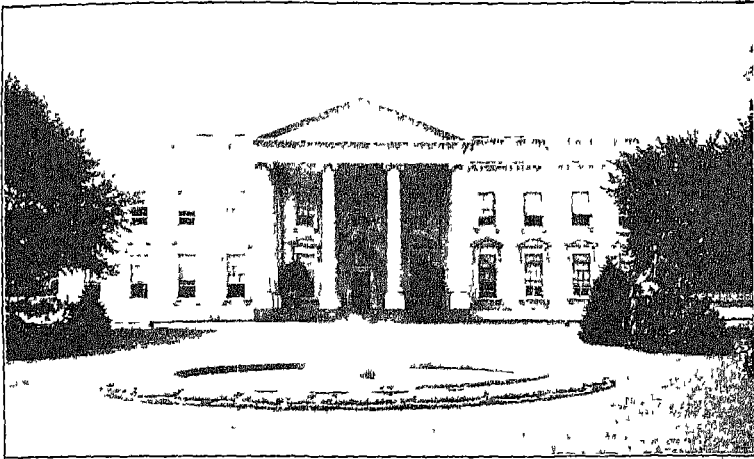
221. The United States guarantees to the States Republican Governments. — It is the duty of the United States to guarantee to each state a republican form of government. If there are rival governments within a state, Congress decides which one is the established, or legal, government. It does this when it admits members of Congress from that state. But it is the President's duty, if the state requests him, to protect the people of a state from riot, violence, or insurrection. In Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, in 1842, the President recognized the call of the governor, who was acting under the old charter government, which Dorr was resisting. He took steps to call out the militia to support this governor, and Dorr's followers gave up. The President may send soldiers to a state only upon the request of the state legislature, or of the governor, if the legislature is not in session. It is the state's duty to preserve order and to see that the rights and liberties of its citizens are preserved, and no state likes to admit that it cannot fulfill these important duties. But if an insurrection becomes so powerful, or disorder so widespread, within a state that the governor and state authorities cannot put it down, they may call on the President for aid. It is clear that this provision was put into the new Constitution to guard against such dangers as Shays's Rebellion and other disorders that occurred in the states under the Old Confederation. So, "behind the city stands the state, and behind the state stands the nation," to see that law and order are preserved.

The United States may also put down a rebellion or insurrection in a state.

If riots and disorders within a state interfere with, or violate, any United States law, or prevent the United States Government from performing its duty, — such as carrying the mails or regulating interstate commerce, — then the President may send troops to a state without waiting for the request of the state legislature or governor. President Cleveland did this in the Chicago railway strikes of 1894.

✓ 222. The President a Great Ruler. — When we think of all these great powers, we see what an important office the Presidency is. And when we remember that under the Old Con-

federation there was no President to do any of these things, we can partly understand what a poor and weak government the United States had before the Constitution was made. In truth, it was not a government at all, it was only a loose league of



FRONT VIEW OF THE WHITE HOUSE

The White House is the official residence of the President. It is a mile and a half from the Capitol. It is made of stone, painted white. The building is 170 feet long and 86 wide. The corner stone was laid in 1792, it was occupied in 1800, burned by the British, 1814; reoccupied, 1817, has been remodeled recently.

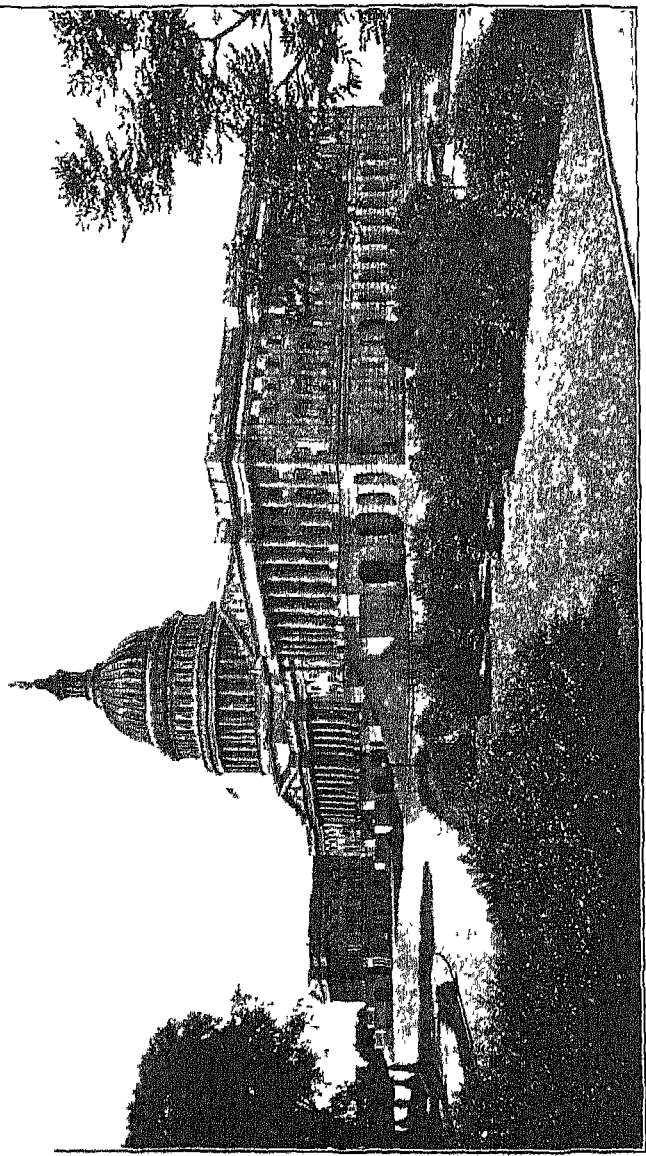
local governments. People cared very little about it. It had very little respect among the states at home and even less among foreign nations abroad. But now the United States Government, largely through the power of the President, has the respect of the world, and receives honor and obedience throughout the length and breadth of the land. The President is more powerful than the British king. The king is only the *nominal* ruler, the *showy* part of his government. He has influence, but not much power. But the President has real power, more than any other single member of the government. He has influence, too, beyond his powers, both among his own

people, and among the kingdoms of the world. This is shown by President Roosevelt's bringing about peace between capital

The President has more power than the king of England

and labor in the great coal strike of 1902, and his still greater service to all the world in promoting peace between Russia and Japan in 1905. When the office is filled by a great man, like Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, or Roosevelt, the President is one of the great rulers of the world.

But we must remember that his powers are limited. They are limited by the Constitution and by the rights and powers of the other departments of the government, which we must now study.



THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON

The House of Representatives occupies the left wing and the Senate the right wing. The President occupies the central part of the building.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SENATE

223. Size of the Senate. Method of Election. Qualifications of Senators.—The Senate, like the Presidency, was created by the Convention of 1787. The Congress of the Old Confederation had only one house. It was not a lawmaking body, as we have seen (§ 196). Such bodies among English people generally have two houses, or branches. So one of the first things proposed by those who wished to form a national government in 1787 was that the Congress should have an upper house, or Senate. Very few opposed this except those who wished to retain the old Confederate Government.

The full Senate now consists of ninety members, two from each of the forty-five states. The senators are elected by the legislatures of the states for a term of six years. Each senator has one vote, and the Constitution promises that no state shall ever be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate except by its own consent. It says that no amendment shall ever be made to change this clause. Such is the pledge of the Constitution and the generation of 1787, though, of course, the sovereign nation that made the Constitution could adopt a new Constitution or amend the present one by dropping this part entirely.

Senators are
chosen by
the state
legislature
for six years.

A senator is required to be thirty years of age, to have been nine years a citizen of the United States, and to be at the time of his election an inhabitant of the state from which he is chosen. He can hold no other office under the United States while he is a Senator.

224. The President of the Senate.—The Vice President is the presiding officer of the Senate. He is not a member of the Senate, and therefore he can vote only in case of a tie. The

Senate may choose a president *pro tempore* (for the time being), who presides in the absence of the Vice President. Being a member of the Senate, the president *pro tempore* may vote on any question that comes up, but having voted once he cannot, of course, vote again to break a tie. A motion is defeated by a tie vote.

The terms of one third of the senators expire every two years. Thus two thirds of the Senate in every Congress are old members. This makes the Senate a *permanent*, *The Senate is a stable body* or *continuous*, body. It does not change all at once, and this tends to make it a stable, or steady, body. The House changes every two years, though, of course, many old members may be reelected.

225. Vacancies in the Senate. — A vacancy in the Senate (caused by death or resignation) is filled by the appointment of the state governor until the next legislature meets, which then fills the vacancy. If the legislature fails to elect, the governor's appointment no longer holds, it is then taken for granted that the state has consented to be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate. *Vacancies are filled temporarily by the governor.*

226. The Senate represents the States as Political Bodies. — The Senate is confederate in character. A state may have seven million people, like New York, or only forty thousand, like Nevada; it will have two votes in the Senate just the same. Equal numbers of people should have equal numbers of representatives, or an equal amount of political power, in a democratic body. To give forty thousand people as much power as seven million is very undemocratic and unrepresentative. But the Senate is not a democratic body. Our fathers made a government of the states as well as a government of the people, and the Senate represents the states as political bodies, not as merely districts of people. The Senate was regarded as purely federal, not national.

227. Powers of the Senate. — The Senate has three distinct classes of powers: (1) legislative, (2) executive, and (3) judicial.

1. The *legislative* power of the Senate is to act as an equal

branch of the national legislature Its consent is necessary to the passage of bills; so it has as much legislative power as the House. It may not originate a revenue bill, but it may amend such a bill and determine its final form. In 1894 the Wilson Tariff Bill, after it came from the House, had about one hundred and forty amendments attached to it in the Senate. When it came back to the House, its friends there hardly recognized it and President Cleveland refused to sign it

1. Legisla-
tive power
of the
Senate

2. The *executive* powers of the Senate are, —

- (1) To take part in the appointing power;
- (2) To take part in the treaty-making power.

2 Execu-
tive power
of the
Senate.

Treaties arranged by the President are not completed till confirmed in the Senate by a two-thirds vote of the senators present. The President's appointments are confirmed by a majority vote.

In considering appointments and treaties the Senate goes into *executive* session. This is a secret session. All reporters and visitors are turned out, and the senators are on their oath not to tell anything that occurs. But newspaper reporters generally find out the news and the proceedings are often published the next day. For a few years after 1789 all sessions of the Senate were in secret, as were those of the Constitutional Convention and the Congress of the Confederation. It was thought that the people could not be trusted with knowing what their representatives were doing.

3. The *judicial* power of the Senate consists in its sitting as a court for the trial of impeachment cases brought before it by the House.

3 The judi-
cial power
of the
Senate.

228. Method of Electing Senators.—Until 1866 each state legislature was free to elect its senators in its own way. Congress may regulate the method of electing senators, but it cannot change the electing body nor the place of electing Congress passed a law in 1866 (as the result of a long contest in New Jersey), laying down the way in which a state legislature shall elect the senator. It requires each house of a state legislature to vote separately. If the two houses choose the same man, he

is elected. If not, then the two houses meet in joint session and proceed to vote by voice (not by ballot), a majority of each house being present. A majority of the whole legislature is required to elect. At least one vote shall be taken daily until an election is secured. Sometimes state legislatures ballot in joint session for a month without being able to elect. If a third party have only a few votes in the legislature, the other two parties may be so nearly evenly balanced that a majority of the whole legislature cannot be obtained for any candidate.

The provision of the Constitution allowing the state legislatures to elect the senators is severely criticised. It is thought to lead to corruption. Every senator's seat is contended for by our political parties. They wish to control the Senate for their party policies and purposes. The national organizations of the parties try to control the election of state legislatures. This means that a state legislature will be chosen, not with reference to the needs and interests of the state, but with a view to controlling the legislature for the party, in order to elect a United States senator. Men are often led to vote for a bad candidate for the state legislature, because this party candidate is bound to vote for the right party man for the United States Senate. In electing a state legislature the voters of a state ought to be free to vote for the most honest, intelligent, and competent men, who would take the best care of the interests of the state; but if they did this they might be voting against their party candidate for the United States Senate. Sometimes, nearly all the session of a state legislature is taken up with trying to elect a senator, and the needed legislation of the state is neglected. For this reason an amendment has been proposed, and it has repeatedly passed the House of Representatives at Washington, which would take away from the legislature the power of electing senators, and, instead, would elect these by a direct vote of the people of the state. This would leave the legislature free to attend to the business of lawmaking, for which it exists.

Objections
to the present
method
of choosing
the senators

Many favor
election by
the people.

229 The Senate has had Many Able Men. — The Senate has been the scene of activity for our greatest statesmen, — Webster, Calhoun, Clay, and Benton, Seward, Sumner, Chase, and Wade, Davis, Butler, Mason, and Crittenden, and other able men, North and South, have honored the Senate by their services. On the whole, it has shown itself throughout our history to be a very honorable body. Mr Bryce, a great English writer on the American Commonwealth, has given several reasons why the American Senate has proved so successful: —

Bryce's
reasons
why the
Senate is
successful.

1. It is representative. Most upper houses in European legislatures are hereditary.
2. It is convenient in size. This educates its members in their work, by giving them more to do, and it enables them to act together better.
3. It is a permanent body, and the term of office is long enough to attract ambitious and able men.
4. It is not subject to rapid changes of opinion. It thus forms a bulwark against popular agitations. But it may also become too conservative and be an obstacle to progress. It may be too much under the control of large moneyed interests, and public opinion is now rather in favor of making the Senate a more popular body, by requiring that its members be elected directly by the people, that it may respond more quickly to the popular desires.

CHAPTER XVII

THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

230 Who may vote for Representatives.—As the Senate represents the states, the House of Representatives (usually called the *House*) represents the nation, or the people of the states, on the basis of numbers. The House is called the “popular branch” of Congress.

The members of the House are elected every second year by the people of the several states.

Those may vote for representatives (or for Presidential Electors [§ 212]) who are qualified by their state laws to vote for the most numerous branch of their state legislature. The qualifications for voters who elect the House of Representatives and the Electors are fixed by the laws of the respective states. In some states the right to vote is more restricted than in others, but generally the states provide for “manhood suffrage”, that is, each man may have one vote, regardless of property or educational qualifications. The states are left free to do as they please as to suffrage, except, according to the fifteenth amendment, no state may deny the right of suffrage to any man “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” (For further suffrage provisions, see § 252.)

231 Qualifications of Representatives.—A representative is required, (1) to be twenty-five years of age, (2) to have been seven years a citizen of the United States, and (3) to be, when elected, an inhabitant of the state in which he is chosen. A congressman is not bound to reside in the district he represents, except by custom, or the law of the unwritten Constitution. It is now a fixed custom not to nominate men outside of the dis-

that, so it might as well be required by law as far as the result is concerned

232 Apportionment of Representatives. Size of the House. — Representatives, like direct taxes, are apportioned among the states according to population. Every ten years a census is taken, and after each census Congress allots to each state its share of representatives. The state determines its own districts from which representatives are chosen.

The Constitution provides that the representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand of the population. The first Congress consisted of sixty-five members, allotted to the states by agreement in the Constitutional Convention before the first census was taken. A large membership was thought to be undesirable, and one member for thirty thousand people would have given a membership of only one hundred and thirty. With the growth of population it has been found necessary to increase the membership of the House, and now with three hundred and eighty-seven members it has only one for one hundred and ninety-seven thousand of the population. Each state must have at least one representative, though its population may not be equal to that of the average Congressional District.

The number of representatives is determined by the population of the state.

Sometimes congressmen are elected for the whole state because the legislature may not have had time to redistrict the state after a new apportionment has allotted the state additional representatives. These are called "Representatives-at-Large."

A vacancy in the House is filled by an election which is held upon the writ or call of the Governor.

Congress meets at least once a year, on the first Monday in December. "Extra sessions" may be called by the President when necessary.

Congress meets each year

233. Officers of the House — The principal officers of the House are the speaker, the clerk, the doorkeeper, the sergeant-at-arms, the postmaster, and the chaplain.

The clerk (of the previous House) presides while a new House is being organized, or until a speaker is elected. He

administers the oath of office to the members. He makes up the roll of the new House and puts on the roll those who hold the certificates of election, issued by their state governors. The House decides after it is organized whether others ought to be seated in the places of some who hold certificates of election and whom the clerk has placed on the roll.

The clerk and his assistants keep a record of the House proceedings. The titles of the other officers of the House indicate their duties. (For the Speaker, see § 235.)

The House elects its own officers, but the choice has already been made by a "caucus" of the majority party. This is a party meeting held a few days before Congress meets. This meeting agrees, by a majority vote, on a list of officers for the House, and when the House meets to elect officers all the members of the majority party are expected to, and do, vote for this list. The choice of the caucus is thus ratified by the House. The election, then, is only a formal indorsement of the men already chosen by the caucus. The members of the minority party also hold a caucus and nominate a list of officers. They do not expect any of them to be elected, but the man whom they nominate for Speaker becomes their leader on the floor of the House.

The salary of a member of Congress is five thousand dollars and mileage, *i.e.* his expenses for traveling. The members are also provided with clerks and are allowed one hundred and twenty-five dollars for stationery.

234. Powers withheld from Congress. — The principal powers of Congress are recited in the Constitution (see Constitution, Article I). They are such as the nation ought to attend to, touching such matters as are of common interest to all the states. Certain powers are also withheld (see Constitution, Article I, Section IX).

The House may not participate with the Senate in confirming appointments or approving treaties; but, on the other hand, it has the exclusive right, (*a*) to start revenue bills, (*b*) to bring charges for impeachment, and (*c*) to elect the President in case the electoral college fails to elect.

Members of both houses of Congress are exempt from arrest (except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace), and they may not be called to account for anything they may say in **Privileges** debate in either house. This is to assure them free- of members dom for their duties. Otherwise, on trumped-up charges, leading members might be detained from attending at most important times.

B. J. Smith
235. The Speaker. — The *Speaker* is the most important officer of the House and one of the most interesting and powerful officers in our system of government. In legislative and political importance he stands next to the President. His importance comes from three reasons: —

1. His power of "recognition." He "recognizes" members who rise to speak or make motions, that is, he gives the floor to the member whom he wishes to make a certain motion or promote certain business. It does not **The power of "recognition,"** matter whether some other member rises first and says, "Mr Speaker," the *Speaker* will recognize the member with whom he has already made an arrangement. The *Speaker* can thus determine what business the House will take up and how slowly or rapidly it will be attended to.

2. He directs the business of the House also by his position as chairman of the Committee on Rules. This is the "steering committee" of the House, the committee that lays out its programme, directs its order of business, determines what measures shall be taken up next, and how long they shall be discussed. This committee can bring in a new rule for the House to adopt at any time, closing or limiting debate, setting a time for a vote, and preventing filibustering. Thus the House has lodged in a few of its members the control of its action and business. The *Speaker* is the most important member of this committee **Member of Committee on Rules**

3. The *Speaker* appoints the committees of the House. By this means he is able very largely to control legislation. Every bill, before it can pass the House, is referred to its proper committee. The committee may report favorably on the measure

and secure its passage, or it may "smother," or stifle, the measure in the committee, and no more will be heard of it. No bill can be passed by the House without being approved by the committee. The Speaker makes up the committees to suit his own views and to promote his party policy. If he is opposed to legislation on a certain subject, he can make up such a committee on that subject as will be certain to bury all proposed bills on that line, on the other hand, if he favors such legislation, he can make up a committee favorable to his views. The Speaker is thus the most powerful legislative officer in our government.

The Speaker may also be powerful in his parliamentary rulings. He may rule the House with a high hand or with a looser rein. Speaker Reed gave a memorable ruling on the quorum in 1890. The Constitution says "a majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business" Before 1890 the quorum had always been determined in the House by roll call. If a majority did not answer to a roll call on a vote, the House acted as if a quorum were not present and it could not pass any measure. The minority, wishing to prevent legislation, could "break a quorum" by refusing to vote. If they went away, the sergeant-at-arms might be sent after them to compel them to come back, but no one could make them vote after they were brought back. Speaker Reed directed the clerk to count "as present but not voting" certain members whom he saw in the House. In this way he "made a quorum" and declared measures passed that otherwise could not have been passed. His ruling has been followed by subsequent houses. Filibustering by breaking the quorum is now prevented. Filibustering consists of making long speeches and all kinds of motions merely to delay the business of the House and prevent legislation.

236. The Committee System. — There are between fifty and sixty committees of the House. Some of the most important of these are the Committee on Ways and Means, the Committee on Appropriations, on Foreign Affairs, on Military Affairs, on

Naval Affairs, on Post Offices and Post Roads, on Indian Affairs, on Invalid Pensions. The chairman of each of the important committees is one of the leading members of the House, and as legislation is really decided upon in committee the chairman holds an important place. He is expected to explain and defend the measures of his committee on the floor of the House. A committee generally considers a bill in secret, though opponents and advocates of a measure may be heard before the committee. It is not always known how members vote in the committee, and it is, therefore, not easy to fix responsibility upon any one in particular for the committee's conduct. Most bills are buried in committees, as they ought to be, the bills are never reported back to the House. If a committee is smothering a good bill by neglecting to report upon it, the House may order the committee to report, or it may transfer the measure to another committee, although this method of controlling a committee is not easy to apply, for the chairmen will generally stand by one another in trying to control their committees' business.

The committee practically determines the fate of a bill.

The Ways and Means Committee is the most important, and its chairman is usually the floor leader. It has charge of raising the revenues of the government. The tariff bills are prepared by this committee, or more properly by the members of the committee belonging to the majority party.

Committee on Ways and Means is the most important.

The Appropriations Committee is the next most important in the House. It has charge of appropriating the money to pay the expenses of all the departments of the government, and many millions of dollars are carried by the great appropriations which somebody must inspect very closely. A "watch dog of the treasury" has a good opportunity on this committee to prevent "steals" and "jobs" from creeping into these long appropriation bills.

The Committee on Appropriations is second in importance.

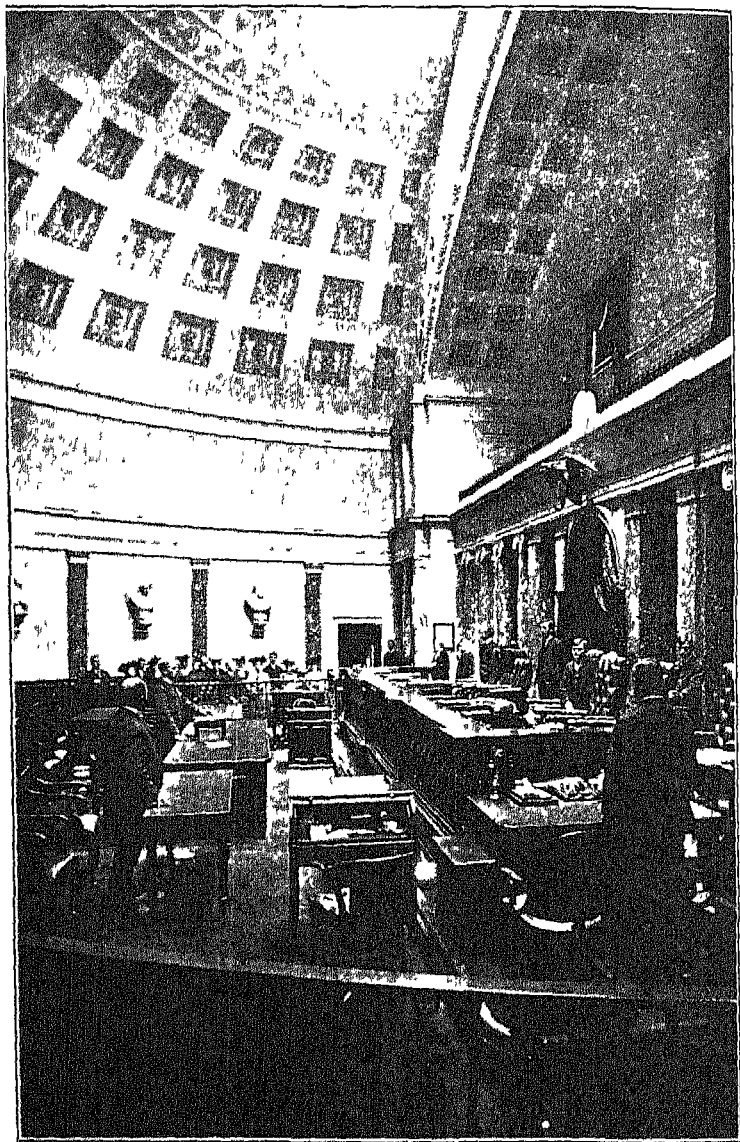
237. The President may influence Congress in Various Ways.

— While the Executive and Legislative departments were in-

tended to be kept separate from one another, neither to be allowed to control the other, they are necessarily brought into mutual relationship and each has considerable influence over the other.

The President may influence Congress by his annual message, by calling Congress into extra session, by his veto, and by communicating with the Congressional committees, and especially by the distribution of important offices. The President may give places to congressmen, or their friends, if they consent to support his policy in Congress. This is mere bribery; it is buying votes with offices. This would lead a congressman to vote, not according to his own judgment, nor the merits of a bill, nor the interests of the country, but according to the selfish interests of himself or his friends. It was in this way English kings used to control Parliament, — by the places and favors they had to bestow. A President who tried to control Congress in this way would deserve impeachment and disgrace. The people cannot be too careful in guarding against such an abuse of power by the officers whom they elect.

238 How Congress may influence the President. — Congress may influence the President, (1) by a resolution censuring him or calling upon him to pursue a certain course of conduct; (2) by an investigating committee, to inquire into the action of some of the departments, (3) by refusing legislation which the President desires or by bills which restrict the President's action, (4) by impeachment; and (5) by withholding appropriations which the President may ask for. It is better for the President and Congress to act in harmony, but many times they do not do so, as they may be of different parties or desire different policies.



SUPREME COURT CHAMBER, WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE JUDICIARY

239 Origin of the Judiciary. — Under the Old Confederation there was no national judiciary. Lawsuits were left to the states, and disputes between states were settled by a committee of Congress. The Judiciary, the third department of the new government, has grown since 1789, in the extent of its operations, more than any other department, and it has been very influential in establishing nationality and a stronger union.

240. Extent of the Judicial Power. Tenure of Office — The judicial power of the United States is vested in a Supreme Court and in such lower courts as Congress may establish from time to time. The small states did not want lower courts established, because they thought the national courts would have so little to do that one Supreme Court would be enough; it was supposed that United States courts would not have original jurisdiction, or the first trial, in law cases, but would hear only such cases as were appealed from state judges, after the cases had been tried once. This would have made the Supreme Court only an "appellate court."

The judges, both of the Supreme and lower courts, hold their offices during good behavior; and their pay cannot be diminished during their continuance in office. This is to make them independent in their decisions.

241. The Judiciary Act, 1789. — The Judiciary Act of September 24, 1789, is one of the most important in our history. Its author was Oliver Ellsworth, a member of the Constitutional Convention, and the act made up our judiciary practically as it is to-day. By the act of 1789 the Supreme Court numbered six. There are now nine members of the Court, a Chief Justice, with

a salary of \$13,000, and eight associate justices, with salaries of \$12,500 each

The justices are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, and they can be removed only by impeachment.

There are nine circuit courts and more than eighty district Minor courts of the United States; so the national law is applied and enforced in all parts of the land. There is also a Court of Claims to try claims of citizens against the government.

242 Kinds of Cases tried in the United States Courts -- The following kinds of cases may be tried in the United States courts. —

1. Those to which the Constitution and laws of the United States apply
2. Cases affecting ambassadors, public ministers, and consuls, or the representatives of other nations in our country
3. Cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, like prize cases and cases relating to navigation
4. Controversies to which the United States may be a party
5. Controversies between two or more states; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state claiming lands by grants of different states; between a state, or its citizens, and a foreign state, or its citizens

243. The Eleventh Amendment adopted. — Before the eleventh amendment was adopted (1794), a state might be sued by a citizen of another state. Since it violated the dignity and independence of a state to allow it to be brought into court like a private defendant, the eleventh amendment was adopted, which provides that the judicial power of the United States shall not extend to any suit against a state commenced by a citizen of another state.

If a national law applies to a case, it prevails against any state law, and whether or not the national law applies is determined by the national courts. Thus the nation, through its courts, decides upon the extent of its own powers.

244. The Federal Marshal.—The federal marshal is the sheriff of the court. He executes the court's writs, orders, and judgments. He may call citizens near by (the *posse comitatus*) to his aid, and if that is not sufficient he may apply to the government at Washington for troops. If the President refuses the necessary force, the court is powerless to execute its decrees.

245. The District Attorney.—The United States district attorney is the federal prosecutor. He begins proceedings against persons violating national law. The district attorney and the marshal are both under the direction of the Attorney-General of the United States, the head of the Department of Justice. Through these officers national authority covers the whole territory of the union.

246 The Judicial Power to declare an Act Unconstitutional — From a political point of view the most important power of the Judiciary is its power to declare an act unconstitutional. This power applies not only to the acts of Congress, but to the acts of any of the state legislatures. An act of a legislature that is unconstitutional is no law at all, it is as if it had never been, and no one can be punished for refusing to obey it. This power of declaring an act unconstitutional is not conferred by the Constitution, and when it was first exercised it caused some surprise and alarm. Jefferson and the states' rights party were afraid the Supreme Court would become too powerful if it were allowed in this way to overrule Congress and the state legislatures. Jefferson admitted that unconstitutional laws did not bind the people, but he did not like to have a national court decide on the limits of national authority. He said that each state should decide when the Constitution had been violated and what should be done about it; or the people of the union in convention assembled should pass on the matter. Now, however, the Supreme Court has been accepted by all as a fair umpire to settle the limits of power between the state and the nation.

The power to declare an act unconstitutional is not exercised

by the courts of other countries, it is distinctly American. In England there is no such thing as an *invalid* act of Parliament. Parliament is supreme, and no court would presume to set one of its acts aside. Whatever law Parliament passes is constitutional, and the courts will accept and apply it. If an English judge finds two laws conflicting, he merely looks at the date of each, and the last law prevails. All statutes are of equal authority. There is no *written* constitution to which, as a higher fundamental law, all statutes, or acts of the legislature, must conform. But in America the Constitution is written. It is not on the level of an ordinary legislative act, and it cannot be changed at the will of the legislature, but it is a supreme and fundamental law, and all departments of the government must obey it and conform their acts to it. An act of Congress contrary to the Constitution is not law; it is null and void. This theory is attached to a written constitution, and is one of the fundamental principles of our society. The court is in duty bound to set aside an act of Congress that is contrary to the Constitution.

This does not mean that the Judicial Department is superior to the Legislative Department, but only that the fundamental law which the people have established is superior to both. The conflict is between two kinds of law, and the court must say what the law is and decide every case in harmony with the supreme law of the land.

247. Four Kinds of American Law. — There are four kinds of law in America: —

1. The federal constitution.
2. Federal statutes.
3. State constitutions.
4. State statutes.

If two laws conflict, the higher law prevails and the lower must give way. The court in interpreting the Constitution merely shows what the higher law requires and wherein the lower law is contrary to it.

The Supreme Court will not express an opinion about a proposed law or advise the Executive about the constitutionality of a law. It waits for a law case to come before it, and then passes judgment on any law that may be brought into question. Thus the court does not go to meet a case, but waits for the case to come to it.

248. The Constitution has grown by Amendments, Interpretation, and Construction — It was expected that our Constitution would grow chiefly by *amendments*, to be made in two ways:—

1. Congress may by a two-thirds vote of each house propose an amendment. If this be ratified by the legislatures, or conventions, of three fourths of the states, it becomes a part of the Constitution. Fifteen amendments have been obtained in this way

2 The other method of amendment is that Congress, upon the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, these proposals to be valid when ratified by the legislatures, or conventions, of three fourths of the states No amendment has ever been obtained by this method

The Constitution has also grown by interpretation and construction. John Marshall, the great Chief Justice from 1801 to 1835, did much to establish and enlarge the powers of the national government by his great decisions and by the principles of construction which he laid down. He said that the powers of the national govern-



JOHN MARSHALL.

"The greatest American jurist" was born in Virginia in 1755 and died in Philadelphia in 1835. He was an educated man, but not a college graduate. He became a lawyer, was made Secretary of State, and finally Chief Justice in 1801. He held this office until the time of his death. He wrote a "History of the Colonies" and a "Life of Washington."

ment were limited, and these limits must not be passed, but when once the grant of power is proved, then any reasonable means may be used by Congress to carry out this power. Marshall would have the nation exercise only constitutional powers, but he would have it exercise liberal construction in the use of these powers. The system of courts and the construction of the Constitution which Marshall did so much to establish have had great influence in saving the Constitution from the same complete and disheartening failure into which the Articles of Confederation had fallen. Probably no institution in our history has done more to promote and sustain American nationality than has the Supreme Court. It has the respect of all nations, the confidence of all parties. In dignity, ability, and impartial fairness it receives the approval of the people. It is one of the bulwarks of the American system of government.

The
Supreme
Court is held
in high
honor

CHAPTER XIX

THE STATES AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

249. *Local Self-government.*—We have seen in our study of the beginnings of the union how the people were governed almost entirely by the states. Local self-government in the states is still the larger part of our government. In the multitude of affairs that government deals with, the states are still more important than the nation, they touch the citizen a hundred times where the nation touches him once. Most of our laws are made at our state capitals, not at Washington. Treason, piracy, counterfeiting, smuggling, offenses against the postal laws and land laws and internal revenue laws, violations of patents and copyrights, and interfering with interstate commerce, —these are almost all the crimes that can be committed against the United States government.

On the other hand, the state touches the citizen in so many ways that they are too numerous to mention. It collects his personal and property tax, registers his birth and his death, appoints his guardian, provides for his inheritance, pays for his schooling, regulates his marriage, grants him divorce, declares him a bankrupt, licenses his trade, makes him pay his debts, ties him for all kinds of civil and criminal misconduct. The state laws preserve the peace; regulate the police, provide for the poor; control water, gas, and railway franchises; establish insane asylums, blind asylums, reform schools, and penitentiaries, take care of the highways; guard the public health; and protect the citizen against fraud, nuisance, riot, theft, burglary, gambling, robbery, slander, incendiarism, violence, and murder. With all these

The importance of the states

The citizen is governed more by the state than by the national law.

matters the national government has nothing to do. Each state provides a system of local self-government in counties, cities, townships, and school districts, with a system of local and state taxation. The people's interests, taxes, and welfare are affected far more by this local government, and by these civil and criminal laws, than by acts of the national government at Washington.

250 The State Constitution is framed by the People of the State. — The states are supreme in all these matters. Congress permits a new state, or the people of a territory, to form a new constitution, and it may influence the character of a state constitution by imposing conditions upon the admission of the state, but the people of a state make their own constitution, and the powers to be exercised under it are derived from the people of the state, not from the general government. A state may afterward amend its constitution without asking Congress. Its constitution is adopted by a convention of the state, elected for that purpose. After being framed by the convention, the constitution is, as a rule, submitted to the people of the state for ratification or rejection. If rejected, a new constitution is formed by the convention, if ratified, the constitution is proclaimed by the governor or legislature.

In amending a state constitution the legislature makes the beginning. The amendment must be made according to the provisions of the constitution. It will, perhaps, require that the proposed amendment shall pass the legislature by a two-thirds majority, or by a majority in two successive legislatures, and then be submitted to the people for approval. Or, the legislature may call a new convention to revise the constitution, or make a new one, to be submitted to the people.

Amending
the state
constitution.

251. Departments of the State Government. — Each state has the three separate departments in its government, — Legislative, Executive, and Judicial.

The *Legislature* makes the laws. Every state has two houses in its legislature, a senate and an assembly, or a house of repre-

sentatives The state senators and representatives are usually apportioned among the several counties of the state in proportion to population. They are usually re- The state legislature. quired to live in the districts which they represent.

The state legislatures vary greatly in numbers, from fifty-five in the whole legislature of Delaware, to three hundred twenty-one in the house of representatives in New Hampshire Their pay is generally from \$4 00 to \$8.00 a day and mileage, though in New York a member has \$1500 a year.

The *Executive* Department of a state consists of the governor and minor executive officers, such as the lieutenant-governor, the secretary of state, the auditor of state, the Executive treasurer of state, the attorney-general, the super- Department intendent of public instruction, the board of tax commissioners, benevolent boards, etc. The governor is the chief executive. The subordinate state officers are elected directly by the people and hold their offices independent of the governor. They are not like a cabinet or council of advisers to the governor, and he cannot remove them, except as the law provides. The legislature determines the public policy of the state, and each executive officer has his duties defined by law.

It is the governor's duty to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed, to convene the legislature when occasion requires; to recommend desirable legislation; to The state make appointments required by law, to act as com- governor. mander of the state militia, and in this capacity to repel invasion and suppress riot, rebellion, and insurrection. The governors have the veto in nearly all the states, though in some states the governor's veto may be overridden by a bare majority of the legislature.

The lieutenant-governor corresponds to the Vice President. He presides over the state senate, and on the death The lieu- or retirement of the governor he succeeds to the tenant-gov- governorship. These are his only duties. ernor.

Each state has a *judiciary*. There are justices of the peace, county courts, or circuit courts, and supreme courts. In

earlier days the judges were appointed by the governor or elected by the legislature ; but now, in most of the states, they are elected directly by the people. Formerly, the judges were chosen to serve for life, or during good behavior, but now the term is for a period of years, varying from two years in Vermont to twenty-one years in Pennsylvania. They can be removed only by impeachment, or by an address requesting their removal presented to the governor by both houses of the legislature or in other ways provided.

It is the duty of the judge to see that the law is explained and applied in his court. It is his duty to interpret the state constitution, and if an act of the legislature is not in harmony with the constitution, it is the court's place to declare the act null and void. The state judge is sworn to support the Constitution of the United States as well as of the state, and it may be his right and duty to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional, although his decision may be reversed by a national court.

252. The State regulates the Suffrage — Suffrage is regulated by the state. Who may vote for Presidential electors or representatives depends on the laws of the state (§ 230). Voting is not a right of citizenship. It is a privilege conferred by the state on those whom it considers fit. Many citizens are voters ; some voters are not citizens. Women and children are, usually, not voters, they are, of course, citizens. Congress makes our naturalization laws, and while the states cannot make aliens into citizens they may make voters out of them. In Indiana a foreigner is required to live but one year in the state to become a voter ; he must live five years in the United States in order to become a naturalized citizen. He must, however, declare his intention of becoming a citizen of the United States before he can vote. In four of the Western states — Wyoming, Colorado, Idaho, and Utah — women are allowed to vote.

253. Citizenship and the Fourteenth Amendment. — Citizenship is, also, chiefly a state matter. The fourteenth amendment gave the first definition of American citizenship. "All persons born or naturalized within the United States, and subject to the

jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they reside," "nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law." National citizenship is now defined, and the states are bound to give all American citizens equal protection of the laws. The state is still the guardian and protector of the citizen in his right to life, liberty, property, and a fair trial. The people value these rights, and they will understand that the rights of the states and their good government, in counties, cities, and townships, are matters of the highest importance.

It has been said that it is more important to the citizen to see to it that his county has a good Commissioner or his Township a good Trustee than that the United States should have a good President. The County Commissioner, the Township Trustee, the City Councilman, the Mayor, the County Treasurer,—these and other local officers have much more influence over the citizen's immediate interests than either the President or Congress. It is the work of the local government and its officers to provide good schools, to make good roads, to take care of the poor, to conduct elections, to guard the public health, to provide water and light for the city, to restrain lawlessness, gambling, and other vice, and to provide for all local improvements and progress. These are the most important matters in the life of the people, and the President and Congress at Washington can have very little to do with any of them. If every man sweeps in front of his own dooryard, the city will be clean. So if the people can govern themselves well in every city and township in the land, the nation will be well taken care of. But if the people have not enough force, intelligence, and patriotism to provide for themselves good local officers for the sake of honest and decent government at home, they will not be able to do very much toward the good government of the nation at large.

CHAPTER XX

THE TERRITORIES

254. Congress governs the Territories. — We have seen from our history how the original territories came into the possession of the United States (§ 198). Our later history will tell how other territory was acquired.

Congress has power to govern the territories. In organizing and governing the territories, Congress has always had in view their admission as states. To organize a territory is to describe its boundaries and to provide a government for it. The organizing act of Congress is the constitution for the territory; it names the territorial officers and their duties, and lays down the principles for the territorial legislature to go by. The Ordinance of 1787 was the organizing act for the Northwest Territory, and it served as a constitution until the states made new constitutions, upon their admission to the union. This constitution of a territory (the organizing act) is not made by the people of the territory as the constitution of a state is, but it comes from Congress, and Congress may change it at will.

255 Departments — The government of an organized territory provides for three departments: —

1. The Executive consists of the governor and other administrative officers. These are appointed by the President for a term of four years. It is the governor's duty to see that the laws of the United States and of the territory are faithfully executed. He usually has a veto on the acts of the territorial legislature.

2. The territorial legislature is composed of a senate and a house of representatives. Each house is elected by the voters of the territory for a term of two years. The legislative power of a territory is almost as extensive as that of a state, extending

to all laws "not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States." Congress may at any time modify or set aside any territorial law, and it may (by amending the organizing act) limit to any extent the legislative power of the territory. The territorial legislature.

3. The territorial Judiciary consists of three or more judges appointed for a term of four years by the President, with the consent of the senate, together with the United States district attorney and a United States marshal. They are not appointed for life or good behavior, as the federal judges are, but they may be removed by the President. The territorial judiciary.

256 The Territories and National Elections.—Territories do not take part in Presidential elections, nor do they send senators to Congress. They do not take part in governing the United States. Each territory may send a delegate to the national House of Representatives and he may speak, introduce, and explain measures and make motions, but he may not vote. It is only when the territory becomes a state that its representatives take part in passing laws for the United States. How a territory becomes a state is indicated repeatedly in the history that follows.

257. The Constitution does not extend to the Island Possessions.—Our "insular possessions"—Porto Rico, the Philippines, Guam, and some minor islands—are governed under the absolute power of Congress. The Constitution does not apply to them. Its provisions might have been extended to islands by the treaty by which they were acquired, or the Constitution may at any time be extended by a resolution of Congress; but until this is done Congress is not bound by the limitations of the Constitution in the government of the islands. The people of the islands must rely for the protection of their rights on our good disposition, on our political habits and precedents, on the American spirit and love of liberty, on the fundamental principles on which the nation was founded and by which it is guided. These will lead us to give, as soon as may be, constitutional rights and liberty to Porto Rico and the Philippines and to all peoples who may ever come under the protection of our flag.

CHAPTER XXI

THE INAUGURATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.—THE SUPREMACY OF THE FEDERALIST PARTY

258. The Old Government dead, March 2, 1789.—We have seen the way in which the Constitution was made in the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, we have also studied the kind of government which was created, it now remains for us to note the method by which the new form of government was put into operation.

Although no meetings had been held since the fall of 1788, the Congress of the Confederation did not go out of existence until the 2d of March, 1789. On the afternoon of the 3d the battery guns in New York City fired a farewell salute to the old form of government. At dawn on the following day the same guns fired a salute to the new government, and the bells of the city churches rang out in honor of the new era. New York had been chosen as the seat of the new government, and the 4th of March was the time appointed for the inauguration of the President, yet it was found to be impossible to put the new Constitution into operation on that day, because neither house of Congress had a quorum for the transaction of business. It was well known, of course, that Washington had been chosen President and John Adams Vice President, but the electoral votes could not be officially counted except in the presence of a majority of each house. Only eight of the twenty-two senators were present and thirteen of the fifty-nine representatives. These were compelled to await the coming of their tardy associates.

It will be remembered that the Constitution was to go into

effect as soon as ratified by nine states. It will also be remembered that New Hampshire, the ninth state, ratified on the 21st of June, 1788. Congress was notified of that fact a few days later, but was rather slow in making the necessary preparations for the election of President, Vice President, senators, and representatives. Things moved slowly in those days. The roads were poor and the mails crept along at a snail's pace; so, perhaps, it is not to be wondered at that everything was not ready at the appointed time, March 4.

259. **The Election of the President.** — It might be well at this time to say a word about the election of President and Vice President. No conventions were held to nominate candidates for these offices. There was need of none — particularly in so far as the Presidency was concerned. The name of Washington was upon every tongue. He seemed again to be the one indispensable man. He had fought in the French and Indian War, he had guided the affairs of the Revolution; he had presided over the Constitutional Convention; and now he was looked upon by the common consent of the nation as the best man to be at the head of the new form of government.

For the Vice Presidency it was soon seen that John Adams was the favored man. There was much to be said in his behalf. Adams had shown himself to be an honest, able, and fearless champion of popular government. Jefferson had called him the "Colossus of the Debate" when the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and he was a valiant defender of the new Constitution. John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and General Knox, all of Massachusetts, were mentioned in connection with the office, but there was a serious objection in each case.

Washington
and John
Adams were
chosen
President
and Vice
President.

When the ballots were counted it was found that the choice of Washington was unanimous, and that John Adams, having secured the next highest number of votes, was chosen Vice President. There were some Anti-federalists still left, and these favored George Clinton of New York. Clinton, however, received but three votes.

260 The New Congress — It was also necessary to elect a new Congress, and this election, for reasons explained above, consumed considerable time. Finally, on the 1st of April, there was found to be a quorum of the House of Representatives present in New York, and that branch of the legislature was organized, with Frederick A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania as Speaker. This first House of Representatives contained many

The House
was organized
April 1,
and the
Senate
April 6.

notable men. James Madison, the "Father of the Constitution," was the leader of the House. After a vigorous campaign he had defeated James Monroe, also destined to be a President of the United States

Elbridge Gerry was a member, and the eloquent Fisher Ames had won a seat by defeating Samuel Adams, the "Father of the Revolution."

On the 6th of April the Senate was organized. Among its members were many familiar faces Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee, Oliver Ellsworth, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton (Maryland) — destined to be the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence — had seats in the first Senate.

The vote of the electoral college was also counted on the 6th of April, and George Washington and John Adams were officially declared elected President and Vice President, respectively. On the following day a messenger set out for Mount Vernon to notify Washington of his election, and a few days later the President-elect started for New York to assume the duties of his new office. He left his quiet country home, on the banks of the Potomac, with great reluctance. His rugged, stately figure, clad in buff and blue, seemed equal to any task, yet Washington was depressed by the weight of the responsibility which had fallen upon him.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATIONS, 1789-1797

261. Washington was inaugurated April 30, 1789 — On the 30th of April Washington took the oath of office in the presence of an immense throng of people. The day was a notable one in

New York In the forenoon services were held in the churches, and at twelve o'clock Washington went to Federal Hall and took the oath of office. When this was done Chancellor Livingston, who administered the oath, stepped forward and cried out, "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" This



FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK CITY

The old City Hall, New York, once occupied by the Continental Congress, was repaired and remodeled at the expense of wealthy citizens of New York for the accommodation of the new national government, 1789. The name "Federal Hall" was given to it at that time. It was the seat of the government until the latter's removal to Philadelphia in 1790.

was the signal for a mighty shout from thousands of throats. The flag was run up and the Battery guns sounded the first salute.

In his inaugural address he tried to impress upon Congress the serious nature of the work upon which they were entering. He also said that he wished no pay for his services as President aside from his necessary expenses.

262. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph were the First Cabinet — One of Washington's first duties was to appoint the members of his Cabinet, or advisory body. The President's

Cabinet now contains nine members. Each member is at the head of a great department of the government, and in addition to this gives advice to the President on important matters. Washington's first Cabinet contained four members. Thomas Jefferson, the famous author of the Declaration of Independence, was made Secretary of State. Alexander Hamilton, probably the most brilliant statesman in American history, was made Secretary of the Treasury. It was Hamilton, as we shall see later, who put the financial affairs of the country on a sound basis. His task was a difficult and an important one, and it is not too much to say that the very life of the republic depended upon the successful management of the Treasury Department. Henry Knox, a distinguished soldier of the Revolution, was appointed to take charge of the War Department. Knox was able, honest, and loyal, and added strength to the new Cabinet. Edmund Randolph, the proposer of the "Virginia Plan" in the Constitutional Convention, was made Attorney-General, and also had a seat in the Cabinet.

All of these men were comparatively young. Hamilton was thirty-two, Randolph, thirty-six, Knox, thirty-nine; and Jefferson, forty-six; yet all were well known on both sides of the Atlantic. Taken as a body, this first Presidential Cabinet has never been excelled in ability.

263. John Jay was the first Chief Justice of the United States. — We have noticed that the House of Representatives was organized on the 1st of April and the Senate on the 6th, and that the President was inaugurated on the 30th of the same month. Thus the Executive and Legislative departments of the government were in working order. It now only remained to organize the Judiciary to make the government complete. This was soon done. John Jay of New York was the first Chief Justice of the United States. Jay was a man of sterling integrity and lofty character. It has been well said that the ermine rested upon a man as pure and spotless as itself when it fell upon the shoulders of John Jay. James Wilson of Pennsylvania, a strong defender of the Constitution, was one of the associate justices.

In making the above appointments Washington did his work well. He selected men of honesty, ability, and reputation. He remarked at the time that he wanted men of this character, not only because they were "more likely to be serviceable, but because the public" would "more readily trust them."

Washington appointed good men to office

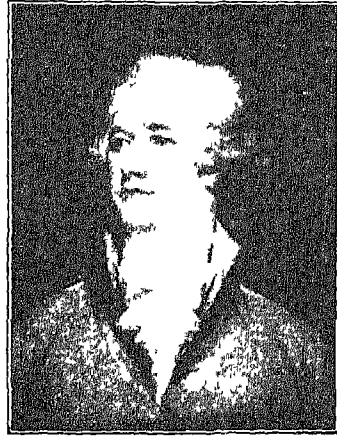
The three great departments of the government were now organized and ready for the transaction of business.

264 **Hamilton and the Finances**
—One of the first, and certainly one of the most important, duties of the new government was to reconstruct the financial system. This part of the work fell to Hamilton, as Secretary of the Treasury, and he accomplished his task in such a way as to place his name at the head of the list of American financiers.

Hamilton's financial plan was made up of five parts. 1 He wished to obtain revenue from tariff duties levied upon goods coming into the ports of the United States from foreign countries. A tariff bill, introduced by Madison, had been passed

Hamilton's financial plan was made up of five parts.

1 The tariff.



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

The ablest financier in American history was born in the West Indies in 1757. He was a remarkably brilliant youth and began to make patriotic orations at seventeen. Was a student at King's College (now Columbia University) and later became a lawyer. He was a strong advocate of the Constitution, and with Madison and Jay wrote the essays in the "Federalist," urging the acceptance of the new form of government. He was killed by Aaron Burr in a duel in 1804.

on July 4, 1789, but this did not yield a sufficient revenue and was revised at the suggestion of Hamilton.

2. He urged Congress to levy an excise tax, or a tax upon alcoholic liquors distilled in the United States

2 The excise

3. Probably the most important part of Hamilton's plan was that which provided for the payment of the national debt.

Hamilton insisted that the debts of the United States, both foreign and domestic, should be paid at their full face value. This declaration was startling to many. When American credit had fallen so low, bonds and other securities were sold at a few cents on the dollar. It thus seemed to many that it would be an unnecessary waste of money to redeem such securities at their face value. It was said that it would simply be putting money into the pockets of speculators. Hamilton, however, said that the United States had pledged its faith to the payment of the debt in full, and that it would be dishonest to pay anything less than the face value. Fortunately, Hamilton succeeded in getting Congress to agree with him, and the national honor was upheld and national credit soon restored.

4. Hamilton also proposed that the debts of the various states should be paid by the general government. He said that these debts had been contracted for the purpose of carrying on the Revolution, and that the money had been spent for the common defense. For this reason, he argued, the debts should be paid out of the national treasury. This part of the plan met with much opposition. It was said that some of the states had already paid the greater part of their indebtedness and should not be compelled to help their neighbors to pay theirs. Again it was said that some states raised money for the Revolution by levying taxes instead of by borrowing money, and that it would be unjust to ask these states to pay additional debts. We shall see later that Congress agreed to assume a part of the state debts, but not all.

5. The last part of Hamilton's plan provided for the establishment of a national bank somewhat similar to the Bank of England. This bank was to be connected with the government and was to aid the government in certain financial matters. The bill establishing the bank passed both houses of Congress after strenuous opposition, and was signed by President Washington.

265. The Permanent Seat of the Government was located on the

Potomac River — It will be remembered that the permanent seat of the government had not been yet located. The Constitution provided that a piece of land, not exceeding ten miles square, should be set aside for this purpose, but it was not easy to fix the location. Both the North and the South wanted it, and Philadelphia wished to be chosen as the temporary seat. When Hamilton saw that his plan for the assumption of the state debts was likely to fail, he agreed with Jefferson that he would favor the location of the capital on the Potomac River in case Jefferson would favor his plan for the assuming of the state debts. It was so done. The temporary capital was located at Philadelphia for ten years, the permanent capital was located on the Potomac, and state debts to the amount of \$21,500,000¹ were assumed by the national government.

266. Political Parties and Foreign Affairs. — It will help us to understand some of the great questions of Washington's administration if we note the differences between the two great political parties. Since party matters and foreign affairs were very closely connected, it will be convenient to study the two subjects together.

Before the Revolution the political parties in America were the same as those in England, — the Whigs and the Tories. The Whigs, for the most part, were in favor of the Revolution, while the Tories were in sympathy with Great Britain. The Tory party vanished when independence was won and the Whigs were supreme. From this time on the people of the United States were divided into political parties on questions of an American rather than a British character. The first great national question to divide the people in this way arose over the ratification of the Constitution. The Federalists were in favor of the adoption of the Constitution, while the Anti-federalists were opposed to such action. After the Constitution was adopted there was no reason for the existence of the Anti-federalists, and that party disappeared soon

Whigs and
Tories before
the Revolution

Federalists
and Anti-
federalists
at adoption
of Constitu-
tion.

¹ Hamilton estimated the state debts to be \$25,000,000.

after the inauguration of the new government. The Federalists were in control of all departments.

Soon, however, new party lines were drawn, and at the close of Washington's first administration the two great parties were the Federalists and the Republicans.¹ Alexander Hamilton and John Adams were the leaders of the Federalists, while Thomas Jefferson was in supreme control of the Republican party. France and England were at war at the time and the Republicans were in sympathy with France and wished to give her assistance. They said that France had aided the struggling colonies with men and money during the Revolution and that now her kindnesses should be repaid. The Federalists, on the other hand, sympathized with England, but were not so intense in their feelings as the Republicans were.

Federalists and Republicans at close of Washington's first administration

The Republicans favored France and the Federalists Great Britain

267. The Republicans were "Strict Constructionists" and the Federalists "Liberal Constructionists" — Another of the important differences between the two parties lay in their interpretation of the Constitution. Jefferson and his followers believed that the Constitution should be taken literally, and that Congress could do nothing except what it was authorized to do by the definite words of the Constitution. Hamilton and his followers, on the contrary, contended that the Constitution should be interpreted liberally, or freely, and that Congress had the power to do many things which were not set forth in the words of the Constitution. An example will probably serve to make this plainer. When Hamilton proposed to establish a national bank as a part of his financial plan, Jefferson and his followers said that the Constitution made no provision for the establishment of a bank, — that the word "bank" did not appear anywhere in the Constitution, — and hence Congress did not have the power to establish such an institution: in other words, Jefferson held that the establishment of a bank would be

¹ These were not the Republicans of the present day. The present Republican party was organized in 1854

"unconstitutional." Hamilton, on the other hand, said that the Constitution gave Congress the power to manage the financial affairs of the country, and that a national bank was a very necessary part of the financial machinery of the nation. He held that Congress had the power to do many things which were not set forth in exact words in the Constitution but which were implied. Hamilton and his followers soon came to be called "liberal constructionists," while Jefferson and his party were called "strict constructionists."

268. The Federalists favored the Upper Classes and the Republicans the Masses. — In addition to the above differences between the two great parties, one other should be noted. This one is of a more general and fundamental nature. The Federalists held that the government should be, for the most part, in the hands of the so-called upper classes, that is, in the hands of the educated and the wealthy. The Republicans held that the masses of the people should control governmental affairs. Hamilton distrusted the masses of the people, while Jefferson had great faith and confidence in them.

269. Genet, the French Minister, was Indiscreet and was Recalled. — The feeling between the Federalists and the Republicans was made more intense by the coming of Edmond Charles Genet, the French minister to the United States. He arrived on the 8th of April, 1793, and at once began to enlist men for the war with England, to commission privateers to prey upon British commerce, and to do many other things contrary to international law and to the wishes of a large part of the American people. Upon his arrival he was received so enthusiastically that he came to the conclusion that all America was in favor of France. At Philadelphia and at other cities he was welcomed by the firing of guns and the ringing of bells, and large banquets were given in his honor — and all of this before he had presented his credentials to President Washington. These receptions tended to make him more bold and even insolent. When he did finally present his credentials to the President, on April 19, 1793, Washington told him very plainly

that his actions could not be tolerated. He paid no attention, however, to the orders of the government, but continued in his course. The result was that he was deserted by all, save a few violent sympathizers. The French Government was asked to recall him, and did so promptly. He did not return to France to live, however, but remained in the state of New York, married a daughter of Governor Clinton, devoted his attention to agriculture, and died in 1834.

270 Washington issued the Famous Proclamation of Neutrality on April 22, 1793. — The news that war had been declared between France and England reached America about the time of the arrival of Genet. These two events raised party feeling in America to a fever heat, and it seemed to be necessary for the United States to declare her position in regard to the two rival nations. Washington called a meeting of his Cabinet for the 19th of April, and on the 22d the famous Proclamation of Neutrality was published. This proclamation declared that the United States would take no part in the war between France and England, but would "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers." The citizens of the United States were also warned to keep out of the difficulty. The proclamation had a marked effect. It was the death-blow to the plans of Genet, and incensed the French party in the United States beyond measure. Washington was denounced as an enemy of free government, and the Federalists generally were abused. The proclamation, however, was a necessary, wise, and statesmanlike measure.

271. The Jay Treaty with Great Britain was Unpopular in the United States. — The Jay Treaty of 1795 also aroused a bitter hostility between the two great political parties. It will be remembered that a treaty of peace was made with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution in 1783. The results of this treaty, however, were not entirely satisfactory. Several of its provisions were not being carried out and some important questions had been left unsettled. Debts due to British creditors were not being paid as provided for in the treaty, and the

loyalists were not being compensated for their estates as had been recommended. On the other hand, the British refused to surrender the western posts, on the ground that the United States was not living up to its part of the treaty.

Then, too, new grievances grew out of the war between France and Great Britain. During this war England — and France, too — seized American ships and carried off their cargoes. American ships and American goods were safe nowhere. Indignation ran high, and especially against Great Britain, as the cruisers of that country were more numerous and made more captures. In addition to this the Americans were greatly incensed by an English practice known as "impressment." American vessels were stopped upon the high seas and searched for seamen of British birth. If such were found, they were seized and impressed into the British service. If a sailor had been naturalized as an American citizen, it made no difference. He was impressed into the British service nevertheless. The British theory was, "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman." Then, too, in many instances, native-born Americans were impressed into the British service. All of this was humiliating and stirred the government to action.

In this crisis, when the country was trembling on the verge of war, Washington appointed Chief Justice John Jay to go to England and to make one more attempt at a peaceful settlement of the difficulties. The appointment, which was a good one, was made on the 16th of April, 1794. Jay soon after went to England and began the negotiations with Lord Grenville, who was Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The two men drafted a treaty, which was signed on the 19th of November, 1794. The treaty met with violent opposition in the United States. It was not a particularly favorable one, but was undoubtedly the best that could be gotten at the time. Some parts of it were violently assailed. The western posts were to be vacated by the British, but not until June 1, 1796. Many felt that they should be vacated at once. Then again the British would not agree

The treaty
was signed
November
19, 1794.

to pay for the slaves which were carried to England at the close of the Revolution, and the treaty contained no clause against the impressment of seamen.

On June 8, 1795, the treaty was sent to the Senate for ratification. The Republicans made a violent attack upon it, but it was ably defended by the Federalists. After a vigorous debate, lasting sixteen days, it was ratified by a strict party vote, with one article omitted.

Even after the treaty was ratified by the Senate the opposition to it did not cease. The House of Representatives threatened to refuse to appropriate the money necessary to put it into effect. There was grave danger that the treaty would fail even then. It was probably saved by the eloquence and patriotism of Fisher Ames. On the 28th of April, 1796, he came into the House of Representatives, suffering from what was thought to be a fatal illness, and made a pathetic appeal to his fellow-members to keep the faith which had been pledged by the making of the treaty. He opened his speech by saying that he was so weak that he could speak only a few minutes, but he soon forgot his illness in the excitement of the moment and made a speech of considerable length and of great power. He urged his hearers to lay aside their prejudice against Great Britain and to appropriate the money necessary to carry out the treaty. A few days later the appropriation was duly made. Fisher Ames had saved the day, and the treaty went into effect.

272. Domestic Affairs — Before bringing our study of Washington's administration to a close, it will be necessary to note a number of important domestic events.

The first United States census was taken, as provided by the Constitution, in 1790. It showed a population of 3,924,214 persons, including the slaves, who constituted about one fifth of the number. Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York were the largest states in point of population. Three new states — Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee — were admitted to the union during Washington's administrations.

The treaty
was saved
by Fisher
Ames.

The first
census was
taken in
1790.

We have already noticed that Congress voted to locate the permanent seat of the government on the Potomac River. In 1791 the location of the District of Columbia was definitely fixed, and the site for the capital city was chosen. The broad streets and avenues and the spacious squares were laid out as they now exist. Washington wished to call the future capital of the nation, "The Federal City," but the commissioners rightly insisted that it be called "Washington."

The second Presidential election took place in the fall of 1792. Washington wished to retire at the end of his first term, but was persuaded that it was his patriotic duty to accept a second one. No other candidate was thought of—not even by the Republicans. The election of Washington was again unanimous, and John Adams was again chosen Vice President over George Clinton of New York.

Washington's first Cabinet had not been a harmonious one. Hamilton and Jefferson opposed each other "like fighting cocks," and Knox sided with the former and Randolph with the latter. During the second administration these four men retired from office, one by one, and an entirely new Cabinet was formed.

273. Washington's Farewell Address.—In September, 1796, Washington issued his now famous "Farewell Address," in the course of which he declared that he would not accept a third Presidential term. In this address he pleaded for national unity, obedience to law, religion, and morality. He urged the United States to "observe good faith and justice towards all nations," to keep out of "broils and wars," and to avoid "overgrown military establishments." This farewell address is one of the most sublime documents in American history, and no other man in all our annals could with equal fitness make a similar address.

274. The Third Presidential Election.—Washington's "Farewell Address" cleared the way for other candidates for the

AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

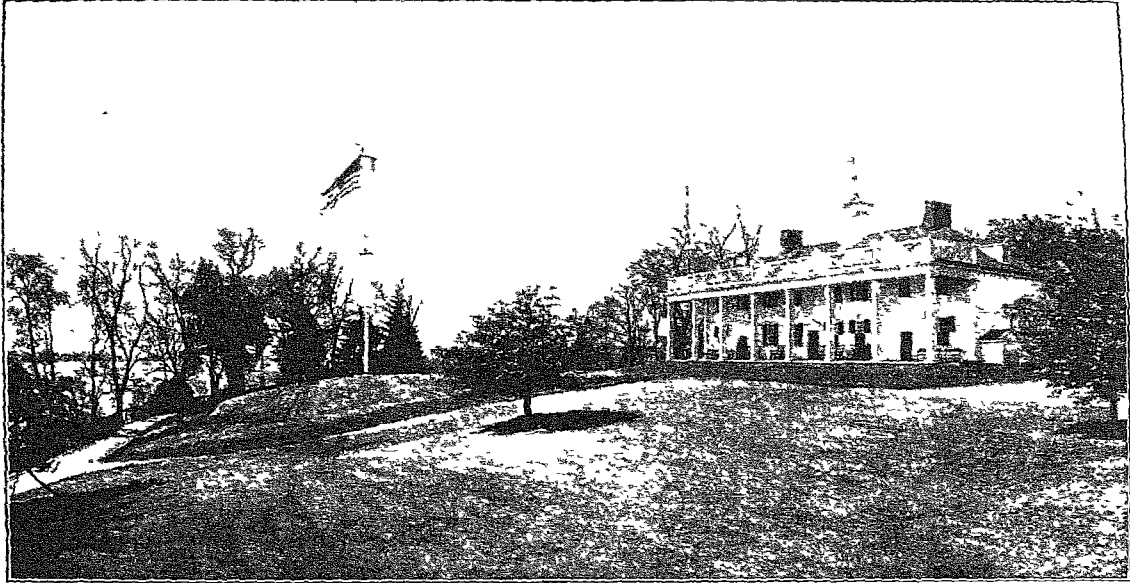
Presidency. The Republicans would probably have attempted to defeat Washington if he had been a candidate for a third term. They must have realized, however, that the task would be a difficult, if not an impossible one, and were doubtless much relieved when Washington refused to be a candidate again.

The two parties turned at once to Thomas Jefferson and John Adams as their respective leaders. Among the Republicans there was no leader to be compared with Jefferson, while the leading men of the Federalist party were John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay. The treaty with England had made Jay unpopular, and Hamilton had made too many enemies to be a strong candidate. John Adams was consequently made the standard bearer of his party. The campaign was a vigorous one, in which Adams and Jefferson were both held up to ridicule and abuse. When the votes were counted it was found that Adams had seventy-one and Jefferson sixty-eight, the former was consequently chosen President and the latter Vice President, and Washington soon after retired, to spend the closing years of his useful life in the peaceful shades of his beloved Mount Vernon.

Jefferson and John Adams were the leaders of the Republican and Federalist parties, respectively.

THE PRESIDENCY OF JOHN ADAMS, 1797-1801

275. Character of the Second President — John Adams became President of the United States on March 4, 1797. He was a man of force and ability, of high ideals and sterling integrity. He was vain, irritable, and quick-tempered, but was at the same time a pure, high-minded, and patriotic man. He had made a good record in the Continental Congress, and had served with credit as minister to Great Britain, France, and Holland. He was, therefore, well prepared for the important duties of the Presidency. In fact, he was the best man available for the office in 1797. Washington was in retirement; Jefferson and Hamilton were more brilliant than Adams, but not so safe and reliable, and were, furthermore, too partial to France and Eng-



MOUNT VERNON

The home of Washington is situated in Virginia, a short distance from the city of Washington, on a beautiful spot overlooking the Potomac River. The place is neatly kept and the mansion contains many historical relics of great interest. From a recent photograph.

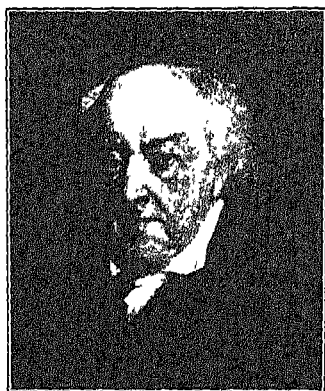
land, respectively; and John Jay, although a man of great ability and spotless character, was not so energetic and determined as Adams, and was, in addition, somewhat partial to Great Britain.

276. France and the United States have a Serious Difficulty —

The difficulty with France was the most important matter in Adams's administration in so far as foreign affairs were concerned. The trouble began in the previous administration. On March 28, 1794, Washington had appointed James Monroe minister to France. The appointment was an unfortunate one, and the work of Monroe proved a miserable failure. He was violently opposed to Great Britain and in hearty sympathy with France in every particular. The result was that he did many indiscreet things, and was censured by Mr. Randolph, the Secretary of State, and later recalled by Washington.

General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, a prominent member of the Constitutional Convention, and an able, honest, and sensible man, was appointed to succeed Monroe. Pinckney arrived in France on the 15th of November, 1796, but the government, angered by the recall of Monroe, refused to receive him and in February of the following year sent him notice that he must leave France at once or be turned over to the police authorities. Pinckney immediately went to Holland, and there awaited further instructions from his government.

President Adams was indignant, and rightly so, at the treat-



JOHN ADAMS

One of the founders of the American nation, born in Massachusetts, 1735. He graduated from Harvard, taught school, and became a lawyer. He was one of the Revolutionary patriots and was eagerly sought after by the British. They tried to arrest him and bring him to England for trial. He was a member of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence, in which several changes were made at his suggestion. He was minister to France and our first minister to England. He died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

ment which his minister had received, but being desirous of avoiding a war with France, he appointed a commission, consisting of Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts, John Marshall of Virginia, and Mr Pinckney, to go to France and make another effort to adjust the difficulty. These men appeared in France in the fall of 1797, but were not able to accomplish anything. They were not even given a satisfactory hearing by the French government. Disappointed and impatient of delay, they were about to abandon the project, when finally, on the 18th of October, a messenger came from Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, saying that it would be necessary for the Americans to pay a sum of money to Talleyrand and certain other officers of the government before they could obtain a hearing. In short, a bribe of £50,000 was asked for. This, of course, was indignantly refused. Later other representatives of the French government, designated in the official correspondence of the time as W, X, Y, and Z, made similar demands. "Gentlemen," said X, "you do not speak to the point. It is money. It is expected that you will offer money." "We have spoken to that point," said the envoys, "very explicitly." "No," said X, "you have not. What is your answer?" "It is No! No! not a sixpence." On the 29th of October the Americans were bluntly informed that they must pay the money or leave Paris. Soon after, Marshall and Pinckney asked for their passports and abandoned the negotiations. Gerry, who remained, was censured by the government and recalled in a dispatch of the 25th of June, 1798.

An American commission is sent to France

French officers ask bribes.

When the news of the disgraceful X Y Z affair reached the United States, the indignation of the people burst all bounds. President Adams sent a stirring message to Congress on the subject, and active preparations were made for war. The President said that he considered the negotiations at an end, and closed his message with this famous and patriotic sentence: "I will never send another minister to France without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the represen-

tative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." That sentence struck a responsive chord in the breasts of the people. In the meantime the United States was getting ready for the war which seemed inevitable. In fact, war already existed between the two countries in everything but name. French cruisers were attacking American merchant boats, and Americans were retaliating as best they could. Washington was appointed commander-in-chief of the American forces, and patriotically accepted the appointment. Early in 1799 the American cruiser *Constellation* captured the French *Insurgente*, and a declaration of war was momentarily expected.

President Adams, however, saw that the United States was in no condition for war, and labored to bring about a peaceable but honorable solution of the difficulty. Talleyrand professed to be amazed when the papers in the X Y Z affair were made public, and protested that he knew nothing of the attempted bribery. He also said that France would receive the ministers of the United States at any time with the greatest of pleasure. Here was a remarkable change of front, and Adams determined to take advantage of it. On February 25, 1799, he appointed Oliver Ellsworth, Patrick Henry, and William Vans Murray a commission to go to France for the purpose of settling the difficulties between the two countries. Mr. Henry declined the appointment because of the infirmities of old age, and President Adams selected Governor William R. Davie of North Carolina in his stead. After considerable delay, these three men reached Paris in the spring of 1800. Their reception was all that could be desired. "We were received," they wrote, "with the respect due to the character which we had the honor to bear." The negotiations were taken up, and a treaty was made and duly signed on the 30th of September, 1800.

A new commission settles the difficulty and makes a treaty with France

The treaty was not a popular one, but was fairly favorable to the United States, and averted war for the time. Certain captured ships were to be returned by the two nations, and property captured, but not yet condemned, was

to be mutually restored. Individual and national debts were to be paid, and a better understanding was reached in regard to contraband goods. The signing of the treaty concluded an exciting and perilous chapter in American history

277. Domestic Affairs were influenced by Party Strife — The domestic events of importance in Adams's administration centered around the contentions of the two political parties. Party strife in the United States was never more bitter than at this time. The Republicans and Federalists looked upon each other with distrust and contempt, and the differences were personal as well as political. In addition to this, the two great leaders of the Federalist party — Adams and Hamilton — were political enemies.

278. Adams continued Washington's Cabinet, which was not Loyal to him. — President Adams made the first serious mistake of his administration in retaining in office the Cabinet of Washington. It seemed at the time to be the proper thing to do. The administration of Adams was looked upon as a continuation of that of Washington. For this reason it seemed best to retain the old Cabinet. It was a mistake, however. The Cabinet members were not loyal to Adams, but intrigued against him in a most unpardonable way. They looked upon Hamilton as the real leader of the Federalists, and had but little respect for Adams. When the President became aware of this state of things, he compelled some of the members to resign and reorganized his Cabinet. This step, however, increased the bitterness in the Federalist party.

279. Obnoxious Acts were passed by the Federalists. — Party feeling reached its greatest height in the passage of the Naturalization Act, the Alien and Sedition acts, and the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798 and 1799. It will be necessary to consider these important measures separately.

The Federalists had been greatly annoyed for a long time by the violent abuse of the Republican papers. Many of the editors of these papers were foreigners and were thus doubly objectionable. The party in power determined to strike a blow

at these "democratic scribblers," as they were called, and the summer of 1798 seemed to be an especially favorable time. The publication of the X Y Z papers in the previous spring had aroused a wave of popular indignation against France, French editors, and French sympathizers in general. The Federalists consequently made ready to give their opponents the finishing stroke. To this end a series of acts were passed, the first of which was the Naturalization Act of June 18, 1798. This act provided that a foreigner would have to be a resident of the United States for at least fourteen years before becoming eligible to citizenship. The period of residence before this time had been five years.

The Naturalization Act.

Many of the enemies of the Federalists could not be reached by the Naturalization Act, hence another measure, known as the Alien Act, was passed a week later — June 25, 1798. Under this act the President had the power to order a foreigner from the country within a certain time in case he considered him "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States." President Adams, however, never made use of the power thus given to him.

The Alien Act.

The next act to be passed by the vindictive Federalists was the Alien Enemies Act of July 6, 1798. This act provided that in time of war all males fourteen years of age and upward who were subjects of the hostile government were liable to arrest and removal as "alien enemies." The execution of the act was placed in the hands of the President.

The Alien Enemies Act.

Next in order was the Sedition Act of July 14, 1798. This act provided for a fine and imprisonment for writing or publishing any article intended to bring the government officials into contempt or disrepute. The purpose of the act was to silence the criticisms of the Republican editors. The abusive articles of the Federalist papers were, however, unnoticed by the government. A few editors were prosecuted under the Sedition Act, but the hostile criticism was not silenced. It was probably increased, and the Federalists soon saw that they

The Sedition Act.

had made a gigantic blunder. It would have been wiser on their part to ignore the attacks of the Republican editors

280. The Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions were Protests against the Acts passed by the Federalists. — At last the people objected. These unwise Federalist measures resulted in the drafting of the famous Kentucky and Virginia resolutions of 1798 and 1799. Jefferson and Madison were the authors of the resolutions, and by this means they protested against the government's "rod of iron," and said that Congress did not have the right to assume such vast powers.

The first set of Kentucky resolutions was drafted by Jefferson and passed by the legislature of Kentucky on November 16, 1798. In the main, these resolutions were an argument against the powers of the general government and in favor of "State Rights." The offensive Federalist acts above mentioned were loudly condemned and declared to be "void and of no effect."

The Virginia resolutions were drafted by Madison, and passed by the legislature of the state on the 24th of December, 1798. The main purpose of the resolutions was the same as that of those passed by Kentucky, but they were more moderate and reasonable

On the 22d of November, 1799, the legislature of Kentucky passed a second set of resolutions. In these it was expressly stated that the several states had the undoubted right to declare null and void any law passed by Congress which seemed to be unauthorized by the Constitution. The offensive laws were again declared to be unconstitutional, and a "solemn protest" was made against them.

The claim that the states had the right to pass upon the constitutionality of a law of Congress now seems ridiculous. It is clear that the Supreme Court of the United States is the proper authority to do this. The majority of the people of the time saw this clearly enough. When the various sets of resolutions were sent to the legislatures of the other states they received little or no sympathy. The nullification doctrines of Jefferson and Madison were not indorsed then and have not

been since,¹ though the majority of the people may have believed in 1799 that the general government had gone beyond its powers

281 Washington died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799 — On December 14, 1799, while the people were engaged in a lively debate on the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions, George Washington, the strong staff upon which the nation had leaned in time of stress, passed away. Although his career seemed rounded out and complete, his death was nevertheless a great loss to the nation and a blow to the prospects of the Federalist party. Tobias Lear, Washington's private secretary, in sending to President Adams the news of the death of his chief, wrote: "His last scene corresponded with the whole tenor of his life; not a groan, nor a complaint, escaped him in extreme distress. With perfect resignation, and in full possession of his reason, he closed his well-spent life."

282. The Election of 1800 — The quarrel between Hamilton and Adams came to a climax in the election of 1800. Adams wished to be reelected, and Hamilton made an effort to keep him from getting the nomination. Finding this impossible, he worked against him in an underhanded way during the campaign. John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney were the Federalist candidates and Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr represented the Republicans. Hamilton wrote a letter in which he said in substance that Adams was totally unfitted for the Presidency, but that he would advise his friends to vote for him nevertheless. The result of the election is soon told. Jefferson and Burr each received seventy-three votes; Adams, sixty-five, Pinckney, sixty-four, and John Jay, one. There was no choice, and the election of the President was thrown, for the first time, into the House of Representatives. Jefferson was finally chosen President and Burr Vice President, and the supremacy of

Jefferson,
is chosen
President
and Burr
Vice Presi-
dent.

¹ It is fair to say, however, that Jefferson and Madison did not realize the full meaning of the dangerous doctrines which they were advocating. These doctrines now appear in a very different light

the Federalist party was over. It never recovered from its defeat in 1800. John Adams, however, lived on for a quarter of a century. He died on the evening of July 4, 1826, at the age of ninety-one. His last words were "Thomas Jefferson still lives." He did not know that Jefferson had passed away a few hours before.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1789-1797 Washington's Administrations.
- 1791 District of Columbia Located
- 1793. Proclamation of Neutrality
- 1795. The Jay Treaty with Great Britain
- 1796. Washington's Farewell Address
- 1797-1801. John Adams's Administration
- 1798 Naturalization Act, Alien Act, Sedition Act.
- 1798-1799 Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions
- 1799 Death of Washington.
- 1800 Election of Jefferson.

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNITED STATES IN 1800

283. **Little Progress** was made in the Closing Years of the Eighteenth Century. — Before taking up the story of Jefferson's administrations it will be well for us to note briefly the general social condition of the country at the close of the eighteenth century. The account will be a disappointing one in some respects, as not much progress was being made. In fact, the closing years of the century were a period of stagnation. It is pleasing to note, however, that they were followed by an epoch of brilliant advancement.

284. **The Census of 1800** — The census of 1800 showed a substantial increase in population. There were 5,308,483 people in the United States, as against 3,929,214 in 1790. About one fifth of the population was negro slaves. Virginia was still the most populous state, with Pennsylvania, New York, North Carolina, and Massachusetts following in the order named.

The population in 1790 was 3,929,214; in 1800, 5,308,483.

The five millions of people were scattered over three hundred thousand square miles of territory. About three and one-half millions of them were located within easy reach of the ocean, and the remainder in the interior. Kentucky and Tennessee were known as the "far West," and only a few settlements had been made in the Ohio territory. Towns had been started at Marietta, Cincinnati, and Chillicothe, and there were a few tents where Cleveland now stands.

The area of the United States in 1800 was 3,000,000 square miles.

285. **The Cities in 1800** — The cities were small in size and few in number. Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston, with populations ranging from seventy thou-

sand to twenty thousand, were the five largest cities, in the order named. Philadelphia was the leading city in the United States, not only in population, but in education, culture, and municipal improvements as well. The city was partially drained, some of its streets were paved, and provisions were made for lighting and policing. Water was supplied by means of a system of wooden pipes, and the city jail is said to have been a "model" one, although prisoners soon perished from confinement in it

Washington was a city only in name. The Capitol was there, but it was not finished in 1800. On the 17th of November, of that year, Congress met in the city of Washington for the first time. The city was beautifully located and was planned on a magnificent scale, but it had only a few, unfinished buildings in the midst of the wilderness. The contrast between Philadelphia and Washington must have been striking. Mrs. Adams, wife of the President, writing on the 21st of November, 1800, spoke of the dense forests which surrounded the government buildings and complained of the scarcity of wood for fuel. She was obliged to endure many inconveniences because of the unfinished condition of the Presidential mansion, later known as the "White House."

286. Indented Servants were bound to Service for a Term of Years. — In addition to the million of negro slaves, the indented servants practically became slaves for a term of years. These men agreed to work for some one for a period of three to eight years for their passage to the United States. At the end of that time they were free to do as they pleased. It is perhaps needless to say that the system led to many cruelties. Masters in too many instances were intent only upon getting as much money as possible from the labor of their servants. In one instance a ship captain appeared at Philadelphia during an epidemic of yellow fever and offered his shipload of indented servants as nurses. In selling the labor of the servants, family ties were often disregarded and families separated.

287. Agriculture was the Most Important Industry.—Agriculture was the most important industry, especially in the South. Manufacturing was in its infancy, but commerce was extensive and profitable. In 1800 about 1,200,000 barrels of flour and 2,000,000 bushels of wheat were exported. Tobacco, rice, and indigo were the most important exports from the South; but cotton, owing to the invention of the cotton gin, was rapidly coming into prominence (§ 373)

288. The Stagecoach, the Principal Vehicle, was Slow and Uncomfortable.—It was impossible, however, for agriculture, manufacturing, or commerce to make any very great advance without better facilities for transportation. The heavy, clumsy, and uncomfortable stagecoach was the principal vehicle for land travel. It was a huge, boxlike affair, without glass windows, doors, or steps, and provided with side curtains of leather to be used in stormy weather. These rude coaches, drawn by bony horses in harness of rope, lumbered along at the rate of forty miles a day in summer and twenty-five in winter. The day, however, began at three o'clock in the morning and ended at ten o'clock at night. In 1783 two of these coaches handled the passenger traffic, and a part of the freight as well, between New York and Boston. In many instances in stagecoach travel the passengers were obliged to get out and push in order to get the vehicle out of the mud. Spots of quicksand were marked by stakes to warn travelers to avoid them, and in many instances it was necessary to go through fields and take an entirely new course. The great rivers were not bridged, and the coaches crossed on the ice in winter and on rude ferryboats in summer. In the breaking-up time of the spring and during the early winter, when the ice was not strong, the passage was often very dangerous.

289. The Steam Engine was invented in 1769.—No great progress could be made in transportation without the use of steam power. James Watt had invented the steam engine in 1769, but not much use had been made of the invention in America. It is said that there were but three steam engines

in the United States in 1803. Steam power had not yet been successfully applied to transportation. The locomotive was a thing of the future and a practical steamboat had not yet been constructed. John Fitch and James Rumsey had shown that boats could be propelled by steam power, but it remained for Robert Fulton, in 1807, to apply the power to navigation in a

Latrobe
thought
that steam
power could
never be
used to prop-
el boats.

practical way. As a matter of fact, there was a popular prejudice against such inventions. People laughed at "Fulton's Folly," and in May, 1803, Mr. Benjamin H. Latrobe, the leading engineer in the United States, declared that the attempt to propel boats by steam power would end in failure. He said

that the engine and fuel were too heavy and occupied too much space, that the motion of the engine strained the boat and made it leaky; that the expense of maintenance was too great; and that the paddles or oars were likely to break. He would probably open his eyes in astonishment if he could see a modern ocean liner, more than 700 feet long, nearly 80 feet wide, and more than 50 feet deep, plowing the seas at the rate of 25 miles an hour and with three thousand people on board.

290 A Profitable Commerce was carried on with China and the West Indies. — In the latter part of the eighteenth century there was an important commerce with China and the Great East. It was no easy task to make these extensive voyages with the imperfect nautical appliances of the time, yet a boy of nineteen took a ship from Calcutta to Boston with no chart to guide him except a small map of the world taken from one of the school geographies. Vessels returning from the Orient brought tea, coffee, muslin, silks, and other valuable products. West Indian commerce was also varied and profitable. One vessel is said to have carried "provisions, brick, and lumber, twenty horses, seventeen cattle, seventeen mules, twenty sheep, twenty swine, one hundred and fifty geese, and one hundred turkeys. The return cargo included rum, molasses, sugar, wine, pimento, pepper, tamarinds, sweetmeats, anise-seed, coffee, cotton, tobacco, indigo, and salt."

291 Ships were built in New England and Philadelphia. — The commerce of the time, together with the whale and cod fisheries, made a great demand for ships. The shipbuilding industry thus became an important one. Most of the best ships were made in New England, but the Philadelphia builders also did good work. A vessel of three hundred tons was considered a "large ship." Ocean steamships are now being made as large as 20,000 tons.

The mast trade also flourished in connection with the shipbuilding industry. The tall, straight pines of New England made splendid masts for sailing ships. The American mast was also prominent in foreign shipyards. James Allen, an early poet, in reminding England of this fact, said: —

"E'en the tall mast, that bears your flag on high,
Grew in our soil, and ripened in our sky."

292 Intellectual Progress — Not much intellectual progress was being made at the close of the century. The public school system had not yet been established in all the states, and the colleges were small and the instruction poor. In 1800 the faculty of Harvard College consisted of seven members, and Wild, an English traveler, declared that Princeton better deserved the title of a grammar school than of a college.

American literature was in its infancy. Philip Freneau had written a few poems of some merit, and the writings of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine were widely read. President Timothy Dwight of Yale College was known as an essayist, a writer of travel, and a poet. John Marshall wrote his valuable "Life of Washington" in 1800, and Charles Brockden Brown, a writer of romance, poetry, history, and geography, has the distinction of being "the first American who adopted letters as his sole profession." On the whole, no great advance had been made. The golden age of Irving, Cooper, and Bryant was still in the future.

The mast
trade was
important

Schools and
colleges
were small,
poor, and
few in num-
ber

American
literature
was in its
infancy.

The preacher, especially in New England, was a man of great influence. Books were scarce and newspapers and magazines almost unknown, and the life of the people was molded, in large part, by the teachings of the pulpit. The sermons of the pastor were long and his labor difficult, but his salary was small and in many cases not promptly paid. It was frequently paid, too, not in money, but in turnips, corn, beans, and bacon.

The
preacher
was a man
of influence

In spite of the labors of the clergy, the moral plane of the time was not high. Drinking, profanity, and rough-and-tumble fights were very common in the taverns of the time. There has been a great advance in this respect in the last hundred years. Practices that would not be tolerated now were then allowed to go on without protest.

The physician was an important member of the community. His medical education was not very good when compared to that of a physician of to-day, but he was usually an intelligent man and did much to relieve suffering. In the country districts he was expected to attend all who were in need of his services, and then collect his fees if he could. The drugs necessary for the patient were usually supplied from his saddlebags. His fees were small, and his work was made difficult by long trips through the wilderness and over the worst of roads.

The physi-
cian was
prominent,
but his
medical
education
was poor.

The industrial and intellectual prospects of the United States were not brilliant in 1800, but as we look back at the time after the lapse of a century it is evident that a new era was about to dawn. The opening of the new century marks the beginning of a period of wonderful progress in all lines of activity. We shall have occasion to note this progress from time to time in the succeeding chapters.

A new and
better era
was about
to dawn.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PERIOD OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL

1801-1825

293. **The Masses of the People greeted Jefferson's Election with Delight.** — We noticed in a previous chapter that the Federalists were defeated in the election of 1800. The transfer of governmental authority from the Federalists to the Republicans is an important event in American history. The triumph of Jefferson and the Republicans was hailed with delight all over the country except in some parts of New England. Bells and guns of every sort were pressed into service after the election, to express the joy of the Republicans. Again, on Inauguration Day, the bells rang, the cannons boomed, and business was quite generally suspended. It was felt by Jefferson and his followers that the control of the government had passed from the hands of the so-called "*upper classes*" into those of the *people*. The Federalists, on the other hand, were much depressed. They felt that the "ship of state" was in the control of an ignorant rabble and was in danger of being wrecked.

294. **The Inauguration was a Simple Ceremony.** — The inauguration was not an impressive ceremony. Jefferson was the first President to be inaugurated in Washington. The city was new and crude, and the Republicans were not in favor of useless display. The new President walked to the Capitol in the company of a few friends and quietly took the oath of office.

The inaugural address had been awaited with great eagerness. It was regarded not only as the utterance of a great man, but as the platform of a party which was being intrusted for the first time with the management of national affairs. Jefferson was broad-minded in his hour of triumph, and tried in his address to

The inaugural address was conciliatory

conciliate his opponents. "Let us then, fellow-citizens," he said, "unite with one heart and one mind and labor for the



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

"The man of the people" was born in Virginia in 1743. He was graduated from William and Mary College and became a lawyer. He served in the Virginia legislature and in the Continental Congress. He was governor of Virginia, minister to France, Secretary of State, and twice elected President of the United States. He was opposed to slavery, and took steps looking to emancipation. With some assistance from others he devised our present decimal currency system. His motto was "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." He was buried at Monticello, Virginia, and over his grave is a monument of granite bearing an inscription composed by himself. It reads as follows: "Here lies buried Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia." He died July 4, 1826—the fiftieth anniversary of the famous Declaration.

welfare of the country." "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists," he exclaimed, in another part of the address. This was not strictly true, but it may have served to soften somewhat the intense party feeling of the time.

295. Madison and Gallatin were the Ablest Men in the Cabinet — One of Jefferson's first duties was to reorganize and strengthen the Cabinet. James Madison, the defender of the Constitution, was appointed Secretary of State and Henry Dearborn of Massachusetts Secretary of War. Levi Lincoln, also of Massachusetts, was made Attorney-General. Samuel Dexter, Secretary of the Treasury under Adams, was retained by Jefferson for a short time, and was then succeeded by Albert Gallatin, the noted Swiss. After being offered to at least five different men, the Secretaryship of the Navy was accepted by Robert Smith, a Baltimore lawyer. The Cabinet as thus constituted was a harmonious, loyal, and fairly able body of men; although Madison and Gallatin were the only members of first-class importance.

296. Jefferson sent his Message to Congress in Writing. — Jefferson's

first message to Congress was an important one, as it outlined, in a general way, the course which legislation would probably

take. It is also interesting as being the first message sent to Congress in writing. Washington and Adams had delivered their messages orally. Jefferson's friends said that it was more businesslike to send a message in writing, while his enemies declared that he changed the original method because he was a good writer, but a very poor public speaker. It is certain that it would not now be practicable for a President to deliver his messages orally. They are very long, and are read by several clerks in the presence of the two Houses.

297. The Membership of the House was Increased.—The second census was taken in 1800, and made necessary a new apportionment of representatives. The ratio was fixed at one representative for every thirty-three thousand inhabitants, and the membership of the House was increased from one hundred and five to one hundred and forty-one.

On November 29, 1802, Ohio, with forty-five thousand people, was admitted into the union as the seventeenth state.

298. The Judiciary Act of 1801 was repealed in 1802—Just before going out of power the Federalist party passed an act creating additional federal courts, and John Adams sat up until nearly midnight on March 3, 1801, making appointments under the act. The Republicans were opposed to the whole matter. They said that the new judgeships were not necessary, but were created in order to provide life tenure offices for prominent Federalists. The act was promptly repealed by the Republicans in March, 1802, and many of Adams's "midnight appointments" never went into effect.

299. Jefferson reduced Taxes and cut down Expenses of the Government.—It was a part of the programme of Republican simplicity to retrench, or to cut down the running expenses of the government. By an act of April 6, 1802, the Republicans repealed the laws levying internal taxes. These taxes had long been unpopular, and had caused the "Whisky Rebellion" and other insurrections. Now that these taxes had been abolished, it was necessary to reduce the expenses of the government.

These expenditures had increased with great rapidity during the last few years. In 1793 the expenses of the general government were \$3,800,000, and in 1800 they were, in round numbers, \$11,000,000. Mr. Gallatin, the Secretary of the Treasury, made a plan whereby the expenses were to be reduced and the national debt paid off. The plan seemed to work well. The income from customs duties was increased, the cost of the

The
national
debt was
reduced
fifty per
cent.

army and navy was greatly decreased, and in a short time the national debt was reduced fifty per cent. This, on the face of it, was an excellent showing, but it should be borne in mind that fortifications were not

kept up, officers and men had been dismissed from the army, the navy had been allowed to dwindle, and the expenditure of large sums of money would be necessary to prepare the country for war. The War of 1812 showed that some of Jefferson's retrenchments were not wise.

300. The Naturalization Period was reduced from Fourteen Years to Five Years in 1802 — The Naturalization Act of 1798 was odious to the Republicans. It was accordingly repealed on April 14, 1802, and the term of residence for citizenship was reduced from fourteen years to five years, where it still remains.

301. The Twelfth Amendment was added in 1804. — The election of 1800 had shown that there was a serious defect in the working of the electoral college. As a result of this the method of electing President and Vice President was radically changed on September 25, 1804, by means of the twelfth amendment, which is still in force (§ 212).

302 Jefferson was reelected in 1804 by an Enormous Majority. — The election of 1804 was thus the first to be held under the remodeled electoral college. The contest was one-sided and was not an especially interesting one. The people were overwhelmingly in favor of Jefferson and the Republicans, and the Federalist party was practically dead. The Republicans carried every state except Connecticut and Delaware. George Clinton of New York was chosen Vice President.

303. Hamilton was killed by Burr in a Duel in 1804 — Aaron Burr, who was Vice President at the time, was not thought of. He was looked upon by the people of all parties with contempt. Burr was a candidate for the governorship of New York in 1804, and Alexander Hamilton, not considering him a worthy man, opposed him very vigorously. Stung to desperation by the attacks of Hamilton, Burr challenged him to fight a duel. Hamilton, with his usual personal bravery, but with a false sense of honor, accepted the challenge. The two men met in mortal combat at Weehawken, New York, on July 11, 1804, and Hamilton fell mortally wounded. On the following day, at the early age of forty-seven, the ablest of that brilliant group of constitutional statesmen passed away. The death of Hamilton made Burr an outcast, and no one thought of him as a successor to himself in the Vice Presidency.

304. Louisiana was purchased from France for \$15,000,000 in 1803. — The most important event in Jefferson's administration—in fact, one of the most important events in American history—was the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France in 1803. It should be stated that Louisiana at this time extended from Canada on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and from the Mississippi River on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. This vast territory was obtained for France, as we have seen, by the work of her early explorers. In 1763 France gave the part of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, and the island of New Orleans, to Spain, to compensate her for the loss of Florida. France regretted the loss of the territory and succeeded in inducing Spain to give it back to her by the treaty of 1800, in return for some Italian territory. It was thought best to keep the matter a secret for reasons which will appear later.

It should be said at this point that a very small part of the Louisiana territory lay on the east side of the Mississippi River. The city of New Orleans and a small tract of surrounding land were thus located. This gave the Spaniards the control of the mouth of the river—a very important matter from the stand-

point of commerce. The Americans were exceedingly anxious to obtain control of the mouth of the river, as a large part of their commerce was finding an outlet in this direction. They obtained a "right of deposit" from the Spaniards by treaty in 1795. This means that the Americans were allowed to deposit their goods, carried in river boats, at New Orleans and then reship them in ocean vessels after paying the Spaniards a fee for the privilege of so doing.

When it was rumored in the fall of 1801 that Louisiana had been given back to France, there was great excitement in the United States. France was a strong nation and Spain a weak one at the time, and it was feared that our commerce would be entirely shut off from the Mississippi. The people of the West became wildly excited, and there was talk of taking possession of Louisiana by force of arms. The excitement was made more intense when, on the 16th of October, 1802, the "right of deposit" was taken away by proclamation of the Spanish governor.

Robert R. Livingston of New York was the American minister to France at the time, and he was directed to purchase, if possible, the island of New Orleans. France would not listen to such a proposition and Livingston could make no progress. Finally, on January 11, 1803, President Jefferson appointed James Monroe of Virginia to go to France to assist Livingston. It seemed to most men of the time that Livingston and Monroe were attempting to do that which was impossible, and that Napoleon, who was at the head of French affairs, would never part with Louisiana, as he was desirous of building up a magnificent French empire in America. Just when things seemed darkest, the whole matter suddenly cleared up. Up to this time Talleyrand, the Foreign Secretary, and Napoleon had steadfastly refused to part with even that small amount of land upon which the city of New Orleans stood; now they offered to sell to Livingston the *whole* of Louisiana territory. The cause for this sudden change of mind was the fact that Napoleon

feared that Great Britain was about to seize his American possessions. He decided, therefore, that he would prefer to sell Louisiana to the United States rather than have it fall into the hands of his enemy, England. Livingston and Monroe were amazed. They had neither the authority nor the money to purchase the entire territory, but wisely concluded that they should not let the opportunity slip of adding such a magnificent domain to the United States. They accordingly accepted the proposition, and agreed by a treaty, signed April 30, 1803, to pay fifteen million dollars for the territory of Louisiana

Livingston and Monroe signed the treaty, April 30, 1803.

When the terms of the treaty became known in the United States there was great astonishment. On the whole, the people were delighted, but Jefferson was perplexed. He was a "strict constructionist," and could find no clause in the Constitution which authorized the purchase of territory on such a large scale. He wished, however, to retain Louisiana and to have the Constitution amended in such a way as to make the purchase constitutional. His friends finally persuaded him that territory could be acquired under the treaty-making power of the Constitution and that no amendment was necessary, hence none was made.

Jefferson was not sure that the purchase was constitutional

By this purchase the area of the United States was doubled. Louisiana contained five hundred and sixty million acres. Its area was more than seven times that of Great Britain and Ireland; it was larger than Great Britain, France, Germany, Spain, Portugal, and Italy combined. Twelve states and two territories now occupy this vast domain, and its population is nearly fifteen millions, or about one fifth of that of the entire country.

The area of the United States was doubled by the Louisiana Purchase.

305. Barbary Pirates were plundering American Ships upon the High Seas. — There are some other foreign affairs which, at this point, should receive attention. American commerce, at this time, was not safe even upon the high seas. American ships,

and the ships of European nations, also, were being plundered by the pirates from the Barbary States of northern Africa. In 1803, the navy of the United States moved against Tripoli, and in 1805 Commodore Pickle compelled that power to cease its attacks upon American ships and to make a treaty. This step was a surprise to the remaining Barbary States, and they, too, ceased their depredations

The
American
navy de-
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the dep-
redations
ceased

306. France and Britain also plunder American Ships — The worst attacks, however, upon American commerce were made, not by the Barbary States, but by France and Great Britain. These two nations were not hostile to America, but they were at war with one another, and neither hesitated to strike American commerce in case the other could be injured by so doing. According to international law, ships are not allowed to enter a "blockaded" port, and if they do so are liable to capture and confiscation. In order that a port may be said to be "blockaded," however, there must be ships stationed near by to prevent trading boats from entering. In that case if a vessel "runs the blockade" it must suffer the consequences if caught. There must be, however, a blockading fleet, yet in this case France and Britain simply declared certain ports to be in a state of blockade, but sent no fleets to put the decrees into effect. Then they captured American vessels anywhere on the high seas if bound to or from blockaded ports. This is called a "paper blockade," and is not warranted by the law of nations. Yet in this way many American ships were seized by the cruisers of France and England, and their cargoes condemned and sold.

307. American Seamen are impressed into the British Service. — In addition to this the British insisted upon the "right of search" and of "impressment." The right of search is permitted by international law for certain definite purposes, such as for the detection of piracy or the presence of goods which are "contraband of war", this right, however, was much abused by Great Britain. That power also insisted upon searching

American ships for British sailors, and upon impressing them, when found, into the British service. Here, too, there were many abuses. In some cases Englishmen who had been naturalized in the United States were taken from American boats and pressed into the service of England, and in many cases native-born American citizens were similarly treated. In this way thousands of American sailors were wrongfully impressed into the British service. President Jefferson and the whole people were naturally indignant and sought a remedy for the wrong that was being done.

308. **Jefferson was not in Favor of War.** — The attacks upon our commerce would have been a just cause for war against either France or England, but Jefferson preferred a peaceable policy. He saw that the United States was not ready to enter into war against either one of these great nations. However, he made preparations for war and sent two envoys to Great Britain to negotiate a treaty.

James Monroe and William Pinckney were the men sent, but the treaty which they obtained was so objectionable that it was never sent to the Senate for ratification. In the meantime the outrages on American commerce continued. The climax was reached on June 22, 1807. On this date the British frigate *Leopard* fired upon the American frigate *Chesapeake*, near Hampton Roads. The American vessel was caught unawares, overpowered, and compelled to surrender. The whole nation was aroused. Men wore crape in honor of the *Chesapeake's* dead, and cried out for war. "Never," said Jefferson in a letter to Lafayette, "since the battle of Lexington, have I seen the country in such a state of exasperation as at present."

309. **The Embargo Act was passed, December, 1807.** — As a remedy for this state of affairs Jefferson suggested his famous Embargo policy. On the 22d of December, 1807, a bill embodying the President's idea was passed. This law prohibited American ships from leaving for a foreign port under any condition. Commerce was to be stopped and American ships and American sailors were to be protected by being

kept safely in American harbors. Then, too, France and England were to be injured by being deprived of American goods.

The law was a failure and was repealed, 1809. The law was a flat failure. Shipowners were not in favor of it, it was found impossible to enforce it, and France and England received the measure with laughter. Jefferson finally admitted that his policy was a failure, and the Embargo Act was repealed

March 1, 1809.

310. A Non-intercourse Act was passed, 1809. — On the same day a Non-intercourse Act was passed, cutting off commercial intercourse with Great Britain and France. This act was to remain in force for a short time only.

In the closing scenes of his administration Jefferson took but little part. In January of 1809 he said: "I am now so near retiring that I take no part in affairs beyond the expression of an opinion . . . Five weeks more will relieve me from a drudgery to which I am no longer equal." Jefferson's first administration was a great success, but it must be admitted that the second was not.

311. Domestic Affairs — Although the chief interest in Jefferson's second administration centers in foreign affairs, there are a few domestic matters which should not pass unnoticed.

The most sensational of these domestic affairs was the conspiracy of Aaron Burr. After his duel with Alexander Hamilton, Burr became a political and social outcast. His business affairs, too, were in an unsatisfactory condition. He was accordingly in a proper frame of mind for a desperate enterprise, and planned an expedition to the Southwest. There is even now a great deal of doubt in regard to what Burr really intended to do, but it is probable that he wished to make a conquest of Mexico and the Spanish possessions, and to cut off a large part of the southwestern territory from the United States. He wished to organize this vast domain into an empire under the leadership of himself and his daughter Theodosia.

Jefferson's second administration was not so successful as his first.

Aaron Burr attempted to found an empire in the Southwest.

His scheme was fascinating in many respects, and attracted many reckless adventurers

In December, 1806, Burr got together a party of men at Blennerhasset's Island, in the Ohio River, and started down stream. In January, 1807, he reached the lower Mississippi with about one hundred men. In the meantime, however, his designs had become known to President Jefferson, who issued a proclamation looking to his capture. Burr was arrested soon after and placed on trial for treason at Richmond. The case was tried by Chief Justice John Marshall of the Supreme Court, and Edmund Randolph and Luther Martin appeared as attorneys for the defense. After an exciting trial, which lasted for more than three months, Burr was declared "not guilty," much to the regret of Jefferson.

Burr was tried for treason in 1807 and was acquitted.

312 The Election of 1808 — Some of Jefferson's friends wished him to be a candidate for a third term, but he would not listen to the idea. He was sixty-five years of age, had been in public life for forty years, and, furthermore, he believed in the democratic theory of short terms of office. James Madison of Virginia then became the leading candidate for the office, although James Monroe of the same state was favored by some. Many Northern Republicans favored Governor Clinton of New York. Madison was the choice of Jefferson, and he was accordingly nominated, while Clinton was nominated for the Vice Presidency. The Federalists chose C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King. The campaign was an interesting one, and Madison and Clinton were elected by overwhelming majorities.

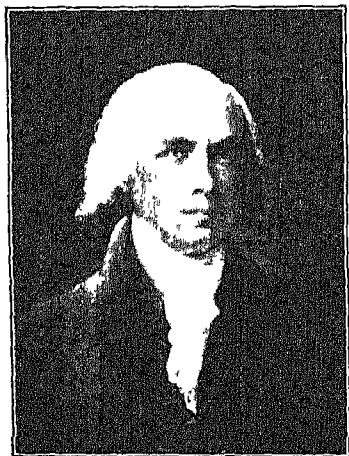
Jefferson declined a third term.

Madison was nominated and elected.

On March 4, 1809, Jefferson gave over the reins of government to his faithful personal and political friend, James Madison, and soon after retired from the public gaze, to spend the remainder of his useful life in the beloved seclusion of his delightful home at Monticello.

JAMES MADISON, 1809-1817

313. James Madison was well known in Public Life. — No introduction to James Madison will be necessary here. He was well and favorably known in the United States long before he became President. He had been prominent in Virginia affairs, he had been one of the most conspicuous figures in the Constitutional Convention, and had recently served as Secretary of State under Jefferson. Furthermore, he had always agreed with Jefferson upon matters of government, and for this reason his administration may be looked upon as a continuation of that of his predecessor.



JAMES MADISON

One of the most useful men in American history. Born in Virginia in 1751, he was graduated from Princeton, served in the legislature of his state and in Congress, was Secretary of State, and twice President of the United States. Wrote many able political papers, and kept a record of the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. He died in 1836.

314 Madison's Cabinet was not a Strong One. — Madison retained three members of Jefferson's Cabinet. Robert Smith of Maryland, formerly Secretary of the Navy, became Secretary of State, Cæsar A. Rodney of Delaware, formerly Attorney-General, was continued in that office; and Albert Gallatin, the famous financier, remained at the head of the Treasury Department. The remaining positions were filled by comparatively obscure men. The

Cabinet as a whole was not a strong one. Gallatin was the only man in it of first-class ability. The majority of the members did fairly well, but Smith was decidedly weak as Secretary of State. He was succeeded by James Monroe in 1811.

315. Foreign Affairs were in a Sad Condition. — It was unfortunate that Madison made such a weak appointment as

Secretary of State At the close of Jefferson's administration it was evident to every one that our foreign affairs would be of supreme importance, and it must have been equally evident that Robert Smith was not the man to manage them. Gallatin was the man best fitted for the position, but intrigues and jealousies unfortunately prevented his appointment.

Our foreign affairs were in a deplorable condition at the close of Jefferson's administration. Great Britain and France were making depredations upon American commerce which the United States was powerless to prevent. The Embargo Act had proved a flat failure and had been repealed, the Non-intercourse Act, which was never effective, expired early in 1810, and other retaliatory legislation had proved to be of no avail. Diplomacy, too, had failed, and the country was drifting rapidly toward war.

Madison was a man of peace, but the Republican leaders were bent upon war, and he was not able to hold them in check. Some of the younger men of the party were especially anxious for war. Madison favored peace. ~~This was true of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina and of Henry Clay of Kentucky, who were destined at a future time to play important parts in American politics.~~

As we look back upon the negotiations of these years, after the lapse of a century, it is not clear why the United States chose to declare war against Great Britain rather than France. As far as the depredations upon our commerce were concerned, the two nations were equally blamable. It was clear, however, that it would not be wise to declare war against both. Such a declaration would be ridiculous, if not disastrous. By common consent of a majority of the Republican leaders England was singled out for vengeance. A trace of the old hatred yet remained, and the possible conquest of Canada appealed strongly to many. The tone of the West was particularly warlike, and Madison, man of peace though he was, was no longer able to control his party. Clay and Calhoun were "war hawks." There was as much reason for declaring war against France as against Britain.

316. War was declared against Great Britain on June 18, 1812. — War was declared on June 18, 1812, by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine in the House, and by a vote of nineteen to thirteen in the Senate. The greater part of the vote in favor of war came from the South and West. The Federalists and a few Republicans voted against the declaration, and the former issued an address to the people in which they stated the grounds of their opposition. They held that the main object of the war was the conquest of Canada and not the redress of commercial grievances. They also tried to excuse England and to place a large part of the blame upon France. It was unfortunate that the United States was thus obliged to enter upon an important war without the support of all sections of the country.

317 There were Four Important Causes of the War — The causes of the War of 1812 may be summed up under four heads: (1) The inciting of the Indians by the English to commit outrages upon the Americans, (2) the depredations upon American commerce, (3) the blockade of our ports by British cruisers; and (4) the impressment of American seamen. These grievances were very humiliating, and war would have resulted from them at an earlier date if the United States had not been in its infancy as a nation.

318. Great Britain was apparently Much Stronger than the United States in 1812. — The military strength of the United States at the time was in striking contrast to that of England. The United States had 7,250,000 people, Great Britain had 18,500,000; the regular army of the United States was composed of 6700 men, while the regular army of Great Britain was fighting successfully against the vast armies of Napoleon; the American navy was made up of 12 small boats with 5500 men, while the British had 830 superior vessels with 150,000 seamen. In addition to this, experience and war spirit both seemed to favor the British, and in financial resources England was tenfold stronger. On the other hand, it was plain that the war would be fought along the Canadian border. This fact was favorable to the United States.

THE WAR, 1812

319. Americans won Brilliant Victories on Sea but failed on Land. — The War of 1812, on the American side, is characterized by failures on land and by brilliant victories on sea. The American army was made up, for the most part, of raw recruits, hastily gathered together, without experience or training. Such an army as this could not hope to contend successfully against England's veteran forces. The American navy, on the other hand, was manned by natural seamen, — fishermen from Newfoundland and elsewhere, — who proved to be excellent fighters. The Yankee sailor was alert, bold, and quick to act. He was a natural mechanic, a good gunner, and a superior tactician. But even with all this his "victories were more than unexpected, they were astounding."

320. Canada was invaded, but the Expeditions proved Failures. — The project of invading Canada seemed to be uppermost in the minds of the Americans, and two expeditions were planned against the British possessions. One was to cross the Detroit River at Detroit, and the other the Niagara River at Buffalo. In July of 1812, less than a month after war had been declared, General Hull led the first of these two expeditions into Canada. Almost no preparation had been made for the invasion, and it ended, as might have been expected, in failure. In August General Hull surrendered to the British commander, General Brock, without striking a blow.

The second expedition likewise failed. In October the Americans, under General Van Rensselaer, crossed the Niagara River and were defeated at Queenstown, a short distance below the Falls. The land campaigns of the first year of the war all ended disastrously for the Americans.

321. Naval Battles. — In regard to the naval battles, however, there is a different story to tell. Although England was the "mistress of the seas," she suffered a series of decisive defeats on the ocean at the hands of the Americans. On the 13th of



August Captain Porter, in command of the *Essex*, captured the British sloop *Alert* without the loss of a man. The fight lasted eight minutes, and when the *Alert* was taken there were seven feet of water in her hold.

The *Essex* captured the British sloop *Alert*.

Six days later a still more brilliant victory was won. The American frigate *Constitution*, under Captain Isaac Hull, captured the British frigate *Guerrière* after a fight of half an hour. "In less than thirty minutes from the time we got alongside the enemy," said Hull, "she was left without a spar standing, and the hull cut to pieces in such a manner as to make it difficult to keep her above water." "This victory," says Henry Adams, the American historian, "raised the United States in one-half hour to the rank of a first-class power." The news of the capture and destruction of the *Guerrière* was received with especial delight in the United States because that boat had been particularly active in the searching of American vessels.

The *Constitution* captured the British sloop *Guerrière*.

1813

322. Commodore Perry won a Brilliant Victory on Lake Erie. —

The year 1813 was one of mingled joys and sorrows. In January a company of Kentucky troops, under General Winchester, attempted to recapture Detroit, but was defeated at Frenchtown on the River Raisin, in Michigan.

General William Henry Harrison, the hero of the battle of Tippecanoe, met with better success. He was anxious to pass from northern Ohio into Canada, by way of Detroit, but was not able to do so while the British controlled Lake Erie. Commodore Perry came to his assistance by winning the brilliant battle of Lake Erie on the 10th of September, 1813. Perry was but twenty-seven years of age at the time, and was fighting against the veteran Captain Barclay, who had seen service under Nelson at Trafalgar. Perry's victory was complete and decisive, and his dispatch to Harrison thrilled the nation: "We have

met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop. Yours with very great respect and esteem, O. H. Perry "

Now that the way was clear Harrison passed Detroit, penetrated Canada, and defeated the British in the battle of the Thames on October 5, 1813.

323. The *Chesapeake* was captured by the British *Shannon*. — On the ocean also defeats were mingled with victories. The most notable contest was that between the American frigate *Chesapeake* and the British *Shannon*. The boats met off Boston early in June, 1813, with Captain Lawrence in command of the American vessel, and Captain Broke in command of the British. In the course of the engagement the gallant Captain Lawrence was mortally wounded, but called out to his men while being carried below: "Don't give up the ship! Keep the guns going! Fight her till she sinks!" The American boat was captured and taken to Halifax, but the dying command of Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship!" has become an American battle cry which will never be forgotten.

1814

324. MacDonough defeated the British off Plattsburg — In the following year the Americans again tried to invade Canada, and again they met with only partial success. In July they won the battles of Chippewa and Lundy's Lane near Niagara, but in the fall the troops were withdrawn, and little was accomplished.

A victory on Lake Champlain revived the drooping spirit of the Americans. The British were planning an invasion of New York, and had placed a fleet on Lake Champlain to cooperate with the land forces. Commodore Thomas MacDonough, of the American fleet, succeeded in defeating the British off Plattsburg in September, after a hard-fought contest.

325 Washington was taken and the Capitol burned. — In the meantime the Atlantic coast was being ravaged by the British.

In August they appeared before Washington, and, after a feeble resistance by General Winder, the city was taken. The President and members of the Cabinet fled, and the Capitol, White House, and other public buildings were destroyed. It should be said, however, that the English people did not approve of this wanton destruction of property. One English paper remarked, "The Cossacks spared Paris, but we spared not the Capitol of America."

326. Andrew Jackson defeated the British at New Orleans after the Treaty of Peace had been made. — The British, later in the year, planned an attack on New Orleans. Here, however, they met a very determined resistance on the part of Andrew Jackson, the hardy Indian fighter. The British made the attack on Jackson on the 8th of January, 1815, and were repulsed with great loss. This victory was won, however, after the treaty of peace had been made.

327. The Hartford Convention. — The sentiment in New England against the war was always strong and was increased by the victories of the British. It was said that the war was not a just one, but was being waged for the conquest of territory. It was certainly injuring the commerce of New England. One result of this opposition to the war was the famous Hartford Convention of 1814. On December 15 of that year delegates from all of the New England states met at Hartford, Connecticut. It was feared that New England might withdraw and that the union might be disrupted, but no such action was taken. The convention adjourned on January 14, 1815, and then published a report of its proceedings. Some amendments to the Constitution were urged, and it was insisted that the states should be allowed to retain the customs duties collected within their borders. It was intimated that the states might secede from the union in case their demands were not complied with. A committee was appointed to lay the remonstrance before Congress, but peace had been made in the meantime and nothing came of the movement.

New England opposed the War of 1812 and threatened to withdraw from the union.

328. The War closed with the Peace of Ghent, August 8, 1814.—On August 8, 1814, British and American representatives met at Ghent to discuss terms of peace, and a treaty was signed on December 24 following—two weeks before Andrew Jackson won his memorable victory at New Orleans.¹ The terms of the treaty are not important. Things were left very much as they were before the war. Since peace had been made between France and England there was no longer any cause for attacks upon our commerce, and the impressment of American seamen had also ceased. The grievances had been removed in the natural course of events and were not mentioned in the treaty.

It was agreed that the conquered territory should be mutually restored.

Therefore, at first thought it would seem that nothing whatever was gained by the Americans by the War of 1812. It is true that no territory was gained and that American rights were not clearly defined in the treaty; but the war served to unite the nation and to gain for it the wholesome respect of all Europe. The victories of Hull, Perry, and Jackson will not soon be forgotten.

329 Domestic Affairs—Although the war was the principal event of interest in the administrations of President Madison, there were a few other matters of importance which should be noted.

It will be recalled that through the efforts of Hamilton, a United States bank was chartered for twenty years in 1791. The bank was a success, and in 1811 an effort was made to renew the charter. The old opposition, however, sprang up in the Republican ranks and the attempt failed. In 1816 Mr. Clay, then Speaker of the House, and other influential leaders took up the matter, and the bank was rechartered for

¹ If the ocean cable and the telegraph had been in existence, the loss of life at New Orleans might have been saved.

another term of twenty years. Its capital stock was to be \$35,000,000, one fifth of which was to be owned by the government.

In 1816 the first protective tariff measure was passed. The bill was intended not only as a source of revenue, but as a protection to American industries. Henry Clay, "the father of the protective policy," was its chief advocate, but the measure was favored by Calhoun and signed by Madison. Webster opposed it. The duties were not nearly so high as they are now, the highest being about thirty per cent.

Taken as a whole, the period of Madison's administrations was an era of progress. There had been an increase in national spirit and unity, the population had increased from 7,239,903 in 1810 to about 8,866,000 in 1817, manufactures

had sprung up; shipping had revived, transportation facilities had been somewhat improved, and a new era was dawning in literature. Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York" had appeared in 1809, and Bryant's "Thanatopsis" had been published in an early number of the *North American Review*, which was founded in 1815.

330. Elections of 1812 and 1816. — In the fall of 1812 Madison was reelected President over DeWitt Clinton of New York, by

The first protective tariff measure was passed in 1816.



HENRY CLAY

"The Great Pacificator" was born in Virginia in 1777, and died in Washington in 1852. He became a lawyer, a member of the Kentucky legislature, United States senator, Speaker of the House, and Secretary of State. He was a candidate for the Presidency several times, but was never elected. He was an advocate of protection and an orator of rare power. A monument has been erected to his memory in the cemetery at Lexington, Kentucky.

a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to eighty-nine. By 1816 the Federalist party had almost entirely disappeared.

The Federalist party had practically disappeared by 1816.

In the election of that year it carried only three states, — Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware. The Republicans nominated and elected James Monroe of Virginia, who had distinguished himself in the public service as a member of Madison's Cabinet.

JAMES MONROE, 1817-1825

331. Character of the President and of the Period. — James Monroe was well known when he became President in



JAMES MONROE

Monroe was born in 1758 in Virginia, not far from the birthplace of George Washington. He entered William and Mary College, but soon left to fight the battles of the Revolution. Although he opposed the adoption of the Constitution, he had an illustrious public career. He served two terms as President. He died in New York City on July 4, 1831.

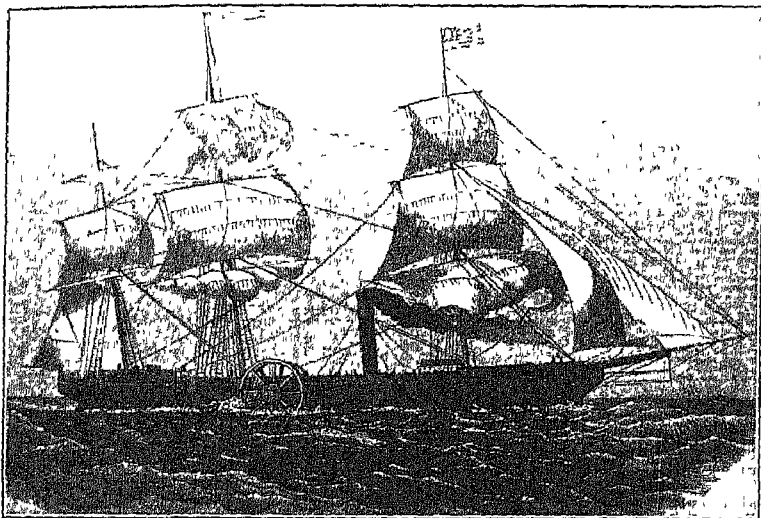
1817. He had been a soldier in the Revolutionary army, a foreign minister, a United States senator, governor of Virginia, and, more recently, Secretary of State and of War. His election was not the occasion of any great national excitement, as it was known that the Republican policy of Jefferson and Madison would be continued. These two illustrious men, although in retirement, were expected to exercise, and actually did exercise, a marked influence upon public affairs. However, the policy of the Republican party had changed materially since the time of Washington. Many of the principles of the Federalist party had been adopted, and the old doctrine of "strict

construction" of the Constitution had been practically abandoned. In fact, Monroe might be looked upon as the representative of the *people* rather than of the Republican party.

Monroe's Presidency is an interesting and important period. It is sometimes called the "era of good feeling," because the hatred caused by party strife had largely vanished.

It is true that there was but one political party, yet there was much ill feeling, due to the fact that this party was divided up into several factions. On the whole, however, good will prevailed. Business and commerce occupied men's minds, and political animosities were crowded

It was the "era of good feeling."

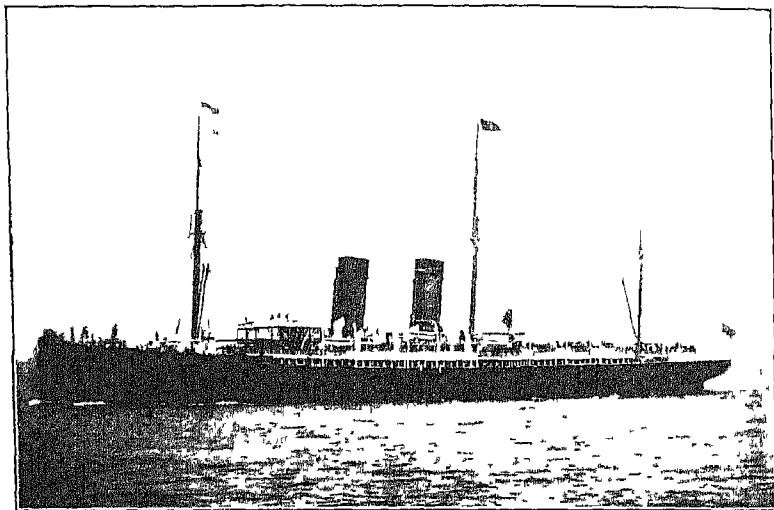


THE STEAMSHIP "SAVANNAH"

This was the first steamer to cross the Atlantic Ocean. She sailed from Savannah in June, 1819, and reached Liverpool in eighteen days. She used steam power only for seven days on the trip. When about to enter St. George's Channel, near the coast of Ireland, the smoke from her funnel was spied by the commander of the British fleet, who, thinking the vessel on fire, sent two boats to her rescue. She was met by a large crowd at Liverpool and given an enthusiastic reception.

out. Then, too, the West was being settled very rapidly, and this gave the people something to think of. The steamboat was plying on the inland waters and had already crossed the Atlantic. A constant stream of immigrants was coming from Europe into the West. The admission of new states into the union shows the rapidity with which this development was taking

place. Indiana was admitted in 1816, Mississippi, in 1817, Illinois, in 1818, and Alabama, in 1819



A TYPE OF MODERN TRANSATLANTIC STEAMSHIP.

This steamship, the *Umbria*, is more than 500 feet long, nearly 50 feet wide, and about 40 feet deep. It forms a striking contrast to the *Savannah* which is shown on page 281. The *Umbria* was built in 1884, and is itself much smaller than the largest boats of to-day. The *Kaiserin Auguste Victoria*, for instance, built in 1905, is 705 feet long, 77 feet wide, and 54 feet deep.

332 Monroe's Cabinet was a Strong One. — Monroe began his administration well by appointing a strong Cabinet. Several of the members were men of marked ability. John Quincy Adams, son of the second President, was made Secretary of State; William H. Crawford of Georgia, a member of Madison's Cabinet, was made Secretary of the Treasury, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, destined to be one of the foremost men in American history, was made Secretary of War. The President stood in need of all of the sound advice which his Cabinet could give, since our foreign affairs were still in an unsettled condition, and it was necessary to renew our commercial treaties, which had been broken off by the war.

333. Florida was purchased from Spain in 1819. — The purchase of Florida from Spain by the United States was one of the important events in Monroe's administration. Since the purchase of the Louisiana territory from France in 1803, there had been a disagreement between Spain and the United States in regard to the boundary line between Florida and Louisiana. This was settled for all time by the purchase of Florida. Spain was not able to hold and to defend her American possessions, and accordingly ceded Florida to the United States by a treaty signed February 22, 1819. In this treaty the United States gave up all claim to Texas and agreed to pay five million dollars to American citizens for claims resulting from spoliation committed by Spain. Florida thus became part of the territory of the United States, but was not admitted as a state until 1845.

334. The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed in December, 1823. — The most notable event in Monroe's administration, and one of the most important events in American history, was the publication of the "Monroe Doctrine" in December, 1823. Just at this time the Spanish colonies of South America were rebelling against the mother country and setting themselves up as independent republics. Republican governments had been established in all of the Spanish colonies of South America, and in 1822 their independence was recognized by the United States. Some of the European monarchies, who were naturally opposed to the spread of republican principles, joined in a so-called Holy Alliance and thought of interfering for the purpose of reducing the republics again to the power of Spain. John Quincy Adams, the far-sighted Secretary of State, after conferring with some officers of the British government, came to the conclusion that it would not be wise to allow the nations of Europe to meddle with affairs on the American continents. He accordingly induced President Monroe to make a declaration in his message to Congress of the now famous "Monroe Doctrine." The doctrine consisted of two parts. In the first place the President declared that the

The Holy Alliance was about to restore the power of Spain over her colonies in South America.

"American continents . . . are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for colonization by any European power." He also declared in substance that the United States would not allow any European nation to interfere with the government of any republic established on American soil. The protest had the desired effect, and the plans of the European monarchies were never carried out. The "Monroe Doctrine" has been enforced in several instances and continues to be an important part of American policy.

335. Clay favored a Protective Tariff; Webster opposed it
The Tariff of 1824 — The tariff law of 1816 had not produced satisfactory results, and on May 22, 1824, another act was passed. Clay was again the most outspoken champion of a protective tariff, while Webster was opposed to that policy. He declared "freedom of trade to be the general principle, and restriction the exception." The South now opposed the tariff, while the Central and Western states and a part of New England favored it. The new measure increased the duties on iron, wool, hemp, and, to some extent, on woolen and cotton goods. The general average of the duties was thirty-seven per cent in 1824 as against twenty-five per cent in 1816.

336 Lafayette visited the United States in 1824 and was received with Great Honor. — In May, 1824, Congress sent an invitation to the Marquis de Lafayette to visit the United States as "the nation's guest." The invitation was gratefully accepted, and Lafayette remarked that he would visit America, "the beloved land," as an "adopted son," which he did in the fall of 1824. He had been a personal friend of President Monroe when the two men were serving in the Revolutionary army, hence his reception by the head of the American Republic was a most cordial one. He was received by the people everywhere with respect and enthusiasm.

337. Adams, Crawford, Jackson, and Clay are Candidates for the Presidency. Adams is elected by the House of Representatives, 1824. — In the fall of 1820 Monroe was reelected by an almost unanimous vote. He received two hundred and thirty-

one votes and John Quincy Adams received one. An elector from New Hampshire, desiring that Washington should be the only President to have the honor of a unanimous election, voted for Adams.

Four years later, however, there was no such unanimity. In 1824 there were four important candidates for the Presidency. These were John Quincy Adams, William H Crawford, Henry Clay, and Andrew Jackson, the hero of New Orleans. John C Calhoun was a candidate at one time, but contented himself with an election to the Vice Presidency. There were no great political issues at stake and each candidate had his personal and local following. Jackson received ninety-nine votes; Adams, eighty-four; Crawford, forty-one, and Clay, thirty-seven. As no candidate had received a majority of the votes in the electoral college, it devolved upon the House of Representatives to choose a President from the three highest on the list. Clay was thus left out, and the House proceeded to ballot on the other three names. Adams was elected by the influence of Clay, much to the chagrin of Jackson and his friends. A short time after, he appointed Clay Secretary of State, and it was promptly charged that Clay had sold his influence to Adams for a position in the Cabinet. There was a great deal of talk of a "corrupt bargain" between the two men, but it is fair to say that both Adams and Clay denied the charge, and that no evidence has ever been produced to sustain it.

338 Death of Monroe, 1831. — Monroe was sixty-seven years of age when he laid down the cares of his office. He lived for six years after his retirement, and died on the 4th of July, 1831, in New York. He was buried there with honors befitting an ex-President of the United States. In 1858, the one hundredth anniversary of his birth, his ashes were removed to Richmond with military honors, and there buried in the soil of his native state.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1801-1809 Jefferson's Administrations.
- 1803. Louisiana Purchase.

FACTS AND DATES (Continued)

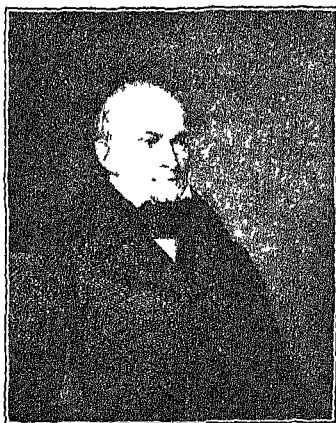
- 1769 Steam Engine Invented
- 1807 First Successful Steamboat (Fulton's).
- 1807. Embargo Act
- 1806-1807 Burr Conspiracy.
- 1808 Slave Trade Abolished
- 1809-1817 Madison's Administrations.
- 1812-1814 Second War with Great Britain.
- 1814 Hartford Convention
- 1816 First Protective Tariff Act
- 1817-1825 Monroe's Administrations.
- 1819 Purchase of Florida.
- 1823 Monroe Doctrine.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND ADAMS

1825-1829

339. John Quincy Adams seemed an Ideal President in 1825. — When John Quincy Adams became President of the United States in 1825, he seemed the ideal man for the place. He was well-educated, honest, and fearless, he had had a large and successful experience in public affairs as foreign minister, United States senator, and Cabinet member, and had shown himself to be a broad-minded man of untiring industry. He was "a knight without fear and without reproach," and it is safe to say that no other man in America in 1825 possessed, in an equal degree, the characteristics of an ideal President. Yet his administration was, *in some respects*, a disappointment. He was bitterly opposed by personal and political enemies, and was defeated for reelection in 1828.



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The "Old Man Eloquent" was born in Massachusetts in 1767, and died in Washington, D C, in 1848. He studied at the University of Leyden, and was graduated from Harvard. He soon became a distinguished lawyer and statesman. For three years he was a professor in Harvard, and at one time or another he held almost all of the great offices in the United States. He was an excellent writer in both prose and verse.

340. Internal Improvements were much Discussed. — There had been a growing demand for some time for the construction of roads and the improvement of waterways, but some doubted

the power of Congress, under the Constitution, to appropriate money for these purposes. Every one was in favor of better transportation facilities, but many believed that the improvements should be made by the states or by private enterprise. The recent westward expansion had strengthened this demand for roads and canals. Sums of money had been appropriated by Congress for the purpose from time to time, but Madison and Monroe had used the veto power to keep such appropriations within bounds.

Adams, however, was more friendly to such expenditures, and in his inaugural address he advocated the building of roads and canals by the general government. Clay was of the same mind, but Calhoun, who favored the idea in 1816, had come to the conclusion in 1822 that Congress did not have the power to use the public money in this way. During the administration of Adams \$2,310,000 were appropriated by Congress for internal improvements. There was much opposition, however, and the policy did not grow in favor.

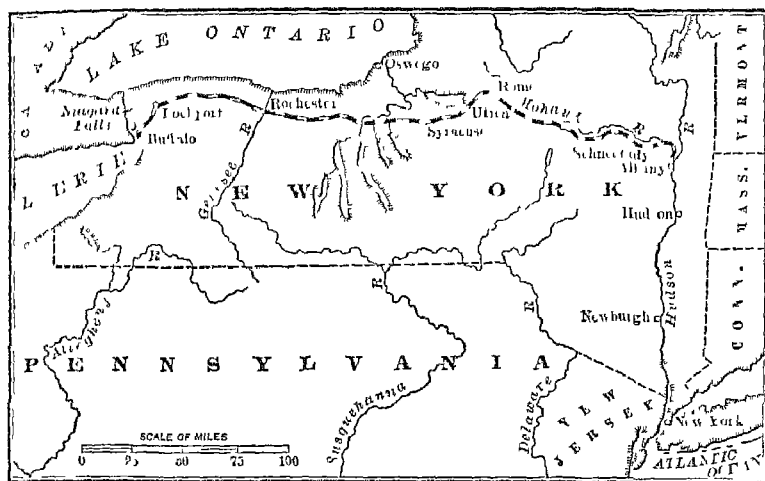
Adams and Clay advocated internal improvements at national expense.

341 The Erie Canal, 1825, helped to open up the West. — In the meantime the various states were making improvements on their own account. The most notable of these was the construction of the Erie Canal by the state of New York. This important waterway extended from Buffalo to Albany, and "reduced transportation charges to a little over one tenth their former figures." It was finished in 1825 and aided wonderfully in the development of the West. It is still an important highway of commerce.

342. The Removal of the Creeks and Cherokees. — In 1827 and 1828 the enemies of Adams in Congress took occasion to humiliate him before the people. The people of Georgia were trying to remove the Creek and Cherokee Indians from their state in order to secure the land in the Indian reservations. President Adams objected and attempted to protect the Indians in their rights. The result was an open conflict between the

Congress did not support the President in his contest with Georgia.

governor of Georgia and the President of the United States. Although the position which Adams had taken was the correct one, Congress refused to support him, and Governor Troup of Georgia successfully defied the authority of the national government.



THE ERIE CANAL, 1825

The most important waterway of its kind in the United States. It was commenced in 1817 and finished eight years later. It was due to the energy of Governor De Witt Clinton of New York that the canal was pushed across the state from Albany and Troy to Buffalo, a distance of three hundred and sixty-three miles, a large part of it through a dense wilderness. The value of property along the line of the canal has greatly increased, and the state has received a large revenue from tolls.

343 The Tariff Act of 1828. — The Tariff Act of 1828 also tended to make President Adams unpopular in some quarters. There was a demand on the part of the manufacturers for still greater protection, and a new tariff bill was framed. The lines were now quite clearly drawn in regard to the protective policy. Manufacturing had come to be the most important industry in New England, hence that section was in favor of the protective

The North favored the protective tariff, while the South opposed it.

tariff In the South, on the other hand, there were very few factories, and the people opposed the tariff because it made them pay more for the manufactured goods which they bought

The tariff bill of 1828, however, was not discussed and passed on its merits. It has been well called "the tariff of abominations" The bill was not carefully drawn, and it raised the duties on some articles to a ridiculously high figure.

The tariff of 1828 levied very high duties.

The duty on wool, for example, was raised from thirty per cent to about seventy per cent The bill passed

both houses of Congress and was signed by President Adams on May 24, 1828. The measure did not represent the sober judgment of the people of the United States It was intended to embarrass the President, and to help to defeat him for reelection. John Randolph was not far wrong when he said, "The bill referred to manufactures of no sort or kind except the manufacture of a President of the United States." In the light of these facts it is not easy to

Adams made a mistake in signing the "tariff of abominations."

see why President Adams signed the bill at all. A partial explanation may be found in the fact that he was in favor of the American or protective system, and believed that the measure of 1828 was better than nothing It was also hoped that the act would be so

amended as to remove some of the "abominations." This was afterward done.

Five Southern states at once protested against the act, and John C. Calhoun became the spokesman of the opposition. He

Calhoun protested against this tariff.

was very decided in his views. He even went so far as to advise South Carolina to declare the act "null and void within the limits of the state" He would thus defy the authority of the federal government.

The ghost of the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions seemed to be reappearing, and Webster expressed the opinion that a new confederacy would be formed in the South.

344. The Election of 1828. — Adams was not seated in the Presidential chair before preparations were being made for the election of 1828. His administration was simply "a long-

drawn Presidential campaign " Jackson and his friends held that he was the choice of the people for the Presidency in 1824, but that he was beaten out of the office by underhanded work. They therefore planned revenge. There were no great political principles at stake, but "Adams men" were pitted against "Jackson men." Adams was an honest, able, and high-minded man, but his opponents availed themselves of every opportunity to bring him into disfavor. The issue was largely a personal one between the two men. There was much talk of the tariff and internal improvements as campaign issues, but no one really knew what Jackson thought in regard to either, and no one seemed to care. "Hurrah for Jackson" and "Turn the rascals out" were the effective war cries in 1828.

The contest between Adams and Jackson was a personal one

The Adams administration, however, was not free from fault. The President had signed the worst tariff measure ever framed in the United States, and he had not managed our foreign affairs with success. Then, too, his Cabinet appointments were not strong. Clay, as Secretary of State, was an able man. He was a genuine American and a captivating orator. This "lion-hearted knight" of American statesmen swayed his audiences with a "voice as winning as the sirens' song." Yet the appointment of Clay gave rise, as we have seen, to much adverse criticism. Aside from Clay, William Wirt was the only man in the Cabinet of first-rate ability.

Adams made some mistakes.

Then again the personality of Jackson must be taken into account. "Old Hickory," as he was affectionately called, was absolutely honest and upright in all his dealings. He may have lacked refinement, but no one ever questioned his integrity. He represented also a new force in American politics. Up to this time the Presidents had been chosen from the old aristocratic states,—from Virginia and Massachusetts. They represented the culture and refinement of the seaboard. Jackson, the rough-and-ready son of the West, represented a new element. He was the exponent of that Western democracy which was destined to over-

Jackson was crude but honest.

whelm the aristocracy of the East. It was upon this rising tide that Andrew Jackson rode into office in 1828.

We noted the disappearance of political parties during Monroe's Presidency. In the time of Adams party lines were drawn anew. The followers of Clay and Adams called themselves "National Republicans," while the Jackson men were known as the "Democratic Republicans" and later as the "Democrats." The National Republicans may be looked upon, in a general way, as the descendants of the Federalist party, while the Democratic Republicans represent the party of Jefferson.

Jackson carried the West and South, and was elected over Adams by a vote of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-three. The popular vote showed a closer contest. Jackson had six hundred and fifty thousand votes against five hundred thousand for Adams.

345 Adams ends his Days in the House of Representatives — Soon after retiring from the Presidency, Adams was elected a member of the House of Representatives from Massachusetts (§ 392). He held this position until the time of his death, and became known as "the old man eloquent" and as a fearless champion of antislavery petitions. He was stricken with his last illness while attending a session of the House, on February 21, 1848. "The stern old fighter lay dying almost on the very field of so many battles and in the very tracks in which he had so often stood erect and unconquerable, taking and dealing so many mighty blows." He passed away two days later, and lies buried "under the portal of the church at Quincy."

FACTS AND DATES

- 1825-1829. John Quincy Adams's Administration.
- 1825. Completion of Erie Canal.
- 1828. Tariff of Abominations.

CHAPTER XXV

THE JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

1829-1841

346. A New National Era begins with Jackson's Administration.— In taking up our study of the administration of Andrew Jackson, we are brought face to face with a new era in American history. The colonial days had passed, and the national period was in reality just beginning. This was true, as we shall soon see, not only in politics and government, but in commerce and industry as well.

We noted in the last chapter that a new force had appeared in American politics. In the election of 1828 the democratic spirit of the West and South had triumphed over the aristocracy of the East. It was felt that the "plain people" had at last come into possession of the government. This rise of the common people made many changes—some good and some bad—in the government of the United States.

The West had triumphed over the East.

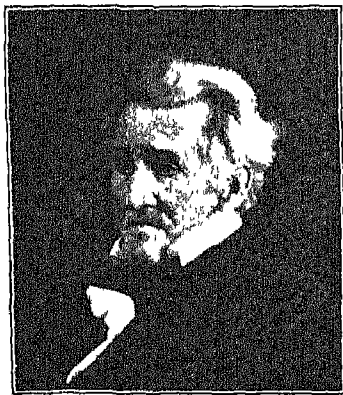
The older statesmen who had been associated with the formation of the Constitution and the beginning of the government had now, for the most part, passed away. Washington, Hamilton, John Adams, and Jefferson were dead. Madison, Monroe, and Gallatin were still living, but no longer took an active part in politics. Chief Justice John Marshall was the only statesman of the old school who remained in office, and he, too, was destined soon to pass off the scene. The leading men of the new era were Andrew Jackson, the frontier statesman; Martin Van Buren, the polished

The statesmen of the Constitution had passed away, and Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Van Buren, and Webster were the men of the hour.

gentleman and shrewd politician, Henry Clay, the father of the American protective system, and John C. Calhoun, and Daniel Webster, the great expounders of the Constitution.

In this new era national questions took the place of colonial ones. The tariff, the ²United States Bank, the ³Indians, internal improvements, and, above all, the ⁴slavery question were soon to absorb the attention of the nation.

347 The "Spoils System" originated in Jackson's Time —



ANDREW JACKSON.

"The Hero of New Orleans" was born in North Carolina in 1767. He fought in the Revolution when he was fourteen years of age. Later he became a lawyer. He served in the House and Senate, and became famous as a frontier soldier. He was President for two terms. He died in 1845.

The new era also brought new political methods. The so-called "Spoils System" originated at this time. Before Jackson's administration, faithful and capable men were kept in office, for the most part, without regard to the political party to which they belonged. Jackson and his friends, however, introduced a new order of things. They looked upon the officeholders of 1828 as dishonest men, and proceeded to "turn the rascals out." Jackson also wished to give the offices to his political and personal friends in return for their services. He therefore proceeded to "reward his friends and punish his enemies" with a vengeance. He believed in the doctrine that "to the victors belong the spoils," and thought, no doubt, that he was improving the public service by making a "clean sweep." During the first year of his Presidency he removed over two thousand men from office and replaced them with his political friends. All of his predecessors in the Presidential office had removed only about one hundred and fifty men, and his immediate predecessor, John Quincy Adams, had removed only five, and even these were not removed for politi-

cal reasons "We give no reason for our removals," said Martin Van Buren, the new Secretary of State. Yet the reasons were evident. Said John Quincy Adams in his diary, "The appointments are exclusively of violent partisans, and every editor of a scurrilous and slanderous newspaper is provided for." It is only fair to say, however, that in making these wholesale removals Jackson was following a practice already begun in some of the states.

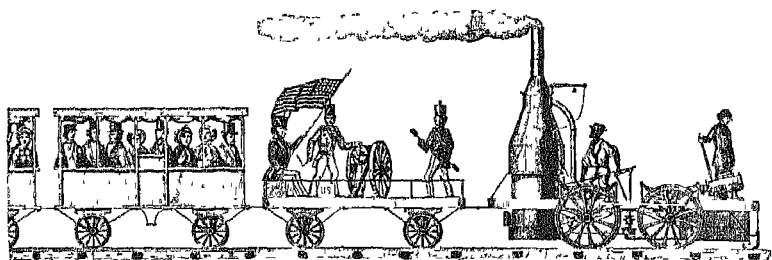
In making these appointments Jackson made many serious mistakes. In the first place, it is wrong in principle to remove capable men and experienced officers and to put inexperienced men in their places. It is not good business common sense. In the second place, in making the appointments, Jackson was compelled to rely largely upon the advice of his friends. He was deceived in too many instances and made some very bad appointments. The result was that a large number of frauds and scandals are connected with his administration, although he was himself absolutely honest. The scandals of Jackson's administration, however, are not the worst result of the Spoils System. The evil effects did not end with Jackson. They have continued, and exist to some extent at the present time. By introducing the Spoils System, Jackson and his friends injected a new element into American politics. Succeeding Presidents unfortunately followed Jackson's example, but in recent years our civil service laws have given some protection to the capable and honest officeholder. It no longer seems to us to be good policy to have a new set of officers every four years.

Jackson was not entirely to blame for the Spoils System.

348. **Restrictions on Voting were removed.** — Under the new democracy there was also a movement to increase the number of voters. In colonial times the right to vote was restricted for the most part to landholders and taxpayers. The tendency now was toward manhood suffrage. In 1837 New Jersey and Connecticut were the only Northern states which retained a property qualification for voting, and Ohio was the only Western

state to do so. In the South the restrictions had not been removed.

349. American Industries were revolutionized — The changes in our political life were far-reaching, but the industrial changes of the new era were no less important. The decade extending from 1830 to 1840 has been called the period of the "American Industrial Revolution." The chief cause of this industrial revolution was the application of steam power to manufacturing and transportation. Steam power was now taking the place of hand power and horse power on the highway as well as in the



"THE BEST FRIEND," THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE BUILT IN THE UNITED STATES FOR ACTUAL SERVICE ON A RAILROAD

This locomotive was doing actual service on the South Carolina Railroad, chiefly in constructing the road, in the latter part of 1830. The picture represents a trip which was made on the first anniversary of the commencement of the road. It was a gala day. According to the *Charleston Courier* of January 17, 1831, "A band of music enlivened the scene, and great hilarity and good-humor prevailed throughout the day."

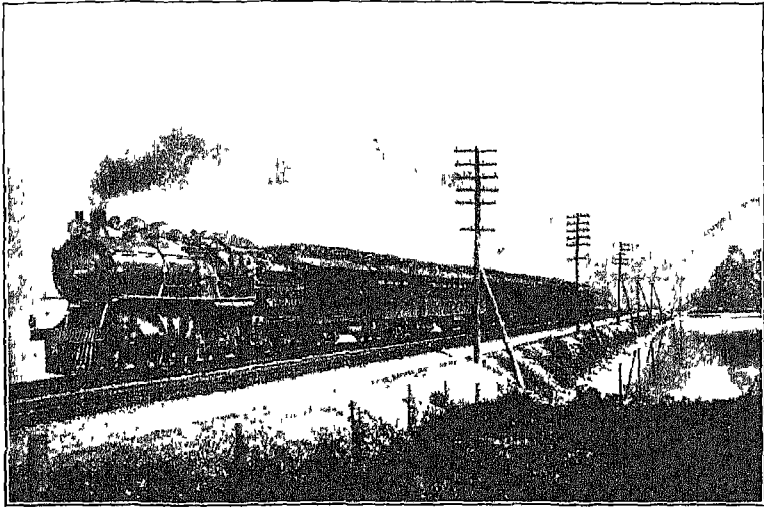
factory. A wonderful series of inventions were also being made at this time. Fulton had applied steam power to navigation as early as 1807, and the steamboat was being successfully used on the lakes and rivers. In 1814 George Stephenson, an Englishman, had invented the locomotive, but it did not come into use in the United States until 1829.

350. The Railroad appeared in 1829. — The railroad proved a mighty force in the development of the United States. It consolidated the country, thus making it easier to govern; it made it possible to transport agricultural and manufactured products from place to place; and it broadened men's minds and views

by bringing them into contact with the men and views of other localities. Travel always has an important educational effect.

On July 4, 1828, Charles Carroll of Maryland, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, drove the first spike of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and said that he considered it one of the most important events of his life. This was the first railroad in the United States built for freight and passengers. At first, horse

The Baltimore and Ohio road was the first in the United States.



FAST EXPRESS TRAIN OF TO-DAY

What a difference between this train, which runs about fifty miles an hour, and the train hauled by "The Best Friend" at the rate of about four miles an hour!

power was used, but in 1829 a Stephenson locomotive was imported from England. In 1832 seventy-three miles of the road were completed, and the iron horse was making fifteen miles per hour. In 1830 we had in the United States only twenty-three miles of railroad, but in 1840 there were almost three thousand miles. At the present time there are more than two hundred thousand miles of railway in the United States—more than in any other country.

351 Important Inventions were made — While the railroad was probably the most important, it was not the only great invention of this era. In 1838 ocean-going steamboats were successfully used, and the screw propeller was invented to take the place of the paddle wheel at about the same time. Anthracite coal was successfully used in the manufacture of iron and the production of steam, and powerful labor-saving machines, such as the steam hammer and the reaper, were invented. The friction match also, a humble but important invention, dates from this period. In fact, the inventions of this era were so numerous and so important that the patent office at Washington was made a separate bureau in 1836. Corporations, monopolies, and labor organizations sprang up as a result of this industrial activity.

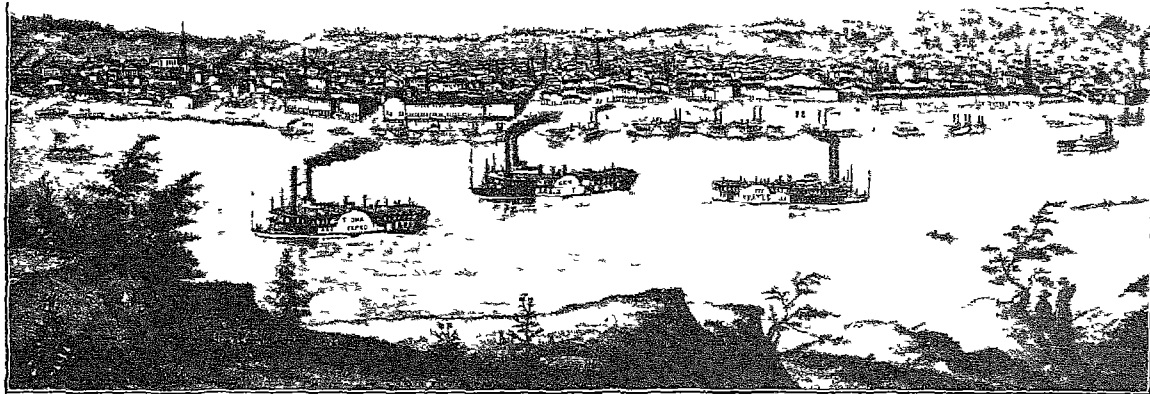
352. The South did not prosper as the North and West did. — It should be noted here that the South did not share to any great extent in this industrial prosperity. The application of steam power did not revolutionize matters in that locality. The South was an agricultural section. It could never make much progress in manufacturing while it depended upon slave labor. The railroad, it is true, aided in the advancement of the South, but not to the extent that it did of the North and West.

353 Population. — The population of the country increased from thirteen millions in 1830 to seventeen millions in 1840, but

the older states of the South had increased but little, if at all, in that time. The new Southern states had increased in population, and so had the states of the North, and the increase in the West was enormous.

Ohio had increased more than sixty per cent; Indiana had doubled her population, while that of Michigan had increased five hundred and seventy per cent. There was a vast emigration at this time from North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia to the new states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. These people, for the most part, were opposed to slavery, and were seeking homes in the free states.

354. A Remarkable Group of Writers appeared. — The new era was also accompanied by a new literature. The most tal-



CINCINNATI, ABOUT 1830

Cincinnati was one of the most important commercial centers in the West, and the steamboat was becoming an important factor in the commerce of the great rivers.

ented group of writers which the United States has ever produced appeared at this time. The writings of Hawthorne began to appear in 1828, those of Poe in 1829, and of Whittier in 1831. Longfellow began to publish in 1833, and Emerson and Holmes in 1836. The historical work of Bancroft began to appear in 1834 and Lowell's early poems in 1841. Prescott, the author of the delightful volumes on the conquests of Mexico and Peru, began at this time to write essays for the *North American Review*. The legal works of Kent and Story were appearing, Wheaton was writing on international law, Francis Lieber on politics, Henry C. Carey on political economy, and Asa Gray on botany. It was in 1838 also that James Smithson founded the now famous Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

Carlyle was right when he wrote to Emerson, "You are a new era, my man, in your huge country." There was a new era in the United States in government, industry, literature, and national spirit. In education, also, there was an awakening. Colleges were improved; high schools, academies, and grammar schools were increased in number and improved in quality of work done.

355. Jackson's Cabinet was not a Strong One — Jackson began his administration in his usual independent manner. He dominated the entire government. It was easy for him to do this, as his Cabinet was, with two exceptions, made up of very ordinary men. The ablest and the most influential man in the Cabinet was Martin Van Buren, the Secretary of State. Van Buren had just been elected governor of New York, and was a power in the politics of that important state. He was a man of refinement, a skilled politician, and a good manager of men, but hardly a great statesman. Aside from William Wirt of Virginia, Van Buren was the only man of ability and reputation in the Cabinet. This, however, was a matter of little importance to Jackson, as he rarely called a Cabinet meeting, but was accustomed to rely instead upon the advice of a few intimate friends, whom the newspapers of the time called his "Kitchen Cabinet." These men were shrewd political managers, but were politicians rather than statesmen.

356. Jackson's Programme. — Although the Democratic party had come into power without a definite platform, Jackson was not the kind of man whose views on public questions could long remain unknown. It soon became evident that the new President was in favor of a strict construction of the Constitution, and as a result of this view was opposed in general to internal improvements, the protective tariff, and the United States Bank. These three important matters absorbed a large part of his attention during his eight years of office.

357. The Tariff. — The recent industrial development of the country had made the tariff more important than ever before. Statesmen were now beginning to comprehend its far-reaching effects, and the different sections of the country were taking definite stands in regard to it. The tariff measure of 1816 was the first *protective* act in our history. All previous measures had been enacted for revenue primarily, and only incidentally for the protection of home industries. It was soon evident to the South that she was reaping no benefit from the Act of 1816. She had no manufactures to be protected, but was compelled by the tariff to pay a high price for the manufactured goods which she bought. From her point of view the Tariff Act of 1828 was still worse than that of 1816. Some of the

The South opposed the tariff.

rates in this case were ridiculously high, and the South protested. The total exports of the United States in 1829 amounted to fifty-five million dollars, and of this sum the South exported thirty-four million dollars in cotton, rice, and tobacco. Her interests, then, were almost exclusively agricultural, and she was not interested in protecting the factories of New England and the North. South Carolina was one of the most important agricultural states of the South, and became the leader in the opposition to the tariff. She was soon to take active steps in an attempt to prevent the tariff measure from going into effect

358. The Great Debate of 1830 — In January of 1830, while the tariff and nullification were being discussed, there took place the greatest debate in our annals. Senator Foot of Connecticut

had introduced a resolution in regard to the sale of public land and the debaters had wandered off into a discussion of the nature of the Constitution. Senator Hayne of South Carolina, in a brilliant speech, set forth the so called "compact theory." He insisted that the Constitution was a mere compact formed by sovereign states, and intimated that the states might withdraw from the compact whenever they saw fit to do so. He also held that a state could declare an act of Congress null and void in case such act seemed to be unconstitutional. This was the doctrine of nullification.

Hayne maintained the "compact theory" of the Constitution, Webster, the "national theory"



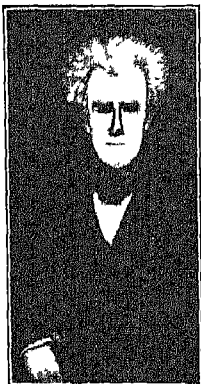
DANIEL WEBSTER

To these views Webster made reply in one of the greatest speeches ever delivered in the English language. He denied that the Constitution was a compact and insisted that the Union could not be dissolved. He denied the right of a state to secede from the Union or to nullify a law of Congress. He insisted that the government was a national one, and that the Supreme Court, and not the several states, was the final judge of the constitutionality of a law of Congress. This was the first clear and definite statement of the two opposing theories of the Constitution, — the "compact" and the "national," — but the matter was not finally settled until decided by the Civil War. By that contest the nation adopted the view of Webster.

Probably the greatest orator America has ever produced. Born in New Hampshire, 1782, he was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801. He studied law and became the leader of the Massachusetts bar. He was a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, and Secretary of State, and was known as the "Great Expounder of the Constitution." He delivered many notable orations on patriotic occasions. The one delivered on the laying of the corner stone of Bunker Hill Monument is one of his best. He died in Massachusetts, in 1852.

359 John C Calhoun and South Carolina sought to nullify a law

of Congress, 1830. — A sentiment in favor of nullification was stirred up in the South under the leadership of South Carolina and John C. Calhoun. It was held that any law passed by Congress might be declared null and void by any state, in case the state considered the law unconstitutional. This doctrine



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

The great expounder of the Constitution from the standpoint of the South was born in South Carolina in 1782, and died in Washington, D.C., in 1850. He was graduated from Yale College and soon became an eminent lawyer. He was a member of the House, the Senate, the Cabinet, and Vice President of the United States. He was a forceful writer and a good speaker.

was making some headway, and its adherents hoped to enlist the support of the President. In this they were doomed to disappointment. On April 13, 1830, they received a serious set-back. On that date a number of Democratic leaders had met at a banquet to celebrate the birthday of Jefferson, the founder of the party. Several of the speakers declared themselves in favor of state sovereignty and approved the doctrine of nullification. President Jackson was not slow to grasp the trend of events, and when it came his turn to speak he boldly announced as his toast: "Our Federal Union: it must be preserved."

Jackson declared against nullification.

This staggered the nullifiers. It was plain to all that the President would not allow any state to resist the laws of the United States. It was plain, too, that Jackson was not a man to be trifled with. To a member of Congress from South Carolina who asked him if he had any commands for his friends in that state, he replied: "Yes, I have, please give my compliments to my friends in your state, and say to them that if a single drop of blood shall be shed there

in opposition to the laws of the United States, I will hang the first man I can lay my hand on engaged in such treasonable conduct, upon the first tree I can reach." There was no doubt as to where the President stood, and in his bold and patriotic stand he did a magnificent service for the Union.

South Carolina and the other Southern states, however,

should not be blamed too much because of their nullification sentiments. The fact is that New England was as blameworthy and unpatriotic in the Hartford Convention matter in 1814 as South Carolina was in regard to nullification in 1832. Nullification had been advocated in many states, North as well as South, before 1832. It must be remembered also that the doctrine was not so odious in 1832 as it has since become. The times have changed. There was not so much national spirit and sentiment in Jackson's time as there was in Lincoln's. The national spirit and love for the national government were matters of slow growth. The preservation of the Union would have been vastly more difficult in the time of Jackson than it was thirty years later. Webster's splendid speech and Jackson's patriotic utterance in regard to nullification did much toward developing this national spirit.

The "nullifiers" were not all in the South.

360. Tariff of 1832.—The trouble, however, was not over. The people were not satisfied with the "tariff of abominations" and insisted upon a change. It came in 1832. The new measure abolished the "abominations," for the most part, and was practically a return to the law of 1824. It was to go into effect on March 3, 1833.

361 South Carolina passed the Ordinance of Nullification, November 24, 1832.—The passage of this tariff act intensified the opposition of the South. It was now evident that the protective policy would not be abandoned. It was plain also that the South, and South Carolina in particular, would make an attempt to keep the law from going into effect. Calhoun took the matter up and made a forceful argument for nullification. The state acted upon his advice, and on November 24 a convention assembled at Columbia passed the now famous Ordinance of Nullification, which declared that the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were null and void within the limits of the state. The ordinance also prohibited citizens from paying duties under the laws after February 1. It also declared that in case the federal government should attempt to enforce the tariff laws in South Carolina, the state would withdraw from the Union.

362. Election of 1832. — Jackson in the meantime was not idle. Before South Carolina had passed her Nullification Ordinance the election of 1832 had been held. The United States Bank was the main political issue, the tariff was discussed to some extent, but the doctrine of nullification had not been fully developed. The personality of Jackson was, of course, the most important issue. He was the candidate of the Democrats, while the National Republicans nominated Henry Clay and the Anti-Masonic party, William Wirt of Virginia. Jackson was elected by an overwhelming majority. He received two hundred and nineteen votes to forty-nine for Clay.

363. Jackson secures the Passage of the "Force Bill," March 1, 1833 — The President looked upon his reelection as an approval of his policy by the people. He therefore continued his fight against nullification. When he saw that South Carolina would resist the laws of the United States, he sent instructions (November 6) to the collector of customs at the port of Charleston to collect all duties, and to use force in doing so, if necessary. After the ordinance of November 24 was published, he issued a proclamation in which he denounced nullification as contrary to the Constitution, and, he added significantly, "The laws of the United States must be executed."

In January, 1833, he asked Congress to pass a law enabling him to use the army and navy of the United States to protect the collectors of revenue. Congress did this, and the so-called "Force Bill" became a law on March 1, 1833.

South Carolina also made ready for the conflict. Hayne was elected governor of the state, and Calhoun was sent to the Senate in his place. Preparations were also made to put the state on a war footing. In the meantime, February 1, 1833, was awaited with much anxiety

South
Carolina
prepared
for war.

364. The Tariff was revised and Danger averted. — Just at the time when civil war seemed probable a very fortunate compromise was made which prevented trouble for the time. Henry Clay is known in American history as the "Great Compromiser,"

and at this critical time he did a very useful piece of work. At his suggestion Congress passed a law reducing the tariffs, which law was to go into effect on March 2, 1833, — one day before the tariff law of 1832 was to become effective. This appeased South Carolina, and on March 11 the Ordinance of Nullification was repealed. South Carolina had succeeded in getting the tariffs reduced, but she had not succeeded in getting the principle of nullification recognized.

365. Jackson killed the United States Bank — The United States Bank played an important part in Jackson's administration. The reader is already familiar with its establishment in 1791. It was chartered at that time for a period of twenty years. When the charter expired in 1811, it was not renewed and the bank was allowed to go out of existence for five years. In 1816 it was chartered for twenty years more. The bank was expected to furnish a sound and a uniform currency and to assist the government in the management of its finances.

There was from the beginning a wide difference of opinion in regard to the constitutionality of the bank. In 1819, however, the United States Supreme Court passed upon the question and declared the bank to be constitutional. President Jackson was not inclined to accept this decision, and looked upon the bank as the representative of the money power. Although its charter did not expire until 1836, Jackson began his attacks upon it in 1829, and followed them up persistently. Clay was friendly to the bank, and advised its managers to apply for a renewal of the charter in 1832. This they did, and the bill was passed in June of that year, but was promptly vetoed by Jackson, on the ground that the bank was "an unnecessary, useless, expensive, un-American monopoly."

Then came the campaign of 1832, in the course of which the bank threw its influence against Jackson. It also used money, but not in a corrupt way, to defeat the President. This Jackson could not tolerate, so he dealt the bank another serious blow. He ordered that no further deposits of United States funds should be made in the bank. Certain state banks, later known

as "pet banks," were selected as the depositories of the money of the United States. For this action President Jackson was criticised very severely. The Senate, under the leadership of Clay and Webster, passed a resolution of censure, which Thomas H. Benton, after a long and persistent effort, succeeded in having erased or "expunged."

366. Jackson's Policy led to Bad Banking. — Jackson's financial policy led to serious difficulties. When he withdrew the deposits of the government from the United States Bank, he distributed them among a number of state banks in the South and West which were owned by his political supporters. There was a scramble to secure the funds, and charters were freely given to new banks. Hundreds of them had no capital at all, yet they issued notes and received deposits. The result was that the banking business was based upon a very shaky foundation. Jackson saw that there was trouble ahead, since the government was receiving its revenue in depreciated bank notes. In 1836 the sales of public land amounted to twenty-five million dollars, and the treasury was flooded with this depreciated paper money. Consequently, on July 11, 1836, Jackson issued his famous "Specie Circular," which directed that nothing but gold and silver should be taken in payment for public lands. This measure and the removal of the deposits were the personal acts of the President. They did much toward bringing on the financial panic, or crisis, of 1837, but were by no means the sole cause of it. The people were trying to get rich rapidly by wild speculation.

367. Jackson was successful in his Management of Foreign Affairs. — While the financial affairs of Jackson's administration were not wholly successful, the foreign affairs were handled with great skill. Jackson's methods were honest and direct, and his Secretary of State was skilled in diplomacy and expert in the management of men.

When the colonies became independent, they naturally lost the privilege of trading with the English West Indies. This privilege the Americans were very anxious to regain. Jackson

accordingly sent a representative to England to say that the United States would repeal her laws against British commerce in case Great Britain would allow the United States to trade with the West Indies. Britain agreed, and the affair was closed in 1830.

At about the same time Jackson pressed the French "Spoliation Claims" — claims for money due to the United States for depredations on American commerce. A change in the government of France brought a new king to the throne in 1830, and he recognized the claims as just and promised to pay five million dollars to the United States, which was done in 1835. The payment of other claims was also secured by Jackson, and the power of the United States was recognized. These diplomatic triumphs added to the reputation of the President, and rightly so.

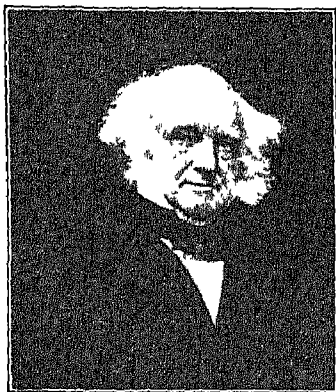
368 Van Buren was elected to succeed Jackson, 1836. — The opposition to Jackson was reorganized in 1834. At that time the National Republican party disappeared and was succeeded by the Whigs. Martin Van Buren was Jackson's favorite, and he was accordingly nominated by the Democrats for the Presidency. The Whigs nominated William Henry Harrison, "the hero of Tippecanoe." Van Buren was elected by a vote of one hundred and seventy to seventy-three. His majority of the popular vote was only twenty-five thousand.

The mantle of Jackson fittingly fell upon the shoulders of Van Buren. Van Buren had been an ardent supporter of Jackson's policy for years, and now after his election promised to follow in the footsteps of his former chief.

MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1837-1841

369. The Panic came in 1837 and Prices rose enormously. — The administration of Van Buren may be looked upon as a continuation of that of Jackson. In financial matters things were in a bad way. The crash soon came. The wild speculation, the worthless paper money, and Jackson's financial measures brought on the panic of 1837 — the worst the United

States has ever seen. Banks and business houses were failing on every hand, and prices of the necessities of life reached ridiculously high figures. Flour went from four dollars per barrel, in 1834, to eleven dollars, in 1837, while corn rose from fifty-three cents to one dollar and fifteen cents a bushel. Poor people



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Van Buren was born in New York in 1782, and became an eminent lawyer and skilful politician. He was senator, governor of New York, Secretary of State, and President for one term. He died in 1862.

found it very difficult to live, and bread riots prevailed in New York. In this emergency the President called an extra session of Congress to meet in September, but the leaders had no remedies to offer. Calhoun said that the financial condition of the country was "almost incurably bad" and that an "explosion" was sure to come.

370. Better Banking Laws were enacted — It was plain that the country was doomed to suffer for the folly of insane speculation and unwise financial management, yet there were some things which could be done to improve matters

In the first place, steps were taken by the states to regulate banking. New York passed a law in 1838 which resembled in some respects our present excellent National Banking Law. Under this law banks could no longer issue notes without giving security for their redemption. This was a step in the right direction. The days of unregulated banking were evidently numbered.

371. Independent Treasury Act, July 4, 1840. — Congress also took steps to protect the funds of the United States by passing the Independent Treasury Act of July 4, 1840. This act provided that vaults and safes should be constructed for the funds of the United States in order that the government might be independent of the banks. It was provided that the officers of the government should give bonds, and "that after June 30,

1843, all payments to or by the United States should be in gold or silver exclusively." This Independent Treasury plan was repealed soon after, but was later reenacted and is in existence to-day.

372 The Election of 1840 — The difficulties which Van Buren had inherited from the Jackson administration had an important bearing upon the election of 1840. The spoils system had led to scandals, and Van Buren was blamed for them. He was looked upon as the man who had imported the system from New York. The finances had been badly managed, and again Van Buren was held accountable. His popularity decreased. "The country had made up its mind that he was a small, selfish, incapable politician, and it judged him accordingly." As a matter of fact a great injustice was done him. He was really a very capable man, and would have given the country a good administration under more favorable circumstances.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

The "Hero of Tippecanoe" was born in Virginia, 1773. He was a student at Hampden-Sidney College, and later a soldier. He was the first governor of Indiana Territory, a member of the House of Representatives, a senator, and for one month President of the United States. He died at Washington, D C, April 4, 1841.

The Democrats nominated Van Buren and the Whigs chose William Henry Harrison. After a picturesque and exciting campaign, Harrison was elected by a vote of two hundred and thirty-four to sixty. The issues of the campaign were not very distinctly drawn, but Harrison, the bold Indian fighter and frontiersman, with his associations of log cabins, coon skins, and hard cider, appealed powerfully to the imagination of the people. The Whigs sang —

Harrison
defeated
Van Buren
in a stir-
ring cam-
paign

" Farewell, dear Van,
You're not our man ;
To guard the ship
We'll try old Tip "

And they voted as they sang.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1829-1837 Jackson's Administrations
- 1829 First Railroad in the United States
- 1830. The Great Debate, Webster against Hayne.
- 1832. Nullification
- 1837-1841. Van Buren's Administration
- 1837 Panic.

CHAPTER XXVI

SLAVERY AND THE MISSOURI STRUGGLE

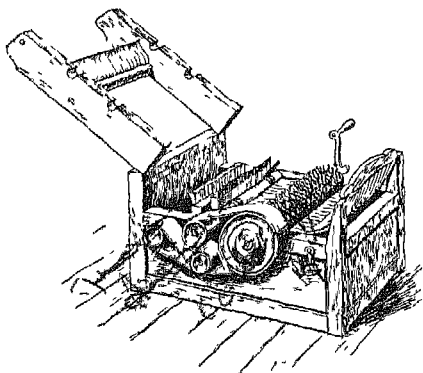
373. The Struggle over Slavery Extension begins. The greatest political struggle America ever experienced was over the extension of slavery. In this long struggle the first serious difference arose in 1820, when, for the first time since the adoption of the Constitution, the slavery question was brought prominently into national politics. This came about over the admission of Missouri, when a dispute over slavery extension arose that was destined finally to bring on secession and civil

When the Constitution was made in 1787, and for some time after, it seems to have been expected by both North and South that slavery would disappear; that as soon as the foreign slave trade was prohibited, as was done in 1808, and the supply of slaves was thus cut off, slavery would die a natural death. It was gradually disappearing in the Northern states. Leading Southern men, such as Washington, Jefferson, George Mason, and Patrick Henry, condemned the institution severely. They looked forward to its abolition and sought to prevent its extension.

But by 1820 conditions had changed. Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, a machine for separating the seed from the fiber of the cotton. This machine enabled one slave to do the work that hundreds had been required before. The result of this was that cotton culture increased greatly. Cotton raising became very profitable, and thousands of slave owners, in order to raise cotton, moved from the seaboard states to the virgin soil of the Southwest,—to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Negro

field hands rose in value; moral opposition was allayed, slavery was extended; and the social and economic life of the South was coming more and more to be built on the slavery system.

374 Slave States and Free are admitted Alternately to maintain the "Equilibrium." — There was another important aspect of the matter. Whether it was intended to be so or not, sla-



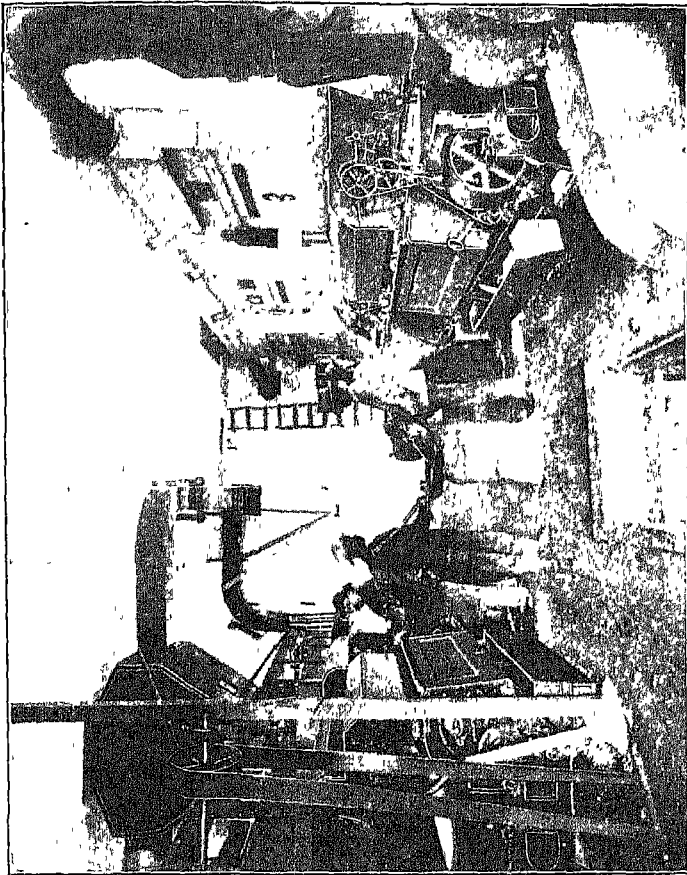
THE FIRST COTTON GIN (1793)

Its influence upon cotton growing and the history of the United States was tremendous. By hand a slave could separate the seeds from only about a pound of cotton fiber, but with the aid of the cotton gin he could separate about a thousand pounds in a day. Before the cotton can be made into cloth the seeds must be taken out.

the slave states had only eighty-one, and since the North was thus seen to be increasing more rapidly than the South in population and wealth, the only hope of the South in maintaining the "equilibrium of power" was to keep an even balance in the Senate where each state had equal weight with every other. [They came to consider a *balance* between the sections as necessary to the Union.

375. Louisiana Territory comes to the United States with Slavery already Established. — This sectional rivalry for political power had been suggested at the time of the admission of Louisiana, the first state admitted from the Louisiana Ter-

states and free states had been admitted into the Union alternately since the adoption of the Constitution. By 1819 the balance was even between the slave states and the free. Missouri was ready to apply for admission. The preservation of the *political balance*, of the *equilibrium of political power*, had now become a fixed and positive principle with the South. By 1820 the free states had one hundred and five members of Congress while



A MODERN COTTON GIN

Cotton planters no longer gin their cotton with little gins of their own, but mills are established at railroad centers to do the ginning for the neighborhood. A modern cotton-ginning establishment contains, besides the gin, the telescope, the elevator, the exhaust fan, the feeder, the seed conveyer, the flue, the condenser, and the press. The machine which separates the fibers from the seed is the gin. All the other machines in the gin mill, except the engine and the boiler, are intended to get the seed cotton to the gin or to take care of the lint and seeds after they leave the gin. The three essential elements of Whitney's gin — the saws, ribs, and brush — are still retained, but the steam roller gin has increased the capacity many times.

chase. Missouri was a part of this purchase, made by Jefferson in 1803. Slaves were property by the French law of Louisiana at that time. Congress did not attempt to change this local law, or to abolish slavery in Louisiana, but recognized its existence there by providing that masters from slave states might bring their slaves into that territory (New Orleans Act, 1804). Under this law masters moved with their slaves into Louisiana and Missouri, and it thus appears that slavery was sanctioned, or recognized, in these territories by national authority

376. New England opposes the Admission of States from the New Territory — In 1812 Louisiana was admitted to the Union as a slave state without any controversy over slavery. Its admission, however, was stoutly opposed by some people from the New England states; and Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts hotly denounced the act. He said it would justify revolution and secession, and would virtually dissolve the Union, that the other states would then be "free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare for separation, amicably if they can, forcibly if they must."

Secession
and state
rights ad-
vocated in
New Eng-
land

But this was not because Quincy was opposed to slavery, or because Louisiana was coming in as a slave state, but because it was made from territory outside of the original boundary of the Union, and because, as Quincy said, Congress "was not authorized to admit new partners to a share of political power." (That is, the New England states wished to retain their original share of political power, and they saw that if the vast territory of Louisiana were to be carved up and admitted as new states on an equal footing with the other states, political power would surely pass from the North and East to the South and West.) Quincy spoke of the Constitution as a "compact" and of the Union as a "partnership," and he did not wish to admit as equals in political power states made up of "Spaniards, French, Creoles, mulattoes, negroes, and other mongrel races and wild men of the West," as he

expressed it. He seems not to have been greatly concerned about the evils of slavery; but he did not want the slave section to add to its sectional power.

377. The North objects to admitting Missouri as a Slave State.

— But in 1819, when Missouri, the second state made out of the Louisiana Purchase, applied for admission, the opposition to its coming in was made to rest entirely on slavery. Slavery had been allowed to get a foothold in Missouri. If left to itself that state was sure to come in as a slave state. This would identify it, in interests and politics, with the South, and another important precedent would be set for slavery extension and the extension of the political power that went with slavery.

Men from the North now said that no more slave states should be admitted. Two motives led them to take this stand, one moral, the other political. But both motives rested on opposition to the extension of slavery. In the first place, Northern men had come to realize more fully the wrongs of slavery and the dangers of its extension. They believed that slavery was a great moral evil, a blight to a new land worse than poisonous weeds or famine or pestilence. They thought it to be their duty to save the new territories and future states from this great evil. They had supposed slavery was to die out, but they now awoke to the fact that the slave system had already been extended far beyond what was originally intended. They wished to reserve the new territories for free immigration, and while they felt that the people of the free states might have acted sooner, they thought the time had now come to take a stand, to make sure that the rest of the Louisiana territory should be reserved for free soil and for free labor, just as the Northwest Territory had been dedicated to freedom by the great Ordinance of 1787.

In the second place, those who said that Missouri should not come in as a slave state were influenced partly by the political motives of Quincy. They did not wish to see an increase of political power in the states of the Southwest, especially, the power which they had in the national government on account

The North
had two
motives—
one moral,
the other
political

of their slaves Political power—votes in Congress and the electoral college—was allotted to every slave state for three fifths of its slaves Here was the big bone of contention. The Southern men felt that this explained the opposition to Missouri, and that the proposal to keep her out on account of the moral evils of slavery was only pretense and hypocrisy. They said it was *power* the North was contending for, and that the free states were seeking to deprive the South of her fair share of political power guaranteed in the Constitution

In distributing political power among the states, Northern people very much disliked allowing representation for three fifths of the slaves. In 1819 the House of Representatives consisted of 181 members, one member for every 35,000 of the population. There were 1,191,000 slaves. These slaves gave the slave states 20 representatives and 20 presidential electors more than they would be entitled to if the slaves were not counted.

The North said that to extend the "three-fifths compromise" would be unfair.

By the census of 1810 Virginia contained 582,000 free persons and 392,000 slaves. A free state with 582,000 persons would be allowed to elect 16 representatives to Congress, while Virginia, by counting three fifths of her slaves, was allowed to elect 23 representatives. Thus, 35,000 free persons were needed to elect a member of Congress in a free state, while 25,000 might do so in Virginia, or 5 white men in Virginia were given as much power as 7 in Pennsylvania or Ohio

It was felt by the free-state men that this system was unjust, that it gave more power to the slave states than they were justly entitled to, and every new slave state admitted only added to the injustice. This arrangement, they admitted, had been agreed upon as one of the original compromises of the Constitution, but this had

It was agreed to only for the original states

been done very reluctantly by the free states in 1787, and was made only for the original states and the territories they then held, and because it was thought to be a necessary sacrifice to secure the adoption of the Constitution. Good faith and honor were pledged not to disturb the agreement of 1787 so far as the

original slave states were concerned, but to extend this disproportionate power to an indefinite number of new states would be unjust and odious. Thus we see the North was aroused to resist the extension of slavery both from a moral duty and from a sense of political right and self-interest.

The Southern leaders stood up for their rights as they understood them. They said it would be unconstitutional for Congress to impose such a condition on Missouri, that originally, the states were allowed to decide for themselves whether they would have slavery or not; that this was a Union of equal states, and if Missouri were not allowed to decide this question for herself, as Virginia and Massachusetts had done, she would not be equal in rights with the other states, and the character of the Union would be changed. They recognized that Congress could arbitrarily refuse to admit Missouri, but if Congress admitted her it must be without any degrading conditions and as equal to the other states in her right to determine her own "domestic institutions."

378. How a Territory becomes a State.—In March, 1818, Missouri petitioned for statehood. An "enabling act" was proposed, authorizing the people of the Missouri territory to hold a convention to form a state constitution in preparation for admission. This is the way a territory is made into a state. On February 13, 1819, Mr. Tallmadge of New York proposed an amendment to this "enabling act," providing that Missouri should be admitted only on condition that slavery should be gradually abolished there. No new slaves should be brought in and slave children born after the admission of the state should be free at the age of twenty-five. The Tallmadge Amendment passed the House, but it was rejected in the Senate, and Congress adjourned on March 4, 1819, with the two houses in a "deadlock" on this subject.

379. Missouri is made a "Rider" to Maine—During the summer of 1819 the whole country was greatly agitated over slavery in Missouri. In December, 1819, Maine applied for admission. No "enabling act" of Congress was necessary in

A "dead-
lock"
over the
Tallmadge
Amend-
ment.

the case of Maine, because Maine was a part of Massachusetts, and it had adopted a constitution by the consent of Massachusetts. The House of Representatives readily consented to admit Maine, but in the Senate the Missouri bill (admitting Missouri as a slave state) was attached as a "rider" to the Maine bill. This was done for the purpose of overcoming the opposition in the House to the admission of Missouri. By the use of the "rider" Missouri was to ride in on the back of Maine, or the two states were to come in or stay out together.

380. The Missouri Compromise — Both sides stood out firmly, and the two houses were again in a deadlock. One side controlled the Senate, the other the House. A compromise was necessary. Under such circumstances a "conference committee" is appointed, consisting of a committee from each house, who meet together and try to come to an agreement which will be accepted by both houses. The compromise provided by this committee was based on a proposal of Senator Thomas of Illinois. It provided (1) That Maine should be separated from Missouri and admitted free. (2) That Missouri should be admitted as a slave state. (3) That in all the rest of the Louisiana Territory ceded by France north of 36° 30', "slavery shall be and is hereby forever prohibited." This agreement was approved by both houses of Congress and adopted.

Such was the famous Missouri Compromise, the agreement in 1820 between the North and the South. The compromise is important in three aspects: 1. It recognized a sectional geographical division of the country. The old Mason and Dixon's line and the line of the Ohio River, separating the slave states from the free, was now extended to the western limits, and the sectional character of the slavery interest was thus recognized. It foretold a sectional struggle over slavery.

Why the compromise is important.

2. This compromise recognized the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories. A few years later this power was denied, and for years it was the leading issue in politics. The Compromise of 1820 was looked to as a very important

exercise of this power by Congress, to which President Monroe and his Cabinet (of which Calhoun was a member) gave their consent.

3. The Missouri struggle indicated a notable change in Southern sentiment on the slavery question. Formerly, Southern leaders had spoken out against slavery. But now a growing slave interest had evidently produced a sentiment in support of slavery that was determined to insist upon the protection of slavery by the federal government.¹

¹ After the agreement we have described another struggle arose over Missouri. This was over the Missouri constitution, which required the state legislature to forbid free negroes or mulattoes from settling in that state. The antislavery men refused to admit Missouri under this constitution, and Missouri had to give a pledge that this provision would not be carried out. Clay's work in this last phase of the Missouri struggle gave rise to the subsequent error that he was the author of the Missouri Compromise. He said (February 6, 1850) that "nothing struck him with so much amazement as the fact that historical circumstances so soon passed out of recollection", and he instanced as a case in point the error of attributing to him the act of 1820. — JOHNSTON and WOODBURN'S "American Orations," Vol. III, p. 351.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE ABOLITION AGITATION

381. Garrison and the *Liberator* — After the excitement over the Missouri question, very little attention was given to the subject of slavery for ten years. But in 1831 William Lloyd Garrison, a young editor, established the *Liberator* in Boston. Garrison and Isaac Knapp were the publishers of this little sheet, which bore for its motto, "Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind." Garrison demanded "that the slaves be set free immediately, without paying the masters and without being taken out of the country." He denounced the Colonization Society, which had been organized in 1816 for the purpose of getting rid of the free blacks by taking them back to Africa. Garrison said this only helped the slaveholders to keep their slaves in bondage. The forerunner of Garrison in the cause of abolition was Benjamin Lundy, a New Jersey Quaker, who traveled all over the country on horseback and on foot, sacrificing his money and his time to arouse consciences everywhere against the sin and wrong of slavery.

382. The American Antislavery Society — In 1831 Garrison helped to organize the New England Antislavery Society; and two years later, in 1833, the American Antislavery Society was organized by Garrison, Whittier, Joshua Leavitt, Elizur Wright, Samuel J. May, Arthur Tappan, and others. The declaration of the principles of this society "constitutes one of the most important boundary marks in the history of the United States." This is so because, in the launching of the *Liberator* and in the organization of these Abolition societies, we find the beginning of *Abolitionism*, the greatest moral movement in our national history. It brought a new and powerful ^{Abolition-}ism. force into American politics, one destined within the next thirty

years to control public discussion, disrupt parties, and divide the Union.

The purpose of abolition was to put an end to slavery immediately, without paying the masters for their slaves. The abolitionists denounced slaveholding in unsparing terms, as a sin and crime and disgrace. They proposed to organize anti-slavery societies all over the land, to send forth agents to agitate; to circulate literature, to enlist the pulpit and the church; to spare no exertion or lawful means to destroy slavery. They pledged themselves to do all in their power to deliver their land from what they considered its deadliest curse, "no matter what may come to us in our persons, our interests, or our reputations, whether we live to witness the triumph of liberty and humanity or perish untimely as martyrs in this benevolent and holy cause"

Methods
of Abolitionists.

Here was uncompromising moral war declared on the labor system of the South. There could now be no more peace with slavery. The abolition agitation meant a state of war between the sections. Leaders on both sides believed that the slaveholding states of the South and the free states of the North would never be able to live in harmony after it began. Either abolitionism or slavery must be put down. "Union-savers" and "dough-faces" and "compromisers" on both sides might cry "Peace" and "Union," but no permanent peace or union could be had without removing the cause of the strife, that is, slavery

Abolitionists declare war on slavery.

383. The Slaveholders are aroused to defend Slavery. — Evidently, a struggle was coming. Slavery was going to be discussed, and the slaveholders saw that they had either to give up slavery or fight in its defense. They chose to fight. They replied with indignation and anger to what they considered the outrageous insult and injury of the abolition attacks. The governors of Georgia and Virginia called on the mayor of Boston to suppress the *Liberator*. Harrison Gray Otis, mayor of Boston, replied that no member of the city government, in Boston had ever heard of the *Liberator*, but that finally the

officers had "ferreted out the paper and its editor"; that Garrison's office "was an obscure hole, his only visible help a negro boy, and his supporters a few insignificant persons of all colors." James Russell Lowell made this the text of his poem, "To W. L. Garrison," beginning, —

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean;
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

The legislature of Georgia offered five thousand dollars to any person who would kidnap Garrison and secure his conviction under the laws of that state. The slave laws of the Southern states were strengthened; voluntary emancipation was restrained; the life of the free colored people in the South was made harder, demands were increased for the return of fugitive slaves; and Southern leaders instead of speaking of slavery as a social and political evil now came to defend slavery as a "positive good," as Calhoun put it. Governor McDuffie of South Carolina said: "Slavery is the most perfect system of political and social happiness that ever existed, instead of being a political evil, domestic slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice. The black man is designed by Providence for slavery. No human institution is more manifestly consistent with the will of God." Almost the entire South united to defend slavery.

"It is hardly to be wondered at that the slaveholders were indignant and angry at the abolition attacks. They had over a *billion dollars* invested in slaves. Their law had recognized slaves as property for two hundred years. They had inherited this property, had grown up with it, and all their contracts and customs and their whole system of society were based on it. They were proud and high-spirited, and it was not human nature meekly to submit and give up their property. And the abolitionists were attacking not only the property of the Southerners, but also their characters. The slaveholders were painted as oppressors.

The South was offended because the Abolitionists attacked the character of her citizens and proposed to destroy their property.

Abolition almanacs and papers were sent broadcast with pictures of the slave mother on the auction block being sold from her children, or of a slave being whipped at the stake or being branded with a hot iron, or of a black fugitive being pursued with guns and bloodhounds. The fact is, these were the exceptions and excesses in slavery. The great mass of the slaves were well-treated; their masters were kind to them and they were attached to their masters. The white people in the South felt that the blacks had to be cared for, that they were not capable of freedom, and that a horrible race war would result if the slaves were set free.

Southern defenders of slavery claimed that the condition of the blacks had been improved by their enslavement in America, that the slaves were better off than factory hands in the North, and they asserted that Southern slavery was no business of the Northern people and that they had no right to intermeddle or advise. The Southerners believed that emancipation could only lead to intermarriage of the races, which was abhorrent to all their feelings; or to a race conflict, which would certainly lead to the destruction of one race or the other. They had an awful dread of a slave insurrection, and they thought the Abolitionists, whether they intended it or not, were instigating the negroes to rise and slaughter their masters and desolate the homes of the whites.

384. **The Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831.** — In the same year that Garrison started his *Liberator*, the Nat Turner insurrection occurred at South Hampton, Virginia. Turner was a negro slave, a reader of the Bible, who stirred up the slaves against their masters. More than sixty whites, men, women, and children, and more than one hundred negroes, were killed before the insurrection was put down. This horrible affair threw the whole South into a state of intense excitement. No connection was ever shown to exist between this affair and the abolitionists, but the latter were blamed for it, and the slaveholders felt that their homes, their lives, and their whole social system were threatened. They demanded that the Abolitionists be put down

Southern
defense of
slavery in
answer to
the Abolitionists.

and their agitation suppressed, that then societies should be dispersed by law; and that speaking against slavery should be made a crime.

385 Northern People try to suppress Abolitionism by Violence. — The Northern states were not ready to go so far as this, but for a while the great body of the Northern people sympathized with the South. Some Northern communities turned on the Abolitionists and tried to suppress them by mob violence. Garrison and his followers were everywhere met with violence and abuse. Their meetings were broken up, their speakers were egged and stoned, and it seemed that free speech and free press were to be denied to them.

Prudence Crandall, a school teacher in Connecticut, had her school mobbed, and she was cast into prison because she admitted colored girls to her school. James G. Birney, a Southerner who had freed his slaves and become an Abolitionist, had his meetings broken up and his printing press destroyed and thrown into the Ohio River at Cincinnati. The Reverend Elijah P. Lovejoy, who was not an Abolitionist, but an antislavery man who wished to discuss the slavery question, was killed at Alton, Illinois, while defending his press against a pro-slavery mob. In Boston, George Thompson, an English Abolitionist, was announced to speak at a woman's abolition society, (Oct. 21, 1835). A public reward of one hundred dollars was offered to the "first man who should lay violent hands on the foreign scoundrel," that he might be brought to the tar kettle before dark. The mayor was unable to protect the meeting. The rioters shouted for Garrison, who endeavored to escape by a back door. Garrison was seized and was dragged through the streets of Boston amid a howling mob. It was with great difficulty that the mayor succeeded in getting him into a carriage, and lodged him in jail for safety.

Garrison
mobbed
and put
in prison.

The next day Garrison wrote on the walls of his cell: "William Lloyd Garrison was put in this cell, Wednesday, October 21, 1835, to save him from the violence of a respectable and influential mob, who sought to destroy him for preaching the abomi-

nable and dangerous doctrine that all men are created equal, and that all oppression is odious in the sight of God. Hail Columbia! Cheers for the Autocrat of Russia and the Sultan of Turkey! Reader, let this inscription remain until the last slave in this despotic land shall be loosed from his fetters."

✕386. William Ellery Channing defends the Abolitionists.— These persecutions of the Abolitionists raised up for them friends and defenders, as is usually the case in persecutions. When Birney was attacked in Cincinnati, William Ellery Channing, a noted minister in New England, and afterward one of the ablest writers in the antislavery cause, spoke out in defense of free speech. Channing stood for many antislavery men who were not originally Abolitionists, and he thought Garrison and his followers were immoderate and extreme in their demands.

Channing, like most Northern men, regarded slavery as "the calamity, not the crime of the South"; he believed the whole nation was responsible for the wrong, since New England slave dealers had carried and sold slaves to the South. Channing said that the whole nation should aid the Southern people in getting rid of their burden. He would sell the public lands and pay masters for their slaves, as Great Britain had paid one hundred million dollars to buy the slaves and to secure emancipation in the British West Indies, in 1833.

But when Channing saw the violent outrages heaped upon the Abolitionists he felt that the most sacred rights of freemen were being assailed and that in standing up stoutly for their liberty to think, and to speak, and to publish their thoughts, the brave antislavery men had won for themselves everlasting honor among the defenders of American liberty. ✕

387. Wendell Phillips the Abolition Orator.— The Garrison mob and the death of Lovejoy led Wendell Phillips, the greatest orator of his time, to give his talents to the cause of abolition. Phillips, like Channing, was highly educated, and his stirring addresses, like Channing's essays, did much to arouse people to oppose slavery.

In spite of all opposition the Abolitionists rapidly increased in

numbers By 1837 they had fifteen hundred societies with one hundred and fifty thousand members, and they were growing at the rate of one society a day. They were establishing able newspapers, and their agents worked with great zeal. Growth of abolitionism.

But in 1839-1840 there was a split in the abolition ranks. One group may be called the "Garrisonians," the other the "Liberty Party men" Garrison led the first group, who were the extreme Abolitionists They did not believe in voting, or in holding office, or in electing men to office, as a means of fighting slavery. They proposed to oppose slavery merely by moral weapons, and there were many other moral reforms that most of them were interested in. They denounced the Constitution They said, "No union with slaveholders." The "Garrisonians."

388. The Liberty Party. — The "Liberty Party men" believed in voting, organizing a political party, and nominating candidates for President and Vice President. They believed the Union ought to be preserved. They thought the fugitive slave clause of the Constitution was null and void because it violated the "higher law" of God. With that exception they could swear to support the Constitution, which they said was an instrument for the defense of liberty not of slavery. They said antislavery men ought to try to get control of the government and use all its power against slavery. They said slavery should be only sectional, or local, while freedom should be national. This party nominated James G. Birney for President in 1840, and polled seven thousand votes. So the abolition question could not be kept out of politics The "Liberty Party Men" and their principles

389 The South tried to exclude Abolition Papers from the Mails — Nor could the abolition struggle be kept out of Congress. As the Abolitionists had had to struggle in the country at large for freedom of speech and the freedom of the press, so now they had to face the government for freedom of petition and the freedom of the mails. At the Charleston (South Carolina) post office in 1835, antislavery papers were taken from the mails and burned. The postmaster-general, Amos Kendall,

recognized this as unlawful, but he did not condemn the act. President Jackson suggested to Congress the passage of a law that would prohibit, under severe penalties, "the circulation of incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection"; and Calhoun proposed a law prohibiting the circulation of any papers which any state might deem "incendiary."

The Abolitionists denied and resented the charge of President Jackson that they were seeking to arouse the slaves to insurrection, and insisted on their right to the use of the mails for their newspapers. Of course, postmasters could not be allowed to decide what literature was too dangerous to circulate in their neighborhoods; and it was impossible to adopt Calhoun's plan of allowing each state to decide what was "incendiary," and by whom and how far the mails should be used. So the attempt to deny to the Abolitionists the freedom of the mails came to nothing, except to draw more public attention to the abolition cause.

390. Struggle over the Right of Petition. — The Abolitionists admitted that Congress had no control over slavery within a state, but they felt that Congress had a right and was in duty bound to suppress the slave trade between the states, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territories, and wherever Congress had control. They got up petitions to Congress praying that body to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1802 the slave laws of Maryland had been adopted for the District of Columbia. As Washington was the national capital, the Abolitionists felt that the whole nation was responsible for slavery there, and they wanted it abolished. The slaveholders' objected to this. They said slavery should be abolished in the District only on the request of the people living there, and after obtaining the consent of Virginia and Maryland, and then only after full compensation to the owners. Emancipation in Washington, it was thought, would endanger slavery in the neighboring states.

391. The Slavery Discussion in Congress. — Along with these petitions some resolutions were presented from the legislature

The Abolitionists tried to exclude slavery from the District of Columbia.

of the state of Vermont, against the annexation of Texas and against slavery in the District of Columbia. Here was a "sovereign state" taking part in the petitions, and it would seem that Congress could hardly refuse to hear what a state had to say. The Vermont resolutions were denounced by Senator King of Alabama, as a "libel and insult to the South," and Henry A. Wise of Virginia, in a heated speech in the House, demanded that Congress pass a resolution disclaiming any power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. Slade of Vermont got a chance to reply to Wise, and for two hours he made such an antislavery speech as had never been heard before on the floors of Congress. He discussed the whole subject of slavery on its merits, condemning it with great severity and declaring relentless war on slavery in the halls of Congress. Slade's speech aroused hot resentment and anger among Southern members. Wise of Virginia called upon his colleagues to retire from the hall, and a scene of confusion followed while the Southerners seemed preparing to leave in a body. They said they would not sit there and hear slavery discussed in such a manner. It was evident that Abolitionists and slaveholders could not abide together and debate peaceably on slavery in the same assembly.

More moderate slaveholders, like Clay, admitted that Congress had constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but they thought it unwise and inexpedient to do so; it would cause hard feeling, disturb the peace and harmony between the sections, and endanger the Union. For this reason Clay and those who were ready to compromise and do everything they thought was necessary to save the Union sided with the Southerners in their efforts to suppress abolition petitions. They were especially anxious not to have the question discussed at all in Congress, as that would enable antislavery petitions, speeches, and arguments to be printed and sent all over the country. So, for the sake of protecting slavery from agitation, a "gag rule" was adopted to shut off the

Clay's
moderate
attitude
on the abo-
lition agita-
tion.

The "Gag
Rule."

abolition petitions. This provided that "all petitions, memorials, or papers relating in any way to slavery shall be laid on the table without any further notice." This was a very foolish policy from the standpoint of those who wished to defend slavery. It only raised a new issue, added to the excitement, and made more Abolitionists. †

392. John Quincy Adams defends the Right of Petition. — The right peaceably to assemble and petition the government is guaranteed in the Constitution, it was a right older than the Constitution itself, and down to this time (1834-1837) Congress had always received such petitions, heard them, and referred them to the proper committees. Not to receive or hear a petition was the same as denying all right to petition. It was the denial of this right by the effort to "gag" the antislavery men that aroused John Quincy Adams to enter the antislavery fight and to become a powerful ally of the Abolitionists. Adams was not an Abolitionist, but he was in favor of free petition and free debate, and for years he used all his great ability and eloquence in opposing the slaveholders on this new issue that they had raised. He also opposed slavery extension and the annexation of Texas. After retiring from the Presidency, Adams was elected in 1831 to the lower house of Congress, where he passed the rest of his days, till he died at his post of duty in the House in 1848, uttering his famous dying words, "This is the last of earth."

Death of
Adams,
1848

In these last years of his life, Adams won as great distinction as a member of the House of Representatives, championing the right of petition, as in the greater office that he had formerly filled. When the "gag rule" was proposed, Adams said, "I hold the resolution, to be a direct violation of the Constitution, the rules of this house, and the rights of my constituents." And when a resolution was offered denying to Congress the right to interfere with slavery in the states, he said he could disprove it if he were allowed five minutes of time for debate. He was not allowed the five minutes in which to speak, but he continued to offer petitions day

Adams's
fight
against
the "gag
rule."

by day and to try to have them heard. These petitions were mostly against slavery, but one was in favor of slavery, one was for the dissolution of the Union, and one was for his own expulsion from the House. It mattered not to Adams what the petition was for, he would stand for the right of his constituents to have it offered and received. When he offered a petition from a number of slaves, the representatives from the slave states were exasperated beyond measure, and when he finally informed the House that the petition was *against abolition* and in favor of slavery, his opponents were still so angry that they attempted to expel him for trifling with the House.

Adams kept up the fight for eight years, until the "gag policy" was abandoned, 1844. During this struggle Adams stood alone in advocating the startling doctrine that Congress, by the exercise of the war power under the Constitution, had the constitutional authority to abolish slavery within the states. This doctrine was afterward made use of by Congress and President Lincoln in the Civil War. The power of emancipation as a war measure was based upon the doctrine announced at this time by John Quincy Adams.¹

Adams
claims a
"war
power" to
abolish
slavery

FACTS AND DATES

- 1820. The Missouri Compromise.
- 1831. Founding of the *Liberator* and beginning of Abolition Movement.
- 1833. American Antislavery Society Organized.
- 1835. Texas declared her Independence of Mexico.
- 1836-1838. Abolition Petitions denied by Congress.
- 1841-1845. Harrison and Tyler's Administration.
- 1842. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty.
- 1844. Invention of Electric Telegraph.

¹ See Johnston and Woodburn's "American Orations," Vol. I, pp. 115, 375.

CHAPTER XXVIII

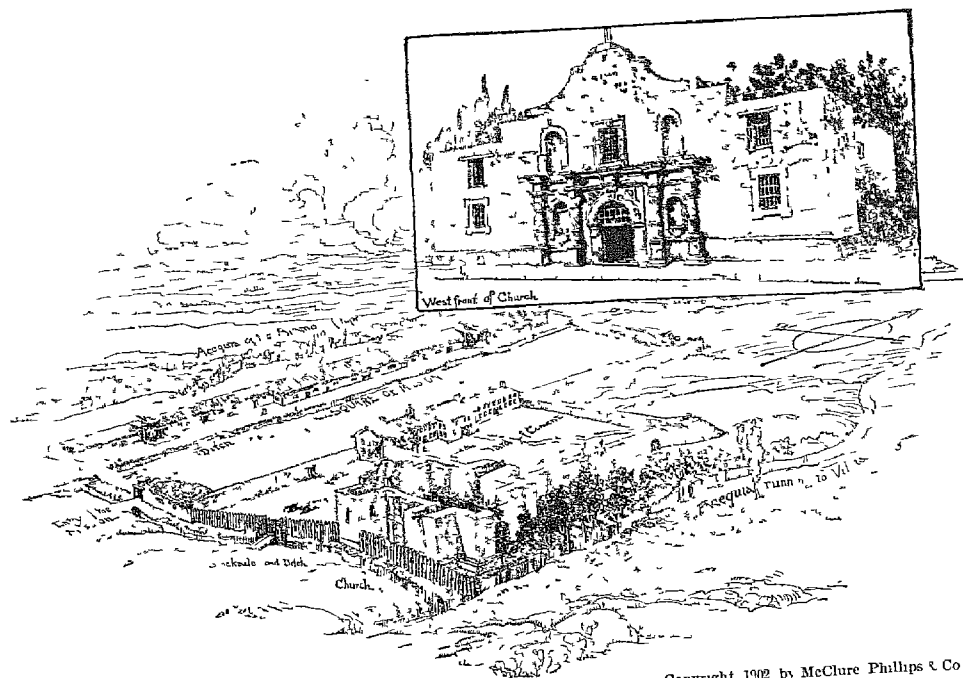
TEXAS, OREGON, AND THE MEXICAN WAR

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

393 Moses Austin made Settlements in Texas — After the purchase of Louisiana from France in 1803, Texas — which may be briefly described as the area between the Sabine and the Rio Grande — was in dispute between Spain and the United States. This dispute was settled in 1819 in the Florida Treaty, by which the United States recognized the Sabine as the western boundary of Louisiana. After that Texas was clearly a part of Mexico and not of the United States. So when Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821, Texas became a part of the Mexican Republic. The United States afterward tried to buy Texas, but Mexico refused to sell (1828–1829).

In 1819 Moses Austin, a Connecticut Yankee, made plans for planting an American colony in Texas. In 1821 and 1822 Austin's son, Stephen F. Austin, led American settlers into Texas, some of them with their slaves. The Mexican government abolished slavery in 1829, but the Texans disregarded this law and still continued to hold their slaves. Mexico then, in 1830, attempted to restrict American migration to Texas, there being by this time about twenty thousand colonists in Texas, most of them Americans.

394. Texas revolts from Mexico. — The Mexican government was not satisfactory to the Texans. The Mexican dictator, Santa Anna, had too much power in his own hands. The Texans wanted local self-government. In 1835 he changed the constitution of Mexico, depriving the Texans of local self-government. The Texans felt that their lives and property were not sufficiently protected. They differed from the Mexicans in race



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THE ALAMO, SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

Built in 1722 as a Franciscan mission house, after 1793 used occasionally as a fort and renamed "The Alamo".
 Scene of the heroic defense of Texan independence, 1836. The five survivors who were taken prisoners by
 the Mexicans were slaughtered on the spot, and "Remember the Alamo!" became the slogan of the Texans.

and religion, and they wanted republican, local, state government of their own, such as they had been used to in the United States. In 1835 they rose in revolt against Mexico to secure their independence, and in 1836, under the leadership of Sam Houston, they drew up a constitution recognizing slavery and claiming as the boundary of independent Texas "to the mouth of the Rio Grande, thence up that river to its source."

The Texans fought bravely for freedom from Mexico. At the Alamo, a fortified convent in San Antonio, a little band of one hundred and eighty-three Texans were besieged by an army of one thousand Mexicans, and it was understood that if the Alamo had to be carried by assault, the garrison would be put to the sword. The
massacre
of the
Alamo Colonel Travis, the Texan commander, announced that he "would never surrender or retreat." The Mexicans assaulted the fort and "a desperate hand-to-hand struggle followed, and all but about a half dozen of the Texans died fighting." The survivors were all massacred, not a man of the garrison being left alive. This was in March, 1836. The Texans never forgot the Alamo. The massacre embittered them against the Mexicans and made them resolve never again to submit to Mexican rule.

A few weeks later (April 21, 1836) the Texans inflicted upon the Mexicans a crushing defeat in the decisive battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna, the Mexican leader, was captured, the Mexicans lost sixteen hundred men, more than twice the number of the whole Texan army, and Battle
of San
Jacinto,
1836 Texan independence was soon recognized by Great Britain, France, and the United States. For nine years (1836-1845) Texas was known as the "Lone Star Republic." Lone Star
Republic,
1836-1845.

395 Reasons for Opposition to Annexation.—During this period the Texans wished to be annexed to the United States; and but for the slavery question, and fear of war with Mexico, Texas would probably have been admitted to the Union soon after 1836 without opposition. Americans had helped to secure

Texan independence by furnishing men, money, and arms; Southern leaders were determined to have Texas in the Union. The Texans were brother Americans; they had a fertile and extensive country, slave property was allowed there, more territory was needed for slave expansion, they claimed it would be only reannexation of territory that ought never to have been given up; and, most important of all, equality of power in the Senate for the slave interest demanded that there should be more slave states if "the Southern scale were not to kick the beam."

These were some of the very reasons why Abolitionists and antislavery men so stoutly opposed annexation. They felt that securing more slave territory should be prevented at every hazard; that it would strengthen and perpetuate the control of the slaveholders over the national government; and that the taking of Texas would be an unjust seizure of the territory of a weaker nation that would certainly bring on war with Mexico.

396. Annexation as a Party Issue, 1844 — The question came to be the chief political issue in the campaign of 1844. Under Southern leadership the Democratic party, by reviving the "two-thirds rule," laid aside Van Buren as the party candidate because he had opposed annexation, and took up a comparatively unknown man, James K. Polk of Tennessee, who has been called the first "dark horse" in American politics, that is, one who had not been publicly mentioned for the Presidency before the convention nominated him. Polk had come out openly for annexation. The Democrats went into the campaign with the cry,

"Hurrah for Polk and annexation,
Down with Clay and high taxation."

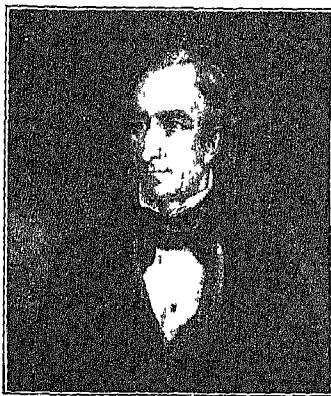
The Whigs nominated Clay, and they thought it not possible for the unknown, commonplace Polk to be elected over their renowned and brilliant leader. But in the midst of the campaign, Clay, who had been opposed to annexation, wrote a letter to satisfy Southern Whig annexationists, in which he said he was not *personally* opposed to

Clay on
annexa-
tion.

annexation, and that he would be glad to see Texas annexed "without dishonor, without war, with the common consent of the Union, and upon just and fair terms." This seemed to make Clay's position uncertain, and to make annexation only a question of time and method, which did not satisfy the radical antislavery men. Extension of slavery was all they saw in the question of Texas, and enough of them withdrew their support from Clay in New York to give Polk that important state and elect him. They voted for James G. Birney, who had again been nominated for President by the Abolitionists under the name of the "Liberty Party."

Clay loses
anti-
slavery
votes.

397 Tyler disappoints the Whigs.—Polk was elected to annex Texas, but he found the work done before he came into office. It had been done during the last days of the Tyler administration. Tyler, as Vice President, succeeded to the Presidency after Harrison's death, in April, 1841. He was a Southern states' rights Democrat of the Calhoun faction of the party. The Whigs put him on their ticket in 1840, because he had been opposed to Jackson, and as a kind of bid for the states' rights influence. When Tyler came into the Presidency, in 1841, he offended the Whig leaders by his continued use of the veto, and especially by his veto of the Whig measures, the bank and the tariff. His Cabinet all resigned except Webster, who remained as Secretary of State to complete the Webster-Ashburton Treaty relating to our northeastern boundary.



JOHN TYLER.

John Tyler was a member of a distinguished Virginia family, and was born in 1790. He was educated at William and Mary College, and after filling various offices became President upon the death of President Harrison. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Confederate Congress. He died in 1862.

Tyler entered heartily into the scheme for annexation. He

made Calhoun Secretary of State for this purpose. Calhoun was the original author of annexation, and no one did more than he to bring it about. He had spoken in favor of it as early as 1836, only a month after the battle of San Jacinto. Great Britain wished to see slavery abolished in Texas, as well as throughout the rest of the world, and she tried to induce Mexico to recognize Texan independence on condition that Texas would abolish slavery. Calhoun said this was a matter of "deep concern" to the United States, and that for the sake of our

Tyler appoints Calhoun Secretary of State to bring about annexation.

Calhoun brings slavery under national protection by his policy of annexation.

peace and security America could no longer postpone annexation. Calhoun thought Texas would soon become a free country unless it were annexed to the United States, and he believed that if Texas continued independent without slavery, slavery could not be long continued in the Southern states. By his policy in the State Department, Calhoun was now using all the power and influence of the national government to keep Texas a slave state and to bring it into the Union as a means of strengthening and sustaining slavery in the South.

This "nationalizing" of slavery in order to protect it was of great importance and influence in arousing Abolitionist opposition in the North, and in subsequently dividing the states and political parties sectionally on the issue of slavery.

398. Annexation by Treaty fails, but a Joint Resolution succeeds.—Calhoun negotiated a treaty with Texas providing for its admission into the Union, but this was rejected by the Senate (April, 1844). Tyler and the friends of Texas then waited until after the election of Polk, which they interpreted as an order from the people in favor of annexation. A joint resolution was then passed through Congress (March 1, 1845) providing for the admission of Texas. A treaty must be ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate, and it was evident that annexation could not be brought about in that way. So the annexationists resorted to the plan of joint resolution—a way by which territory had never been annexed before.

399. **Final Conditions of Annexation.**—Texas accepted the plan and was finally made a state, in December, 1845—the last slave state that ever came into the Union. The resolution admitting Texas provided that, with the consent of Texas, four other states might be made out of that state (it was expected that all would be slave states), except that slavery should be prohibited in any new state north of $36^{\circ} 30'$. Thus the Missouri line and the power of Congress to prohibit slavery in the territories were again recognized.

THE OREGON QUESTION

400. **Americans and British claimed Oregon.**—The Oregon country was the region on the Pacific coast west of the Rocky Mountains from the north boundary of California to the south boundary of Alaska, from latitude 42° to $54^{\circ} 40'$. In the early part of the nineteenth century four nations claimed rights in this region,—Spain, Russia, Great Britain, and the United States. The Americans secured Spain's rights in 1819, and Russia retired as a claimant in 1824 and 1825. In treaties with Great Britain and the United States, Russia recognized $54^{\circ} 40'$ as the south boundary of Alaska. A long dispute over Oregon continued between Great Britain and the United States. The American claim rested on the discovery of the Columbia by Captain Gray in 1792; on the Louisiana Purchase in 1803; on the Lewis and Clark expedition in 1804–1805, on the settlement of Astoria in 1811, and on the Florida treaty with Spain in 1819, when Spain surrendered her claims in favor of the United States.

Great Britain based her claims on (1) the early voyages of Drake; (2) the third voyage of Captain Cook in 1778, who examined the coast above 44° ; (3) the survey of this coast by Vancouver in 1792 and 1793; and (4) ^{British claims to Oregon.} the trading posts and interests of the Hudson Bay Company.

401. **America and Great Britain agree on Joint Occupancy, 1818.**—In 1818 the two countries agreed by treaty to joint

occupancy of the country; that is, the final settlement of the claims was to be postponed, while the citizens of both countries were to be allowed to settle there. This arrangement was to last ten years, and before it expired the agreement was renewed in 1827, to continue until one of the countries desired to end it, which it could do by giving one year's notice to the other.



In the thirties American trading companies, missionaries, and settlers went to Oregon, and a sentiment arose in the United States in favor of giving notice to Great Britain that the joint occupation should cease. It was asserted in Congress and in the press that the claim of the United States was good to the whole of Oregon and that our authority should be extended over all of it. This would have shut British America out from the Pacific Ocean, and Great Britain would probably have gone to war before giving up all her claims on the coast. A warlike spirit arose in America and the cries, "All of Oregon or none," "Fifty-four forty or fight,"

The United States desires the whole of Oregon.

were heard in the campaign of 1844, and the "reoccupation of Oregon" was demanded in the Democratic platform. President Polk, in his inaugural address (1845), spoke of "our domain extending from ocean to ocean," and he asserted (using the language of his party platform) that "our title to the Oregon country was clear and unquestionable." Some leaders in Congress said that this was "mere buncombe and claptrap" in Polk, and that he did not intend to do anything against England. The House of Representatives, in March, 1846, passed a joint resolution to give the one year's notice for terminating the joint occupancy in Oregon, and it looked as if our country would be involved in war with two countries at once.

402 The Oregon Dispute is settled Peaceably — Fortunately, better counsels prevailed, and a peaceful settlement was reached. Our title to Oregon was not "clear and unquestionable," as Polk asserted. The claim of neither country was incontestable, though we think ours was the better. Neither side wished to continue the joint occupancy; neither country wished to go to war to settle the dispute, neither would give up all to the other. So a compromise was the only way to settle the question. After our notice for ending the joint occupation had been given, the British minister offered a treaty extending the 49th parallel (which was our northern boundary to the Rockies) from the mountains to the coast, following the Strait of Juan de Fuca to the ocean. Polk submitted this offer to the Senate and asked its "advice and consent" about accepting the offer. The Senate advised the President to accept this boundary, and on August 5, 1846, the Oregon treaty was made on this basis. We thus wisely avoided war with Great Britain.

THE MEXICAN WAR

1846-1848

304. Annexation causes Mexico to break off Friendly Relations with the United States.—When we annexed Texas, we

annexed her quarrel with Mexico. Mexico had not given up her claim to Texas, and she had let it be understood that annexation would be considered a cause of war. Accordingly, when the annexation resolution passed Congress, the Mexican minister at Washington protested, demanded his passports, and thus diplomatic relations between the two governments were severed.



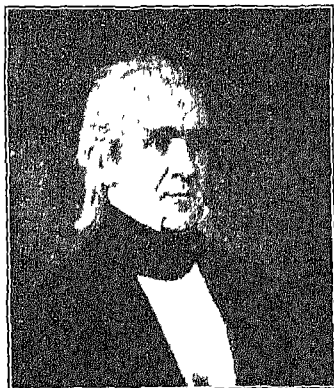
Texas makes an extravagant claim to territory.

it more difficult to avoid war. The Rio Grande was claimed by Texas as her western boundary. The old territorial Texas of 1800, which Spain ceded to France and which, as we claimed, France ceded to the United States in 1803, had reached to the Rio Grande; but the Mexican state of Texas was bounded by the Nueces; and Benton pronounced the Texan claim, from the mouth to the source of the Rio Grande, "a robbery of Mexico." It was an extravagant claim, and Mexico would not listen

Such an international situation makes

to it. Our resolution annexing Texas left it open for negotiation. But Polk held that what we had annexed as Texas was what Texas claimed to be, and he proceeded on that policy.

404 President Polk brought on the War — There were other differences between the two countries. Polk had designs on California, which, for the sake of a commercial port on the Pacific, he wished to obtain, by purchase if possible, by revolt if necessary. He attempted to renew negotiations, and he sent Mr. Slidell to Mexico to discuss this and the matters in dispute, but Mexico refused to receive Slidell, and President Polk thus had a ground for claiming that he had tried to keep the peace. Mexico had been very slow in paying claims for damages to American citizens. But in spite of these matters war might have been avoided but for the Texan territorial claim. Polk, acting on this claim, assumed authority over the disputed territory



JAMES K. POLK.

between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. When Mexico refused to receive our envoy, and, as Polk claimed, threatened Texas with a new Mexican invasion, the President ordered General Taylor with about four thousand men to advance from Corpus Christi on the Nueces to the Rio Grande, to "protect the Texan frontier." The Mexicans attacked a scouting party of this small army in the disputed territory, and when Taylor's dispatch announcing this reached Washington, Polk sent a special message to Congress (May 12, 1846), in which he said that "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil, and war exists, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it,

Mr Polk was born in North Carolina in 1795. He was graduated from the University of North Carolina, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, and governor of Tennessee. He served one term as President, and died in 1849.

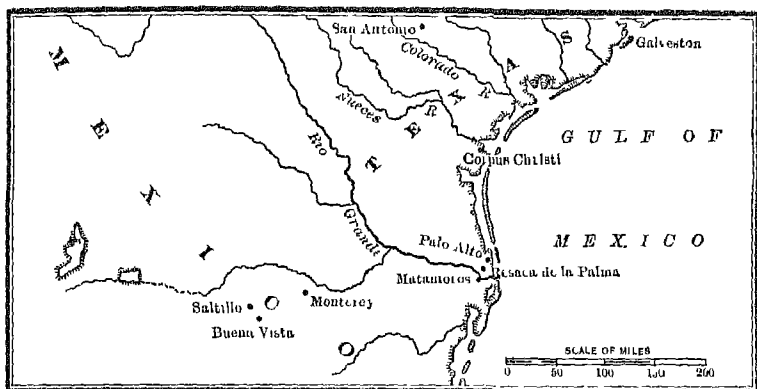
by the act of Mexico herself." Congress adopted this view without inquiring into its truth, and declaring that "war exists by the act of the republic of Mexico," voted money for supplies and provided for fifty thousand volunteers. Calhoun in the South and the Whigs in the North, especially the New Englanders and the antislavery men, strongly opposed the war, and denounced Polk's order and his aggressive policy that brought it on.

405. Americans were criticised for the Mexican War. — Thus, we see, our war with Mexico over Texas began the same year (1846) that the long dispute with Great Britain over Oregon came peacefully to an end. It is often asserted that our government was ready to come to a compromise agreement with Great Britain, a strong nation, while it drew the sword and asserted by violence and aggression the whole of its claim against Mexico, a weak nation. It is said that we backed down in fear of the strong and acted the part of the wolf against the lamb toward weaker Mexico, coveting our neighbor's territory. Polk and his party were accused of forcing the war with Mexico in order to conquer California and New Mexico, which they could not get by diplomacy

While we think our government was to blame for not avoiding war with Mexico, the insinuation against it of injustice and cowardice is not altogether justified. Whether President Polk was right or wrong in giving the order which brought on the Mexican War hinges altogether on the ownership of the strip between the Nueces and the Rio Grande. At best our claim was a very doubtful one, and there could be no glory or honor in a war for such a claim. But Polk's view was that this strip belonged to the United States and that he was only defending American territory, as he was in duty and honor bound to do. On the other hand, if the Mexican claim to this strip were valid, Polk exceeded his constitutional authority and he began a wrongful and an offensive war without the consent of Congress. It was just such a dispute as should have been settled by arbitration and

Was our government to blame for the Mexican War?

tiaty, and our country would now wish to settle such a dispute peacefully in that way. But Polk was not entirely responsible, because Congress had already recognized the country beyond the Nueces as American territory by including it within the revenue system and the Senate had ratified the appointment of a revenue officer. So Congress could hardly do less than support the President.



TAYLOR'S CAMPAIGNS.

406. General Taylor wins Victories.—The Mexican War was soon ended. It lasted less than two years, from May, 1846, to February, 1848, and it was an unbroken series of victories for the Americans. Our armies under able commanders, Scott and Taylor, showed courage and good fighting qualities, though not much honor or glory could be derived in fighting for such a cause.

General Taylor beat the Mexicans at Palo Alto (May 8, 1846), and the next day again at Resaca de la Palma. He then crossed the Rio Grande and took possession of Matamoros. Here he rested, awaiting reinforcements, till August, then pushed westward into Mexico, attacking the fortified town of Monterrey. The Americans stormed the walls of Monterrey, and the Mexicans fell back to the houses, which they used as little forts. For three days a desperate fight was carried on from

street to street before the town was surrendered (September 24, 1846). After a six weeks' armistice for an attempt at negotiation, Taylor moved on to Saltillo and then to Buena Vista. Here he was called on to send ten thousand of his men to General Scott, who had been sent to Mexico in chief command to carry out another plan of invasion. Taylor was left with only five thousand men.

Santa Anna, knowing Taylor's weakened condition, thought to overwhelm him with an army of twenty thousand men and undo all that Taylor had done. He told Taylor he must surrender or be cut to pieces. Taylor chose his ground and against great odds totally defeated Santa Anna in the decisive battle of Buena Vista, February 23, 1846, and the American possession of northeastern Mexico was secure. Taylor complained that politics at Washington was interfering with his plans, and leaving General Wool in command he returned to Louisiana. The "Hero of Buena Vista," or "Old Rough and Ready," as Taylor was called by his soldiers, was beginning to be thought of by the Whigs as a good candidate to beat the Democrats in the next Presidential election.

407. Scott captures the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847. — After capturing Vera Cruz (March, 1847), General Scott began a march of two hundred miles for the Mexican capital over the route that Cortez had taken more than three hundred years before. He stormed Cerro Gordo (April 18, 1847), reached Puebla, May 15, where he stayed till August 7 awaiting peace negotiations, when he again pushed forward and, by August 10, came within view of the City of Mexico. Then followed the victories of Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and finally the storming of Chapultepec, and then Scott marched his triumphant army into the City of Mexico, September 14, 1847.

408. Conquest of California and New Mexico. — While the victories of Scott and Taylor were in progress, General Kearney (June, 1846) marched from the Missouri by the Santa Fé trail and conquered Santa Fé and New Mexico. Leaving an American civil governor at Santa Fé, Kearney then proceeded

westward to take possession of California. But that country had already been conquered by General John C. Fremont and Commodores Sloat and Stockton and three or four hundred American settlers. The vast regions westward from Texas to the Pacific Ocean were now in the possession of the Americans.

The Mexicans, with their armies helpless, their government broken up, their capital in the hands of the enemy, were compelled to submit. There were some in Congress and in the Cabinet who wished to take possession of all of Mexico, but Polk said he was not prepared to go to that extent. He said he "had been falsely charged with bringing on the war for the conquest of Mexico," but that that was not his purpose.

The Mexicans give up the fight.

409 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.—On February 2, 1848, the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. Mr. Trist was the American commissioner of President Polk. It was agreed that the United States should pay fifteen million dollars to Mexico and three million dollars more to American citizens who had claims against Mexico. Mexico gave up to the United States all territory north of the Rio Grande and Gila rivers, comprising all that Texas claimed to be, and New Mexico, California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. The war had cost about one hundred million dollars and thirteen thousand lives.¹

FACTS AND DATES

1845. Annexation of Texas to the United States

1845-1849 Polk's Administration.

1846-1848 Mexican War

1846 (May 13). War with Mexico declared to exist.

1846. Oregon Treaty with Great Britain

1846 The Sewing Machine invented.

1847 (Sept. 14). City of Mexico taken by Americans

1848 (Feb. 2). Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

¹ In 1853 the Gadsden Purchase added the strip south of the Gila River. The area of this was forty-five thousand square miles, and the price ten million dollars.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE COMPROMISES OF 1850

410. The Slavery Question soon comes to the Front in the Mexican War. — The Mexican War had hardly begun before the slavery question came to the front. President Polk asked for money to buy territory from Mexico when the time should come to make a treaty. Bills were offered in Congress for this purpose, in August, 1846, and in January, 1847. The last was the "Three Million Bill." David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, offered an amendment to these bills, providing that slavery should not exist in any territory to be obtained from Mexico.

This was the famous Wilmot Proviso. It came to be used as a general term for opposition to the extension of slavery. Its principle was the prohibition of slavery in the territories by the national government. This afterward became the underlying principle of the Republican party and the issue on which Abraham Lincoln was elected to the Presidency. All those who believed in the Wilmot Proviso were against slavery extension, and they believed that this extension ought to be prevented by the nation. The proviso passed the House but was defeated in the Senate. It then became the chief subject of political discussion in the country for the next four years (1846-1850).

This proposal to keep slavery out of the new territories offended the South. The Virginia legislature said it was "an outrage that ought to be resisted at all hazards." Many Southern men said it would lead to disunion, and they threatened to secede if it were adopted. On the other hand, many Northern legislatures spoke out in favor of it.

The Wilmot Proviso to prohibit slavery in the territories.

The South threatens to secede on account of the Wilmot Proviso.

411. **The Election of 1848** — Slavery in the territories became the principal subject of discussion in the campaign and election of 1848. In that year the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan for President and William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice President. The party was divided on the slavery question. Northern antislavery Democrats wished the party to adopt the Wilmot Proviso as one of its principles, Southern Democrats opposed this, and the party platform avoided the question altogether. However, the party candidate for President, General Cass, wrote a letter in which he spoke against the Wilmot Proviso and favored the principle of "popular sovereignty." This would leave the settlers in the territories to say for themselves whether they would have slavery. This did not satisfy the antislavery Democrats, and many of them, called "Barnburners," — because they were like the Dutch farmer who burned his barn to get rid of the rats — were ready to destroy their party to get rid of slavery.

The Whigs were also divided. They nominated General Taylor, the "Hero of Buena Vista," for President and Millard Fillmore of New York, for Vice President. Taylor was a slaveholder, and it was not certain that he was a Whig. The Whigs refused to adopt the Wilmot Proviso as one of their principles. The Southern Whigs were opposed to it, while the great body of the Northern Whigs were very much in favor of it. So the party was afraid to adopt any platform at all. The radical antislavery men, called the "Conscience Whigs," were dissatisfied with this, and they bolted from the party and united with the "Barnburner Democrats" in a new party. This was the "Free Soil party." This new party held a national convention at Buffalo in August, 1848, and nominated Martin Van Buren of New York for President and Charles Francis Adams of Massachusetts, son of John Quincy Adams, for Vice President. The Free Soilers did not propose to disturb slavery in the states where it existed; but they would consent

Cass favors popular sovereignty.

"Barnburners."

Whigs and Democrats are divided on slavery.

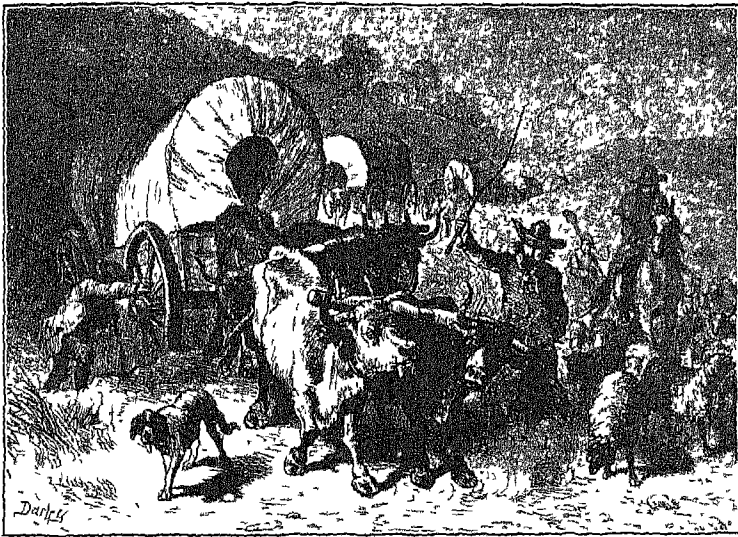
The Free Soilers speak out against slavery.

to no more concessions or compromises, and they insisted that Congress should prevent the extension of slavery into the territories and that the national government must free itself from all responsibility for slavery wherever it had the power. "We inscribe upon our banner," they said, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men, and under it we will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions."

The old "Liberty Party" had nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President, but he now withdrew, and he and his followers supported Van Buren and Adams. The Free Soilers polled two hundred and ninety-two thousand votes in this election. More than one third of these (one hundred and twenty thousand) were in New York, where so many Democrats followed Van Buren that General Taylor was able to carry that state and win the election. The South stood by Taylor and most of the antislavery Whigs of the North who believed in the principle of the Wilmot Proviso voted for him too, in the hope, that the Whig party would still become an antislavery party.

412 The Conquest of California and Gold Discovery bring up a New Question. — Gold was discovered on the Sacramento River (January 19, 1848) a few days before peace was declared with Mexico. This was an event of the greatest importance. It meant more wealth, more money, rising prices, great demand for labor, and prosperous times. Excitement arose, and the "gold fever" raged among all classes of people. Ordinary occupations were abandoned in California. Farmers, clerks, carpenters, masons, mill hands, rushed to the "diggings" to get rich quick by finding gold. Even soldiers and sailors deserted their posts, and ships were abandoned by their crews before their cargoes were unloaded. From all parts of the world the gold seekers, "the forty-niners," came flocking to the gold fields, over the plains, across the isthmus, around the Horn. In an incredibly short time, — by the summer of 1849, — California contained nearly one hundred thousand people, and San Francisco had sprung from a little hamlet to be a city of twenty thousand. These "forty-niners" were mostly Americans, but there were all sorts

and conditions of men among them from all over the world. For a while then only government was that of vigilance committees and lynch law. But it did not take the people long to organize themselves in an orderly way into a state. In September, 1849, under the guidance of General Riley, the military governor, a convention of delegates met, formed a state constitution excluding slavery, and before the new year (1850) they were applying for admission into the Union.



A TRAIN OF "PRAIRIE SCHOONERS."

Before the railroad was built, and even after its introduction, many settlers were carried into the western country in these wagons. For protection against the Indians the emigrants usually travelled in large parties.

This irritated the South. They saw that the admission of California as a free state would break the balance of power in the Senate. Iowa's admission in 1846 had offset that of Texas in 1845, and Wisconsin in 1847 had balanced Florida (1845). There was no other slave state ready to come in, and there was no prospect of any. The Southerners contended that California was not ready for statehood; that it

The equilibrium again.

should be organized into a territory in the usual way, and when Congress thought California was ready for statehood its people could then decide about slavery. The antislavery men, of course, wanted to admit California immediately as a free state.

413. Questions in Dispute. — There were now several subjects of dispute between the North and the South: 1. The admission of California. 2. Slavery in the Mexican cessions. 3. Slavery in the District of Columbia. (The Abolitionists were still urging Congress to abolish slavery in the capital.) 4. The return of fugitive slaves. The Southerners were complaining that owing to the work of the Abolitionists and the "personal liberty laws" of the Northern states, they could not recover their runaway slaves. 5. The interstate slave trade. 6. The boundary of Texas. Texas claimed a large part of New Mexico, and the question was whether the United States would recognize this claim.

The most difficult of these questions was slavery in the territories. This question kept coming up in American politics for more than a generation. It had been settled by compromise in 1820 for all the territory the United States then owned. The Mexican War had added eight hundred thousand square miles of new territory to the national domain. The Wilmot Proviso proposed to exclude slavery from all this territory. Some said the Missouri line, $36^{\circ} 30'$, ought to be extended to the Pacific, preventing slavery north of that line, permitting it south of that line. President Polk favored this plan. This would have divided the territory and would probably have satisfied the majority in the South.

Ways proposed for settling the question of slavery in the territories.

The more aggressive Southern men, led by Calhoun, said that slavery should be protected in all the territories by national power. They said the territories were the property, not of the nation as a whole, but of the states united in a partnership. It would be unjust and unequal to allow a portion of the partners (the states) outnumbering another portion to put them out from this common property. The citizen

The Southern view.

of Alabama should be allowed to emigrate to the territories with his property (slaves) and be protected there just the same as the citizen of Ohio with *his* property, horses and cattle. Therefore, whatever any state recognized as property must be protected by the national government as property in the territories. This is what Calhoun called equal rights in the territories. Unless this were gained the advocates of slavery claimed that the South would be excluded from the common territory which had been won by the blood and treasure of all. Webster reminded them that Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois had been settled chiefly by Southern people who had come into these new states and territories with the same rights as the people had who came from other states, the only difference was they could not bring their local law with them, which allowed them to hold slaves. But the radical Southern leaders now insisted that laws protecting slavery should be adopted and enforced in the territories by the whole nation. They wanted slaves to be recognized and protected as property by national law.

The antislavery men of the North objected to this, and said that slavery should be excluded from the territories by national law. They wanted the Wilmot Proviso adopted. They said that slaves were not property, except by the local laws of the slave states, that outside of those states the common, national laws regarded the slaves as *persons*, not as *property*; and that the nation should stand for freedom wherever it had control. They asserted that it was the right and duty of Congress to prevent the spread of slavery, and to see to it that there should be no more slave territories and no more slave states.

Others favored a middle ground, a compromise. They said Congress should have nothing to do with slavery in the territories, should neither protect it nor exclude it, but leave the people of the territories to settle the matter for themselves.

414. Taylor becomes President — Such was the situation in the fall of 1849, the year General Taylor was inaugurated as President. Taylor was a plain, straightforward, honest Southern

man. He was a soldier, not a politician, and though a slaveholder he was not a slavery extensionist. He was pleased to see

Taylor's plan for the Territories. California ready for statehood, and he favored the same plan for the other territories. He said Congress should leave the matter of slavery alone, and the people of the territories should form state governments under the direction of the military governor, and apply for admission to the Union. This would have brought them in as free states, but Taylor was ready for that, as he did not wish to impose slavery where it was not wanted.



GENERAL ZACHARY TAYLOR.

"Old Rough and Ready," the "Hero of Buena Vista," twelfth President of the United States, was born in Virginia Sept. 24, 1784, died July 9, 1850. He became a lieutenant in the army in 1808; fought in the War of 1812, in the Black Hawk War, 1832, in the Seminole War, 1835-1836; was nominated and elected to the Presidency by the Whigs in 1848. He was an honest, straightforward man, without much education and with no political training. He was a patriot rather than a partisan. He said that if he were elected President he "would not be the President of a party, but the President of the whole people."

415 Clay, "the Great Pacificator," proposes a Plan of Settlement. — Henry Clay now came forward with a plan of compromise. He believed the Union was in danger and that the Union was essential to the happiness and safety of the people. He wished to secure permanent peace between the two sections, and he called upon the North and the South to be patient with one another and each to yield a portion of its claims. As a basis of agreement he proposed:—

1. To admit California as a free state.
- 2 To organize the other territories acquired from Mexico without the Wilmot Proviso.
3. To pass a stronger fugitive slave law.
4. To pay Texas for her claim to New Mexico.
5. To abolish the slave trade (not slavery) in the District of Columbia.

6. To declare that Congress had no power to interfere with the interstate slave trade

7. To declare that it was not expedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia

Clay made an earnest appeal for peace and compromise, for "keeping the Union together in one family in harmony and concord," that the "gaping wounds of the country might be healed." He spoke many times urging the adoption of this compromise.

416 Calhoun speaks for the South. — Calhoun spoke for the slaveholders of the South. The shadow of death now rested on this great man. He was too weak to walk alone to the Senate chamber, and he had to sit in his chair while his speech was read for him by Senator Mason of Virginia. He listened in silence to his own last warning to the North, his last appeal for what he considered justice to his beloved South. He demanded that the North should concede to the South "equal rights" in the territories, return the fugitive slaves, and cease entirely and forever to agitate the slavery question. He said the crisis had been brought about by destroying the equilibrium between the sections, and to save the Union it was necessary to restore the equilibrium. Calhoun wished sincerely to save the Union, but he looked upon the Union as a union of sections, a Southern section and a Northern section, the one slave, the other free. He saw that the South had ceased to be equal to the North in population and wealth, but he wished it forever to remain equal in political power. He insisted on this "political equality" of the South as one of the conditions of the Union. If this were not secured he saw the time would soon come when the South would have to choose between the Union and slavery, and he advised the South to stand by slavery.

417. Webster speaks for Compromise. — Webster followed Calhoun in his famous "Seventh of March Speech." He spoke for the Union, but he did not say much against slavery. He blamed the Abolitionists of the North more than the slaveholders of the South for the sectional strife of the country. He said

the South had more to complain of than the North, and that the Abolitionists had done nothing but harm. Webster had always been opposed to the extension of slavery, but now he was willing to give up the Wilmot Proviso. He said he would not needlessly "re-enact a law of God." He meant that slavery would be excluded from New Mexico and Arizona by a law of nature, of physical geography; to insist on the Wilmot Proviso could accomplish no good and would only irritate and "wound the pride" of the South.

Webster's speech greatly disappointed his antislavery friends. Whittier, in his poem "Ichabod," which he applied to Webster, wrote:—

"Of all we loved and honored naught
Save power remains,
All else is gone; from those great eyes
The soul has fled
When faith is lost, when honor dies,
The man is dead."

But it may be said for Webster that he felt the duty of the hour was to save the Union, not to oppose slavery. His great influence helped to secure the compromise, and it has been said that this speech postponed the war for a decade, until the forces of the Union were strong enough for its preservation.

418. Seward speaks for the Antislavery Cause.—It was Seward who spoke for the antislavery spirit of the North. He spoke against further concessions and compromises with slavery. He opposed the Fugitive Slave Law and favored emancipation in the District of Columbia. He said, "The Constitution devotes the public domain to union, justice, and liberty. But there is a higher law than the Constitution which devotes it to the same noble purpose." The advocates of slavery condemned this "higher law" doctrine as if Seward had said that the Constitution ought to be violated. He meant only that the law of God and reason, as well as the Constitution, condemned slavery.

419. The Compromise Measures are passed.—Attempt was made to pass several of Clay's proposals in one bill, called the

"Omnibus Bill" This failed, but the measures went through one by one. The compromise, as finally agreed, brought about the following results. —

1. California was admitted as a free state.
2. New Mexico and Utah were organized without the Wilmot Proviso
3. Texas was paid ten million dollars for her claim to New Mexico.
4. A new fugitive slave law was passed
5. The slave trade, but not slavery, was abolished in the District of Columbia.

Nothing was done in regard to the interstate slave trade.

420 **The Country accepts the Compromise** — The Abolitionists at the North and the slavery expansionists at the South were dissatisfied, but the great majority of the country were well pleased with the compromise. The people wanted peace on the subject of slavery. All the forces controlling public opinion — the press, political parties, public men, and even the pulpit — seemed determined that this compromise should be a final settlement, that there should be no more agitation on the subject of slavery.



MILLARD FILLMORE.

421 **The Election of 1852.** —

In 1852 both political parties resolved in favor of the compromise measures including the Fugitive Slave Law. The Democrats were reunited and half of the Free Soil voters went back to their old parties. The Democratic candidates were Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and William R. King of Alabama. The Whigs nominated General Winfield S. Scott

Millard Fillmore, a self-made man, was born in New York in 1800, and died in the same state in 1874. He had a hard struggle to obtain his legal education, but while still a young man became one of the leading lawyers of his state. He had held many high offices before succeeding to the Presidency on Taylor's death.

of Virginia and William A. Graham of North Carolina. The Free Soilers, who still wished to keep up the fight on slavery, nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana. Pierce was elected. Scott carried only four states, the "rock-ribbed" Whig states, — Massachusetts, Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. The Whigs were so badly beaten that they never amounted to anything again as a party, and some one said that the party "died of an attempt to swallow the Fugitive Slave Law."

422 The Fugitive Slave Law is opposed in the North — It was this Fugitive Slave Law that continued to disturb the peace on the subject of slavery. The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was an odious law. A negro seized under this law could not have a trial by jury; he could not testify in his own behalf. A commissioner appointed to try him was allowed ten dollars if the negro were proved a slave, but only five dollars if he turned out to be a freeman. United States marshals and deputies were appointed to execute the act, and any bystander might be called upon to assist. Harboring or rescuing a fugitive or preventing his arrest was punishable by a fine of one thousand dollars and damages to the same amount, or imprisonment for six months.

Public sentiment at the North was against such a law. The majority were willing to have it enforced, because it was the law and because the South claimed the return of these escaping slaves as a constitutional right. But the Northern people did not like the law. The capture of slaves fleeing from bondage was constantly reminding the people of the North of some of the most hateful and barbarous aspects of slavery. The recovery of a slave often cost as much as he was worth. It would have been better for the South if they had submitted to the escape of a few of their smarter slaves, who were determined to get out of bondage, rather than arouse renewed attacks upon the whole system of slavery.

The radical antislavery men were determined that, law or no law, the fugitive slave should not be returned. They resisted

w in every way they could. "Personal liberty bills," which had been passed by many Northern states as early as 1840, to prevent free negroes from being kidnaped and carried into slavery, were now strengthened in such a way as to obstruct the Fugitive Slave Act. Abolition friends of the fugitives helped them on their way. They fed the escaping slaves, hid them, and carried them on their road toward Canada. These routes became known as the "underground railroad."

423. Mrs Stowe stirs the Country by the Story of Uncle Tom. — It was chiefly the Fugitive Slave Law that led Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe to write "Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly" — a story setting forth the evils of slavery (1852). This story told of the slave Eliza escaping with her baby boy across the river on the floating ice; of "Old Uncle Tom" sold for debt by a kind master in Kentucky, of his easy life with little Eva St Clair in New Orleans, of St. Clair's unexpected death and of Tom's being sold up the Red River and being whipped to death by the cruel and savage Legree. The story came out week by week in an antislavery newspaper, *The National Era*, and afterwards as a book. Thousands of people read it. The purpose of Mrs. Stowe was to reveal the actual and possible evils of the slave system, and to arouse opposition to it. The book made thousands of Abolitionists, and no historical novel ever had a greater influence.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1848. Gold discovered in California.
- 1848. Free Soil Party Organized
- 1849-1853. Taylor and Fillmore's Administration.
- 1850. Clay's Compromise Measures Passed.
- 1850. Fugitive Slave Law Passed.

CHAPTER XXX

THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE AND THE STRUGGLE FOR KANSAS

424. Pierce becomes President and promises the Country Peace on the Subject of Slavery. — On March 4, 1853, Franklin Pierce became President. He said he would do all he could to keep



FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Born in New Hampshire in 1804, and died in the same state in 1869. He was a lawyer and a graduate of Bowdoin College. He was a United States senator and had served in the Mexican War before becoming President. He was in sympathy with the South during the Civil War.

peace on the slavery question and that the compromises should not be disturbed or the agitation re-

newed during his administration, if he could prevent it. Yet his administration was not a year old before the country was thrown

into the greatest excitement over slavery by an agitation not to be allayed until the question was settled by civil war. This was caused by the Kansas-Nebraska Bill of 1854, which repealed the Missouri Compromise of 1820.

425 Douglas proposes the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. — In January, 1854, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois proposed the "Kansas-

Nebraska Bill," providing a government for the Nebraska country. He also submitted a long report explaining the measure. The bill divided the country into two territories, Kansas on the south, Nebraska on the north. It was supposed that Kansas

would come into the Union as a slave state and Nebraska as a free state, and thus each section be treated fairly.

Douglas maintained that the Compromise of 1850 had "superseded" the Compromise of 1820, that the "old, exploded doctrine" of Congressional prohibition of slavery in the territories had given way to the new principle of non-intervention by Congress, the principle of "popular sovereignty,"

of leaving the people of the territories to settle the question of slavery for themselves. As Congress in 1850 deemed it wise to refrain from settling the dispute over slavery in the territories by adopting the great compromise principle which had been so hap-

Douglas explains how the Act of 1850 superseded the Act of 1820.

pily and universally accepted by the country, so now, Douglas said, he would adopt the same principle. He took the ground that in 1850, when Congress refused to apply the Wilmot Proviso in organizing New Mexico and Utah but left the question of slavery in those territories to the people there, Congress was laying down a general principle for the organization of all future territories, and in doing this it virtually repealed the Missouri Compromise.

Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Act, in harmony with this doctrine, now enacted this repeal into law. Douglas said in his bill that "the Act of 1820, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the territories as recognized in the Compromise of 1850, is hereby declared inoperative and void, it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any territory or state or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

426. What Motive prompted Douglas? — It is not known what moved Douglas to take this course. Perhaps he wished to be President, and therefore took this means of gaining the favor of the South. It may be he sincerely believed that his measure would keep down slavery agitation. If he believed this he was woefully mistaken, for the Kansas-Nebraska Bill produced the

greatest political agitation the country had ever known. His act and doctrine were amazing to the people of the North. It was a startling surprise even to the men who had taken part in the debates of 1850. Not one of them had ever said or heard anything of the kind. They supposed that in 1850 they were legislating only for the Mexican cessions. They never dreamed they were adopting a measure which opened up the rest of the Louisiana territory to slavery, from which it had been excluded more than thirty years before.

This seemed like a most unjustifiable attack on the part of slavery. It seemed that slavery could not be satisfied where it was, merely to be let alone, but that it was determined to have more territory and more power. Since 1850 there had been movements for the acquisition of Cuba or of more territory in Mexico or Central America, to increase the slave power. In this very year (1854) the "Ostend Manifesto" was issued. The American ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain (Buchanan, Mason, and Soulé) met together at Ostend in Belgium, to discuss the question of Cuba. They issued a manifesto declaring that the United States should offer Spain one hundred million dollars for Cuba, but if Spain would not sell, then we should "wrest it from her" by force. This was the diplomacy of the bully in the interest of slavery, a kind of highwayman's plea that might makes right. These things aroused the people of the North to the feeling that they must unite to resist these aggressions of slavery.

Slavery is aggressive.

The Ostend Manifesto.

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427. Appeal of the Independent Democrats.—The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was not passed without great opposition. The debate was long and bitter. The first call to resistance came in the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats." This was written by Chase and signed by a few antislavery members of Congress. The appeal accused Douglas of bad faith. "If this bill shall become a law," it said, "the blight of slavery will cover the land and a fair region consecrated to freedom by a solemn compact will be given over to masters and slaves. Take your map,

fellow-citizens, we entreat you, and see what country it is which this bill proposes to open to slavery. It is an area more than twelve times as great as that of Ohio, occupying the very heart of the continent, and now for more than thirty years regarded by the common consent of the American people as consecrated to freedom by law and compact "

This "Appeal of the Independent Democrats" had great influence in arousing opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Public meetings were held, and protests began to come into Congress from all over the North. Douglas was denounced, and he said he could travel to his home in Illinois by the light of his own burning effigies. Douglas was stirred to defend his doctrine of "popular sovereignty." This meant that the people of a Territory should be allowed to legislate for themselves upon all questions, including the question of slavery. "If they wish slavery, they have a right to it. If they do not want it, they will not have it, and you should not force it upon them," said Douglas.

The South supported Douglas's measure. All they asked, they said, was to be allowed to carry their slave property with them into the Territories. "Why should any one object," asked one of the Southern senators, "if a Southern gentleman wishes to take his good old negro Mammy with him to a new home in the West?" Wade of Ohio answered that no one objected to that, the only objection was to the Southern gentleman's taking *his State law* into the Territories, by which he might be allowed to *sell* his good old "Mammy" after he got her there. Seward expressed the feeling that if slavery were to control the Western Territories, America could not much longer be a land of freedom. On the night before the bill was voted on, when it was seen that Southern support would lead to its passage, Seward exclaimed: "Come on, then, gentlemen of the slave States. Since there is no escaping your challenge, I accept it in behalf of the cause of

Douglas de-
fends "pop-
ular sov-
erignty"

The South
demands the
right to
take slaves
into the
Territories

Seward
accepts the
challenge to
a contest
for the
Territories

freedom. We will engage in competition for the virgin soil of Kansas, and God give the victory to the side which is stronger in numbers as it is in right." In spite of all opposition, however, the bill became a law in May, 1854.

428 Results of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill — Judged by its consequences, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was one of the most momentous legislative acts in American history. Its results were as follows:—

1. It opened up again the whole question of slavery in the territories. It arrayed the two sections against one another for the final struggle. Sumner said it "set freedom and slavery face to face and bade them grapple." People saw that there could be no more compromises with slavery. It had to be settled whether freedom or slavery should control the national policy in the territories

1. North and South arrayed against one another.

2. It caused the dissolution of the Whig party. The great leaders of the Whigs, Clay and Webster, had passed away. Both died in 1852. Some "old line Whigs," who had no interest in the slavery question, still clung to the party, but the great body of the party in the North were antislavery men; they were opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and were ready to organize a new party to resist the extension of slavery. Many of the Southern Whigs went with the Democrats in favor of slavery. Others joined the "Know-Nothings," or Americans (§ 433), or were afterward Constitutional Union men, following Bell of Tennessee.

2. The Whig parties disappear.

3. It caused the division of the Democratic party in the North. Many Northern Democrats had voted in Congress against the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. These joined with the antislavery Whigs, and together they were called the "Anti-Nebraska men." They began to organize, and in the Congressional elections of 1854 a majority of the newly elected Congressmen were against the Democrats. Nearly every Northern man who had voted for Douglas's bill was defeated.

3. The Democratic party is divided.

4 It led to the organization of the Republican party. This new party was the direct outcome of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The party was made up of three elements: (1) The antislavery Whigs, (2) the Anti-Nebraska Democrats, (3) The Free Soilers. These classes now all united in a common cause on a common principle: *No further extension of slavery*.

4. The new Republican party is organized

5. As an immediate result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, a struggle began between the free-state men and the slave-state men for the control of Kansas. The race for the territory began as soon as the bill became a law. This soon led to civil war in the territory. Whether Kansas became a slave or a free state was now to depend upon its first settlers. Slave Missouri was near at hand. Some rough characters from her

5 Slave states and free states begin the struggle for Kansas.

frontier, called "border ruffians," hurried to Kansas. They were the first "squatters" on the land. They staked their land claims, returned home to Missouri, and called on Southern men to come to Kansas. A number responded and founded a town on the Missouri River, which they called Atchison, after Senator Atchison of Missouri, the man who was directing the proslavery forces. The North could send more men into the territory than the South. It was richer and more populous. It had more European immigrants and young men who were "foot loose" and ready to venture West to improve their condition. The slaveholder went into Kansas at greater risk. He might lose his slaves. They might not be adapted to the soil and climate. It was certain that if a fair majority in Kansas were to determine the contest the free states would win.

The "border ruffians" invade Kansas.

429 The New England Emigrant Aid Society is organized.—The New England Emigrant Aid Society was organized by two wealthy men of Massachusetts, Eli Thayer and Amos Lawrence, for the purpose of making Kansas a free state by aiding antislavery men to go out there. The settlers sent by this society founded the town of Lawrence. The proslavery leaders in

Missouri did not like the work of this society. They thought it was not a fair way to compete for the territory, that every man ought to be left free to go to Kansas or not as he chose. They accordingly began to arouse the "border ruffians," the jay-hawkers and bushwhackers of the frontier, to meet the society's emigrants with violence.

430. The "Border Ruffians" elect a Legislature. — In November, 1854, a territorial delegate was elected to Congress from Kansas. In this election the proslavery party was successful, by the aid of nearly two thousand Missouri invaders. A more important election was that of the territorial legislature in March, 1855. The legislature would determine whether Kansas would be slave or free. The border counties of Missouri took part in this election also. In these Missouri counties meetings were held for a month before election day, secret societies called "Blue Lodges" were formed; and on the election day armed bands of Missourians marched into Kansas and elected a proslavery legislature. Only one free-state man was chosen, but there were three or four times as many votes cast as there were legal voters in the territory. This legislature adopted the slave laws of Missouri and declared Kansas a slave territory. To deny the right to hold slaves in Kansas was made a crime.

431. The Free-state Men refuse to submit to the Proslavery Legislature. — The free-state men would not submit to this legislature. Under their leader, Dr. Charles Robinson, who had helped to make California free, they held a convention at Topeka, adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery and submitted it to the people. The free-state voters ratified it, and a governor and a legislature were elected. So by the beginning of 1856 there were two rival governments in Kansas. Armed conflicts occurred between the two forces. The free-state men received a shipment of Sharpe's rifles, called "Beecher's Bibles," because Rev. Henry Ward Beecher had said that those were the "Bible arguments" needed against slavery in Kansas. They proposed to stand their ground against what they considered a sham territorial legislature.

The "border ruffians" from Missouri called in a proslavery sheriff to "enforce the law," and burned and sacked the free-state town of Lawrence. This was wanton and unjustifiable pillage. In retaliation, "Old John Brown of Osawatimie," breathing out vengeance and slaughter, with a small band of free-state men, deliberately dragged from their cabins and murdered five men of the other party. So both parties were made to appear equally guilty of violence and crime.

President Pierce and the territorial governor recognized the slave-state government as legal, but the free-state government had a majority of the Kansas people behind it. The free-state legislature was dispersed by Colonel Sumner (July 4, 1856). In March this legislature had met, elected two United States senators, and asked Congress for admission to the Union under the Topeka Constitution. Thus the whole subject of slavery in the light of "Bleeding Kansas" was again before Congress and the country.

432. Sumner is struck down in the Senate — The whole country was now in a fever of excitement over affairs in Kansas. Senator Sumner of Massachusetts made a powerful speech on Kansas in the Senate. He denounced slavery and its advocates. In coarse and vulgar language he assailed Senator Butler of South Carolina, and after the Senate adjourned, and while Sumner was seated at his desk, he was brutally assaulted by Preston Brooks, a representative from South Carolina, a nephew of Butler. Brooks beat Sumner on the head with a heavy cane, knocking him senseless to the floor. Sumner was disabled for three years from service in the Senate.

Northern Congressmen publicly denounced Brooks, and Senator Wilson of Massachusetts, and Anson Burlingame, a representative from that state, were challenged by Southern men to fight duels for their words in Congress. Senator Wade of Ohio, with a brace of revolvers on his desk, said he knew of no better cause in which a man could die than by standing for freedom of speech and debate on the floor of the Senate. He said that he proposed to speak out his mind on slavery and not be cowed by

the duels and bludgeons of the bullies and "fire eaters" of the South. A majority voted to expel Brooks from the House. He resigned, and returned to South Carolina, where he received great ovations, he was presented with many canes, and was almost unanimously reelected to Congress. Such was the sectional bitterness and hatred aroused by the civil war in Kansas, and by the renewed discussion in Congress over slavery.

433 **The Campaign and Election of 1856.**—In the midst of this excitement the Presidential election of 1856 was coming on. The new Republican party was formally organized at Pittsburgh, February 22, 1856. The party's name and principles had been announced at a mass meeting held under the oaks at Jackson, Michigan, in July, 1854. It held its first national nominating convention at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. General John C. Fremont, the "Pathfinder," was nominated for President and William L. Dayton of New Jersey for Vice President. This party proposed no interference with slavery where it existed, but it resolved that Congress should prohibit in the territories "those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery," and it demanded that Kansas should be immediately admitted with her free constitution.

During the break-up of parties in 1854 the "Know-nothing" party became strong. The men who organized this party sought to cultivate the spirit of "native Americanism." They said that the foreigners, German and Irish, who had been lately coming to America in great numbers, were too much under the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, and that that church was seeking political power and ought to be opposed, that "Americans should rule America"; that foreigners should be compelled to live in America twenty-one years before being allowed to vote; and that they should not be allowed to hold office at all. The "Know-nothings" organized themselves together in secret lodges and bound themselves by oaths not to reveal the proceedings nor to vote for any but native Americans. The members

Origin of
the Repub-
lican party,
1854-1856

The
"Know-
nothings."

always claimed to *know nothing* about what the party meetings had been doing, hence the name. It was a foolish if not a dangerous party, and it could not last. Horace Greeley said people might as well organize an anti-cholera or an anti-potato-rot party. But the "Know-nothings" carried some states and elected some Congressmen in 1854. Many good men — Whigs and Free Soilers — went into this party as the best means of opposing the Democratic party, which was now charged with being under the influence of slaveholders and foreigners.

In 1856 the "Know-nothings" and the "Silver Gray," or "Old Line," Whigs, who had not gone to one of the other parties, entered the field under the name of "Americans." They nominated ex-President Fillmore for President and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee for Vice President. They polled 874,000 votes, but carried only one state, Maryland.

The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania for President and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky for Vice President. Buchanan had been out of the country, as minister to England, during the previous four years of strife. He was now sure to win a solid South, because the Republicans could not hope to carry a single slave state. ^{The Republicans are denounced as a sectional party} Buchanan also appealed to the national Union sentiment in the North, he attacked the Republicans as a "sectional party," arraying one part of the Union against another part, and he reminded the people of Washington's warning against forming parties on geographical lines.

The "Americans" also blamed the Republicans for sectionalism. Fillmore said: "We see a political party presenting candidates selected for the first time from the free states alone, with the avowed purpose of electing them by one part of the Union to rule over the whole United States."

Southerners said the election of Fremont would be the end of the Union. This feeling resulted in Buchanan's election, though the young Republicans made a very spirited canvass and polled 1,300,000 votes, and had 114 votes in the electoral college.

Buchanan's popular vote was 1,800,000 and his electoral vote was 174. In all the South Fremont received only a little over 1000 votes.

FACTS AND DATES

- 1853-1857 Pierce's Administration.
- 1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act Repeal of Missouri Compromise.
- 1854 Struggle for Kansas Began
- 1854. The Ostend Manifesto.
- 1854-1856. Origin of the Republican Party.

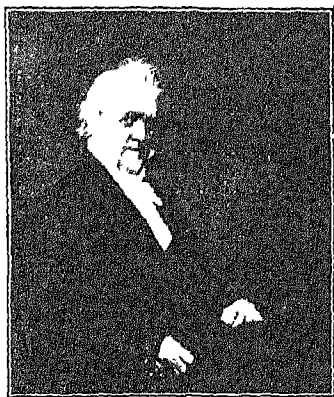
CHAPTER XXXI

THE FINAL STRUGGLE AGAINST SLAVERY EXTENSION

434. Two Long-standing Disputes over Slaves as Property and Slavery in the Territories are presented to the Supreme Court. —

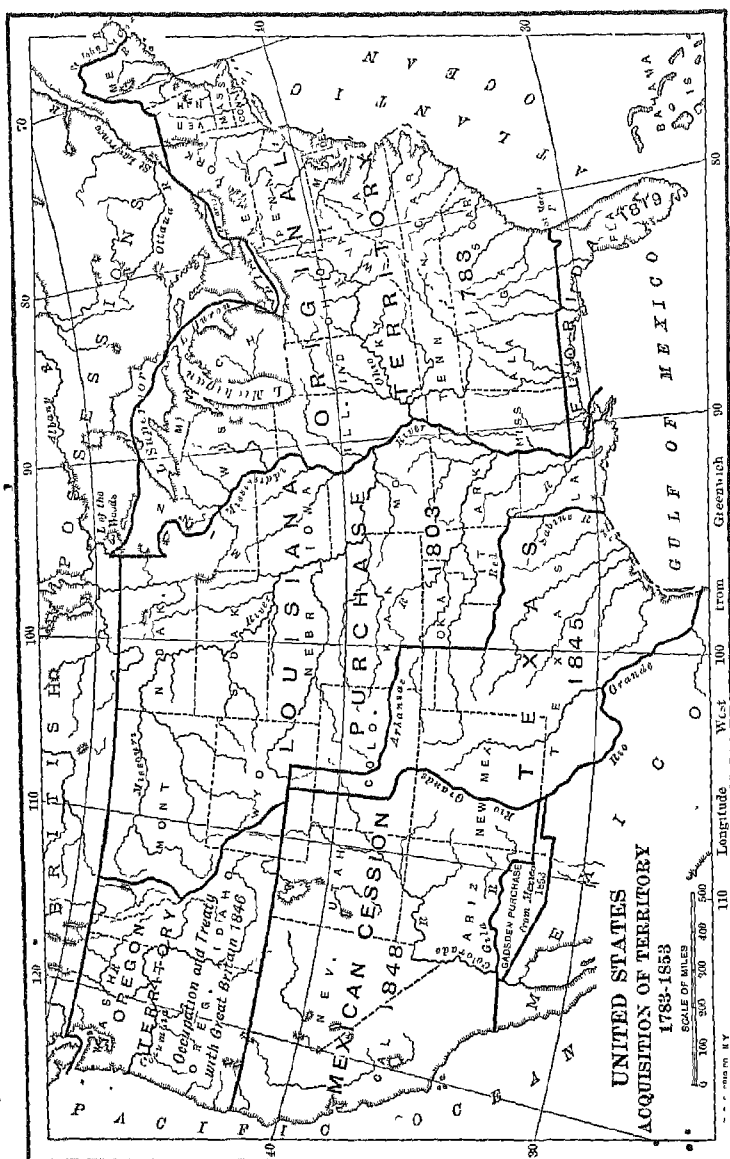
It had been a long-standing dispute whether slaves were to be treated as persons or merely as property. The Constitution did not clearly settle this. The anti-slavery men contended that when the Constitution said, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law," this applied to those accused of being runaway slaves and that the Constitution nowhere refers to "slaves" or considers them as property. They said that slaves were property only by state laws. The South, or the slaveholders, held to the "property doctrine,"—that slaves should be considered by the national government merely as property. Again, Congress had refused to settle the question of slavery in the territories, and had left it to the territorial settlers. The people of Kansas, as we have seen, had come to regular war and bloodshed in trying to settle it.

435. The Dred Scott Decision. — The Supreme Court was now to try its hand at these two questions: Are slaves property by



JAMES BUCHANAN.

Born in Pennsylvania, in 1791, and died in the same state, in 1868. He was a graduate of Dickinson College, and became eminent as a lawyer at an early age. He was United States senator, Secretary of State, and minister to England before becoming President.



rational law, and shall slavery be kept out of the territories? The court came into the political arena with a decision touching these two questions, — a decision that startled the country, and aroused still further the antislavery spirit and agitation. This was the famous Dred Scott decision, announced on March 6, 1857.

Dred Scott was a Missouri slave whose owner, Dr. Emerson, an army surgeon, had taken him first to Illinois and then to Minnesota. Slavery was prohibited in Illinois by the law of that state, also in Minnesota, a part of the Louisiana Purchase, by the Missouri Compromise of 1820. In 1838 Emerson brought Dred back to Missouri, and some time after Dred sued for his liberty on the ground that temporary residence in free territory had made him free. He won his case in the lower Missouri court, but the Supreme Court of that state, decided against him. Soon after a Mr. Sandford of New York became Dred's owner, and as Dred claimed to be a citizen of one state while Sandford was a citizen of another, a new case was gotten up for trial, this time in the United States courts. The United States Circuit Court in Missouri decided as the Missouri Supreme Court had done, that Dred was still a slave. This meant merely that the court would allow Missouri law to decide the case and that temporary residence in a free territory did not bring about the freedom of a slave after he had been returned to a slave state. No great importance would have attached to such a decision, but when Dred's lawyers appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States that high court greatly broadened the scope of the decision, setting forth judicial opinions against the antislavery cause, on three points of the deepest significance.

The court decides against the anti-slavery cause and supports the Southern view.

That a negro was not a citizen of the United States and, therefore, could not sue in the United States courts. He was not included either in the Declaration of Independence or in the Constitution. Chief Justice Taney, who rendered the decision, said that in the early days when the government was

founded, the black man was not included in the political community, and he was looked upon as having "no rights which the white man was bound to respect", and, although more humane sentiments may have since arisen concerning the negro, his legal and political status had not been changed.

2. The decision affirmed that a slave was not a "person" within the meaning of the Constitution but was only property, like a horse or a cow, or any other property, and that Congress could not exclude this property from the territories, but was in duty bound to protect it there.

3. Therefore, the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional from the beginning, and any attempt to restore it, or to enact any law like the Wilmot Proviso, prohibiting slavery in the territories, would be null and void.

Such was the meaning of the decision.

436. The Decision over Dred Scott arouses more Agitation — The Court had accepted the Southern view as to the "property doctrine" and the rights of slavery in the territories. The Republican party had been organized for the purpose of preventing the spread of slavery by keeping it out of the territories. If this could not be done, the party had no reason for being. The Republicans, therefore, denounced the Supreme Court and rejected the decision as partisan and unsound, and refused to be bound by it. They did not propose to resist it, but they proposed to do what they could to have the country and the court overrule it, as the court had before frequently overruled its own decisions. They accepted the dissenting opinions of Justices Curtis and McLean instead, which said the negro might be a citizen, and that Congress had a right to keep slavery out of the territories. Buchanan had promised in his inaugural address that the court would soon settle the question of slavery in the territories, and he hoped all excitement on the subject would be allayed. Far from settling the question or allaying the excitement, the Dred Scott decision only added to the bitterness of the struggle.

The people of the South would not now be satisfied with less

than the Supreme Court had declared were their legal rights. So the decision appears to have made slavery a national institution by bringing slave property under the protection of national law, it declared slavery to be legal in the territories, and nobody could prohibit it there till the people of the new state should do so when they came to make a constitution preparatory to admission to the Union.

The aggressive and radical advocates of slavery now seemed to be completely triumphant. They had the law on their side, as laid down by the highest court of the land. They ^{slavery} were in control of the Democratic administration, for ^{men} win.

Buchanan, who was a weak and vacillating man, was under their influence. He was constantly in fear that the slaveholders, if slavery were in any way interfered with, would secede and destroy the Union, as they were threatening to do.

137. The Lecompton Struggle. — The next effort of the slavery extensionists was to bring Kansas into the Union as a slave state against the will of her people. The proslavery legislature of Kansas called a convention at Lecompton, which adopted a constitution permitting slavery. The people of the territory were not allowed to vote against this constitution. They could vote for the constitution with slavery or for it without slavery, but nobody could vote against the constitution. Governor Walker of Kansas told President Buchanan that the majority of the Kansas people were against this Lecompton Constitution, but Buchanan accepted it and recommended that Congress admit Kansas as a slave state with this constitution. Douglas opposed Buchanan's policy and said that the people of Kansas had not a fair chance to vote on the Lecompton constitution according to his principle of popular sovereignty. He said he did "not care whether slavery was voted up or voted down," but that Kansas had a right to the kind of a constitution her people wanted. Buchanan's Lecompton policy of trying to force slavery on the people of Kansas was defeated by Douglas, and it led to another division of the Democratic party on slavery.

AMERICAN HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT

438. **The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858.** — In 1858 Douglas was a candidate for reelection to the Senate from Illinois. Lincoln was nominated by the Republicans as a candidate against him. Lincoln's speech in accepting the nomination (June 16, 1858) is one of the most famous speeches in American politics. He said the nation could not endure half slave and half free, it would have to become all one thing or all the other.

He thought the nation would have to be controlled either by men who thought slavery was right and would try to extend it,

Lincoln says slavery is wrong and the nation must stand against it.

or by men who thought it was wrong and would try to restrict it. To many politicians this speech seemed too radical, and they said it would result in Lincoln's defeat. Lincoln said: "The time has come when these sentiments should be uttered, if I go down because of this speech, then let me go down linked to the truth, let me die in the advocacy of what is just and right."

Douglas and Lincoln, the rival candidates, spoke in a series of joint debates before the people of Illinois. They discussed the questions of the day in the open air, and people flocked from miles around to hear these champions speak. Douglas was a famous debater, one of the greatest in the country. He had magnetism, the gift of oratory, and a great personal following. He had been many years in Congress (since 1843), had a national reputation, and he had successfully met great leaders like Sumner, Chase, and Seward in senatorial discussion. His followers called him the "Little Giant of the West," and they considered him invincible in debate.

The difference between Douglas and Lincoln.

Beside Douglas, who was short and fat, standing five feet three, stood Lincoln, six feet four, — tall, lean, gaunt, and homely. Lincoln was not an orator. His voice was shrill, piping, and unpleasant, and his manner was awkward. He knew the people thought Douglas a great man, much greater than himself. But Lincoln was honest, plain, and straightforward. The people called him "Honest Abe." He was

good-humored and had a great fund of good stories to tell. But more important than any of these things, Lincoln had one all-powerful advantage, — he was on the right side. He said "a live dog is better than a dead lion." For purposes of opposing slavery he thought Douglas, with all his ability, might as well have been dead.

Douglas had said he did not care whether slavery was *extended or not*. He *did not care about the right or wrong of slavery*. Lincoln *cared*, and he wanted a national policy as to slavery which would deal with it as being wrong. Douglas would not *force* slavery on Kansas and other territories against the will of their people, as Buchanan and some Southern leaders were trying to do, but he was willing to let it go into the territories if a majority of the people there wanted it. Lincoln said that this was like saying that if one man wanted to enslave another no third man had a right to object. He said that even if the white men in Kansas should choose to enslave the black men, all the rest of the people had a right, and it was their duty, to prevent it.

Lincoln asked Douglas a question which led Douglas to say that, in spite of the Dred Scott decision, the people of Kansas, by "unfriendly legislation," could keep slavery out of Kansas before they were ready for statehood. The South would not support Douglas for the Presidency after that. Douglas won the Illinois senatorship, but Lincoln "had his eye on bigger game." This debate gave Lincoln a wide reputation. His party felt that he had stood up boldly for the right, that he had really beaten Douglas in debate, and his victory paved the way for the Presidency in 1860.

Lincoln
had the
better of
the de-
bate

439. John Brown makes a Mad Attempt to free the Slaves. — In this period of intense excitement occurred an event which made it more difficult, if not impossible, to solve the slavery question in a peaceful way. This was John Brown's raid. To Brown, slavery was the sum of all villainies. He had vowed eternal war and hatred against it. He thought it was too late to vote

slavery down. He believed, as he said, that "the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood." He was ready for more bloody work. On October 16, 1859, with a band of twenty men, he seized the United States Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, in Virginia. He expected to arouse the slaves, he would put arms in their hands and let them fight for their freedom. He would encourage the slaves to run away, harbor them in the mountains, and thus make slave property of so little value that the South would be compelled to free its slaves. The attempt was madness and folly. The slaves, of course, did not rise. Brown was soon captured by United States marines under Colonel Robert E. Lee, ten of his followers, including one of his sons, were killed, and Brown was tried, convicted, and executed for murder and treason under the laws of Virginia.

The different views of John Brown and his work illustrate very clearly how far apart the North and South were in the slavery conflict, and what a spirit of war and disunion was abroad in the land. Many of the Abolitionists of the North regarded Brown as a martyr to liberty, they commended his spirit and applauded his purpose, if not his method. Emerson called him a hero, and Gerrit Smith said that, "of all men in the world, Brown was most truly a Christian." "Martyr services" were held in Concord, Massachusetts, on the day of his execution, and a poem was recited in his honor. The closing lines of the poem are as follows:—

Brown
was con-
demned by
some and
praised by
others.

"And then the humble poor will come
In that far-distant day,
And from the felon's nameless grave
They'll brush the leaves away;
And gray old men will point the spot
Beneath the pine tree shade,
As children ask with streaming eyes
Where old John Brown is laid."

The South was thrown into intense excitement and rage at this attempt to arouse their slaves to insurrection. They con-

cluded from the abolition expressions that the North indorsed Brown's acts, and, in that case, they very naturally felt that their homes and firesides were unsafe in the Union. They regarded Brown's act as he intended it, an act of war on slavery. They now demanded of Congress a sedition act to prevent any future attempt to arouse people against slavery. Most moderate men at the North condemned Brown. An attempt was made to fasten some responsibility for his course upon the Republican party, but without success. In 1860 that party condemned Brown's act as "the gravest of crimes."

The South
is alarmed
over
Brown's
effort

440. The Election of 1860. — The two sections were drawing farther and farther apart. The slavery question had divided churches and broken up political parties. So far, the Democratic party had maintained its national character, under the control of Southern leadership. This party now divided into a Northern wing and a Southern wing. In its national convention at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1860, the Southern delegates, being denied their demands in the platform, bolted from the convention and nominated a ticket of their own. There were now four parties in the field. —

The *Republicans* nominated Lincoln and Hamlin, on a platform demanding that Congress should prohibit slavery in the territories.

The *Southern Democrats* nominated Breckinridge and Lane on a platform demanding that Congress should protect slavery in the territories.

The *Northern Democrats*, with Douglas and Johnson as their candidates, stood for "popular sovereignty," that is, that the settlers in the Territories should decide whether there should be slavery or not.

The *Constitutional Union* party nominated Bell of Tennessee and Everett of Massachusetts. They wished to disregard the slavery question entirely. They declared for the "Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, the enforcement of the laws."

It was seen that the division in the Democratic party made Lincoln's election almost certain. Southern men freely declared that if he were elected the cotton states would secede. They said they would not submit to "Black Republican" rule. Douglas and Bell also said the Union was in danger, but the

The North
refuses to
be fright-
ened about
disunion.

Republicans said this cry, "the Union is in danger," was like the cry of "wolf"; it had been a false cry many times before and it was now made to frighten people from voting for Lincoln. This cry had elected Buchanan in 1856, and Seward said this threat of "breaking up the Union" had been made for twenty years and that now the Northern people should stand by their principles and not be afraid; that the Southern leaders would not do as they said.

It seems the North and the South were no longer able to understand one another. Every Northern state voted for Lincoln, and he was elected. Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee voted for Bell and Everett. The majority of their people were Union-loving men. Douglas carried only Missouri and a part of the electoral vote of New Jersey, although his popular vote was next to that of Lincoln. All the rest of the slave states voted for Breckinridge.

Lincoln was elected. Northern opponents of slavery felt that freedom was triumphant; that slavery would now be kept within bounds. The country should return to the principles of the fathers, of Washington, Jefferson, Mason, and Madison, who wished slavery limited to the states in which it then existed. Thus the North had spoken. What would be the answer of the South?

FACTS AND DATES

- 1857-1861. Buchanan's Administration.
- 1857. The Dred Scott Decision.
- 1858. The Lincoln-Douglas Debate.
- 1858. Silver discovered in Nevada.
- 1859. John Brown's Raid.

CHAPTER XXXII

SECESSION AND DISUNION

441. South Carolina begins Secession — In 1860 South Carolina was the only state that still retained the practice of choosing her Presidential electors by the state legislature. On the day that Lincoln was elected the South Carolina legislature was in session for this purpose. After appointing electors to vote for Breckinridge and Lane the members of the legislature did not adjourn and go home, they waited to hear the result of the election. Three days after it was known that Lincoln was elected, the legislature called a convention of the people of South Carolina. This convention assembled on December 17, 1860, and after only three days' deliberation passed, on December 20, 1860, what was called "an ordinance to dissolve the union between the state of South Carolina and other states united with her under the compact entitled the Constitution of the United States of America." After the ordinance was properly signed the president of the convention proclaimed the state of South Carolina "an independent Commonwealth." Thus South Carolina seceded, and it was publicly announced that the Union was dissolved. On the following day the Charleston papers published items from other states under the head, "Foreign News."

This meant that South Carolina would govern herself and no longer recognize the authority of the United States. She claimed the right to do this because, as she said, the Union was only a league, not a nation, and that the "compact," as she called the Constitution, had been broken. South Carolina holds to the "compact" theory. The state gave reasons for exercising this right of secession. These reasons may be found in South

to Buchanan's n Causes." They all related to slav-
 it until the storm Southern people denied the right of a
 office. The fit, although General Lee said that there
 it re- would have th was not sufficient cause for seces-
 as in hanan's plans without in sion and that such a step would
 net. gan resigned as be revolution But when a state
 50) because Buchanan v pronounced its will to secede, the
 uthern forts. Some of th uthern people believed that all
 binet to help on in the worl citizens, whether they were sup-
 ntucky, Edwin M. Stanton of, rters or opposers of secession,
 rk, Democrats of backbone, re bound to maintain the will
 he American Union must and the state, even to the extent
 the Cabinet, and General R x var against the United States
 revenue officer in New rlic. his issue would not have been
 l aul down the American flag nted if it had not been for
 eave hope and spirit to the U y It was slavery that ar-
 . Buchanan at last broke av 1 the will of the state against
 sionists. On January 9 h United States in 1861.

42. Formation of the Southern
Confederacy, 1861 — Other slave
 states followed South Carolina.
 Within six weeks (by February 1,
 1861) Mississippi, Florida, Ala-
 bama, Georgia, Louisiana, and
 Texas had seceded from the Un-
 ion. Each gave for its action vir-
 tually the same reason as that
 assigned by South Carolina, — the
 interests of slavery On Febru-
 ary 4, 1861, delegates from six
 states met at Montgomery, Ala-
 bama, established a provisional govern-
 ment, and declared the "Confederate States of Ar-
 kansas, Mississippi President a
 phens of Georgia Vice President of

444. The Crittenden C
 — All sorts of plans we
 and compromise, to pe
 break up the Union.
 Crittenden of Kentucky
 proposed what is known
 the line 36°30' should
 the District of Colum-
 national gov-
 never be a th-
 It seems
 firmly esta-
 and surrend
 the face of

SECESSION AND

Southern senators, United States, resigned their positions, saying they obey the United States. While they seceded, they seized all the United States mints, forts, arsenals, and public buildings within the seceding states. By March 1, 1861, only Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, and Fort Sumter, at Charleston, were left in possession of the United States. Thus the Union was dissolved. The nation's authority was defied, its offices were vacated, its loyal representatives driven out, and its flag was hauled down throughout seven states of the Union.

443. President Buchanan takes no Steps to defeat Secession.

Meanwhile, in December, 1860, Congress met. Buchanan was under the influence of Southern men and he sympathized with their state rights views. In his message to Congress he blamed the antislavery men of the North for all the trouble, and he made out that South Carolina had just cause for seceding. Then he said that the constitutional right to secede; but if it could not prevent it, for the general government could not prevent a state from seceding.

Buchanan seemed not to understand that the general government had no right to prevent a state from seceding and to suppress an insurrection of its citizens.

TORY AND GOVERNMENT

proposed no policy. He wanted to wait or until his successor came into sessionists, therefore, saw that they on the 4th of March to carry out their preference. General Cass of Michigan, Secretary of State (December 12, 1860), could not attempt to hold the Southern men retired from the brink of secession. Joseph Holt of Ohio, and John A. Dix of New York, who believed, like Jackson, that "the Union shall be preserved," came into office. They sent a ringing message to the South, "If any man attempts to secede, shoot him on the spot." This was the Union men of the North.

They were free from the influence of the secessionists. They attempted to send provisions to the South, but the vessel *Star of the West*, but the vessel was captured in the harbor and was forced to turn back. This was a national authority and may be considered an act of war.

Compromise, 1861. The Peace Congress was proposed in Congress for conciliation and to persuade the South to come back and not secede. The most notable was that of Senator Stephen A. Crittenden, the successor of Henry Clay. He proposed as the "Crittenden Compromise," that if the Union was restored, that slavery be retained in the South, that fugitive slaves be paid for by the Federal Government if not returned, and that Congress should be prohibited to interfere with slavery in the states. Surprising at this day, after a successful war has shown our nationality, that such a spirit of concession was manifested itself in Congress and the North in the secession movement, in the winter of 1860-1861.

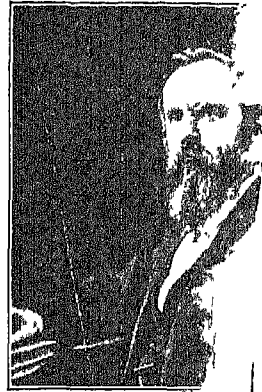
THE UNITED NATION, 1

under unfortunate circumstances, but it was a man of good judgment in business and moral purpose. He has been more highly appreciated years than during his lifetime. Before becoming President he had served his country in the Civil War, in the House of Representatives, and had twice been elected governor of Ohio.

The period was one of peace and conciliation, and Hayes was just the man to lead in such a movement. In the Centennial Exposition, held in Philadelphia in the summer of 1876, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, Great Britain, as if taking a pride in the industrial advancement of her former colonies, was one of the principal exhibitors. And now the new President took steps to reconcile the South. One of the first acts of his administration was to recall the Federal troops from the Southern states. In doing so he said that he felt sure that no further violence was intended and that the disputes in the South would be settled by peaceful methods.

In 1880 Congress passed an act which forbade the use of Federal troops at the polls on election day. These acts of the President and Congress did much to bring about a better feeling both North and South.

544. The Redemption of Greenbacks began in 1879. — Another act of great importance went into effect on the 1st of January, 1879. During the war the government issued large amounts of paper money, popularly called "greenbacks." These greenbacks were made legal tender, that is, a creditor



RUTHERFORD

Born in 1822 in Ohio. He attended Kenyon College, but later entered the Union Army. He was elected governor of Ohio in 1875 and was twice reelected. He served as President for one term. F. B. Hayes

18

H

F. B. Hayes

at them, if ~~any~~ ^{the} "spoils system" had been
 be exchanged, and although its evil effects
 war, the government political party had the courage
 ver in return for power always snarled at the
 money depreciated liked to use the offices, or the
 the time only third political "workers" For this
 bad effect on him did not make much headway for
 it to begin the many years. But in 1841 Presi-
 dents, or "to resume" President Harrison was pestered to
 accordingly passed death by office seekers, and in
 option of speech the death of President Gar-
 field for this resumption was due to the same cause.
 amount of gold and silver the meantime, there were
 demand for it when the of political scandals which
 showed that they could be traced directly to the
 drawbacks, they were the spoils system. This set the peo-
 ple in 1879 our people to thinking, and in January,
 gold or silver, and the "Pendleton Civil Service
 Act" was passed by the United
 States. The efforts of the two parties.



CHAS

Born in Vermont
 from Union College
 successful lawyer He
 colored man and won
 court. He served in the Civil War, and
 was President of the United States
 for nearly a term. He died in 1886

and Hancock

The act was introduced by a
 Democratic member of a Repub-
 lican Senate, and signed by a Re-
 publican President. It provided
 that appointments to certain gov-
ernment offices should be made
only upon competitive examination, that officers should not be
 removed for political reasons, and that assessments should not
 be made upon officeholders to pay campaign expenses. It also
 provided for a civil service commission to manage and develop
 the new system. Mr. Arthur, who took the oath of office on
 the day following the death of President Garfield,
 was friendly to the act and put it into effect at once.
 Under succeeding Presidents, the "merit system," as
 it was called, was greatly extended. The first law
 applied only to a few classes of officers, but at the present time

The "merit
 system"
 has been
 greatly ex-
 tended.

choosing the electors? By what various methods have Presidential electors been chosen during our history? 10. Explain the "district plan" and its advantages. 11. How does the "common ticket" plan make the large states more important? 12. Is a Presidential elector free to vote for whom he pleases for President? Why? Show how the plan of choosing the President by electors has changed since the beginning of the Constitution. 13. Why was the electoral college created? 14. Explain how the President and Vice President are elected if the electoral college fails to elect.

15. State the qualifications required of the President. 16. How is the President removable? 17. How may a vacancy occur in the President's office? Who then succeeds to the office? 18. What are the qualifications and duties of the Vice President? 19. In case of the death of the President and Vice President, state the order of succession to the Presidential office. What plan of succession formerly prevailed? When and why was it changed? 20. What is the President's Cabinet? What does the Constitution say about the Cabinet? Name the present members of the Cabinet. 21. Classify the duties and powers of the President. Illustrate each class. 22. Name some of the war powers of the President. 23. How does a bill become a law? 24. Explain the use of the Presidential veto. 25. What is a "pocket veto"? 26. What change did Jackson make in the use of the veto? 27. Explain how a treaty is made. 28. Show why the power of appointment is one of the most important of the President's powers. 29. Why do senators and congressmen take part in appointments? 30. What does the Constitution say about guaranteeing "republican government"? 31. When does it become the President's duty to help suppress violence and insurrection within a State? 32. Why is the American President more powerful than the English king?

CHAPTER XVI

1. How large a body is the Senate? 2. How many senators are there from each state? How are they elected? 3. What qualifications are required of the senators? The length of their term of office? 4. Who is the presiding officer of the Senate? 5. Why is the Senate called a permanent body? 6. How are vacancies in the Senate filled? 7. Show that the Senate is a *federal* not a democratic body.

8 Explain the *legislative* powers of the Senate. The *executive* powers. The *judicial* powers 9. Name the reasons for the Senate as set forth by Hamilton 10. What arguments can you bring forward in favor of electing United States senators directly by a vote of the people? What objections are there to this? 11 Name some famous senators in United States history. 12. What reasons are given accounting for the success of the Senate?

CHAPTER XVII

1. Tell how the House of Representatives differs from the Senate. Why is the House called the "popular branch" of Congress? 2. Who may vote for representatives in Congress and for President? 3. What power determines our suffrage laws? 4. How is this power restricted? 5. What are the qualifications of representatives? 6. Is a congressman bound to reside in the district he represents? 7. How and when are representatives apportioned among the states? How many representatives are there? How many were there in 1789? 8. How are vacancies in the House filled? 9. When does Congress meet regularly? 10. Name the principal officers of the House. How chosen? 11. What are the duties of the clerk?

12. Explain the part of the party caucus in choosing the officers of the House. 13. What is the salary of a congressman? 14. Do you think it would be better if they had no salary, like members of Parliament in Great Britain? Could men be induced to serve without pay, for the sake of the public welfare? 15. Name the principal powers of Congress. (See the Constitution, p. iv.) 16. What powers are withheld from Congress? 17. Why are members of Congress exempt from arrest? 18. Explain the powers and importance of the Speaker's office. 19. Explain the importance of the Committee on Rules 20. In the Senate the committees are elected by the Senate. How are they chosen in the House? How does this affect the power of the Speaker? 21. What is a quorum in the House? How was a quorum determined during the first century of our history? How was it determined by Speaker Reed? Why was the change important? 22. Explain the importance of the committee system in the legislation of the House. 23 Name a few of the principal committees, stating the nature of the business each deals with. 24. What is meant by "logrolling"? By "filibustering"? 25. How may the President influence Congress? 26. How may Congress influence the President?

CHAPTER XVIII

1. What is the chief function of the Judiciary? 2. Where is the judicial power of the United States vested? 3. What is meant by "inferior" and "superior" courts? What is an Appellate Court? 4. How are judges of the national courts made independent in their decisions? 5. Of what importance was the Judiciary Act of 1789? 6. How are the justices of the United States courts chosen? 7. What kinds of cases may be tried in the United States courts? 8. Why was the eleventh amendment adopted? What does it provide for? 9. What are the duties of the federal marshal? Of the district attorney?

10. What is the most important power of the Judiciary from a political point of view? What was thought of this power in the early history of our government? 11. In England there is no such thing as an unconstitutional, or invalid, act of Parliament. Explain. 12. What occurs in America if statutes, state or national, do not conform to the Constitution? 13. What is a *written* constitution? 14. Name four kinds of law in America. 15. How may the United States Constitution be amended? 16. In what other ways than by amendment has the Constitution grown? 17. What were Chief Justice Marshall's principles of construction? 18. What influence has the Supreme Court had in promoting nationality?

CHAPTER XIX

1. Show how the state touches the citizen many times where the nation touches him once. 2. What kind of crimes does the national law take notice of? 3. Name some of the forms of local self-government in the states. 4. How is a state constitution made? How may Congress have influence in the making of a state constitution? 5. How is a state constitution amended? 6. Name the departments of a state government. 7. Of what does the Executive Department consist? 8. What are the duties of the governor? 9. What are the duties of the state judges? How are they chosen? 10. Is voting a privilege or a right of citizenship? Explain your answer. 11. What does the fourteenth amendment say about citizenship? 12. Explain the importance of local self-government.

CHAPTER XX

1. What body has power to govern the territories? 2. What does it mean to organize a territory? 3. Why is the organizing act for a territory like a constitution for a state? 4. What departments of government are provided for in an organized territory? 5. Of what does the Executive of a territory consist? 6. Of what is the territorial legislature composed? 7. Of what does the territorial judiciary consist? How and for what term are the judges of the territory appointed? 8. May a territory take part in a Presidential election or help to legislate in Congress? Why? 9. What is meant by our "insular possessions"? Does the Constitution apply to them? How may its provisions be made to apply to them? 10. What assurance of protection in their rights have the people of our island possessions?

CHAPTER XXI

1. What was the day appointed for the new government to go into effect? 2. Why was there delay? 3. Give the names of Washington's first Cabinet. 4. Give and explain the five parts of Hamilton's financial plan. 5. How did the Federalists and Republicans differ in their interpretation or construction of the Constitution? 6. What is meant by "liberal construction" of the Constitution? What by "strict construction"? 7. What great mistake did Minister Genet make? 8. Tell what you can of Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality. 9. Why was the Jay Treaty unpopular in the United States? 10. How did Fisher Ames save the treaty? 11. What was the nature of Washington's "Farewell Address"? 12. What sort of man was John Adams? 13. Explain the difficulty between France and the United States in the administration of John Adams. 14. What obnoxious acts were passed by the Federalists? 15. Why were the Kentucky and Virginia resolutions passed? What claims were made in the resolutions? 16. Explain the process by which Jefferson was elected President in 1800.

CHAPTER XXII

1. What was the population of the United States in 1800? 2. Tell what you can of the indented servants. 3. Describe stagecoach travel in 1800. 4. What was the condition of American literature in 1800?

CHAPTER XXIII

1. Why was Jefferson's election hailed with delight? 2. Why was the Judiciary Act of 1801 repealed? 3. How did Jefferson reduce the running expenses of the government? 4. What was the Naturalization Act of 1802? 5. Give the substance of the twelfth amendment. 6. Explain in outline the process by which Louisiana was acquired. 7. What was the importance of the purchase? 8. What question was raised in regard to its constitutionality? 9. Tell what you can of the policy of "impressment" 10. What was the "right of search"? How was it abused?

11. Why were France and England making depredations on American commerce? 12. What was the Embargo Act of 1807? 13. What was the Non-intercourse Act of 1809? 14. Tell what you can of Burr's "conspiracy" 15. Who were the "war hawks"? 16. What were the four important causes of the War of 1812? 17. Tell what you can of the Hartford Convention of 1814. 18. What is meant by the "era of good feeling"? 19. Explain fully the "Monroe Doctrine" 20. What was there that was peculiar about the election of 1824?

CHAPTER XXIV

1. What is meant by "internal improvements"? What was the opinion of President John Quincy Adams in regard to them? 2. What was the importance of the Erie Canal? 3. Why was the tariff of 1828 called the "Tariff of Abominations"? 4. What were the issues of the campaign of 1828?

CHAPTER XXV

1. In what respect was Jackson's time a new era? 2. What is the "Spoils System"? What was the "American Industrial Revolution"? 3. What was Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet"? 4. What was the "Great Debate" of 1830? 5. What was the doctrine of nullification? 6. Explain the connection between Nullification and the tariff. 7. Explain Jackson's attitude toward the United States Bank. 8. What were the results of Jackson's foreign policy? 9. What was the nature of the campaign of 1840?

CHAPTER XXVI

1. How did the slavery question first come prominently into national politics after the adoption of the Constitution? 2. What was the early expectation as to the permanence of slavery in the states? 3. Explain how the invention of the cotton gin tended to strengthen slavery 4. Explain what is meant by the "equilibrium of power" between the slave states and the free, and show how this was maintained up to 1820. Did the slave and the free states have equal power in the House of Representatives? Why? 5. State the significance of the New Orleans Act of 1804, and tell why Congress allowed slavery in Louisiana. 6. Why did Josiah Quincy oppose the admission of Louisiana into the Union? How did he regard the Union and the Constitution? 7. State two grounds of opposition in the North to the admission of Missouri as a slave state. 8. How did Northern anti-slavery men look upon the extension of slavery? 9. Show the injustice of extending the "three-fifths compromise" to new slave states.

10. State the Southern arguments in favor of the admission of Missouri as a slave state 11. Tell how a territory becomes a state 12. Explain the term "rider" in legislation, and tell how the Missouri bill was attached as a "rider" to the Maine bill 13. Explain the terms "deadlock," "conference committee." 14. State clearly the terms of the Missouri Compromise. Who proposed this agreement? 15. What was proposed in the Tallmadge Amendment to the first Missouri bill? 16. Give three reasons why the Missouri Compromise was of great importance in our history. 17. What did Henry Clay have to do with the Missouri Compromise? 18. Notice when this Compromise again becomes prominent in American history.

CHAPTER XXVII

1. Give an account of the work of William Lloyd Garrison. When did he establish the *Liberator*? What did this journal stand for? 2. Give the principles and name some of the founders of the American Antislavery Society. Why was the organization of this society an "important boundary mark" in American history? 3. Describe the methods of the Abolitionists. 4. What was the effect of the abolition agitation on the slaveholders?

5. Show how the abolition movement seemed to make harder the condition of the slaves. 6. What was the attitude of the South toward Garrison? Give an account of the Garrison mob, 1835. 7. Explain why the Southern people were offended at the abolition attacks. 8. Make a list of the arguments of the South in defense of slavery. 9. Give an account of the Nat Turner insurrection. Did it have any connection with the abolition movement? 10. State the methods by which the people in the North attempted to suppress abolitionism.

11. What was the attitude of W. E. Channing toward slavery and abolitionism? 12. How do you account for the growth of abolition sentiment in the face of so much opposition? 13. When and why did a split in the ranks of the Abolitionists occur? State the principles of the "Garrisonians" and of the "Liberty Party men." 14. Give an account of the attempt to exclude abolition literature from the mails. What did this amount to? 15. Give an account of the struggle over the right of petition in the House of Representatives. What was the "gag rule"? 16. What position did John Quincy Adams take on the subject of slavery and what service did he render? 17. What was indicated by the discussions over slavery in the halls of Congress? 18. How did the Abolitionists feel about slavery in the District of Columbia? When was slavery established there by national law? What was Clay's position on this subject? 19. What was Garrison's attitude toward the Constitution and the Union? Why did he take this position? What can you say in defense of it? 20. What was John Quincy Adams's attitude toward the right of petition? What was his position on the right of Congress to interfere with slavery in the states? What influence did this have on Lincoln during the Civil War?

CHAPTER XXVIII

1. What territory did Texas embrace after our purchase of Louisiana? When and how was the ownership of this territory determined? When were American settlements made in Texas? Under whose leadership? 2. What causes led to the revolt of Texas from Mexico? 3. Give an account of the massacre of the Alamo and of the battle of San Jacinto. Why was San Jacinto an important battle? 4. Give several reasons why the Texans wished to be annexed to the United States. 5. What reasons were given for opposition to annexation? 6. What were the party campaign issues in 1844? 7. State Polk's position on the an-

nexation of Texas Clay's position. 8 What influence did the Abolitionists have in defeating Clay in 1844? Do you think they were justified in voting for a third party candidate when there was no hope of electing him?

9 Who was James G. Binney? 10. How did President Tyler offend the Whig party? What was the effect on Tyler's Cabinet? Why did Webster remain in the Cabinet? 11. What did Tyler do to promote the annexation of Texas? 12. What did Calhoun do for annexation? 13. How did Great Britain feel about slavery in Texas? What did Calhoun think of this? 14 What was Calhoun's motive in working for annexation? 15. What influence did Calhoun's policy and the annexation of Texas have on subsequent disputes over slavery? 16 Tell how annexation was brought about, and state the conditions on which Texas came into the Union.

17 What was meant by the Oregon country in the early part of the nineteenth century? What nations claimed territorial rights in that region? 18. State the basis of the American claim to Oregon. Of the British claim. 19. How did Great Britain and the United States settle their conflicting claims for a while, from 1818 to 1838? 20. What position did the Democratic party take on the Oregon question in 1844? 21. Tell how the Oregon dispute was finally and peaceably settled.

22. State the causes of the Mexican War. 23. What territory did Texas claim? 24. Tell how President Polk brought on the war. What claim did he make as to territory, and why did he say Mexico caused the war? 25. Why was Congress under obligation to support Polk? 26. Do you think our government was to blame for the Mexican War? Why? 27. Give an account of General Taylor's campaign Of General Scott's campaign. Of the conquest of California and New Mexico. 28. Name the principal battles of the Mexican war and locate the places on the map. 29. State how the war ended, giving the terms of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

CHAPTER XXIX

1. How did the slavery question come to the front during the Mexican War? 2. What was the Wilmot Proviso? Explain its importance. 3. Name the parties, issues, and candidates in the election of 1848. 4. Give an account of the discovery of gold in California 5. How was California's admission to the Union related to the slavery question?

6. Name the questions in dispute between the North and the South in 1850. 7. How were these various questions settled by Clay's compromise measures? 8. State the Southern view on the rights of slave property in the territories. The antislavery view. The compromise view. 9. What was President Taylor's plan for the treatment of the territories? 10. What did Calhoun think was necessary in order to save the Union in 1850? State Webster's position on the compromise, as voiced in his famous "Seventh of March Speech." What was Seward's position? 11. Give an account of the election of 1852. 12. Describe the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and tell how it was received in the North. What was the "underground railroad"? 13. Of what historical importance was Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin"?

CHAPTER XXX

1. What was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? Who was its author? What reason did he give for offering the bill, and what did he say was its purpose? 2. Give four reasons why the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was important as seen in its results. 3. What was the "Appeal of the Independent Democrats"? The Ostend Manifesto? 4. Explain the effect of the Kansas-Nebraska Act on political parties. 5. Give a brief account of the struggle for Kansas, explaining the work of the "border ruffians" and the "New England Emigrant Aid Society." 6. Give an account of the assault on Senator Sumner, 1856, and indicate its significance. 7. Give an account of the election of 1856. Who were the "Know-nothings," and what were their principles?

CHAPTER XXXI

1. What were the two long-standing disputes over slavery that came up to the Supreme Court for settlement in 1857? 2. Give an account of the Dred Scott case, and give three important points involved in the decision of the Supreme Court in that case. 3. How did the Dred Scott decision touch the primary principle of the Republican party? How did it support the Southern view of slavery? 4. Explain the question involved in the Lecompton struggle. 5. Give an account of Lincoln and Douglas, and the issues involved in the famous Lincoln Douglas debate in 1858. 6. Give an account of John Brown's raid and tell how it helped to bring on the war. 7. Give an account of

the election of 1860. Name the four parties and state the attitude of each on the subject of slavery in the territories. 8. Explain the historical significance of Lincoln's election in 1860.

CHAPTER XXXII

1. Why was South Carolina the first state to secede? Give an account of her action. What reasons did she give? What did the Southern people believe about their allegiance to their state? 2. Give an account of the formation of the Southern Confederacy. 3. What was President Buchanan's position on secession and coercion? Give an account of the divisions in his Cabinet, and tell how the South first resisted national authority. 4. Give an account of the Crittenden Compromise and of other attempts to save the Union without war. What was the final position of the North?

CHAPTER XXXIII

1. Give a brief biography of Abraham Lincoln. Give his position on the slavery question and on equal rights for all men. Would he have interfered with slavery in the South? 2. Show that slavery was the cause of the Civil War. Tell what the North was fighting for in the war. What the South was fighting for. How could slavery be the *cause* of the war and not the *object* of the war? 3. Give an account of the attack on Fort Sumter and its effect upon the North. 4. Compare the strength of the two sections, North and South, at the beginning of the Civil War. 5. Of what importance was the secession of Virginia? Show how the country was unprepared for war. 6. What were the first military objects in view on each side? Explain the importance of the Shenandoah valley. 7. Give an account of the battle of Bull Run, and tell how "Stonewall" Jackson got his name. What were the effects of this battle? 8. What important work did General McClellan perform for the Army of the Potomac? 9. Explain the importance of the blockade of the Southern ports, and tell how it was carried out. Give an account of the fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, and tell why it was important. 10. Give an account of the Trent Affair, and state the attitude of Great Britain toward the United States.

CHAPTER XXXIV

1. Give three purposes of the Federal forces in the campaign in the West. 2. Tell how Missouri was saved for the Union. State the position of Kentucky in the war. 3. Show the importance of the control of the rivers in the war. 4. Give an account of the campaign against Fort Henry and Fort Donelson. 5. Trace on the map the Confederate lines of defense before and after this campaign, and explain the results of the Union victory at Fort Donelson. 6. Give an account of the battle of Shiloh and of the capture of New Orleans. Locate Shiloh and Corinth. 7. Locate on the map the following battle fields, and give the date and result of each battle. Perryville, Mill Springs, Murfreesboro. 8. Give an account of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign, naming the principal battles and giving the general result. 9. Locate the scene of the following battles, giving the result in each case. Second Battle of Bull Run, Antietam, Fiedricksburg. 10. What did President Lincoln regard as the purpose of the war? How did this influence his policy toward slavery? 11. Who declared the slaves "contraband of war"? Why did he do so? Explain the meaning of this. 12. Name some antislavery acts of Congress and of the President before Emancipation. 13. Give the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation, and tell how it came to be issued. 14. What was the extent of the party opposition to the war in the North? What were the reasons for this opposition? What effect did it have in 1862?

CHAPTER XXXV

1. Give an account of the battle of Gettysburg, and show its importance. 2. Commit to memory and recite Lincoln's famous speech at Gettysburg. 3. Give an account of the fall of Vicksburg, the battle of Chickamauga, and the fighting around Chattanooga. 4. Give an account of Grant's campaign against Lee around Richmond in 1864. 5. Give an account of Sheridan's work in the Shenandoah valley. 6. Who were the "Peace Democrats," and what did they dislike in the conduct of the war? Give an account of the election of 1864. 7. Give an account of Sherman's capture of Atlanta and his march to the sea. Of what special importance were these events? 8. Give an account of General Thomas and his army in the battles of Franklin

and Nashville. 9. Tell of Farragut's operations in Mobile Bay. 10. Give an account of the Confederate privateer, the *Alabama*. 11. Give an account of the capture of Richmond and the surrender of Lee at Appomattox. 12. Give an account of the assassination of President Lincoln. 13. What may be said of the cost of the war? Show how the South suffered especially. 14. Recite four notable results of the Civil War. 15. Give an account of the grand parade of the Union armies in 1865, and tell how the soldiers retired to the "patriotism of peace."

CHAPTER XXXVI

1. Of what did the problem of Reconstruction consist? What was Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction? 2. What was the character of Andrew Johnson, and what was his plan of Reconstruction? 3. Give four reasons why Congress rejected President Johnson's plan. 4. Explain the character of the vagrancy laws of the South passed in 1865. 5. What was the Freedmen's Bureau? What objections were raised to its management? 6. What is meant by conferring civil rights on the negro? Why was this done? 7. What were the results of the war that the Northern Republicans wanted to make secure? How was the question of representation concerned in the matter? 8. Give fully the provisions of the fourteenth amendment. 9. How was Reconstruction an issue in the elections of 1866? What was the effect of President Johnson's "swinging round the circle"? 10. State the provisions of the Reconstruction Acts of Congress, 1867. Who was the leader of Congress in the passage of these acts? 11. Define the Tenure of Office Act, and describe the impeachment of President Johnson. 12. Give an account of the election of 1868. 13. Describe the work of the Reconstruction governments in the South after 1867. Define "scalawag," "carpetbagger," "bulldozer," "Ku Klux Klan," "Force Bills." 14. Give the process by which the Southern whites again obtained control of their state governments. 15. What do you think was the principal mistake in Reconstruction? Why? 16. Give an account of the election of 1872. 17. What political scandals arose under Grant's administration? 18. Describe the panic of 1873 and the hard times following. 19. Explain the rise of the Greenback party. 20. Give an account of the election of 1876. Tell how the Electoral Commission of 1876-1877 was made up, and how it voted.

CHAPTER XXXVII

1. Why is Hayes's administration the opening of a new era?
2. Tell what you can of the "resumption of specie payment" in 1879.
3. What circumstances led to the death of Garfield? 4. Tell what you can of the Pendleton Act of 1883.
5. Why was the Presidential succession law of 1886 passed? 6. Why was the Interstate Commerce Commission established?
7. What is the Australian Ballot System?
8. Under what tariff act are we now living? What is the general rate of duties?
9. What is Senator Lodge's plan for the restriction of immigration?
10. Explain the causes of the Spanish-American War.
11. What were the terms of the Treaty of Peace of 1898? 12. Why did the Filipinos rebel against the United States?
13. When and why were the Hawaiian Islands annexed? 14. What is the importance of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama?

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7

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