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GENERAL WASHINGTON AT THE BATTLE OF TRENTON.
By John Trumbull.

# THE UNITED STATES
## FROM COLONY TO WORLD POWER

*By*

OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD,

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and

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# *Preface*

THIS volume is designed to satisfy the need for a single-volume textbook for short courses in American history. In essence it is based on the larger work *A Short History of the American People,* 2 vols. (1945, 1948). However, to make it a single, integrated volume and a complete unit by itself there has been much rewriting of material that appears in the larger book. It has been necessary because of space limitations to omit substantial portions of the original work which could be spared without interrupting the story of American development. Indeed it has been our aim to disregard as far as possible all facts (except those absolutely essential to the narrative) which we could not clothe with sufficient detail to make them of interest to students. On the other hand, new material has in some places been brought in to supplement or round out the original treatment, these additions being more frequent in the latter part of the book. In this way we have endeavored to avoid that greatest of dangers in textbook writing—the mere cataloguing of events and names.

An earnest effort has been made to retain all those features of the original work which have proved useful in meeting the needs and demands of both students and teachers. The new book, therefore, continues the use of marginal headings and thumbnail sketches of historical characters. Like the original volumes, this one contains numerous maps and illustrations, including most of the pictures in the original work which are illustrative of the life of the people. A new feature is the inclusion of selected readings with each chapter rather than a lengthy general bibliography at the end of the book. These topical references, although not intended to serve as a full bibliography, are given with the hope that they will be helpful to instructors in making assignments for brief oral and written reports and for parallel reading. The references are, as a rule, of suitable length for outside reading, and nearly all of them can be found in books that are easily accessible. References are especially numerous on those topics which are not fully treated in the text. In these lists source books occupy a rather large place;

it is felt that students should be encouraged to drink—at least occasionally—at the springs which feed the stream of history. The source books most frequently referred to are: Stuart G. Brown, *We Hold These Truths* (Brown); H. S. Commager, *Documents of American History*, 2 vols. in one (*Documents*); A. B. Hart, ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries*, 5 vols. (*Contemporaries*); Allen Johnson, *Readings in American Constitutional History, 1776-1861* (*Readings*); William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926* (*Documentary Source Book*), and *Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States, 1776-1861* (*Select Documents*); and T. C. Pease and A. S. Roberts, *Selected Readings in American History* (Pease and Roberts). In like manner, the abbreviated titles, *Colonial America* and *American People* will be employed in referring respectively to *A History of Colonial America*, by O. P. Chitwood, and *A Short History of the American People*, by O. P. Chitwood, Frank L. Owsley, and H. C. Nixon.

For bibliographical notes covering the whole period of American history, see *The American People*, I, pp. 775-809; II, pp. 721-756. For the period to 1787 fuller lists of both primary and secondary authorities can be found in *Colonial America*, pp. 758-851.

Many of the contributions made by scholars and publishers to the original work have been used in the preparation of this volume. We wish, therefore, to express our appreciation of this assistance by reaffirming the acknowledgments made in A Short History of the American People.

O. P. Chitwood
*West Virginia University*

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# CHAPTER I

# *Europe Finds America*

THE history of the United States is to a great extent an account of the exploitation of the natural resources of this country by the European peoples and their descendants who have held the land for the past three centuries. A white race with centuries of civilization behind it came to a new world and thus had a virgin field on which to try out a new experiment in civilization. The political and social order of Europe was brought over by the settlers and subjected to the test of frontier conditions. Under this process the European heritage underwent slow and gradual but none the less important modifications. The United States of today is therefore the outcome of old world heredity and new world environment. Hence to understand American development we must know something about the European background of American history. Reference will therefore be made from time to time—especially in the chapters on the colonial period—to conditions and events in Europe that have influenced American life. In this chapter, however, there will be attempted only a hurried glance at the activities of certain European leaders in the early part of the modern era, and only at those that preceded and led to the discovery and exploration of North America.

## THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

*Trade with the Orient*

By the end of the fifteenth century, feudalism as a political system had given way in central and western Europe (except in Germany and Italy) to strong national governments. There had also been considerable development in commerce and with it had come an increase in wealth and the desire for luxuries. The branch of commerce that commanded the greatest interest was that with the Far East—central, eastern, and southeastern Asia. Europeans had vague and incorrect notions of this distant land, which was pictured as a region of fabulous wealth, abounding in gold, precious stones, and spices.

*Land and sea routes to the Eas*

These articles, along with silks, drugs, and ornamental woods, were finding their way to Europe, where there was a strong and growing demand for them. Native merchants would collect these products in

China, Japan, and the East Indies and bring them to Calcutta, Malacca, and other ports in the East. From these centers they were transported, partly by caravan and partly by ship, over long routes to the Mediterranean cities. Here they were bought by Italian, French, and Spanish merchants and by them carried to other leading European ports for distribution among the people.

Such a method of conveying goods was expensive and hazardous. There was therefore a strong desire on the part of the people of Europe for a better means of procuring the goods of the East. It was this desire that prompted the efforts to find a sea route to the Indies. Furthermore, the major portion of the profit from this trade went to the Italian cities; and the other European states were eager to share in these gains. If a water route to the Indies could be found, the cities on the Atlantic coast would become the ports of entry for this sea-borne Eastern merchandise, and they would have a decided advantage in competing with their Italian rivals.

*Diaz*

Portugal took the lead in the explorations that resulted in finding a water route to the East. Sea voyages along the western coast of Africa were promoted by the son of King John I, Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460). After the death of Prince Henry these voyages were continued, and in one of them the Portuguese explorer, Bartholomew Diaz, sailed around the southern tip of Africa. He called this headland the Cape of Storms, but King John II soon afterward changed the name to the Cape of Good Hope because the new discovery encouraged the hope that a waterway to the East Indies would soon be found.

*Vasco da Gama*

This expectation was realized a dozen years later (1498) when another Portuguese explorer, Vasco da Gama, sailed to Calcutta and thus proved that there was an all-sea route to India. The elation felt by the King of Portugal because his country was the first to find a waterway to the real land of spices was tempered by the regret that it had failed to avail itself of a greater opportunity; for in the meantime Columbus had made his famous discovery, Spain having rendered him the aid which Portugal had previously denied (see p. 3).

By the end of the fifteenth century, Europe was ready for expansion into the Western Hemisphere. The compass and instruments for reckoning latitude and longitude were now in use among sailors, and long voyages on the high seas could be made with a measure of safety. This progress in the science of navigation enabled the Europeans to find America, and a like advance in the arts of peace and war made it possible for them to appropriate the new land against the opposition of the natives. All that was now needed was a leader

of courage and vision who would forge ahead and point out the way. Such a leader was Christopher Columbus.

*Columbus: The historic voyage*

He was born and reared in Genoa, one of the important city-states of Italy. In pursuit of his intense interest in geography and navigation he made a number of sea voyages and thus gained valuable experience as a navigator before he ventured upon his great undertaking. Believing that the earth is round, he was convinced that China and the East Indies could be reached by sailing to the west. Columbus's idea of the shape of the earth was not new. It had been advanced by Greek and Roman scholars and was held by all the leading geographers of his day; however, to others this belief was only an academic opinion, but to Columbus it was a conviction on which he was willing to stake his career.

As Columbus did not have the money to purchase and equip the ships needed for the voyage, he decided to ask for financial aid from a ruler of one of the European powers. His first application was made to King John II of Portugal, who after a long delay decided against risking money on such an uncertain venture. He then approached Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish rulers, who after keeping him in suspense for five years gave a decision in his favor. Since he hoped to find new lands as well as a sea route to India, Columbus was given authority by his commission to rule over all unclaimed lands which he might add to the Spanish realm. With the financial aid furnished by his royal patrons and his own friends, the Admiral (a title now conferred upon him) was able to fit out three small vessels for his voyage—the *Nina*, *Pinta*, and *Santa Maria*.

The little ships, manned by ninety men, left Palos, Spain, in August, 1492, for the historic voyage. After an uneventful voyage of more than two months they reached the Bahama Islands (Friday, October 12, 1492). To the island on which they landed (probably the one now known as Watling Island) Columbus gave the name of San Salvador. After touching at some of the other Bahama Islands, he sailed along the coasts of Haiti and Cuba. Although he saw no signs of people clad in silk and living in large cities adorned with fine palaces, as was supposed to be the case in the Indies, he really thought that the islands discovered by him were a part of the East Indian group. Accordingly, he called the natives Indians, a term which has ever since been applied to the aborigines of the Western Hemisphere. When it later became known that these islands were not the East Indies, they were properly designated the West Indies.

*Later voyages of Columbus*

Columbus made three other voyages to the new world. On his third expedition (1498) he touched on the mainland of South America at the mouth of the Orinoco River. From the volume of

water poured out by this stream he concluded that he had discovered a new continent and that the islands to the north were a part of the group lying east and south of the coast of Asia. To reach Asia it was therefore necessary to go farther west, beyond the northern limits of this newly discovered continent. The hope of finding such a water route prompted his fourth and last expedition (1502). On this voyage he sailed along the Caribbean coast of Central America, from Honduras to Panama, vainly searching for a channel which would lead into Asiatic waters.[1]

*The Cabot voyages*

Before starting on his historic voyage, Columbus sent his brother Bartholomew to England to solicit the support of Henry VII for the plan of the great Admiral. It is said that a promise of financial aid was given, but it came too late. Henry's interest in discovery caused him a few years later (1496) to issue a patent to John Cabot, a Venetian navigator, granting him governmental authority over any lands which he might discover in the east, north, and west. With the hope of finding a sea route to Cathay (China) and the Spice Islands, Cabot left Bristol, England, in May, 1497, and sailed northward and westward until he reached the mainland of North America. Turning southward, he went along the coast for three hundred leagues and then returned to England. Although the exact place at which he first saw land cannot be definitely located, it was somewhere in the neighborhood of Cape Breton Island. The following year he made a second voyage and this time sailed along the coast, probably as far as South Carolina.[2] The significance of the Cabot voyages lies in the fact that they were the basis of England's claim to North America. They also revealed to Europe the value of the Newfoundland fisheries, which were profitably exploited by English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese seamen all during the sixteenth century.

[1] Strange to say, the new world, instead of being called after Columbus, was named for another Italian seaman, Amerigo Vespucci, who is generally known by his Latinized name, Americus Vespucius. Vespucius had accompanied an expedition along the coast of South America (1501) led by a Portuguese captain. In letters to friends he described in vivid terms the lands seen by him on this voyage and three others made by him. These accounts were published in Latin and thus reached the reading public before Columbus's discovery of South America was publicized. At the suggestion of Martin Waldseemüller, a German geographer (1507), the name "America" was given to the southern continent (then known as "Mundus Novus"). For a time the lands north of the Isthmus of Panama were still designated as the Indies, but later the northern mainland was given the name of North America. Then the term "America" was applied to the entire Western Hemisphere, and the region originally known as "Mundus Novus" now became South America.

[2] John Cabot may have been accompanied by his son Sebastian on these voyages, although there is some doubt as to the correctness of this supposition. For a brief statement as to the evidence on this disputed point, see O. P. Chitwood, *A History of Colonial America*, p. 34 n. For fuller discussions see J. Winsor, *The Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, pp. 7-58, and J. A. Williamson, *The Voyages of the Cabots and the English Discovery of North America under Henry VII and Henry VIII.*

## EXPLORATIONS IN NORTH AMERICA

Spain began at once to reinforce by exploration and colonization her rights in America which had been gained by the Columbian voyages. By 1526, Spanish navigators had explored the Atlantic coast of the Americas from Nova Scotia to the Strait of Magellan.[1] Settlement had gone hand in hand with exploration. Colonies had been planted in the West Indies and on the mainland of both North and South America.

*Spanish explorations within the present United States*

The most noted of the Spanish conquistadors who took part in exploring the region now belonging to the United States were Hernando de Soto and Francisco Vasquez Coronado. Before the middle of the sixteenth century these two adventurers, led on by the hope of finding gold, had made extensive explorations respectively in the southeastern and southwestern portions of the present United States.

*De Soto*

Landing at Tampa Bay (1539), De Soto with more than six hundred men entered upon a long march which carried him northward as far as North Carolina and westward to the Arkansas region. In the course of his wanderings he discovered the Mississippi River (1541), beneath whose waters he was afterward buried.

*Coronado*

Coronado operated from Mexico as a base and traversed a wide area in the southwest, going as far east as central Kansas. Spanish seamen had also sailed along the Pacific coast as far north as Oregon (1540-1541). By these land and sea expeditions the geographical knowledge of middle North America was greatly increased and Spain's claim was considerably strengthened.

*St. Augustine founded*

The Spaniards did not confine their activities in the north to exploration and gold hunting, but in the sixteenth century made a number of attempts at settlement within the territory now held by the United States. All of these were unsuccessful until 1565, when St. Augustine, the oldest town in this country, was founded. Near the end of the century (1598) the settlement of San Juan was established in New Mexico.

*Spanish achievements in the Western Hemisphere*

Although Spain had not gone far by the end of the sixteenth century in occupying the territory now comprising the United States, she had built up a colonial empire in the Western Hemisphere which was the envy of her European rivals. Settlements had been made in the West Indies, and large areas in South America, Central America, and southern North America had been brought under her control. In 1574 there were in the new world approximately two hundred

[1] One bold adventurer, Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, had penetrated the jungles of the Isthmus of Panama and reached the Pacific Ocean (1513). Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese seaman in the service of Spain, had led an expedition which had circumnavigated the globe (1519-1522).

Spanish towns and cities with a total white population of one hundred and sixty thousand or more. About five million Indians had been brought under Spanish authority. A number of fine churches had been erected, and hundreds of monasteries had been built. Schools for the instruction of the Indians, as well as colleges for the training of priests, had been established. The University of Mexico was a thriving institution and was turning out graduates in law and theology.

*England under Queen Elizabeth*

The reign of Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603) was an important era in the history of British expansion. Protestantism had been accepted by England, and the Anglican had been made the established church. Laws had been passed compelling the recognition of the queen as the head of the church and requiring all ministers to accept the Thirty-nine Articles of Faith and the Prayer Book, both of which were in accord with the Protestant doctrines. Most of the Scotch had become Presbyterians, whereas the Irish had remained loyal to the Catholic faith. Industry and commerce were expanding, and population and wealth were rapidly increasing. A navy which had recently grown into strength and importance had given the government self-confidence in its relations with other powers. Thus the time was ripe for England to challenge the exclusive claims of Spain and Portugal to the new world and to reassert her own rights in America.

*John Hawkins and Francis Drake*

In arousing Britain's interest in America and her hostility to Spain, leading parts were played by John Hawkins and Francis Drake. Hawkins violated the trade regulations of Spain by selling to her American colonies Negro slaves which he had transported from Africa. In this way he antagonized the Spanish authorities in America and helped to keep alive the ill feeling between the two powers. Another grievance complained of by Spain were the semi-piratical expeditions carried on by English seamen in the Spanish Main. Of these British sea dogs the most noted was Francis Drake. He robbed Spanish treasure ships and levied contributions on Spanish American towns, although Spain and Britain were technically at peace. In 1578 he passed through the Strait of Magellan and sailed northward, seizing Spanish ships heavily loaded with gold and silver. After having reached the coast of California and after vainly searching for a waterway across to the Atlantic, he turned boldly toward the west and came home by way of the Spice Islands and the Cape of Good Hope, thus completing the second voyage around the world.

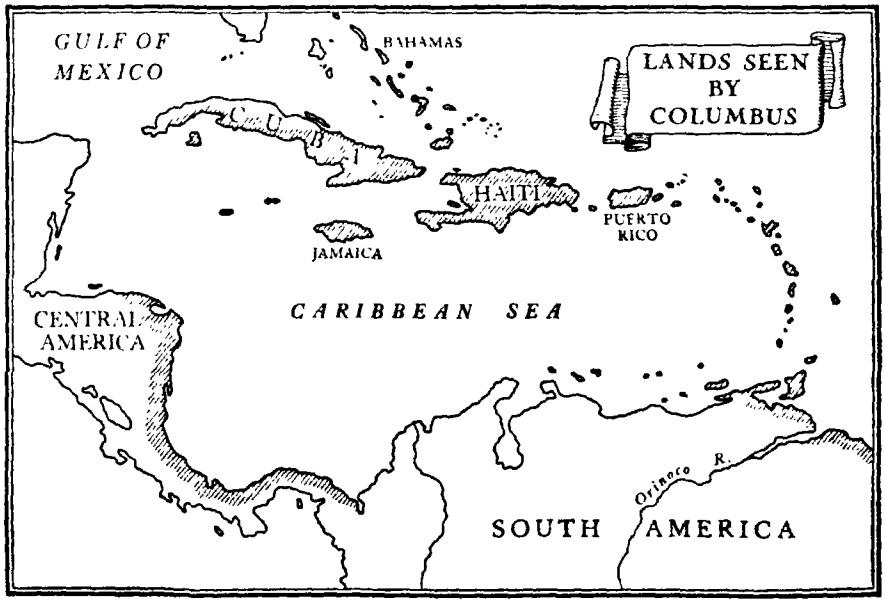
*Defeat of the Spanish Armada*

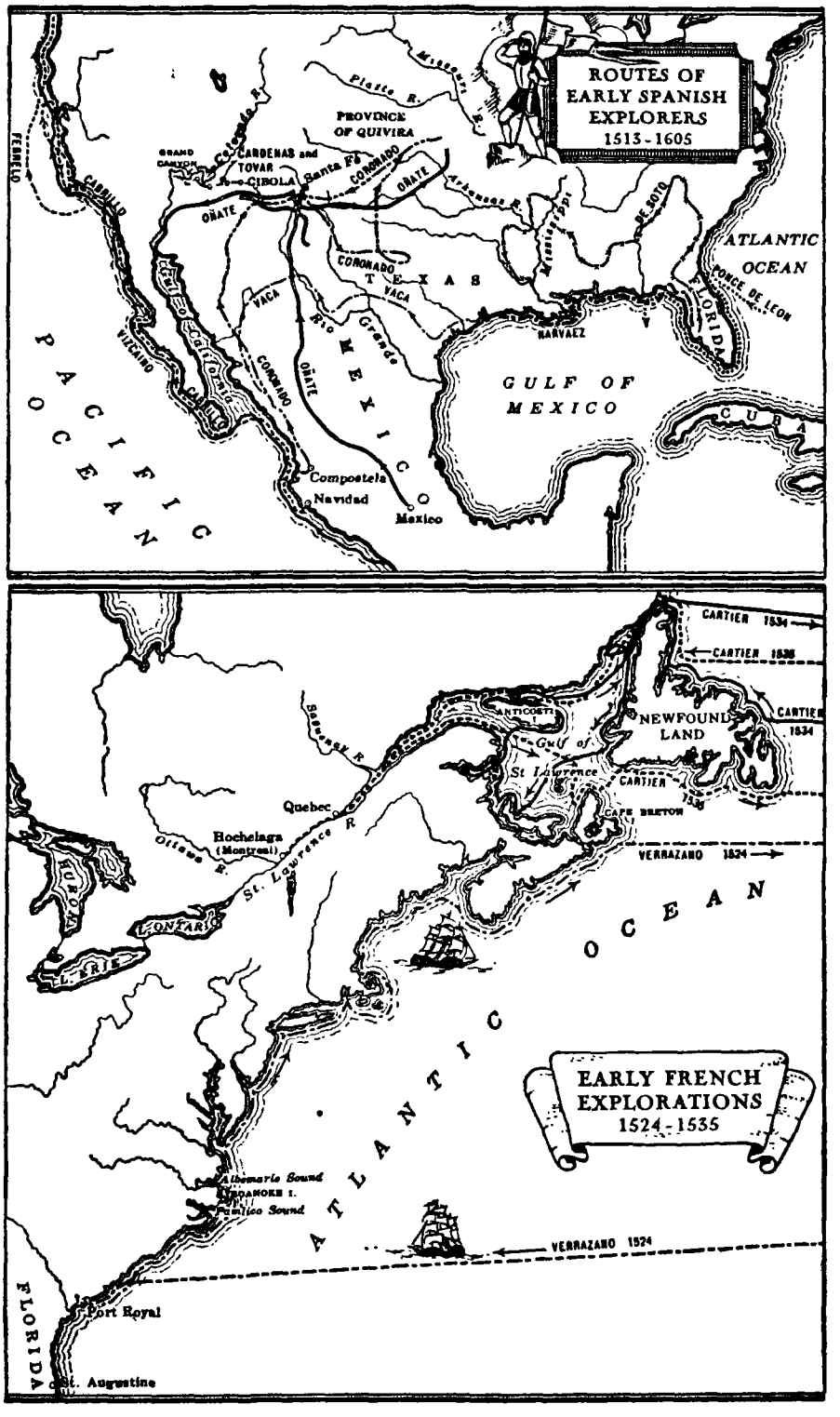
Elizabeth and Philip II of Spain were the outstanding Protestant and Catholic rulers, respectively, and this difference in religious ideology aggravated the other causes of friction between their countries. Finally the rivalry between the two powers became so intense

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

*After engraving, DeBry, 1595.*

*Courtesy of the*
*New-York Historical Society,*
*New York City*




ROUTES OF EARLY SPANISH EXPLORERS 1513-1605
PROVINCE OF QUIVIRA
CARDENAS and TOVAR
CIBOLA
Santa Fé
CORONADO
ONATE
Platte R.
Missouri R.
Arkansas R.
Colorado R.
Grand Canyon
Gila R.
Yuma
Pecos R.
DE SOTO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PONCE DE LEON
FLORIDA
NARVAEZ
TEXAS
VACA
Rio Grande
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
CUBA
PACIFIC OCEAN
CALIFORNIA
VIZCAINO
Compostela
Navidad
Mexico
CARTIER 1534
CARTIER 1535
NEWFOUNDLAND
CARTIER 1534
Gulf of St. Lawrence
CARTIER 1535
CAPE BRETON
VERRAZANO 1524
Saguenay R.
Quebec
Hochelaga (Montreal)
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence R.
HURON
ONTARIO
ERIE
EARLY FRENCH EXPLORATIONS 1524-1535
Albemarle Sound
ROANOKE I.
Pamlico Sound
VERRAZANO 1524
Port Royal
St. Augustine
FLORIDA

that war was declared by Philip, who placed great reliance on his powerful fleet, known as the Invincible Armada. The decisive event of the contest was a great naval battle in the English Channel (July, 1588) in which the Spanish fleet was badly defeated and then driven northward into the North Sea. A heavy additional toll of Philip's ships was taken by wind and storm, and those that finally returned to Spain were only a remnant of the once proud Armada. By this great victory the prestige of England's fleet was greatly enhanced and that of Spain's correspondingly lowered. England's high rank as a sea power made it possible for her to occupy a good portion of North America, despite Spain's efforts to monopolize that continent. Spain now had a fear of the English navy which made her reluctant to risk another contest with it; thus America was made safe for British colonization.

*Gilbert and Raleigh*

Even before this great naval victory, however, England had attempted to gain a foothold in America. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, acting on a patent granted to him by Queen Elizabeth (1578), had made an unsuccessful effort to plant a settlement on Newfoundland. He lost his life on the return voyage from Newfoundland, and his rights under the queen's patent now descended to his half-brother, Walter Raleigh, whose colorful personality had won the favor of Elizabeth. Sharing his brother's ambition to extend British influence to America, Raleigh made two unsuccessful attempts to establish a colony on Roanoke Island, on the northeastern coast of North Carolina. The second colony started off under promising auspices (1587) with one hundred and fifty immigrants, including seventeen women. Soon after the immigrants landed, the governor, John White, returned to England for supplies. Because of delays and other difficulties occasioned by the war, including an attack on the supply ships by Spanish men-of-war, White's return was delayed until 1591. When he arrived at Roanoke Island, none of the settlers could be found. Just what had happened to the "Lost Colony" has never been satisfactorily determined. Whether the settlers were killed or absorbed by the Indians or were the victims of some other misfortune is one of the unsolved, if not unsolvable, problems of history.

## INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA

*Primitive conditions among Indians*

At the beginning of the sixteenth century there were about a million Indians living in the present territory of the United States. In Mexico and northern Central America the natives had advanced considerably in the arts of civilized life; those in the southwestern area of the present United States had made, under the influence of their southern neighbors, some progress toward civilization. In nearly

all the remaining portions of the continent, however, the Indians had not risen above a very primitive state of living. They had made only a slight beginning at cultivating the lands over which they roamed. The rudimentary farming practiced by them barely scratched the surface of the great agricultural opportunities which the fertile soil afforded. Although they had lived for centuries in one of the finest regions in the world, they had done almost nothing to advance civilization.

*Reasons for their backwardness*

This lack of progress is not easy to understand. It cannot be explained on the theory of racial inferiority, for the part played in American history by Indian leaders shows that they were not lacking in mental vigor. The fact that they had no milch cattle, no beasts of burden, and no domestic animals except the dog, accounts in part for their economic backwardness. As a rule, civilization rests upon agriculture as its foundation, and agriculture cannot be carried on extensively by the unaided efforts of man, especially if he has the use of only crude implements. Another reason for the lack of progress on the part of the natives of middle North America was that they had no contacts with the civilized Indians of South America and southern North America and were entirely shut off from the European and Asiatic centers of culture. There was therefore no way by which they could learn from those peoples who had become the disseminators of civilization.

*Part played by the natives in American history*

Despite their backwardness, however, the Indians acted an important role in the early history of this country. They served as guides to the whites in their journeys through the trackless forests and gave them valuable lessons in woodcraft, hunting, and trapping. From them the settlers learned how to make maple sugar and moccasins and how to construct the birch-bark canoe, which was a most valuable aid in traversing the wilderness. They also taught the newcomers how to clear the land and raise corn, tobacco, and other native plants. Most of the furs which were exported from the colonies were collected by the natives. One permanent contribution made by them was the transmission to us of many euphonious names for our mountains, streams, and lakes, which have given a tinge of poetry to American geography. Aside from this contribution, American life has not been modified by Indian influence.

The red men, however, have not been disinterested observers while the Europeans have been engaged in the effort to tame the wilderness and exploit its natural resources. Although at times they have played the part of allies of the white man, as a rule they have opposed the latter's steady advance toward the interior. The result was an intermittent but persistent contest that lasted nearly three centuries. This

long struggle was based on an irrepressible conflict between the economic systems of the two races. With the Indians, hunting was the chief occupation and this demanded the conservation of the forests. The English, on the other hand, were chiefly interested in agriculture and this required the clearing of the land. These two economies could not exist side by side—one had to yield to the other. The long, brave fight waged by the Indians in defense of their lands was a struggle to save their means of living.

### SELECTED READINGS[1]

1. The Old World Background.—Louis B. Wright, *The Atlantic Frontier*, ch. 1.
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3. Geographic Factors in American History.—A. M. Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, ch. 2.
4. Physical Divisions of the United States.—J. W. Powell, *Physiographic Regions of the United States* (*National Geographic Monographs*).
5. Animal Life in North America.—N. S. Shaler, *The United States of America*, I, pp. 185-509.
6. Indians.—Shaler, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 485-509, E. J. Payne, *History of the New World Called America*, I, pp. 287-292.
7. Trade Routes to the East.—E. P. Cheyney, *European Background of American History*, ch. 2. See also A. H. Lybyer in the *English Historical Review*, III, pp. 577-578.
8. Columbus.—E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, chs. 2-4; Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, I, pp. 12-27, or an article by H. P. Biggar in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1912, pp. 97-104.
9. Personal Traits of Columbus.—S. E. Morison, *Admiral of the Ocean Sea*, pp. 43-48. For contemporary authorities on Columbus, see *ibid.*, pp. 48-53.
10. The Naming of America.—Edward Channing, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 42-47; E. G. Bourne, article in the *American Historical Review*, X, pp. 11-51.
11. Spanish Achievements in the Sixteenth Century.—H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *The Colonization of North America*, pp. 75-76, E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America*, ch. 20.
12. Sir Francis Drake.—E. Channing, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 119-122; W. Wood, *Elizabethan Sea Dogs*, chs. 6-10 and 12 (interesting but long). Contemporary account: A. B. Hart, ed., *American History Told by Contemporaries*, I, pp. 81-88.
13. Gilbert and Raleigh.—Wood, *op. cit.*, ch. 11; Hart, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-95; Channing, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-130.

[1] See preface for an explanation of the purposes which the Selected Readings are intended to serve and also for citations to bibliographical notes.

# CHAPTER II

# *Colonial Beginnings*

AT the accession of James I (1603) there were no English settlers on American soil. About that time a fresh interest in colonization was aroused by several exploring and trading expeditions which had gone from England to the coasts of North America. Raleigh's experience showed that the establishment of a colony was too great an undertaking for a private individual. The high costs and heavy risks involved made it desirable that the financial responsibility for such a venture be assumed by an organization of capitalists. But the government was also interested and wanted to have a hand in the project. Accordingly, the first successful attempt at English colonization resulted from the co-operation of the government and private capital.

*The London and Plymouth Companies: The first charter*

A joint-stock company was organized and granted a charter by the king (1606). It was composed of two groups of stockholders, one at London and the other at Plymouth. The two groups are often referred to as separate companies, the former being known as the London Company and the latter as the Plymouth Company. By this charter the London patentees were given the right to plant a colony anywhere on the continent of North America between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels of latitude; the Plymouth group, anywhere between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth parallels; but no settlement was to be made by either company within a hundred miles of one already made by the other. To each company was granted a square of land extending along the coast fifty miles north and fifty miles south of the first settlement and going back one hundred miles into the interior.

The companies were to assume complete financial responsibility for the project and receive all the profits that might accrue from it. The king, however, was to have indirect control over the management of the colonies. There was to be a general council, appointed by the king, which was to reside in England and have supervision over both colonies. In each colony there was to be a local council chosen by the general council. This local council was to be a self-perpetuating body, as it was authorized to fill vacancies in its own organiza-

tion. It had power to manage the business of the colony and govern the settlers. The arrangement was thus a combination of private ownership and public control.

*The settlement at Jamestown*

In December, 1606, the London Company sent out three small vessels—the *Sarah Constant*, the *Goodspeed*, and the *Discovery*—with one hundred and twenty emigrants to occupy the land which had been granted to it. Reaching the American coast in the spring, the settlers landed on a peninsula (now an island) about thirty miles above the mouth of the James River (May, 1607) and at once began to erect huts for dwellings, a storehouse, a church, and a palisaded fort for protection. This was the beginning of Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in the new world and the birthplace of a great nation.

*Captain John Smith*

During the first few years of the little settlement, there was great hardship. This was occasioned by fear of the Indians, hunger and disease, mismanagement of the company, and the incompetence and lack of co-operation on the part of the local council. The only man at Jamestown who showed any ability as a leader in these troublous times was Captain John Smith. He was one of the original members of the local council, and for a time was the only member of that body, the others having been removed by death and expulsion. While sole councillor he acted as a benevolent despot. He had a blockhouse and twenty cabins built, a well dug, and thirty or forty acres of corn planted. He also procured corn from the Indians and treated them with a firmness which inspired them with a wholesome respect for the settlers.

*Sufferings of the early settlers*

With the hot days of late summer there usually came famine and sickness, and death took a heavy toll. Adequate food supplies could not be obtained, although from time to time expeditions came to Jamestown bringing immigrants and provisions. The forest was alive with game, and the rivers and Chesapeake Bay abounded in fish and oysters, but the Indians were hostile, and the settlers were afraid to venture out and garner what nature had provided. The worst period of famine was that of the winter of 1609-10, known as the "Starving Time." Food became so scarce that the people ate with great relish their horses and dogs and all the mice and snakes they could find about the fort. During this terrible period the number of settlers was reduced from five hundred to about sixty. This was the most appalling instance of suffering experienced by any group of Englishmen who had a share in laying the foundations of the United States.

*The "Starving Time"*

*The second charter*

In 1609 the king granted a second charter to the company (known hereafter as the Virginia Company) by which its land grant was enlarged so as to include all the territory two hundred miles north

*The third charter*

and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort, extending west and northwest to the Pacific Ocean. A third charter was granted by the king in 1612 which added the Bermuda Islands to the territory of the company. By these two charters the company was given complete governmental authority over the colony. This governmental responsibility was discharged by regular and special meetings of the company in England. The company therefore became an important legislative and administrative body.

*Change in the local government*

In the meantime, an important change had been made in the local government of the colony. After receiving the second charter, the company appointed a governor for Virginia and conferred upon him almost absolute authority in local affairs. He was to be assisted by six councillors, but they did not limit his power since they could act only in an advisory capacity. Lord Delaware was chosen as the first governor, but he remained in the colony only one year. During the remainder of his term (to 1618) he delegated his authority to deputy governors. Prominent in the list of these early representatives of the governor was Thomas Dale, who placed the colony under strict military rule and subjected the people to cruel and inhuman punishments without trial by jury.

*Thomas Dale*

*The beginning of representative government*

For a while the conservative, or "court," party was the dominant faction of the Virginia Company. Later, when the liberal, or "country," party got control, it put an end to military rule and allowed the settlers the rights of free Englishmen, as had been promised by the charters. Every planter who had resided in the colony for seven years was also granted a hundred acres of land for himself and each member of his family. It was in line with this liberal policy that provision was made for a legislative assembly in Virginia. In obedience to instructions from the company, Governor George Yeardley called together the first representative assembly which was ever convened in the Western Hemisphere. It met at Jamestown in August, 1619, and was composed of the governor and his council and two representatives from each of the eleven plantations or boroughs. Out of this body there developed a bicameral assembly, the governor and his council constituting the upper house, and the representatives of the boroughs (burgesses), the lower house, which was chosen by the voters and known as the House of Burgesses. At first the functions of the assembly were administrative and judicial, as well as legislative, but they later became mainly legislative.[1]

The organization of this body marks the beginning of representative government in the new world, and this assembly was the proto-

1 Another important event of this year was the landing at Jamestown of a cargo of Negroes (see p. 62).

type of the Congress of the United States and of the legislature of every American colony and state. By the end of the colonial period there was in each of the thirteen continental colonies a legislative assembly in which the members of one house (and in Connecticut and Rhode Island both houses) were elected by the voters. The Pennsylvania assembly was a body of one house, but all the others were bicameral, organized into an upper and lower house like the Virginia assembly.

*The representative assembly in other colonies*

The troubles of the colony did not cease when the liberal party gained control of the company. There was still great suffering from famine, disease, and death—more than can be accounted for from the normal hazards of pioneering in a new world. Much of this unnecessary suffering was justly blamed on the mismanagement of the company, among whose leaders there were dissensions and personal bickerings which made it difficult to carry out a wise and effective policy. The company was in dire financial straits and, by the summer of 1621, was on the verge of bankruptcy. Instead of devoting its meager resources to the furnishing of food supplies, livestock, and agricultural equipment for the settlers, it kept sending more and more emigrants to Virginia. In this way the colony was overrun with settlers for whom food supplies and adequate housing facilities had not been provided. The impatience of the stockholders for immediate returns caused the diversion of the energies of the colonists from the raising of food to making experiments in the manufacture of iron, the culture of silk, and other like projects.

*The charter of the company annulled*

Complaints against the company were made to King James, and after an investigation by a royal commission its charter was annulled (June, 1624). Virginia was now a royal province, but no substantial change in the government was made, except that the appointment of the governor and the council was vested in the king instead of the company. After a brief suspension, the House of Burgesses was restored, and it continued as the representative branch of the assembly from that time until the end of the colonial era.

Among the early governors sent to Virginia by the king, the most noted was Sir William Berkeley. He possessed some of the qualities of a fine executive, although these were associated with serious shortcomings. He had courage, ability, and decision of character and advocated some liberal reforms in the colony, such as increasing the powers of the assembly and abolishing the unfair poll tax. Unfortunately, however, he was narrow and intolerant in his religious policy, and he bore down heavily on the Puritans in Virginia, causing about one thousand of them to leave for Maryland.

*Governor Berkeley*

Berkeley's first term as governor (1642-1652) was brought to an

*The Puritan Revolution*

end by the Puritan Revolution in England. To understand this revolution it is necessary to take a glance at the events that preceded and led to it. On the death of James I (1625), Charles I came to the throne of England. His arbitrary policy in both church and state aroused the fierce antagonism of Parliament, and a war between Parliament and king was the result. The Puritans (see p. 16) supported Parliament, and consequently this civil war is known as the Puritan Revolution. After seven years of strife (1642-1649), Parliament emerged victorious, and the king was executed. For more than a decade, the period of the Interregnum, England was governed without king or House of Lords. At first the government was in the hands of the House of Commons, but later Oliver Cromwell assumed control and ruled with the title of Lord Protector. The people grew tired of the Puritan regime and, shortly after Cromwell's death, called Charles II to the throne (1660).

*Virginia loyal to the Stuarts*

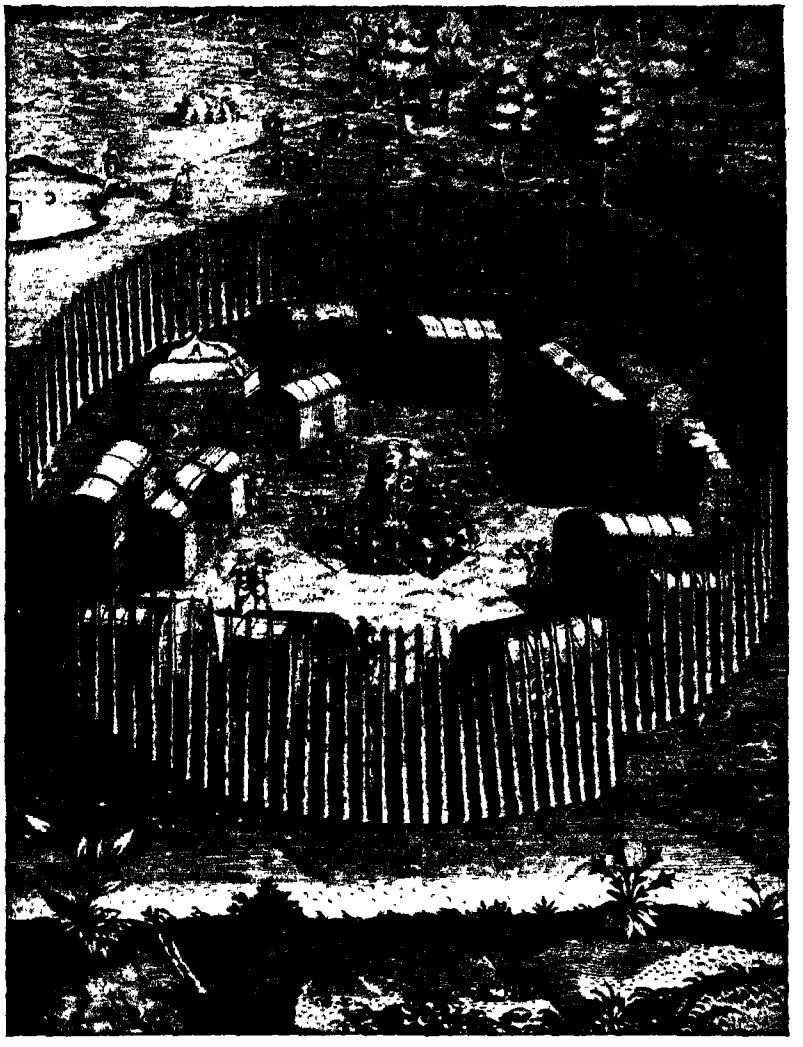
The planter aristocrats who dominated social and political life in Virginia were loyal to the Stuart cause and strongly opposed to the Puritan party. For this reason Berkeley had no difficulty in inducing the assembly to condemn the execution of Charles I and recognize the younger Charles as the rightful ruler of the English realm. This support of the exiled prince won for Virginia the designation of the Old Dominion. The Puritan government in England, mindful of the defiant attitude of the Virginia colony, sent a commission supported by warships to force the Chesapeake colonies to accept its authority. When the little squadron arrived at Jamestown (1652), the colony yielded without any attempt at resistance.

*Virginia under the Commonwealth*

The terms of the surrender were very favorable to the colonists. The authority of Parliament was recognized, and the Puritan party was put in control of the government of Virginia, but the Anglicans were allowed religious freedom. The governor and councillors were chosen by the House of Burgesses, the members of which were elected directly by the voters. The people were thus given a larger share in the government than they had ever had at any previous time. During the Interregnum, Virginia was a self-governing republic, managing its own affairs with little or no interference from the home authorities. This period of eight years was one of prosperity and rapid increase in population. It was a golden age for the yeoman farmers, who enjoyed an economic and political importance which had never before been accorded them.

*Berkeley's tyrannical rule*

Shortly before Charles II was proclaimed king in England (1660), Berkeley was restored to the governorship of Virginia. His second term was an unhappy period in the history of the colony. His administration was characterized by an arbitrary rule in which the masses



INDIAN FORTIFIED VILLAGE.

The Town of Pomeioc (present State of North Carolina) from DeBry, America, part I. Frankfurt-am-Main. 1590, engraved from John White's painting, which is in the British Museum. (From DeBry collection in W. L. Clements Library, Univ. of Michigan.)

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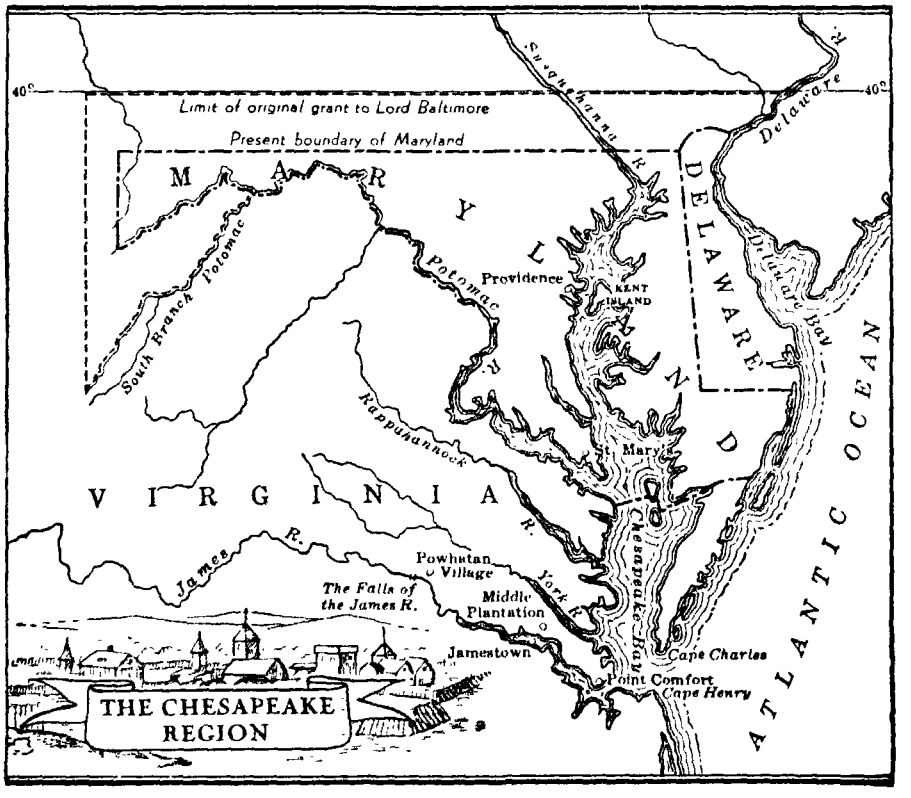
NEW AMSTERDAM, 1651



of the people had no effective voice. The right to vote was confined to freeholders, and the councillors and burgesses, being tied to him by gifts and promises of office, aided Berkeley in oppressing the people. Taxes were high and so apportioned as to impose a heavy burden on the common people and a light one on the privileged class. Furthermore, the Navigation Acts (see p. 87) worked a hardship on the planters. By these acts freight rates on overseas commerce were increased, and the sale of tobacco in continental Europe was greatly hampered. As a result of these drawbacks, the price of tobacco became so low that the Virginia farmers could earn no profit from raising it. The situation was made worse by several crop failures in the early 1670's. The small landowners were unable to make ends meet and were forced more and more to cover their farms with mortgages.

*Bacon's Rebellion*

Discontent aroused by these grievances flamed into revolt when Berkeley refused to protect the frontier against threatening Indian attack. Thereupon Nathaniel ~~Bacon~~, without the authorization of the governor, led the frontiersmen in a series of successful campaigns against the Indians and reduced them to a condition of peace and quiet. Enraged at this defiance of his authority, Berkeley denounced him as a rebel and traitor. Bacon picked up the gauntlet hurled at him by the governor, and a civil war was the result (1676). Bacon defeated Berkeley, drove him out of Jamestown, and then burned the little capital.

*Berkeley's vengeance*

Shortly after his victory at Jamestown, Bacon was stricken with dysentery and fever, which brought on his death. Since the rebels did not now have a leader who was equal to the task of carrying on a successful fight, Berkeley was able to put an end to the revolt. With a vindictiveness worthy of an Assyrian despot, the aged governor signalized his success with a satanic cruelty toward the rebels. About twenty-three of them were hanged, and the estates of a number of others were confiscated.

*Significance of the rebellion*

The chief significance of Bacon's Rebellion lies in the fact that it is the first instance in American history of a revolt of the yeomanry, not only against the provincial government, but also against the dominance of the privileged class. Most of the large planters were aligned with the governor, whereas Bacon's adherents were recruited mainly from the common people, many of whom were from the outlying settlements. It was, therefore, largely a struggle between patrician and plebeian, and of the frontier against the older part of the colony. This conflict between east and west was the first of a series of sectional disputes which from time to time have disturbed the harmony or threatened the unity of this country.

## THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES

*The Council for New England*

After one unsuccessful effort at colonization[1] the Plymouth Company lost its early zeal for establishing plantations in America. Some of the stockholders, however, were still interested in colonization, and a group of them reorganized the company under the name of the Council for New England. The new company received a charter from the king (1620), granting it all the land between the fortieth and the forty-eighth parallels of north latitude, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Instead of planting colonies on its grant, the Council for New England adopted the policy of bestowing large tracts of land on individuals and groups of settlers. Of the groups to which large grants were made, the most important were those that founded the colonies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay.

*The English Puritans*

When the Anglican became the established church of England, it was not accepted by all the Protestants of the realm. There was a radical wing of Protestants who felt that the Anglicans had retained too much of the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church and were not living up to as strict a moral standard as they should. These ultra-Protestants were known as Puritans. They practiced a stern moral code, insisted upon a strict observance of the Sabbath, and regarded as wicked some types of amusement which the Anglicans considered innocent. Of the various groups of Puritans, the two which took the leading part in the founding of New England were the Nonconformists and the Separatists. The Nonconformists objected to some of the doctrines and the ritual of the state church but did not carry their opposition to the point of withdrawing from it. They tried to bring about certain reforms in the establishment and thus make it conform to their views.

*Nonconformists*

*Separatists*

The Separatists, however, were so opposed to the beliefs and practices of the Anglicans that they refused to associate with them in a church relation. Accordingly, they separated from the established church and organized themselves into independent churches. For this reason they were known as Separatists, or Independents. They held that any group of worshippers, binding themselves together by a mutual covenant, could form a church or congregation. The members of this congregation could choose its minister and other officials and manage its affairs without any outside interference. This method of church government is known as the congregational.

[1] In August, 1607, a settlement was begun by the Plymouth Company at the mouth of the Kennebec River. After a winter of terrible suffering the colonists abandoned the fort (named St. George) which they had constructed, and returned to England.

*The Separatists emigrate to the Netherlands*

Early in the seventeenth century (1606), a Separatist church was organized at Scrooby in northern England. The meetings held by this new church were in violation of an act of Parliament (1593) which made it unlawful for any one to be absent from the services of the Anglican Church or to participate in any other form of worship. The Scrooby Separatists were therefore subjected to a mild persecution which was humiliating to them and made them uneasy as to their safety in the future. To avoid this persecution and escape other unpleasant experiences, the members of the Scrooby church left the homeland (1607-08) and went to the Netherlands, where religious freedom was enjoyed by all Christians. After staying at Amsterdam for a year they moved to Leyden and there reorganized themselves into a church with John Robinson as pastor.

*Why the Pilgrims left the Netherlands*

For twelve years the Pilgrims (as these English Separatists are usually called) lived at Leyden and enjoyed perfect freedom of worship. However, life in a foreign land had many drawbacks. They had been farmers in England and were therefore not skilled in the trades which afforded employment to their Dutch neighbors. Because of this lack of training and their alien citizenship, they were not admitted to the craft guilds, which enjoyed a monopoly of the most profitable trades. They had to work therefore as unskilled laborers, and the children had to supplement the earnings of their parents by performing tasks which overtaxed their strength. Thus being dissatisfied with their Dutch environment, the Pilgrims began to look to the new world as a suitable place for their permanent home. Here they could bring up their children with English manners and speech—free from the temptations of city life—and could establish their religious system without outside influence or interference.

Permission was obtained from the London Company to plant a settlement on its territory, and an oral promise was received from the king that he would connive at them and not molest them, provided they carried themselves peaceably. The capital for financing the undertaking was furnished by a joint-stock company composed of London merchants.

*The voyage of the Mayflower*

These arrangements having been made, thirty-five of the Pilgrims left Leyden for Southampton, England, there to be joined by fellow Separatists from London. Finally, after considerable delay and disappointment, one hundred and two passengers embarked on the *Mayflower* for the new world. At the end of a long and stormy voyage the *Mayflower* anchored in Plymouth harbor in Cape Cod Bay (December, 1620) and here the Pilgrims made their first settlement (Plymouth).

*The founding of Plymouth*

Since the winter was well advanced when they landed, the Pilgrims were unable to provide adequate housing facilities for all the settlers, and there was great suffering during the winter months. Disease was brought on by exposure, and so severe was the epidemic (which apparently was contagious) that nearly half of the immigrants died during the first winter.

*William Bradford*

In April, 1621, the first governor, John Carver, died and William Bradford was chosen to succeed him. This was a fortunate selection; Bradford was eminently qualified for leadership in an infant Puritan commonwealth struggling with pioneer conditions. In his well-poised character, deep religious convictions were combined with a sound common sense that served him in good stead in the handling of the many difficulties which confronted him. So wise was his management of affairs that he was kept in the governor's chair for more than thirty years. He also wrote an account of the Pilgrims, and his *History of Plymouth Plantation* is our best source of information for the early history of the colony.

*Land patents*

As the Pilgrims had settled outside the limits of the London Company, the patent received from this corporation was of no value. In the beginning, therefore, the settlers had no legal title to their lands and no authority to establish a government. Later two patents were received from the Council for New England (1621, 1630) by which a valid title to its land was conferred upon the colony. But probably no governmental authority went with these grants, and since no royal charter was ever obtained by the colony, it is quite likely that the government of New Plymouth (by which name the colony was differentiated from the town) never rested on a strictly legal basis until it was united with Massachusetts.

*The Mayflower Compact*

The Pilgrim Fathers, however, were not disposed to deny themselves the benefits of political organization out of deference to fine-spun political theories but proceeded at once to organize a government in accordance with that fundamental natural right, the consent of the governed. When it was decided that the settlement would be made in New England and therefore the patent of the London Company would have no validity, some of the immigrants refused to recognize the authority of the leaders. To allay this rising discontent and ensure order, the men entered into an agreement that they would make just and equal laws and would yield obedience to such rules and regulations as should be made by a majority of the voters. This agreement was signed on board the *Mayflower* before they landed at Plymouth and is known as the Mayflower Compact.

There were other meetings of the freemen from time to time in

the early years, and consequently the Mayflower Compact served as a sort of constitutional basis for a regular primary assembly, known as the General Court. At first the sessions were attended by all the "freemen," or voters, who took the trouble to attend. In time, however, it became a representative assembly of one house, composed of the governor and his advisers (termed Assistants) and representatives from the towns.

*Origin of the General Court*

## THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY

The Massachusetts Bay Colony (frequently referred to as the Bay Colony) had its origin in a fishing station which had been established at Cape Ann in 1623. In a few years the post was abandoned, most of the settlers returning to England and the others moving down to Naumkeag, later known as Salem. The settlement at Salem was soon taken under the wing of an English colonizing group, the New England Company. This organization received a patent from the Council for New England (1628), granting it all the land extending from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimac River and westward to the Pacific Ocean.

*Beginning of the Massachusetts Bay Colony*

In March, 1629, a charter was received from the king by which the New England Company was merged into a new corporation, generally known as the Massachusetts Bay Company. The new company was confirmed in all the landed possessions held by the old under the grant by the Council for New England and was given authority to manage the colony and govern the settlers. From the beginning the Puritans were in the majority in the membership of the company, and the establishment of Puritanism in New England was one of the purposes of the organization. Although the hope of gain from trade and fishing was another incentive, the religious motive gradually grew more important until finally it became the predominant purpose of the corporation.

*The Massachusetts Bay Company*

There was no provision in the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company requiring the stockholders to have their meetings in England, and therefore they could hold their sessions in New England if they so desired. This possibility was noted by John Winthrop and eleven other prominent Nonconformists, who in a written agreement signed at Cambridge (August 29, 1629) promised to go to New England with their families if the management of the company should be turned over to them. The proposal was accepted by the company since the leaders who dominated it were anxious to promote the establishment of a Puritan commonwealth in the new world. All officers of the company who were unwilling to leave

*The Cambridge Agreement*

England resigned, and their places were taken by the Puritan leaders who were going to New England. Winthrop was chosen governor of both the company and the colony, and the charter was turned over to him to be taken to Massachusetts. The future meetings of the company were to be in the colony, and none was held in England after Winthrop was established in Massachusetts. The control of the company was henceforth in the hands of the Puritan members in New England, and the stockholders remaining in the homeland were reduced to silent business partners.

*The Great Migration*

This was the proper time for a great Puritan exodus from England. There was strong dissatisfaction among Nonconformists because of unfavorable political, economic, and religious conditions in England. In the year of the Cambridge Agreement, Charles I dissolved Parliament and for the next decade ruled the country autocratically without the assistance of Parliament. In religious affairs the king followed the advice of William Laud, then Bishop of London but later to become head of the Anglican Church as Archbishop of Canterbury. Laud was determined to uphold the authority of the state church and to drive the Nonconformist ministers out of their pulpits. The policy of the king was therefore very objectionable to those who believed in the rights of Parliament and adhered to the doctrines of the Puritans.

Political and religious discontent was also reinforced by economic unrest. In the eastern and southeastern counties, where the Puritans were especially numerous, the people were suffering from business depression. Thus, in these counties a number of Puritans and persons of other beliefs were anxious to go to a new country where land was cheap and the comforts and necessaries of life could be won by industry and thrift. These conditions made it easy for the Puritan leaders to enlist recruits for their New England colony. So many went over in 1630 that the exodus has been termed the Great Migration. During the year a total of more than a thousand immigrants were landed in Massachusetts. This was not only the largest number of settlers which had ever been sent from England to the colonies in any single year, but it also included a greater proportion of men of wealth, influence, and education than had any previous group of immigrants.

*John Winthrop*

The selection of Winthrop to take charge of the venture was a wise choice, for probably no other man in all England was better suited to act "as the Moses of the great Puritan exodus." With the seriousness and deep piety of the typical Puritan he combined the sound judgment, practical common sense, and the will power of a hardheaded man of the world. His ability and self-control,

which had won him a position of influence in England, gave promise of success in the administration of business affairs in the Bay Colony, whereas his earnestness in religion served him in good stead in the leadership of a Bible commonwealth. It is not surprising, therefore, that except for a few brief intervals he held the governorship of the colony for two decades.[1]

*Congregationalism established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*

The Puritans who settled in Massachusetts in 1630 were not Separatists, but Nonconformists; that is, they were members of the Anglican Church but were dissatisfied with some of its beliefs and practices. Their allegiance to Anglicanism, however, had been subjected to a severe strain by the policy of Bishop Laud, and the slender bond which held them to the state church was snapped in most cases after they had crossed the Atlantic and established a self-governing commonwealth. Independence in religion was the logical corollary of the autonomy in government granted them by their charter. It was not long therefore before the churches in the Bay Colony had severed their connection with the Anglican Church and had become Congregationalist.

*Political development*

By the terms of the charter only stockholders of the company—they were called "freemen"—had a voice in governmental affairs. Since the number of stockholders, or freemen, who came to Massachusetts in 1630 was very small (probably a dozen or more) some modification of this plan needed to be made. The problem was met by admitting new members to the corporation. This was done from time to time, but no one could vote in general elections or take part in the general government of the colony unless he had been admitted a member of the company by a vote of the freemen. Furthermore, no one could become a freeman unless he was a member of a Congregational church.

*The General Court*

By the continuous enlargement of the membership of the company a corporation was changed into a commonwealth, with stockholders acting as citizens. Officers were elected, laws were made, and for a time administrative and judicial functions were performed by an organized group consisting of the governor, his advisory council (the Board of Assistants), and the freemen. This ruling body was known as the General Court. At first it met as a primary assembly, but it was not long before it became a representative body of two houses. The upper house consisted of the governor and the Assistants and the lower house of representatives from the towns.

The government was decidedly aristocratic. The majority of the people had no voice in the control of provincial affairs, and the

1 Winthrop wrote a history of New England, which is the best contemporary account of the events in Massachusetts from 1630-1649.

*General character of the government*

minority who enjoyed the right of suffrage accepted the leadership of the upper class. The ministers, being usually men of ability and intelligence, exerted a great influence in governmental affairs. Because of the political influence of the clergy and the prominence given to the precepts of the Bible in the laws, the government of the Bay Colony is sometimes classed as a theocracy and the colony termed a Bible commonwealth. The administration was honest and efficient and comparatively free from that curse of oligarchies—the desire to exploit the masses for the benefit of the privileged class; but it was too narrow and conservative to make the proper adjustment to pioneer conditions. It was characterized by a spirit of intolerance, which put a curb on initiative and individuality. Forgetting their former nonconformity, the leaders tried to impose a uniformity of belief on the people.

*The expulsion of Roger Williams*

One of the first victims of this intolerant policy was Roger Williams, a brilliant and well-educated young minister who had come to New England in 1631. Shortly after his arrival in Massachusetts he began to proclaim, with earnestness and eloquence, opinions which were considered dangerous by the orthodox rulers. He advocated the complete separation of church and state and absolute religious freedom. He also boldly declared that the company had no right to its land, since its title rested on a patent from the king and the king had no authority to grant Indian lands. In the opinion of the Puritan oligarchy which ruled the Bay Colony these doctrines were striking at the foundations of both church and state. To get rid of this troublemaker, they secured a vote of the General Court expelling him from the commonwealth. He took refuge for a few months with his friends, the Narragansett Indians, and then with a handful of his followers made a settlement at the head of Narragansett Bay (1636), to which he gave the name of Providence.

*Mrs. Anne Hutchinson*

Soon after Roger Williams was expelled, there occurred another and more serious controversy over heresy—one which shook the established order to its foundations. The trouble arose when Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, a strong-minded, earnest woman began to express convictions which did not agree with those of the orthodox leaders and were therefore regarded as dangerous heresies. The controversy developed into a bitter political fight which resulted in the expulsion of Mrs. Hutchinson and Rev. John Wheelwright, her brother-in-law and most outstanding lieutenant. Wheelwright and a considerable group of followers went northward and founded the settlement of Exeter in New Hampshire, while Mrs. Hutchinson, with her husband and a few of her supporters, moved southward and settled on the island of Aquidneck in Rhode Island.

*Persecution of the Baptists and Quakers*

The effort to stamp out error, as exemplified in the persecution of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, did not prove a successful quarantine against heresy. It was not long before orthodoxy had to combat the objectionable doctrines of the Baptists and Quakers. A few years after Mrs. Hutchinson's banishment, three prominent Baptists from Rhode Island, while on a visit to Massachusetts, were arrested and fined. One of them refused to pay the fine and was brutally flogged with a three-corded whip. Still severer treatment was meted out to the Quakers. A law was passed providing for the expulsion of all Quakers and the infliction of the death penalty on those who returned. Under this measure four Quakers were executed, one of them being a woman.

All of these victims of persecution were persons of fine character, and the treatment accorded them was a severe indictment against the leadership of the Bible commonwealth. It was another instance of Jerusalem stoning her prophets.

## CONNECTICUT

From New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, Puritanism soon began to expand into the unoccupied spaces toward the north, south, and west. The causes of this new movement were very much the same as those which had been behind the original migration of the Puritans from the old world to the new. In both cases the hope of economic betterment and the expectation of a happier religious adjustment were leading motives. Religious nonconformity was an important factor in the expansion southward into Rhode Island, and to a lesser extent a reason for the emigration northward into New Hampshire, while the economic motive was the main one in the movement westward into Connecticut and New Haven.

*The founding of Connecticut*

The Connecticut Valley offered an attractive field for settlement. The bottom lands along the Connecticut River were more productive and more easily cultivated than were the rocky hillsides of Massachusetts and New Plymouth. The river was navigable for a considerable distance into the interior and thus afforded an excellent means of communication for the settlers. Both the Dutch and the English cast longing glances toward this fruitful land and both set up claims to it. The Dutch got the start on their competitors by establishing a military post, Fort Good Hope, at the present site of Hartford. The New Englanders were not discouraged, however, by this forward step of their opponents but went ahead with their settlements.

Four towns were soon established on the river. The first of these, Windsor, was founded (1633) by the Pilgrims from Plymouth. The

other three, Wethersfield, Hartford, and Springfield, were settled by emigrants from the Bay Colony. The trek westward from Massachusetts to Connecticut was a series of migrations similar in character to those made later into the interior of the continent. Prominent in the list of pioneers in this early westward movement was Thomas Hooker, a brilliant young minister who was somewhat dissatisfied with the religious and political situation in Massachusetts. The members of his church at Newtown (or Cambridge) felt the lure of the west and under the leadership of Hooker and another minister left in a body for the land of promise. These pioneers threaded their way one hundred miles through the wilderness, driving their hogs and cattle slowly along, and at the end of two weeks reached Hartford. Hooker was active in laying the foundations of the new colony and played a prominent part in its later development.

In the meantime, the Dutch were stubbornly holding on to Fort Good Hope, although the post was surrounded by New England farmers. Refusing to give up their claim to the land, the Dutch stood their ground until 1654, when they were forced out by the war between England and the Dutch Netherlands.

*The government organized*

In 1637 the planters in the three river towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield[1] organized a government for Connecticut, which was the name of the new colony. Two years later the legislature, or General Court, framed a number of laws, known as the "Fundamental Orders," which served as a sort of constitution for the commonwealth. A scheme of government similar to that of Massachusetts was outlined by this constitution.

### NEW HAVEN

*The settlement at New Haven*

Soon after the settlements were made on the Connecticut River a second colony was established within the present limits of Connecticut. This was New Haven. The plantation was founded by a group of well-to-do English Puritans who came to New England under the leadership of John Davenport, a minister, and Theophilus Eaton, a wealthy merchant. The immigrants hoped to establish a Puritan colony which would soon become a profitable trading center. In pursuit of these aims, they selected as the site of their first settlement a place known by the Indians as Quinnipiack, which was located on a good harbor on Long Island Sound, about thirty miles west of the mouth of the Connecticut. Here on land bought from the Indians they laid out the town of New Haven (1638).

No patent or charter for this colony was ever received from the

[1] It was soon discovered that Springfield was within the limits of Massachusetts, and therefore this town took no part in the organization of the Connecticut government.

king or any company, and therefore the settlers had no legal title to their lands and no authority to establish a government. They went ahead, however, and organized their colony into a Puritan commonwealth with a form of government like that of Massachusetts. For a while the settlement of New Haven was the only one in the little republic, but later other towns were founded, and by 1644 these had united with the original settlement to form the colony of New Haven. In this Bible commonwealth Eaton played a part similar to that of William Bradford in New Plymouth and John Winthrop in Massachusetts. Eaton was the first governor, and for seventeen years—until the year of his death—he was annually re-elected.

*A Puritan commonwealth*

The government established in Connecticut under the "Fundamental Orders" was not supported by the proper legal sanction, since it did not rest on any authority from the king; nor had the Connecticut colony secured a clear title to the greater portion of its land. The people of Connecticut therefore wanted a royal charter which would give the colony uncontested title to its land and put the stamp of legality on its government. Such a charter was obtained from the king (1662) through the efforts of the efficient governor, John Winthrop, Jr. (son of John Winthrop of Massachusetts). So pleased was Connecticut with this charter that when she seceded from the British empire in the Revolutionary period, she kept it and used it as her state constitution until 1818.

*The Connecticut charter*

The boundaries of Connecticut were so defined in the charter as to include nearly all of the colony of New Haven. This latter colony therefore, much to the disappointment of its settlers, lost its separate existence and henceforth was a part of Connecticut.

*New Haven absorbed by Connecticut*

## RHODE ISLAND

The colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations owed its origin to religious refugees from Massachusetts. These religious radicals were dissenting from the orthodoxy of New England, just as the early Massachusetts settlers had dissented from the orthodoxy of old England. As has already been shown, the first of these settlements was made at Providence (1636) by Roger Williams and a few of his followers.

*The founding of Providence*

Another group of heretics from Massachusetts founded the settlement of Portsmouth on the northern end of the island of Aquidneck. These settlers included Mrs. Hutchinson and some of her followers, who were under the leadership of William Coddington.

*Portsmouth*

The extreme individualism which had prevented the Hutchin-

*Newport*

sonians from making proper adjustments in the Bay Colony now caused dissensions in this their own miniature republic. The result was a withdrawal from the colony of a group of malcontents who moved to the southern part of the island and founded the town of Newport.

*Warwick*

A fourth settlement was made at Warwick, on the western shore of Narragansett Bay, twelve miles south of Providence. The founder of this town was Samuel Gorton, a religious radical who had aroused antagonism in Boston and Providence and had been expelled from Portsmouth and Plymouth.

*The federation of the four colonies*

In 1644 Roger Williams, acting as the agent of Providence and the island plantations, obtained a charter from the Parliamentary commissioners who had charge of colonial affairs. By this charter the Rhode Island communities were given titles to their land, and authority to unite and form a joint government. A few years later the four settlements were federated into a union, with a government for the united plantations similar in form to that of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

*Religious freedom*

The united colonies of Rhode Island carried on under this patent until 1663, when a second charter was obtained from Charles II. In the new charter the old form of government was continued. This charter was very acceptable to the people, and they held tenaciously to it to the end of the colonial period. It was also used as their state constitution after the Revolutionary War, and it was not until 1843 that a new constitution was adopted. One noted provision of the charter was that no one should be in "any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion." This was the legal recognition of the practice of religious freedom which had already become a tradition in the colony. The people had been indoctrinated in this tradition by the teachings of Roger Williams, and to him more than anyone else is due the credit for this liberal principle.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

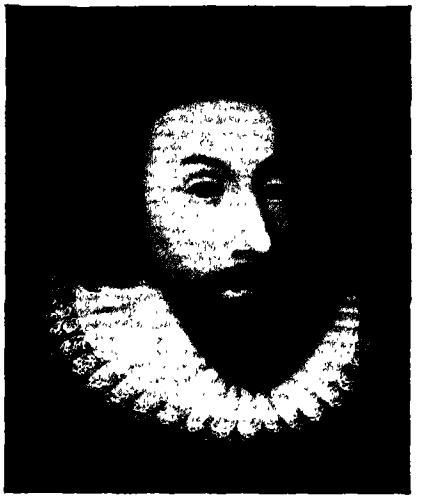
*Early settlements*

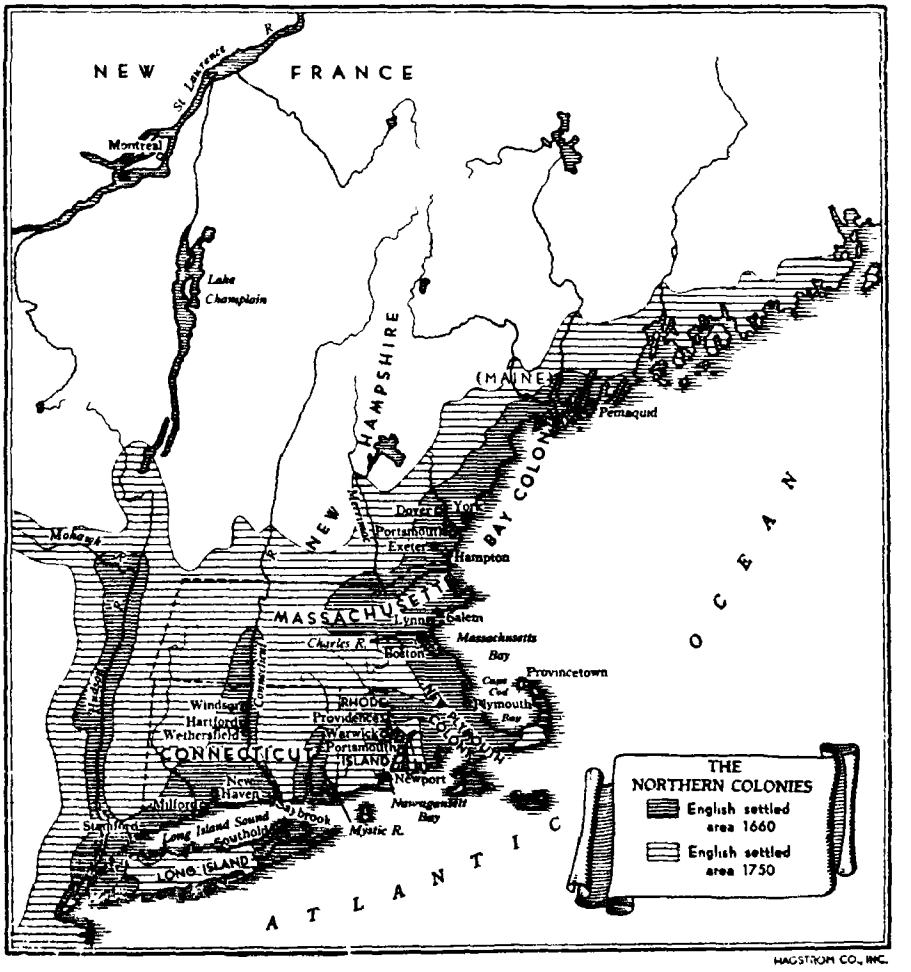
The occupation of the New Hampshire region was begun before the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century. A temporary settlement was made in 1623 at the present site of Rye, and in the next two decades a few other towns were established in southeastern New Hampshire. Settlements were also made in Maine, although there were very few in this region prior to 1640. In the meantime, a patent had been issued by the Council for New England granting most of the territory now included in Maine and New Hampshire to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason and their asso-

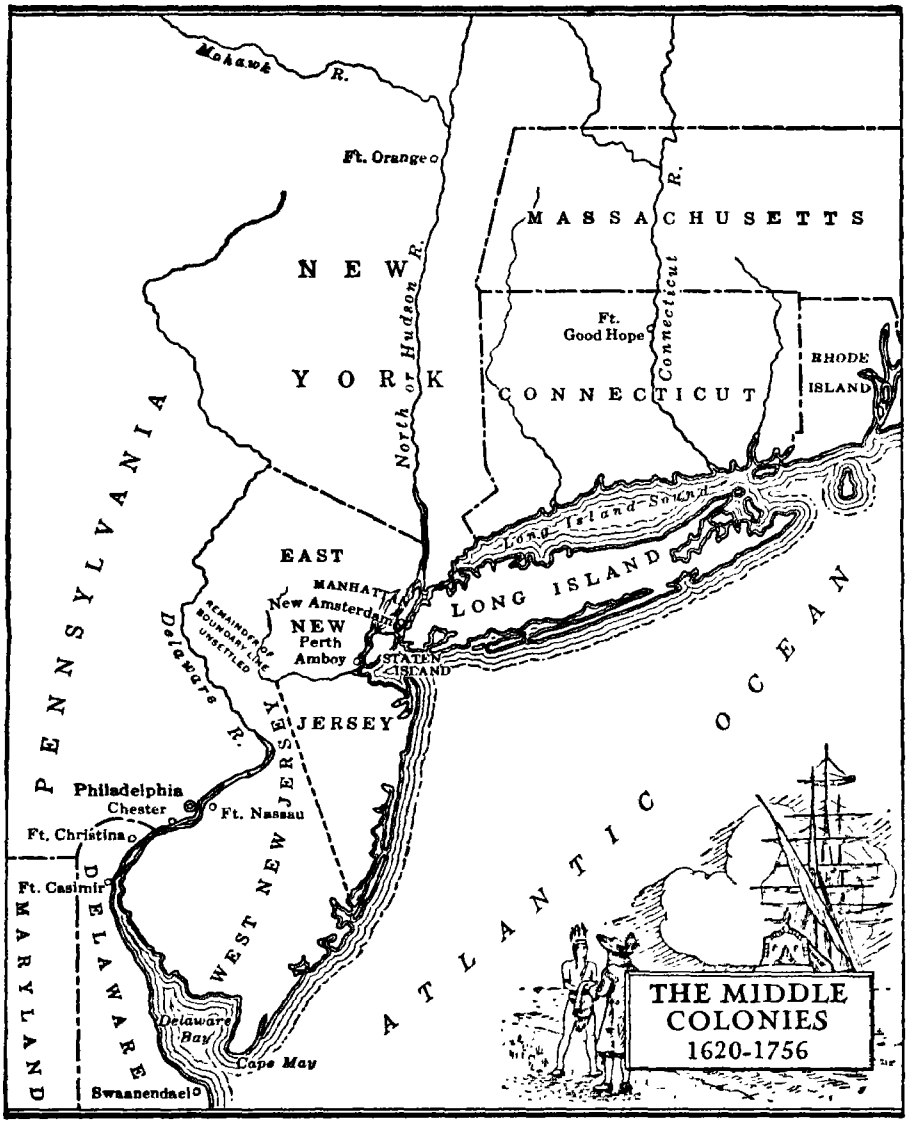
PORTRAIT OF JOHN WINTHROP, SR.

First governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. Painted in England, artist unknown.

*Courtesy of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*






Mohawk R.
Ft. Orange
NEW YORK
North or Hudson R.
MASSACHUSETTS
Connecticut R.
Ft. Good Hope
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
Long Island Sound
EAST
MANHATTAN
New Amsterdam
NEW
Perth Amboy
REMAINDER OF BOUNDARY LINE UNSETTLED
Delaware R.
STATEN ISLAND
LONG ISLAND
PENNSYLVANIA
JERSEY
WEST NEW JERSEY
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Philadelphia
Chester
Ft. Nassau
Ft. Christina
Ft. Casimir
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
Delaware Bay
Cape May
Swaanendael
THE MIDDLE COLONIES
1620-1756

ciates. A few years later (1629) Mason and Gorges agreed upon a partition of their territory, the former receiving the land south and west of the Piscataqua River and the latter that between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec. Mason gave to his share the name of New Hampshire, after his native county in England, while the area east of the Piscataqua was known as Maine.

## NEW NETHERLAND AND NEW SWEDEN

*Henry Hudson*

By the beginning of the seventeenth century (1609) the Netherlands had thrown off the yoke of Spanish rule and had entered upon an era of commercial and colonial expansion. The Dutch merchants, like their rivals in other countries, were anxious to discover a shorter route to the East than that by the Cape of Good Hope, especially since the Portuguese were attempting to monopolize the latter. To this end Henry Hudson, an Englishman, was sent by the Dutch East India Company on a voyage to America with the hope that he would find a strait across the continent connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. He failed to realize this expectation, but he did discover and ascend the river that bears his name and thus gave the Netherlands a claim to a fine portion of the new world.

*Settlements*

On the basis of this discovery, the Dutch laid claim to that part of North America included between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude. To this area they gave the name of New Netherland. Dutch seamen noted the fine opportunities for fur trading afforded by this region and at once began to engage in an active traffic with the Indians. In furtherance of this traffic, a trading post was established at the present site of Albany in 1614, and another on Manhattan Island about the same time. Permanent settlement was begun in 1624 when the Dutch West India Company sent over thirty families of emigrants to occupy New Netherland. These were distributed among several places. A considerable group of them settled at the present site of Albany, where Fort Orange was built, while a few made a temporary settlement on the Delaware River opposite Philadelphia. Apparently a few of the immigrants were left on Manhattan Island to hold it. Two years later Manhattan Island was bought from the Indians for about $24.00. A fort was built on the southern tip of the island, and the little village of New Amsterdam which had been growing up there became the seat of government of New Netherland.

*Peter Stuyvesant*

Of the various governors of New Netherland the most important was Peter Stuyvesant. Although brave, capable, and intensely loyal to the company and to the established church (the Dutch Re-

formed), he was intolerant, ill-tempered, and autocratic in his notions of government. True to his prejudices and conservative views, he persecuted Baptists and Quakers and forbade Lutherans to worship in public. Stuyvesant, however, had some outstanding achievements to his credit. He instituted some needed reforms in his province, and by agreement he fixed for the time being the boundary between New Netherland and New England. Also by conquering the Swedes he added the Delaware region to New Netherland.

### NEW SWEDEN

In 1638 a group of Swedish emigrants was sent over to the Delaware region by a Swedish trading company. They settled on the Delaware River at Fort Christina (now Wilmington). Other settlements were made along this navigable stream, and the territory on both sides of Delaware Bay and River from Cape May to points beyond the present site of Philadelphia was claimed by the Swedes. The area thus staked off, which was called New Sweden, was within the limits of New Netherland, and the authorities at New Amsterdam protested against the Swedish occupation. It was not, however, until 1655 that this protest was implemented with action. In that year Governor Stuyvesant sent an expedition from New Amsterdam up the Delaware River to demand the surrender of the Swedish posts. As the Swedes were few in number and were not prepared for defense, they yielded to the demand of the Dutch governor without resistance. The settlers were allowed to remain and retain possession of their lands, but thereafter the territory was recognized as being a part of New Netherland.

### MARYLAND

*The charter granted to Lord Baltimore*

In 1632 Cecilius Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore, received a charter from King Charles I granting him a large area of land north of Virginia, to which he gave the name of Maryland in honor of the Queen, Henrietta Maria. The charter conferred upon him the rights of a landlord and the authority to establish a government. He could sell, lease, or give away the land on such terms as he might wish to prescribe. In the exercise of his governmental powers he was restricted by the provisions that the laws of Maryland were to be in harmony with those of England and could not be made without the assent of a majority of the people or their representatives. Except for these two limitations, the proprietor had almost complete political authority. Maryland was thus to be a constitutional monarchy with the proprietor as ruler.

*The settlement at St. Mary's*

Lord Baltimore was prompt in following up his grant with occupation. He sent overseas two or three hundred emigrants, who planted a settlement at St. Mary's on St. George's River, a short distance above the mouth of the Potomac. The site chosen for the first settlement was a very desirable one inasmuch as it was high and well drained and therefore free from malarial swamps. The Indians in the vicinity were crossing the Potomac into Virginia and were willing to sell their cleared lands to the settlers. The latter were also able to buy corn from the Indians and from the whites in the neighboring colonies. For these reasons St. Mary's did not undergo a starving time as did the other early settlements.

*Religious toleration*

Lord Baltimore was a Catholic, and one of the reasons for founding his colony was the desire to provide a refuge for his fellow religionists who were persecuted in England. Therefore, many of the original settlers, including most of the influential and ruling class, were Catholics. They could not be protected in the exercise of their religion in Maryland unless the right of freedom of worship were granted to all the people. Furthermore, the promise of religious toleration would be an important inducement to prospective settlers. For these reasons (and possibly because he believed in the principle of religious toleration) Lord Baltimore allowed religious freedom from the beginning. This policy was embodied in law when the assembly passed the Toleration Act of 1649. By this act freedom of worship was allowed to all persons who believed in Christ and the Holy Trinity.

*Puritans emigrate from Virginia to Maryland*

Among those who were attracted to Maryland by its liberal religious policy were a group of Puritans who were being persecuted by Governor Berkeley in Virginia. A considerable number of them came over and made a settlement, to which they gave the name of Providence (now Annapolis). These Puritans later caused Lord Baltimore much trouble since they were strongly anti-Catholic.

*Maryland under the Commonwealth*

When the civil war broke out in England, Maryland was wrongfully accused of being opposed to the Parliamentary regime. For this reason this province, along with Virginia, was put under the ban of Parliament. The commissioners who had secured the surrender of Virginia appeared in Maryland to force a like recognition there of the authority of Parliament. Although the governor, who was the appointee of Lord Baltimore, was willing to accede to their demands, except for a few minor particulars, strife arose between him and the commissioners which ultimately led to bloodshed. William Claiborne, one of the commissioners, was largely responsible for this trouble. For a time Lord Baltimore was deprived of his authority in Maryland, and a government was established under the

control of the Puritans. The latter signalized their victory by repealing the Toleration Act and substituting for it a law by which Catholics were denied religious freedom. In a few years, however, Lord Baltimore regained his authority, and religious toleration was renewed.

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# CHAPTER III

# *Colonial Expansion*

## The "Glorious Revolution" in England and America

*The Revolution of 1688 in England*

At the death of Charles II, his brother, James II, came to the throne of England (1685). The new ruler was a Catholic and therefore began his reign with a serious handicap. In his effort to favor his co-religionists he disregarded certain laws and in general pursued an autocratic policy. His unwise acts aroused a growing opposition to his rule which culminated in a successful uprising. As a result of this revolt James was deposed and William and Mary became joint sovereigns of the realm. Since this change in the government was effected without bloodshed in England, it is known as the "Bloodless Revolution." It is also sometimes termed the "Glorious Revolution." That this movement in the homeland would be followed by important repercussions in the colonies goes without saying. It was also natural that the American counterpart of the British revolution should start in New England, for it was in this section that feeling against Stuart misrule had been strongest.

*The Charter of Massachusetts annulled*

As has already been seen, the New England commonwealths had become autonomous republics during the period immediately preceding the Puritan Revolution, and for some years they managed their own affairs with little or no regard for imperial authority. After the Restoration they still hoped to continue their quasi-independence. Massachusetts was especially bold in the assertion of her right of self-government and paid slight heed to the claims of the British government. Aroused by this defiance of his authority, Charles instituted judicial proceedings against the charter, and it was annulled in October, 1684.

*The Dominion of New England*

The Privy Council now devised a new plan of government which provided for the union of all the New England commonwealths, New York, and the Jerseys under one jurisdiction, known as the Dominion of New England. Rhode Island and Connecticut were forced to accept the new arrangement, although their charters were

not annulled.[1] The administration of the Dominion of New England was entrusted to a governor and council, who could exercise legislative, executive, and judicial authority. All the assemblies were abolished, and the people were to have no voice in the levying of provincial taxes or the enactment of laws. James II was now king, and this autocratic scheme of administration was in keeping with his highhanded practices in England.

*The revolution of 1689 in New England*

Edmund Andros, who had been acting as governor of New York for some time, was made governor of the Dominion of New England. He was honest and capable but did not have sufficient control over his hot temper and at times was untactful. But however tactful he may have been, his position would have been an impossible one, for no royal governor, charged with carrying out an autocratic system of government, could have been satisfactory to the leaders and people of New England. There was a growing dissatisfaction with the new regime, which came to a head when news was received in Boston (March, 1689) that James had been driven from the throne and William and Mary had been installed as rulers of England. Emboldened by this revolution, a mob rose in Boston and deposed Andros. With the downfall of Andros the old governments were restored for the time being—not only in Massachusetts but also in New Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. This proved to be a temporary arrangement for New Plymouth and Massachusetts, and two years later these two colonies were united to form a royal province.

*The problem of reconstruction*

As we shall later see (pp. 35, 39) there were also in this year revolutions in New York and Maryland. The first problem, therefore, which confronted William and Mary with reference to the overseas possessions was that of reconstructing the governments in those colonies which had revolted against their old rulers. All these revolts had been carried out in the name of the joint sovereigns and were imitations of the revolution in England to which William owed his crown. He therefore approved them and proceeded to form new governments to take the place of those which had been overthrown.

### NEW ENGLAND

*Massachusetts becomes a royal province*

No attempt was made to restore the Dominion of New England, which had already broken up into its constituent elements. New

[1] This was not the first attempt to unite the colonies of New England. In 1643 a loose union, known as "The United Colonies of New England," was voluntarily effected between the Puritan colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. It lasted for forty years (until the Massachusetts charter was annulled) and served to some extent as an agency for united effort in King Philip's War, the most serious of all the Indian wars in New England.

Hampshire became a distinct royal province, and Rhode Island and Connecticut were allowed to continue under the governments which had been restored according to their old charters. The proceedings instituted against these charters were dropped, and no further effort was ever made to annul them. Massachusetts also wished to have her charter restored, but this was not done. Instead, another charter, known as the Province Charter, was granted to her in 1691. Maine, New Plymouth, and for a short time Nova Scotia,[1] were united with Massachusetts.

*The Province Charter of Massachusetts*

Under the charter of 1691 Massachusetts enjoyed a larger measure of self-government than did the other royal provinces. Although the governor was appointed by the king, the council, which constituted the highest provincial court and the upper house of the assembly, was chosen after the first year by the two houses of the assembly meeting in joint session. The town meeting, whose powers had been curtailed by Andros, was restored to its old place as the chief agency in local government. With these exceptions the government of Massachusetts was like that of the other royal provinces. Suffrage was based on the ownership of property and not on church membership as it had been under the old regime. By this change the influence of the ministers in the government was lessened. They also lost prestige as the result of the witchcraft delusion which broke out at Salem soon afterwards.

*The Salem witchcraft delusion*

The last third of the seventeenth century was probably the darkest period intellectually that New England has ever known. The men and women of that era had been reared in a rigorous frontier environment and therefore had had few opportunities for formal education. In this respect they were more unfortunate than both their parents and their children. The former had been brought up in England, and many of them had been trained in the schools of an old and established society; whereas the latter lived at a time when the opportunities for education in the colonies had been considerably improved as a result of the increase in wealth and population. The ignorance of the people proved a breeding place for a dangerous superstition, which in the form of a witchcraft delusion broke out in Massachusetts in the last decade of the century. Unfortunately, too, the people were not blessed with an enlightened and progressive leadership. On the contrary, most of the intellectual leaders, a majority of whom were ministers, had a narrow and backward view of life, which had been stamped upon them by Puritanism and the

[1] Acadia, or Nova Scotia, as the English called it, had been wrested from the French the previous year; but as it was retaken by the latter in this same year (1691), Nova Scotia remained under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts for only a short period.

discipline acquired in the school of hard knocks. With such blind guides, it is no wonder that the people fell into the ditch of superstition.

The delusion started in Boston (1688), but it was in Salem that it went to the greatest lengths and led to the most tragic results. In 1692 some girls in Salem, acting as if they were bewitched, were thought to be the victims of the black art, and certain persons in the town were accused of the crime. The craze, once started, spread rapidly. One hundred people were imprisoned, and a score of innocent people were adjudged guilty and put to death. In the meantime the afflicted girls had overplayed their hand by accusing some persons of the highest standing, and the magistrates began to realize their terrible mistake. A reaction now set in and the executions ceased.

*Loss of prestige by the clergy*

When normal sanity returned to the community it became conscious of the awful blunder which had been committed. Samuel Sewall, one of the members of the special tribunal that passed on the witchcraft cases, was so overcome with the consciousness of his mistake that he made public confession of his sin in church. Most of the ministers had used their influence in favor of the prosecution of the alleged witches, though some of them had objected to the unfair practices resorted to in the trials. There was considerable feeling, therefore, to the effect that the ministers had been largely responsible for the tragic mistake. Such an impression necessarily caused a lowering of the power and influence of the clergy.

## NEW YORK

*New Netherland taken over by the British*

New Netherland had all along been claimed by the British as a part of their American domain, and the Dutch colonists were therefore regarded by them as interlopers. The British objected to the Dutch occupation for several reasons. First, it divided the northern English colonies from those of the Chesapeake region. Second, the possession of the harbor of New York by a rival commercial power like that of Holland made it difficult for England to enforce the navigation laws since New Amsterdam afforded a fine base for Dutch smuggling. Third, the English wished to take over the fur trade which was so profitable to the Dutch.

The king's brother, the Duke of York and Albany, had been made proprietor of New Netherland and some islands and other territory in New England (1664). To put him in possession of this new grant, several ships and an army were sent over to reduce the Dutch

to submission. When the expedition appeared before New Amsterdam, Governor Stuyvesant wanted to offer battle; but since he was in no position to put up an effective defense and his people were unwilling to fight, he was forced to surrender and to acknowledge the authority of the English (1664). A few years later, war broke out between England and the Netherlands, in the course of which New Amsterdam was recaptured by the Dutch; but by the terms of the treaty which ended the war (1674) New Netherland was returned to England.

*English institutions established*

British laws were put into effect in the new acquisition, and English names of some places superseded those which had been used by the Dutch. For example, the name of the colony was changed from New Netherland to New York, and Fort Orange and New Amsterdam became, respectively, Albany and New York, after the Duke's titles.

*Territory held by the Duke of York*

The territory granted to the Duke of York was soon pared down by losses and voluntary grants to other colonies until only Long Island and the Hudson Valley were left to him. Through the efforts of Thomas Dongan, the able governor of the province, the Iroquois Indians were induced to recognize the authority of the Duke, and in this way the limits of the colony were extended to the French territory on the west and northwest. The possessions of the proprietor were also extended southward to the forty-second parallel by the settlement of a boundary dispute with William Penn. In this way the original grant was expanded to the present extent of New York State.

*The revolution of 1689 in New York*

When James became king (1685), New York was changed from a proprietary to a royal province and shortly afterwards was joined to the Dominion of New England. The Dominion of New England was too large to be properly administered by one man, and so Andros was represented in New York by a deputy governor, Francis Nicholson, who was assisted by a local council. The deputy governor was in the trying position of having to administer an autocratic system of government as the representative of a Catholic king over a people nearly all of whom were Protestants and many of whom believed in the right of self-government. Nicholson was not equal to this difficult task, and when news came of the downfall of James and Andros, the people rose in revolt and forced the deputy governor to leave for England. The insurgents chose as their leader Jacob Leisler, an ardent Protestant of German birth, who took over the government in the name of William and Mary. Later a governor was appointed by the king, and in 1691 a representative assembly of two

houses was set up. From this time until the end of the colonial period the government of New York was like that of the other royal provinces.

## NEW JERSEY

*New Jersey granted to Sir George Carteret and Lord Berkeley*

Soon after receiving his patent, the Duke of York ceded to two of his friends, Sir George Carteret and Lord John Berkeley, a large area of land lying between the Delaware Bay and River and the Atlantic Ocean. To this region was given the name of New Jersey, to commemorate the brave defense of the island of Jersey which Carteret had made against the forces of Cromwell. There were already some Dutch settlers on the west side of the lower Hudson, and a few Dutch, Finns, and Swedes were located on the Delaware River. Soon after the seizure of New Netherland by England some Puritans from New England and Long Island came in and settled in the northeastern section of New Jersey. The first settlement established by the proprietors was at Elizabethtown (1665), which became the capital of the province.

*Early settlements*

Immigration to New Jersey was encouraged by the liberal policy of the proprietors, who offered the settlers freedom of worship, a voice in the making of the laws, and grants of land on favorable terms. As a result of these assurances, the province had a marked increase in population during the first decade. Some of the newcomers were from England, but most of them were from New England.

*The division of New Jersey*

In 1674 Lord Berkeley sold his half of New Jersey to two English Quakers. This led to a division of the province between the Quaker proprietors, who took West New Jersey, and Sir George Carteret, who took East New Jersey. The Quakers proceeded to settle their territory, and in time West New Jersey became a stronghold of Quakerism. In 1682 the heirs of Sir George Carteret sold East New Jersey to William Penn and eleven other Quakers. They, in turn, shared their grant with twelve other proprietors, several of whom were Scots. There were, therefore, twenty-four proprietors in East New Jersey.

*New Jersey becomes a royal province*

The right of the proprietors to establish a government was questioned by the governor of New York, who represented the Duke of York. The proprietors also had a good deal of trouble in governing the settlers, especially those from New England, who objected to paying quitrents and in other ways showed their dissatisfaction. These complaints aided James II in his plan of taking over the government of the Jerseys, and for a short time (1688-1689) both East and West New Jersey were a part of the Dominion of New England.

After the Dominion of New England collapsed, the authority of the proprietors was restored. Again troubles arose and the proprietors surrendered their governmental powers to the king but retained their right to collect quitrents. The Jerseys were now united into one royal province (1702).

## PENNSYLVANIA AND DELAWARE

*The Quakers*

The Quakers were a sect of radical dissenters that arose in England about the middle of the seventeenth century under the leadership of George Fox. Their beliefs and practices were at variance with those of both the Anglicans and the Puritans. They objected to the payment of tithes, refused to take oaths, and were opposed to war. The early Quakers at times allowed their zeal to lead them into emotional excesses, and frequently their preachers would be so overcome with feeling that they would tremble or quake. For this reason they were known as "Quakers," although they called themselves "Friends." Because of these views and their unconventional behavior, the Quakers were persecuted—both in England and in America—more than were other dissenters.

The policy of religious freedom in Rhode Island attracted a considerable number of Quakers to this little commonwealth, where they were able firmly to establish themselves. North Carolina and West New Jersey also became refuges for this harassed sect. The stronghold of the Quakers was, however, the province of Pennsylvania, and for the control of it they were indebted to William Penn, who had become a convert to their faith.

*Pennsylvania and Delaware granted to William Penn*

William Penn was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, who had won the friendship of Charles II and his brother, James, the Duke of York. By the death of his father, William Penn inherited a claim of about $80,000 against the crown. To him had also descended the friendship of the king and his brother. Because of these favorable circumstances, Penn was able to obtain a grant from the king covering the present state of Pennsylvania in payment of his claims against the royal treasury. By the charter granted to him by the king (1681) he was made proprietor of Pennsylvania, having the right to dispose of the land and—within certain limitations—to govern the settlers. The region was so named by the king in honor of Penn's father. Next year Delaware was granted to Penn by the Duke of York.

*The royal charter*

*The settlement of the province*

Penn put forth every exertion to induce settlers to go to his province. Pamphlets advertising the advantages of Pennsylvania were

circulated in Germany, Wales, and Ireland, as well as in England. As a result of this advertisement and the generous offers made as to landownership and religious freedom, many immigrants were attracted to Pennsylvania. These included not only Quakers and others from England, but also a large number of Germans who belonged to Protestant sects having views similar to those of the Quakers.

There were already in Pennsylvania in the region between Chester and Philadelphia a few Dutch, Swedish, and English settlers. Penn encouraged them to remain and promised them freedom and the right to make their own laws. Other emigrants were sent over, and in 1682 Penn himself came to Pennsylvania. The town of Philadelphia (the city of brotherly love) had been laid out on a broad plan with wide streets on which were erected large and comfortable dwellings. The new colony prospered from the beginning. The climate was favorable, the soil good, and the transportation facilities excellent. The settlers were generally energetic and frugal, and many of them were well-to-do. Philadelphia, therefore, never experienced the hardships which were characteristic of pioneering in other settlements.

*The founding of Philadelphia*

The laws in Pennsylvania were milder than they were in the other colonies. The death penalty was employed for fewer offenses, and there was a saner attitude toward crime than elsewhere. From the beginning, the law provided for freedom of worship for all persons who believed in Almighty God. Only Christians, however, were allowed to vote, and later, as a result of pressure from the home government, the right to vote and hold office was denied Catholics and Jews.

*Religious toleration*

After a sojourn of two years in his province, Penn returned to England. Later he came again to Pennsylvania and remained there for two years. He then went back and spent the rest of his life in England. In these later years he was on very friendly terms with James, who had now become king. Because of his association with this unpopular ruler, Penn became identified with the lost cause of the discredited Stuarts. When James was deposed and William and Mary placed on the throne, Penn's political influence was gone and he was under suspicion by the new government. Furthermore, opposition in Pennsylvania was waged against him by some of his Anglican enemies. The new rulers were desirous of bringing as many colonies as possible under the direct supervision of the crown; hence, taking advantage of this situation, they deprived Penn of his political authority and made Pennsylvania a royal province (1692). Shortly thereafter (1694) Penn regained his proprietary rights, and

*Penn loses and regains political authority in Pennsylvania*

his family held the proprietorship of Pennsylvania and Delaware until the Revolution.[1]

## DELAWARE

Delaware was governed at first as a part of Pennsylvania. The three counties into which it was divided sent representatives to the Pennsylvania assembly, but in 1703 they were granted a separate assembly, which continued until the end of the colonial period. The governor of Pennsylvania, however, still had authority over Delaware.

## MARYLAND

*The revolution of 1689*

It was not long before there arose considerable dissatisfaction with the arbitrary rule of Lord Baltimore, who had established a regime in his American province similar to that which had been inaugurated by James II in England. When it was learned that James had been deposed, a revolt in the name of William and Mary broke out, and soon the insurgents were in control of almost the entire province. A convention was assembled which organized a provisional government to carry on until a governor chosen by the new rulers should arrive to take over the administration of the province.

*Maryland becomes a royal province*

The revolt against the authority of Lord Baltimore in Maryland gave King William the opportunity to assume political control of that province. Acting on a decision given by the chief justice in England, the king took over the government, thus making Maryland a royal province (1691). Lord Baltimore still held the right to dispose of the unappropriated land, collect quitrents on individual holdings, and receive certain revenues.

*Establishment of the Anglican Church*

A few years later (1702) the Anglican was made the established church, and taxes for its support were levied on the people, including dissenters and Catholics. In keeping with the spirit of the Toleration Act of 1689, Protestant dissenters were granted the right of freedom of worship. They were not satisfied with the new arrangement, however, for they objected to paying taxes to maintain a religious denomination whose doctrines and practices they disliked. Catholics were deprived of the right to vote and hold office—and this in a colony which had been founded by a Catholic proprietor.

[1] Penn and his heirs had a series of disputes with neighboring provinces concerning the boundary of Pennsylvania. The dispute with New York was settled at an early date, but there was a long controversy with Maryland which was not settled until 1760. At that time Lord Baltimore and the Penns agreed upon a boundary line which was to be marked out by two surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. In this way there was located the historic Mason and Dixon Line. A good part of Pennsylvania was also claimed by Virginia and Connecticut, and these disputes were not settled until after the Revolution, when a decision was rendered in favor of Pennsylvania.

*The proprietorship restored*

Maryland remained under royal control until 1715, when it again became a proprietary province under the fifth Lord Baltimore. The latter had transferred his allegiance from the Catholic to the Anglican Church, however, and the religious objection no longer obtained. From this time until the Revolution, Maryland remained a proprietary province under the authority of the Calvert family.

## NORTH CAROLINA

*Carolina granted to eight proprietors*

At the accession of Charles II (1660) there was between Virginia and Florida a wide expanse of land suitable for colonization. Spain claimed this territory but during the past three quarters of a century had not taken any steps to support her title by settlement. Thus England was left free to appropriate this domain, to which she had already laid claim. Charles made use of this opportunity to reward some of his political supporters with a generous land gift. By two charters (1663, 1665), eight of his favorites were made joint proprietors of the territory lying between the parallels of 29° and 36° 30′ north latitude. To this region was given the name of Carolina, in honor of the king (*Carolus*, Latin for *Charles*). On this group of proprietors, which included some of the leading politicians and statesmen of England, were bestowed landed rights and governmental powers similar to those enjoyed by Lord Baltimore in Maryland.

*The first settlement in North Carolina*

Before these charters had been issued, a permanent settlement had been made in North Carolina. In 1653 a colony was established on the Chowan River, near Albemarle Sound, by adventurers from Virginia, who had been attracted to this location by the lure of good land. The place selected was in some respects a suitable one for a settlement; the soil was fertile and easy to cultivate and the site had access to navigable streams abounding in fish.

*Slow growth of the colony*

Despite these favorable conditions, however, the growth of the colony was slow, mainly because of its isolation. It was separated from Virginia by a wide swamp and from other neighboring plantations by the barrier of great distance. Since the harbors that were within reach of the early settlers were too shallow for trans-Atlantic vessels, there was little intercourse with England. The navigable streams, while furnishing transportation facilities to the interior, were too deep to be forded and were therefore difficult to cross. For this reason all roads running north and south were short and were very poor even according to colonial standards.

*Unsettled conditions in North Carolina*

Because of its isolation, North Carolina developed slowly, and in this province the frontier lingered longer in the coastal plain than it did in the other colonies. Therefore, during the seventeenth century,

pioneer conditions persisted, even in the older settlements. The North Carolinians had, along with the virtues, some of the faults of frontiersmen, among which was a lack of sufficient respect for law and order. Furthermore, they were neglected by the proprietors and did not always enjoy the salutary restraint of an effective government. They also had grievances against the proprietors, who were trying to collect from the people higher quitrents than they were willing to pay. The Navigation Acts, by imposing restrictions on the sale of tobacco, also worked a serious hardship upon them. Because of these grievances and the absence of adequate governmental authority, there were numerous insurrections in the northern province.

*Quaker missionaries in North Carolina*

Religion was not a prominent motive in the settlement of North Carolina. The main incentive was land hunger, but the expectation of enjoying religious freedom may have been a favorable influence. Apparently the first settlers on the Chowan River were without religious instruction for a score of years. The first preachers in the colony were Quaker missionaries, prominent among whom was George Fox, the founder of the denomination. As a result of their activities, the Quakers secured a firm foothold in North Carolina, and at one time one of them became governor.

*Later settlements*

For some years the little colony on the Chowan River showed no sign of expanding southward, and it was not until 1690 that the permanent occupation of the region south of Albemarle Sound began. Prominent in the list of these later pioneers were the French Huguenots.

*Carolina divided into two provinces*

In 1712 Carolina was permanently divided into two jurisdictions, and North Carolina thus became a separate proprietary province. The last of the rebellions had now been suppressed, and the people were more disposed than they had been at any previous time to settle down into obedience to law. There was still a great deal of dissatisfaction with the weak but meddlesome administration of the proprietors. The odium which attached to their rule was increased by their failure to aid the colonists in their life-and-death struggle with the Tuscarora Indians.

*North Carolina becomes a royal province*

Despite this feeling, however, the North Carolinians did not join in the revolt (1719) which overthrew the proprietary regime in South Carolina (see pp. 42-43). The northern province had recently undergone the hardships of a rebellion and an Indian war and was doubtless weary of strife and disorder. Furthermore, the assembly was not in session, and the people were, for the time being, without capable leadership. The governor and council therefore were able at this time to hold the province to its allegiance to the proprietors. A decade later the proprietors surrendered to the crown their political authority in North Carolina, and all but one of them

sold to the crown their landed privileges in both provinces.[1] North Carolina now became a royal province (1729). The governor and council were thereafter appointed by the Privy Council, but no other material change was made in the government.

### SOUTH CAROLINA

*The first settlement in South Carolina*

The proprietors had had no part in the establishment of the colony on the Chowan River, but they soon took steps to promote the occupation of the southern part of their grant. They sent over a number of emigrants from England, and a few from Barbados, to plant a settlement in southern Carolina. The expedition sailed to the Ashley River and, a few miles above its mouth, established a plantation at a place which they called Albemarle Point (1670). The location was not a healthful one, and shortly afterward some of the planters moved over to the land between the mouths of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers and began the settlement which later became Charleston. In 1680 Charleston was made the seat of government for the province, and Albemarle Point was gradually abandoned.

*The founding of Charleston*

*French Huguenots in South Carolina*

In the 1680's, the population of South Carolina grew rapidly. Political and religious dissatisfaction in England caused many immigrants to come to this favored land. As a result, the population doubled during the two years from 1680 to 1682. Not all of the new immigrants were from England; an important group were the French Huguenots. Settling in Charleston and in other places in the colony, they proved a very valuable addition to the population. They were energetic, thrifty, and skilled in labor, and soon made a comfortable adjustment to their new situation. Although these choice immigrants were distributed among a number of the colonies, South Carolina received more than did any of the others.

*South Carolina becomes a royal province*

Proprietary administration was unpopular in the southern as well as in the northern province. There was considerable friction between the settlers and their overlords, and the home government was also dissatisfied with proprietary rule. The disorders in North Carolina and the activity of pirates and smugglers in both provinces were grounds for serious complaint. The proprietary regime could hardly be expected to hold out long against both external and internal opposition. The crisis came when there arose a controversy over the method of electing representatives in the lower house of the assembly. Prior to 1716 the members of this body had been chosen by the

[1] Lord Carteret was the sole proprietor to retain his landed rights. Later he exchanged his one-eighth interest in the whole territory for an individual grant which comprised the northern third of North Carolina. In this vast area he had authority to dispose of the unoccupied lands and collect quitrents on individual holdings. Because of his power, the agents of the proprietor were able to defraud and exploit the settlers.

voters assembling in Charleston. In this year the assembly passed an act allowing elections for members of the Commons House (the lower house of the assembly) to be held in the rural precincts. This wise measure was, however, vetoed by the proprietors. Thereupon, the people in the province revolted against proprietary rule and expressed the wish to be brought under the direct authority of the king. This request was granted, and South Carolina was later made a royal province (1719).

## GEORGIA

*Reasons for the founding of Georgia*

The last of the continental colonies founded by the English was Georgia. A charter was issued by King George II to James Edward Oglethorpe and a group of other philanthropists, which granted them governmental authority over the territory between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. Oglethorpe and his associates were to govern the province as disinterested trustees, and none of them was allowed to own any land in Georgia. The new colony received the name of its royal patron. The main reasons for entering upon this colonizing venture were: to establish a buffer colony to protect the South Carolinians against the Indians and the Spaniards; to provide an asylum for unemployed Englishmen who were in dire economic straits; to offer a refuge for German Protestants who were undergoing persecution in the homeland; and to establish a base in the fur trade with the Indians of the interior which would give the English traders the advantage in competition with their Spanish rivals.

*Early settlements*

Oglethorpe brought over about one hundred and thirty emigrants and made a settlement near the mouth of the Savannah River. Here the city of Savannah was laid out with broad streets and numerous parks. For a while there was a continuous stream of new arrivals, of whom some were Germans and some Scotch Highlanders. The most important German settlement was the one made by the Lutheran Salzburgers on the Savannah River about twenty-five miles above its mouth (1734). These Protestant refugees had come originally from the principality of Salzburg, where they had suffered persecution at the hands of their Catholic ruler. They were given lands in Georgia, and their passage to America had been paid by an Anglican missionary society in London. In a spirit of thankfulness for the improvement in their fortunes, they called their settlement Ebenezer, meaning "Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."

*Discontent among the settlers*

In the early years the people had no voice in the government of the colony, and Oglethorpe acted as a benevolent despot. He was legislator and judge, as well as chief executive and military leader. For some time there were a number of restrictions imposed upon

the settlers. Their landholdings were small, and they were not allowed the use of slaves. Furthermore, many of the immigrants, who had been unsuccessful in England, were unable to cope with frontier conditions in the new world. The small farmers of Georgia, with no Negroes to assist them, were not as prosperous as the planters of South Carolina, who commanded the labor of numerous slaves. Many of the settlers therefore left Georgia for South Carolina, and as late as 1760 the total population of Georgia was not more than five or six thousand.

*Georgia becomes a royal province*

So great was the discontent of the people that finally the proprietors abolished all these restrictions. The settlers continued to complain, however, and the trustees became so discouraged that they relinquished their authority in 1751. Georgia now became a royal province and remained so until the end of the colonial era.

## THE OLD WEST

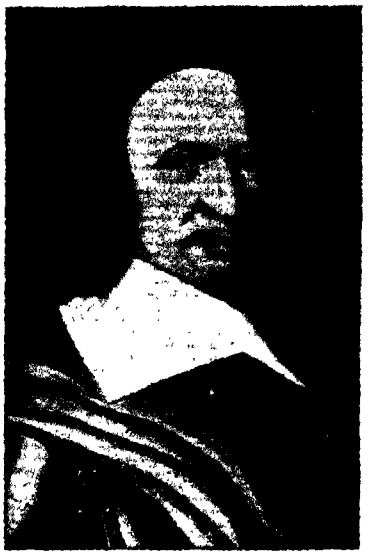
*Location of the Old West*

By the end of the seventeenth century the English had occupied a broken strip of territory on the Atlantic coast extending from Maine to South Carolina. Along the navigable streams this area of settlement had been pushed a considerable distance into the interior of the country. At a number of places it had reached the line which separates the Coastal Plain from the Piedmont region. During the first half of the eighteenth century English colonization had extended westward into central and western New England, middle New York, the Piedmont section, and the great Appalachian Valley, as well as southward into eastern Georgia. The back country occupied in this period of expansion is known as the Old West. Some of the settlers in the Old West had come from the eastern communities, but a large portion of them were newly arrived immigrants from Europe. This latter class consisted mainly of Germans and Scotch-Irish.

*The Great German migration*

At the end of the first decade of the eighteenth century there began the great migration of Germans to America. They were mostly from the Rhine region, especially the Palatinate, Baden, and Württemberg, although some of them were from Switzerland. So many came from the Palatinate that all German immigrants were called Palatines. Württemberg and the Palatinate had not fully recovered from the terrible devastations of the Thiry Years' War (1618-1648) when they were again subjected to the ravages of the French invasion under Louis XIV. The poverty caused by these depredations was aggravated by the exploitation of the people by their greedy and incompetent rulers. There were also a number of Protestant sects that had been denied freedom of worship by their Catholic princes.

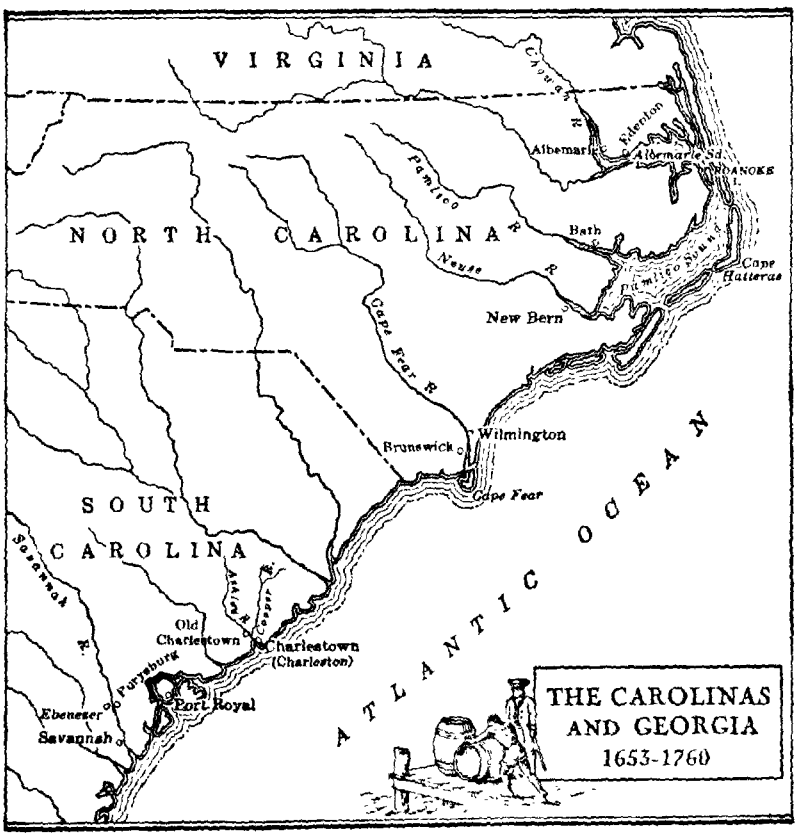
*Reasons for the migration*



GOVERNOR PETER STUYVESANT (1592-1672).

Director General of New Netherland, 1646-1664. By unidentified artist.

*Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City*



LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
Mohawk R.
Connecticut R.
Augusta
Boston
New York
Philadelphia
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
C. Hatteras
Fall Line
Augusta
Charleston
Savannah R.
Altamaha R.
THE ENGLISH
CONTINENTAL COLONIES
IN 1760
Showing Extent of Settlement
English Settlement before 1700
" " 1700-1760

In Switzerland conditions were not as bad, since this country had not suffered from invasion. But even in this more sheltered land the masses were exploited by their feudal lords, and religious freedom was not allowed.

The greater part of the Palatines settled in Pennsylvania. The Germans who had been living there for a generation had become prosperous and their success held out a hopeful prospect to their friends and relatives in the fatherland. Cheap land and religious freedom were additional inducements offered by the Quaker province. Accordingly, Pennsylvania received more of the German immigrants than did any other colony. From about 1717 to the Revolution there was almost a continuous stream of these foreigners, and by the end of the colonial period the Germans constituted about one third of the population of this province.

*"Redemptioners"*

Many of the Palatines were poor when they left Germany, and some were exploited and reduced to poverty by ship captains and others with whom they had relations on the voyage. Therefore, most of them were forced to bind themselves out for a period of service to pay for the transportation of themselves and their families. They thus became indentured servants and were known as "redemptioners." After finishing their terms of service, they usually bought good limestone land in the Great Valley and by hard labor and Spartan thrift soon became prosperous. They held on to their own language and thus were not assimilated by their English neighbors. They were known as Pennsylvania Dutch (*Dutch* being a corruption of *Deutsch, German*).

*The Scotch-Irish immigration to America*

Hardly had the German exodus got well under way when the great Scotch-Irish migration began to gather momentum. These new settlers came from northern Ireland (Ulster), which had been occupied by Scotchmen since the early years of the seventeenth century. Some of the Ulstermen settled in the English colonies in the seventeenth century, but it was not until 1718 that this immigration had begun to assume large proportions. From that time until the Revolution, emigrants from Ulster continued to come in a constant stream to America, and by the end of the colonial era the Scotch-Irish had become a large and important element in the population of the continental colonies.

*Reasons for leaving Ulster*

An important reason for their leaving Ulster was economic and religious discontent. One cause of distress was the Woolens Act (passed by Parliament in 1699), which prohibited the Irish, as well as the colonists, from sending woolen cloth to England or to any other country, a restriction which destroyed the woolen industry of Ireland. In 1717 a large number of land leases were expiring, and

the tenants on renewing them had to pay a much higher rental than before, sometimes double or triple the original figure. The interruptions in the commerce between England and the colonies caused by the pre-Revolutionary friction led to a great decline (after 1771) in the Irish linen industry. The famines of 1740 and 1741 also accelerated emigration. The religious policy of the government was another cause of complaint. Since the Scotch-Irish of Ulster were Presbyterians, they objected to the payment of taxes for the support of the Anglican Church. Presbyterians, as well as other dissenters, were allowed freedom of worship but were debarred from holding office.

*The German and Scotch-Irish trek southward*

At the end of the colonial period there were some Scotch-Irish in all the colonies, but most of them at first had settled in Pennsylvania. After they had become well established in Pennsylvania, the Scotch-Irish and Germans in considerable numbers began to move southward settling in the Valley of Virginia and later passing through the water gaps into the Carolina Piedmont. Rich lands could be obtained in the Maryland and Virginia portions of the Valley on more favorable terms than those offered in Pennsylvania. The government of the Old Dominion encouraged these new settlements, hoping that they would protect the frontier against Indian attack. In addition to cheap land the Carolinas presented the attraction of a mild winter climate.

In the trek southward the Germans and the Scotch-Irish were located in approximately the same areas, except that the latter were generally seated nearer the western frontier than were the former. There were also German settlements east of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the middle portion of Maryland and on the western border of the Virginia Piedmont.

*Differences between East and West*

As there were no rivers which could afford the new frontier settlements an outlet to the ocean, the Westerners had little communication with England and other European countries. This isolation prevented the inflow of the cultural influences of the homeland and gave the wilderness environment a free hand in molding the ideals of the settlers. Under the impact of frontier conditions the civilization of the old world often cast aside its European dress and donned the garb of the backwoods. In the meantime the older communities in the East were keeping in constant touch with Europe and were modeling their ideas and habits of living after the European pattern. It was inevitable, therefore, that the two sections would develop along widely divergent lines.

These social differences naturally gave rise to an antagonism between the older and newer communities, and this feeling was

reflected in the political friction which developed between East and West. In every colony the clique of Eastern politicians which had control of local and provincial affairs refused to accord the Westerners their rightful share in the government. The frontiersmen felt that they were not fairly represented in the provincial assemblies and that they were forced to bear more than their share of the common burdens.

*Friction between the old and new communities*

It was in the Carolinas that the antagonism between lowland and upland went to the greatest lengths. In the later years of the colonial period there grew up in the hill country of these provinces a bitter dissatisfaction with provincial and local administration. Among the causes of complaint were: high taxes, the corruption and inefficiency of the sheriffs, and the contraction of the currency. In South Carolina the Westerners organized themselves into associations (1764), whose members were known as "Regulators," and took up arms against the government. Frightened by this show of force, the authorities made concessions, and insurrection was averted. In North Carolina the controversy led to a pitched battle at Alamance Creek (1771) between the "Regulators" and the governor's forces. The rebels were defeated and the insurrection collapsed, but many of the reforms demanded by them were embodied in the constitution of 1776.

*The "Regulators"*

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7. Manners and Customs in North Carolina.—Francis L. Hawks, *History of North Carolina*, ch. 7.
8. The Founding of Charleston.—Harriott H. Ravenel, *Charleston, the Place and the People*, pp. 9-25.
9. The Introduction of the Culture of Indigo in South Carolina.—Harriott H. Ravenel, *Eliza Pinckney*, pp. 7-9, 102-106.
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12. The German Immigrants in Pennsylvania.—T. J. Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies*, ch. 8 (an excellent account).
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14. Results of the Formation of the Old West.—F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, pp. 106-125.
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# CHAPTER IV

# *British and French Rivalry in America*

## The French in Canada and the Mississippi Valley

BEFORE the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, France had also entered the contest for possessions in the new world; but it was not until early in the seventeenth century that she made her first successful attempt at occupation. She had staked off for herself the St. Lawrence valley, basing her claims on voyages of discovery in that region made by Jacques Cartier in the 1530's. The first permanent settlement was made by Samuel de Champlain at Quebec in 1608. Champlain was a man of exceptional courage, ability, and enthusiasm, and well deserves the honor of being known as the "Father of New France." By planting this colony he gave France a strong foothold on the continent. He also made a number of explorations, some of them extending far into the interior of Canada. *Champlain*

The site of Quebec, though not a good place for a settlement, was a suitable base for expansion into the interior since it commanded the waterway to the Great Lakes. Other settlements were made in the St. Lawrence basin, but the colony developed slowly. The cold and dreary land of Canada did not attract many Frenchmen from the comforts of the motherland. Consequently, at the end of a half-century the population of New France, as the French-Canadian province was called, was only about twenty-five hundred and was scattered over a very wide area. By this time, however, there had been established in the West Indies a number of thriving French settlements, which had attained a total population of fifteen thousand. New France entered upon a more promising career when Louis XIV took over the reins of government in France (1658). Acting on the advice of his great minister, Colbert, he inaugurated a policy which put the colonial venture on a firm basis. *New France*

Some of the provincial authorities also felt that, instead of concentrating their efforts on consolidating and strengthening the settlements already made in Canada, the French colonials should stake a claim to the rich lands of the Mississippi Valley and thus pre-empt the region before France's rival, England, could get possession of it. *Count Frontenac's policy*

*La Salle*

Among those who advocated such a policy was Count Frontenac, the most capable of all the governors of New France. He was ably supported in this policy by La Salle, the greatest of the French explorers of the interior of the continent. La Salle's plan was for France to strengthen her claim to the Mississippi Valley by establishing trading centers and military posts at strategic places throughout the entire region. In keeping with this purpose, he led a number of exploring expeditions in the west, the most noted of which was the voyage down the great river to its mouth (1682). To this lower Mississippi region he gave the name of Louisiana, in honor of Louis XIV of France.

*The founding of Louisiana*

Energetic efforts were made by the French authorities to realize the dreams of La Salle and Frontenac. In 1699 a colony was planted at Biloxi in southern Mississippi, which was the first attempt by the French to occupy Louisiana. Other settlements in this area were soon made, and in 1718 New Orleans was founded. This town became the seat of government for the new province of Louisiana, which by 1731 had a population of five thousand whites and two thousand blacks.

*French occupation of the Illinois region*

The Illinois region was another center of French colonization. Before the end of the seventeenth century a military post and a mission station had been established at Fort St. Louis in north-central Illinois. In the Illinois country and adjacent areas other missions and trading centers were founded which grew into permanent settlements. The land on which the Illinois villages were located was fertile, and the farmers there were able to produce supplies which were sent east to Detroit and down the Mississippi to be sold in New Orleans and Mobile or reshipped to the West Indies.

*Extent of French expansion*

By the middle of the eighteenth century the French had explored the Great West as far as the Rocky Mountains in both the northern and southern portions. Forts had been built at strategic locations both east and west of the Mississippi River, including a series of military posts extending from Louisiana to the Illinois and lake regions, and another from Lake Superior almost to the Rocky Mountains. There were also a number of trading posts and mission stations, some of which had developed into permanent settlements.

## THE FIRST THREE INTERCOLONIAL WARS

England, of course, viewed with grave concern this westward expansion of her chief rival. Since the trading centers and settlements south of Canada were on territory claimed by England, a clash between the two powers was sooner or later inevitable. For a long time, however, the English and French settlements were so far from

each other that the question of ownership of the trans-Allegheny region was only an academic dispute. There was some friction between the French and British colonials over the fur trade and the Newfoundland fisheries, but not enough to bring on war. Conflict in America therefore might have been postponed until the middle of the eighteenth century had not conditions in Europe changed for the worse.

*England's attitude toward the balance of power in Europe*

After the Revolution of 1688 Britain became more anxious than ever over the balance of power in Europe and began to take a prominent part in continental affairs. As a result of this new foreign policy, she was drawn into a series of wars with France which lasted, with long and short intervals of peace, for more than a hundred years. In these struggles many of the other European powers played a secondary role as allies of one or the other of the main contestants. The American possessions of the European belligerents were involved in most of these wars, and between the French and English colonies in America there were four conflicts, in all but the first of which the Spanish colonies were aligned with those of France.

*King William's War*

The American part of the first of these wars between England and France was known as King William's War (1689-1697). The struggle in Europe made such demands on the resources of both England and France that neither was able to give much aid to her subjects in America. The war was therefore carried on mainly by the colonials and their Indian allies. Indian raids, directed by French leaders and accompanied by brutal atrocities on helpless villages, harried the frontiers of New York and New England. The plan of the British was to capture the enemy strongholds of Quebec, Montreal, and Port Royal. Efforts to take these places were all failures, except that Port Royal was captured by the English, only to be retaken by the French shortly thereafter.

*Treaty of Ryswick*

The war in both Europe and America ended with the Treaty of Ryswick, by the terms of which England and France were to retain the territory in America which each had held before the conflict started.

*Queen Anne's War*

This treaty proved to be a truce of only short duration, for in a few years another long European conflict, the War of the Spanish Succession, began. The American part of this contest is known as Queen Anne's War (1701-1713). In this war most of the fighting in the north was between the New Englanders and the French, aided by their Indian allies, and in the south between the South Carolinians and the Spaniards. The French, pursuing very much the same tactics as they had in the previous war, resumed their raids on the New England frontier. Again efforts were made by the English to

capture Montreal and Quebec but without success. Finally, however, after two failures Port Royal was captured (1710) by a joint force of British marines and New England militiamen in co-operation with the British fleet.

*Peace of Utrecht*

The war was brought to a close by the Peace of Utrecht (1713). By the terms of this treaty Britain received from France the territory of Acadia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region, and her protectorate over the Iroquois was recognized by France. England also received for thirty years a monopoly of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves.

*King George's War*

There was a long interval between this war and the next one. The renewal of the conflict came first as a war between England and Spain (1739), which widened into a European contest, the War of the Austrian Succession. The American phase of this struggle is known as King George's War (1744-1748).

*Capture of Louisbourg*

Again there was fighting in the south, this time between the Spaniards in Florida and the English settlers in Georgia. In the north the war followed the same pattern as in the two previous conflicts. The most important event of the contest in America was the capture of Louisbourg by the New Englanders. This stronghold, which had been built by the French to compensate for the loss of Port Royal, dominated the Gulf of St. Lawrence and could serve as a base for French privateers and men-of-war in their attacks on British shipping. Its possession by the French gave them a great advantage over the New Englanders in the competition for the fisheries. In the attack the British fleet effectively co-operated with the New England militiamen.

*The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle*

By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the conflict, Louisbourg was returned to the French, and in America the territorial arrangement was restored to what it had been before the war. The New Englanders were sorely disappointed over the loss of their prize, but England had to yield Louisbourg in order to induce France to relax her hold on the Netherlands.

### THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

*Cause*

After a six-year period of peace following the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, there broke out another great war, the American part of which is known as the French and Indian War, and the European, the Seven Years' War. Unlike the first three intercolonial wars (all of which were of European origin), this conflict began in America and spread to the old world. The cause of this war was a dispute between England and France over the ownership of the trans-

Allegheny country and especially of the Ohio Valley.[1] The occupation of the Ohio region would greatly shorten the chain of water communication which held together the French possessions in Canada, the Illinois country, and Louisiana. If the French were thus entrenched, they "could join hands behind the backs" of the English and limit their expansion westward. The English colonies would also have hostile backdoor neighbors who would be in a position to arouse the western Indians against them and thus keep their frontier in a state of perpetual insecurity. With such an advantage the French might dispossess their rivals of the territory held by them east of the mountains.

*Relative strength of the contestants*

As world powers Britain and France were about evenly matched. The latter had the larger army, and the former the stronger navy. In America, however, England had a decided lead over her rival. On the mainland of North America the population of the English colonies exceeded greatly that of the French provinces, and this disparity was accentuated by the fact that the French settlements were spread over a wide area, making it difficult for them to co-ordinate their military operations. Furthermore, in the British colonies there was an abundance of food products, whereas the French provinces did not produce enough food supplies for their soldiers and the civilian population. But this advantage was lessened to a considerable extent by the unpatriotic conduct of some British colonials who persisted in selling supplies to the enemy in violation of the law.

One handicap under which Britain labored was the inability of her colonies to act in unison. There was no bond holding the possessions together except a common loyalty to the empire, and this feeling was not so strong as their concern for provincial rights. The tradition in favor of self-government also interfered with the sacrifices of local interests demanded by the exigencies of war. It was impossible, therefore, to make the thirteen separate commonwealths pull together effectively in the war harness.

*The Albany Congress*

A step toward remedying this situation was taken at the beginning of the war by the Albany Congress (June, 1754). This body, made up of representatives from seven colonies, had been called by the British authorities to arrange an agreement with the Iroquois Indians. An understanding with the Iroquois was reached, and a

[1] The region between the Allegheny Mountains and the Mississippi River was claimed by both nations, although neither had done much to support this claim by occupation. France, as has been seen, had established settlements and military posts on the outer fringe while England had secured a number of trading posts in the interior. The rivalry between British and French fur traders in this region was generating friction, but the real cause of conflict lay deeper.

plan of union was formulated. This plan, which had been drawn up by Benjamin Franklin, provided for a president-general chosen by the king, and a federal council consisting of representatives from all the colonies. To this general council was delegated the power to supervise Indian affairs, enact measures of general interest, declare war, and raise armies and levy taxes for their support. This scheme of union was rejected by the provincial assemblies on the ground that it would too greatly limit their powers. A plan offered by the Board of Trade met with a like refusal.

*Aggressive measures of the English and French*

About the middle of the century, both England and France began aggressively to assert their claims to the Ohio region. The Virginia government made a large grant of land in that area to a group of land speculators (1749), on which they were expected to plant a colony. It was not long until France entered upon a vigorous assertion of her rights. Three forts were built in northwestern Pennsylvania, and one of them (Fort Venango) was on the site of a trading post from which English traders had been thrust out by the French. Lieutenant-Governor Robert Dinwiddie of Virginia, acting on instructions from the British authorities, sent George Washington, a young man of twenty-one, to these new forts to bear a message of protest against this infringement of Britain's landed rights (1753). The commanders of these posts politely but firmly refused to surrender them and upheld France's right to the land occupied.

*Washington's mission*

*Beginning of hostilities*

Diplomacy having failed, the only alternative left was war, and both sides made ready for the fray. The present site of Pittsburgh, where the Allegheny and Monongahela Rivers unite to form the Ohio, was the gateway to the West, and both sides were eager to get possession of it. Governor Dinwiddie sent forward a force of Virginia militia to hold this important strategic center, but before this expedition could reach the scene of action the French had seized the forks of the Ohio after having driven off a small band of Englishmen who had started to build a fort there. The French now erected a strongly fortified post on the same location, to which they gave the name of Fort Duquesne, in honor of the able governor of New France.

The advance guard of the Virginia troops, led by Washington, had proceeded a few miles west of the Great Meadows when it encountered a band of Frenchmen from Fort Duquesne (May 28, 1754). Washington gave the order to fire, and a skirmish ensued in which Jumonville, the French commander, and twenty of his men were killed, and the rest were forced to surrender. Washington fell back to Great Meadows, where he built Fort Necessity and five weeks later took a stand against a superior French force from Fort Duquesne. After holding out against attack during the entire day of July 3,

Washington capitulated and his men were allowed to withdraw with the honors of war. In this way began a new war in America which was destined to widen into a European conflict.

*Strategic positions of the French*

The French held certain key positions which would have to be taken if the British were to win the war. Next to Fort Duquesne, those of chief importance were: Louisbourg, the strongest military post on the eastern coast of North America; Fort Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, which controlled the waterway to Canada by way of Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River; Fort Frontenac, on Lake Ontario, which guarded the French line of communication with the West; Fort Niagara, standing sentinel at the portage between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; and Quebec, in the heart of the province, sitting apparently in impregnable security at the top of an inaccessible precipice. The capture of these places would not only deprive the enemy of bases of attack on the English colonies but would also open the gates to the French possessions.

*Early reverses of the British*

The plan of the British was to send regular troops overseas to cooperate with the colonials in an effort to wrest these strongholds from the French. The English navy was to prevent the landing of any enemy troops in Canada. Most of the French ships, however, were able to elude the vigilance of the British admiral and land their contingents of trained soldiers. The French were therefore in a position to put up a strong defense of their fortified posts. Accordingly, in the early part of the war the British met with many severe reverses.

*Braddock's defeat*

Of these early defeats the most humiliating was the one sustained by General Edward Braddock, who had been sent over from England with approximately one thousand regulars. With this force and about one thousand provincials, Braddock proceeded slowly from Fort Cumberland, since he had to cut a road for his army. While advancing at a distance of about eight miles from Fort Duquesne, he relaxed his usual caution, and when an attack was made upon him by a smaller force of Indians and French he was badly defeated and mortally wounded. His successor withdrew his forces, although he was still strong enough to have captured the fort.

*The frontier open to Indian attack*

The Indian allies of the French were aroused into great activity by this victory. The frontier from Pennsylvania to North Carolina was now open to attack, and the settlements west of the Allegheny Mountains had to be abandoned. Washington, with a force of one thousand (later fifteen hundred) militiamen, did what he could to protect the exposed line of three hundred and fifty miles. Stockaded blockhouses manned by frontiersmen were erected in the mountain passes west of the main settlements, and fierce fighting occurred between the whites and the redskins for the duration of the war.

*The American conflict becomes a world war*

For about two years the struggle between England and France went on as an undeclared war and was confined to America. In the meantime there had been a new alignment of the European powers. When war was finally declared by England (May, 1756), she was in alliance with Prussia, and France with Austria. Later (1762) Spain came in as the ally of France. The American conflict had now widened into a world war (the Seven Years' War) and was carried on not only in America but also in Europe and in India.

*French successes*

The great victory over General Braddock was followed by a series of French successes, and the tide did not turn strongly in favor of the British until 1758. The French owed these later successes mainly to the able leadership of the Marquis of Montcalm, who came over early in 1756 to assume the chief command of the Canadian troops. British defeats in the early part of the war were in large measure due to poor management on the part of the imperial authorities.

*War policy of Pitt*

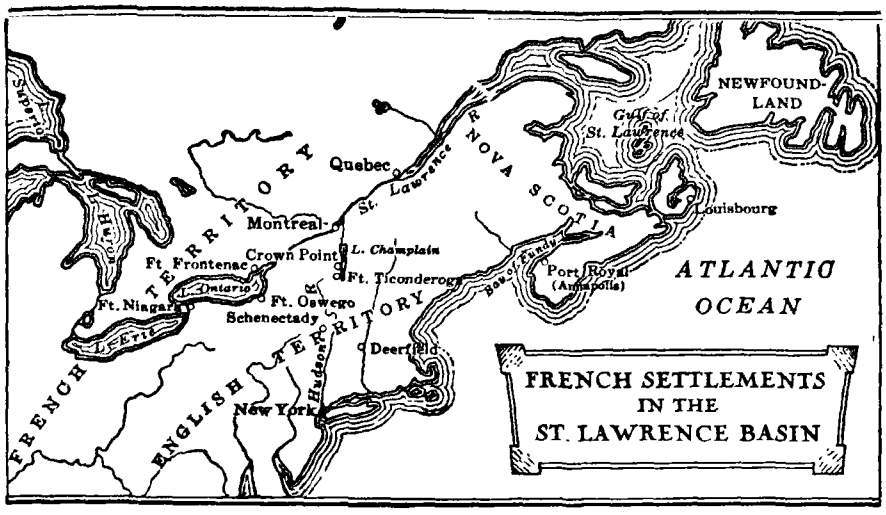
Fortunately, the British people became aware of the situation and began to clamor for a better leadership. The pressure was so strong that William Pitt was called to the ministry in the autumn of 1756 and the following year was put in entire control of the war. The "Great Commoner" discharged his grave responsibilities with energy, enthusiasm, and marked ability. Appointments in the army and navy were made with reference to merit and not to social position and political influence, as had been done previously. Agreements were reached with the colonial governments whereby they were induced to give greater aid in the prosecution of the war. These changes raised the morale and efficiency of the army and navy, which were reflected in one success after another for the British cause. All the strategic positions mentioned previously were wrested from the French, and in time complete victory perched on the British banner.

*The capture of Quebec*

The most spectacular of all these successes was the capture of Quebec by the English. At the head of the British troops was a brilliant young officer, General James Wolfe, who was now arrayed against the Marquis of Montcalm, the ablest of the French commanders. In the battle which preceded and led to the surrender of Quebec, Wolfe was killed and Montcalm was mortally wounded. The sacrifice of these fine young leaders accentuated the tragedy of this battle.

Next year Montreal was taken by General Amherst, and all of Canada passed under English control. It was not until three years later, however, that the treaty of peace was signed. In the meantime Spain's belated entrance into the war (1762) had given Britain the opportunity to seize Cuba and the Philippine Islands.

The Seven Years' War came to an end with the treaty of peace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Louisbourg
Montreal
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Crown Point
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Ft. Ticonderoga
Port Royal
(Annapolis)
ATLANTIC
OCEAN
L. Ontario
Ft. Niagara
Ft. Oswego
Schenectady
Bay of Fundy
L. Erie
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ENGLISH TERRITORY
FRENCH SETTLEMENTS
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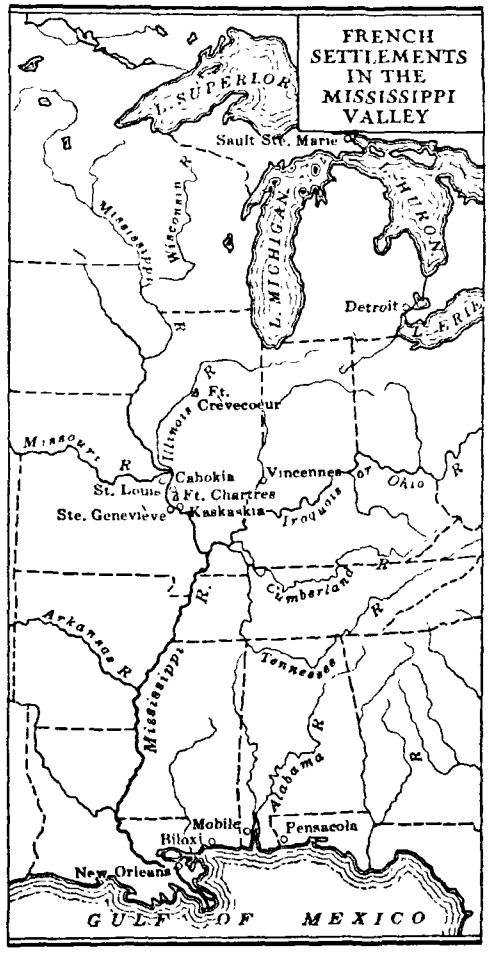
FRENCH
SETTLEMENTS
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Crevecoeur
Missouri R.
Illinois R.
Cahokia
Vincennes
Ohio R.
St. Louis
Ft. Chartres
Ste. Genevieve
Kaskaskia
Iroquois R.
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Alabama R.
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Pensacola
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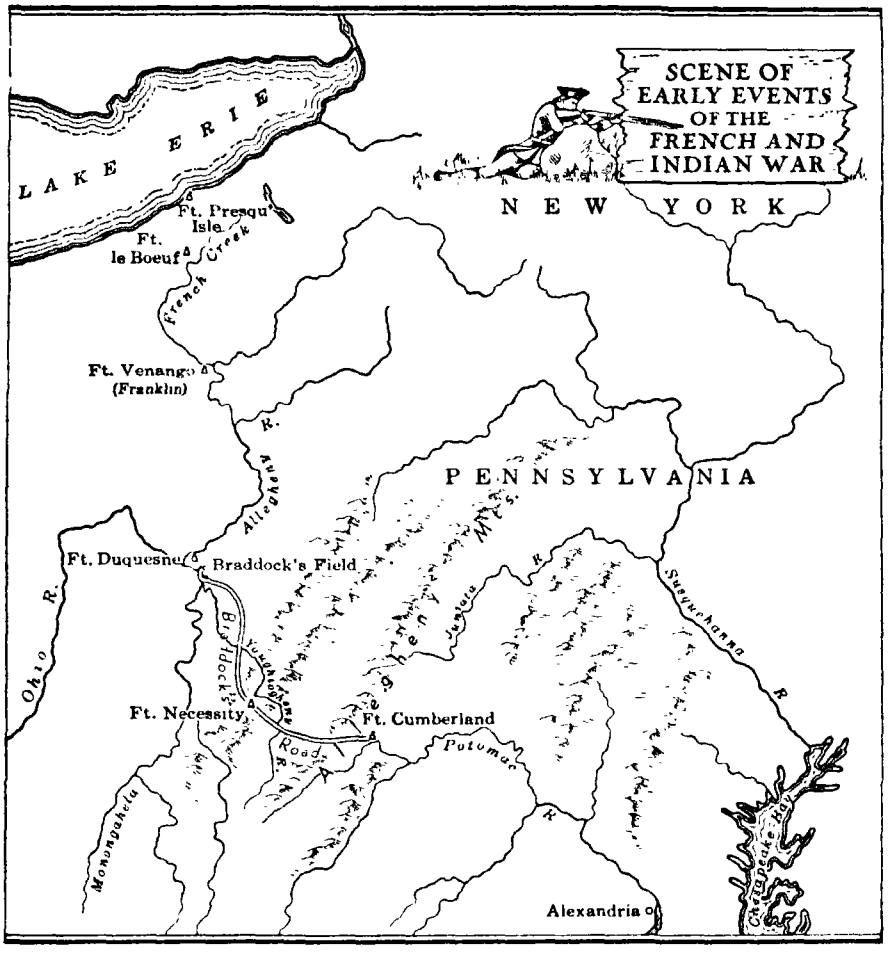
New Orleans
GULF OF MEXICO


SCENE OF EARLY EVENTS OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR
LAKE ERIE
NEW YORK
Ft. Presqu' Isle
Ft. le Boeuf
French Creek
Ft. Venango (Franklin)
Allegheny R.
PENNSYLVANIA
Ft. Duquesne
Braddock's Field
Ohio R.
Braddock's Road
Ft. Necessity
Ft. Cumberland
Youghiogheny R.
Laurel Hill
Juniata R.
Susquehanna R.
Potomac R.
Monongahela R.
Alexandria
Chesapeake Bay

signed at Paris in 1763. The treaty provided for the surrender by France to England of four of her West Indian Islands and all but two of her colonies in India. France ceded Canada to England and yielded to England her claim to all territory east of the Mississippi except the Island of Orleans. As the British government was not aware of the capture of the Philippines when the preliminary treaty was signed, these islands were returned to Spain. Britain received Florida from Spain and agreed to restore Cuba to her. As a compensation for the loss of Florida, France ceded to Spain the Island of Orleans and Louisiana west of the Mississippi. France had thus lost all her possessions on the continent of North America except two small islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which were useful as fishing stations.

*The Treaty of Paris*

At the end of this war England enjoyed supremacy in India and North America and was the leading naval and colonial power of the world. The defeat of the French, and the victory over Pontiac which followed soon afterwards, relieved the English colonials to a considerable extent of the Indian danger in the Ohio region and thus removed the greatest barrier to westward expansion. But these gains were offset by some important economic and spiritual losses. During the four intercolonial wars the fur trade and foreign commerce had declined, and privateering and speculation, especially in land and commerce, had greatly increased. War profiteers and smugglers who carried on an illicit trade with the enemy were able to reap excessive profits. The large amount of metallic money sent over from England to purchase supplies for the soldiers changed the balance of trade between the colonies and the homeland so that for a time it was in favor of the former.

*Results of the war*

## OCCUPATION OF THE TRANS-ALLEGHENY REGION

The territory won by England in the war had placed new responsibilities on the British government. A plan of administration had to be devised for the new lands, and a policy had to be formulated which would insure peace between the whites and the western Indians. The royal proclamation of 1763, issued on the advice of the Board of Trade, was an effort to solve these problems. It provided for the creation of the provinces of East and West Florida in the south, and the province of Quebec in Canada.

*The royal proclamation of 1763*

By the same proclamation, land west of the crest of the Allegheny Mountains was set aside as an Indian reservation. For the time being no white settlements could be made in that area, and those which had already been made there had to be abandoned. By this policy

*The Proclamation Line*

of segregation it was hoped that friction between the two races would be reduced to a minimum and that the fur trade would be promoted by protecting the trans-Allegheny forests against the destructive activities of the colonial farmers. Although this was a temporary arrangement to remain in effect until Indian relations could be stabilized, land speculators who had hoped to secure large land grants in that region objected strenuously. Moreover, the backwoodsmen who wanted to settle in the West chafed under these restraints and often refused to recognize this imaginary barrier as the boundary of westward expansion. The colonial authorities also objected to the Proclamation Line because its location was a denial of the rights of the colonies to the trans-Allegheny country, which they claimed under the sea-to-sea grants of their charters.

*Pontiac's War*

Before this new policy had gone into effect, a serious uprising had occurred among the Indians in the West, led by Pontiac, an Ottawa chief of unusual ability. He had enlisted the support of most of the western tribes in this struggle, which has been improperly termed Pontiac's "Conspiracy." The outbreak began in May, 1763, by a surprise attack on the western forts. The English were taken unawares, and soon all but two of their forts (Detroit and Pitt) were in Indian hands. But the odds against the natives were too great for lasting success, and in the following year Pontiac was defeated and the uprising came to an end.

*Settlements on the upper Ohio*

Soon after the French and Indian War and the war with Pontiac were over, the frontier again began to move across the mountains. Between 1766 and 1774 a number of permanent settlements were made on the upper Ohio and its tributaries. Of these settlements the most promising were the villages of Wheeling and Pittsburgh.

*The Watauga settlements*

During the decade preceding the outbreak of the Revolution, other settlements were made in the trans-Appalachian region. In 1769 a colony was established on the Watauga River in the present state of Tennessee by frontiersmen who had come down from southwest Virginia. Two years later the infant colony was strengthened by the arrival of seventeen additional families that had been led across the mountains from western North Carolina by James Robertson. Next year John Sevier, the son of a Huguenot immigrant, came from Virginia to join his fortunes with those of the new colony. Watauga was within the limits of North Carolina but was separated from the older section of the province by nearly one hundred miles of wilderness. The arm of the North Carolina government did not reach so far, and these pioneers had to look to themselves for the preservation of law and order. Acting under the guidance of Sevier and Robertson, the different settlements in the

Watauga region united in organizing a government for the community, based on a written constitution which provided for a representative assembly to make laws, and a board of commissioners to interpret and administer them. This miniature commonwealth carried on as an independent republic until 1778, when it was incorporated into North Carolina as a part of the newly created county of Washington.

*Lord Dunmore's War*

Just on the verge of the Revolution the Shawnee Indians led an uprising in northwestern Virginia in which they were aided by other tribes of that region. The outbreak was put down by Lord Dunmore, the royal governor of Virginia, and is therefore known as Lord Dunmore's War. A treaty of peace was signed by which the Shawnees surrendered their claim to the land south and east of the Ohio River.

*The founding of Kentucky*

By this treaty Kentucky[1] was opened to the whites, and a settlement was made in 1774 at Harrodsburg by James Harrod of Pennsylvania. In this same year Judge Richard Henderson of North Carolina and some other land speculators formed a partnership, known as the Transylvania Company, to promote a colony in Kentucky. They bought from the Cherokee Indians all the land between the Kentucky and Cumberland Rivers and sent forward Daniel Boone with a squad of thirty men to make a trail from the Holston River to the Kentucky River. The trail thus broken later developed into an important highway, known as the Wilderness Road. On reaching the end of his journey, Boone laid the foundations of the village of Boonesborough on the Kentucky River (1775). Other settlements were soon made in the vicinity, and at once the need arose for some sort of political organization. In response to this need, a convention composed of delegates from four settlements met under a large elm tree at Boonesborough (May, 1775) and devised a scheme of government for the little colony, which was called Transylvania.

*Transylvania*

The new commonwealth, however, was not able to stand alone in this faraway wilderness. The Revolutionary War had begun, and Transylvania was in grave danger from attack by the Indians, who had been incited against the Kentuckians by Henry Hamilton, the British governor at Detroit. It was therefore necessary for Transylvania to link up with some outside jurisdiction which could afford adequate protection to the wilderness republic. The proprietors sent a delegate to the Continental Congress with the request that Transylvania be recognized by that body as one of the United Colonies. The people of Harrodsburg, on the other hand, sent a petition to the Virginia assembly asking that the mother state take the Ken-

[1] The meaning of the Indian word *Kentucky* is "dark and bloody ground."

tucky colony under her wing. The request of the proprietors was denied by Congress, whereas that of the Harrodsburg settlers was granted by the legislature of the Old Dominion. The result was that Transylvania became a part of the new Virginia county of Kentucky and ceased to exist as an independent commonwealth (December, 1776).

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6. The Albany Congress.—H. L. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century*, IV, pp. 306-328. (For the plan of union adopted by the congress see Stuart G. Brown, *We Hold These Truths* [hereafter referred to as Brown], pp. 14-17.)
7. The Requisition System During the French and Indian War.—G. L. Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765*, ch. 4.
8. Colonial Trade with the Enemy.—*Ibid.*, ch. 6
9. Braddock's Defeat.—For opposite views see article by Stanley Pargellis in the *American Historical Review*, XLI, pp. 253-269, and ch. 4 of L. H. Gipson's *The Great War for the Empire: The Years of Defeat*.
10. Text of the Treaty of Paris (1763).—William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926* (hereafter referred to as *Documentary Source Book*), pp. 109-112.
11. Pontiac's "Conspiracy."—F. A. Ogg, *The Old Northwest*, ch. 1.
12. Mode of Living Among the Backwoodsmen.—C. L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest*, ch. 2.

# CHAPTER V

# *Economic and Social Life in the Colonies*

## Population and Labor

*Diversity in population*

IN 1760 the total population of the thirteen colonies was slightly more than a million and a half. The majority of the colonials were of English origin, although other stocks were also largely represented. As a rule the people of foreign descent were in accord with English political ideals, and many of them had adopted the English language. It has been estimated that at the end of the colonial period the English language was in daily use among four fifths of the entire population. The first Jews to come to continental North America were those who landed at New Amsterdam (New York) about the middle of the seventeenth century. The Jews were also attracted to other cities and towns, notably Newport, Philadelphia, and Charleston.

*Members of the family chief laborers on small farms*

*Working parties*

Since there was a great demand for labor in all the colonies, wages were generally higher in America than in England. Among the small farmers, who everywhere were more numerous than the big planters, most, and often all, of the labor of cultivating the land was performed by members of the family. The neighbors would be called in to help when houses had to be raised, logs rolled together for burning, the corn crop "shucked," or other tasks performed which required the co-operative efforts of several families. At these working bees, work and social diversion were combined in most pleasant fashion. During the midday meal and the rest period following it, there was a fine opportunity for conversation about crop prospects and for an interchange of opinions on topics of general and local interest. These working parties thus relieved the tedium of farm routine and kept alive the spirit of co-operation.

*White servitude: voluntary and involuntary servants*

The demand for labor was met in part by white servitude. In all the colonies white men and women were bound out for service for a number of years. Persons under such bonds were known as inden-

tured servants. There were two classes of indentured servants, voluntary and involuntary. The former were those who came to America of their own accord and agreed to work for a master for a certain length of time to pay their transportation charges. The latter consisted mainly of criminals who were sent over by the British authorities and sentenced to a period of labor in the colonies in lieu of more serious punishments in England. The involuntary servants also included paupers and kidnapped persons.

*Slavery; origin of Negro slavery in the colonies*

American slavery had its origin in the Spanish West Indies. After having taken root in these islands, it was easily transplanted to the English continental colonies. In 1619 the captain of a Dutch vessel stopped at Jamestown and sold twenty Negroes to the planters. For several decades thereafter blacks were brought to Virginia in small lots and later in greater numbers. Negroes were also sold in the other colonies and in time were distributed throughout the entire English American possessions. The first Negroes brought to Jamestown may not have been slaves but indentured servants. It was not many years, however, before black servitude had developed into slavery.

*More slaves in the South than in the North*

While there were slaves in all the colonies, the number in the South was greater than in any other section. In New England the small-scale diversified farming did not lend itself to the profitable employment of a large number of slaves. In the South, on the other hand, both climatic conditions and the large-scale agricultural system were favorable to slavery.

*Attitude of the colonials toward slavery and the slave trade*

There was little or no effective opposition to slavery on moral grounds during the entire colonial era except that made by the Friends, or Quakers. In several of the colonies, however, attempts were made to restrict the further importation of slaves. These efforts were especially persistent in Virginia and South Carolina, where the proportion of blacks to whites was greatest. The assemblies in these provinces voted measures that imposed a tax on imported slaves and in other ways discouraged the traffic. This policy was prompted by the fear that the security of the whites would be menaced by the presence of too large a number of blacks. These acts were all disallowed, either by the king or by the royal governors acting under instructions from the Privy Council.

*Advantages and disadvantages of slavery*

As a labor system, slavery offered both advantages and disadvantages. It gave to the master a cheap and constant supply of labor, one which would enable him to make his plans for years ahead. There was, however, the drawback of inelasticity, for the owner could not adjust his labor supply to the demand for his output. It opened up for rice culture large areas in the South which, it is thought, could not have been exploited by white labor. It relieved the families of

the well-to-do of the drudgery of routine tasks and afforded them leisure for intellectual and artistic pursuits. To this escape from drudgery the South was indebted for the charming social life of the big plantation. This leisure in some instances was wasted in frivolous amusement and even in dissipation, but many times it was devoted to statecraft and other public affairs. Slavery disciplined the Negro into habits of self-control and diligence, gave him a rudimentary skill in agriculture and primitive industry, and taught him Christianity and inspired him with the glowing hopes of that religion.

On the other hand, the evils inherent in slavery cropped out in the colonial period. The power of the master over his slave was not adequately restrained by legal responsibility. There was therefore always the possibility of the slave becoming the victim of mistreatment. Although many, and probably most, masters were kind to their servants, there were always some who would abuse their power. Furthermore, the desire to "keep the Negro in his place" and the necessity of guarding against insurrection and other trouble led to restrictions on what would otherwise have been the normal activities of the blacks. Slavery also tended to cultivate in the Negro the trait of servility rather than the virtue of self-respect. The right of the master (though probably seldom used) to separate husband and wife, and parents and children, was not promotive of morality and of the integrity of the home among the Negroes. As the activities of the Negroes were closely supervised by the whites, the race was kept too long in leading strings and thus was not given proper opportunity for the development of individuality. But what in present-day opinon is the greatest of all the evils of slavery—the wrong of any person holding a fellow human being in bondage—was not a serious objection then, except among a few who had enjoyed exceptional spiritual illumination.

## TRANSPORTATION AND TRADE

*Water transportation*

During the seventeenth century nearly all the colonials lived on or near navigable streams, and transportation was mainly by water. Even during the eighteenth century the waterways continued to be the main channels of commercial intercourse for the older settlements. Boats, large and small, were used by the families living on the rivers very much as are automobiles and buses on the highways of today. Because of this reliance on water transportation, the need of good roads was not deeply felt, and their development was not greatly encouraged in the colonial period.

*Roads; methods of travel*

Considerable use, however, was made of roads from the beginning to the end of the colonial era. None of these roads were hard-surfaced

and very few were well constructed. In the seventeenth century the most common mode of travel on the roads was on foot or on horseback. Women sometimes rode on sidesaddles, but often they were seated on cushions behind their husbands or near relatives. In the eighteenth century, sleighs were much in use for winter travel in the Northern and Middle colonies. By the early 1730's the stagecoach had come in as a means of public conveyance, and carriages were in wide use by the wealthy class.

At the outbreak of the Revolution all the leading towns and cities had been linked by roads, and there was a chain of highways extending from Boston to Savannah. Roads had also been built connecting the western with the eastern settlements; the most noted of these were the military roads to Pittsburgh, constructed during the French and Indian War by Generals Braddock and Forbes.

*Taverns*

In all the colonies there were located on the highways at crossroads hamlets and county-seat villages numerous taverns, which offered food and shelter to the traveler and his horse. At these public houses drinks were also served and often there were bowling alleys and pool tables for amusement and for gambling. In the lobby, heated in winter by a roaring fire, the village loafers would congregate for conversation and to hear the news brought in from the outside world by the transient guests. The taverns were also sometimes used for public meetings and social gatherings, such as balls and concerts.

*The colonial post office*

In 1691 a postal system under private ownership and control was established for the colonies with Thomas Neale as proprietor and postmaster general. The plan was not successful, and in 1711 the colonial postal service became a part of the imperial postal system with two deputy postmasters general for America. The most noted of the deputy postmasters general was Benjamin Franklin, who during his long tenure (1753-1774) made important improvements in the service.

*Fur trading*

Fur trading was an important business throughout the entire colonial period, and during the seventeenth century constituted the only commerce of any importance between the interior and the older settlements in the East. Some of the furs were obtained directly by the white hunters and trappers, but the greater amount was bought from the Indians. The skins of a number of animals were procured, but beaver was the most valuable of them all. In the lower South beaver hides were not of so good a quality as they were in the North, and therefore in the Carolinas trade in deerskins was more important than that in beaver. Furs furnished the colonials with a valuable export. There was always a great demand for them in

Europe, and they could be easily transported abroad, for the cargo space required was small in proportion to value. Fur trading also aided in the exploration and occupation of the interior and was a factor in causing the friction which led to the conflict between the French and the English (see p. 53, note).

*Foreign commerce*

The foreign trade of the colonies was carried on mainly with England, although it also extended to other European countries and to Africa. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the balance of trade between England and the continental colonies was slightly in favor of the former, and by the end of the colonial period the value of the goods brought into the continental possessions from England was considerably above that of the products exported from them to England.[1] The chief imports from England to America were woolen and linen goods and other manufactures. The most valuable of all the exports from America to England was tobacco. Other important exports to Britain in the eighteenth century were rice, indigo, and *naval stores*.

*The West Indian trade*

Trade between the continental colonies and the West Indies was also of real consequence. This commerce was at first confined to an interchange of commodities between the mainland possessions and the British islands, but it soon widened to include the French, Dutch, and Spanish West Indies. Although all the colonies on the mainland had a share in this trade, the greater part went to the Northern and Middle colonies. From these two sections were shipped fish, grain, lumber, and other articles in exchange for Spanish coins, bills of exchange, slaves, and such commodities as sugar, molasses, rum, ginger, and other tropical products. It was on this outlet that the New England and Middle colonies were mainly dependent for the disposal of their surplus grain, fish, and other food products, for these commodities were excluded from the British markets by the high import duties which Parliament had imposed on foodstuffs.

*Scarcity of metallic money*

There was always a scarcity of metallic money in the possessions; the specie of the colonies was drained off to pay for the excess of imports over exports and to meet payments of interest and principal on borrowed money. Furthermore, the cheap paper money, to which in time all the colonies resorted, tended to run out of circulation the more valuable metallic money.

*The Spanish dollar*

There was little or no English money in use in the continental possessions, although values were reckoned in pounds, shillings, and pence. About the only money in actual circulation consisted of Spanish, French, and other foreign coins, brought in by foreign com-

[1] At the time of the French and Indian War, however, the balance of trade was in favor of the colonies (see p. 577).

merce. Some of these coins were of gold, but most of them were of silver. The monetary unit in all the colonies was the Spanish silver "piece of eight" (eight reals), which after 1728 was coined as a milled dollar. The Spanish dollar was thus the ancestor of the American dollar. When Congress adopted (1786) the dollar as the monetary standard of this country, it was only giving legal recognition to a practice which was deeply rooted in colonial experience. For small change the colonials used the Spanish fractional currency, which ranged in value from one fourth of a real to four reals (the half dollar).

*Substitutes for metallic money*

Farm products, such as wheat, tobacco, rice, and other grain, were used in the various colonies to take the place of money. In Virginia (after 1724) planters could store their tobacco in the public warehouses and obtain certificates entitling the holders to the quantity and quality of tobacco specified in the receipts. These certificates, known as "crop notes," circulated in the community and thus served as a sort of redeemable paper money. In Pennsylvania a similar plan was used with reference to wheat. Paper money was another means of solving the financial problems of the colonies, and in time all of them were making extensive use of it. As a rule, these bills of credit were issued in too large amounts without adequate provision for their redemption, and everywhere they depreciated in value. The business interests and the creditor class generally advocated such a regulation of paper money as would prevent its depreciation. But many, probably a majority, of the common people, and many of the big planters, were in debt and wanted a cheap money. The pressure they were able to bring upon the popular branch of the assemblies prevented the adoption of such restraints on the issue of bills of credit as the wealthier class desired. In New England the latter group appealed to Parliament and secured the enactment of a measure (1751) which restricted the use of paper money in that section. Later (1764) by an act of Parliament the further issuance of paper money was prohibited in all the American possessions. Except for imposing these restraints on the use of paper money, the British authorities did nothing to solve the monetary problems of the colonials.

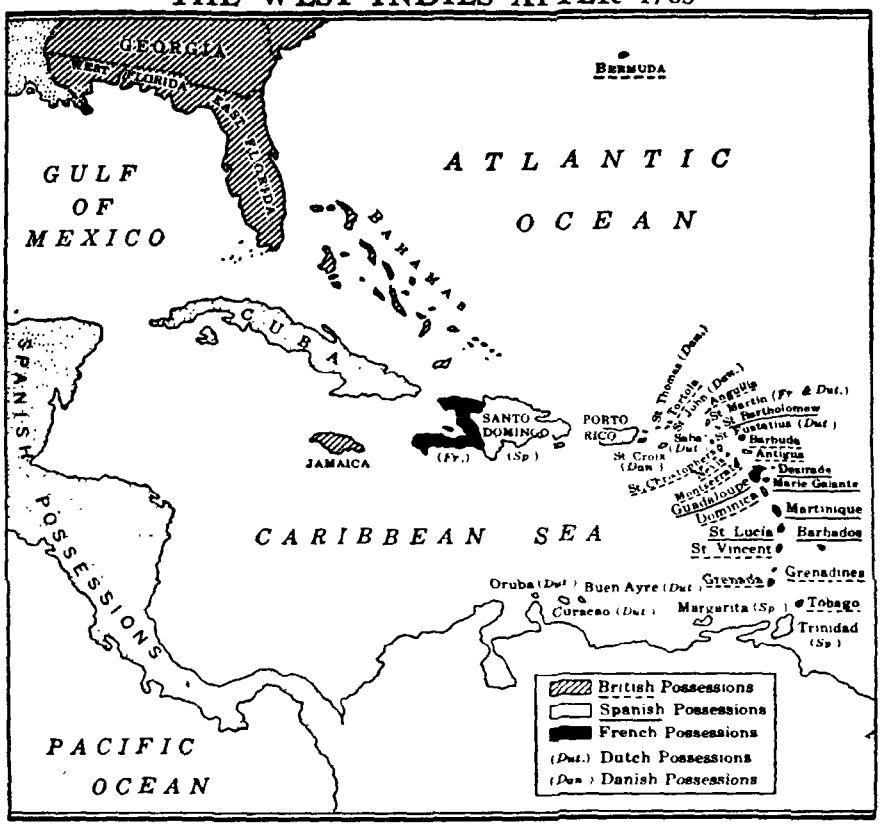
*Paper money*

## INDUSTRY

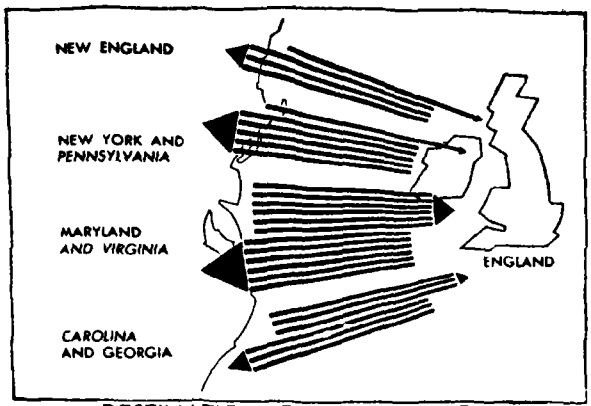
*Primitive character of colonial industry*

Industry in the colonies was mainly of a primitive character. Neither the supply of capital and skilled labor nor the currency and transportation systems were adequate for the large-scale production of advanced, or secondary, manufactures. On the other hand, the abundance of raw materials was favorable to primary manufac-

# THE WEST INDIES AFTER 1763

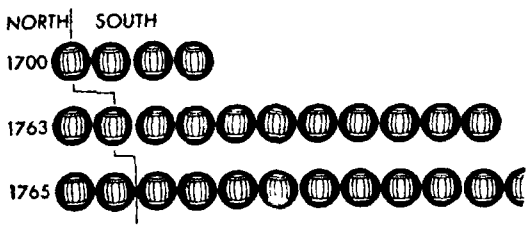


# COLONIAL TRADE WITH ENGLAND

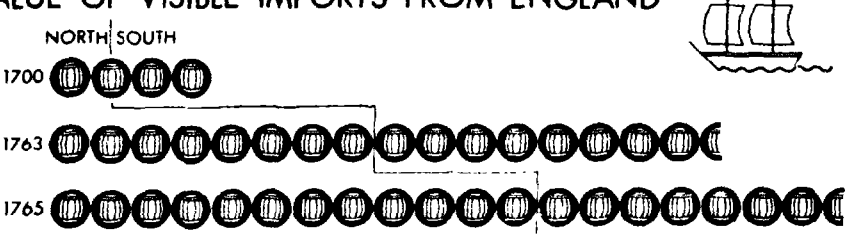



DESTINATION OF TRADE IN 1763

## VALUE OF VISIBLE EXPORTS TO ENGLAND




## VALUE OF VISIBLE IMPORTS FROM ENGLAND




Each symbol represents £100,000 worth of goods

COLONIAL TRADE WITH ENGLAND.

Pictograph Corporation. "The United States: A Graphic History."

tures, which changed but little the original form of these materials. Furthermore, laws were passed by the British Parliament which tended to encourage the latter and discourage the former type of manufactures (see p. 87 and note). Manufacturing received greater attention in the Northern and Middle colonies than it did in the Southland. In the North there were no great agricultural staples for export as there were in the South; hence the necessity of supplementing farming with other occupations was greater.

*Household industries*

Colonial industry consisted largely in the spinning and weaving of flax, hemp, coarse wool, or cotton into cloth, the tanning of hides, and the making of farm tools, furniture, shoes, and other similar articles. As these activities were carried on in connection with farming and many of them in the home, they are known as the household industries. These side-line occupations were pursued in all sections of English America. In the South this type of work was done on the big plantations by the slaves and, on the small farms, by the members of the family. To these extra tasks the yeoman farmer, both in the North and the South, often devoted his energies on rainy days and at other odd times.

*Lumbering*

The most important of all the colonial manufactures was lumber. There was a great demand everywhere for timber for housebuilding and the making of furniture and farm tools. It was not long before practically every settlement was supplied with a sawmill, which was often operated in connection with a gristmill. By the aid of these sawmills lumber was prepared not only for local needs but also for commercial purposes, and it became a valuable export.[1]

*Shipbuilding*

One of the oldest of American industries was shipbuilding. New England took the lead in shipbuilding although the Middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania, were close competitors. New England's primacy in this industry was due in part to the fact that there was near the coast an abundance of timber suitable for building ships. The demand for ships for fishing and commerce also stimulated the industry. Shipbuilding in America was likewise promoted by the monopoly of the Anglo-American carrying trade granted British and American shipping by the navigation laws. Ships could be built at less cost in New than in Old England, and thus about one third of the British merchant vessels were built in America.

*The iron industry*

Conditions were favorable in the colonies for the manufacture of crude iron, since iron ore could be found in all the colonies and wood for making charcoal used in smelting was easy to obtain. A successful

[1] Another industry based on the forests was the production of naval stores—pitch, tar, rosin, and turpentine. These commodities were much in demand in England because they were necessary for the building and repairing of the vessels of the English navy and merchant marine.

attempt at iron manufacture was made in New England in 1643, and at the outbreak of the Revolution a line of furnaces and forges extended from New Hampshire to South Carolina. A large part of the output of these ironworks consisted of pig iron and bar iron, much of which was shipped to England to be used as raw materials by the British iron manufacturers. There were also turned out some finished iron products, such as wire, cannon, iron and steel work for carriages, farm implements, pots, and other household utensils.

*Fishing*

Fishing came second to farming as a colonial occupation. It was carried on in all the colonies to meet local demands, but only in New England was fishing for export an important business. The waters along the New England coast were excellent fishing grounds, and the Grand Banks of Newfoundland were the finest in the world. The New Englanders were well supplied with ships, and the numerous harbors and inlets which indented the shoreline served as convenient bases. The harvesting of oysters was a profitable occupation in the Middle colonies, especially Virginia and Maryland.

*Whale fishing*

Whaling was an important branch of the fishing business. At first the whalers confined their operations to nearby waters but later ventured into the polar regions. Whales were valuable because from them were obtained ambergris, used in the manufacture of perfume; blubber, from which oil was procured for lubrication and candle-making; and whalebone, much in demand for manufacturing the stays needed for women's garments.

## AGRICULTURE

*The importance of agriculture in colonial days*

Farming was the chief occupation in the English continental possessions during the entire colonial period. In all sections there was an abundance of fertile land which could be profitably exploited without a large outlay of capital.

*Native plants*

The settlers were taught by the Indians how to raise the native plants, such as corn, tobacco, squashes, gourds, pumpkins, beans, peas, and sweet potatoes. No time or effort was lost in experimenting with these crops, since the Indians had already learned how and where they could be most profitably cultivated.

*Experimentation with foreign plants*

A good deal of experimentation was needed, however, in adapting foreign plants to the new conditions of soil and climate. This testing process led in some instances to costly failure, for example, the efforts to raise cotton, rice, and indigo in New England, and the West Indian fruits, such as lemons, pomegranates, and ginger, in Virginia. By this method of trial and error it was determined which old world plants were suited to the colonies and in what regions each would

thrive. This was the most important contribution made by the colonials to the progress of agriculture. So well did they perform this service that very few important plants were added to their list until after the beginning of the twentieth century.

*Indian corn*

The most valuable of all the farm products was maize, or Indian corn. It was raised in all the continental colonies and was everywhere the chief reliance for food. The yield per acre for corn is greater than that of any other grain, and of all the cereals it is the easiest to grind. Since the time for harvesting it is much longer than that of wheat, all that was raised could be gathered. The grain, as well as the husks and fodder, served as excellent feed for livestock. Without this food product, it has been said, the infant settlement at Jamestown would have died in the cradle.

*Tobacco*

Next to corn in importance came tobacco, although its culture was not nearly so widespread as that of corn. Tobacco was an important crop in North Carolina and the principal one in Virginia and Maryland, but it was not grown elsewhere to any considerable extent. It had high value in proportion to bulk and was therefore easily transported to foreign markets. Many of the large plantations were located on navigable streams, having wharves at which ocean-going vessels took on cargoes. There was always a demand in Europe for tobacco, although at times the market was so glutted that prices were very low. However, tobacco soon became, and continued throughout the entire colonial period to be, the most valuable of all colonial exports.

*Other farm products*

Wheat was raised in all sections but with special success in the Middle colonies (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware), which were known as the "Bread Colonies." Other grains that had a wide range of cultivation were oats, barley, and buckwheat. Rice and indigo were the great staples of the Carolinas and Georgia. The culture of indigo had been introduced into South Carolina as a result of some experiments carried on in the 1740's by Mrs. Eliza Lucas Pinckney. Its production was stimulated by the bounty paid by the British government. Hemp and flax were also grown throughout the colonies, and cotton in small amounts was cultivated in the Southern and Chesapeake provinces.

*Farm implements*

The implements used on the colonial farm were not much in advance of those employed by the ancient Egyptians. The plow was made of wood, except that the point was of iron and frequently the moldboard was covered with iron strips. Other tools in general use were the spade, the wooden fork, and the harrow, the teeth of which were often made of wood but sometimes of iron. Grain was cut with a reap hook, or sickle, and was threshed with a flail or by having oxen tread it out, as was done in the time of Moses.

*"Earth butchery"*

As land was easily obtained, the farmer made little or no effort to preserve the fertility of the soil, partly because of his conservatism—his reluctance to depart from the practices ordained by tradition—but mainly because of his belief that it was more profitable to clear new than to improve old land. Therefore, after cultivating a field until its productivity was greatly depleted, he abandoned it and cleared another fresh plot from the forest. In this way he inaugurated the practice of "earth butchery" and put a curse on American agriculture which has not yet been entirely removed.

## GOVERNMENT

*The governor*

The political institutions established in the colonies were similar to those of the homeland. The chief official in each of the colonies was the governor. In the royal provinces he was appointed by the king, in the proprietary provinces he was chosen by the proprietor, and in the self-governing colonies he was elected by the voters. His powers were in many respects like those of his successor of today. In the royal provinces he was commander in chief of the army, made certain appointments, and performed other executive functions. He could call, prorogue, and dissolve the assembly; veto acts passed by it; and pardon all criminal offenses except treason and willful murder and grant reprieves even for these high crimes.[1]

*The council*

The governor always had the assistance of a group of advisers, usually consisting of about a dozen of the most prominent men of the colony. In the self-governing colonies of New England this body was known as the board of assistants; in the other provinces it was called the council, or council of state. In the royal provinces (except in Massachusetts) the councillors were appointed by the king, usually on the nomination of the governor. In the proprietary provinces they were generally appointed by the proprietors, and in the self-governing commonwealths they were elected by the voters. In all the colonies the members of the council or board of assistants, because of their high standing, exerted considerable influence in the government. The assistants and councillors acted as advisers to the governor in administrative affairs and usually were the judges in the highest court in the colony.

*The assembly*

At the outbreak of the Revolution there was a legislative assembly in each of the colonies. In every one of them except Pennsylvania the assembly was a body of two houses. The upper house consisted of the governor and his council or the governor and the board of

[1] In the self-governing republics of New England the governor did not exercise as much power as in the royal and in most of the proprietary provinces.

assistants. The lower house was made up of representatives chosen by the voters.

*Local government: The county*

In Virginia, Maryland, and North Carolina the county was the one important unit of local government, and the county court was the principal agency of administration in the county. In Virginia, where the system was first developed, the county court was made up of a group of justices of the peace, meeting in a body, sometimes monthly and sometimes bimonthly. The justices were appointed by the governor, often if not generally, with the advice and consent of the council, and the selections were usually made from among the leading citizens. The justices could try minor criminal and civil cases, acting singly, and when they came together as a county court could decide more important civil and criminal cases. The county court also looked after administrative affairs and made, or helped to make, bylaws for the county.

The county system of administration was later extended to all the other colonies, although it did not become effective in South Carolina until near the end of the colonial period. In New England the town was well established as the main unit of local government before counties were formed. In this section, therefore, the county held a place of secondary importance in local affairs. It was employed, however, as a militia unit and as the basis for the organization of a lower court.[1]

*The town*

In New England the town or township was the principal unit, and the town meeting the chief agency in local government. The town meeting, which consisted of all the adult male citizens assembled in a mass meeting, was the governing body of the town. It elected the local officials and the town's representatives in the General Court and looked after other important affairs such as levying taxes, enacting bylaws, making distributions of land, and adopting regulations for the schools and churches. The details of administration were delegated by the town meeting to the selectmen, a body ranging in number from three to twenty-one or more. The selectmen were, however, responsible to the town meeting and could perform only such duties as had been imposed upon them by that body.

*Suffrage*

There never was at any one time universal manhood suffrage in all the British American possessions. For certain periods in the seventeenth century some of the colonies granted the right to vote to all

[1] The parish was a unit for the organization of the Anglican Church. In a sense it was a subdivision of the county, but a parish might include a whole county and, in Virginia, would sometimes overlap parts of two counties. The governing body in the parish was the vestry, usually a group of twelve of the leading men in the community. They looked after church affairs, collected dues for the ministers, repaired the church, and performed other minor administrative duties.

free adult males; but with these few exceptions there was always a limitation of one sort or another on the voting franchise. Either property or religious qualifications were usually required. Certain religious groups, such as the Catholics, Quakers, Baptists, and Jews, were deprived at times of the right to vote. The suffrage, however, was broader in the colonies than in England because it was easier to acquire the property needed to qualify one to vote in America than in England.

## INTELLECTUAL LIFE

*Schools in colonial New England*

The school system in use in the colonies was borrowed from England, although not without some important modifications. In New England, schools were more numerous than in other sections. There the settlers lived in villages and towns, whereas in the South, and to some extent in the Middle colonies, they were scattered on isolated plantations or farms. Furthermore, in New England, except Rhode Island, the great majority of the people belonged to one religious denomination; in other sections there was a greater diversity of religious beliefs. For these reasons co-operation on the part of any community for the establishment of schools was easier in the New England commonwealths than it was in the other colonies.

*How schools were supported in the colonies*

In all the colonies, there was one type of school maintained by tuition fees paid by the pupils, and another in which support was partly by tuition fees and partly by funds derived from taxation or endowments. Poor children were allowed to attend such schools free of charge, whereas other pupils were required to pay a tuition fee. A third kind, less common than the other two, was the free school, which was supported entirely by public funds or benefactions made by churches or philanthropists. All pupils attending these schools were admitted free of charge. Public, or free, schools were more numerous in New England (except Rhode Island) than elsewhere, but there were some in other colonies. The number of free schools in the South was comparatively small, although South Carolina by the end of the colonial era had progressed considerably in establishing schools of this type.

*Primary schools*

In colonial America, as in England, there were primary schools, Latin grammar schools (and later academies), and colleges. In the primary schools the subjects usually taught were reading, writing, and arithmetic, although in some cases the range was much wider.

*Tutors*

In the South a popular agency for education was the tutorial system. It was the custom for big planters to employ tutors for their sons and daughters. An outbuilding would be used as the schoolroom, in

which would be taught not only the children of the planter but sometimes those of neighbors and of friends and relatives from a distance, who would come to live on the plantation. The tutor might be an Anglican minister, a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge, or an indentured servant.

*The Latin school*

The Latin grammar school was established in all sections during the colonial era. In this school the primary aim was to prepare students for college. Emphasis was therefore placed on the study of Latin, although other branches were also taught. The Latin grammar school, however, was not well adapted to a new country where Latin was not much in use, and in time it was superseded by the academy. The academy made its appearance near the end of the colonial era but did not reach full importance and become the chief agency of secondary education until after the Revolution (see pp. 341–342).

*The academy*

*Colonial colleges*

The colonists, true to their aristocratic ideas of education, made a greater effort to provide for higher education than for the training of the masses on the lower level. Consequently, the college outran the common school in development. The object was to train a few for leadership rather than the many for the ordinary activities of life.

*Harvard*

The first of the colleges was Harvard, founded in 1636 when an appropriation for it was voted by the General Court of Massachusetts. Two years later a generous bequest was made to the college by John Harvard, and the infant institution was named in his honor. Other endowments were received, and the Massachusetts assembly was liberal in its appropriations. Students were seated in classes and arranged at commons according to social position. Each tutor taught all subjects until 1776, when departmental instruction began.

*William and Mary*

The second of American colleges, William and Mary, was founded at Middle Plantation (now Williamsburg) under a charter granted in 1693 by the joint sovereigns for whom it was named. It owed its origin mainly to the energetic efforts of Commissary Blair, the encouraging support of Governor Nicholson, and the patronage of the king and queen. An endowment fund, started by private contributions, was increased by the grant of the quitrents which had accumulated in Virginia. Appropriations for the maintenance of the college were also made by both the crown and the Virginia assembly. One of the leading objectives of the college was to train candidates for the Anglican ministry, and in the beginning all the professors were members of the Anglican Church, many of them clergymen.

*Yale*

By the end of the seventeenth century the Congregationalists of Connecticut began to feel that they should have a college nearer than the one at Cambridge (Harvard). Furthermore, dissatisfaction had arisen among the conservative church leaders over the liberalism

which was growing up at Harvard. This feeling led to the founding of a college in Connecticut, which was chartered in 1701 by an act of the legislature of that colony. In 1718 it assumed its present name of Yale in appreciation of a substantial bequest from Elihu Yale, a wealthy New Englander who had been an official of the East India Company.[1]

*Life in the colonial college*

In the college curriculum emphasis was placed on the dead languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and in the eighteenth century elementary French was added to the list. Other subjects taught were: arithmetic and geometry; history, politics, logic, and ethics; the Bible; rhetoric, composition, and oratory; and elementary physics, astronomy, and botany (nature of plants). Students were held to a strict discipline by the college authorities, and upper classmen domineered freshmen as they do today. In the early years, breaches of the college rules at Harvard were punished by flogging and, after 1734, by fines. Intercollegiate athletics were unknown, and very few other extracurricular activities were engaged in. There were no fraternities, but literary societies took their place to some extent.

*Professional schools*

There were no law schools in the colonies prior to the Revolution. Near the end of the colonial period two medical schools were established. One was the Medical College of Philadelphia (founded in 1765), which afterward became a part of the University of Pennsylvania. The medical department of King's College was organized two years later. Prior to that time the colonial doctor had had very little training. As a rule the young man who expected to practice medicine would serve as an apprentice to an older doctor. He would gather herbs for him and perform other errands while doing some reading on the side. With this inadequate training he would be turned loose on an unsuspecting public which was unmindful of his limited skill and knowledge. Only a few colonial doctors were educated in England.

*Newspapers*

The first newspaper in English America was *The Boston News Letter,* published by William Campbell, beginning in 1704. Fifteen

[1] There were, by the end of the colonial period, six other colleges. Of the later institutions of higher learning Princeton was Presbyterian, and Brown, Baptist. The only one of the colonial colleges not under church sponsorship was the "Academy," which afterwards became the University of Pennsylvania. The "Academy," which opened its doors in 1751, was nondenominational and paid more attention to English than did the other colleges. For this nonsectarian character and more liberal attitude of curriculum, Benjamin Franklin was mainly responsible. The last of the colonial colleges to be established was Dartmouth. It began as an Indian school and was originally located at Warren, Connecticut. It was moved to its present seat (Hanover, New Hampshire) in 1770. The other colleges were: King's College (now Columbia), Anglican, chartered 1754; and Queens College (now Rutgers), Dutch Reformed, established in 1766.

years later another newspaper appeared, and by the middle of the century there were a number of weekly publications throughout the various colonies. During the quarter-century preceding the Revolution, the newspapers by discussing political questions played an important role in preparing the psychological background for revolt against the mother country.

*Paucity of literature in the colonial era*

Very little literature worthy of the name was produced in the English American possessions before the pre-Revolutionary decade. A number of books were written in this earlier period, some of which are of value as sources of historical information, but most of them are not characterized by the originality of thought or beauty of expression which are the marks of real literature. The lack of good writing in the seventeenth century is explained by the fact that living conditions in that pioneering era were such as to leave little or no time for any activities other than those concerned with making a living. Even in the eighteenth century the leisure class was small and its members were closely associated, as a rule, with the civic and religious life of their respective communities. Their extravocational interests, therefore, found expression in political rather than literary activity.

*Jonathan Edwards*

There was not, however, a complete dearth of letters in the colonial era, since there were two authors whose writings deserve to be classed as real literature. These were Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin. Edwards was the author of several works, but his fame rests mainly on the treatise, *On the Freedom of the Will*. This is a brilliant presentation of the Calvinistic doctrines as believed in by conservative New England Puritans of his day. It is probably the most masterly exposition of Protestant theology which has appeared since the publication of Calvin's *Institutes*. In closely knit logic and clarity and forcefulness of expression, this work is a masterpiece and has won for its author the distinction of being America's greatest metaphysician.

*Benjamin Franklin*

Franklin owes his reputation as a literary man mainly to his *Autobiography* and *Poor Richard's Almanack*. The *Autobiography* was published in the post-Revolutionary period and thus does not properly belong to the colonial era. For twenty-six years the *Almanack* came out annually under the name of Richard Saunders. In addition to the calendar and other items usually found in an almanac, these little pamphlets contained a collection of wise sayings expressed in a simple, forceful, and epigrammatic style, not unlike that of the Proverbs of Solomon and the apothegms of Francis Bacon.

## THE COLONIAL CHURCH

*State churches*

In the colonial period there were three religious denominations which were united with the state and supported by taxation—the Anglican, the Congregational, and the Dutch Reformed churches.

*The Anglican Church*

The Anglicans had the distinction of introducing Christianity into the English colonies. The first church in British America was the one which was established at Jamestown in 1607. The company had sent as the first chaplain of the settlers the Rev. Robert Hunt, an Anglican clergyman of exceptional piety, serenity of temper, and sacrificial spirit. There were other Anglican preachers in the early years who, amid the trying experiences of pioneer life on the James River, proved themselves worthy of their high calling.

*The Venerable Society*

The later development of the Anglican Church was not in keeping with this promising beginning. By the end of the seventeenth century this denomination had not gained any considerable following outside Virginia and Maryland. A turn for the better took place, however, at the beginning of the eighteenth century (1701), when a missionary society was founded in England to promote the Anglican cause in America. This organization was known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or the Venerable Society. At its head was the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it numbered among its sponsors King William III and other high dignitaries. It raised funds and sent out missionaries to America, primarily to teach Christianity to the Negroes and Indians and to establish churches in those communities where there was a dearth of opportunities for worship. The missionaries were generally earnest men and carried out their duties faithfully. The work of the Venerable Society was successful, in the main, and it proved an important agency in strengthening the Anglican Church in America.

*Efforts to make the Anglican the state church*

At the end of the colonial period the Anglican was technically, although not really, the state church in New York and was established by law in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, although the number of churches in Georgia was very small. In all of these five jurisdictions the Anglican Church had the support of the government and was assured of a certain income; but despite this advantage and all the efforts made by the British government and the Venerable Society to promote its growth, in the greater part of these colonies it was not deeply rooted in the life of the common people.

*The Congregational Church*

The Congregational Church, as has already been seen, was brought to America by the Pilgrims in 1620. From New Plymouth it spread to Massachusetts and then to the other Puritan colonies. It soon

became the state church throughout New England, except in Rhode Island, in which commonwealth there was never an established church. The Dutch Reformed was the state church of New Netherland as long as it was under Dutch rule.

*Other denominations: Baptists*

The Baptists began to come to New England at an early date. The first church of this denomination was organized at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1639, by Roger Williams and one of his associates. Later the denomination gradually spread until by the middle 1730's it had churches in all the colonies. It was especially strong in Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania because there was religious freedom in these colonies.

*Quakers*

The Quakers came early to Massachusetts, where, as has been shown, they met with very severe persecution. In time, however, they became well established in Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina.

*Presbyterians*

By the middle of the seventeenth century there were some Presbyterians on Long Island. This denomination, however, made little headway until 1683, when Francis Makemie came to America to spread the Presbyterian doctrine. He was earnest in his efforts and conducted missionary tours in all the colonies from New York to South Carolina. As a result of these activities, a number of Presbyterian churches were established, but the denomination did not receive a strong impetus until the Scotch-Irish immigration began in the second decade of the eighteenth century.

*Denominations among the German settlers*

The Lutheran and German Reformed Churches were the leading denominations among the Germans. The Swedes of Delaware also belonged to the Lutheran Church. Other sects among the German settlers were the Moravians, Dunkards, and Mennonites.

*Religious toleration in the colonies*

In the seventeenth century the English American colonies were in advance of the European countries in respect to religious toleration. There were so many varieties of theological opinion among the colonials that a policy of give and take as to religion was the only one by which neighborly relations could be maintained. Besides, emigrants were not willing to brave the hardships of pioneer life unless they could enjoy the right to worship without molestation. The colonies which had the finest record for religious toleration were New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Rhode Island, for in these jurisdictions church and state were never united. After the enactment by Parliament of the Toleration Act of 1689, the right of freedom of worship was granted, theoretically at least, to Protestant dissenters both in England and the American possessions.

*Religious persecution*

Of the Protestant denominations the chief victims of persecution were the Baptists and the Quakers. It has already been shown how

they were persecuted in Massachusetts in the seventeenth century. The Quakers were fined, whipped, and imprisoned in other colonies besides Massachusetts, notably in Connecticut, Virginia, and New Netherland. Even in Maryland under the mild policy of Lord Baltimore, the Quakers were expelled from the colony. Baptists were also fined and whipped in New Netherland. Despite the fact that religious toleration was granted by law to all dissenters soon after the Revolution of 1688, there was some persecution of Baptists in Virginia and Massachusetts as late as 1774. In the Old Dominion in that year a few Baptist ministers were imprisoned because they had been unable or unwilling to comply with the technicalities of a law requiring the licensing of places of worship. The refusal to obey the Massachusetts law for church taxes had caused, about the same time, the imprisonment of some Baptists in the Bay Colony.

*Restrictions on Catholics*

The number of Catholics in the colonies was never large. There were more in Maryland than in any other jurisdiction, but they were not numerous there in the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century they were decidedly in the minority. In this province, however, owing to their wealth and position in the government, they exerted an influence much greater than would be expected from their number. Pennsylvania had more Catholics than any of the other English colonies except Maryland, but in this Quaker province they constituted only a small proportion of the entire population. Outside of these two provinces there were no Catholics to speak of in the Thirteen Original Colonies, except a few in New York during the reign of James II, a handful each in New Jersey and northern Virginia, and a straggler here and there at other places.

The Toleration Act of 1689 did not give any relief to the Catholics, and they remained under the censure of the laws until the end of the colonial era. For a time they were excluded from New York and New England and were restricted in their rights in other colonies. The severity of the anti-Catholic laws in New York and New England was due to the proximity of this section to Canada. There was a constant fear—though an unfounded one—that if Catholics were allowed in these jurisdictions they would intrigue with the French Catholics in Canada and the Catholic Indians against their Protestant neighbors. Except for these drastic measures, during the eighteenth century greater restraints on the liberties of Catholics were imposed in Maryland than in the other provinces because they were more numerous there than elsewhere. They were allowed to engage in public worship but under very troublesome restrictions. In the later years of the colonial era, sentiment relaxed with reference to Catho-

lics throughout the American possessions and the unjust measures against them were not rigidly enforced anywhere; but the right to vote was denied them in Maryland and in some of the other colonies until the end of the colonial period.

## THE GREAT AWAKENING

*Religious conditions in the first third of the eighteenth century*

The eighteenth century was an age of reason rather than of faith. In some quarters in America the old attitude toward religion was being assailed by the skepticism and deism which had seeped in from Europe. Furthermore, in all the colonies wealth had mixed worldliness with religion, and worship was too often characterized by cold formalism rather than by emotional fervor. A realization of this condition caused a yearning on the part of church leaders for a genuine revival of religion.

*The great revival*

At this juncture there swept over the colonies a series of revivals known as the Great Awakening. The revivals started in 1734 at Northampton, Massachusetts, where Jonathan Edwards was threatening the unsaved with the torments of eternal punishment. After a lull of a few years, the revival began anew, this time under the preaching of George Whitefield, a zealous evangelist from England. Whitefield traveled throughout the colonies preaching to great audiences which were often too large to be accommodated by the churches and had to be assembled in groves or in fields. At these meetings people by hundreds professed conversion.

*Results of the revival*

As a result of the Great Awakening, large additions were made to the membership of the churches. To what extent these accessions represented a permanent improvement in spiritual conditions was then and is still a matter of dispute. It has been held by both contemporary and later students of the movement that the drain on the emotions made by the mass excitement caused a later indifference to religion. But after taking due account of backsliders and admitting that much seed failed to take deep root in shallow, unprepared hearts, it seems evident that as a result of the movement the church as a whole was inspired with a joyous hope and an active zeal and was thus raised to a higher spiritual level.

A new interest in higher education was also aroused by the revival, and this led to the founding of four new denominational colleges.[1] It also gave the common man a larger participation in church affairs, for it was held that all converted persons were equal in the sight of God. By this theory the ignorant and humble members of the church were put on a spiritual equality with the educated and wellborn.

[1] These colleges were the College of New Jersey at Princeton (Presbyterian), Brown (Baptist), Dartmouth (Congregational), and Rutgers (Dutch Reformed).

Such a democratic idea of religion was favorable to the trend toward democracy in government. From the emotional upheaval caused by the spiritual awakening there emerged a feeling of sympathy for the underprivileged and a desire for their betterment. This feeling gave an impetus to humanitarianism, led to a better treatment of servants and slaves, and aroused a new zeal for the conversion of the Indians to the Christian faith.

## MODE OF LIVING

*Colonial cities and towns*

At the end of the colonial period there were a number of thriving trade centers in the colonies. Of these, five—Philadelphia, Boston, Newport, New York, and Charleston—had attained a wealth and population which placed them in the class of the European cities of that day. There were also smaller towns, several of which—notably Annapolis and Williamsburg, capitals of their respective provinces—enjoyed a political and social importance out of proportion to their size.

*Philadelphia*

The largest American city was Philadelphia, which had a population of about thirty thousand. Well located as to water transportation and connected by comparatively good roads with a fruitful wheat-growing hinterland, it had had a steady and continuous growth and was now basking in a comfortable prosperity. Large houses made of brick fronted on well-paved streets, which were bordered with sidewalks and lighted by lamps at night.

*Boston*

Boston was next to Philadelphia in size and importance. The city, situated on a rocky peninsula, was curved about the crescent-shaped harbor, with green fields and a leafy forest in the background. On the two-thousand-foot wharf were warehouses for storage purposes and, near it, retail shops. Further back were located the large houses of the merchant princes, each of which was surrounded by a shady lawn and flower and vegetable gardens. By the middle of the eighteenth century (1742) Boston was ahead of all the other American cities in street paving.

*Newport*

Newport, although the smallest of the four Northern cities (its population in 1742 was estimated at 6200), was secure in an easy prosperity based on the slave traffic and the West Indian trade. The wealthy merchants of the town owned numerous wharves and piers on some of which had been built commodious warehouses. By 1742 Newport ranked next to Boston in hard-surfaced streets.

*New York*

New York was also a thriving city but as yet gave no promise of becoming the metropolis of the world. In both New York and Boston the streets were narrow and crooked, although the more important ones were generally paved.

OLD SOUTH MEETINGHOUSE, 1729

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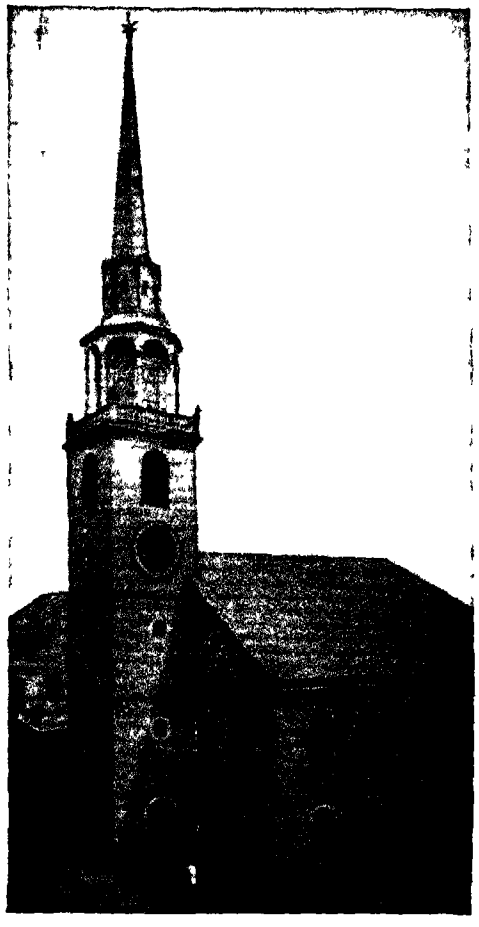
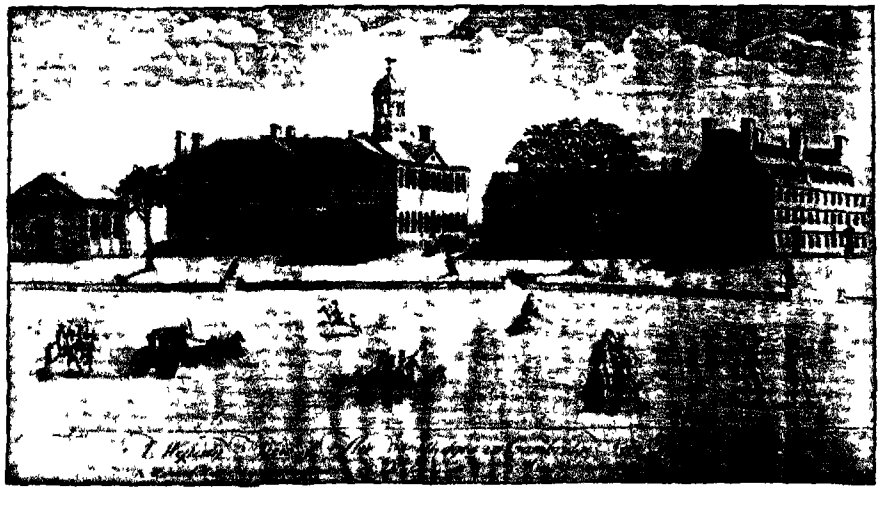
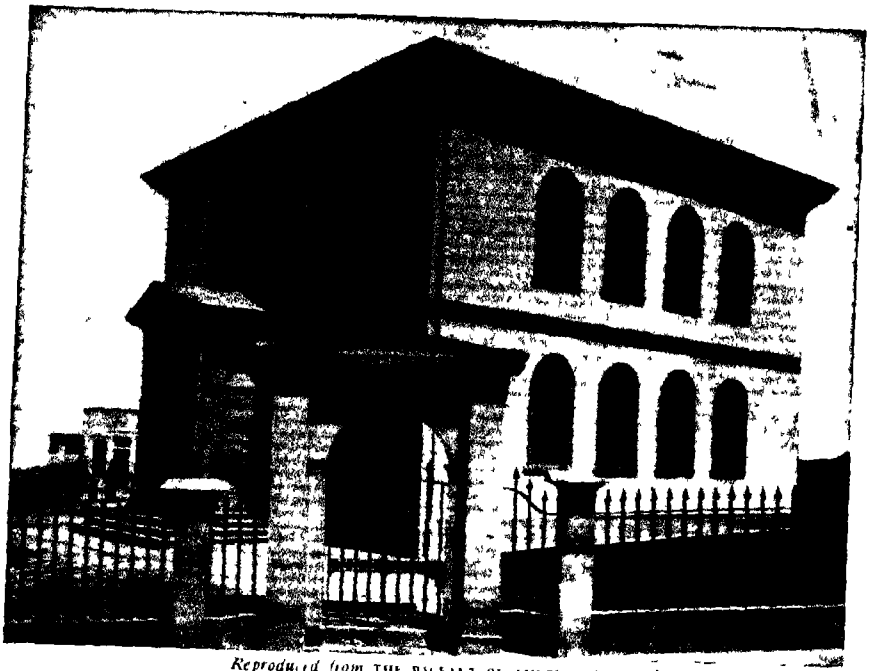


EARLY HARVARD

*Courtesy of Essex Institute Salem Mass*





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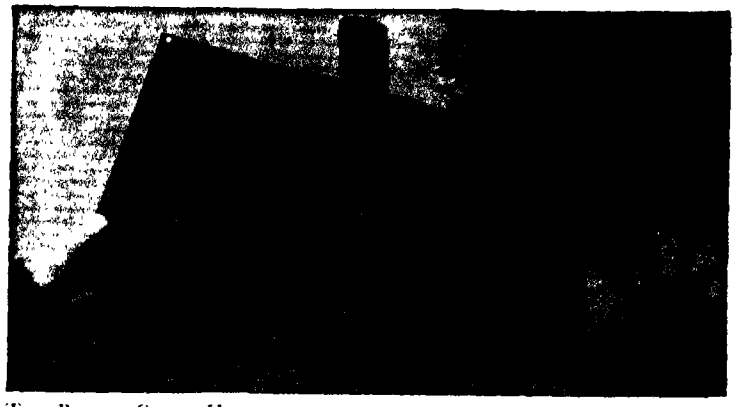
JEWISH SYNAGOGUE Newport R I 1763

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

From Lyon G. Tyler's "The Cradle of the Republic."



THE PARSON CAPEN HOUSE, TOPSFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1683.

*From Thomas E. Tallmadge's "The Story of Architecture," W. W. Norton, Inc.*

DRAYTON HALL ON THE ASHLEY RIVER, SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Courtesy of Huestis Cook*

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NEW JERSEY FARMHOUSE, 1676.

BRUTON PARISH CHURCH.

*Courtesy of Virginia Conservation Commission, Richmond, Va.*

*Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York*

VAN CORTLANDT HOUSE.

*Charleston*

Charleston was the largest city in the South and was the only town of considerable size in South Carolina during the entire colonial period. It was located on the finest harbor south of Virginia and had become an important commercial center. Because of the sea breezes, it enjoyed a partial immunity from malaria, especially in the early years. The wealthy planters usually spent the hottest months in the city, partly to take advantage of the social and political opportunities it afforded and partly to escape the discomfort and disease to which they were subjected on their mosquito-infested country estates. It was therefore the social and political, as well as the economic, metropolis of the province. So much was this the case that South Carolina more than any of the other colonies was in the nature of a city-state.

*Life in the colonial city*

Since commerce rather than manufacturing was the mainspring of urban life, the colonial city was not so dirty or noisy as the industrial centers of today. Sensitive nerves were never upset by screaming whistles, and house furnishings were not begrimed with coal soot. On the other hand, the city dwellers had to do without certain conveniences and comforts which we look upon as necessities. There was no running water in the houses, no plumbing, and therefore few bathing conveniences. Water was supplied by surface wells, which could easily be polluted by disease germs. There was no adequate arrangement for the disposal of garbage. Ashes and refuse were piled up in the alleys and on vacant lots. Hogs wandered around the streets picking up food remnants and other kinds of garbage. In Charleston a like scavenger service was performed by buzzards.

*The colonial house*

Colonial architecture was borrowed from Europe. The English, Dutch, Swedish, and German settlers brought to the new world the architectural ideas of their respective homelands. Modifications of these plans had to be made, however, to adapt them to climatic conditions; thus there was no slavish imitation of the European patterns. Since paint and glass were scarce, painted houses were very uncommon in the seventeenth century, and oiled paper often took the place of glass in windows. Late in this century the log cabin appeared in the colonies, the idea probably having come over from Sweden. It became the usual type of dwelling for the poor whites and Negroes in the South and the frontiersmen in the West.

As a rule, housing conditions were much better in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century. In the later period the typical house in Virginia was a story-and-a-half structure, weatherboarded with unpainted planks. Sometimes there was an added wing and a small front porch and nearly always a lean-to kitchen. The houses of the prosperous middle class in the North were often two stories high

with gambreled roofs and dormer windows. Among the Dutch of New York, a popular type of dwelling was a story-and-a-half building with the gable end fronting the road or street. Of the low-ceilinged rooms on the first floor the most important were the kitchen and the parlor. The floor of the latter was covered with sand on which flowered figures were made by the housewife.

About 1720 the Georgian style of architecture was introduced in the continental colonies and was generally used by the wealthy in all sections in the construction of their imposing mansions. This type of house was one of wide halls and large rooms, wainscoted to the high ceilings and adorned with carved mantels and beautiful staircases. In the South the mansion house was usually surrounded by a number of outhouses such as barns, granaries, laundry, schoolroom, office, poultry houses, etc. One noted mansion, Nomini Hall (late eighteenth century, Virginia), had sixty-two such buildings. These mansions were usually built of wood or brick.

*House furnishings*

In the early years the average family had to get along with meager household furnishings. The tableware consisted mainly of tin vessels, wooden platters, pewter dishes, and a little earthenware, but no forks or chinaware and few knives. In the eighteenth century, forks and chinaware came into general use among the common people and silverware among the wealthy. During this later period stoves were used for heating purposes in some sections, especially among the Germans of Pennsylvania. The success of the heating stove was greatly increased by an invention made by Franklin in 1742. Despite the advantages of the open Franklin stove, the vast majority of colonial families, both rich and poor, still relied upon the fireplace for the heating of their houses, throughout the entire colonial period. The roaring wood fire everywhere seen in the wintertime imparted a cheery comfort to the colonial home which largely compensated for its shortcomings as a heating arrangement. For the lighting of their rooms the people generally had to rely on pine knots or candles, although, on exceptional occasions, lamps, supplied with sperm or lard oil, were used, especially in the houses of the well-to-do.

*Amusements*

In colonial days the common people, as well as the aristocrats, were fond of amusements, but the former were restricted in their enjoyment of them by a lack of leisure. So much exertion was needed to make a living that a good deal of recreation had to be a combination of work and play. The working parties, therefore, afforded a wholesome type of amusement for the farmers, both old and young.

The muster was everywhere an occasion of recreation. Young and old would assemble at some central point in the community to participate in or witness military drills and the practice of marksman-

ship. Picnic dinners were served, and there was always time enough for pleasant social intercourse. In all the colonies the church, the tavern, and the village or crossroads store were also centers at which farmers could meet for rest and conversation. Political gatherings, such as town meetings in the North and county courts in the South, likewise brought the people together and afforded opportunities for pleasant social contacts.

*The observance of Christmas and Thanksgiving*

The orthodox Puritans of New England objected to the observance of Christmas on the ground that this was a Catholic custom. Accordingly, except in Rhode Island, Christmas was not celebrated in New England at any time during the colonial period. The place of Christmas was taken by the Thanksgiving season. The custom of offering public thanks for material blessings, which had its origin in Europe before the Reformation, was first observed in English America in the fall of 1621, when the Pilgrims celebrated their first harvest by several days of feasting and thanksgiving. From time to time in the seventeenth century a day was set aside for thanksgiving by the Puritans, and by the end of the century there had grown up in Massachusetts and Connecticut the practice of observing Thanksgiving regularly once a year. This holiday usually lasted about a week and was a time of festivity as well as one of religious observance. In the other colonies, Christmas held an important place in the recreational life of the people. Among the Dutch of New York, May Day and New Year's were also celebrated as festive occasions. At these times visits were interchanged among friends and family reunions were held.

*Kinds of recreation*

In New York as well as in the Chesapeake and Southern provinces the people devoted a good deal of time to recreation. Everywhere, except in those localities in which there was considerable Quaker and Puritan influence, cockfighting, cardplaying, and fox hunting were common sports. The most popular of all the amusements in the South was dancing. The waltz was unknown among the colonials, and their dances were confined to jigs, square dances, the minuet, and the Virginia reel. Visiting was another means of social enjoyment, especially in the South. In this section all classes—yeoman farmers as well as rich planters—were noted for their hospitality. Strangers were cordially received and well treated, and friends and relatives were entertained in royal fashion. Many of the great families were related or connected by marriage, and there was an easy camaraderie between the patricians that made social intercourse natural and delightful.[1]

*Visiting*

The colonial theater was borrowed from the mother country. With

[1] See O. P. Chitwood's *A History of Colonial America* (1931, 1948), pp. 593-594, 596.

***The colonial theater***

a few insignificant exceptions, the plays given in America were written by English authors and performed by English actors. Just when the theater came to the colonies we can only conjecture. It is known, however, that by the beginning of the eighteenth century (1702) an English actor was performing in New York, and in 1716 a playhouse (the first in America) was erected in Williamsburg. It was not, however, until about the middle of the eighteenth century that the theater got a permanent footing in the colonies. The transfer from the homeland to the continental possessions was effected through the agency of two English joint-stock companies which toured the country and gave performances at important towns and cities. In the last half of the eighteenth century the English drama, although it had sloughed off much of the filth with which it had been besmirched in the Restoration era, was still not entirely free from the taint of licentiousness. For this reason and also because it was a worldly amusement, religious leaders among the Puritans and Quakers were opposed to the theater. As a concession to this feeling, laws banning the theater were passed in the following colonies: Massachusetts (1750), Pennsylvania (1759), Rhode Island (1761), and New Hampshire (1762). By this time, however, the wealthy class in the North had assumed a more liberal attitude toward recreations and were disposed to accept the theater as a proper type of amusement. These laws were, therefore, probably not enforced and apparently were intended as appeasing gestures toward the Puritan sentiments of the middle and lower classes.

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[1] This work was written by an Englishman who traveled in the continental colonies at the end of the colonial period. His book was published in 1775; reprinted in 1939 under the editorship of H. J. Carman. See *Colonial America*, pp. 817-818.

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# CHAPTER VI

# *From Controversy to Conflict*

## Imperial Supervision of the Colonies

*The colonies under authority of the king*

WHEN the English settlements in North America were first made, they were placed under the authority of the crown. The king had the sole power to issue patents for lands and charters conferring governmental authority. In the early years, Parliament had no part in the supervision of the overseas possessions, but during the Commonwealth period it took over the management of them. With the Restoration, the crown was again put in control of colonial administration. Parliament did not, however, entirely surrender the power which it had acquired in the Interregnum. It continued to pass navigation and other laws affecting the colonies, and its activity in this kind of legislation gradually increased.

*The Privy Council*

During the entire colonial era the authority of the crown in overseas affairs was exercised through the Privy Council, which the king appointed. This body had final authority in outlining policies for the colonies, in making appointments to office, and in issuing instructions to officials. The Privy Council, however, had a great many other duties to perform and could not look after the details of colonial administration. It had therefore to rely mainly on the advice of committees. At times special committees were appointed to make investigations and recommendations in specific cases; but the usual practice was to employ permanent commissions as advisory agencies.

*The Board of Trade*

Of these permanent commissions the most important was the Board of Trade, established in 1696. From that time until near the end of the colonial period this board was the dominant influence in the administration of the colonies. Its recommendations, to be effective, had to be endorsed by the Privy Council, but in nearly every instance the policies outlined by the board were accepted.

*Review of colonial legislation*

Laws passed by the colonial assemblies and signed by the colonial governors were sent to England to be accepted or rejected by the Privy Council. In passing on acts of the colonial assemblies the Privy Council usually disallowed those which were not in harmony with the English common law, violated the prerogative of the crown, or

were unauthorized by the charters. This practice of submitting colonial legislation to the Privy Council for review became the established tradition in colonial America; and this tradition gave rise to the practice in the American judiciary of allowing the courts to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of the state and Federal legislatures.

*Appeals from colonial courts*

Appeals were also carried from the highest colonial courts to the Privy Council. Such appeals were usually not taken except in civil cases involving large amounts or in criminal cases of importance. The reason for this limitation was the cost of prosecuting hearings across seas.

*Imperial policy with reference to colonial industry*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in later periods, England felt that to be able to protect herself against the possible aggression of her neighbors she must have a strong army and a powerful navy and be in a position to feed her population in time of war and supply her armies with the necessary equipment. If these results were to be achieved, there would have to be a continued growth in population to furnish the manpower needed for security. The support of this increased population would demand the promotion of agriculture and manufacturing. If the navy was to be able to protect the homeland against attack and keep open the channels of trade to the outside world, it would have to have as an ally a strong merchant marine. The colonies could help in this program if they would buy from England finished manufactured products and sell to her such raw materials as she needed for her manufactures. Accordingly, laws were passed restricting the production of cloth, hats, and hardware in the American dependencies with the expectation that they would purchase these commodities from the homeland. On the other hand, the colonials were encouraged by Parliamentary enactments to procure furs and produce pig iron for the use of British hatmakers and iron manufacturers, respectively.[1]

*Navigation laws*

Navigation laws were also passed for the purpose of stimulating shipbuilding throughout the empire. By acts of Parliament passed in 1651 and 1660 American, British, and Irish ships were given a monopoly of the carrying trade between England and the colonies. Also by the law of 1660 and later acts certain commodities which were needed for home consumption or as raw materials for British

[1] The manufacture of woolen cloth in the possessions was discouraged by an act (1699) which forbade the exportation of wool or woolen cloth from one colony to another or to foreign countries. In like manner, colonial hatmakers were prohibited by the Act of 1732 from selling their hats outside of the colony in which they were produced, and each hat manufacturer was limited to two apprentices. The English hatters were guaranteed a monopoly of the American supply of raw material, for furs had been put on the enumerated list (1722). The manufacture of iron goods in the colonies was discouraged by the law of 1750, which prohibited the erection in America of any new steel furnaces or slitting or rolling mills. On the other hand, the production of pig and bar iron was encouraged by being admitted to England free of duty.

manufacturers were put on the "enumerated" list. This was a list of those exports from the British possessions which could not be sent directly to any country except England and her colonies. They could be transshipped to European ports only after they had been landed in England and, in most cases, a duty had been paid. This policy gave England the preference in the purchase of these articles, enabled the government to derive a revenue from them, and afforded the merchants an opportunity to make a middleman's profit.

The British merchants were also granted special privileges with reference to European goods sold to the colonials. One of these laws (the Staple Act of 1665) provided that, with a few exceptions, all European products sent to America would have to pass through English ports.

*The Molasses Act of 1733*

The most unjust of all of these laws was the Molasses Act of 1733. It placed excessively high duties on sugar, molasses, rum, and some other commodities which were shipped from the foreign West Indies to the American continental colonies. If the law had been enforced, it would have seriously crippled the trade between the northern colonies and the French, Spanish, and Dutch West Indies; but it did not have this effect for the reason that many colonial merchants disregarded the law and continued their trade by smuggling.

## A DECADE OF DISCONTENT

*The old colonial system*

The British plan of administering the American possessions which was in effect between 1660 and 1763 is usually known as the old colonial system. The restrictions on the dependencies as actually carried out worked no serious hardship on them. Some of these laws were favorable to the colonies and those which were unfavorable were generally disregarded, since the home government was lax in the enforcement of its colonial policy. For a good part of this period the British authorities pursued a policy of indifference or "salutary neglect," as it was called, with reference to the possessions. The result was that the limitations on the rights of the colonials were more theoretical than actual, and they were allowed to manage their own affairs without much hindrance. On the whole, therefore, the American people were prosperous and loyal to the mother country until 1763.

*The new colonial system*

This year, however, proved to be an important turning point in the relations between England and her colonies. Her successes in the Seven Years' War had made Britain the leading power of

Europe. She was not only mistress of the seas but also the owner of a world-wide empire. This enviable position had been purchased at a great cost, however, for her national debt had been doubled and the tax burdens of her people had been greatly increased. Industry in the homeland was rapidly advancing, and British manufacturers were more anxious than ever to use the possessions as a source of raw materials and as a market for their finished products. To attain this objective it would be necessary (it was thought) to tighten the bonds which held the various parts of the empire together. The restrictions on colonial industry and commerce should be carried out more effectively, and the colonies should be required to assume their share of the imperial tax burden.

This new policy would have been a dubious experiment if conditions had remained as they had been before the French and Indian War. Besides, owing to recent changes in the American situation, the colonies were desiring a looser rather than a closer association with the empire. They were now less dependent than formerly upon the British government for protection, since the defeat of the French and the Indians had relieved them of the French menace and to a great extent of the danger from Indian attack.

*Taxation*

Although the commercial restrictions were the worst grievance the colonists had against the British government, taxation was the main cause of discontent and opposition. The Americans had not been accustomed to paying direct taxes except in small amounts and for local purposes; the colonial government did little for the individual in the simple conditions of life at that time, and hence there was no good reason for making heavy demands on the taxpayer. Besides, the scarcity of specie in the colonies rendered the payment of imperial taxes a heavy burden. The political leaders also pointed out that, as the colonies were not represented in Parliament, they could not be taxed by that body. And so the cry of "no taxation without representation" was raised.[1]

*George III*

The dozen years which followed the Treaty of Paris (1763) proved to be the most critical period in the entire history of Anglo-American relations. The difficult problems of that era, which called for a statesmanship of the highest order, were handled with blundering ineptitude. Parliament was composed of a number of political factions, and the chance to make the combinations necessary for Cabinet organization gave the king, George III, a power over the

[1] This paragraph is borrowed, in the main, from O. P. Chitwood's *A History of Colonial America* (1948), p. 626. Courtesy of Harper and Brothers.

Cabinet and the House of Commons which his immediate predecessors had not enjoyed. Furthermore, there was a group in Parliament, known as the King's Friends, on whose support he could always count because they had been bound to him by bribery and gifts or promises of office. This increase in the power of the kingship proved to be a costly liability rather than a valuable asset, for George III had neither the ability nor the temperament needed to meet grave responsibility. Furthermore, during the greater part of this trying period the king did not have wise counsellors on whom he could depend.

*Grenville's policy*

The responsibility for inaugurating the new colonial policy was placed on George Grenville, who became prime minister in the spring of 1763. Although he was not without ability, Grenville was unequal to this difficult task, for he was not conversant with conditions in America. His first effort was to increase the revenue derived from the colonial trade by putting a stop to the leaks due to smuggling. The commissioners of customs were held up to a stricter performance of their duties and were granted the assistance of warships in their campaign against smuggling.

*The Sugar Act of 1764*

The trade between the continental colonies and the West Indies was to be put on a revenue basis. As the Molasses Act of 1733 had never been effectively enforced and some of its rates were too high for revenue purposes, it was superseded by the Sugar Act of 1764. The new measure, as well as the old one, placed a duty on sugar, molasses, and other products brought into the continental American colonies from the foreign West Indian plantations. One purpose behind both acts was that of discouraging trade with the Spanish and French West Indies, but an additional objective of the Act of 1764 was the collection of revenue. By it the importation of rum and spirits was prohibited and the duty on sugar was raised, but that on molasses was lowered by one half. The net revenue obtained from the Sugar Act was to be used "toward defraying the necessary expenses of defending, protecting, and securing" the colonies. Since the rum industry in New England was dependent upon the molasses obtained from the West Indies, the lowering of the duty on molasses was a greater concession to the colonials than the raising of the tax on sugar was an objection. Despite this concession, however, the new act was more objectionable than the old, for the reason that there were now provisions for the collection of the duties, whereas the old law had been largely disregarded.

The complaints against the Sugar Act came mainly from the wealthy merchant class, and the masses showed no serious concern

about it. But in this same year (1764) Parliament adopted a measure prohibiting the colonies from issuing any more paper money. This law did much toward enlisting the poorer and debtor class in opposition to the British government, because the desire for an inflated currency was widespread. There was very little metallic money in the colonies, and for them, therefore, the choice as to a medium of exchange was largely between barter and paper money. The institution of a sound financial policy by the British government did not go along with the prohibition of an unsound one.

*Restriction on the use of paper money*

During the intercolonial wars the demands made on the various colonies by the British military authorities for men and supplies were seldom if ever fully complied with. The requisition system had thus proved to be a failure, and there was need of a more effective plan of defense. It was therefore decided to leave a force of ten thousand men in America. These troops could be used for keeping the Indians quiet, curbing any restlessness that might arise among the French Canadians, and bolstering the authority of the royal governors in their efforts to put down smuggling and uphold imperial authority. The colonists had not asked for this little army and apparently did not want it, especially if they had to bear the expense of supporting it.

*A military force to be stationed in America*

The new commercial policy was expected to yield more revenue than had heretofore been collected but not enough to finance the proposed military arrangement. To find money for this extra outlay was another problem which confronted the prime minister. He felt that all of this expense should not be saddled upon the taxpayers of the homeland, who were already bowed down by heavy tax burdens. He therefore decided to raise some of this needed revenue by a tax on the Americans. Accordingly, he announced a year in advance that the stamp tax would be extended to the American possessions, but promised that if the colonials would suggest some other plan for securing funds he would give it due consideration. Objection to the proposed tax was widely expressed in the colonies, but no substitute was presented except the discredited requisition system. Grenville had no difficulty in persuading Parliament to pass the Stamp Act (1765), which required the placing of revenue stamps on newspapers, playing cards, legal documents, and many business instruments. All the revenue accruing from the purchase of these stamps was to be used for "defending, protecting, and securing" the colonies.

*The Stamp Act*

At first the colonials seemed inclined to submit to this tax, and Americans of good standing agreed to serve as agents in the selling of the stamps. It was not long, however, before this attitude of

*Opposition to the Stamp Act*

acquiescence gave way to one of aggressive antagonism. The opposition to the Stamp Act was greater than that to the Sugar Act because the latter was an external tax which the colonies conceded Parliament's right to levy, whereas the Stamp Act provided for an internal tax the levying of which, as they considered, fell within the authority of the colonial assembly and not of Parliament. The first important step toward arousing opposition was taken by the House of Burgesses in Virginia. In this body, resolutions offered by Patrick Henry were passed which declared that the General Assembly of Virginia had the exclusive power to levy taxes on the people of that colony.[1]

As these resolutions were quickly circulated throughout the colonies, they played an important part in stirring up feeling against the Stamp Act. This opposition was expressed in, and intensified by, resolutions of town meetings, discussions in newspapers, and various other ways. In several of the Northern states there were agreements among merchants not to import any more goods from England until the objectionable measure was repealed.

*The Stamp Act Congress*

As a step toward united action, a congress representing nine colonies met in New York (October, 1765). The Stamp Act Congress (as it was called) drew up a bill of rights and a statement of colonial grievances and sent petitions and memorials to the king and Parliament. In accordance with the principle of no taxation without representation, it held that since the dependencies were not and could not be represented in Parliament they could not be taxed except by their own assemblies. Parliament therefore had exceeded its authority in passing the Stamp Act and had acted unjustly toward the colonies in imposing on them burdensome trade restrictions.

*Sons of Liberty*

Opposition to the stamp taxes also took the form of mob violence, the worst exhibition of which was the burning and looting of Chief Justice Hutchinson's house in Boston. Organizations known as Sons of Liberty were active throughout the colonies in enforcing the nonimportation agreements or compelling the stamp agents to resign. Public indignation was aroused to such a pitch that the stamp agents declined to serve and the law was largely disregarded. Furthermore, British merchants were losing trade on account of the boycott on their goods and were afraid that the continuance of strained relations between the colonies and the mother country would prevent the collection of the money due

[1] These radical resolutions were opposed by some of the members, and in the heat of the discussion Henry made use of some fiery expressions. "Caesar," he said, "had his Brutus; Charles the First, his Cromwell; and George the Third (at this point he was interrupted by numerous cries of 'Treason!') may profit by their example."

*Repeal of Stamp Act*

them by their American debtors. Influenced by petitions from these merchants in favor of repeal and confronted with the undeniable evidence of its failure, Parliament wisely voted to rescind the act (March 17, 1766).

*The Declaratory Act*

When the Stamp Act was repealed, Parliament passed the Declaratory Act affirming its right to make laws binding on the colonies. The colonials, however, overlooked the objectionable principle embodied in this measure and accepted the repeal of the stamp law with joy and expressions of loyalty. A further concession was made to the colonials by a favorable modification of the Sugar Act.[1]

*The Townshend Acts*

The period of harmony which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act was short-lived. It ended the following year when on the recommendation of Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer and acting head of the Cabinet, Parliament passed some other unpopular laws. In their discussions regarding the Stamp Act, the colonial agitators had drawn a line between an internal tax, which was levied inside the country, and an external tax, which was collected at the ports. Townshend therefore concluded that an external tax would be accepted, and so he induced Parliament to pass a law (the Townshend Duty Act) imposing a duty on glass, tea, lead, and paper imported into the colonies. A part of the revenue thus raised was to be used for paying the salaries of the colonial judges and governors. In the royal provinces these officials were appointed by the king and held their places at his pleasure. In most of the provinces, however, they had hitherto been dependent partially or wholly upon the assemblies for their salaries. As one branch at least of every colonial legislature was chosen by the voters, these royal appointees were thus indirectly accountable to the people. But if their salaries were paid out of this proposed fund these officials would be entirely independent of the assemblies and might become the willing tools of the king.

Another unpopular measure of the Townshend Acts was the one which suspended the New York assembly because it had declined to make satisfactory arrangements for the quartering of the British troops which were to be stationed there. The colonials regarded this act as a step toward the undermining of the foundation of their liberties. They contended that the position of the assemblies in the colonies was similar to that of Parliament in England, and that if one colonial legislature could be suspended by an act of Parliament all of them could be suspended or abolished.

[1] The duty of threepence a gallon on molasses imported into the continental possessions from the foreign West Indian colonies was superseded by an impost of one penny a gallon on all molasses brought in, whether from the British or the foreign plantations.

*"Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer"*

Strong opposition to the Townshend Acts was voiced by able American lawyers who had studied in the homeland and were well informed as to the principles of the English constitution. Of the legal arguments presented by them, the ones which had the greatest influence were embodied in a series of articles published by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania under the title of "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer." These articles were clearly and forcibly expressed and were widely read throughout the colonies. Dickinson maintained that the Townshend Acts were contrary to English law and practice and should not be accepted by the colonials. "We are only as much dependent on Great Britain," he boldly asserted, "as one perfectly free people can be on another."

*Nonimportation agreements*

The burdens of the Duty Act were especially heavy on the commercial class, which took an important part in organizing the opposition to the measure. The merchants of the principal cities, together with some of the Southern planters, entered into agreements not to import any more English commodities until the objectionable laws were repealed. As a result of this second boycott, there was a considerable decline in the importation of British goods, especially into New England and the Middle provinces. The British merchants felt the pinch from this loss of business, for in their case the sensitive nerve which runs from the pocketbook to the heart had been painfully touched. For a second time, therefore, they urged Parliament to remove the cause of their trouble by rescinding a law which was unacceptable to the colonies.[1]

*Partial repeal of the Townshend Duty Act*

During the first year the amount of revenue realized from the Duty Act was very slightly in excess of the cost of collection. This meager return and the opposition in England and America showed that the law was a failure both in a financial and a political sense. It was therefore repealed (April, 1770), except that the duty on tea was continued. The tax on tea was retained to save the principle that Parliament had the authority to tax the dependencies.

*A lull in the controversy*

The partial repeal of the Townshend Duty Act led to the abandonment of the nonimportation agreement except as to tea, and the pledge regarding it was not strictly kept. Although some of the objectionable features of the Townshend Acts were still in force,

[1] There was so much unrest in Massachusetts that the British authorities transferred two regiments of soldiers from Halifax to Boston. The presence of these troops was resented by the townsmen, and on one occasion a clash occurred between a mob of citizens and a group of seven soldiers (March 5, 1770). In this street fight for which both sides were about equally to blame, four citizens were killed. This unfortunate tragedy, improperly called the "Boston Massacre," aroused the people of Massachusetts to a fever of excitement. A distorted account of the affair went out to the other colonies and helped to stir up a general feeling of bitterness against the British.

the merchants and conservatives generally were now in favor of putting a stop to agitation and settling down to peace and quiet. They sensed a danger in the radicalism which had been aroused among the masses by opposition to British policy. In some of the colonies there had been for some time among the masses a growing antagonism to the aristocratic clique that ruled Massachusetts, and the quarrel with the mother country gave added strength to this feeling. The conservatives feared that the wind of peaceful opposition to British policies started by them would grow into the whirlwind of mob violence. Furthermore, if revolution were once begun the upper class might lose its privileged position in the government of the province. And there was ground for this uneasiness, for agitation did not cease with the partial repeal of the Duty Act.

*Samuel Adams*

The outstanding leader in continuing the agitation was Samuel Adams of Boston, who upheld his earnest convictions and strong prejudices with courage and zeal. Having a clear and straightforward style, he was convincing as a writer and very effective as a public speaker. He had borrowed from Locke some advanced liberal views, which he was ever ready to uphold with perfect fearlessness. His influence with the masses was due partly to his active championship of their rights and partly to the support he received from a powerful political organization. At this time he, more than any other leader in the Bay Colony, acted the role of tribune of the people. During the two years following the partial repeal of the Duty Act he continued his agitation against the alleged tyranny of the imperial government by publishing forty anti-British articles in the radical press. In this way he nursed the wrath of the people, keeping it warm until another blunder of British administration caused it again to flare up.

*Committees of correspondence*

One important achievement of Adams during this interlude in the controversy was the formation of committees of correspondence. At his suggestion Boston appointed (November, 1772) a committee to correspond with the committees to be selected by the other towns of Massachusetts. These committees were to formulate the rights of the people and announce their action to the outside world. There was a prompt response to this suggestion, and soon the various communities of the province were bound together in an extralegal organization. This plan of communication was soon extended to other provinces, and by the middle of the following year six colonies were tied together by committees of correspondence. After the Boston Tea Party other colonies were brought into the system by action of the assemblies. In this way the groundwork was laid for co-operative effort.

*The Tea Act*

The period of comparative quiet following the partial repeal of the Townshend Duty Act was brought to an end by the enactment by Parliament of another unpopular measure, the Tea Act (effective May, 1773). The main purpose of this act was to relieve the British East India Company of the financial straits into which it had fallen. This company had the exclusive right to supply England with tea but had to pay a tax of twelvepence a pound on all that was imported. At this time it had a large amount of tea stored in its warehouses in England for which it could find no sale. If America could be induced to buy this surplus, the company might be spared the threat of bankruptcy. With the view to bringing about this desirable result the new law provided for a rebate of the twelvepence tax on all tea reshipped from England to America. The only tax on tea which would have to be paid in America was the threepence import duty originally imposed by the Townshend Duty Act. Because of the higher tax collected in the homeland, the price of tea there was about twice as high as it would be in America. Cheap tea, it was thought, would be so acceptable to the colonials that they would buy it in large amounts. In so doing they would also be acquiescing in the import duty, for they would be drinking down the tax with their low-priced tea. In this way the East India Company would be saved from bankruptcy and the legality of the tea tax would be accepted by the Americans.

The company was also now allowed to dispose of its tea through its own agents in America and save what would otherwise go to middlemen. It was therefore able to offer tea to the Americans at a price with which the colonial merchants could not compete. The latter were strongly opposed to the monopoly granted the East India Company and joined in with the radicals who had all along been agitating against "British oppression." The company took advantage of its privilege by sending ships loaded with tea to all the important American ports. When these vessels arrived at New York and Philadelphia, there was no one to receive the consignments, for the agents appointed by the company had resigned under pressure of public opinion. The vessels therefore returned to England without making any effort to land their cargoes. At Charleston the tea was received and stored in public warehouses. Later during the Revolutionary War it was sold and the money received was used to aid the patriot cause.[1]

[1] When another consignment of tea was sent to Charleston it was thrown into the Cooper River (November, 1774). The arrival of a tea ship at Annapolis, Maryland, caused a great deal of excitement, which led to the burning of the vessel by a mob.

*The "Boston Tea Party"*

Although other colonies were opposed to the Tea Act, it was in Massachusetts that the controversy assumed its most violent form. The agents of the company in Boston (a nephew and two sons of Thomas Hutchinson, the unpopular governor) refused to resign, and the governor would not give the tea vessels clearance papers so that they could return to England. It looked therefore as if the tea would be landed and sold. To prevent this, two meetings were held in the Old South Church in both of which Samuel Adams took a prominent part. After the second meeting (December 19, 1773) a mob of fifty or sixty men dressed in the garb of Indians boarded the ships and threw the tea overboard. While this "Boston Tea Party" was taking place, a great crowd of people looked on in silent approval. Evidently the action of the mob was endorsed by public sentiment, and no effort was made by either the city or provincial authorities to punish the offense.

*Effect of the "Boston Tea Party"*

Among the radicals of the other colonies there was a disposition to rejoice over the bold action taken at Boston, although a considerable number of moderate men, such as Franklin, regretted this display of mob violence. Public sentiment in England was greatly aroused by this destruction of private property, and even advocates of the American cause, like William Pitt, condemned "the late illegal and violent proceedings at Boston." The "Boston Tea Party" was thus a turning point in the controversy between America and England; it was the event which changed the family quarrel into an irrepressible conflict.

*The "Intolerable Acts"*

To punish the obstreperous Bay Colony and discipline her into obedience, Parliament passed (1774) some coercive measures which the colonials termed "Intolerable Acts." These were: the Boston Port Bill, which closed the harbor of Boston to all trade except bare necessaries until the people had paid for the tea which had been destroyed; the Massachusetts Government Act, by which the upper house of the assembly was made appointive by the crown instead of elective by the assembly as heretofore, and the towns were restricted in their right of self-government; and the Administration of Justice Act, which provided that appointees of the king in Massachusetts, accused of capital offenses in the discharge of their official duties, could be sent to other colonies or England for trial provided they could not, in the opinion of the governor, receive a fair hearing without a change of venue. A fourth measure was a new Quartering Act, which applied to the colonies generally but was intended primarily for Massachusetts. This law gave the provincial governors authority to requisition, with due compensation to the owners, inns, alehouses, and unoccupied buildings which

might be necessary for the proper housing of the British troops.[1]

*General Gage as governor of Massachusetts*

General Gage, who now became governor of Massachusetts, was given four regiments of soldiers to enable him to carry out the coercive acts. He obeyed his instructions literally and enforced the objectionable measures so vigorously as to arouse opposition in all the other colonies; there was a general feeling that the punishment meted out to Massachusetts was too severe for her offense.

*The First Continental Congress*

The Virginia House of Burgesses showed its sympathy with Boston by a resolution designating June 1 (the day the Boston Port Bill was to go into effect) as a day of fasting and prayer. Governor Dunmore regarded this action as an impudent challenge to British authority and dissolved the assembly. The burgesses then met unofficially at Raleigh Tavern and issued a call to the other colonies to send delegates to a general congress with the idea of formulating a united plan of resistance. In response to this invitation, representatives from all the thirteen colonies except Georgia assembled at Philadelphia in September, 1774. A few of the delegations had been chosen by the colonial assemblies, but most of them had been appointed by so-called conventions or other irregular bodies. The full membership of the First Continental Congress was fifty-six, and in it were included some of the ablest statesmen of America. The congress did not rest on any legal basis and could only express opinions and make recommendations. The representatives were divided into two main parties, the radicals and the conservatives. The former, who were in the ascendency, following the leadership of the able delegates from Virginia and Massachusetts, advocated resistance to British aggression.[2]

[1] The Quebec Act, passed in the same year as the coercive measures, was regarded by the colonials as one of the "Intolerable Acts." This law was not, however, intended to be punitive, but was enacted for the purpose of giving the French settlers in Canada and the Illinois region a better form of government than they had had for the past decade. The province of Quebec was widened so as to include the region between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes. Civil suits were to be decided in accordance with French law, in which there was no provision for trial by jury. The French Catholics were to enjoy religious freedom, and their priests were given authority to collect tithes from their parishioners. As the province was sparsely populated and the French inhabitants had been accustomed to autocratic rule, there was no provision for a representative assembly, and so the people were to have no voice in the government of the province. In the older English colonies in the East objection was made to this new arrangement in the West for several reasons. It deprived Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Virginia of Western territory which they claimed under the sea-to-sea clauses of their charters. Englishmen would, it was held, be deprived of the right of trial by jury, and the establishment of an autocratic regime on the borders of other colonies would be a challenge to their right of self-government. The alleged privileges granted to the Catholic Church—notably the right of its clergy to levy tithes—aroused the anti-Catholic prejudices of the masses and revived the bogey of papal domination.

[2] The Virginia delegation included in its membership Patrick Henry, Washington, and Peyton Randolph, the last-named being chosen president of the congress. The leading representatives from Massachusetts were John and Samuel Adams.

*The Galloway Plan*

The conservatives were in favor of conciliation and hoped for an agreement whereby American rights would be safeguarded. It was in line with this expectation that the conservatives, under the leadership of Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, offered a plan of union for the continental colonies. This plan was similar to the one which had been presented by Franklin at the Albany Congress. By the Galloway Plan the affairs of the union were to be managed by a president general appointed by the king and a grand council made up of delegates chosen by the colonial assemblies. No law relating to the colonies as a whole could be effective until endorsed both by Parliament and this general council. This latter body was thus to be a sort of federal assembly and was to act as a shock absorber in easing the jolts, if there should be rough sledding in the relations between the colonies and the homeland. Although strongly supported, this proposal was defeated and afterward was deleted from the minutes.

*The "Declaration of Rights and Grievances"*

The congress adopted a conciliatory tone in expressing loyalty to the king and in requesting him by petition to redress their grievances; but in voting a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" it announced a bold determination to uphold colonial rights. These resolutions stated that the rights of the colonials "to life, liberty and property were secured by the principles of the British Constitution, the unchanging laws of nature, and their colonial charters." The right of Parliament to tax the colonies was denied, but its authority to regulate their external commerce was conceded, provided that in this regulation there was no "idea of taxation, external or internal."

*The Association*

Another important act of the congress was the signing of the Continental Association. This was a nonintercourse agreement entered into by the members on behalf of themselves and their constituents. A solemn pledge was made not to import any more goods from Great Britain and Ireland after December 1, 1774, nor to send any of their products (except rice) to the British Isles or the British West Indies after September 10, 1775, unless in the meantime their grievances had been redressed. Local committees for the enforcement of the boycott were to be appointed in all the communities. This was done in every colony except Georgia. As the nonintercourse policy was strongly supported by public opinion, it was generally well enforced. Wherever serious opposition showed itself, tar and feathers or other instruments of mob violence were called into requisition.

*Battles of Lexington and Concord*

In Massachusetts the coercive acts had brought about a critical situation and the people were on the verge of an outbreak. Feel-

ing against England had been raised to a white heat by the agitation of Samuel Adams and other radical leaders. The authority of General Gage, the royal governor, was no longer accepted. To take its place, a revolutionary government had been organized and an army had been collected. On being informed that the insurgents were assembling military supplies at Concord, a village about eighteen miles from Boston, Gage dispatched a small band of soldiers to seize these stores. By early morning, April 19, 1775, Gage's redcoats had advanced as far as Lexington on their march. Here they found a small force of armed colonials which seemed ready to challenge their further progress. When the British commander ordered the Massachusetts men to lay down their arms, they refused to do so. A shot was fired (but whether by an insurgent or a British redcoat, no one knows) and a skirmish ensued in which eight of the Massachusetts soldiers were killed and two were wounded. The British continued their march to Concord and destroyed the stores there; but in the meantime the report of the encounter at Lexington had been spread throughout the community, and a number of volunteers rushed forward to attack the British on the return march. From Concord to Boston the redcoats had to face an almost continuous fire leveled at them from behind trees and rock fences.

In this way began the fighting of the Revolutionary War. The exciting news of bloodshed flew rapidly, and soon armed forces from all parts of New England were hurrying to Boston to assist in besieging the British troops. In the other colonies, too, the people were aroused to a high pitch of excitement, and throughout the entire country patriotic resolutions were passed and war preparations were pushed forward.

*The Second Continental Congress*

Three weeks after the events at Lexington and Concord, the Second Continental Congress met at Philadelphia (May 10, 1775). In this assembly there were representatives from all of the thirteen continental colonies, although some of them had been chosen by only a small minority of the people whom they represented. The governors had been prohibited by royal instructions from allowing the regular election of these representatives, and therefore many of them had been chosen by revolutionary conventions. After the state governments were organized, the members of Congress were elected by the state legislatures. The Second Continental Congress continued until 1781, when the Articles of Confederation went into effect. During this time it had entire control of Federal affairs.

Of these early delegates, the radicals were in the majority although the conservatives, led by John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, showed

considerable strength. It was due largely to the influence of the latter group that an immediate break with the mother country was prevented and an address professing loyalty to the king was voted. The radicals, however, succeeded in carrying through some measures which were a virtual declaration of war on Britain. The troops that had assembled in front of Boston were taken over by Congress and made into a Federal army, which was to be enlarged by new recruits from other colonies. On the nomination of John Adams, George Washington was chosen commander in chief of the Federal forces.

*Washington made commander in chief of the Federal army*

The selection of Washington was due in part to the wish of the Massachusetts leaders to win the South to the cause of resistance. This was a very fortunate choice. Probably no man in America was better suited to the difficult task now assigned him. He had had less practice in the art of war and enjoyed less military prestige than some of his subordinate officers, but his high moral qualities made up for any shortcomings in this respect. Possessed of remarkable self-control, he had his emotions so well-disciplined that he could present an unruffled exterior under the most discouraging circumstances. His stout optimism and firm faith in the ultimate success of the cause gave him poise and serenity in times of gloom and inspired his men with hope and confidence.

Despite the protestations of loyalty on the part of Congress, war was now definitely launched. It is not easy to understand why England and America had to resort to a long, fratricidal war to settle their differences. A partial explanation lies in the fact that the grievances against the mother country came at a time when the colonials were suffering from the economic depression which came after the Seven Years' War. The commercial classes in the New England and Middle colonies were especially affected by the hard times experienced by nearly all the colonies during the decade preceding the outbreak. Economic distress was aggravated by the commercial restraints imposed by the British government and the nonintercourse agreements entered into by the colonials themselves.

*An unnecessary war*

The situation was also awkwardly handled by the British government. The policy of England toward the colonies was that of a vacillating parent toward an obstreperous child. It was irritating enough to arouse antagonism but not firm and severe enough to compel obedience. The situation called for the active exercise of all the political wisdom that the empire could command. But conditions in England were such that the best statesmanship of the time was employed not in solving the problem, but in further complicating it. The conciliatory measures advocated by Pitt,

Burke, and the other friends of America were not adopted. On the other hand, their advocacy of this policy had the effect of encouraging the opposition of the Americans, who had exaggerated notions as to the strength of English sentiment in their favor.[1]

*Relative strength of the belligerents*

The division of sentiment in America was a weighty obstacle to the success of the revolutionary movement. The weakness of the general government was also a serious drawback. The Continental Congress, which had charge of Federal affairs, could not raise revenue by taxation and, in other ways, was not an efficient governing body. On the other hand, Britain was the richest nation in the world. Its government had good credit and a tax system which was in fine running order. Adequate funds for prosecuting the war could therefore be easily obtained by taxes and loans; but an efficient management of the war was prevented by incompetence, if not corruption, among responsible officials. There was also considerable disagreement in the mother country over the quarrel with America. In England the war was opposed by some liberal statesmen, a good portion of the merchants, and the ministers of the dissenting denominations. Besides, the masses had no relish for the fight against their kinsmen across seas. The unwillingness of the English people to enlist in the army caused the military authorities to make use of a good many mercenaries hired from German princes.

*The American army*

The Patriot forces included two classes of soldiers—the Continental army and the militia. The regular army varied in size, since the periods of enlistment were short and the men often left the army at the end of their terms of service. Seldom was the total strength of the fighting force, at any one time, in excess of sixteen thousand men, and at Valley Forge Washington's command was reduced to two thousand. It was difficult to keep the army supplied with the necessary recruits, despite the offer of bounties to volunteers and the attempts at conscription made late in the war in several states. The soldiers were poorly clad, and the small pay promised them was often in arrears, whereas industry and trade were holding out tempting offers in the form of high wages and large profits.

There was also a great deal of unnecessary suffering among the men due to the lack of proper care of the sick and wounded; the hospital service was "badly organized, ill-supplied, [and] dishonestly administered." Since the personnel of the army was constantly changing, it was impossible to maintain a high standard of training and discipline. The military situation would have been

[1] These two paragraphs are taken, with slight changes, from O. P. Chitwood's *A History of Colonial America* (1931, 1948), pp. 648-49. Courtesy of Harper and Brothers.

hopeless but for a small nucleus of regulars who remained in continuous service. They were devoted to the cause and never yielded to discouragement, even under the most adverse circumstances.

*The militia*

At times the Continental army received the assistance of the state militia. This arm of the service was far from satisfactory. The citizen soldiers who constituted the militia were little, if any, better than raw recruits, as they had generally had only a few days' training a year. They were undisciplined and often cowardly. In times of crisis some of them would not prolong their short terms of service to save the cause. They were therefore almost useless for long and sustained campaigns; but since they were good marksmen and familiar with the terrain of their own localities, they often performed useful service in defending their home communities.

*The British handicapped by distance*

The British were at a great disadvantage in prosecuting a war three thousand miles from the home base. In that day of small vessels the transportation of a large army and its needed supplies was a difficult task even for the Mistress of the Seas. There was no single strategic center the capture of which would lead to the collapse of American defense. On the contrary, if the Patriots were to be defeated, a wide expanse of territory would have to be seized and held. This necessitated the division of the British forces into small units and their dispersion throughout the country. Such a strategy ruled out large-scale operations. Furthermore, the British army in America was never strong enough to cope with the difficult military situation, although Clinton's forces at one time (1781) aggregated thirty-four thousand men.

*Officers in the American army*

In the American army the officers of the lower ranks were as a rule inefficient. In speaking of them in 1776 Washington said that "except in a few instances [they were] not worth the bread they eat." Some of the higher officers, however, such as Greene, Montgomery, and Arnold, were very capable. Washington also had the assistance of a few foreign officers who were very efficient. Prominent among these were the Prussian general, Baron von Steuben, and two French generals, the Marquis de Lafayette and Count Rochambeau. The best-known of the French officers, although probably not the most efficient, was Lafayette. Ablaze with youthful enthusiasm, he regarded the struggle in which Washington and his ragged soldiers were engaged as a battle for the ideals of freedom preached by Rousseau and other French philosophers. He was cordially received by Washington and was given high rank in the army.

*British military leaders*

The British army was unfortunate in its leadership. Howe's heart was not in the fight against his kith and kin, and on more

than one occasion he failed to follow up and make the best of an advantage which he had over the Americans. Whether these mistakes were due to his lack of interest in the cause or to his ineptitude as a commander, we are unable to say. The policy of Clinton, Howe's successor, was also dilatory and hesitating.

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# CHAPTER VII

# *Separation from the Empire*

## A Family Quarrel

WASHINGTON was prompt in assuming the duties of commander in chief of the American forces. On July 3, 1775, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, he took command of the troops which had assembled in front of Boston. There were sixteen thousand of these farmer-soldiers, and soon three thousand recruits were added from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. The situation was anything but encouraging to the Patriot cause. The men were untrained and undisciplined, their zeal was flagging, and many of them were leaving at the end of their short terms of enlistment. There were petty jealousies among the officers, and no unified plan had been worked out for gaining accessions to the army and furnishing it with the proper supplies. Washington's first task was to bring order out of this confusion. The soldiers were trained and disciplined, and the leaks due to desertions were largely stopped. When his raw troops had been molded into an efficient fighting force, Washington hoped to oust the British from Boston. To do this it would be necessary to seize and fortify one of several hills from the top of which the town could be bombarded.

*Washington assumes command of the army*

Before Washington's arrival the Patriots had already had a stiff encounter with the British in an effort to realize this aim. The Americans under the command of Colonel William Prescott had seized and fortified Breed's Hill in Charlestown, north of Boston. Since this hilltop commanded Boston, Gage, the British commander, determined to drive the rebels from it. The British made a frontal attack, and the first two assaults were repulsed by the defenders with heavy losses to the assailants; but when the third was made the Americans, having exhausted their ammunition, withdrew. This, the first serious encounter of the war, is usually known as the battle of Bunker Hill, although it took place (June 17) on the adjacent height of Breed's Hill.

*Battle of Bunker Hill*

Washington did not have enough powder to bombard Gage's position, and, since the enemy would not give battle, for some

*Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point*

months he was forced to pursue a policy of watchful waiting. The scarcity of munitions was remedied when he received a supply of guns, including cannon, which had been captured from the British at Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Ethan Allen and Seth Warner had captured these two posts and with them a considerable amount of arms and ammunition. From these forts cannon were brought over the snow on sleds to Boston. This additional equipment enabled Washington to fortify Dorchester Heights to the south of Boston (March, 1776). He was now in a position to shell the British troops, and Howe, who had succeeded Gage, hurriedly evacuated the town. His army, along with nine hundred Loyalists, was put on shipboard and conveyed to Halifax, Nova Scotia.

*The British withdraw from Boston*

*The expedition against Canada*

The capture of Forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point opened the gateway to Canada. In the fall of 1775 the Patriots took advantage of this opportunity by sending two expeditions into Canada, which were under the command of Richard Montgomery and Benedict Arnold. It was falsely hoped that the French Canadians would welcome their fellow Americans and would join in the revolt against British authority. Montgomery was able to capture Montreal and then join Arnold, who, after a march of terrible suffering, had appeared before Quebec. An unsuccessful assault was made on Quebec by the joint commands, in which Montgomery was killed. Arnold held his position in front of Quebec during the winter but in the spring was pushed southward by a British force under Sir Guy Carleton. Because of the strong resistance offered by Arnold in his retreat, the advance of Carleton was slowed down and he was kept from joining Howe in New York.

*Whigs and Tories*

The controversy between the mother country and her colonies brought about a division of sentiment in both England and America. In the early stages of the quarrel some of the leading Whigs in the homeland, such as William Pitt and Edmund Burke, upheld the American position, whereas the conservative Tories, as a rule, had no sympathy with the American cause. The colonials were also divided into liberals, or radicals, and conservatives. During the decade of controversy the former were aggressive in their opposition to British policies while the latter were in favor of acquiescence in or of only moderate opposition to them. At first the issue between the radicals and the conservatives was a debatable one. With the outbreak of hostilities, however, and especially after independence was declared, the line which divided the advocates from the opponents of the revolutionary movement became a wall that separated the sheep from the goats. Those who upheld

the American cause were known as Patriots, or Whigs; those who remained loyal to the empire were called Loyalists by the British and Tories by the Americans. Some of the Loyalists had joined in the protest against the objectionable acts of Parliament but were unwilling to carry their opposition beyond the limits of legal resistance. Others believed that the safety and welfare of the colonies were bound up with their membership in the empire.

*Treatment of Tories*

Harsh and unjust treatment was meted out to the Loyalists with the purpose of converting them or punishing them for their fifth-column activities. Their property was seized by the state officials; and, while some of them were sent into exile, others were made the victims of tar and feathers, and a few were hanged as traitors. Those who were expelled from the country took refuge in England, the West Indies, Canada, or some American city under British control. A large number of them joined the British army and aided in the fight against their fellow countrymen. The persecutions to which they were subjected aroused in the Loyalists a feeling of intense bitterness, and whenever they had the opportunity they repaid their Whig enemies in kind for the sufferings which they had been forced to endure. Notable examples of Tory atrocities were the massacres and depredations perpetrated by them and their Indian allies in Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania (July, 1778), and Cherry Valley, New York (November, 1778).

*Whigs and Tories in the North*

There were Tories in all sections, and in some of the states they were in the majority. John Adams estimated that a third of the population of the thirteen colonies and a larger proportion of the upper class were opposed to the Revolution. In the North the conservatives generally came from the wealthy and educated classes. The radicals, on the other hand, were recruited mostly from the lower and middle classes, although in the list of zealous supporters of the Revolution were included some of the merchants and others of the aristocracy. Most of the radicals from the lower and middle classes had not enjoyed the right of suffrage and had not had any voice in the provincial government. Their dissatisfaction with the rule of the aristocratic cliques which dominated the provincial governments was behind much of their opposition to British policy; they felt that the power of the privileged aristocracy at home was propped up by imperial authority. A direct thrust at the latter would therefore be an indirect blow to the former.

*In the South*

Most of the large landowners of the Chesapeake and Southern colonies were ardent revolutionists. As a rule, they were stout individualists and resented the new colonial policy of Britain as an unjustifiable restraint on their political rights. There was, how-

ever, considerable Loyalist sentiment among the Scotch Highlanders living on the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. The Scotch-Irish of the Carolina hill region were as strongly in favor of the Whigs as the Highland Scotch were against them; but some of the Carolina frontiersmen were Tories. Most of these Tories were still nursing the grievances against the ruling clique of the East which had led to clashes between the Regulators and the provincial authorities, culminating in the battle of Alamance Creek (see p. 47). It was largely on account of their ill feeling toward the Tidewater aristocrats, who were generally Whigs, that these upland folk had remained loyal to the mother country.

*Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge*

The British government overestimated the strength of Loyalist feeling in the Carolinas and hoped quickly to bring these two rebel colonies back under imperial control. In furtherance of this aim a British fleet under Sir Henry Clinton was sent to Southern waters to co-operate with the Loyalists in stamping out revolt; but before these ships arrived at the coast of North Carolina the Tories had been badly defeated by the Whigs at Moore's Creek Bridge (February 27, 1776). This victory yielded the Patriots nine hundred prisoners and valuable booty in the form of gold and munitions of war.

*British naval attack on Charleston repulsed*

Later in the same year Clinton made a naval attack on Charleston. The defense of the city was entrusted to Colonel Moultrie. He stationed his army of about six thousand militia on an island which commanded the entrance to the harbor. His men were protected by sandbanks and a fort made of green palmetto logs. From behind this shelter they poured raking broadsides into the British ships without suffering much from the return fire, for most of the cannon balls hurled from the enemy fleet sank harmlessly into the sandbanks or the soft logs of the fort.

## SEPARATION FROM THE EMPIRE

*Sentiment in favor of independence develops in the colonies*

When hostilities began between England and America, a majority of the colonials were opposed to separation from the empire. They hoped that the fight would be brief and would end in a recognition of their rights by the British government; but feeling between the mother country and the thirteen colonies grew in bitterness as the war progressed, and in America there rapidly developed a desire for independence. The growth of this feeling was greatly promoted by the policy of the English government. In August, 1775, the king declared America to be in a state of rebellion, and later Parliament passed an act forbidding all commercial intercourse

between the homeland and the continental colonies for the duration of the rebellion. Under such circumstances it was both inconsistent and unwise for the colonies to continue their membership in the British empire. To profess loyalty to a government against which they were waging war was to continue to sit on the limb at which they were sawing. At this juncture the only sensible course was either to quit sawing or get off the limb. America chose the latter alternative.

Early in 1776 there was throughout the entire country a strong sentiment for separation. By declaring their independence the colonies might be in a position to form military alliances and commercial agreements with the continental European powers and secure from them recognition of their rights as belligerents. No such possibility would be open to them as long as they professed allegiance to the British empire. All that was needed to whip up this feeling into active enthusiasm was a little propaganda of the right sort. And this propaganda was abundantly supplied by a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*, published (January, 1776) by Thomas Paine, an Englishman who had been living in America for about a year. Written in a clear but colorful style, this brilliant essay made a great appeal to the people and was widely read in all sections. It argued convincingly in favor of independence and pointed out the folly of America's looking for direction to a government three thousand miles away.

*Common Sense*

The sentiment on the part of the people in favor of independence was reflected by their leaders in Congress, and by the middle of the year that body, now in control of the radicals, was ready to take a definite stand in favor of separation. The delegates in Congress from North Carolina were instructed (April 12, 1776) to unite with the other representatives in a declaration of independence, and like instructions were received by the delegates of other colonies. Before Congress had taken action, however, Virginia, the oldest and one of the most important of the provinces, had announced her separation from the homeland. The hesitating colonies were encouraged by this bold step to follow her example. The delegates of the Old Dominion were also directed (May 15) to offer a resolution in favor of independence. In compliance with this mandate Richard Henry Lee moved (June 7, 1776) that the thirteen colonies be declared "free and independent states." This motion was ably supported by John Adams, who was called the "Atlas of Independence." Action on Lee's proposal was delayed, however, and it was not adopted until July 2.

*The Declaration of Independence*

In the meantime a committee composed of Thomas Jefferson,

John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston had been appointed to draw up a declaration of independence. The original text of the Declaration was prepared entirely by Jefferson, except for a few slight changes suggested by Franklin and Adams. When the document was presented to Congress, John Adams made an earnest appeal for its acceptance. On July 4, 1776, the Declaration was adopted by Congress by a vote of twelve colonies, but not before a few rather important revisions had been made in the original draft. The text of the Declaration was afterward neatly inscribed on parchment and signed by the members. On August 2 all who were present attached their signatures to the famous document, and the others signed it later in the session.

*Nature of the Declaration*

In the Declaration of Independence are set forth certain "self-evident" truths regarding the natural rights of man and the powers and limitations of government. It is stated that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it. . . ." Governments "long established should not be changed for light and transient causes," but "when a long train of abuses and usurpations . . . evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security." Then follows a long list of grievances which the colonials had suffered at the hands of the king. These acts of misrule, it is asserted, justify a secession of the colonies from the empire, and therefore Congress declares that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

The doctrines embodied in the Declaration were not original with Jefferson but were borrowed largely from John Locke, especially from his "Second Essay on Government." These ideas had been widely discussed by the radical leaders and were therefore not new to the members of Congress. Jefferson's merit in writing the Declaration lies in his skill in organizing these ideas and giving them clear and forceful expression. He was very clever as a phrase-maker and was able to cast popular concepts into a form which makes the Declaration of Independence a literary masterpiece.

The Declaration of Independence was hailed with joy and enthusiasm by a large proportion of the people in all the colonies.

*How the Declaration was received*

There were numerous demonstrations such as the ringing of bells, the booming of cannon, and other modes of rejoicing. Among conservatives, however, there was a strong feeling of regret that the bonds holding the colonies to the mother country had been finally severed. America, as they considered, owed its safety and security to imperial authority, and without this protection it would become the scene of internal strife and bloodshed. Some of the Whigs also were saddened by the thought that the old homeland would henceforth be a foreign country. And even today there is, in the opinion of some students of the Revolution, a doubt as to whether the grievances of the colonials were severe enough to justify secession from the British empire.

*America and England at the parting of the ways*

Probably the best reason for independence was the fact that the colonies had reached a stage in political and economic development at which they could stand alone and solve their own problems without outside assistance. England and America had come to the parting of the ways. The common origin from which the people of both countries had sprung no longer constituted a bond strong enough to keep them together. The economic and social life of both peoples was rooted in the institutions of early seventeenth-century England, but a century and a half of separation with differences in environmental conditions had produced marked divergencies in the culture of each group. In England civilization had developed under old world conditions and had reached a point at which it was exhibiting not only the attractive characteristics of maturity, but also some of the weaknesses of senility. In the new world, on the other hand, the culture of Elizabethan England had renewed its youth in the wilderness and had taken on not only the fresh spontaneity and cheerful optimism, but also something of the crudity and awkwardness, of undisciplined adolescence.

Not only in culture but also in law and government the two peoples had grown apart. Although the English constitution and the common law had crossed the Atlantic, and every colonial government was modeled after that of the mother country, yet frontier modes of living in the new world had brought about a modification of English political and legal institutions. The common law was never adopted in its entirety in the colonies, and such portions of it as were in use there were often modified to suit local conditions. Local government in the Northern and Middle colonies showed a considerable divergence from the pattern furnished by the homeland. In America suffrage was, as a rule, broader than it was in the mother country. There was thus a stronger trend toward democracy in the colonies than in the homeland.

The cultural divergencies that grew up between the overseas possessions and the homeland were not due entirely to differences in environmental conditions. These diversities owed their origin in part, at least, to dissimilarities in the character of the people who had gone to America and of those who had remained at home. In the very beginning the political and religious beliefs of a large proportion of the immigrants who came to the new world were different from those held by their brethren in England, and many of them had made the change because they were out of harmony with the social order of the homeland. Moreover, at the outbreak of the Revolution a considerable proportion of the population of the thirteen colonies was of non-English origin. These foreigners brought with them to their new home the political and social ideals of France, Scotland, Germany, and the Netherlands.

Differences in the political and economic systems of England and her American continental colonies showed that in the latter there had grown up a new social order, separated from that of the mother country by a gulf that could not be permanently bridged. America had thus achieved her cultural independence before she had asserted her political freedom. By the beginning of the last quarter of the eighteenth century the thirteen original colonies had attained their majority and wished to set up house for themselves. It is to be sadly deplored, however, that they had to leave home in the midst of a family quarrel without the parental blessing.[1]

## AN INTERNATIONAL CONFLICT

*Howe attacks New York*

Howe remained at Halifax for only a short time and then moved his army to New York. If he could take and hold this city he would be able to divide the northern part of the American confederacy from the southern and might be able to control the Hudson-Champlain approach to Canada. The Loyalists were numerous in New York, and Howe was counting on their support in carrying out his plans. Washington also realized the strategic value of New York and had stationed his forces there before the British arrived. He threw up fortifications and hoped to hold the enemy in check.

*British victories around New York*

Early in the summer of 1776 Howe appeared off Sandy Hook. With an army of thirty-two thousand men and with the co-operation of the British fleet under command of his brother, Admiral Richard Lord Howe, General Howe was ready for an attack on Washington's

[1] The greater part of this page and the preceding one is borrowed from O. P. Chitwood's *A History of Colonial America*, pp. 683-685. Courtesy of Harper and Brothers.

greatly outnumbered forces. In the first engagement at Brooklyn Heights on Long Island (August 22) a part of the Patriot army under General Putnam was badly defeated. If Howe had at once pressed his advantage, he could have captured nine thousand of Washington's entrapped soldiers; but his delay and the friendly aid of a dense fog enabled Washington to effect their escape by transferring them to safety on Manhattan Island.

The British won other victories around New York. In one of these they captured at Fort Washington (on Manhattan Island) twenty-eight hundred of Washington's finest troops. These successes gave the British control of New York, which was retained by them to the end of the war. The city now became a haven for persecuted Tories who hurried from all quarters to this safe refuge. Upon the few Whigs who remained there they wreaked a vengeance as harsh as that which had been dealt out to them.

*An unsuccessful effort for peace*

The British government was anxious to come to an understanding with the insurgents and had authorized the Howe brothers to offer terms of conciliation. The role of peacemaker was a very acceptable one to them, for they had always had a kindly feeling toward the Americans, and Lord Howe had spoken in Parliament in advocacy of their rights. After the battle of Brooklyn Heights the admiral met three commissioners from Congress in an effort to work out a formula of peace. The Declaration of Independence had just been voted, and the American commissioners were instructed to urge the recognition of the independence of the states as a necessary condition of agreement. Howe was not authorized to make so great a concession, however, and his well-intentioned efforts ended in failure.

*Washington retreats across New Jersey*

The Patriot army was demoralized and disorganized after the defeats around New York. It was also dwindling away because many of the men were leaving when their terms of enlistment expired. Washington's only hope now was to take his remnant of an army to a place of safety. Accordingly, he withdrew rapidly through New Jersey and across the Delaware River. The British who were hot on his trail were stopped at the Delaware because the Americans had seized all the boats. Washington's army had now been reduced to about three thousand "ragamuffins," and only the stoutest optimists were hopeful of success. The people of Philadelphia were stricken with terror, and Congress fled to Baltimore.

*American successes at Trenton and Princeton*

This condition of discouragement was greatly relieved by two successful ventures of Washington. On Christmas night (1776) he recrossed the Delaware and made a surprise attack on the British troops at Trenton. The enemy force (composed of Hessian mer-

cenaries) was badly defeated, and a thousand prisoners were taken. Shortly afterward (January 3, 1777) he won another victory over the British at Princeton. The Patriots were greatly encouraged by these successes and new recruits began to come in. Congress conferred upon Washington dictatorial powers for a period of six months. He stationed his army at Morristown for the winter and during this time devoted his efforts toward reorganizing it.

*Battle of Brandywine*

In the spring of 1777 Howe transferred the greater part of his army from New York to Philadelphia. He seemed to think that the seizure of their capital would lower the morale of the rebels. His soldiers were put on shipboard and under convoy of Lord Howe's fleet were sent up to Elkton, Maryland, at the head of Chesapeake Bay. Washington moved below Philadelphia with the view to preventing the enemy's approach to the capital. A battle was fought at Chadd's Ford on Brandywine Creek in which the Patriot forces were badly defeated. Philadelphia was then taken by the British. Congress had in the meantime fled to Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

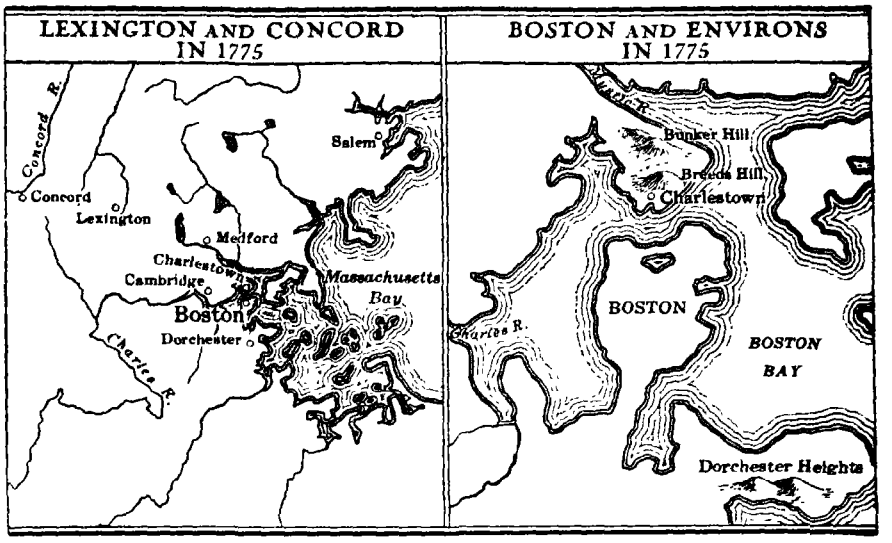
*Philadelphia taken by Howe*

The capture of Philadelphia was hailed by the British as a great victory for their cause and a severe blow to American prestige, but it made no material change in the military situation. On the other hand, it cost Howe the opportunity of participating in an ambitious project for compassing the downfall of the insurgent movement. By this plan General John Burgoyne was to march southward from Canada by way of the Lake Champlain route to join Howe, who was to come up from New York. Colonel Barry St. Leger was to advance from Oswego down the Mohawk Valley and join forces with Burgoyne and Howe around Albany. These plans woefully miscarried. Howe, as has been seen, was tied up with the Pennsylvania campaign and could not send aid to Burgoyne. The latter therefore failed to receive the much-needed reinforcements which he had a right to expect. Nor was St. Leger able to carry out his part of the assignment. He encountered such strenuous opposition from the Patriots at Fort Schuyler (Fort Stanwix) and Oriskany that he returned to Canada.

*The British plan an elaborate campaign*

*Burgoyne's difficulties*

Burgoyne therefore had to bear alone the responsibility of performing this arduous task, and he was beset with almost insurmountable obstacles. His line of march was over a difficult terrain interspersed with swamps and forests, and progress had to be slow. These difficulties were aggravated by the many large trees which the American soldiers had felled to impede his advance. His army grew smaller as he moved forward because of the necessity of stationing troops at certain points to guard his communications



FRANKLIN'S FAMOUS CARTOON MADE AT THE TIME OF THE STAMP ACT.

From Fay's "Franklin, The Apostle of Modern Times,"
Little, Brown and Company.

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"The Horse America Throwing His Master."

"The Howes Asleep in Philadelphia."

A caricature drawn forth by the Doings of Revolutionary Privateers

(The cow represents British commerce while the American cuts off her horns, a Hollander milks her the Frenchman and Spaniard help themselves to the milk the British merchant wrings his hands in d spair, and the British Lion sleeps through it all In the bac' ground are two Howes asleep and the *Eagle* high a. d dry, the rest of the fleet being nowhere visible )

*From Spears "History of Our Navy," Vol I*

with his base in Canada. His force was still further depleted by the defeat of two detachments, composed of German and Indian troops, which had been sent to destroy the military stores at Bennington. This ill-starred venture cost the British more than nine hundred men in killed, captured, and wounded.

*Battle of Bennington*

Burgoyne's advance was opposed by an American army consisting of both regulars and militiamen. It was commanded at first by General Philip Schuyler and later by General Horatio Gates. Reinforcements kept coming to Gates until he had an overwhelming superiority over his opponent. Two battles were fought at Freeman's Farm, near Saratoga (on September 19 and October 7, 1777). The first of these was indecisive, but the second was an important victory for the Americans. A leading part in both these encounters was taken by Benedict Arnold. Not long after the second battle Burgoyne was surrounded and forced to yield to the superior strength of his antagonist. On October 17, 1777, his entire command of fifty-eight hundred men surrendered at Saratoga. This was easily the most outstanding victory scored by the Americans up to this time and proved to be an important factor in the final outcome of the contest. An immediate result of great significance was that by it France was induced to form an alliance with the Americans.

*Two battles at Freeman's Farm*

*Surrender of Burgoyne*

## THE FRENCH ALLIANCE

At the outbreak of the American Revolution the government of France was an absolute monarchy, with young Louis XVI on the throne. Louis leaned heavily on the advice of Count de Vergennes, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Vergennes had no sympathy with the liberal ideas of the Declaration of Independence but was disposed to encourage the Americans in their revolt against the mother country. He was smarting under the humiliation inflicted upon his country by Britain as a result of the Seven Years' War and was anxious to even scores with France's traditional enemy. He hoped that the uprising in America would subject England to a long and costly war and possibly lead to the loss of her overseas possessions. In either event England's prestige and power would be lessened, and France's position in the family of European nations would be relatively strengthened. Furthermore, he feared that if Britain should succeed in putting down the rebellion she might then seize the French and Spanish dependencies in America. On the other hand, if the American insurgents should be successful without having received aid from France and Spain, they might feel free to appropriate these French and Spanish possessions. Ver-

*Why France sympathized with the United States*

gennes, therefore, wished to aid the Americans, but was unwilling to take the chance of a war with Britain until he had reasonable assurance of the success of the revolt. Because of his doubts regarding the outcome of the war, he refused for a time to recognize the independence of the colonies. He did, however, give secret aid to the Americans in the form of loans and gifts of money. Supplies were furnished the Patriot army by the French government through the agency of a fictitious mercantile establishment in Paris.

*Franklin in France*

In the meantime the Continental Congress had been making efforts to cultivate the friendship of France and other European powers. Even before independence was declared, Silas Deane had been sent to Paris as the agent of Congress. In the fall of 1776 Arthur Lee and Franklin were commissioned to act with Deane as envoys at Paris. As they were not officially received, their negotiations with the foreign office were carried on in an indirect way. Franklin took the leading part in presenting the claims of his country, and Deane was afterwards recalled (December 8, 1777). Franklin at once became the lion of French society. His fine common sense, his terse and epigrammatic sayings, his reputation as a scientist and author, and the Quaker-like simplicity of his taste in dress marked him out as a philosopher of the highest rank. Indeed, to the French people he looked as if he might have stepped out from the pages of one of Rousseau's treatises on the simple life.

*The Franco-American alliance*

The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga led Vergennes to believe that the Patriots would win the war. He was now willing to risk a break with England and form an alliance with the American states. On February 6, 1778, two treaties were signed between France and the United States. One of these was an agreement for mutual commercial advantages and the other was a treaty of alliance. France recognized the independence of the new republic and gave a pledge of military and naval support in upholding this independence. The two allies were to co-operate in the war which was expected to break out between England and France, and neither of them was "to conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain without the formal consent of the other first obtained." France agreed to make no effort to regain the possessions on the mainland of North America which she had lost to England but reserved the right to appropriate any of Britain's West Indian islands which she might be able to conquer. Each party guaranteed to the other all the American territory which it then had or might acquire as a result of the war.

France at once entered the war on the side of her ally. The following year Spain also declared war on Britain, but not as an ally

*The Anglo-American war widens into a European struggle*

of the United States. Making an alliance with England's revolting colonies would have been setting a bad example for her own American dependencies. Sentiment among the nonbelligerent powers of Europe was also against England. In 1780 Denmark, Sweden, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Russia entered into an agreement known as the League of Armed Neutrality. This league was a gesture of rebuke to British naval practices, for behind it was a declaration of the rights of neutrals, some of which England had been violating. A controversy arose between Britain and the Netherlands which led to war in the latter part of this year.

The quarrel between England and her American colonies had thus become a European struggle, and England's naval superiority was greatly reduced. This change in the naval situation was a prime factor in deciding the final outcome of the war. The French soldiers did not take an important part in military affairs in continental America except at the battle of Yorktown, but some of the French officers did good work in training the American troops for service. The Patriot cause was also greatly aided by the money lent to the United States by the French government. These loans made possible the purchasing of much-needed supplies for Washington's army. Later (1782), through the efforts of John Adams, the government of the Netherlands recognized the independence of the United States and signed a treaty of commerce with the new confederacy. A loan of two million dollars was also secured from Dutch bankers.

## WINNING INDEPENDENCE

*Washington's army at Valley Forge*

During the winter of 1777-78 Washington's army was quartered at Valley Forge. While here, the soldiers were subjected to extreme hardships owing to a shortage of food and clothing. These sufferings could have been avoided if proper arrangements had been made for bringing in supplies, since there was an adequate stock of food in the country. The failure to meet the needs of the army was due mainly to a lack of transportation facilities, and this handicap was aggravated by the weakness of Congress. Another cause was the depreciated paper money. British gold enabled Howe's army in Philadelphia to live in luxury, whereas the Pennsylvania farmers refused to supply Washington's soldiers with food in exchange for their cheap paper money. Over this scene of unnecessary distress Washington's grandeur of character shed the one bright gleam of splendor. He was daily confronted with the sufferings of a justly complaining army, the intriguing efforts of some of his subordinate officers to displace him, the impotence of the govern-

ment, and the unconcern and lack of patriotism exhibited by the civilian population. In this atmosphere of envy and selfishness he stood erect and exhibited a faith and composure which stamped him as one of the world's noblest characters.

*Philadelphia evacuated by the British*

When news of the French alliance reached America, it brought cheer to the hungry Patriots at Valley Forge and disappointment to the British at Philadelphia. With the aid of the French fleet the new allies might now block the river approach to Philadelphia and thus deprive the British army of its water-borne supplies. In the spring the English army was ordered to evacuate Philadelphia and return to New York. While Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe in command of the English forces, was advancing across New Jersey (1778), Washington arranged to strike him at Monmouth. The attack, led by General Charles Lee, gave every promise of success. But, because of either cowardice or treachery, Lee gave the command to retreat when an advance would probably have meant victory. Washington arrived on the scene in time to check the retreat but too late to prevent the escape of the enemy. For his action on this occasion Lee was severely reprimanded by Washington and later court-martialed and suspended from the army.

*Battle of Monmouth*

*The French and Americans fail in an attack on Newport*

The British were now stationed in force at New York and Newport, Rhode Island. A French fleet under the command of Count D'Estaing appeared before Newport to co-operate with American troops in an assault on the town. After some maneuvering, D'Estaing, feeling unable to cope with Lord Howe's fleet, withdrew and sailed to Boston, much to the chagrin of the American soldiers who were eager for the attack. From this time until the end of the war the other engagements in the North were only of a minor character.

*Congress rejects the peace offer of the British government*

The defeat of Burgoyne indicated that the Americans could not be subdued, and commissioners were sent over by the British government to offer peace and pardon on generous terms. Everything short of independence which the Patriots had demanded was now to be conceded. This second attempt at peace failed, however, because Congress refused to consider any offer which did not include independence. Furthermore, the treaty of alliance with France had already been signed, and no agreement could be honorably made with England without the consent of the French government.

*Expedition of George Rogers Clark*

The settlements in western Pennsylvania and western Virginia, including those in Kentucky, were in constant danger from Indian attack. Colonel Henry Hamilton, who commanded the British post at Detroit, was inciting his Indian allies against the frontiersmen and buying the scalps they brought in. For this reason he was known

as the "Hair-buyer." Colonel George Rogers Clark felt that the best way to protect the western settlers was to take from the British the posts which they held in the Northwest. He therefore obtained authority from Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia to lead an expedition against the forts in the Illinois region. With a force of one hundred and seventy-five men he floated down the Ohio River to the mouth of the Cumberland and marched overland to Fort Kaskaskia. This post was taken by surprise and easily captured. The few French settlers who lived in the Illinois villages were indifferent as to whether the country was under British or American control. When they learned that France and the United States were in alliance, they readily gave their allegiance to the latter country. Clark therefore had no difficulty in taking over the entire Illinois country, including Vincennes on the Wabash (1778-79).

In an effort to regain the French forts, Hamilton marched down from Detroit and recaptured Vincennes. His plan was to remain here until the winter was over and then move against Clark at Kaskaskia. Instead of awaiting this attack, Clark led an expedition in February (1779) against Vincennes, marching over flooded prairies with the men at times wading in water up to their necks. Taken by surprise and outnumbered, Hamilton surrendered and was sent as a prisoner to Williamsburg. Virginia's claim to the Northwest, originally based on her colonial charters, was now reinforced by conquest. The Virginia legislature signalized its authority over the region by organizing it into the County of Illinois.

*Part played by the American navy*

The American navy was too small to play a leading part in the conflict with the Mistress of the Seas. Congress did have, however, a number of small men-of-war at its command, and every state, except New Jersey and Delaware, had some warships, which were used mainly for home defense. There were also a number of privately owned vessels which had been commissioned by Congress to prey upon enemy merchant ships. These privateers, as they were called, were able both to serve the Patriot cause and enrich their owners by seizing British ships and their cargoes. France, being friendly, opened her ports to American war vessels and privateers, and from these safe bases they could operate, before as well as after the signing of the treaty of alliance.

*John Paul Jones*

The greatest of the Revolutionary naval heroes was John Paul Jones. After winning in a number of lesser encounters, in which he had exhibited unusual boldness and skill, he was entrusted with a squadron of five vessels, four of which had been supplied by the French government. While searching for prey on the east coast of Scotland he encountered a convoy of forty merchantmen escorted

by two British men-of-war. He engaged the two war vessels in battle and captured both of them.

*Savannah captured by the British*

After the repulse of the French-American attack on Newport the British made the South the chief scene of the war. The Tories were numerous in Georgia and South Carolina, and it was expected that they would co-operate with the invaders. At the very last of the year (December 29, 1778) a British force landed near Savannah and at once captured the town. A few months later Charleston was besieged by the British commander (May, 1779). The Patriots, however, put up such a strong opposition that the siege was raised.

*The British repulse a Franco-American attack on Savannah*

Later in the same year (September, 1779) Count D'Estaing appeared off Savannah with a strong French fleet with transports loaded with troops. General Lincoln came to his assistance, and the American and French land forces numbered about six thousand. After laying siege to the town for a while, they unwisely attempted an assault. This was beaten off by the British with great loss to the assailants. D'Estaing now sailed away and gave no further aid to the Americans. Encouraged by this great success, Clinton sailed from New York and again made an attack on Charleston. The city was captured, and General Lincoln, who was in charge of the defense, had to surrender his entire army of five thousand men (May, 1780).

*Charleston captured by the British*

*Guerrilla warfare*

The British were now free to run at large throughout South Carolina and Georgia. For some time the only resistance they encountered came from guerrilla bands skillfully led by such bold leaders as Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, and Andrew Pickens. By making surprise attacks on small detachments and then escaping through the swamps to safety these leaders were able to cause the enemy considerable annoyance.

*Battle of Camden*

To aid the Whigs in their one-sided contest, Congress sent General Gates to the South with an army composed of regulars and militia in about equal numbers. At Camden, Gates unexpectedly encountered a British force under Lord Cornwallis and was badly defeated (August, 1780). The Patriot army lost in casualties, including captures, about two thirds of its entire number.

*Battle of King's Mountain*

A partial offset to the rout at Camden was a noted victory gained by the Americans at King's Mountain (October, 1780). On this wooded elevation on the border of the two Carolinas, a force of nine hundred Tories under the command of Colonel Patrick Ferguson was attacked by a numerous band of American militia. The terrain was ideal for the kind of fighting for which the backwoodsmen were best suited. From the shelter of trees and boulders they could use in comparative safety their fine marksmanship with telling effect. Ferguson was killed and the 700 survivors of his force surrendered,

the others having been killed or wounded. The morale of the Patriots was greatly heightened by this victory, which proved to be a turning point in the Southern campaign. The partisan leaders were now stirred to greater activity than ever.

*Battle of Cowpens*

Another important victory scored by the American forces in the South was the one by Daniel Morgan's men at Cowpens, in northwestern South Carolina. Morgan stationed his men on the banks of the unfordable Broad River and invited attack by Tarleton (January, 1781). Although the British had a slight superiority in numbers, they suffered a defeat which cost them more than three fourths of their entire force.

*Greene in command of the American forces in the South*

A few months after the debacle at Camden, Nathanael Greene was put in command of the remnant of the army in the South. He was an efficient officer and was able to inspire his men with hope and confidence. He had such a small force that he could not act on the offensive and several times suffered defeat at the hands of the enemy. Reinforcements soon began to come in, however, and with the aid of the guerrilla leaders and his able subordinates he succeeded in putting up a fine fight. Because of his skill in conducting a retreat and his knack of wresting from defeat the fruits of victory, he made an efficient use of his little army. The most important of the battles engaged in by him was the one fought with Cornwallis at Guilford Court House (March 15, 1781). In this severe encounter losses were heavy on both sides, and, since Greene ordered a retreat, it was technically a British victory; but Cornwallis's forces were so badly crippled that he withdrew to Wilmington, North Carolina.

*Battle of Guilford Court House*

*A period of gloom*

In the fall of 1780 the fortunes of America had reached a very low ebb. To the discouragements growing out of military defeats in the South were added those arising from the inefficiency of Congress, the worthlessness of the Continental currency, and the war-weariness of the people. The soldiers in Washington's army were poorly fed and clothed, and some of them were deserting and joining the forces of the enemy. Never were American affairs blacker than during the year which preceded the surrender of Cornwallis. Even Washington had almost ceased to hope.

*The treason of Benedict Arnold*

In this time of gloom the Patriots had to steel themselves against another sore disappointment. This was the treachery of one of their ablest generals. After the British had withdrawn from Philadelphia, Benedict Arnold was put in command of the American troops in the Quaker City. During this time of relaxation (following periods of extreme hardship) he lived in luxury and entered upon some unwise monetary ventures which brought him into financial straits. A claim for expenditures which, as he alleged, had been made in connection

with the Quebec expedition was not allowed by Congress, and he was on the verge of bankruptcy. He had succeeded in winning as his second wife an attractive young lady who belonged to a prominent Loyalist family. This connection and the social contacts he had made with persons of Tory leanings rendered him unpopular with some of the Whigs. Taking advantage of this hostile feeling, his enemies preferred charges of misconduct against him. He was cleared of all the serious accusations by a committee of investigation but was found guilty by a court-martial of certain trivial offenses for which he was to be reprimanded by the commander in chief. Washington performed this unpleasant duty as considerately as he could and, by dwelling on Arnold's brilliant past record, made his reprimand sound like a eulogy.

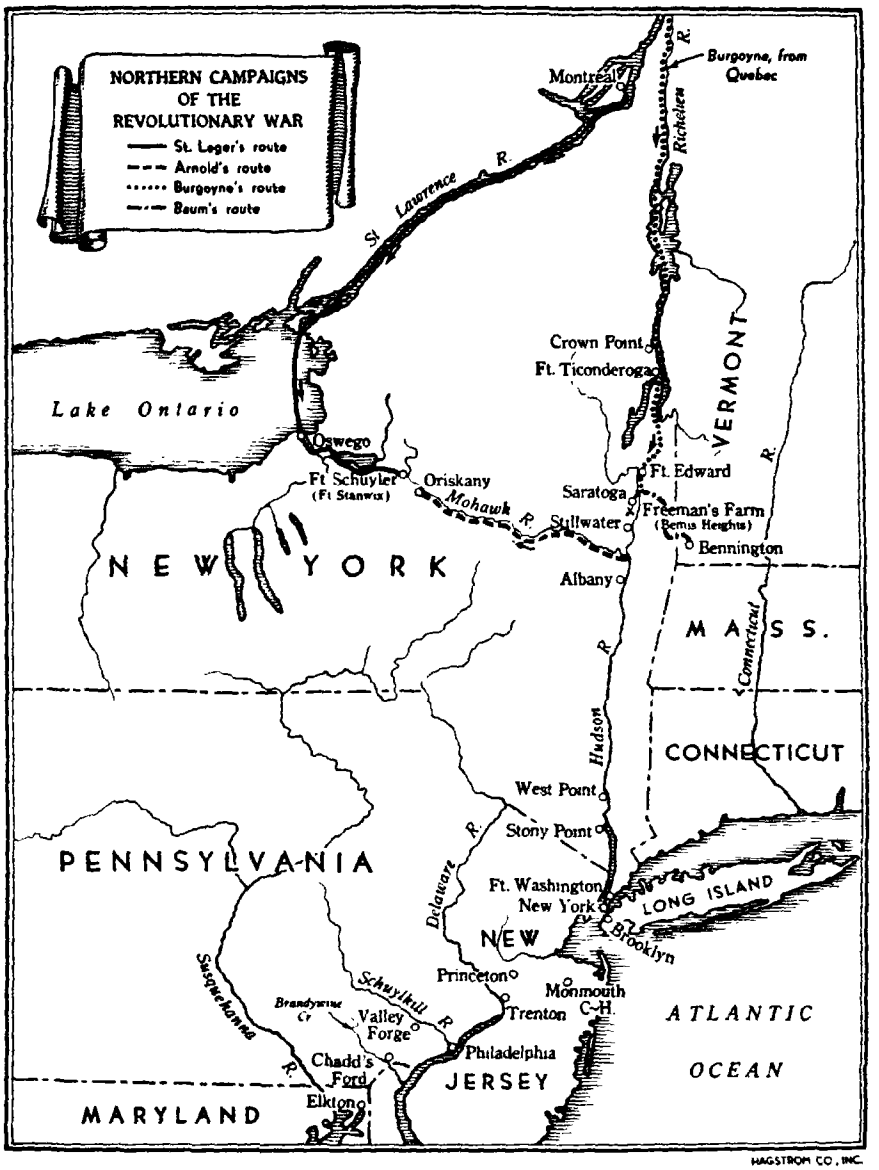
Embittered by the treatment he had received, Arnold decided to sell out his country and go over to the enemy. Since Washington's confidence in him was unimpaired, the important post of West Point was entrusted to him. After receiving command he arranged with Clinton to turn over this strategic position to the British. The plan was thwarted by the capture of Major André (who was the go-between in the negotiations) and the seizure of his papers. Major André was hanged as a spy, but Arnold, having received warning in time, made his escape to the British lines. As a reward for his treason he received a large sum of money and the rank of brigadier general in the English army.

*Cornwallis in Virginia*

Cornwallis felt that the war could not be brought to an end until Virginia was conquered. To attain this objective he moved northward from Wilmington, North Carolina, and joined ranks with Arnold (May, 1781), who had been harrying the Old Dominion for some months. Opposed to the British was a force under the command of Lafayette. It was too small to cope with the enemy and could do little more than entice him into bootless pursuit marches. Perceiving the uselessness of these long chases, Cornwallis marched eastward and took position (August 2) at Yorktown, near the mouth of the York River. Here he could keep in touch with Clinton and would be in reach of land reinforcements and naval aid. Lafayette also moved eastward and remained within easy distance of his antagonist. Cornwallis did not seem, however, to be in any immediate peril, for his cannon commanded the entire width of the broad river at his back.

*Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown*

About the time Cornwallis was settling down at Yorktown, Washington received a message from the French Admiral, Count de Grasse, offering to bring his fleet from the West Indies to Chesa-

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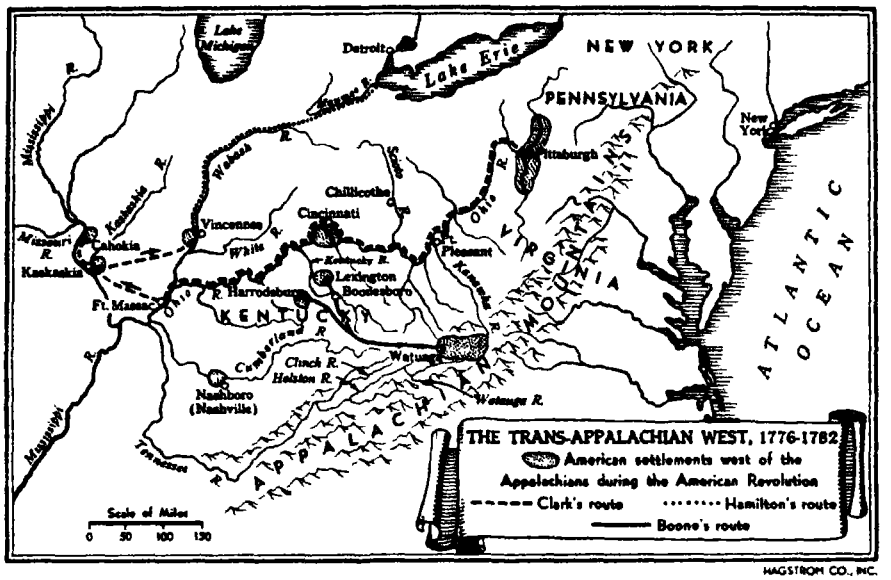


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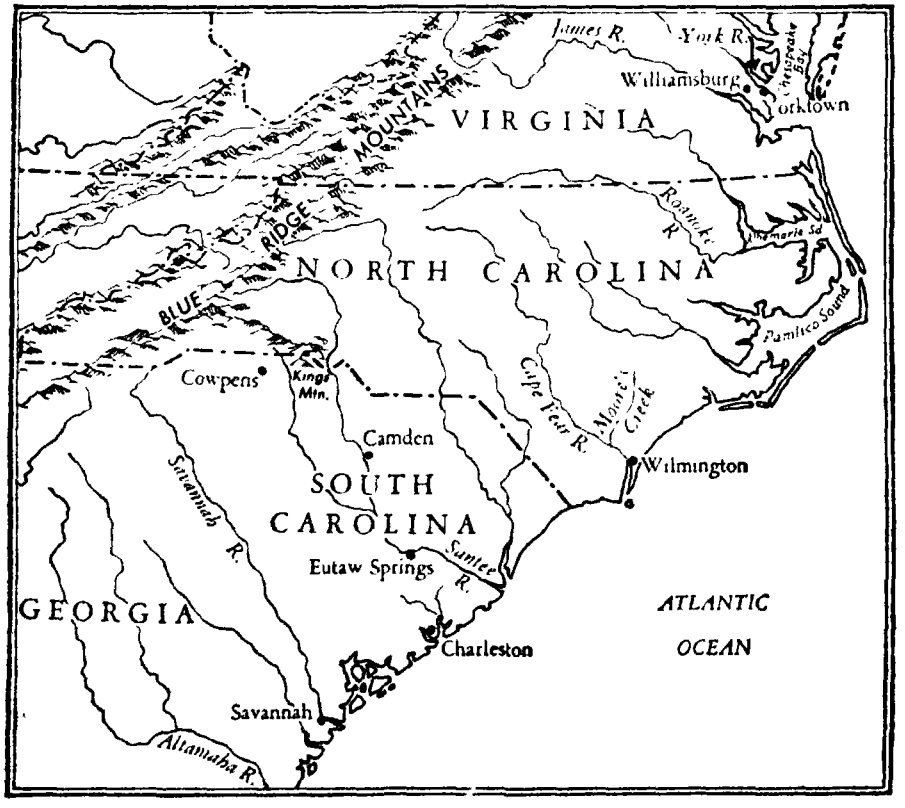


SOUTHERN CAMPAIGNS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

peake Bay to co-operate with the land forces in an attack on the British. Washington accepted this proposal and made plans to join Lafayette in Virginia. For about a year there had been a French army and a squadron of French warships at Newport, Rhode Island, which had been evacuated by the British in 1779. The land troops under the command of Count Rochambeau now left Newport and marched overland to join Washington, while the naval unit later sailed to Chesapeake Bay to reinforce Count de Grasse's fleet. Leaving a considerable force near New York to watch Clinton, Washington started early in August (1781) on his long march to Virginia with about six thousand men, the greater portion of whom consisted of the French reserves from Newport. For a while Clinton considered the movements in the American camp as preliminary to an attack on New York. He was so preoccupied with plans for meeting this expected attack that he did not discover Washington's real purpose until the advance southward was well under way. In due course the American and French soldiers from the north joined their comrades in Virginia, and Cornwallis with seven thousand men was now besieged by an army more than twice as large, about one half of which consisted of French soldiers.

Early in September Count De Grasse came into Chesapeake Bay with a fleet of twenty-eight ships of the line. He was now in a position to prevent Cornwallis's escape by water. The fate of the British army at Yorktown was therefore sealed unless the British navy could gain superiority in Chesapeake Bay. Clinton made an effort to save Cornwallis by dispatching Admiral Graves with his war vessels to the Chesapeake. A battle was fought between the two fleets at the entrance of the Bay (September 5) in which the British fleet sustained the greater losses. Five days later the French fleet was strengthened by new arrivals from Newport which gave it an overwhelming superiority over its antagonist. The British admiral, therefore, sailed for New York and left the French fleet in undisputed control of the Virginia waters. In a second effort to save Cornwallis, Clinton left New York for Yorktown with an army and forty-four British ships; but when the expedition reached the mouth of the Bay he learned that Cornwallis had surrendered nine days earlier.

Cut off as he was from all outside assistance, Cornwallis soon realized that his position had become critical. With the capture of two redoubts by the French and Americans he gave up all hope of escape and on October 19, 1781, surrendered his entire army.[1] This victory was a decision in favor of the success of the Franco-American

[1] The total number of British soldiers and seamen surrendered was 8000.

allies in the war, although it was more than a year before hostilities ceased and nearly two years before the definitive treaty of peace was signed.

## PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

*American commissioners; their instructions*

Negotiations for peace began in the spring of 1782. Before the victory at Yorktown, Congress had appointed five commissioners who were to go to Paris and carry on negotiations with British representatives. The active members of the commission were John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and John Jay.[1] Congress had acted with its accustomed timidity in giving instructions to these envoys. They were to ask for the Mississippi as the western boundary of the United States, but were not to insist upon this request as an absolute condition of agreement. They were instructed to keep Vergennes, the French foreign minister, informed of all their actions; to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without his knowledge and consent; and ultimately to govern themselves by his advice and opinion.

*Negotiations begun by Franklin*

The first steps in the negotiations were taken by Franklin, who in the spring of 1782 was in communication with Lord Shelburne, British Minister of the Colonies. As a result of this correspondence Lord Shelburne decided to send a special representative to Paris to treat with Franklin. For this important service he chose Richard Oswald, a Scottish merchant who had financial interests in America and was on cordial terms with Franklin. At this time Adams was at The Hague engaged in what proved to be successful negotiations with the Dutch government, and Jay was at Madrid chafing under the difficulties he was encountering in his futile attempt to win Spanish recognition of American independence. Franklin began at once to confer with Oswald, and a good start toward the formulation of peace terms had been made before Jay and Adams arrived at Paris.

*The French proposal as to the West*

The American commissioners were resolved to make a strong fight for the Mississippi River as the western boundary of the United States. This purpose ran counter to the plans of Spain, which had designs on a portion of the western territory. Count Vergennes was therefore in the embarrassing position of having to decide between the conflicting claims of the allies of France. His private secretary offered as a solution of the problem the division of the trans-Allegheny region into two parts—the portion north of the Ohio

[1] Thomas Jefferson and Henry Laurens were also included in the list of commissioners, but neither of them took part in the negotiations. Jefferson did not go to Paris, and Laurens, who had been captured by the British and later released, did not arrive at Paris until two days before the preliminary treaty was signed.

River to go to England and that south of it to remain in the possession of the Indians. Some of this Indian territory would be under the protection of the United States and the remainder under that of Spain. This proposal was very unsatisfactory to the American commissioners, who were unwilling to accept the Allegheny Mountains as the western boundary of their country. One motive which prompted Vergennes to make this suggestion was the wish to satisfy the claims of Spain. Another possible incentive was the fear that the new republic in possession of the western lands might become a menacing rival of France. On the other hand, Lord Shelburne was willing to allow the claims of the United States to the Northwest. Affairs had thus taken the strange turn of placing America's enemy in support of her demands and her ally in opposition to them.

*The preliminary treaty between England and the United States*

Because of his unhappy experiences in Madrid, Jay had come to Paris with a bad taste in his mouth and with a prejudice against European courts in general. Out of such a feeling there easily grew in his mind a suspicion of the motives of Vergennes, and this distrust was aggravated by the apparent preference for Spain which the French minister had shown on the western question. Jay thought he saw in the proposal of Vergennes' secretary a willingness to sacrifice American to Spanish and French interests. He was resolved, therefore, to disregard his instructions and enter upon secret negotiations with the English authorities. Adams was in hearty accord with the plan and Franklin gave reluctant assent to it, although he did not share Jay's suspicions regarding Vergennes.

*The final treaty*

The British foreign office gladly seized this opportunity to encourage dissension between the two allies and soon came to an agreement with the United States. A preliminary treaty was signed (November 30, 1782), but it was not to go into effect until after France had come to terms with England. After this had been done the final treaty was signed (September 3, 1783). The definitive treaty was substantially the same as the preliminary treaty except that the latter contained a secret clause not found in the former. This clause provided that if some power other than England should receive the Floridas in the final treaties, the boundary between the United States and West Florida should be the thirty-first parallel; but if England should get West Florida the boundary between it and the United States would be a line drawn due east from the mouth of the Yazoo River to the Apalachicola River.

By the terms of the treaty the independence of the American republic was recognized and it was given a generous allotment of territory. Under the boundaries specified in the treaties the United States would extend from the Atlantic on the east to the Mississippi

on the west; and from the Canadian border on the north to the northern boundary of East and West Florida on the south. Unfortunately, however, the young confederacy was cut off by the Spanish possessions from the Gulf of Mexico and the mouth of the Mississippi River. The Mississippi was to be open to both English and American ships; but as Spain owned both banks of the river in its lower reaches there was no guarantee that this provision could be carried out. American fishermen were given the right to ply their trade on the banks of Newfoundland and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, as they had done in colonial days.

In winning such liberal terms for their country the American envoys could claim a great diplomatic victory, for they had secured virtually all their demands. They had, however, positively disobeyed their instructions in signing a separate treaty without the knowledge and consent of Vergennes. They had also violated the spirit of the Franco-American alliance, although they had kept within the letter of the agreement with France in that the preliminary treaty would not go into effect until France and England had signed a treaty. In a letter of protest to Franklin, Vergennes indicated his displeasure at the way in which the American commissioners had acted. Franklin in a weak reply contended that since the preliminary treaty was not to be effective until England and France had made peace, no commitment had been violated and that he and his colleagues had been guilty only of a failure to observe the proprieties.

*Attitude of Congress toward the treaty*

The treaty was ratified by a unanimous vote of Congress. A majority of the members, however, were inclined to blame the commissioners for having disregarded their instructions in signing the preliminary treaty without the knowledge of Vergennes. Many of them disapproved also of the inclusion of a secret clause in the provisional treaty.

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10. Soldier and Civilian (in the Revolution).—E. B. Greene, *The Revolutionary Generation*, ch. 10.
11. Hospitals and Prison Ships.—C. K. Bolton, *The Private Soldier Under Washington*, ch. 8.
12. The Peace Negotiations.—A. C. McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution*, chs. 1-2; J. W. Foster, *A Century of American Diplomacy*, ch. 2; for the text of the treaties see W. M. Malloy, comp., *Treaties, Conventions, etc., between the United States and Other Powers*, I, pp. 580-584 (provisional treaty); I, pp. 586-590 (definitive treaty). See also Pease and Roberts, pp. 159-162.

# CHAPTER VIII

# *The Period of the Confederation*

## Political Changes during the Revolution

*The American Revolution not a violent social upheaval*

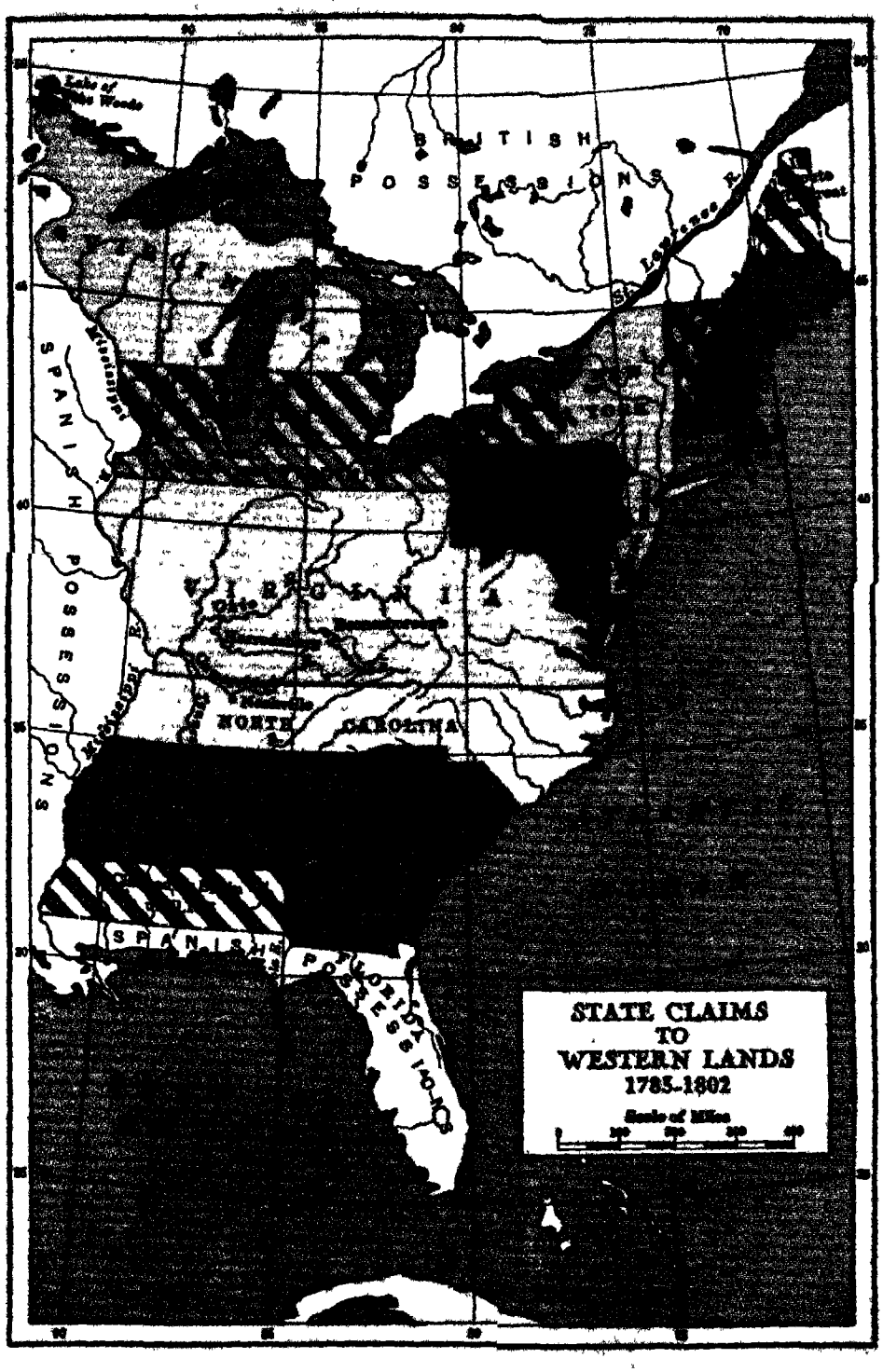
THE revolution in America did not cause an upheaval in the social order such as did the French Revolution. It did, however, bring about some important changes not only in the political and economic system but also in the institutions and ideals of the people.

*The new state governments*

With the breaking of the bonds which held them to the homeland, the colonies—now commonwealths—had to put their political systems on a new basis. Even before independence was declared, steps had been taken toward the adoption of state constitutions, and by the spring of 1777 every state had organized a commonwealth government. In Connecticut and Rhode Island the liberal colonial charters were accepted as state constitutions, and the new governments were a continuation of the old. In every other state a new constitution was adopted. The differences between the new and old governmental systems were fewer than their similarities. In each case the colonial framework was used, and the changes made were mainly in the nature of repairs. Such innovations as were brought in were based on experience and the ideas advanced by the French and English philosophers, especially Montesquieu and Locke. In these new constitutions the legislature had a more important place than the executive. The reason for this was that in the controversies immediately preceding the Revolution the assemblies had generally championed the rights of the people, whereas the royal governors had upheld the privileges of the crown. There was therefore a general impression that the interests of the people would be safer in the hands of the legislature than in those of the executive.

*Bills of rights*

From John Locke and the French writers was derived the idea that all persons are entitled to certain natural rights which cannot be infringed by government. These, together with the prescriptive rights enjoyed by all Englishmen, include the right of trial by jury, the enjoyment of freedom of the press and worship, and exemption from unjustifiable search, unreasonable bail and fines, and cruel punishments. In most of the constitutions these principles were listed


BRITISH
POSSESSIONS
SPANISH
POSSESSIONS
VIRGINIA
NORTH
CAROLINA
SPANISH
POSSESSIONS
FLORIDA
STATE CLAIMS
TO
WESTERN LANDS
1785-1802

in bills of rights which appeared as prefaces to or as separate articles in the constitutions. These high ideals, of course, were not fully realized, but they did exert some influence on actual government. It was probably due to the liberal principles proclaimed in the bills of rights that there was in some of the states a slight lowering of the qualifications for voting, but in none of the original thirteen commonwealths was universal manhood suffrage allowed at this time.

*The Second Continental Congress*

At the beginning of the war the Second Continental Congress came into being, and it was the organ of the general government from May, 1775, to March, 1781. This congress was a revolutionary body and did not rest on a constitutional basis. What authority it was able to exercise it owed to the willingness of the states to yield certain of their powers to the union.

*The Articles of Confederation framed and adopted*

The exigencies of war called for a closer union than was possible under a general government which was not supported by constitutional authority. Early in the struggle, therefore, it was felt that a Federal constitution should be adopted. With Lee's resolution for independence, offered on June 7, 1776, there was coupled the motion "that a plan of confederation be prepared and transmitted to the respective Colonies for their consideration and approbation." A few days later a committee of thirteen, one from each colony, was chosen to draw up a constitution. On July 12 the committee, of which John Dickinson, now of Delaware, was chairman, reported to Congress a scheme of government.

*Reasons for the delay in ratification*

The proposal of the committee was taken up by Congress and debated from time to time, with the result that some changes were made in the original draft. The plan as thus amended was agreed to by Congress on November 15, 1777. This delay was due to the stress of other business and the interruptions caused by the war. The new frame of government, known as the Articles of Confederation, was submitted to the states with the provision that it would go into effect when accepted by the legislatures of all of them. Most of the states ratified it within the following year, but Maryland withheld her assent until March 1, 1781. She had refused to act more promptly because of her apprehensions regarding the states which had claims to Western territory. If the Western lands were retained by the states which claimed them, these states would soon become so important that those not favored with such possessions would be dwarfed into comparative insignificance. A political union composed of commonwealths differing so greatly in area and population would be a partnership of giants and pygmies, and the latter might fare badly from the association. By March, 1781, Maryland's fears on this score were abated because New York had surrendered to the Con-

federation her claims to Western lands, and it was expected that the other six states which had rights in the West would follow her example.

*Nature of the government under the Articles of Confederation*

The union was not materially strengthened by the adoption of the Articles of Confederation. The states retained their sovereignty and were insistent upon their rights, whereas the general government had only such authority as was delegated to it and it was not implemented with sufficient powers. The states as the successors of the colonies were rooted in historic tradition, whereas the Confederation was a new and artificial arrangement. Besides, it was in defense of their right of local autonomy (states' rights) that the colonies had separated from the British empire. The people, therefore, were resolved not to run into the same danger by placing the states under the control of a new empire of their own making.

*Administrative departments*

Since executive, as well as legislative and judicial, functions were to be performed by Congress and its agents, there were no specific provisions for the enforcement of Federal laws, but Congress was free to create such administrative machinery as it might deem necessary or useful. During the greater part of the war the executive authority of Congress was exercised largely through committees. But this procedure proved unsatisfactory, and in the early part of 1781 provision was made for the creation of four administrative departments. The heads of these new departments were the Superintendent of Finance, Secretary of War, Secretary of Marine, and Secretary of Foreign Affairs. This plan was continued after the adoption of the Articles of Confederation, and in this way the foundations were laid for the executive departments the heads of which now partly constitute the Cabinet.

*Powers of Congress*

The powers of Congress included the "right and power of determining on peace and war"; "of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances"; of establishing rules for deciding upon the legality of captures on land and water and the manner of disposing of prizes taken by the land and naval forces; of "appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas"; and of establishing admiralty courts for the trial of appeals from state admiralty courts in all cases of captures. There was also an awkward arrangement for the settlement of disputes between the states. These last-mentioned clauses constituted the only provisions in the Articles for the establishment of a Federal judiciary.

*No amendments to the Articles of Confederation*

Under the Articles of Confederation each state had one vote in Congress, and many important measures required the assent of nine states. Amendments to the constitution proposed by Congress could not go into effect until ratified by the legislatures of all the states.

When the Articles of Confederation were put into effect the strain of actual practice revealed certain defects of a serious nature. These were virtually all due to a lack of authority on the part of the general government, which did not rest directly on the people but on the states. Some of the weaknesses which soon appeared were the dependence of the inadequate executive on the legislature, the absence of a well-organized Federal judiciary, and the inability of Congress to levy taxes and regulate interstate and foreign commerce. These defects might have been remedied but for the unwise provision for changing the constitution, which virtually ruled out the possibility of amendment. All amendments proposed by Congress failed of ratification—in one case by the adverse vote of only one state legislature.[1]

The framers of this constitution expected the union under it to be perpetual, whereas it lasted less than a decade. If the scheme of government had included a suitable plan for future adjustments, it might have become permanent; but this attempt to fit a changing society into a fixed mold was doomed to failure. To the growing young republic the constitution soon became a strait jacket instead of a comfortable suit of clothes.

## ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE REVOLUTION

*The destructive effects of the war not great*

The war did not bring about a serious change in the economic life of the American people. Its destructive effects were small as compared with those of the Civil War and the two world wars. Except for the first few months, New England was only slightly touched by the war. A good deal of the fighting was carried on in the Middle states, but even in this region farming was not seriously interrupted by the occupation of the enemy or by the military engagements. The South suffered most from the ravages of war; this section was for two years subject to enemy raids in which slaves were taken away and property was destroyed.

*How the war was financed*

One of the most serious problems that confronted Congress in the management of the war was that of raising the funds necessary for its support. Money for financing the war was raised from four main sources: requisitions on the states; domestic loans; foreign aids and loans; and bills of credit, or paper money.

*Requisitions on the states*

Since Congress could not raise revenue by taxation, it called on the states from time to time for specified contributions. These requisitions were only partially met, and the total amount so raised was

[1] In 1781 an attempt to amend the Articles for the purpose of giving Congress power to levy an import tax of five per cent to pay the national debt was defeated by the action of Rhode Island, although Virginia later withdrew her acceptance of the proposal.

about $6,000,000 (as measured in specie). In 1780 requisitions were made on the states for army supplies, such as corn, hay, and beef.

*Loans*

Funds were also obtained by the sale of bonds to the American people; but since there was very little free capital in the country, no great amount was realized in this way. The total amount brought in by the sale of domestic bonds was less than $9,000,000 in specie. The army officers at times took over food products and wagons and other means of transportation at an assessed valuation. As payment for these supplies was to be made in the future, these requisitions were in the nature of forced loans.

Before entering into an alliance with the United States, the French government had granted about $2,000,000 as aids to the insurgents, and the Spanish government had furnished a small amount. These advances were virtually gifts and were regarded as investments to encourage the rebels to continue the struggle with Britain. After the Franco-American Alliance was made, Spain loaned to the United States a small sum, and France, about $6,000,000. When victory seemed certain (1782), Dutch bankers made loans aggregating more than $1,000,000.

*Continental currency*

From these various sources there was derived about one third of the total amount spent on the war. For the remaining two thirds, Congress had to rely on bills of credit, or Continental currency. In June, 1775, bills of credit were issued to the amount of $2,000,000. This amount was greatly increased by later issues, and finally the figure of $241,000,000 was reached. Besides, the states issued additional paper money amounting to $200,000,000. The states were asked to raise a fund for redemption, and the obligation to redeem the Continental currency was apportioned among them according to population. Slight heed was paid to this demand, and the amount actually redeemed was inconsiderable. With such a volume of irredeemable paper money in circulation, rapid depreciation was a foregone conclusion. So great was the decline that by the middle of 1781 the Continental bills of credit had ceased to have any value and were no longer used as money.

*Inflation*

With the decline in the value of paper money the cost of goods increased correspondingly. There was thus a constant rise in prices, which promoted extravagance and speculation. The state legislatures all passed laws making the Continental currency a legal tender, receivable in the payment of bills and debts. Taking advantage of this situation, dishonest debtors pursued their fleeing creditors and paid them "without mercy." Cheap money was also very unfair to all who were dependent upon salaries for support. Although the paper money gave rise to the usual evils of inflation, it was a necessary

evil, for without it the means of financing the war could not have been obtained.

*Effect of the war on commerce*

The war had an important effect on commerce and industry. In the early years intercourse between the new republic and Europe was greatly hampered by the British blockade and the nonimportation agreements. Consequently, the supply of goods which the Americans were accustomed to get from foreign lands was markedly reduced. The country as a whole suffered from these deprivations, and the soldiers especially were subjected to hardships by the shortage in imported woolen cloth. As the war progressed, American and neutral ships learned how to evade the British patrols, and thus some of the channels of trade were kept open. But this foreign trade had to follow circuitous routes and was subject to numerous British attacks. Because of these hazards and inconveniences, the insurance and freight rates were high. Despite these drawbacks, however, by 1777 foreign commerce had revived and was carried on to a considerable extent until the end of the war.

*A new postal system*

With the Revolutionary War there came the independence of the colonial postal system. War could not be carried on with any degree of success with the chief means of communication under the control of the enemy. Congress therefore passed an act (July 26, 1775) creating a post office department which would have charge of the distribution of mail throughout the country. Benjamin Franklin, who for many years had successfully administered the colonial postal system, was made Postmaster General, with headquarters at Philadelphia. Postal rates and the salaries of employees were fixed by law, and Congress assumed financial responsibility for the management of the system. On assuming this new task Franklin acted with his accustomed energy and efficiency, and when at the end of 1776 he left the country for France the new postal system was well established. The Royal Mail Service continued in operation for some months, however, and was not formally closed until Christmas Day, 1775.

*Effect of the war on agriculture and industry*

Soon after hostilities began, the country went through a period of hard times. As a result of the activity of the British fleet, fishing and shipbuilding, which had been important businesses in the North, could not be carried on profitably. Certain types of agriculture were also discouraged. The bounty on indigo was withdrawn, and the favors shown in England to tobacco grown in colonial America were canceled. On the other hand, agriculture was improved by the advanced ideas and methods brought in by foreigners. On the whole the war helped rather than hindered industry. Because of the decrease in the supply of foreign goods, the home market was in large measure reserved to the American manufacturer. The war also

greatly increased the demand for certain manufactures, such as shoes and socks, woolen clothing, canvas for tents, and guns and ammunition. Since the paper money was constantly declining in value and prices were steadily rising, goods always found a ready sale. Furthermore, American industry had thrown off the restraints imposed on it by the imperial government and thus was free to develop along natural lines. Manufacturing was stimulated by these favorable circumstances, and new industries were established throughout the country.

*Effect of the Revolution on land policy*

The Revolution brought about some important changes in land policy. It abolished quitrents (small fees which had been imposed on landowners by the proprietors and the king) and thereby relieved the landowners of payments amounting to about one hundred thousand dollars a year. Public lands which had hitherto belonged to the crown were taken over by the states. A large portion of this land, as well as a number of great estates which had been seized from the Tories, was broken up into small tracts and sold to yeoman farmers. In this way the number of moderate-sized farms was considerably increased. Within a few years after the close of the Revolution, the practice of entailing land had been prohibited in most of the states and the law of primogeniture repealed in all of them.[1] These reforms prevented the tying up of estates for several generations and favored the equal distribution of landed property among all the children of a deceased parent. The effect of these changes was therefore to check the concentration of landownership in the hands of a few men and to forward the trend toward the subdivision of large estates into small farms.

*Effect on religious freedom*

One significant result of the Revolution was its effect on religious conditions. At the end of the colonial era, church and state were united in nine of the thirteen colonies (see pp. 76, 77). With the Revolution, however, there came a strong demand for a complete separation of church and state. In New Work, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia the church was disestablished early in the war. In New England[2] and Virginia separation was effected only after a long fight. The cause of religious equality was ably championed by such statesmen as Madison and Jefferson. A statute providing for complete separation of church and state was written by Jefferson and presented to the Virginia assembly, where Madison made a vigorous fight for it and succeeded in winning its passage at the end of 1785. This was a

[1] An entail was an estate that was limited to a particular class of heirs, and the holder of it could not sell or give it away. Under the law of primogeniture all the landed property of a father who died without a will went to the oldest son.

[2] Entire separation of church and state came in New Hampshire in 1817; in Connecticut, in 1818; in Massachusetts, in 1833.

great victory for religious freedom, and it established a principle which in a few years was embodied in the Federal Constitution in the form of the First Amendment.

*The Methodists in America*

The Revolution resulted in the ecclesiastical as well as the political independence of the American states. The Congregational Church at the time of its organization in America had severed the bond that held it to the mother country, and now other religious bodies broke their British connections. In the case of the Methodists the breaking of the home ties led to the formation of a new denomination. The Methodists did not begin religious activity in America until the pre-Revolutionary decade, but so great was their zeal that by 1771 their following numbered nearly five thousand. Most of the preachers were Englishmen sent over as missionaries by John Wesley, the founder of the movement. Wesley, however, had taken a stand against the Revolution and was greatly disliked by the Patriots. Hence the Methodists were regarded as enemy aliens or Tories and were subjected to fines, whippings, or imprisonments. All the missionaries returned to England except Francis Asbury, and he had to go into hiding for a time. In the beginning the Methodists were members of the Anglican Church, and for some time the movement was kept within the framework of that denomination. After the Revolution, however, the American Methodists broke away from the mother church and formed a separate ecclesiastical organization with Francis Asbury as their first bishop.

*Effect of the Revolution on religion and morality*

The American Revolution had a bad effect on morality and religion. Whereas all religious denominations suffered a decline, the Anglican Church was dealt the most serious blow. Not only was there a decided lowering of its spiritual fervor and influence, but it also sustained losses of a more tangible character. By disestablishment it had lost its main source of revenue. Moreover, many of its ministers had fallen into disfavor because of their adherence to the British cause. In a number of places churches were closed, and some of the rectors were unable to continue their work. Besides, the missionaries sent out by the Venerable Society were recalled, and their activities were discontinued. The Anglican Church had therefore suffered a great loss in prestige and membership throughout the entire country. Even in Virginia, which had been one of its few strongholds, the outlook was so discouraging that such prominent Episcopalians as Bishop Madison and John Marshall thought that the church was too far gone ever to be revived.

The dissenters had also suffered greatly—both spiritually and materially—from the ravages of war. The armies had destroyed many of their houses of worship and desecrated others. There had been a

decided cooling off in religious fervor among the Methodists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists. R. B. Semple, the historian of the Virginia Baptists, spoke of his coreligionists as follows: "With some few exceptions, the declension was general throughout the state. The love of many waxed cold. Some of the watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered at their posts."

*Effect on liberal sentiment*

The Revolution had an unfavorable effect on education, in that schools and colleges were forced to suspend their activities. It gave rise, however, to an antislavery sentiment which, together with favorable economic conditions, resulted in the immediate or gradual abolition of slavery in a large portion of the country. It increased the sentiment in favor of prison reform and in opposition to imprisonment for debt.

### DIPLOMATIC PROBLEMS

*Relations with England; controversy over the terms of the peace treaty*

An important problem confronting the new nation after independence was that of making the proper adjustments with foreign powers. The peace treaty had in itself the germs of controversy. It contained a clause promising that Congress would earnestly recommend to the state legislatures the enactment of such provisions as would lead to the restoration of the just rights of Tories, or Loyalists, whose property had been confiscated. English creditors were also to meet with no legal impediment to the full recovery of all debts hitherto contracted in America. Congress made the promised recommendation as to Tories, but only a few of the states endeavored to obey the injunction and these only to a limited extent. It was not until after the war of 1812 that all the laws against Tories had been repealed.

The pledge as to prewar debts was at first clearly violated. Laws were passed by state legislatures by which the collection of such debts was hampered. Congress sent a circular letter to the states urging them to repeal these statutes, and by 1789 most of the states had complied with this request. At that time all state laws in violation of the treaty were annulled by the new Constitution. The courts were now open to British creditors, and nothing but legal delays stood in the way of collection. These delays were so great, however, that it was considered necessary to insert in Jay's Treaty of 1794 (see p. 173) a clause providing for a mixed commission to pass upon all uncollected debts. This commission failed to agree, and a final settlement was made in 1802, when our government paid the British creditors a lump sum of 600,000 pounds "in complete satisfaction" of all debts, principal and interest.

Britain had promised in the treaty to withdraw her garrisons from American soil "with all convenient speed." In direct violation of this pledge, she maintained for twelve years seven military posts in the Northwest, south of the Canadian border. The excuse offered for the noncompliance with a plain commitment was that the Americans had violated the terms of the treaty—notably as to English debts and the treatment of Loyalists. But probably the real reason was the desire of the British traders to use these posts as centers for the promotion of the Canadian fur trade and for the control in their interest of the western Indians.

*Adams's unsuccessful mission*

In 1785 John Adams went as American minister to England with the hope of negotiating a commercial treaty with the British government, of persuading it to withdraw its troops from the western posts, and of securing an indemnity for slaves seized in America after the treaty had been signed. He was unable to make any progress toward these objectives, and he felt that the failure of his efforts in London had been due largely to the weakness of our general government. Since Congress did not have power to regulate foreign commerce or to retaliate if American rights were infringed, the British authorities felt that there was nothing to be gained for Britain by the acceptance, and nothing to be lost by the refusal, of a treaty of commerce with the United States.

*Relations with Spain: causes of dispute*

Out of the peace treaty there also developed disputes with Spain. In the final treaty between England and the United States it was stated that the boundary between Spanish West Florida and the United States should be the thirty-first parallel and that the Mississippi River should be free for the use of the nationals of both England and the United States. Spain would not accept these terms, contending that Great Britain had no authority to make such promises; for during the war West Florida had been seized by Spain, and thus was in her possession at the time the peace treaty was signed. She was at this time in undisputed possession of both sides of the Mississippi for two hundred miles and claimed virtually all the territory between Georgia and the Mississippi River as far north as the Cumberland River. Hence, she was in a position to control navigation on the "Father of Waters." She did not close the river to the Westerners but allowed them to use it only as a *privilege* to be granted under such terms and regulations as her own policy might dictate.

In the summer of 1785, negotiations were begun at Philadelphia between Don Diego Gardoqui, the Spanish chargé d'affaires, and John Jay, American Secretary for Foreign Affairs. Acting on the instructions of Congress, Jay tried to induce the Spanish minister to

agree to a commercial treaty, accept the thirty-first parallel as the northern boundary of West Florida, and grant to our citizens the right of free navigation of the Mississippi River. Not being able to get through so large an order, Jay asked for a change in his instructions authorizing him to waive for the United States its claim to the thirty-first parallel as the southern boundary and suspend for twenty-five or thirty years its demand for the right to navigate the Mississippi, provided he could obtain a favorable commercial treaty between the two countries. A proposal embodying this request was made in Congress but it met with so much opposition that it was withdrawn without a vote on it being taken. The Southern states opposed the suggested treaty because they still had Western lands and their representatives realized, more fully than did Jay and the Northerners generally, how impossible it would be to exclude the Westerners from the use of the Mississippi as an outlet for their produce.

### HARD TIMES

*Prosperity during the war*

During the war the American people enjoyed a considerable measure of prosperity, except in those regions which were overrun by the troops of the enemy. The needs of the American, French, and English armies created a home market for manufactures and farm products. Privateering was a source of profit for many shipowners and was thus a partial compensation for the loss of commerce. The gold and silver brought in by French and British soldiers furnished a plentiful currency. It was thought that still better times would be ushered in by peace. As a result of this expectation there came a brief period of prosperity and with it a season of extravagance. This artificial prosperity in a short time gave way to financial depression, and times were hard until about 1787.

*Causes of hard times after the war*

The long war had thrown the economic machinery out of gear and subjected the country to a severe financial strain. Commerce, agriculture, and industry had to adjust themselves to peace and independence. The break in the connection with a great commercial empire could not be effected without economic loss. Nor could the return to peace be made without a dislocation of the channels of business. Certain ports in the French and Spanish West Indies were open to American products and ships, but trade with these islands was handicapped by tax restrictions.

The greatest blow, however, to the prosperity of the new republic was struck by the commercial regulations of the British government. Fish oil and whale products were excluded from England, and this virtually ruined the American whaling industry, for England had

hitherto been the only market for these articles. Worse still were the new barriers to trade between the United States and the British West Indies. Prior to the Revolution, as has already been shown (see p. 65), trade with the British West Indies was an important factor in the economic prosperity of the Northern and Middle colonies. Since the American states were now no longer a part of the British empire, the British navigation laws generally operated against them as they did against other foreign nations, and therefore the trade between the United States and the British West Indies was narrowly restricted. The damage to American commerce caused by this policy was lessened by the easy access enjoyed by American seamen to the Dutch and Danish West Indian Islands, for these places were used by smugglers as back doors to the English islands.

*Restrictions on trade between the United States and the British West Indies*

That this narrowing of the West Indian outlet would hurt agriculture as well as commerce and fishing goes without saying. Agriculture was also discouraged in other ways. The home market, which had been expanded by war needs, was now contracted to prewar dimensions. As has already been seen, the stoppage of the bounty on indigo and the cessation of the favors shown in England to American tobacco led to a lowering in price of these articles. The infant manufacturing industries were crippled by the competition of the cheap foreign goods with which the country was now flooded.

The darkest period of the depression was reached in 1786. Next year conditions took a turn for the better, and hard times soon gave way to prosperity. The people had adjusted themselves to the new political and economic situation. Commerce had found its way back into the old channels, and a new trade had been opened up with the west coast of North America, China, and the East Indies. A shortage of crops in France created a greater demand in that country and in her West Indian colonies for American farm products. Agriculture was thus restored, and even industry revived and prospered.

*Prosperity returns; reasons*

The government of the Confederation was not responsible for the hard times. The fact, however, that the depression came under this government caused many people then, and some historians of later times, to blame the government for it. It was held that if the general government had been stronger it could have forced from foreign powers more favorable treatment in the form of trade concessions. Interstate commerce could have been regulated, and by a uniform tariff policy the infant industries might have received some protection against the products dumped upon the country by English manufacturers. Although there is some basis for this opinion,

*Alleged responsibility of the government for the hard times*

the economic shortcomings of the government of the Confederation have been greatly exaggerated. The new government under the present Constitution was fortunate enough to start off in a time of prosperity. It has, therefore, received too much credit for the good times, and the old government too much blame for the bad times.

### PAPER MONEY IN THE STATES AFTER THE REVOLUTION

*The demand for paper money: reasons*

By the end of the war, as has already been seen, the Continental currency had depreciated until it ceased to circulate as money. The country was, therefore, on a specie basis except in those states which still issued bills of credit. In the short boom period that came with peace, the extravagant buying of foreign goods by our people drained the country of much of its specie. Money, therefore, became scarce and prices fell. Farmers who had contracted debts when their produce brought a high price had now to pay these debts when their commodities were a drug on the market. By this condition of deflation, as it is called, creditors were benefitted, and debtors were injured and exploited. The proper remedy, a monetary system so regulated as to insure justice to both groups, was not worked out in any of the states.

During the period of hard times, farmers, laborers, small tradesmen, and debtors generally were unable to pay their debts and the heavy taxes that had been imposed upon them. Numerous foreclosures of mortgages resulted, and a great many people lost all their property, while many were thrown into prison for debt. From this distressed portion of the population there went up a cry for relief. The malcontents demanded "stay laws," which would declare a moratorium on debts; reforms in the courts which would make the dispensing of justice less costly; and paper money, which would have the effect of scaling down debts by depreciation.

*Shays's Rebellion*

In Massachusetts the evils of deflation seem to have gone to the greatest lengths. Farmers, because of the narrowing of the West Indian outlet, could not find a market for their produce and were staggering under unbearable debt burdens, and creditors were demanding their pound of flesh. Justice was slow and costly, and the privileged class which controlled the state government had shifted too great a proportion of the tax burden on to the shoulders of the farmers and laborers. Since some of the money so raised went to pay off the state's indebtedness, it found its way into the pockets of speculators who had bought up the state's paper at a low figure. The debtor and poorer class was becoming desperate.

A feverish discontent arose among the common people, which

expressed itself in town meetings, county conventions, and petitions to the legislature. They asked for a scaling down of the public debt, a lessening of the privileges of the propertied class, reforms in the judiciary and tax system, and relief for debtors in the form of paper money. The legislature refused to accede to these demands, and mob violence was the result. Courts were prevented from holding their sessions by infuriated groups of farmers, laborers, and mechanics. The insurgents, led by Daniel Shays, a veteran of the Revolutionary War, were suppressed in the winter of 1787 by state troops sent out by Governor Bowdoin under command of General Benjamin Lincoln.

### THE WESTERN PROBLEM

*State claims to western territory*

The lands west of the Appalachian Mountains were claimed by the states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The right of New York to a share of the western area was based on her suzerainty over the Iroquois, who had at times exercised a sort of authority over some of the Indian tribes as far west as the Mississippi. The other states traced their titles to the grants made to them by royal charters when they were colonies. Since these grants overlapped, the claims of some of the states conflicted with those of others. These titles were of doubtful validity because the British government, by extending the limits of Quebec down to the Ohio (1774), had virtually repudiated them. For this reason France and Spain, during the Revolution, took the position that these claims had been canceled by the Quebec Act (see p. 98 n.). Virginia, however, had strengthened her title by the conquest of the Northwest under the leadership of George Rogers Clark, since this expedition had been sent out by her authority. Maryland, on the other hand, contended that Clark's success was made possible by the joint action of all the colonies in opposing the British forces in the East and therefore that the West should belong to all the colonies jointly.

*The Land Ordinance of 1785*

In 1780 New York yielded to the Confederation her shadowy rights in the West. The other states followed her example, although it was not until 1802 that all the cessions were made. With the acquisition of these western lands there arose two new problems for Congress. First, it had to decide upon a policy for the disposal of the land to individuals; and, second, it had to devise a plan of government for the settlers. To discharge the first of these two responsibilities Congress adopted the Land Ordinance of 1785, which had been proposed by a committee of which Thomas

Jefferson was chairman. According to this plan considerable areas were to be surveyed from time to time and divided into rectangular tracts of six miles square, each tract to be known as a township. Each township was to be divided into thirty-six squares (or sections) of 640 acres each, the sixteenth section in every township being reserved for the use of schools. After surveys had been made, the land was to be put up at auction and sold to the highest bidder. The minimum amount that could be bought was one section, and the minimum price was to be one dollar per acre, which was to be paid in cash. To buy the minimum amount of land therefore required at least $640 in cash. Since few actual settlers could raise such a large sum, little land was sold except to speculators, who could cut up their holdings into small tracts and sell them to settlers on credit.

*Land sale to the Company of Ohio Associates*

The government was sorely in need of money and was eager to dispose of as much land as possible. It was willing, therefore, to sell large amounts to companies at bargain prices. Of the groups of buyers who took advantage of this situation, the most noted was the Company of Ohio Associates, made up of Revolutionary veterans from New England who held certificates of indebtedness issued by Congress. The Reverend Manasseh Cutler, as agent for the company, bought from Congress about 1,500,000 acres for $1,000,000, to be paid in certificates of indebtedness worth about twelve cents on the dollar.

*A settlement made at Marietta*

The Ohio Company at once proceeded to occupy its vast domain. In the spring of 1788 a group of settlers under the leadership of General Rufus Putnam started to build the town of Marietta, the first authorized settlement north of the Ohio. True to the New England tradition, they made provision for education and religion by reserving one section in every township for the support of schools and one for the support of churches.

*The Ordinance of 1787*

Before the land sale to the Ohio Company had been consummated, Congress had passed (1787) an act for the government of the Northwest Territory—a vast area lying between the Ohio River and the boundary of Pennsylvania on the east; the Mississippi on the west; the Ohio on the south; and the Canadian border on the north.

*The bill of rights*

The Ordinance consisted of governmental provisions and a bill of rights. The latter was similar to the bills of rights in the constitutions of the old states. The inhabitants were guaranteed freedom of worship, the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and exemption from unusual and cruel punishments. Private contracts were not to be interfered with, judicial pro-

ceedings were to be in accordance with the common law, and no one was to be deprived of life, liberty, or property "but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land." There was to be no slavery or involuntary servitude in the entire territory.

*Governmental provisions*

The whole region was to be governed temporarily as one district but later would be divided into not less than three nor more than five prospective states. The Territory was to pass through three governmental stages. In the first stage, laws were to be made and administered by a governor and three judges, who would be appointed by Congress. There was also to be a secretary appointed by Congress. The people would have no voice whatever in the government during this first stage, but this period of autocratic rule was to last only until the district should attain a population of 5000 adult males. Then there would be a legislature, consisting of a lower house chosen by the people, and an upper house, the members of which would be selected by Congress on nomination of the lower house of the territorial legislature. At this stage the Territory could send a delegate to Congress, who could not vote but could take part in the deliberations of that body.

Whenever there should be, in any one of the three or five districts into which the Territory was to be divided, a free population of 60,000, that district was to be admitted into the Union as a state with all the rights and privileges of the older states.

The Ordinance of 1787 inaugurated a policy in the government of our territories which has been followed in principle ever since. It was a decision to treat the new area not as a colonial dependency but as an integral part of the country. It meant that the settlers in the West were to have from the beginning all the rights of citizenship enjoyed by the inhabitants of the older states, and that ultimately the new states to be carved out of the Northwest Territory would be put on the basis of political equality with the Original Thirteen. This wise decision settled at once—and in the right way—the problem as to whether the United States should or should not have a colonial system.

The Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 were the most noted pieces of legislation enacted by the Congress of the Confederation. When the latter measure was passed by Congress meeting in New York, a convention in session in Philadelphia was framing a constitution to supersede the Articles of Confederation. The old Congress was in its last years and had fallen into decrepitude. Many of the members had lost interest in its proceedings and were absenting themselves from its sessions. When

the Northwest Ordinance was passed, only eighteen members were present and only eight states were represented. The enactment of these two ordinances was a remarkable achievement for so weak a body. Indeed it is surprising that the old Congress was able to prop itself up on its deathbed and pass these two important measures.

### THE CREATION OF NEW STATES IN THE WEST

*Vermont*

No new states were admitted into the Union during the Confederation period, but steps were taken which later led to the formation of three new commonwealths. The first of these was Vermont. About 1763, pioneers from Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut began to move into the Green Mountain region, and, by the outbreak of the Revolution, the emigrants that had gone there numbered thirty thousand or more. They occupied lands which had been granted by the governor of New Hampshire. Both New Hampshire and New York claimed jurisdiction over these settlers, and the claim of New York was confirmed by the Privy Council in England.

When the colonies separated from the mother country, the "Green Mountain Boys," as the Vermont frontiersmen were called, determined to form a new state. This movement was led by Ethan Allen and his brothers, who felt that their large landholdings would be more secure under separate statehood. In 1777 a democratic constitution was adopted and a government was organized for the new commonwealth, which was appropriately called Vermont (*Vermont* means *green mountain*). For fear of antagonizing New York, Congress refrained from recognizing the new state during the Confederation period; but after New York had surrendered her rights (1790), Vermont was admitted into the Union as the fourteenth state (February 18, 1791).

*Discontent in Watauga and Transylvania*

During the Revolutionary War the settlements in east Tennessee (Watauga) and central Kentucky (Transylvania) had grown in numbers and importance. As has already been seen (see pp. 59, 60), Watauga had been brought under the jurisdiction of North Carolina, and Transylvania under that of Virginia; but in each case these western communities were separated from the eastern portion of the state by mountain barriers and wide stretches of wilderness. Under such conditions it was virtually impossible for the seaboard authorities to provide them with a just and efficient government. The frontiersmen complained that too much of the land had been monopolized by land-grabbers, that adequate measures for defense were not provided, and that in general the laws under which they lived were not suited to local conditions. They,

therefore, wanted the right to govern themselves, and this desire took the form of a demand for separate statehood.

*The Westerners insist on the right to use the Mississippi*

The Kentuckians, as well as the Tennesseeans, felt that the use of the Mississippi as an outlet to market was necessary to prevent the strangulation of their economic life. Farm products, whiskey, and other articles that the people had for sale were loaded on flatboats and floated down the tributaries of the Ohio and then on that stream and the Mississippi to New Orleans. Here the commodities were sold or stored for export, and the flatboat was broken up and disposed of for lumber. Most of the products of the Westerners were too bulky and heavy to be transported across the mountains on pack horses to eastern towns, and for such wares New Orleans was the only accessible market. The Westerners, therefore, insisted on the free use of the Mississippi, and the failure of Congress to secure this right from Spain caused great dissatisfaction among them.

*Kentucky admitted into the Union*

Virginia more than once generously offered Kentucky permission to separate from the mother state. But partly because state consciousness had developed slowly here and partly because of obstacles that arose from time to time, the offers were not promptly accepted, and it was not until 1792 that Kentucky was finally admitted into the Union as the fifteenth state.

*The "State of Franklin"*

The settlers of east Tennessee became state conscious more quickly than did those of Kentucky. North Carolina in 1784 ceded her western lands to the Union on certain conditions. Since these conditions were not complied with by Congress, she recalled the cession and re-asserted her authority over the Watauga settlements. In the meantime the people here, under the leadership of John Sevier, had organized a separate government and given their new state the name of Franklin. North Carolina regarded this movement as an act of rebellion and made a vigorous effort to put a stop to it. After considerable difficulty her authority over the obstreperous pioneers was restored, but in 1789 the territory was for a second time ceded to the Union.

*Tennessee admitted into the Union*

By this time other settlements had been made. Nashboro (Nashville) on the Cumberland River had been founded by James Robertson (1779), and Knoxville was established a decade later. The Southwest Territory was organized in 1790, and William Blount was appointed by Washington as its first governor. Population grew rapidly in the Southwest Territory, and by 1796 the state of Tennessee was carved out of it and admitted into the Union.

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8. Effect of the Revolution on Thought and Feeling.—J. F. Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement*, ch. 4.
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14. The Ordinance of 1787.—McLaughlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-122. (For text of the Ordinance see Commager, *Documents*, I, pp. 128-132, or Pease and Roberts, pp. 170-176.)
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# CHAPTER IX

# *The Creation of a New Government*

## THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION

*The Annapolis Convention*

DURING the half-decade following the close of the Revolutionary War there was a growing dissatisfaction with the government of the Confederation because of the commercial and financial confusion and the general instability of conditions throughout the country. This discontent was strongest among the upper classes, who dominated economic, social, and political life in the states. There soon arose, therefore, among the leaders of these classes an agitation in favor of giving more power to the Federal government. The first important step toward converting this sentiment into action was taken by the Annapolis Convention. Through the influence of Madison, the legislature of Virginia issued an invitation to all the states to send commissioners to Annapolis to consider in joint meeting the problem of uniform commercial regulations among the states. At the appointed time (September 11, 1786) commissioners from five states appeared at Annapolis. In view of the meager representation, the convention took no action with reference to the regulation of commerce but unanimously adopted a resolution urging all the states to appoint delegates to a convention to be held at Philadelphia on the second Monday of May, 1787, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union."

Virginia, and then other states, accepted this invitation, and the movement soon made such headway that Congress decided to take action. Accordingly, it passed a resolution (February 21, 1787) calling a meeting at the time and place suggested by the Annapolis Convention, "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." All amendments that might be offered by this convention were to be reported to Congress and the various state legislatures for their acceptance or rejection.

The states which had not already acted (except Rhode Island, which had no share in the work of constitution-making) now

*The Constitutional Convention; membership*

chose delegates to the proposed convention. The total number of delegates selected was seventy-four, but only fifty-five were in actual attendance. Some of these were absent for a good portion of the time, and only thirty-nine signed the finished document. Most of the deputies were college-trained, and a few, like Franklin, were self-educated. A large majority of them had had practical experience in governmental affairs as administrative officials or as members of Congress or state legislatures. The delegates, in the main, belonged to the wealthy and educated classes and were aristocratic and conservative in their political opinions. Moreover, their conservatism had been accentuated by Shays's Rebellion and other recent disorders. They had a firm belief in the sanctity of property and felt that a stabilized government, state and Federal, would be favorable to the growth of commerce and industry and in that way would promote the prosperity of the wealthy classes and the people generally. They were therefore in general agreement as to the desirability of establishing a political system which would not only safeguard liberty but would also protect property. There was, however, a marked difference of opinion among the members as to what plan of government would best serve these ends. One group advocated a strong Federal government, whereas another leaned heavily toward states' rights.

*Outstanding leaders:*

Outstanding among the leaders of the former group were Washington and Madison of Virginia, James Wilson of Pennsylvania, and Alexander Hamilton of New York. The most illustrious member of the Convention, Washington, was at the height of his fame at that time and was easily the most noted man in the Western Hemisphere. Since he was president of the body, he did not participate in the debates. He appeared only once or twice on the floor—and then spoke very briefly—but he took a deep interest in the proceedings and voted as a member of the Virginia delegation.

*Washington*

*James Madison*

Although less conspicuous than some of his colleagues, James Madison proved to be the most effective member of the Convention. He was thirty-six years of age and had had considerable experience in the art of government as a member of Congress and the legislature of Virginia. He was not a brilliant orator but was a clear thinker and a logical debater. Next to Madison in the work of the Convention came James Wilson of Pennsylvania. He had served a number of years in Congress, had signed the Declaration of Independence, and now at the age of forty-five was one of the ablest lawyers in America. Two other prominent members were Franklin and Alexander Hamilton, although neither exerted the influence in the Convention that would be expected in view of Franklin's pre-

*James Wilson*

*Franklin and Hamilton*

vious record and Hamilton's later career. Franklin's eighty-odd years had taken toll of his vigor, and Hamilton's extreme nationalism—considered unreasonable by his colleagues—handicapped his usefulness.

The opponents of nationalism could also point to able leaders. Members of this group who deserve particular mention were: William Paterson of New Jersey, a good debater, who had been a member of the Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and for eleven years attorney general of his state; and Roger Sherman of Connecticut, an able politician of sound judgment, who had been in succession a shoemaker, almanac-maker, lawyer, and judge. These and the other leaders who stood against nationalism did not act merely as obstructionists but performed a valuable service in the framing of the Constitution. By their opposition they kept the trend toward centralization from going to such lengths as to sacrifice unduly the powers of the states. Their insistence upon the rights of the states led to certain compromises but for which the Constitution might not have been accepted.

*William Paterson*

*Roger Sherman*

The Convention was organized May 25, 1787, with Washington as the unanimous choice for president. Rules of procedure were adopted, one of which pledged the members to the strictest secrecy. The debates were thus free from the influence of outside clamor. Each state had one vote, which was determined by the voice of a majority of its representatives. Important questions were thoroughly debated and opinions were molded by discussion to a greater extent than is customary with parliamentary bodies. The comparative smallness of the Convention and the absence of the motive for speaking for the effect on listening constituencies made for helpful discussion. The secretary was not efficient, and the record kept by him was meager and unsatisfactory. Fortunately we have a much fuller and better account in the notes which Madison took from day to day. In addition to these two sources of information we have brief accounts by other delegates, and scraps of information which have been gleaned from the letters and speeches of members.[1]

*Organization of the Convention*

While waiting for latecomers to arrive at Philadelphia, the Virginia delegation had daily meetings and agreed upon a set of resolutions which were to be offered as the basis of the new constitution. These resolutions, which were probably written by Madison, were presented to the Convention by Governor Edmund Randolph, who made a brilliant speech showing the need of a strong government.

*The Virginia Plan*

[1] In 1819 the seal of secrecy was broken when by order of Congress the official account of the secretary was published. Madison's *Notes* were published in 1840. These two collections and other important sources can be found in Max Farrand's *The Records of the Federal Convention of 1787* (3 volumes, 1911).

The scheme of government embodied in them was known as the Virginia, or Randolph, Plan. It provided for an effective general government, one that would be favorable to the large states, since there was to be proportional representation in both houses of the Federal legislature. This plan was discussed at great length, and a number of important revisions and additions were made in the original resolutions. The Randolph Plan, after having been thus hammered into shape, became the basis of the Constitution of the United States.

*The New Jersey Plan*

The delegates from the small states were opposed to the Randolph Plan, contending that it would confer too much authority on the general government and give the large states an undue influence in Federal affairs. So dissatisfied were the small-state representatives with the Randolph Plan that they proposed as a substitute another scheme of government. This proposal was embodied in a series of resolutions offered by William Paterson of New Jersey and is known as the Paterson, or New Jersey, Plan. It proposed to amend the Articles of Confederation and to give Congress greater powers but not to clothe the Federal government with sovereignty. The Paterson Plan was rejected, although some of its provisions were incorporated in the Constitution. The small-state party, however, put up a vigorous fight against nationalism and was able to secure important modifications of the original Randolph Plan.

*The Great Compromise*

In the fight between the two parties the issue which caused the greatest controversy was that of representation. The large-state group insisted that membership in both houses should be based on proportional representation. The small-state delegates wanted equal representation in both houses and were especially insistent upon equal representation in the upper house. They contended that proportional representation in both houses would put the small states entirely at the mercy of the large states. The latter would combine into a predominant party and thus completely control Congress. In reply Madison argued ably to show that party lines in the future would be drawn not with reference to the size of states but in accordance with geographical and economic conditions, the large and small states of one section combining against those of another. Furthermore, he pointed out the injustice of allowing the people of a small state the same voice in the government as those of a large one. To do this would be to give each citizen of a small state a voting power several times as great as that enjoyed by a citizen of a large state. Each side was so unyielding that a hopeless deadlock seemed to have been reached. The difficulty was finally solved by a compromise plan by which the upper house should be

made up of two Senators from each state, and the lower house, of Representatives apportioned among the states according to population. There was also a provision that "all bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills." This clause was added to ease the forebodings of the large-state delegates, who were afraid that the small states, acting through the upper house, would impose unnecessary tax burdens upon the country.

*Minor compromises: Place of the West in the Union*

While some of the minor disputes were in progress, sectionalism showed its ugly visage. Gouverneur Morris contended that the West should not be put on an equality with the East in the government of the republic. Madison and George Mason of Virginia strongly opposed any discrimination against the West. They wanted the new states to be admitted into the Union on the same terms with the original states. Morris, although he did not entirely succeed in his endeavor, was able to prevent the embodiment of such a guarantee in the Constitution. Instead, this rather vague clause was agreed upon: "New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union." Whether Congress could limit the power of new states by prescribing conditions on their admission was left as an open question for later decision.

*The three-fifths ratio*

Another cause of sectional dispute, although of lesser importance, was slavery. Some of the delegates from the far South contended that all slaves should be counted when determining the basis of representation. Certain Northern members, on the other hand, were opposed to counting any of them. The fact that the slaves were property strengthened the argument in favor of counting them, since there was a feeling that property should be one of the bases of representation. By coupling taxation with representation, a plan was found which was acceptable to both sides. It was agreed that in apportioning representation and direct taxation, three fifths of the slaves would be counted.

*Navigation laws*

Sectionalism also entered into the discussions over the question of giving Congress the power to regulate commerce. Southern delegates feared that if Congress, by a mere majority vote, could pass navigation laws it might require all American exports and imports to be carried in American bottoms. Such a monopoly would mean high freight rates for agricultural products sent abroad from the South and thus favor the Northern shipowner at the expense of the Southern farmer. Burdensome duties might also be imposed on Southern exports, such as tobacco and rice.

The South, therefore, contended that navigation laws should require the assent of two thirds of both houses of Congress. This

proposal was opposed by the Northern delegates, who maintained that one of the principal reasons for calling the Convention was to give Congress the right to regulate commerce. The situation was further complicated by the demand in Georgia and the Carolinas for more slaves. The deputations from these states insisted that the Federal government should not have the power to prohibit the importation of slaves. Evidently these different points of view could be reconciled only by a policy of give and take. To relieve the South of the fear that their staples would be overburdened with taxation in their passage to foreign markets, it was voted that Congress be prohibited from levying export duties.

*The slave trade*

It was not so easy to settle the question raised by the deep South regarding the slave trade. Representatives from this section declared that their states would not ratify the Constitution if their demands were not met. The delegations from the middle region were opposed to further importation, whereas some of the New England deputies were willing to allow the continuance of the traffic rather than jeopardize the acceptance of the Constitution. The result was a compromise whereby Congress could not prohibit the slave trade prior to January 1, 1808, but could levy an import duty of $10 each on all slaves imported. After these concessions were made to the South, it was agreed that navigation acts, like other laws, could be enacted by a majority vote of both houses of Congress, with the consent of the President.

*Other provisions relating to the legislature*

The Great Compromise was a concession to the small states, and they gave no further trouble. The other provisions regarding the legislature were adopted without controversy. In addition to the powers exercised by the old Congress (see p. 130), the new Congress was granted certain powers which had not been given to the Congress of the Confederation. Prominent in this list were the right to "lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States"; and to regulate interstate and foreign commerce.[1]

*The creation of a Federal executive*

One of the knottiest of all the problems which confronted the Convention was that of providing for an adequate Federal executive. At one time a plural executive was advocated by some of the delegates, but the general feeling was in favor of a strong, single executive, who should be independent of the legislature. Accordingly, it was agreed that there should be a chief executive with the title of President, who was granted large powers (see Constitution, art. II, sec. 2. To devise a method of selecting an officer of such

[1] For the other powers of Congress, see the text of the Constitution, article I, section 8.

powers and responsibilities proved to be a most difficult task. Many plans were offered and rejected. If the President were appointed by Congress, he would be dependent upon that body, and the principle of the separation of powers would be violated. The delegates were not democratic in their notions, and a majority of them felt that the people were not qualified to make so important a choice. Even George Mason, although more liberal than some of his colleagues, thought that to call upon the people to elect the President would be like asking a blind man for a judgment as to colors. Finally, it was decided that the President would be chosen by electors, and these electors would be selected in such manner as the state legislatures might prescribe.

The scheme devised for the election of the President and Vice-President was one of the few original features of the Constitution.[1] But the provision did not work out as the Fathers had expected. Soon the electors, instead of acting independently in the selection of the President and Vice-President, became rubber stamps, obediently registering the will of their respective parties. After the plan had been tried a decade and a half it was modified by the Twelfth Amendment.

*The Federal judiciary*

One of the clearly apparent weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation was the lack of a strong Federal judiciary. The Convention was, therefore, in general agreement that such a judiciary should be established. There was also no difference of opinion as to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of the United States. A dispute arose, however, as to whether inferior Federal courts should be established. Some of the delegates firmly maintained that such tribunals should not be created but that the state courts should be used as such, with appeals from them to the United States Supreme Court. The Convention sidestepped the question by declaring that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish." As this clause gave Congress an option rather than an obligation, the final responsibility as to inferior courts was imposed upon that body.[2]

*No formal bill of rights in the original Constitution*

The Constitution at first did not contain a formal bill of rights, but it did guarantee in a few particulars that the rights of the individual would be protected against governmental interference. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus was not to be suspended "unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may

[1] For the original plan for electing the President and the Vice-President, see the Constitution, art. II, sec. 1; for the change in plan see the 12th Amendment.

[2] For the powers of the judiciary, see art. III, sec. 1.

require it." No bill of attainder or ex post facto law could be passed by either the Federal or a state legislature.

*Limitations on the powers of the states*

The states were also forbidden to "coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts; . . . or [pass any] law impairing the obligation of contracts." These restrictions were placed on the states for the protection of the propertied interests. These clauses insured creditors against the scaling down of the indebtedness due them or the payment of it in cheap money. With these provisions should be classed the following clause: "All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation." This was a pledge that holders of United States bonds would be paid in full. It is this clause especially on which rests the charge that the Fathers (those of them who owned government paper) were looking out for their own selfish interests. But if the indebtedness of the old government had not been assumed by the new, the credit of the country would have been greatly impaired.

The Fathers did not regard their handiwork as a perfect instrument of government. The infallibility attributed to them by later generations would doubtless have made a strong appeal to their sense of humor. The Constitution was a bundle of compromises, and probably not a single one of its framers approved of it in its entirety. It was, however, the best scheme available by which a real union and an effective general government could be established, and they accepted it for that reason. It was hoped that the imperfections could be worked out in the future by the amending process.

*Provision for amendments*

Amendments could be proposed in two ways. First, by Congress, by a two-thirds vote of both houses; and second, by a national convention called by Congress. The call for a national convention must be issued by Congress whenever the legislatures of two thirds of the states by petition should ask it to do so. The framers probably thought that the national convention would be used at times not only to offer amendments but also to give the Constitution a thorough overhauling. Such has not been the case, for no second national convention has ever been held.

After an amendment has been proposed it has to be ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the states or by conventions of three fourths of the states. Congress decides which method of ratification shall be employed. So far (to 1949), only one amendment (the twenty-first) has been ratified by state conventions; all the others have been ratified by state legislatures.

On September 17 the Constitution, which had been put into

*Adoption of the Constitution*

final form by Gouverneur Morris, came up for adoption. A few of the members were unwilling to sign it, however, and the document could not go out with the unanimous approval of the delegates. In order that the action of the Convention might have the semblance of unanimity, the following resolution, offered by Franklin, was adopted: "Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present. . . ." The engrossed copy of the Constitution was then signed by all but three of the delegates present.

It is not clearly stated in the Constitution whether sovereignty, or supreme authority, resided in the states—as it did under the Articles of Confederation—or in the Union—as it does today. It took a terrible fratricidal war to settle this moot question. And yet the Fathers are not to be severely censured for this vagueness. If it had been clearly and definitely understood in 1787 that the new Constitution had created a national government, such as we have today, it might have been rejected by the state conventions. On the other hand, if it had been generally conceded that the states were still sovereign, the Federal government might never have gained the power needed to meet the problems with which it has had to cope.

## RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

*Provision for ratification*

The Constitution contained this provision for its ratification: Conventions were to be held in the states, and as soon as nine of these conventions should ratify the new instrument of government, it would go into effect as between such states as had accepted it. Those states which were unwilling to come under the "New Roof," as the Constitution was called, were to be left out in the weather. The launching of the new government under such an arrangement would, therefore, be an act of revolution. Under the old constitution changes in the fundamental law could be made only with the consent of the *legislatures* of *all* the states. The important innovations suggested by the proposed Constitution were to be effective when accepted by *conventions* of *some* of the states.

*The Constitution submitted to state conventions*

The new frame of government was sent to Congress with the request that it be submitted to the state conventions for their acceptance or rejection. The old government was thus invited "to light its own funeral pyre." At first Congress was by no means enthusiastic over the new plan; but despite objections raised by some of the members, it was voted unanimously by the eleven states present to submit the new instrument to the state conventions for action.

The Constitution, now before the people, was the issue between

*Federalists and Anti-Federalists*

the two political parties which had been promptly formed. Those who favored ratification called themselves Federalists. This term was a misnomer, since most of the advocates of ratification were not in favor of a federation of states but a strong general government. The word "nationalist" would more nearly have defined their views. But the latter term was in disfavor with the people, and therefore the friends of the new system appropriated the more acceptable name of Federalist. There was left then for the opponents of ratification nothing but the designation of "Antifederalist." They were thus under the disadvantage of having to wear a label that had only a negative connotation.

In some of the states there were heated contests between the supporters and opponents of ratification. These disputes were not confined to the state conventions but were carried on in state legislatures, on the stump, and in the press. Numerous articles on both sides, over Latin or fanciful pseudonyms, appeared in the newspapers. These discussions were not always kept on the high plane of principle but frequently degenerated into personal abuse and appeals to prejudice.

*Objections to the Constitution*

The basis of the opposition to the Constitution was the contention that it gave the Federal government too much power and left too little to the states. It had changed a confederation, so the Antifederalists maintained, into a consolidated government and reduced the states to a position of undue subordination. It would give the President and Congress greater power over the states than that formerly exercised by king and Parliament over the colonies. The Federalists, on the other hand, denied that a consolidated national government would be created and that the states would be deprived of any rights needful for the control of their legitimate interests. The new Union would be a cross between a league of states and a consolidated nation.

*Early ratifications*

The Constitution was readily accepted by the small states (except Rhode Island), and it was promptly ratified by them with little or no opposition. The large state of Pennsylvania also signified its acceptance at an early date (December 12, 1787), although the Antifederalists put up a vigorous fight in opposition. Before the middle of January, 1788, ratification had been voted by the states of Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, and Connecticut, in the order named. The vote in Delaware, New Jersey, and Georgia was unanimous. In Pennsylvania it was two to one, and in Connecticut more than three to one. Then came ratifications by Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, and New Hampshire. By the action of New Hampshire (June 21) the new Union was assured,

as this was the ninth state to accept the Constitution. New Hampshire thus became the keystone of the arch of the Union.

*The contest over ratification in Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York*

The opposition offered by the Antifederalists was particularly strong in Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York. The Federalists were successful finally in each of these states, although ratification was carried in New York by a very narrow margin. In the Old Dominion and elsewhere, Washington's influence in favor of ratification was a great aid to the Federalist cause, although he was not a member of the Virginia convention. In a private letter which was printed in the newspapers he said: ". . . and clear I am if another Federal Convention is attempted, the sentiment of the members will be more discordant. . . . I am fully persuaded . . . that it [the Constitution] or disunion, is before us. If the first is our choice, when the defects of it are experienced, a constitutional door is open for amendments and may be adopted in a peaceable manner without tumult or disorder."

*Attitude of North Carolina and Rhode Island*

The convention of North Carolina adjourned without accepting the Constitution, deciding to await further developments. Rhode Island at first also refused to get under the "New Roof." The new Union, therefore, went into effect with a membership of eleven instead of thirteen states.

*The Federalist*

The most important of the newspaper articles in the propaganda for and against ratification was a series of learned essays in support of the Constitution which is known as *The Federalist*. These essays were published in certain New York papers in the period from October, 1787, to August, 1788. All of them bore the signature of "Publius." The authors who used this pen name were Hamilton, Madison, and John Jay. These essays were distinguished from the ordinary newspaper discussions of the day by the absence of abuse and personal allusions. Sound arguments were logically arranged and expressed with a clarity which rendered an abstruse subject understandable to the ordinary citizen. *The Federalist* is an interpretation of the Constitution by able contemporaries and is the best commentary we have on that document.

### SELECTED READINGS

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# CHAPTER X

# *The Federalist Regime*

## Launching a New Government

THE last work of the old Congress consisted of making plans for ushering in the new government. It was decided that the new Congress should meet at New York on March 4, 1789. At the appointed time only a few Representatives and Senators were in attendance, and it was about a month before both houses could muster a quorum. When the president pro tempore of the Senate counted the votes of the Presidential electors (April 6), he found that Washington had been unanimously elected President. Of the several candidates listed as second choice, the name of John Adams appeared more often than that of any of the others and thus he became Vice-President. Washington and Adams were both promptly notified of their election. Adams arrived at New York first and at once took over his duties as president of the Senate. Two days after receiving formal notification, Washington left home for his new responsibilities, and his journey to New York was one continuous ovation. The inauguration was a festive occasion, and an immense crowd assembled to witness the ceremony. The oath of office was administered to Washington on the balcony of Federal Hall, which had just been completed and was considered one of the finest structures in America. At the end of this ritual the crowd below greeted its elected chief with rousing cheers. Washington then returned to the Senate Chamber where, with his paper shaking from embarrassment, he read his inaugural address.

*Washington's inauguration*

The great task before Congress and the executive was to build a government around the Constitution. The document generally known as the Constitution was only a blueprint plus a framework; brick and mortar had to be added to make it a finished structure. Although this filling-in process has been going on continuously from the beginning to the present time, more of it was done during Washington's two terms than in any other period of equal length. There was little in the practice of the old government to serve as a basis for the new. Washington and his colleagues therefore had

*The organization of a new government*

to build from the ground up. The new Congress was predominantly (almost entirely) Federalist, and consequently the Constitution was in the hands of its friends. The few Antifederalists who had been chosen to seats in the legislative branch also accepted the Constitution as a finality. They were in disagreement with the Federalists only as to the interpretation of the fundamental law. The new regime thus was not hampered by the obstructionist policies of a group of irreconcilables. In the beginning, Madison was the leader of the House of Representatives and spokesman of the President. Prior to the creation of his Cabinet, Washington leaned heavily upon him for advice.

*Creation of executive departments*

The Constitution made no definite provision for the creation of executive departments. This responsibility was left to Congress. To give the President proper assistance in the discharge of his administrative duties, laws were passed establishing the departments of State, War, and the Treasury, and the office of Attorney General.

It was some months before these measures were enacted, and during the period of waiting the executives of the old government carried on in their respective positions. John Jay, who had been Secretary of Foreign Affairs under the Confederation, continued in the performance of his duties until a new official (now called Secretary of State) was designated as his successor. Jefferson was asked to assume this responsible task, a position for which he was well qualified because of his acquaintance with the technique of diplomacy gained by his wide experience as minister to France. Besides, he was held in high esteem in France, and it was important that our foreign affairs should be managed by one who was *persona grata* to our ally. General Henry Knox had been Secretary of War under the old government and was given the same position in the new. Hamilton was made Secretary of the Treasury, which at that time was the most important of all the executive departments. Ex-Governor Edmund Randolph was made Attorney General.

*Origin of the Cabinet*

Washington's inexperience in government made him feel deeply the need of official advice. The Constitution does not state what body shall act in an advisory capacity to the President. It was thought, however, that the Senate would perform that service, as the council had done for the colonial governor. This expectation was an argument in favor of keeping down the size of the Senate. The Senate proved impracticable as an advisory body, and, as a result, Washington fell into the practice of calling together the heads of the three executive departments for advice. Since legal questions frequently came up, the Attorney General was also included in these meetings. In this way the Cabinet was formed.

*Organization of the judiciary*

The few general provisions in the Constitution regarding Federal courts left large powers to Congress in the establishment of the judiciary. Congress was to decide as to the creation of inferior courts and determine their organization and jurisdiction. It could also decide upon the number of judges in the Supreme Court and the salary of all judges. In the discharge of this responsibility it passed the first Judiciary Act in September, 1789. By it the Supreme Court was to consist of a Chief Justice and five associate justices, and there were to be thirteen district courts, with a judge to preside over each. Between the Supreme Court and the district courts there were to be intermediary tribunals known as circuit courts. The law provided for three circuits and specified that "there shall be held annually in each district of said circuits two courts which shall be called Circuit Courts, and shall consist of any two justices of the Supreme Court and the district judge of such districts, any two of whom shall constitute a quorum." In the organization of the judiciary the question of states' rights came to the fore. One group of Congressmen, which advocated states' rights, was opposed to the creation of inferior Federal tribunals and wanted the state courts to act as such with appeals to the United States Supreme Court. This effort was unsuccessful and a Federal judiciary entirely independent of that of the states was voted.

*The first tariff act*

One of the most urgent of the needs of the new government was that of a source of revenue. The treasury was empty, and the national debt was constantly rising. The House of Representatives, under the leadership of Madison, began to discuss a revenue bill within a week after it had been organized and before Washington was inaugurated. Madison hoped that this measure, which imposed a low tariff on certain imports, would pass as early as possible, since the government was in such dire need of money. But through the influence of the merchants of Philadelphia, Baltimore, New York, and other places, the act was not passed until July and did not go into effect until August 1. The reason for this delay was that these merchants, in anticipation of the tariff, had made large orders abroad and were desirous of having their goods landed before the tariff became effective. These low duties were imposed in such a way as to afford slight protection to American manufacturers.

*The Bill of Rights*

The Antifederalists, though loyal to the new political regime, were insistent upon the adoption of amendments to the Constitution. A large number of amendments (78) had been suggested by the various ratifying state conventions, and from these Madison made a selection and presented them to the House. Seventeen of

these passed the House, but the number was reduced to twelve by the Senate. Ten of this dozen were ratified by the states. These ten amendments were in the nature of a bill of rights and were intended as a protection of the people and the states against encroachments upon their rights by the Federal government. By them Congress was restrained from making any law respecting an establishment of religion; or abridging freedom of worship, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, or the right of petition. The people were to be secure against excessive bail and unreasonable search, and were guaranteed the right of trial by jury in criminal and important civil cases. Article X was as follows: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

*North Carolina and Rhode Island enter the Union*

Washington had not been in office long before North Carolina sought shelter under the "New Roof." In the fall of 1789 she held a second convention and voted to come into the Union. Rhode Island did not accept the Constitution until the following spring, and then not until after Congress had threatened to cut off trade with her. The Union was now complete, as it included all of the Original Thirteen States.

### HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL MEASURES

The adoption of a wise financial policy was one of the most urgent needs of the new government. A huge indebtedness had been piled up during the war by both the Union and the individual states. The general government had been unable to pay the interest on its obligations, and many of the states were in the same situation. With such a record, credit—both state and Federal—was at a very low ebb. The revival of public credit was thus a matter of immediate concern for both the executive and the legislative branches of the government.

*Hamilton's financial program*

This situation gave to Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, an opportunity to perform his greatest service to his country. To give the new political system stability and efficiency he felt that it was necessary (1) to establish the credit of the government at home and abroad and (2) to develop a strong central government by tying in the financial interests of the nation with the Federal government. Accordingly, he advocated a financial policy that would promote the welfare of merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists generally and bind up their interests with the success of the Federal government. It was in the spirit of this philosophy that he entered with alacrity upon his difficult task.

In response to requests from Congress, he made four reports to that body, in which were embodied his financial measures. These were as follows:

*Funding the debt of the Federal government*

(1) *The funding of the debt of the Federal government.* The United States owed to foreign creditors, chiefly the French government, about $12,000,000. To domestic creditors it owed an amount in excess of $44,000,000. Hamilton's proposal was to fund this indebtedness, that is, allow creditors, both foreign and domestic, to exchange this depreciated paper for interest-bearing bonds now to be issued. The latter would be as good as specie, as they would be guaranteed by a strong government with a revenue adequate to meet interest and other payments. In this way public credit, it was expected, would at once rise to a high level. The owners of these new bonds would have a private stake in the government and would exert their influence in favor of perpetuating and strengthening the Union and of promoting the interests of the Federalist Party.

*Assumption of the debts of the states*

(2) *The assumption of the debts of the states.* Hamilton proposed that the unpaid indebtedness of the states, incurred in carrying on the war, up to $21,500,000, be assumed by the Federal government. The credit of the country could not be restored, he maintained, as long as the states had outstanding bonds which they could not or would not pay. Furthermore, these debts had all been incurred in a common cause and should therefore be paid by the country as a whole. Another reason (but one which, of course, he did not give in his report) was that assumption would mean the issuance of more Federal bonds. The purchasers of these would be bound by financial interests to the Union rather than to the states. This would be an additional means of strengthening the Federal government by identifying the wealthy class with it.

*Opposition to Hamilton's measures*

There was little or no opposition to the funding of the foreign debt. The fight began on the proposal to fund the domestic debt and pay the holders of government certificates at par. Many of the original holders of these certificates had been forced to sell them to speculators at a great discount, some at twenty-five and some as low as ten cents on the dollar. The speculators naturally made a strong fight for Hamilton's proposals. The galleries of the House of Representatives were crowded by them when these measures were under consideration. Most of the original owners of these certificates who still held them lived in backward rural communities and were not informed as to what was going on at New York. A few days after Hamilton's report was made, speculators and their agents hurried to these places (which were mostly in the

South) to buy up the remainder of this paper at a reduced figure. Two fast-sailing vessels were sent by a member of Congress to the South for the purpose of purchasing Federal bonds. Agents of speculators drove as rapidly as possible behind horses that were lashed into a fast pace.

The opponents of the plan argued that it would rob the original owners of the paper and enrich the speculators. Many of the former were Revolutionary soldiers and small farmers, whose necessities, brought on by the failure of the old government to redeem its pledges, had forced them to sell at such low figures. These same victims would now have to pay taxes so that the speculators could reap their ill-gotten gains.

*Madison's proposal*

Madison remained silent in the early stage of this fight. Finally, however, he aligned himself with the opposition. In lieu of the proposal of Hamilton he suggested that the domestic debt be funded at par, but that those who then held government certificates of indebtedness be paid the market price of the paper at the time the discussion started, and the original holders be given the balance. Madison's motion was defeated, and Hamilton's plan was accepted. The arguments against Madison's proposal were that only by paying off those who then held the certificates could the government meet the pledges originally given. If this were not done the public credit would suffer, for the "security of transfer" is "an essential element of public credit." Furthermore, in many instances it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to find out who the original grantees were. As a result of this, the first disagreement of Madison with the Federalists, he ceased to act as spokesman of the Administration and was read out of the party.

*The fight against assumption*

There was a strenuous fight against the assumption of state debts. The states with large indebtedness were in favor of it, but those that had paid off the greater portion of their indebtedness were opposed to the plan, for if assumption were carried, their people would be taxed by the Federal government to assist in the discharge of the debts of other states.

*The log-rolling agreement as to assumption*

Another argument against assumption was that it would transfer the interests of the holders of state bonds from the states to the Union. This would strengthen the Federal government and weaken the authority of the states. Madison, reflecting the sentiments of his constituents, declared against the proposal. The opponents of assumption had a majority of two in the House of Representatives, and the measure could not be carried without a change in the attitude of a few members. Jefferson's fears for the safety of the Union had been aroused by Hamilton, who said that some of the states

would secede from the Union if their debts were not taken over by the Federal government. Jefferson therefore used his influence in favor of assumption, much to his later regret. A logrolling agreement was entered into at a dinner party given by Jefferson, to which Madison and Hamilton had been invited. The South wanted the permanent capital located on the Potomac River. Hamilton was indifferent as to the site of the capital and hence was willing to accede to the wishes of the Southern Representatives on this point if by so doing they would agree to vote for assumption. Accordingly, he agreed to secure enough votes for the Potomac location if Madison would see that a few more votes were obtained for assumption. This agreement was carried out; and the indebtedness of the states (or nearly all of it) was assumed by the Federal government. Twenty-nine of the sixty-four members of the House were security holders. Of these twenty-nine, twenty-one voted for and eight against assumption.[1] The enactment of the assumption measure was the signal for another mad rush by the speculators.

*The excise act*

(3) *The excise act.* The financial obligations imposed upon the government by Hamilton's measures called for a greater revenue than the tariff would yield. Hamilton therefore proposed and Congress voted an internal tax on distilled liquors.

*The establishment of the Bank of the United States*

(4) *The establishment of a national bank.* A bill providing for the creation of a national bank was brought forward and was passed after a brief but sharp discussion in the House (1791). By the charter thus granted, which was to be in effect for twenty years, a corporation was to be formed with a capital stock of ten million dollars. One fifth of this stock was to be subscribed by the government and the other four fifths by private individuals. A bank controlled by this corporation was to be established at Philadelphia, with branches in the leading financial centers throughout the country. The Bank was to carry on an ordinary banking business and have power to issue notes. These notes, as long as they were redeemed in specie, were to be received in payment of government dues. The Bank was also to serve as a repository for government funds.

Such a banking system, thought Hamilton, would serve as an invaluable aid in putting the finances of the country on a proper basis. The facilities thus afforded would be a great convenience to business, and the notes would furnish the people with a sound paper currency. The notes of other banks, except those which were redeemable in gold and silver, could not compete with the national

[1] Jefferson rightly contended that assumption would not have passed if those Congressmen who would profit by it had abstained from voting.

bank notes. In this way a salutary restraint would be put on the issuance of notes by the state banks. The Bank through its branches could assist the government in the distribution of currency throughout the country and aid it in other ways. And last, though not least, the corporation would afford an excellent opportunity for the investment of money. It would thus serve as an additional ligament to bind the wealthy and the powerful to the general government.

Madison was opposed to the measure and he put up an able fight against it in the House of Representatives, attacking it mainly on the ground that it was unconstitutional. When the bill came before Washington, after having passed both houses of Congress, he asked the members of his Cabinet for an opinion in writing as to its constitutionality. Knox and Hamilton argued in favor of, and Randolph and Jefferson against, the right of Congress to pass such a measure.

*Hamilton's arguments in favor of the measure*

Hamilton, although he admitted that the authority to grant charters of incorporation was not in the list of powers expressly delegated to Congress, contended that a delegated power carries with it by implication the right to employ such means as are useful in the proper exercise of such power. "If the *end* be clearly comprehended within any of the specified powers, and if the measure have an obvious relation to that *end*, and is not forbidden by any particular provision of the Constitution, it may safely be deemed to come within the compass of the national authority." The obligation to coin money and regulate the value thereof is expressly placed upon Congress. A national bank is a means that Congress can employ to great advantage in meeting this responsibility. Therefore, the right to use such an agency is implied in the specific grant of power. This is the doctrine of implied powers, based on a loose construction of the Constitution.

*Jefferson's arguments against it*

Jefferson maintained that the bank bill was not constitutional. He did not rule out implied powers altogether, but restricted their use to the narrowest limits. In the exercise of implied powers, Congress could employ only such means as were necessary, not those that were merely convenient. The incorporation of a bank is not one of the enumerated powers of Congress; a bank is not necessary as a means for carrying out any enumerated power; therefore, the bill creating it is unconstitutional. He was thus contending for a strict construction of the Constitution—one that would limit the authority of the general government and leave large powers to the states.

*Washington's decision*

Washington seems to have been perplexed at first as to which was the correct view. His advisers were equally divided, and he

finally decided in favor of Hamilton's position, on the ground that the measure concerned his department more directly than any other, and the Bank of the United States was established.

(5) In his fourth report Hamilton presented able arguments in favor of the adoption of a tariff system which would afford protection to American industry. This proposal was not carried out at the time except that certain increases were made in the duties by the act of 1792.

*A mint established*

At Hamilton's suggestion, Congress enacted a law establishing a mint at Philadelphia (April 2, 1792). Gold and silver were to be coined at the ratio of fifteen to one. Prior to this time no coins had been struck by the general government except copper cents.

## FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS

The controversy over the establishment of a national bank caused a permanent breach between the supporters and opponents of Hamilton's financial measures. The latter, under the leadership of Jefferson and Madison, were gradually organized into a party of opposition. The followers of Hamilton retained the name of Federalist, while the new party assumed that of Republican, with the view to implying that the Federalists were monarchists. The Federalists likewise tried to discredit the Republicans by calling them Democrats, as a term of reproach; because of the excesses to which the popular party had gone in France, democracy was viewed by many Federalists in a very unfavorable light.

*Economic basis of the political division*

Behind the political controversies over the Bank and other measures favored by Hamilton there was a clash of economic interests between the classes and sections which was the real basis of the new party alignment. Hamilton's policies would promote the commercial and manufacturing, rather than the agrarian, interests. It was not easy to convince the small farmers, who constituted the great bulk of the population, that these measures would be of value to them. Madison and Jefferson were championing the cause of the farmers and were contending that as a result of Hamilton's nationalistic policies their rights would be infringed in order that the wealthy might enjoy special privileges. They further argued that legislation unfair to the masses was more likely to be enacted by Congress than by the state legislatures. For this reason the authority of the Federal government should be kept within the limits prescribed by a strict construction of the Constitution, and the states should be powerful enough to act as a curb on the general government. The Republicans, therefore, were opposed to nationalism and advocated the doctrine of states' rights. Hamilton, on the other hand, felt that his policy

was not only favorable to the upper classes but was also good for the public generally. If this policy was to be realized, the general government must be strong and not hampered by the interference of the states. His party, therefore, advocated nationalism and opposed localism, or the doctrine of states' rights.

Jefferson's advocacy of agrarianism was a matter of conviction and not merely of political expediency. He believed that farming was the occupation which would best serve as the basis of the American economic and social order. Every citizen should be a landowner, and land should be granted by the state to those who were unable to purchase it. The country would thus be made up in the main of yeoman farmers, among whom there would be no great inequalities of wealth. Substantial economic equality would supply the proper conditions for political equality. In such a society it would be safe to confer the right of suffrage upon all, and political democracy would thus be superimposed upon economic democracy. Under such a regime liberty and individuality would be preserved and law and order secured. He objected to Hamilton's policy of stimulating commerce and manufacturing by governmental help, partly because it would impose an unfair tax burden upon farmers. Furthermore, he felt that a desirable social order could not be built on these occupations. A rapid development in industry would give rise to gross inequalities in wealth and a division of the people into employers and employees, with conflicts between labor and capital. With such an economic aristocracy political democracy would be impossible.

*Jefferson and Madison as political leaders*

The Republican Party included in its membership most of the Antifederalists and some of those who had favored the ratification of the Constitution. At first, as has already been seen, Madison was the leader of the party, but soon Jefferson became the general of the movement and Madison served as an able lieutenant. Seldom have political yokefellows pulled together more loyally and efficiently than did these two noted Virginians. They were united by mutual affection and congeniality of intellectual interests, and their work was not marred by any feeling of jealousy or envy.

## DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

*The Whiskey Rebellion*

Hamilton's view as to the minor importance of the plain people was destined to receive a rude shock, for it was not long before the common man gave warning that he would have to be reckoned with. The objectionable excise tax aroused a storm of opposition in the frontier regions of Pennsylvania and the states to the southward. Because of a lack of transportation facilities the people of these isolated regions could not market their surplus farm products to

any advantage. Whiskey, distilled from corn, was an important export for them. It had high value in proportion to bulk and could be easily transported. The tax not only placed upon the people an unjust burden, but its collection would involve a system of espionage and the invasion of the privacy of their homes. In southwestern Pennsylvania discontent went from protests to a defiance of the law. Stills of those who paid the tax were wrecked, and threats of violence were made against the tax collectors. Acting on the advice of Hamilton, Washington sent an army of more than twelve thousand militiamen against the rebels. Before it reached the scene of action, the malcontents had decided to yield. A number of the leading troublemakers were tried for treason and two of them were convicted. These were pardoned by Washington.

*Result of the Whiskey Rebellion*

In putting down the revolt so easily the Federal government had won an apparent victory. It had impressed the country with its power and its ability to maintain law and order. But the size of the force sent out was very much greater than was needed, and this gave rise to the feeling (not confined to the malcontents) that the Federalists, who were responsible for this punitive expedition, were encouraging a dangerous trend toward militarism. Moreover, the discontent behind the revolt was not allayed by this show of force. In these western districts there remained in the hearts of the people a feeling of bitterness toward the party which had enacted this unpopular law and had pinned it down with bayonets. The Federalist Party was thus weakened and the Republican Party strengthened by the excise law and its aftermath, the so-called Whiskey Rebellion.

*Indian troubles in the Northwest*

The advance of settlements north and west of the Ohio River reawakened the perpetual Indian danger. The Indians were exploited by the land-grabbing frontiersmen, and the Federal government had not been able to punish such unjust practices or to prevent the Indians from retaliating against this unfair treatment. The British posts in the Northwest were also used as centers of propaganda against the American settlers. Unrest among the Indians was incited by Canadian officials and fur traders. Under such conditions a conflict between the natives and the Westerners was inevitable.

*St. Clair's defeat*

The Indians living along the Maumee and Wabash Rivers gave trouble, and troops were sent to reduce them to submission. After the failure of one expedition led by General Josiah Harmar (1790), General Arthur St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory, led a strong force against them. Taken completely by surprise, his men, encamped on the eastern fork of the Wabash River, were badly defeated with a loss of more than nine hundred in killed and

in American ports, but that the prizes taken by French privateers could not be sold or refitted for war purposes in American waters. In utter disregard of this ruling and in violation of a virtual promise to Jefferson, Genêt refitted and sent out a captured British ship, *The Little Sarah*, as a French privateer, whose name he had changed to *The Little Democrat*. Such impudence was too much for the patience of the President, and he demanded the recall of the conceited French minister. In the meantime, the Girondin party, to which Genêt belonged, had lost power in France, and the new and more radical party willingly ordered his recall.

*American grievances against Britain*

Washington's policy of neutrality toward France did not prove a guarantee against tension between England and the United States. The refusal of the British government to evacuate the military posts held in the West was for a number of years a constant source of complaint by the American people. The part played by Canadian traders and officials in inciting the Indian troubles had aggravated this grievance. To these old causes of friction were added new ones growing out of the war between England and France. Britain's control of the seas was her greatest asset in this contest, and she was determined to make the best possible use of her advantage; to respect the rights of neutrals on the high seas would be to dull her sharpest weapon. Restrictions on neutral commerce therefore were carried out which the American people regarded as a serious infringement of their rights. Their vessels were seized by British warships, and their passengers and crews subjected to indignities and even brutalities. The British authorities also asserted and practiced the right to stop merchant vessels on the high seas and take off sailors of English birth, even if they had become American citizens, and force them into the service of the British navy. The United States government protested against this impressment of American seamen, although at this time this grievance was not emphasized so much as some of the others; but in later years it was a prominent cause of strife (see pp. 197-198).

*Feeling in the United States toward England*

By 1794 the feeling of resentment in the United States had reached such dimensions as to threaten war, but it would have been foolhardy for the infant nation to challenge to combat the leading power of the world. With the West in an attitude of doubtful loyalty and the national sentiment weak in all sections, a declaration of war against the Mistress of the Seas would have been suicidal. Washington wisely considered that the cement which held the new Union together must have time to dry before the political structure should be subjected to such a strain. He felt that a twenty-year period of peace was necessary for the new nation to consolidate its strength. At the end of that

time he hoped it would be strong enough to compel respect for its rights. He, therefore, resolved to agree with the adversary if possible, even at the cost of his popularity with the general public.

*Jay sent as special envoy to England*

To this end Washington sent John Jay, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, as a special envoy to England. Jay was instructed to secure the withdrawal of the British posts; to get compensation for the slaves that had been taken away and for the ships which had been illegally seized; and to arrange a treaty of commerce. He was expressly charged to agree to no provision that would infringe American treaty obligations to France. After four months of negotiation an agreement was reached between the two powers (1794). Jay had not obeyed his instructions and had conceded much and obtained little.

*Provisions of Jay's Treaty*

The American public was therefore surprised and shocked at the one-sided terms of the treaty when they were made known. The one outstanding provision in America's favor was the promise that all British posts would be evacuated by June 1, 1796. The United States government guaranteed the payment of pre-Revolutionary debts due British creditors by American citizens in all cases in which the collection of such debts had been prevented by legal impediments. The amount and justice of these claims were to be determined by a joint commission. Compensation was to be made for illegal seizures by either Englishmen or Americans, the amount of which in every case was also to be determined by a joint commission. Nothing was said about impressment or the payment for slaves taken from the United States by British soldiers at the end of the Revolution. The principles of international law for which the American government had been contending were not mentioned. Food supplies were listed as contraband but with the understanding that when seized on American vessels payment should be made for them.

*Opposition to the treaty*

Washington was by no means satisfied with this unfair treaty but accepted it in preference to war. After the Senate ratified it, he declared it in effect on February 29, 1796. The people generally throughout the country were strongly opposed to the acceptance of the treaty, and Jay became the most unpopular man in America. He was burned in effigy a number of times, and Hamilton on one occasion was stoned for attempting to defend the treaty. The Republicans made a bitter fight against the treaty. After it had been ratified by the Senate, they tried to defeat it in the House of Representatives by refusing to appropriate the small sum of money needed to carry out its provisions. So strenuous was the opposition in the House that the motion to refuse the appropriation was lost in the committee of the whole only by the casting vote of the chairman.

One favorable result of Jay's Treaty was that it paved the way for

*The treaty with Spain*

an agreement with Spain. Spain was deeply concerned over the treaty between England and the United States. She was afraid that it was a forerunner of an alliance between the two countries and that such an alliance might place her possessions in North America at the mercy of either or both of these powers. To forestall this danger she was willing to make liberal concessions to the United States. In this way she hoped to win the favor of the young republic and prevent a coalition between it and Great Britain. As a result of this more favorable attitude, Thomas Pinckney was able to negotiate a treaty (1795) by which Spain agreed to the thirty-first parallel as the northern boundary of West Florida, and granted to the American people the right to navigate the Mississippi River to its mouth and have for three years a place of deposit at New Orleans.[1] The treaty also contained the pledge that the privilege of using a place of deposit either at New Orleans or elsewhere would be renewed at the end of the three-year period.

## WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

*Why Washington served a second term*

Washington was possessed of a growing desire to exchange the cares of public office for the enjoyments of private life. He therefore had decided to retire at the end of his first term and, with the aid of Madison, had in 1792 prepared a farewell address. But because of the precarious condition of American relations with foreign nations and the difficulties which had arisen in connection with domestic affairs, it was the general opinion of the leaders of the day that he should not retire at that time. The government was still in the experimental stage. The different sections of the country were not yet firmly bound together, and there was danger that the Union might fall apart. The prestige of Washington was needed to save the country from these threatening dangers. Hence, Republicans, as well as Federalists, urged his continuance in office. In a letter to him Jefferson said: "The confidence of the whole Union is centered in you. . . . North and South will hang together if they have you to hang on." Yielding to these entreaties, Washington agreed to accept a second term and again was unanimously elected. The Republicans, however, were opposed to Adams and gave their 50 electoral votes to George Clinton of New York for Vice-President. Adams was supported by the Federalists, and the 77 electoral votes cast by them insured his re-election.

Washington was not able to carry out his original plan of administering the government without regard to partisan politics. The

[1] By "a place of deposit" was meant a space on which goods could be unloaded, stored, and reloaded for reshipment.

*Washington's attitude toward political parties*

feeling in favor of party government was so deeply fixed in the consciousness of the people that it could not be set aside even by the Father of the Country. His social instincts and political views were more nearly in accord with the conservatism of Hamilton than the liberalism of Jefferson. Accordingly, in his second term his administration was allied with the Federalist Party. After the resignation of Randolph in 1795 his Cabinet was composed entirely of Federalists. Washington's acceptance of Federalist principles led to violent attacks on the Administration by the Republicans. These assaults accentuated his longing for release from the responsibilities of public office. He now came to a final decision to retire at the end of his second term. To announce this intention and to give some salutary advice to his fellow countrymen, Washington issued a Farewell Address to the American people (September, 1796).

For the wording of this paper Hamilton was chiefly responsible, as he put the finishing touches on it. It is likely, too, that Washington was indebted to Hamilton for some of the ideas it contained. On the other hand, the sentiments of the Address were those of Washington, and as such they have exerted a marked influence on the policies of the Federal government throughout its entire history.

*His reasons for not running for a third term*

The Address begins with the announcement of his decision to retire from office at the end of his second term. He could now indulge his yearning for the quiet and repose of private life without any dereliction of duty. The reasons given for retirement were these personal considerations; nothing was said about the danger to the country of a President's remaining in power too long.

*His advice as to foreign relations*

In the Address the benefits of union and the dangers of sectionalism were pointed out. Party spirit was deprecated. In the conduct of its foreign relations the young republic was advised to maintain a policy of strict neutrality and isolation. ". . . permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular Nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded. . . ." Instead, "just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated." Although there should be a strict observance of commitments already made to foreign powers, American policy in the future should be "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world," since "we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies." In giving reasons for such a foreign policy, Washington made a strong appeal for the doctrine of isolation, which was now formulated for the first time.

Because of Republican agitation, Washington had less popularity at the end than at the beginning of his term of office. He had, however, deserved well of his country. Under his leadership an effective

*Washington's achievements as President*

government had been organized, federal finance put on a solid basis, rebellion subdued, Indian uprisings quieted, maritime commerce encouraged, and foreign occupation of American lands ended. Furthermore, he had kept the country out of war during a period of European strife. He had had able advisers to assist him in the handling of these difficult problems, but in every case his was the responsibility of a final decision. In making these decisions he displayed the courage, sound judgment, and integrity which were characteristic of him as a military leader. Many of the practices initiated by him served as precedents which have been almost as binding as principles imbedded in the Constitution. It was fortunate for the country that these "conventions of the Constitution" were started by so wise a statesman.

### THE ELECTION OF 1796

With Washington out of the running, the race for the Presidency developed into a hotly contested party battle. The Republicans entered the fight with strong hopes of victory. Jefferson, the leader of the party, was selected to head the ticket, and Aaron Burr, an astute politician of New York, was named for second place. The financial measures of Hamilton and the suppression of the Whiskey Rebellion had arrayed the common people against the Federalists, particularly in the South and West. The Federalists, moreover, were the butt of the antagonism aroused by the measures of eight years of constructive policy. The Republicans were also able to turn to their account the opposition of the states'-rights group to Hamilton's nationalist measures. To the other troubles of the Federalists was added that of internal dissension; their most outstanding leaders, Hamilton and Adams, were not pulling together in the party harness. As an offset to these drawbacks the Federalists could point to a conspicuous record of achievement. The policies of the outgoing administration were approved by conservatives in general and the commercial and industrial classes in particular.

The Federalist members of Congress met in caucus and nominated John Adams for the Presidency and Thomas Pinckney of South Carolina for the Vice-Presidency. Hamilton's dislike of Adams caused him to intrigue against him and to try to bring in Pinckney for the first place. When the scheme was discovered, a few of Adams's friends among the electors refused to vote for Pinckney. The result was the election, by a close vote, of Adams to the first and Jefferson to the second place. In consequence of this intrigue, the Federalists, although they won the election, lost the Vice-Presidency to their opponents.

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS

*Adams; personal traits*

The second President was a man of exceptional ability, and his virile intellect had been developed by a good education. He was courageous, patriotic, and thoroughly honest. The major part of his life had been spent in the service of his country, and he was well qualified by experience for the great responsibility he was now assuming. With these fine qualities were coupled some defects of character which proved a decided drawback to his success as Chief Magistrate. He was vain, irritable, self-opinionated, and lacking in tact. These imperfections roughened the exterior of his personality and often caused needless friction in his contacts with others. When a member of the Second Continental Congress, Adams was classed as a liberal, if not a radical. He had fought valiantly for the democratic doctrine of the Declaration of Independence; but now he was conservative and aristocratic in his political views.

*His Cabinet*

Adams took over Washington's Cabinet without change, which was a serious mistake. The members were all Federalists, but they looked upon Hamilton, and not their chief, as the leader of the party. He did not, therefore, receive from them that disinterested loyalty which a President has a right to expect from his official advisers.

### FRANCO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

*Effect of Jay's Treaty*

The most difficult problem with which Adams had to contend was that of adjusting the relations between his country and France, which had been strained by Jay's Treaty with England. The French government regarded this treaty as a violation of American commitments to it and an effort to aid England. Although the treaty stipulated that nothing in it was to "operate contrary to former and existing public treaties with other sovereigns or States," its terms were contrary to the spirit of the alliance of 1778. Furthermore, by listing food supplies and naval stores as contraband, it violated the letter of the commercial treaty of 1778, which declared that such articles were not to be so classed. The French government contended that America's acquiescence in British methods gave France the right to indulge in the same practices against our ships. Food supplies were therefore seized as contraband by French as well as by English vessels.

*Monroe as minister to France*

At the time of Genêt's dismissal the French government asked for the recall of Gouverneur Morris, American minister at Paris, whose royalist sympathies had made him obnoxious to the new regime. Washington complied with this request and sent James Monroe to Paris as Morris's successor. Monroe was effusively welcomed by the French National Convention and was held in high esteem by the

government and people of France. However, he was accused by Washington's Federalist advisers of having failed to make a vigorous defense of Jay's Treaty before the French foreign office, and Washington also suspected his loyalty to the Administration. For these reasons he was recalled and C. C. Pinckney, a stanch Federalist, was sent to Paris to take his place. The latter was not received by the French government, and the French minister also withdrew from the United States.

*The XYZ Affair*

As a final effort to prevent a rupture, Adams sent a commission of three distinguished men to Paris with the hope that they might come to an agreement with the French government. Although Pinckney had been forced to leave France by the authorities there, he was put on this commission, and with him were associated Elbridge Gerry and John Marshall. Gerry was a Republican and Marshall, a Federalist.

When the envoys arrived at Paris, French administration was in the hands of a corrupt group of five men known as the Directory. The most outstanding member of this group was Talleyrand, Minister of Foreign Affairs. The American commissioners were not formally received by Talleyrand, and intercourse with him was conducted through three of his agents. It soon developed that his itching palm would have to be soothed if the negotiations were to proceed. The American envoys were told that they would be received only on the condition that their government would make a loan to the French government and tender a *douceur* to Talleyrand. To this brazen request for a bribe Pinckney warmly replied, "No, no, not a sixpence." The two Federalist members now left France, and Gerry was afterwards recalled by the President.

Adams was justly incensed by this highhanded policy. In his messages to Congress he strongly condemned these proceedings and recommended that preparations be made for war. No other minister would ever be sent to France, he declared, "without assurances that he will be received, respected, and honored as the representative of a great, free, powerful, and independent nation." The correspondence between the American envoys and Talleyrand's agents was submitted to Congress and then made public. Before these documents were sent to Congress the names of the intermediaries were deleted and the letters X, Y, and Z were put in their places. For this reason this diplomatic incident is known as the XYZ Affair.

The country was aroused by the publication of these documents, and both Congress and the people readily responded to Adams's suggestions to put the country on a war basis. Pinckney's spirited reply to Talleyrand's agent—changed into "millions for defense, but

not one cent for tribute!"—was widely circulated to arouse patriotic fervor. By acts of Congress the navy was strengthened by the building of a number of new vessels and the Department of the Navy was created. Privately owned American vessels were armed for defense and a considerable number were commissioned as privateers and armed for offense. The treaties of 1778 were annulled, and the President was authorized to raise a small army of volunteers. Washington was chosen as commander in chief of this army; but as he was not expected to take the field, Hamilton, who was given rank next to Washington, was to be in actual command of the forces.

*Naval warfare*

As a result of these strained relations the two countries engaged in naval hostilities for two and a half years. American vessels, both warships and privateers, gave a good account of themselves, and eighty-five French vessels, nearly all of which were privateers, were captured, with the loss of only one American vessel. Unarmed French merchantmen were not attacked, since no war had been declared and technically the two countries were still at peace. The new army, however, was not called into active service.

*The controversy settled*

The turn which events had taken alarmed Talleyrand, and the anti-French feeling which his policy had aroused in America caused him to assume a more conciliatory attitude toward the United States, since he did not wish to add that nation to the list of his country's enemies. Accordingly, he let it be known that if an American minister were sent to Paris he would be properly received. Taking advantage of this opening, Adams, to the surprise and chagrin of the Hamilton faction of the Federalist Party, appointed three commissioners to enter into negotiation with the French government. When the envoys reached Paris, Napoleon had superseded the Directory in the management of French affairs. He had decided upon a new American policy, and therefore the commissioners were able to secure his assent to a new treaty (1800). By this agreement the treaties of 1778 were abrogated, and the United States was freed from its only entangling alliance with a European country. Because of Adams's wise handling of a difficult foreign problem, the United States was kept out of a declared war.

*The alien acts*

War hysteria gave rise to the feeling on the part of the Federalists in Congress that the government should be protected against the assaults of disloyal American citizens and of resident foreigners. In pursuit of this aim, four laws were passed which were particularly objectionable to the Republicans. One of these, the Naturalization Act, extended the period of residence required of aliens before being naturalized from five to fourteen years. Another, the Alien Act, gave the President authority for two years to send out of the country all

aliens whom he might deem "dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States" or might have reason to suspect of plotting against the government. A third, the Alien Enemies Act, granted the President power in time of war to imprison or remove from the country all subjects of an enemy power or impose upon them (if allowed to remain in the United States) such restrictions as he might consider necessary for the public safety.

*he Sedition ct*

The most unpopular of all of these measures was the Sedition Act, since it was intended mainly as a curb on disgruntled American citizens. It was an effort not only to preserve the dignity of and respect for the government, but also to shield the Federalist rulers from uncomfortable criticism. The law made it a criminal offense, punishable by fine and imprisonment, for any persons unlawfully to combine or conspire to oppose any legal measure of the government, to "advise or attempt to procure any insurrection," or publish "any false, scandalous and malicious writing . . . against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress, . . . or the President of the United States, with intent to defame [them] . . . or bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute." Persons charged with a violation of this law were to be allowed trial by jury. The act was to expire at the end of Adams's term.

The Alien laws were probably enacted to frighten objectionable aliens away from American shores or into good behavior, for there were no convictions under these laws. This was not the case with the Sedition Act. A number of indictments were brought under it, and ten editors and printers, all Republicans, were tried and convicted. It was charged, with a considerable show of reason, that partisanship entered into these trials and that the verdicts were not characterized by due impartiality. This unpopular law was thus made more objectionable by an unfair method of enforcement.

### THE VIRGINIA AND KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS

*Dissatisfaction of the Republicans with Federalist policies*

The Republicans saw in the Alien and Sedition Acts an infringement of the freedom of the press and of other rights of the individual, as guaranteed in the Bill of Rights, and a usurpation of power on the part of the general government. They felt that these and other measures sponsored by the Federalists were rapidly pushing the government toward centralization at the expense of states' rights. The increase in the size of the army and the war spirit which had been aroused were causing them great anxiety. They were, therefore, deeply discouraged, and some of them advocated a dissolution of the Union. Jefferson, however, was not so pessimistic. He was

*The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions*

opposed to a resort to secession, but felt that the state legislatures should express disapproval of these acts. Therefore, he and his friend Madison each drew up a set of resolutions which were adopted (1798) by the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia (his by Kentucky and Madison's by Virginia). In both sets of resolutions the Alien and Sedition laws were denounced as unconstitutional, and the compact theory of the Union was upheld.

*The doctrine of the resolutions*

According to this theory, the Union is a compact between the states, the terms of which are specified in the Constitution. By this agreement certain powers are delegated to the general government and others are reserved to the states. If the general government undertakes to exercise a power not so delegated, such an assumption of authority is a usurpation and the acts resulting from it are null and void. In passing the Alien and Sedition laws Congress had assumed powers not delegated to it by the Constitution. These laws were, therefore, null and void.

*Reaction of the states to the resolutions*

Both sets of resolutions were sent to the other states for their consideration. The legislatures of the Northern states, all of which were controlled by the Federalists, replied that they were opposed to the resolutions. The Southern states, in which Federalism had recently made important gains, sent no replies, doubtless considering that further agitation would be ill-advised. The action of Kentucky and Virginia led to a nation-wide discussion of the protests and the unpopular laws which had incited them. It was in this way that the Alien and Sedition laws were made the main issue in the Presidential campaign of 1800.

*Significance of the resolutions*

The Resolutions of '98 (as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions were sometimes called) were a vigorous assertion of states' rights and gave a new importance to this doctrine. They served as storehouses from which all later champions of localism in government drew their ablest arguments. The political philosophy expressed by them was the basis of the later doctrines of nullification and secession.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1800

*Party nominees*

Before Congress adjourned in May, 1800, the Republican and Federalist members of Congress had each held a caucus and nominated candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The Federalists chose Adams, and C. C. Pinckney of South Carolina; the Republicans, Jefferson, and Aaron Burr of New York. The chief issue in the campaign was the Alien and Sedition laws, the Federalists endorsing and the Republicans opposing them.

The Federalists entered upon the campaign with a number of

*Reasons for opposition to the Federalists*

handicaps. Many of the measures for which they had been responsible, especially the Alien and Sedition laws, were unpopular with the masses. Believing as they did that "men of information and property" should hold the reins of authority, they had acted (in the opinion of many of the common people) as if government should be not only by but also for the privileged class. The war spirit, which had been so helpful to the Federalists in 1798, had now cooled and anti-French feeling was of little or no use to them. On the other hand, there was a growing feeling against England on account of the policy of impressment and other restrictions on American commerce. As the Federalists were the pro-British party, this anti-British sentiment was a source of weakness to them. The enlargement of the army and navy lent color to the charge of militarism which was also brought against them. To the other difficulties of the Federalists were added that of a dangerous breach in the party, with one faction looking to Adams for leadership and another to Hamilton. The ill feeling between the two groups was aggravated by exhibitions of bad temper on both sides. Adams accused Hamilton of belonging to a pro-British faction. Hamilton hotly resented the charge and wrote an elaborate pamphlet in which he attacked Adams's record and represented him as unfit for the Presidency. This, of course, was grist for the Republican mill.

*The Federalist Party divided*

*Burr and Jefferson tie in the electoral vote*

Adams's ineptitude as a politician also worked against the Federalists. The Republicans, on the other hand, had in Jefferson and Burr two of the most astute politicians that the country has ever produced. In the election the Republican candidates had a majority of the electoral votes, but as Jefferson and Burr received an equal number, the election went to the House of Representatives for a final decision.

*The final decision by the House of Representatives*

The election returns were referred to the old, or "lameduck," House, which had been in large measure repudiated. In selecting the President the choice was confined to Jefferson and Burr, and the representation from each state had one vote. The Republicans, following the clearly indicated preference of a majority of the voters in the election, supported Jefferson for the first place. The Federalists, who had decided in caucus to support Burr, were strong enough to prevent a choice. The deadlock continued for thirty-five ballots and it seemed that no choice would be made by the end of Adams's term. At this juncture Hamilton came to the rescue. Although he regarded Jefferson as unfit for the Presidency, he considered him less dangerous than Burr, whom he dubbed the "Cataline of America." He therefore urged a few of his Federalist friends in the House to abstain from voting. This they did on the

thirty-sixth ballot, and Jefferson was chosen President, and Burr became Vice-President.

*The Twelfth Amendment*

This election, together with the one of 1796, showed that the plan for choosing the President as outlined in the Constitution was unworkable. There arose, therefore, a demand for a change. This led to the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment, which provides that the electors shall ballot separately for President and Vice-President.

*The Judiciary Act of 1801*

After their defeat the Federalists pushed through a measure which was very objectionable to the Republicans. This was the Judiciary Act of 1801. By this act the justices of the Supreme Court were relieved of the duty of sitting in the circuit courts, and a new judgeship was created for each of the sixteen circuits. The number of judicial districts was also increased from thirteen to twenty-three. This called for a considerable increase in the number of Federal judges and the appointment of additional marshals, clerks, and attorneys. These places were all filled with deserving Federalists. One of the arguments in favor of the law was that it was not proper for a justice to sit as a member of a circuit court on a case on which he would be required to give an opinion in the Supreme Court. The main reason, however, for the new measure was probably the desire to create a number of good offices for Federalist leaders. It is doubtful if the measure was justifiable, but even if it had been, the motive which prompted its enactment was quite indefensible. John Randolph characterized the new court as "a hospital for decayed politicians."

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# CHAPTER XI

# *Jefferson as President*

## Democratic Simplicity

*Jefferson's inauguration*

THE ceremony of installing the third President was characterized by democratic informality. About noon (March 4, 1801) Jefferson left his boardinghouse and walked the short distance of two squares to the unfinished Capitol. The oath of office was administered in the Senate Chamber by John Marshall, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. Jefferson read his inaugural address in such a low tone of voice that only a small portion of his audience caught its meaning. When printed, however, this inaugural proved to be a very important state paper. It was couched in a brilliant literary style and, in the main, expressed sentiments with which few could find fault. It upheld such generally accepted principles as "freedom of religion," "freedom of the press," "freedom of person under the protection of the habeas corpus"; "equal and exact justice to all men"; and "absolute acquiescence in the decision of the majority." The government should (it stated) "restrain men from injuring one another . . . leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement," and "not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned." The foreign policy of the country should be one of "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none." The address showed no symptoms of party rancor, but on the contrary breathed a spirit of reconciliation toward the Federalist opponents.

*Jefferson; personal traits and views*

Jefferson was exceptionally well equipped for the high responsibility which he now assumed. His brilliant intellect had been well trained by formal education and extensive reading and his judgment matured by wide experience in governmental affairs. Reared in the upland region of Virginia, his childhood was subjected to frontier influences, which were favorable to a correct understanding of the common man. But he was educated at William and Mary College, and there he was brought in contact with the charming social life of the colonial capital. His faith in the common man and the liberal philosophy that grew out of it were accentuated by

his acquaintance with the writings of Locke and Rousseau. Coupled with his inbred democracy were some qualities of a practical nature which the politician always finds useful. He could gauge public sentiment with uncanny accuracy. Not only did he know which way the wind of public opinion was blowing at any particular time, but he could frequently chart in advance the currents of popular sentiment. In the history of our country there have been few statesmen who could equal him in reading aright the signs of the times.

*ıe Cabinet*

Jefferson was fortunate in the selection of his Cabinet. That Madison would be made Secretary of State was a foregone conclusion. Not only were he and Jefferson warm personal friends, but they had generally seen eye to eye on political questions and had co-operated perfectly in the organization and development of the Republican Party. For Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin was the logical choice. As a member of Congress he had proved himself an able critic of Hamilton's financial measures and had demonstrated a greater knowledge of financial affairs than anyone else in his party. The high expectations raised by his previous record were abundantly realized by his administration of the Treasury Department. None of the other members of the Cabinet were men of outstanding ability.

*ɔcial practices at the White House*

With the accession of Jefferson there came a decided change in the social customs at the Executive Mansion. The formal levees of Washington[1] and Adams were discontinued and only on the Fourth of July and New Year's Day did Jefferson have formal receptions. On these occasions the reception rooms at the White House were open to all who wished to come. "Diplomats rubbed shoulders with grocers," and in the bestowal of his courtesies Jefferson made no distinction between Senators and barbers. At times, however, he probably showed too great an aversion to formality, notably when on one occasion he received the British minister in heelless slippers. But his informality never degenerated into vulgarity, nor his friendliness into undue familiarity. The White House was open to callers at all times and Jefferson exerted himself to please his guests and put them at ease.

*Washington at the beginning of the century*

The country town which had recently been made the nation's capital[2] afforded a better setting for Republican simplicity than for

1 Washington gave a formal reception once a week while Congress was in session. At these levees, with Lady Washington at his side, he received his guests with stiff formality, greeting them with a bow—not a handshake. He wore a black velvet suit with knee and shoe buckles, and carried at his side a sword in a scabbard of white leather. His powdered hair was tied behind in a silk bag and he held in his hand a cocked hat adorned with a cockade.

2 Philadelphia had been the capital of the United States from 1790-1800.

Federalist formality. The stiff and dignified etiquette of the Federalist regime did not appear so incongruous to the old and wealthy families of Philadelphia as it would have seemed to the few newcomers who were domiciled in the wilderness city. Washington had been laid out on a magnificent scale by the Frenchman, Major L'Enfant; but, as has been said, at this time the only appearance of magnificence was its distances. No one dreamed that one day it would be one of the world's most beautiful capitals. Here and there were clusters of houses separated from each other by fields and connected by unpaved roads which served as streets. A large swamp near Capitol Hill was a breeding place for myriads of mosquitoes and was a source of malaria.

## REPUBLICAN REFORMS

*Republican hopes and Federalist fears*

The defeat of Adams, with the accession of Jefferson, is often designated as the "Revolution of 1800." In the campaign of 1800 the danger of and the need for such a revolution were stressed by Federalists and Republicans, respectively. The significance of the change was not such, however, as to justify so high-sounding a term. Because of this agitation there were raised among Republicans exaggerated hopes of reform, and among Federalists unwarranted fears of destructive change.

*The Republicans control Congress*

Jefferson's program of reform included the clearing away of what he considered the rubbish of Federalist misrule and the adoption of constructive policies which would be beneficial to all the people. He was able to carry out his program because he had a Congress that was sympathetic with his aims. In both houses the Republicans had a majority and the leaders stood ready to give hearty support to his plans.

*Jefferson sends messages to Congress instead of making addresses*

Jefferson's objectives were set forth in his first message to Congress (December, 1801). The delivery of this message was in itself an innovation, since a copy was sent by messengers to each house instead of being read to both houses in joint session. The reason given for this break with custom was the convenience of Congress and the economy of its time. Probably a more important consideration with him was the fact that he was not an impressive speaker and could present his plans more effectively in writing than by oral expression. By sending written messages to both branches of the legislature, Jefferson set a new precedent which was followed by his successors for more than a century, until broken by his noted disciple, Woodrow Wilson.

*Repeal of Federalist measures*

The Republican Congress, in response to Jefferson's recommendations, proceeded at once to undo the objectionable Federalist

legislation. The Alien and Sedition laws expired by limitation at the end of Adams's term, and therefore Congress took no action regarding them. The Naturalization Law was changed so as to require five instead of fourteen years of residence for foreigners as a prerequisite for citizenship. The Judiciary Act of 1801 was repealed, and the newly appointed circuit judges were left suspended in mid-air without salary or position.

*ıancial orms*

Jefferson and Gallatin were anxious to lower taxes and at the same time reduce the public debt. This would mean strict economy in government. Minor economies could be effected by lopping off unnecessary offices, but the chief saving could be obtained by the lowering of appropriations for the army and navy. This reduction would involve the weakening of the country's defenses. But as the world was enjoying a temporary peace (March, 1802—May, 1803), the President felt that the danger of war was remote. Furthermore, to keep the army and navy on a small footing would accord with his antimilitaristic sentiments. The lull in hostilities in Europe was, however, only a truce, and Jefferson's policy proved to be ill-timed if not unwise. Under it the little standing army was made smaller, and if this policy had been fully maintained the navy also would have been crippled; but the Tripolitan War led to an increase in the efficiency of the navy, and it was stronger at the end than at the beginning of Jefferson's administration.

*epeal of the ıternal 'evenue Act*

The one important step toward the lowering of the taxes was the repeal of the Internal Revenue Act. By repealing this unpopular measure the Republican Party gained additional strength in the frontier regions, where the manufacture of brandy and whiskey was an important supplement to farming. It took away a considerable amount of revenue, however, and might have proved a source of embarrassment to the Treasury. Fortunately, the European situation took such a turn as to increase greatly the volume of American foreign trade. Since this meant an increase in tariff receipts, the government had enough income to meet current expenses and also to make large payments on the public debt.

*mportation of slaves prohibited*

From the beginning of his public career Jefferson had been opposed to the slave trade. The Constitution forbade the prohibition of the slave trade prior to January 1, 1808. Jefferson in his annual message of December, 1806, recommended an act of repeal. This suggestion was accepted by Congress, and a law forbidding the importation of slaves after January 1, 1808, was passed (1807). The penalties for violating the act were not severe, and the traffic was not entirely stopped, although it was greatly reduced.

The Ordinance of 1785, which inaugurated the American public

*Changes in the public land acts*

land policy, was slightly modified in Washington's administration (1796). Later (1800) at the request of William Henry Harrison, delegate in Congress from the Northwest Territory, the land policy of the government was liberalized in favor of the actual settler. Tracts of 320 acres were offered for sale, only one fourth of the purchase price to be paid in cash, the other three fourths to be met in four annual installments. In 1804 a new act reduced the minimum limit of purchase to 160 acres. Since only eighty dollars were now needed for the first payment, homesteads out of the public domain were in reach of the masses.

*Ohio admitted as a state*

These changes in the public land policy were favorable to emigration to the West and the organization of new states and territories. The first of the states carved out of the Northwest Territory was Ohio, which was admitted into the Union in 1803. The unsold public lands within that state's limits were retained by the Federal government. Also, Ohio promised not to tax for five years any lands which had been sold by the United States. As a compensation for these concessions, the act of admission contained two important pledges: (1) that one section in every township sold would be granted to the inhabitants for the maintenance of schools; and (2) that five per cent of the proceeds from the sale of public lands in Ohio would be used for constructing roads from the eastward-flowing navigable waters to the Ohio River and in the state of Ohio. The percentage arising from these sales was used to build the Cumberland Road, or National Turnpike, from Cumberland to Wheeling, Virginia. In this way the foundation of the system of internal improvements was laid—and that by a Congress and President who professed a rigid adherence to the doctrine of states' rights.

## THE FIGHT BETWEEN JEFFERSON AND THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

*Reasons for the conflict between the executive and the judiciary*

Like a later New Dealer, Jefferson was confronted at the outset by an antagonistic Federal judiciary. In attempting to cope with this obstacle, both Presidents learned that a fight with the judiciary is a difficult if not a dangerous undertaking. Although the Federalists had lost control of the legislative and executive branches of the government, they were still impregnably intrenched in the judiciary. All the judges were Federalists, and the Chief Justice, John Marshall, was a bitter personal and political enemy of the President. A month before the latter's inauguration Marshall had entered upon his career as Chief Justice, and for more than a third of a century he was the dominating personality of the Supreme Court.

The basis of the conflict between the executive and judicial

departments was a disagreement as to the interpretation of the Constitution. The Federalist judges held to the doctrine of nationalism, and the Republican President and many of his followers in Congress, to that of states' rights. But this academic dispute was heated by the ill feeling that existed between Jefferson and Marshall. Furthermore, the Republicans generally regarded Associate Justice Chase as a "Bloody Jeffreys." He had won this unflattering designation by his overbearing manner in presiding at trials under the Sedition Act.

*he case of* arbury v. adison

The Administration led the attack and, in the repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801, won the first victory. The next year, however, the Supreme Court assumed the offensive when it rendered its decision in the case of *Marbury* v. *Madison*. William Marbury had been named by Adams as one of the justices of the peace for the District of Columbia. His appointment had been confirmed by the Senate, but the commission had not been delivered to him. In obedience to instructions from Jefferson, Madison had refused to deliver his commission and the others which had been made out to appointees in the last days of Adams's term. Marbury applied to the Supreme Court for a writ of mandamus to compel the Secretary of State to deliver the commission. In handing down the decision of the Court, Marshall declared that Madison had no right to withhold the commission, but that the Supreme Court could not issue a mandamus to force him to deliver it; that part of the Act of 1789 which conferred such jurisdiction on the Supreme Court was contrary to the Constitution and therefore null and void.

*ignificance f the ecision*

This was the first time that the Supreme Court had ever declared an act of Congress unconstitutional, and it was more than a half-century before it again asserted this authority (in the Dred Scott Decision, 1857). The idea of judicial review, however, was not new to the American people. In colonial days the right of the Privy Council in England to pass upon the constitutionality of colonial legislation was generally accepted. During the period of the Confederation there were a few instances in which state courts had assumed the right to review the acts of state legislatures. There was some doubt, however, as to whether the Constitution had conferred upon the Federal judiciary this power over Congress.

*The impeachment of Justice Chase*

The action of the Supreme Court in this case was bitterly resented by Jefferson and his friends, who contended that the legislature would cease to be an independent branch of the government if its acts could be set aside by the judiciary. Before Jefferson's resentment over the Marbury decision had cooled, Justice Chase, in a charge to a grand jury in Baltimore, made a foolish harangue in

which he warned against the dangers of universal suffrage and deprecated the evils of democracy. It was virtually a stump speech against the political ideals of the Administration. This exhibition of partisanship by a member of the Supreme Court gave Jefferson a good opportunity to try out the weapon of impeachment in his fight with the Supreme Court. At Jefferson's suggestion, charges were now brought against Chase and he was impeached by the House by a strict party vote; but in the Senate the necessary two-thirds majority for conviction could not be secured and therefore the attempt at removal failed. The majority of the Republican leaders took the position that to remove a judge under impeachment procedure it was not necessary to convict him of crime but only to show that he held dangerous opinions. This view, however, was not sustained by two thirds of the Senators, since all the Federalist and a few of the Republican Senators insisted that conviction of an indictable offense was necessary for removal. They held that the exhibition of partisanship on the part of a judge, although a gross offense, was not a crime.

*The Tripolitan War*

As has already been seen, fortunately the President's program of retrenchment regarding the navy was considerably modified by the demands created by the Tripolitan War. This war arose from the acts of the rulers of the Barbary States of northern Africa—Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—whose ships had for many years been preying on the commerce of European countries. Instead of chastising these corsairs, the European powers had been purchasing immunity by paying an annual tribute. To protect American sailors, Washington adopted the usual plan of making payments to the rulers. Jefferson did not approve of this policy, and he was confirmed in his opinion by the demand of the Pasha of Tripoli for more tribute. When the Tripolitan ruler declared war on the United States (May 10, 1801), Jefferson sent ships to blockade the Tripolitan coast with the view to bringing its ruler to reason. These vessels performed feats of valor, and with some degree of success, but did not win a decisive victory. Finally, the Pasha, faced by a revolt led by his brother and instigated by the American consul at Tunis, agreed to terms of peace. A treaty was signed (June 4, 1805) between Tripoli and the United States by which about three hundred American sailors were released from bondage on the payment of $60,000 by the United States. No mention was made of tribute, but it was understood that the American government would send to the Pasha by each newly appointed consul a present of not more than $6000.

Although this was not a glorious ending of a long and vexatious

contest and did not stop all trouble with the Barbary corsairs, the activity of the American navy had inspired them with respect for the new republic. The most significant result, however, was the effect the fighting had upon the navy. The engagements in the Mediterranean increased its morale and gave the officers a training which proved valuable in the war soon to come with England.

## THE PURCHASE OF LOUISIANA

*The Treaty of San Ildefonso*

The greatest achievement of Jefferson's administration was the purchase of Louisiana. Napoleon wished to build a French colonial empire in America as a compensation for what France had lost by the Seven Years' War. In pursuit of this aim he decided to repossess Louisiana, which had since 1763 been in the possession of Spain. Shortly after his great victory at Marengo, while flushed with overconfidence as to his power and importance, he sent to the King of Spain a request which was virtually a demand for the retrocession of Louisiana. The Spanish king, Don Carlos IV, had no alternative but to accept the offer, and he ceded Louisiana to France by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (October 1, 1800). The agreement was kept secret for some time, and for more than three years Spain retained possession of the territory.

*Jefferson opposed to the acquisition of Louisiana by France; reasons*

At the time of his accession Jefferson knew nothing of the Treaty of San Ildefonso and was on very friendly terms with the French government. When at a later date he learned of the agreement for the transfer of Louisiana to France, his attitude suddenly changed, for he considered French ownership of Louisiana a grave menace to the prosperity and security of his country. As long as this province was owned by a weak power, friendly to the United States, he did not seriously fear that the Mississippi would be closed to Western trade; but with Louisiana in the possession of a strong and aggressive power like France, the situation would be quite different. His deep concern over the cession was expressed in a letter to Robert R. Livingston, American minister at Paris, as follows: "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which three eighths of our territory must pass to market. . . . France placing herself in that door assumes to us the attitude of defiance. . . . The day that France takes possession of N. Orleans . . . we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."

A few months later the news came that the Spanish authorities had withdrawn the right of deposit, an act the responsibility for which was erroneously attributed to Napoleon. The Westerners on

learning of the retrocession and the withdrawal of the right of deposit were aroused to a warlike attitude. There was a danger that they might make an unauthorized attack on New Orleans or arrange terms with France and withdraw their allegiance to the United States. Jefferson now felt that something unusual should be done. Accordingly, he sent James Monroe as minister plentipotentiary to France to co-operate with Livingston in negotiating an agreement with Napoleon.

*Instructions of the American envoys at Paris*

The instructions of these envoys covered several alternative proposals. They were to make a liberal offer for the Isle of Orleans and the Floridas. If these regions could not be obtained, they were to try to get enough land on the east bank of the Mississippi for a port. If all efforts to purchase land on the lower Mississippi should fail, they should as a final effort press for a perpetual guarantee of the free navigation of the Mississippi together with the right of deposit. If this last demand should be refused and France should force a war by closing the river to American trade, then Livingston and Monroe were to enter into communication with the British authorities with the view to forming an alliance with them.

*Negotiation of the purchase*

By the time Monroe arrived in France, Napoleon had changed his mind as to a colonial empire and had decided to sell Louisiana to the United States. Therefore, before Monroe reached Paris, Talleyrand asked Livingston how much his country would give for all of Louisiana. Livingston was so surprised that he could hardly believe his ears. He concealed his enthusiasm, however, and waited until Monroe's arrival before closing the bargain. A treaty was then signed (dated April 30, 1803) by which France ceded to the United States all of Louisiana for 80,000,000 francs (about $15,000,000), one fourth of which was to be applied to the payment of American claims against France. The boundaries of Louisiana were not clearly indicated in the treaty. Whether it included West Florida or Texas or both was not definitely stated.

*Jefferson's view on the constitutionality of the purchase*

On receiving information that this great bargain had been made, Jefferson was delighted and was resolved that the agreement should be consummated. He felt, however, that the authority to make the purchase was not granted by the Constitution, which had no specific provisions regarding the acquisition of new territory. The authority to acquire new territory could be derived, therefore, only by resorting to the doctrine of implied powers, of which he had been the arch-opponent. He was, therefore, placed in the awkward position of having to sacrifice either his consistency or a great opportunity to serve his country. Fortunately, he put patriotism above consistency and, stretching his states'-rights conscience to the limit,

signed the treaty. It was ratified by the Senate and the purchase money was voted by Congress by overwhelming majorities.

*Later decision of the Supreme Court*

The acquisition of Louisiana was not a violation of the Constitution. Later (1828) the Supreme Court decided that the power conferred upon the general government to make treaties includes by implication the authority to acquire new territory by treaty.

*The Lewis and Clark expedition*

Soon after Louisiana was acquired Jefferson sent out an expedition to explore the vast Northwest. Captain Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark, were in charge of the exploring party. With them went twenty-three other persons, all of whom were enlisted in the regular army. After six months of severe training and rigid discipline in preparation, the detachment was ready to start on the perilous journey. It left St. Louis in May, 1804. After six months of strenuous exertion they arrived at the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota, near which they spent the winter. Resuming their progress in the spring, they reached the Pacific Ocean in the fall (1805). Here they spent another winter and then journeyed back to St. Louis, reaching this place in September, 1806. As a result of this exploring venture, much new geographical information was gained regarding the Northwest. The location of rivers and mountains, the lay of the land, the nature of the soil, and the disposition of the Indians were noted. The exploration of the Oregon country strengthened the claim of the United States to that region.

*The election of 1804*

As Jefferson's first term approached its end he could view the achievements of the period with marked satisfaction. His domestic policy had pleased his original supporters and brought in numerous recruits from the camp of the enemy. By doubling the national domain he had given success a bright tinge of glory. This was, as he said, the harvest time of his public career. It is true that he had aroused the bitterest enmity among some of the leaders of his old political opponents, who, prodded by their prejudices and unfounded fears, were willing to break up the Union rather than have him rule over them; but they could do little more than bite their nails in futile rage.

Jefferson's remarkable popularity was attested by the election of 1804. He was renominated by the Republican Congressional caucus, with George Clinton of New York as his running mate. The Federalists held no caucus but agreed among themselves to support Charles C. Pinckney for the Presidency. The results showed that Jefferson had received all the electoral votes but fourteen. Even Massachusetts was found in the Republican column, and only Connecticut was solid in its opposition to the President.

LATER CAREER OF AARON BURR

*A disunion plot*

Not only were the Federalists strongly opposed to the purchase of Louisiana, but they were also alarmed at the growing strength of the Republican Party, which was even making dangerous inroads in New England, a region sacred to Federalism. So great was their disappointment that a small group of them concocted a scheme for breaking up the Union. Their plan was to induce the New England states and New York, and possibly New Jersey and eastern Pennsylvania, to secede and form a northern confederacy. Some of the Canadian provinces might, with British consent, come into this new union. In New York Burr was running for governor as an independent Republican against the regular nominee of the party and was receiving the support of the Federalists. The secessionists hoped that if Burr were elected he would use his influence and power in furtherance of their scheme, although Burr made no promises to that effect. Burr, however, failed of election and with his defeat the secession plan collapsed. The project never gave promise of success and was not formidable enough to furnish real cause for alarm. The great majority of the people of New York and New England—including a majority of the Federalists—were not in sympathy with it.

*The Hamilton-Burr duel*

Burr considered that an important factor in his defeat had been the opposition of Hamilton, who in the campaign had denounced him as a "dangerous man." The ill feeling between them resulted in a challenge to a duel sent by Burr to Hamilton. Early on a July morning they faced each other at Weehawken for a final settlement of their quarrel. Burr fired the fatal shot, and Hamilton was carried away with a mortal wound.

*The "conspiracy" of Aaron Burr*

The most dramatic event connected with domestic affairs during Jefferson's second term was the trial of Aaron Burr for treason, on the ground that he had attempted to separate Louisiana from the Union and organize it into an independent country. The basis of this charge was the fact that he had formed a plan for a grandiose venture in the West and in pursuit of this aim had sent a flotilla of thirteen flatboats down the Mississippi River. But just what his purpose really was it is now impossible to say, since the scheme as unfolded by him to his various associates was not always the same. Some of them thought that he had in mind a huge project of land speculation, some, an expedition against Spanish Mexico, and others, the creation of a southwestern confederacy to be composed of territory taken from Spain or from the United States or both. His flotilla was halted, and he was arrested as a result of information

given to the Washington authorities by General James Wilkinson, military commander at New Orleans, who had been in communication with Burr and seems to have been implicated in the plot, but to what extent is uncertain. Burr was tried in Richmond in a United States circuit court presided over by Chief Justice Marshall. The trial was protracted to a great length and became one of the most noted in the annals of legal history. Marshall's rulings in the case were favorable to Burr, and with the instructions issued to it the jury felt obliged to render a verdict of not guilty.

### THE DIFFICULTIES OF NEUTRALITY

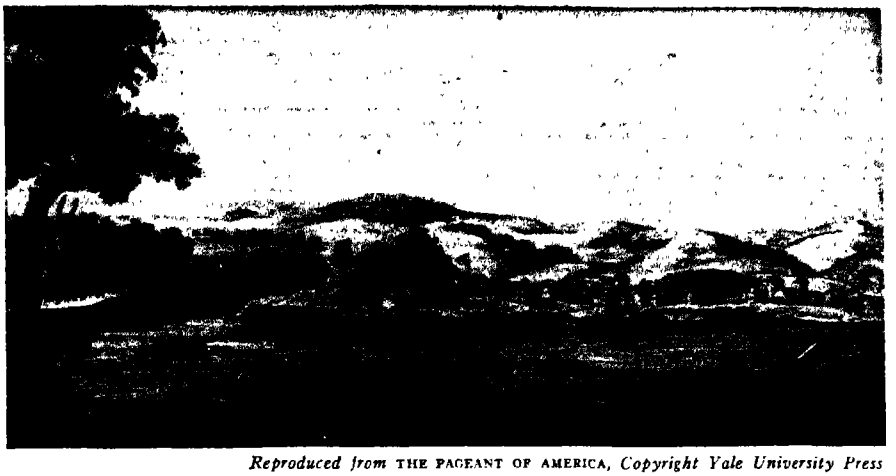
*The annexation of West Florida*

The Westerners were eagerly desirous of gaining possession of West Florida because within its limits were Mobile Bay and the mouths of several rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico. They were disappointed that the possession of this territory did not go along with Louisiana. As a concession to this feeling, Livingston advanced a theory whereby the coveted land could be obtained. He contended that the eastern boundary of Louisiana was the Perdido River, and Jefferson and Madison were easily induced to accept this view. This would mean that Napoleon in ceding Louisiana had given the United States a claim to West Florida. Jefferson wanted very much to obtain West Florida, but his efforts to bring Spain to an agreement were unsuccessful, and the Florida problem was passed on to his successor.

Not long after Madison's accession there came to him the opportunity of seizing the land which Jefferson had been unable to obtain by negotiation. Spanish authority in the Floridas was weak, and the population was mixed and turbulent. Incited by the spirit of revolution then abroad in Spanish America, the inhabitants in the northwestern part of West Florida (a large majority of whom were Americans) revolted and captured Baton Rouge (1810). A convention of the insurgents declared the independence of West Florida and asked that it be annexed to the United States. Taking advantage of this opportunity, President Madison seized a good portion of the province and at the end of the same year (December, 1810) took formal possession of the land as far east as the Pearl River. While the war with Great Britain was going on (1813), the United States, on the pretext of military necessity, took over the remainder of West Florida, to the Perdido River.

*Effect of the European war on the United States*

Early in Jefferson's first term there was for a brief period a lull in the European conflict. War was renewed in 1803 and continued (with one short break) until Napoleon was sent to St. Helena a dozen years later. As had been the case under Washington and



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PITTSBURGH IN 1796.

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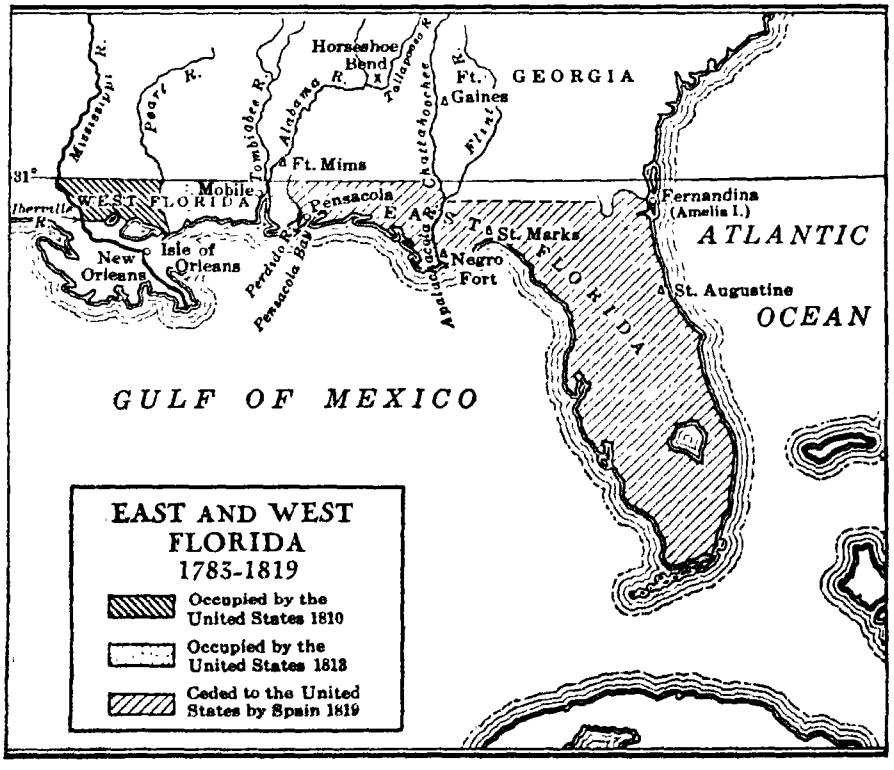
THE WHITE HOUSE IN 1805.

TECUMSEH.


Horseshoe Bend
Ft. Gaines
GEORGIA
Ft. Mims
31°
WEST FLORIDA
Mobile
Pensacola
Fernandina (Amelia I.)
ATLANTIC
St. Marks
Isle of Orleans
New Orleans
Negro Fort
St. Augustine
OCEAN
GULF OF MEXICO
EAST AND WEST FLORIDA
1783-1819
Occupied by the United States 1810
Occupied by the United States 1813
Ceded to the United States by Spain 1819

Adams, the war was in some respects favorable to American economic interests. It increased the demand for food products and other raw materials. Since the belligerent nations did not have enough ships for both war and commercial purposes, American ships were actively engaged in the carrying trade. This meant high prices for farm products and large profits for shipowners. Agriculture, commerce, and shipbuilding, and allied industries were, therefore, reaping a rich harvest.

*England and France interfere with neutral trade*

There was, however, one serious drawback to this artificial prosperity. England and France, the leading belligerents, were each imposing restrictions on commerce which violated the rights of neutral powers. The United States was the most important of the commercial neutrals and therefore protested most strongly against these restraints. The problem of the American government was to protect the interests of its people without being drawn into the conflict. The country wanted to warm itself by the European fire without being burned. The French victories of Jena and Austerlitz, and the English naval victory of Trafalgar, clearly demonstrated the primacy of France on the land and of England on the sea. At one time Napoleon was in control of the whole western coast of Europe. Each of the contestants was determined to use its power to prevent its opponent from benefitting by the neutral carrying trade, and neither was willing to allow its best weapon to be dulled by consideration for the rights of neutrals.

*The impressment of American seamen*

A second grievance of the United States against England arose out of her impressment of American seamen. It had been the practice in England for a long time to send out press gangs to gather deserters from the navy and force able-bodied seamen into the service. Merchantmen were searched, and seamen taken off and put on warships. Now, as in the first part of the Anglo-French war, American vessels were stopped on the high seas and British seamen were taken from them for service in the navy. Although the intention was to impress only British subjects, nationals of the United States were sometimes included by mistake. In such instances proof of American citizenship secured a release, but an American forced to serve on an English man-of-war was not always in a position to present his case in a fair light. For this reason sailors born and reared in the United States were sometimes pressed into the British service.

Furthermore, the government of the United States did not agree with that of England on the definition of citizenship. The former took the position that a foreigner, after five years of residence in this country, could, if he elected to do so, become a citizen of the

United States in the same sense as a native-born American. The English authorities, on the other hand, were not willing to concede the right of expatriation to their subjects. "Once an Englishman, always an Englishman," was their contention. The government of the United States therefore protested against the seizure of its British-born subjects, whereas the English government contended that their impressment was a legitimate exercise of its rights. To the British government the question of impressment was one of prime importance, for the practice was closely bound up with the efficiency of the navy. Impressment was necessary to stop the leaks due to desertion. Seamen in considerable number were deserting from British warships and finding employment on American merchantmen with higher pay and better living conditions than could be obtained on English ships. These desertions were encouraged by American shipowners, who sometimes procured fraudulent naturalization papers for deserters.

*British Orders in Council and the Berlin and Milan Decrees*

In 1806 Charles James Fox became Minister of Foreign Affairs in England. He issued an executive order declaring the western coast of Europe under blockade from the Elbe to Brest, but the blockade was not to be enforced except between Ostend and Havre. This order gave Napoleon a pretext to issue the Berlin Decree, by which he declared the British Isles under blockade and prohibited all trade with them. Since his fleet had been all but driven from the ocean, this was a paper blockade with a vengeance. The British government replied by issuing three Orders in Council, which declared a blockade of the whole coast of Europe from Copenhagen to Trieste. Neutral ships were prohibited from trading at these blockaded ports except those vessels that had stopped at a British port and paid "transit duties." A month later Napoleon retaliated against these orders by issuing the Milan Decree, which announced that any ship would be seized if it paid these duties, submitted to search by the British, or was found to be on the way to England. If these orders and decrees had been rigidly enforced all of Europe would have been closed to American trade except Russia, Sweden, and Turkey, and for a time Russia would also have been debarred. Napoleon had no ships to speak of on the high seas with which to enforce his decrees, but he could seize offending neutral vessels when they touched at ports controlled by him.

*The affair of the* Chesapeake

In connection with the impressment controversy there occurred an unfortunate event at sea which greatly aroused feeling in America. In the summer of 1807 the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, under Captain James Barron, sailed for the Mediterranean Sea. Her armament was new, and the guns were not properly placed for

action. Captain Barron expected to clear the decks and put the vessel in fighting order during the long voyage. There were on board with Barron three American citizens who had been impressed by the British and had escaped, and one British subject who had enlisted under an assumed name. The British warship, the *Leopard,* off the coast of Virginia, hailed the *Chesapeake* and asked for the return of English deserters. Captain Barron replied that there were none with him and refused to muster his crew for inspection. Thereupon the *Leopard* fired a broadside into the *Chesapeake.* The latter could not use her guns and for fifteen minutes had to receive the attack without resistance. The *Chesapeake* surrendered, but not until three men had been killed and eighteen wounded. The four alleged deserters were removed to the *Leopard,* and the crippled *Chesapeake* returned to the harbor of Norfolk.

By this highhanded act the emotions of the American people were stirred, very much as they were a century later by the sinking of the *Lusitania.* Federalists were carried along with Republicans in the current of patriotic fervor. Jefferson would have had no difficulty in taking the country into war if he had wished to do so; but he did not want war, even with so good a pretext. He did, however, order all British public vessels away from American waters. Although Canning, the British foreign minister, at once expressed regret and promised "the most prompt and effectual reparation . . . if the British officers should prove to have been culpable," it was not until 1811 that amends was made for this outrage. At that time the act was disavowed and reparation promised. The surviving American citizens were restored to the *Chesapeake* in dramatic fashion. Expiation came too late, however, to quiet the ill feeling that this grievance and others had aroused among the people of the United States.

*"Peaceable coercion"*

Although Jefferson wished to avoid war if it were possible, he was not willing to acquiesce tamely in the infringement of American rights. He felt, however, that he should fight for these rights with economic weapons and thus avoid the necessity of going to war. American trade, he thought, was so valuable to the belligerents that they could be frightened into an observance of neutral rights by a threat to withhold this trade from them. By this policy of "peaceable coercion" he proposed to force the warring powers into good behavior.

*The Embargo Act*

Acting on the President's suggestion, Congress passed the Embargo Act (December 21, 1807). This law forbade all American vessels to leave port for foreign countries, and they were thus allowed to engage only in the coastwise trade. Foreign vessels (except those

already loaded) could leave the ports of the United States only in ballast. If this law were enforced it would deprive American ships of all participation in foreign trade and would preclude all exports from the United States.[1]

The object of the measure was to deny the belligerents the assistance which they had been receiving from the American carrying trade and to deprive them of the food supplies and raw materials which had been going to them. Jefferson expected that these deprivations would cause a serious disturbance of the economic life of the warring powers and force them to respect American rights. For several reasons this expectation was not realized. In the first place, the law was not strictly enforced, despite the strenuous efforts put forth by the government. Many American vessels at sea at the time the act was passed refused to return to home ports. They could, therefore, continue their activity in the international trade without incurring the penalties of the law. Furthermore, goods were smuggled out through Canada and Florida.

*Effect of the act on France and England*

The act did practically no harm to France. In a way it was an aid to Napoleon, for it was in line with his policy of cutting off neutral trade with England. Nor did the embargo interfere with the economic life of England as much as had been expected. There was some suffering among the laboring classes, especially the workers in cotton mills, owing to a shortage of raw materials. But at this time, because of the friendship of Spain and Portugal, the South American ports were thrown open to England and this trade was a partial compensation for the loss of that of the United States.

*Opposition in the United States*

On the other hand, this self-denying ordinance imposed considerable hardship on certain groups of the American people. American ships were tied up in the harbors, to the great loss of their owners. This inactivity struck a blow to commerce, shipbuilding, and allied industries. The ban on exports deprived agricultural produce of its foreign market and caused a decline in prices. Cotton, tobacco, wheat, and other farm products became a drug on the market. There was, therefore, strong opposition to the measure, much of which took the form of a criticism of the Administration. The antagonism was greatest in New England, where the Federalists were most numerous and economic objection was reinforced by bitterness of partisan feeling.

So great was the opposition to the embargo in the East that

[1] The Embargo Act did not prohibit the bringing in of imports by foreign ships. It discouraged importation, however, by the provision that these foreign ships could not carry a cargo on the return trip. Furthermore, the Nonimportation Act, which went into effect just before the Embargo Act was passed, prohibited the importation of certain English goods.

*Repeal of the Embargo Act*

a number of Republican Congressmen from New England and New York co-operated with their Federalist colleagues against the President. Accordingly, the Embargo Act was repealed and the Nonintercourse Act substituted for it. On March 1, 1809, Jefferson, with apparent willingness but real reluctance, signed the new act and by so doing acknowledged the failure of a measure of peaceable coercion, in the efficacy of which he had strongly believed. He always contended, however, that had the embargo been adhered to and rigidly enforced, war with England would have been prevented.

*The election of 1808*

The election of 1808 came at a time when the excitement over the embargo was running high. This measure furnished the Federalists with a much-desired issue, and its unpopularity gave them hope of success. Their nominees were C. C. Pinckney and Rufus King, for President and Vice-President, respectively. Resolutions were adopted by several state legislatures urging Jefferson to run for a third term. In response to these requests he issued a statement announcing his decision not to be a candidate and giving his reasons. Old age was one of the reasons mentioned, but a more important one was the feeling that eight years was long enough for any President to serve. If Presidents were allowed to succeed themselves indefinitely the office might become one of life tenure and ultimately hereditary. In refusing a third term he set a precedent, or confirmed one set by Washington, in favor of limiting the Presidency to two successive terms. This precedent was closely followed from that time until 1940.

There were three prominent aspirants for the Republican nomination—Madison, Monroe, and George Clinton. Jefferson was outwardly neutral but really used his influence in favor of Madison. This insured Madison's nomination. The Republicans in Congress held a caucus and nominated Madison for the first place and Clinton for the second. The friends of Monroe and Clinton were disgruntled at the rejection of their candidates, but Monroe's followers voted for Madison in the election. Clinton, however, received 6 electoral votes for the Presidency. Madison and Clinton were elected by a large majority of the electoral vote, although the Republican majority in Congress was considerably reduced. The Federalists carried every New England state except Vermont.

*Appraisal of Jefferson's statesmanship*

Jefferson's foreign policy in his second term cost him much of the popularity he had won by his domestic policy in the first. The opposition to the embargo emboldened the Federalists to redouble their attacks, and his old enemies were given aid and comfort by insurgent Republicans, who were opposed to his policy of peaceable coercion. So far as his popularity was concerned, there was much

truth in John Randolph's saying, that the four lean kine had eaten up the four fat kine. However, on leaving the little capital never to return in a public capacity, Jefferson could console himself with the thought that many of the achievements of his administration would stand out as monuments of a wise and farseeing statesmanship.

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# CHAPTER XII

# James Madison and the War of 1812

## Foreign Problems

JAMES MADISON was the logical successor of Jefferson. For eight years he had served as the latter's premier and had been in entire agreement with him on all major issues. For the serious responsibilities with which he was confronted, the new President had some fine qualifications along with certain shortcomings which at times proved a handicap. He was well educated and had probably given more study and thought to political science than any other American of his day. Furthermore, practically all of his adult years had been devoted to public affairs. Like the Virginia planters generally, his social habits were characterized by marked simplicity and informality. With a sense of humor to enliven his cordiality, he gave promise of being a success so far as the social side of his office was concerned. If, however, there had been any doubts on this score, they would have been dispelled when it was recalled how efficiently Mrs. Madison—the charming "Dolly"—had performed the duties of mistress of the White House under Jefferson.

*Personality of Madison*

Madison's Cabinet was composed mostly of commonplace men except that Gallatin was continued as Secretary of the Treasury and in 1811 James Monroe became Secretary of State. During the period 1814-15 Monroe also acted as Secretary of War.

*His Cabinet*

A few days before Madison's accession the Embargo Act had been superseded by the Nonintercourse Act. By the latter measure all trade between the United States and England and France, including their colonies or dependencies, was suspended. If, however, either France or England should withdraw its restrictions on American commerce, intercourse with that power would be reopened by the President. It was expected that this law would be liberally interpreted and so would open up considerable trade to American shipping.

*The Nonintercourse Act*

The policy of "peaceable coercion" was weakened by the substitution of the Nonintercourse Act for the Embargo Act. It was still further attenuated when the former measure was repealed

*Macon's Bill No. 2*

and Macon's Bill No. 2 was passed (May 1, 1810).[1] This act provided for the reopening of trade with both England and France, with the added provision that if one of these countries removed its restrictions on American trade and the other did not, nonintercourse would be revived with the power that refused to do so.

*Napoleon's trick*

The new act gave Napoleon an opportunity to play a trick on the guileless American President. He had his Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Duke of Cadore, to write to the American minister at Paris announcing that the Decrees of Berlin and Milan had been revoked but with the understanding that the English would cancel their Orders in Council. Madison accepted this as a pledge that France would rescind her decrees and overlooked the condition which was thereto attached. Therefore, on November 2, acting in accordance with the Macon Act, he announced the revival of nonintercourse with Great Britain. But American vessels were still seized in French ports, and the British foreign office was correct in contending that the French decrees had not been actually canceled. The English government, therefore, refused to revoke its Orders in Council.

*Encounter between the* President *and the* Little Belt

Relations between the United States and England were gradually becoming more menacing. The situation was aggravated by the presence off Sandy Hook of British cruisers which were stopping American vessels to search them for deserters. An effort by the American navy to put an end to this practice led to a battle off the Virginia coast between the American frigate *President* and the British sloop *Little Belt* (May, 1811). After a fight of fifteen minutes the latter vessel was disabled, with nine of her crew killed and twenty-three wounded. The incident aroused a spirit of exultation in the American people, who regarded it as a just requital for the *Chesapeake* insult. It also whetted their appetite for war.

## DOMESTIC PROBLEMS

*An unsuccessful effort to recharter the Bank of the United States*

One of the most important of the domestic problems during Madison's administration was that of providing the country with a sound and adequate financial system. The charter of the First Bank of the United States would expire in 1811 if it were not renewed. Gallatin urged the renewal of the charter, but there was enough opposition to the bill for recharter to defeat it by a narrow majority. The Bank, therefore, went out of existence the year before the War of 1812 started. This was unfortunate, since

[1] This measure was so called because the first bill offered by Macon had been defeated.

the Bank would have been a valuable aid to the government in financing the war.

*The Territory of Orleans*

In 1804 by an act of Congress the southern and most populous part of Louisiana was organized into the Territory of Orleans. In 1810 the Territory of Orleans was enlarged by the addition of a part of West Florida which had been taken from Spain, and soon thereafter it asked for admission to the Union as the State of Louisiana with its present limits. This request was strongly opposed by the Federalists, who felt that to admit this new state would be to establish a precedent which would lead to the formation of a number of trans-Mississippi commonwealths each having the same rights and privileges as the old states. If this were done, New England and the older section in general would lose prestige and power in the councils of the nation.

*Louisiana admitted as a state*

*Opposition of the Federalists*

*Indian troubles*

Westward expansion was threatening the Indians with the loss of all their lands. Out of the area reserved to the natives by the Treaty of Greenville (1795), large sections for settlement by the whites had been acquired by later treaties. Furthermore, contact with the white man was causing deterioration in the character of the Indians, who were copying the vices more readily than the virtues of the frontiersman. Under such conditions it was only natural that friction should develop between the two races.

*Tecumseh and the Prophet*

At this time the Indians of the Northwest had as their leaders Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. The former was an able statesman and patriot and wished to save his people from the unhappy fate to which they were hastening. In this aim he was greatly aided by the Prophet, who, as a religious leader, preached a moral reformation. Tecumseh's plan was for all the Indians, north and south, to unite into one great confederacy to prevent encroachment upon their lands. Land cessions in the future should be made only by the joint action of all the tribes. He preferred a policy of peace to one of war, but felt that his people should resist any effort to push them farther toward the west and should defend their rights by arms if necessary.

*The battle of Tippecanoe*

In 1811 he went to the south to enlist the aid of the Indians in that section. Taking advantage of his absence, William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, led a force to the Prophet's town, located near the confluence of the Wabash and Tippecanoe Rivers. Here a battle took place in which the whites lost more heavily than the natives; but as the latter left the place the next day and the whites burned the village, the engagement was hailed by the Westerners as a great victory. The battle of Tippecanoe was the beginning of a war which continued in the form of depredations

on the frontier until the Indian conflict merged into the war of 1812.

*Canadian authorities charged with inciting the Indians*

After the battle it was discovered that some of the guns and powder captured at Tippecanoe had come from the British post at Malden. For this reason Governor Harrison contended that the British officials were responsible for the sale of arms to the Indians. Governor Brock, of Upper Canada, however, denied that the Canadian government had had any part in inciting the natives. He admitted that individual British, as well as American, traders had sold arms and ammunition to the redskins, but maintained that the government officials had had no agency in this traffic. On the contrary, they had, he maintained, tried to dissuade the Indians from hostilities.

It is quite probable that the authorities of Upper Canada were opposed to an Indian war at that time. They foresaw that a premature attack on the settlers would result in defeat and that the loss of morale occasioned by such a defeat would weaken the natives and make them less valuable as possible allies. Whatever may have been the facts in the case, there is no doubt that the Westerners believed that the British government was inciting the Indians against the Americans and was supplying them with arms and ammunition. The frontiersmen felt, therefore, that they could never enjoy security against Indian attack until American had superseded British control in Canada. The hope of taking Canada was, therefore, a strong motive for favoring war.

## WAR IS DECLARED AGAINST ENGLAND

*The "War Hawks"*

In the mid-term election of 1810 strong opposition was expressed toward the foreign policy of the Administration. About half of the Congressmen who had voted for Macon's Bill No. 2 were defeated and a large number of seats were filled by new men. Prominent in the list of new members of the House of Representatives were Henry Clay of Kentucky, John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, Peter B. Porter of New York, and Felix Grundy of Tennessee. These leaders and others who worked with them were tired of what they considered the weak-kneed policy of peaceable coercion and clamored for war. John Randolph dubbed them "War Hawks." In the fall of 1811 they were in control of the House and chose as Speaker, Henry Clay, one of the most brilliant and belligerent of the group.

*Henry Clay*

Clay was born in eastern Virginia but had gone to Kentucky in early manhood. Because of the limited means of his family, he did not have in his youth good opportunities for education. He was

fortunate, however, in being able to study law under Chancellor George Wythe, one of the ablest of the legal lights in the Old Dominion. Young Clay had not been long in his new home before his magnetic personality and brilliant oratory were marking out for him a promising career in politics. Although he was now only in his thirty-fifth year, he had been elected twice to the Kentucky legislature and had served for two short periods in the United States Senate. As presiding officer of the House, he established a new tradition in that body. Hitherto the Speaker had acted as an impartial moderator; Clay determined to use the great power of the office in favor of his war policy, and committee appointments were made with that in view.

*The declaration of war*

Madison was for a while undecided as to what attitude he should take toward war. In time, however, he identified himself with the war party. He reviewed the grievances that the United States had suffered at the hands of England in a message to Congress (June 1, 1812) which was a virtual, though not an actual, recommendation for war. Acting on the President's suggestion, the young hotspurs pushed through Congress a declaration of war on June 18, 1812. The vote in its favor, however, was not overwhelming. The Federalists of the Northeast opposed the declaration, and some Republicans either refused to vote or voted against it. One of the most bitter of the opponents of war was John Randolph of Roanoke. The Southern and Western members, however, were almost unanimous for war. From the four frontier states of Vermont, Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, only one vote against the declaration was cast. On the other hand, there was a feeling among many thoughtful Americans that England was fighting for the rights of self-determination and constitutional government, whereas Napoleon was trying to impose a dictatorship on Europe. By attacking the mother country the people of the United States were (they contended) giving aid and comfort to a cause which they detested and were combatting one with which they were in sympathy.[1]

*Why war was declared against England rather than France*

One naturally wonders why the United States selected Great Britain rather than France for war, since its grievances against the latter power were in principle very much the same as those against the former. There were several reasons for the choice of England as the enemy rather than France. As England had a strong navy on the high seas and France did not, the complaints against the former country were more numerous than those against the latter. Nor

[1] It ought to be added that this view was not accepted by a majority of the American people. The Republicans, in the main, felt that the success of Napoleon would lead to the acceptance throughout Europe of many of the liberal principles of the French Revolution.

had any French infringements of American rights been so dramatic and anger-stirring as the attack on the *Chesapeake*. Blame for Indian troubles could be placed on England but not on France. Probably, however, the most important of all the considerations was that the Americans could strike at England in her Canadian provinces and could not get at the French possessions. Canada, it was thought, would be an easy prey for the American forces. Florida could also be seized, to balance the hoped-for additions to the North, since the war would afford a good excuse to attack Spain, the ally of England.

*British Orders in Council withdrawn*

While America was thus advancing toward war, conditions in Europe were becoming more favorable to peace between the two English-speaking nations. During the winter of 1811-12 the strain of war was bearing heavily upon the British people. Napoleon's Continental System (the policy of closing the European countries to English trade) was at the height of its success, and British commerce was excluded from all of western Europe. Commerce between the United States and Britain was outlawed by the revival of nonintercourse. A failure in the wheat crop in England had produced an unusual scarcity of food, and there were three hundred thousand English soldiers in Spain who were dependent upon the United States for most of their food supplies. Nonintercourse was, therefore, greatly hampering the success of British arms in the Spanish Peninsula, as well as producing a scarcity of food at home and economic distress in the manufacturing towns. Manufacturers could not find sale for their wares, and the closing of mills was causing riots among the workmen. Deputations from the manufacturing centers appeared before Parliament, urging the revocation of the Orders in Council as a means to the reopening of the American trade. Parliament was slow to act, but finally, on June 16, 1812, Lord Castlereagh, the Prime Minister, announced in the House of Commons that the Orders in Council would be withdrawn immediately. This action came too late, however, for two days later war against England was declared by the American Congress.

*The election of 1812*

The Presidential election of 1812 gave the people an opportunity to register their attitude toward war. Madison was renominated by the Republican Congressional caucus, and Elbridge Gerry of Massachusetts was selected as his running mate. The New York Republicans, who had for some time been chafing under Virginia's dominance in the party, nominated DeWitt Clinton for the Presidency. He was endorsed by the Federalists and supported by the antiwar Republicans. The war thus became the issue in the campaign. A vote for Madison was a vote for continuing the struggle;

whereas a vote for Clinton was a vote for coming to terms with England. In the election the sections lined up very much as their representatives in Congress had done on the declaration of war. Clinton received the support of all the New England states except Vermont, and all the middle states but Pennsylvania, with Maryland divided. All the western and southern states were for Madison. The majority for Madison in the Electoral College was not large, and the popular vote showed that sentiment in favor of war was far from unanimous.

## LACK OF PREPAREDNESS

*Lack of unity of spirit*

The United States was unprepared for war in 1812 in practically every particular. In the first place, there was a woeful lack of that unity of spirit which usually characterizes successful war. Opposition to the war was particularly strong in New England (see pp. 216 f.). This attitude of protest was maintained by Federalist New England to the end, and the success of American arms was hampered by the positive and negative opposition of this section. National spirit was at a very low ebb. For a long time the rights of the states had been emphasized and the powers of the general government minimized by political agitators, and this propaganda had reversed the trend toward nationalism which had been started by the Revolutionary War.

*The army small and inefficient*

To carry on a war with England, the world's greatest power, the United States had a standing army of less than seven thousand men. Higher pay and land bounties were now offered to volunteers, but despite these inducements the number of recruits for the regular army were comparatively few. In the entire country there were about seven hundred thousand militiamen to be drawn from; but the requisitions on the states for militia were rarely if ever responded to with alacrity and, in some instances, were positively refused. Even after militia contingents had been mustered into the service, at critical times numbers of them refused to leave their states or the country at the command of their officers. Because of these drawbacks only about fifty-six thousand men were enrolled in the American armies during the entire war—including regulars, volunteers, and militia. At no time did a commander have in his fighting line a force of more than six thousand men. The militiamen who entered the service had had no training to speak of, and they—as well as the volunteers—were, for all practical purposes, raw recruits. The molding of this raw material into a trained army called for efficient officers, but many of the officers of the little regular army were incompetent, and most of them had had no experience in command-

ing large bodies of men. Improvement in such conditions could come only from experience in actual fighting. It was not, therefore, until late in the war that the American soldiers had been disciplined into efficient troops.

*Inefficient management of military affairs*

The general management of the army was also in very poor hands. The ranking major general, Henry Dearborn, was now sixty-one years old and was overcautious, dilatory, and incompetent. Neither the first Secretary of War nor his successor was fitted for the place. It was not until 1814, when Monroe took charge, that the War Department had an efficient head. The fortifications were old and inadequate, and many of them had been designed mainly for defense against the Indians. There was also a scarcity of supplies and munitions.

*Small navy*

The American navy was ludicrously small compared with that of the Mistress of the Seas. The number of men serving on British warships was thirty times as great as that on American public vessels, and in the number of ships the British navy had as great a preponderance. As an aid to the little American navy, there were more than five hundred privateers, which were markedly successful in capturing enemy merchant ships. The fighting craft of the United States were well built, and the crews were well trained. The few government frigates were better, ship for ship, than those of the British navy. They were faster, larger, better built, better manned, and better officered. The American merchant and fishing vessels had afforded a good school for the training of seamen, and from them valuable recruits could be drawn for service on warships and privateers. The Barbary wars had afforded officers experience in actual fighting, and consequently there were a number of trained commanders.

*Financial affairs poorly managed*

The country did not have the proper financial machinery for conducting war. The refusal of Congress to continue the national bank had deprived the country of the stabilizing effect of a great financial institution, and the state banks (which had increased rapidly in number) were released from much-needed disciplinary restraints. Partly because notes were overissued, and partly because the gold of the country gravitated toward New England, by the end of 1814 every bank in the country west of the Hudson River had suspended specie payment. As the government kept its money in state banks, it lost millions of dollars by this failure of the banks to meet their obligations. Gallatin recommended new taxes to finance the war, but Congress was deaf to his wise advice and voted no additional taxes for a year. Indeed, it was not until the last year of the war that it was willing to levy the necessary taxes. Only about

one third of the cost of the war was met by taxes, and the remainder had to be raised by loans and treasury notes, which were temporary loans. It was not easy to procure funds by borrowing, since the financial interests, located mainly in New England and New York, were not in sympathy with the war and were not disposed to lend financial assistance to its support. Bonds were sold below their par value although they yielded a high rate of interest (sometimes as high as seven and one-half per cent).

*The advantage of geographical position*

The young republic had one great advantage in the struggle with its mighty antagonist. This was geographical position. The width of the Atlantic rendered difficult the transportation of men and supplies from England to the seat of war in the slow sailing vessels of that day. The vast extent of its territory was also in favor of the United States. "The attempts of England to penetrate into the great interior would be like the blows of a sledge-hammer struck into a bin of wheat; a few kernels would be bruised or destroyed, but the iron would soon bury itself harmlessly just under the surface of the mass."[1] Besides, England was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon and prior to his overthrow could expend only a minor part of her energies in the American war.

*The American plan of campaign*

The main objective of the American forces was to overrun Canada, and the plan of campaign was to strike at three different points. An expedition against Montreal was to be led by General Henry Dearborn, the senior commanding officer, who was to proceed by way of Lake Champlain; an attack on the Canadian center was to be made across the Niagara River by Generals Stephen Van Rensselaer and Alexander Smyth; and in the west, Upper Canada was to be invaded by General William Hull, using Detroit as his starting point.

The execution of these plans involved serious difficulties. In the frontier regions where military operations would have to be performed there were no roads worthy of the name, and the obstacles to the transportation of men and supplies were very great. The Indians in the Northwest were aiding the British, and this added greatly to the difficulties of the invading troops. But despite these drawbacks, the plan would have been a good one if it had been executed efficiently. If the expeditions had gone forward simultaneously under capable leadership, the three armies would have converged on Montreal and gained possession of Canada. But there was no concert of action, and at the head of each army was a commander who was not equal to his responsibility.

*The surrender of Detroit*

General William Hull, with a force of two thousand undisciplined, ill-equipped troops, made up of regulars and militia, led the first

[1] K. C. Babcock, *Rise of American Nationality* (Harper and Brothers), 82.

advance against Canada by crossing the border and marching toward Malden. When he learned that the British were collecting a strong force at Malden and that Tecumseh and his Indians had joined the British, he halted his advance and retired in fright to Detroit. The able British commander, Isaac Brock, followed up his advantage and frightened Hull into a surrender of Detroit and all of Michigan —and that without firing a shot (August 16, 1812). General Hull was convicted by court-martial of cowardice and was sentenced to be shot but was pardoned by the President in consideration of his record in the Revolutionary War. But the War Department was also to blame for this blunder; by its failure to push forward the other portions of the plan it had left Brock free to use the greater part of his forces against Hull.

*The Niagara campaign*

The two other attempts to invade Canada made in 1812 were hopeless failures, and the attack at Niagara proved almost as great a disaster to the American cause as the surrender of Hull. Van Rensselaer was defeated at Queenstown Heights with a loss of more than a thousand in killed, wounded, and captured. General Dearborn after a long delay, marched to the Canadian border. His militiamen refused to go farther, and this refusal, together with his fear of an approaching British contingent, caused him to return to Plattsburg.

### NAVAL WARFARE

*The* Constitution *and the* Guerrière

The small but efficient American navy gave a good account of itself. Three days after the surrender of Detroit, Captain Isaac Hull, a nephew of the unfortunate commander in the west, won a great naval victory. His ship, the *Constitution*, engaged the British warship, the *Guerrière*, off the coast of Nova Scotia (August 19). The Americans, with few casualties and slight loss to the vessel, quickly reduced the *Guerrière* to a helpless wreck. The news of the victory was received with the wildest exultation throughout the country. The American navy was successful in several other engagements of this year.[1] These victories had the effect of arousing pride in the navy, increasing morale both in it and in the army, and strengthening the zeal of the people in the contest. Next year, however, the British blockade of American ports was tightened, and United States warships were now mostly shut up in the harbors at home. The few that roamed the seas confined their activities mainly to distant waters. Privateers also were less successful after the first year, for they had great difficulty in bringing their prizes into home ports.

[1] The American navy did not, of course, have an unbroken record of victory. Among its reverses, the most conspicuous was the defeat of the *Chesapeake* by the *Shannon* outside the harbor of Boston.

*Perry's victory*

One of the outstanding successes won by the American navy was Perry's victory on Lake Erie. Realizing the importance of wresting this lake from British control, the Washington authorities provided for the hasty construction of a squadron and put it under the command of Captain Oliver H. Perry, a young man in his late twenties. Bold and energetic himself, he inspired courage and loyalty in his men. In a spirited battle on Lake Erie, Perry won a decisive victory over his opponent (September 10, 1813). In reporting the results of the contest Perry sent to Harrison this famous dispatch: "We have met the enemy and they are ours."

*Battle of the Thames*

After Hull's defeat General William Henry Harrison was given command in the west, with an army much larger than that commanded by Hull. American control of Lake Erie, won by Perry's victory, enabled Harrison to take the offensive against the enemy. He now led his army across the Canadian border and defeated the British in a battle at the Thames River (October 5, 1813). Tecumseh was killed in the battle and his Indian confederacy was dissolved. The Northwest was thereafter relieved of all danger from British or Indian attack. Harrison retired to Detroit, and no further effort was made in the west to invade Canada.

*Operations in the center and in the north*

In the spring of 1813 General Dearborn attacked York (now Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, and after a bloody contest captured the town. The public buildings were burned—but without the orders of Dearborn—and this gave a British general the excuse for burning the Capitol and the White House when he took Washington the following year. In the summer of 1814 several battles were fought on the Canadian peninsula in the Niagara region. In these engagements, the American forces were ably led by Generals Jacob Brown and Winfield Scott. At Chippewa they defeated the British and at Lundy's Lane engaged in a bloody contest that raged for five hours. It was a drawn battle, although the American forces retired from the field. These encounters showed that the Americans, both men and officers, had learned how to wage war.

*Chippewa and Lundy's Lane*

## THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE

*The blockade*

In December, 1812, the British government issued a proclamation closing Chesapeake and Delaware Bays by blockade. By later orders the blockade was extended until it covered the entire coast from New London, Connecticut, to the Florida coast. Since the greater part of New England was not at this time included, this section suffered less from the blockade than the rest of the country. This exception was made because of the opposition of the New Englanders to the war and the possibility of winning them back to their pre-

Revolutionary allegiance to the British empire. But by a proclamation issued in May, 1814, all American harbors were put under blockade. British naval supremacy was sufficient to make this blockade effective, and American sea-borne trade was now reduced to very low limits.

By shutting off imports and exports the war brought considerable hardship to the American people. Such products as groceries and iron could be had only at high prices, whereas the farmer had difficulty in marketing his wheat, flour, tobacco, and cotton, even at low prices. To the merchants, seamen, and farmers of the Middle and Southern states the closing of the harbors proved a severe blow. The economic conditions caused by the blockade were an important factor in bringing the United States government to the verge of bankruptcy.

*Counter invasion by the British*

Prior to 1814 the British were putting forth their main efforts in Europe in the life-and-death struggle with the forces of Napoleon and were not expending their best energies on the American war. But with the defeat of Napoleon in this year came the opportunity to push more vigorously the attack on the United States. The British government determined to make use of this opportunity by sending over ships and trained soldiers in sufficient numbers (as it thought) to ensure the defeat of the former colonials. If such efforts had been made in the beginning, they might have been crowned with success; but by this time the American army had been trained into an efficient fighting machine, with brave and skillful leaders. The opportunity for success had thus been lost. The vigorous offensive now planned against the United States was to include joint land and naval attacks at three points—Lake Champlain, Chesapeake Bay, and the Gulf of Mexico. The blockade of American ports was also to be tightened.

*Battle of Plattsburg*

The invasion of New York by way of Lake Champlain was entrusted to General Sir George Prevost, who had at his command eleven thousand veterans. With him went a fleet under Captain George Downie. The advance of the invaders was stopped at Plattsburg, where they were defeated by a squadron under Captain Thomas Macdonough in the greatest naval victory won by the Americans during the war (September 11, 1814). Every British warship was destroyed or captured. With the enemy in control of Lake Champlain, Prevost's communications with his base were cut and, believing that his position was untenable, he hastily retreated to Canada.

*The capture of Washington*

In the summer of this same year the British defeated an American force, made up largely of raw militia, at Bladensburg, five miles from Washington, and then marched unopposed to the capital. There was great panic in the little town and the government officials hurried

away. President Madison also fled, and so hasty was his departure that the dinner prepared for him and his family was left to be eaten by the British officers when they took possession of the White House. In retaliation for the burning of the public buildings at York, Canada, by the Americans, they now burned the Capitol, the White House, and other public buildings. The British then advanced for an attack on Baltimore; but the defenses of that city were so strong that they gave up the attempt and withdrew both their land and naval forces (September, 1814).

*Horseshoe Bend*

In 1813 the Creek Indians went on the warpath and attacked Fort Mims, on the Alabama River, killing two hundred and fifty pioneers who had come together at the fort for protection (August 30, 1813). To avenge this defeat and quiet the Indians, Andrew Jackson was sent against them with a force of Tennessee militiamen. At Horseshoe Bend he defeated them in a battle in which at least eight hundred and fifty Indians were killed. The Creeks now gave up the fight and ceded to the United States about two thirds of their territory.

*Battle of New Orleans*

In pursuit of the third objective of the British offensive, General Sir Edward Pakenham made an attack on New Orleans with a force of ten thousand troops that had been well trained by long service in the Napoleonic wars. Jackson, now a major general in the regular army, was in defense of the city with a good-sized army which was supported by a small naval force. The great battle occurred on January 8, 1815. Underestimating the valor of Jackson's troops, some of whom were untrained and undisciplined frontiersmen, Pakenham threw away his usual caution and ordered a frontal attack on Jackson's strongest position. In two brave assaults the British troops were mowed down by the fire of the Americans and were driven back in bloody defeat, at the cost of the lives of three major generals, including Pakenham, and more than two thousand men, counting killed, wounded, and missing. Jackson's troops, sheltered behind strong earthworks, sustained only slight losses. The British retired after this defeat, and New Orleans and the Southwest were saved.

This great victory was most soothing to the hurt pride of the American people. It renewed their self-confidence and tended to make them feel that they had won the "Second War for Independence." It singled out Andrew Jackson as the outstanding hero of the war and gave him a prestige which later won for him the Presidency of the United States. It proved, however, to be an unnecessary sacrifice of human life, for before the battle was fought the treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent.

## ATTITUDE OF NEW ENGLAND TOWARD THE WAR

*Opposition of New England to the war*

When war was declared by Congress, the Federalist members—most of whom represented New England constituencies—voted almost unanimously against it. The legislature of Massachusetts sent a protest to Congress against the declaration. After the fateful step had been taken, thirty-four Federalist members of Congress issued an address to their constituents in which they severely attacked the Republicans on their war policy. New England's objection to the war was not confined to resolutions of disapproval. Opposition, both negative and positive, of a more dangerous character was made by this section. In the beginning some of the New England governors refused to obey the call of the War Department for militia, and such militiamen as did join the army refused to march into Canada, while others would not go outside the limits of their own states.

*The militia question*

*Backward in loan subscriptions*

The New Englanders also refused to assume their share of the financial burden of the war. The amount of money loaned to the government by them during the struggle was far below their proportional share, although nearly all the specie of the country was held by them. Most of their ports were not blockaded until the last year of the war and nearly all the foreign trade passed through them. To purchase the products brought in from Europe, other sections poured their specie into New England. Even when foreign products were excluded by the extension of the blockade to all American ports, these states still sold more to other sections of the country than they bought from them; for the infant industries which sprang up in the East were an important source of supply of manufactures for the agricultural regions. This difference in the balance of trade had to be made up by payments in gold and silver.

*Trade with the enemy*

Not content with these legitimate gains, many of the New Englanders (as well as some Southern merchants) were reaping a rich harvest by selling supplies to the enemy. British troops in Canada, and British seamen along the coast, were supplied with food products at immense profits. In August, 1814, a British officer wrote to the home authorities as follows: "Two-thirds of the Army in Canada are at this moment eating beef provided by American contractors. . . ."

*The Hartford Convention*

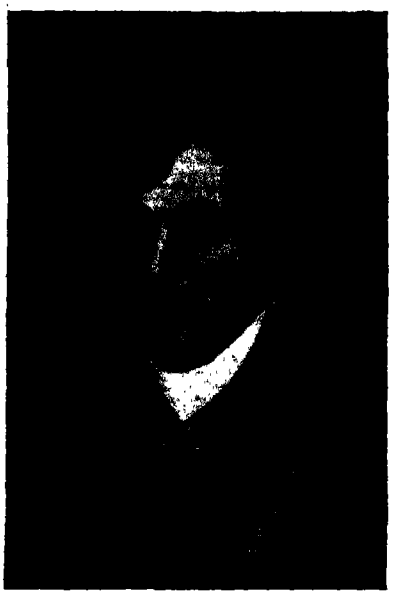
The opposition of New England culminated in the Hartford Convention, which met on December 15, 1814. There were twenty-three delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, who had been chosen by their legislatures. Two representatives chosen by popular assemblies in New Hampshire and a representative of one county in Vermont were also admitted. Some of the leading Federalists in New England had, in letters and through the

*Bruin become* MEDIATOR *or Negociation for* PEACE.

*Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City*

WM. CHARLES DEL ET SCULP, 1812-1815.

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON.
From an engraving by W. R. Jones
after a painting by Wood.



OLIVER HAZARD PERRY (1785-1819).
Commodore, United States Navy.
Victor in the Battle of Lake Erie, 1813.
By Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860).

THOMAS MACDONOUGH.
From engraving after portrait by
J. W. Jarvis

ANDREW JACKSON.
From an engraving by Charles Phillips
after a painting by Jarvis (1815).

*(Four portraits, Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City)*

press, been threatening secession. It was feared, therefore, that steps looking toward a disruption of the Union would be taken by this body. The assembly, however, fell under the control of the less radical group, and the action taken was not as dangerous as had been anticipated.

*Proposals of the convention*

The proceedings were secret and it was not until 1833 that the journal was published. At the time of adjournment, however, the convention published a report stating the result of its deliberations. Using in part the exact language of the Virginia Resolutions of 1798, which had been written by Madison himself, the report declared that a state had the right and duty to interpose its authority for the protection of its citizens against unconstitutional acts of the Federal government. In line with this general principle, the states were urged to adopt measures which would protect their citizens from the draft; to pass laws which would enable the New England states to assist each other by the use of their militia; and to make an arrangement with the Federal government whereby the states would provide for their own defense and retain "a reasonable portion of the taxes collected within the said states." This last demand was in the nature of an ultimatum. If it were not accepted by the United States government, another convention was to be held in Boston on June 15, "with such powers and instructions as the exigency of a crisis so momentous may require."

Seven amendments to the Federal Constitution were also proposed. The changes in the national government outlined in these recommendations were as follows: Free persons only should in the future be counted in apportioning direct taxation and representation among the states; a two-thirds vote of both houses of Congress should be required for the admission of new states, a declaration of war, and the prohibition of foreign commerce; all embargoes should be limited to sixty days; no naturalized citizen was to hold a Federal civil office; and the tenure of the President should be limited to one term, and two Presidents could not come in succession from the same state.

*A committee sent to Washington*

A committee was appointed to present these resolutions to Congress. This committee proceeded to Washington to negotiate with the Federal government. Before anything could be done, news came of Jackson's great victory at New Orleans and of the signing of the treaty of peace at Ghent. This mission now seemed ridiculous as well as treasonable to the patriotic Republicans, who were rejoicing over what they considered victory. Accordingly, the representatives of the convention returned quietly to New England without mentioning the object of their journey.

*Effect on the Federalist party*

The Hartford Convention furnished the Republicans with a good weapon, which they used with telling effect against their Federalist opponents. It gave them the opportunity to charge the Federalists with sedition at a time when loyalty was especially needed. Every man who was connected with the movement was branded as disloyal. The whole party came in for criticism, for the Federalist leaders had, in the main, either endorsed or acquiesced in the movement.

### PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

*Peace negotiations; the American and British commissioners*

Since Russia was an ally of England and kindly disposed toward the United States, the czar tried to bring these two belligerents to an agreement. As a result of his efforts, commissioners appointed by both countries met at Ghent in Belgium to negotiate a treaty of peace. The American commissioners were an able group of men, especially three of them—John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Albert Gallatin. The British envoys at Ghent, who were commonplace men, were allowed little freedom of action and had to await instructions from the British foreign office on all important questions. This handicap, together with their inferiority in ability to the American commissioners, gave the latter an advantage in the skillful game of diplomacy.

*Terms of the peace*

At first both governments made unreasonable demands and for a while it looked as if the conference would be hopelessly deadlocked. Then came mutual concessions and terms were agreed upon. The treaty of peace was signed on December 24, 1814. It provided for a cessation of hostilities, a return of prisoners, a restoration of conquests, and the appointment of a commission to fix the disputed boundary between Canada and the United States. Nothing was said about impressment or visit and search. It therefore conceded none of the rights for which the United States had fought. For both countries it was a peace without victory, but for both it was a peace with honor. It was so regarded by both groups of envoys, who celebrated the event by a joint banquet at which "everybody drank everybody else's health." James Gallatin, who had acted as his father's secretary, spoke of the occasion as follows: "The band played *God Save the King*, to the toast of the King, and *Yankee Doodle*. Congratulations on all sides and a general atmosphere of serenity; it was a scene to be remembered. God grant there may be always peace between the two nations."

*The treaty unanimously ratified*

The treaty was gladly received by the American people—both Republicans and Federalists. On February 14, 1815, it was submitted to the Senate and unanimously ratified.

The toll of human life taken by the war was not heavy. The

number killed and wounded was very small as compared with the casualties of the Civil War. Nothing in a material way was gained by either side as a result of the contest. Not one foot of land passed from one to the other belligerent. Not one of the questions at issue was settled. It would appear, therefore, that the war had been entirely futile. There were, however, certain spiritual results which were important. Because of the successes of the navy and the few victories on land, the American people were inspired with a new self-confidence and felt that they had won the war. Besides, the spirit of nationalism, which had been on the decline since 1783, was revived and strengthened. *Results of the war*

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# CHAPTER XIII

# *The Era of Good Feeling*

## The Revival of Nationalism: Industrialism

*Primacy of England in industry*

GREAT progress in industry was made in England in the last half of the eighteenth century as a result of a number of important inventions. Because of the new machines, the textile and other industries were taken out of the home and placed in the factory. This rapid and important change from the domestic to the factory system is known as the Industrial Revolution. For a number of years England had a monopoly of the new processes and in this way she got the start of the rest of the world in industry. Other circumstances favorable to the growth of manufactures in the British Isles were: an abundance of capital available for investment; an adequate supply of labor; plenty of coal and iron; and the possession of colonies which could supply raw materials and purchase finished products. For these reasons British manufacturers could underbid their competitors in all other countries.

*American industry after the Revolution*

As has already been shown, the American Revolution acted as a stimulus to manufacturing in the United States. The progress in industry during the next quarter-century was not, however, in keeping with this promising start. American manufactures were discouraged by the high cost of labor and the scarcity of capital. With such a handicap, the budding industries in the new republic could not compete on equal terms with their British rivals, who were enjoying the exceptional advantages indicated above. Furthermore, the European wars greatly increased the demand for American food products and the opportunity for American shipping. Cheap lands in unlimited amounts were also a spur to activity in farming. For these reasons the energies of the American people during the quarter-century that ended in 1807 were devoted more to agriculture and commerce than to industry, and manufactured articles were imported in large measure from England.

*The Restrictive Period (1807-1815)*

The passage of the Embargo Act (December, 1807) marks the beginning of a new era in the economic history of the United States. This measure, the nonintercourse policy of the American govern-

ment, and the British blockade during the War of 1812 imposed serious restrictions on the trade between Europe and the United States. Foreign manufactures were cut off to a large extent, and the slack had to be taken up by home production. The export of farm products was also greatly curtailed. Commerce and agriculture therefore languished, and capital available for these pursuits was seeking better employment. At the same time commercial restrictions, by prohibiting foreign competition, were giving American industry a monopoly of the home market. Manufacturing had thus become profitable and was attracting to itself much of the capital which would otherwise have been devoted to agriculture and shipping. Numerous small industries sprang up to supply the home demand.

*The beginning of the factory system in America*

During the Restrictive Period, American industry was carried on mainly according to the domestic system. By the end of this period, however, the factory system had made a beginning. The spinning jenny was in operation in Philadelphia as early as 1775, and a cotton factory was established at Beverly, Massachusetts, in 1787. Two years later Samuel Slater erected a mill at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in which he used the new textile machinery. He had worked for the Arkwright firm in England and while so doing had committed to memory the plans for the spinning machinery. He was thus able to reproduce the English machines and use them for his own benefit. In 1811 Francis C. Lowell brought the power loom to this country. He set up at Waltham, Massachusetts, a factory in which all the processes of both spinning and weaving were carried on under one roof. This was the beginning of the factory system in the United States. The factory system developed rapidly, especially in New England, because in that section there were ample water power and a considerable amount of free capital seeking investment. Factories were also numerous in the Middle states, especially Pennsylvania, for in this state there was an abundance of coal and iron.

## NATIONALISM PROMOTED BY THE POLICY OF RECONSTRUCTION

*The Republican Party nationalized*

In his annual message of December, 1815, President Madison recommended that Congress make provision for the adequate defense of the country and establish a uniform national currency, a tariff which would protect the infant industries, a system of roads and canals, and a national university. The adoption of this forceful program of reconstruction involved the acceptance of the old Federalist view of nationalism: but most of these proposals were enacted into law by Congress. Madison was now advocating what he had once opposed, and the followers of Hamilton were opposing what

they had formerly advocated. The Republicans had thus pushed the Federalists off their own platform and ensconced themselves on it. The Federalists had no alternative but to climb up on the deserted Republican platform and profess a comfortable adjustment to their new situation. Thus the Federalists were now the champions of states' rights and the opponents of centralization in government, while the Republicans were advocating the assumption of large powers by the Federal government and trying to identify nationalism with patriotism.

*The Old School Republicans*

This change in the character of the party was not accepted by all its members. There was a conservative minority which still adhered to the original doctrine of states' rights and stood out consistently and persistently against the trend toward nationalism. This faction is known as Old School Republicans. They were ably led by two brilliant Virginians, John Taylor of Caroline and John Randolph of Roanoke. The nationalists were, however, the dominant element of the party. Since its outstanding leaders were young men, such as Clay and Calhoun, the members of this group were termed Young Republicans. With the acceptance by Congress of one nationalist measure after another, the breach between the two factions grew wider and wider. In this way the Old School Republicans became an insurgent minority which gave considerable annoyance to the majority. They voted with the Federalists against such policies as a national bank, the protective tariff, and internal improvements.

*The importance of defense realized*

The war had punctured some of the theories of defense upheld by the early Republicans. It had demonstrated the inefficiency of the militia and the value of the navy as a means of defense against invasion. Gone was the traditional fear that a strong standing army would be used by the executive to destroy American liberty. In its place was the feeling that an efficient army and navy would be the guardians of American security. Accordingly, the navy was kept at its full war strength, with some slight additions. The peacetime strength of the army was put at ten thousand men.[1]

*Financial reform badly needed*

From the tangled condition of its finances during the war the country learned some valuable lessons in monetary affairs. The demise of the First Bank of the United States (1811) left the field open for state banks. They took advantage of this opportunity and

[1] Soon after the treaty of peace the navy found other work of importance. The Dey of Algiers, taking advantage of the war, had captured American ships and enslaved American sailors. In May, 1815, Captain Stephen Decatur was sent to the Mediterranean Sea in command of ten ships to bring the haughty African ruler to terms. After destroying a frigate and a smaller vessel, Decatur appeared at Algiers and forced the Dey to sign a treaty renouncing all claim to tribute, returning all prisoners without ransom, and promising good conduct for the future. Decatur was also able to secure restitution for the violation of American rights from the rulers of Tunis and Tripoli.

greatly increased in number. Each was chartered by a state legislature and was a bank of issue as well as of deposit and discount. Many of them went far beyond the limits prescribed by sound business in putting out their notes. To make matters worse, most of the gold and silver of the country gravitated toward New England. Under such conditions the banks could hardly be expected to withstand the stress of war, and consequently before the end of 1814 all the banks west of the Hudson River had suspended specie payment. Their notes, however, still circulated as money, although they were not legal tender. The reason for this was that there was not enough gold and silver in circulation to supply the monetary needs of the people. Since some banks were safer than others, there were wide differences in the values of these notes. This lack of uniformity was confusing and inconvenient and put serious obstacles in the way of business transactions.

*Establishment of the Second Bank of the United States*

A national bank, it was thought, would be a great aid in remedying this situation. By issuing notes it would supply the country with a sound and uniform currency. It would also serve as a curb on state banks and help to keep their issues within the limits of safety. For only the notes of sound state banks could compete with those of the national bank. Like the First Bank of the United States, it would be a repository for government moneys and would serve as a valuable agency in the collection and disbursement of government funds. For these reasons the Republican Congress waived whatever constitutional scruples it may have had and passed an act (April, 1816) providing for the creation of the Second Bank of the United States.

This bank was closely modeled after the one established in 1791 except that its capital stock of $35,000,000 was three and a half times as great as that of the First Bank of the United States. Only one fifth of this stock was owned by the Federal government, the other four fifths being in the hands of private individuals, states, corporations, or companies. Government funds were deposited with the Bank, and no interest was paid for their use. Moreover, the notes of the Bank were accepted in payment of all dues to the government, a provision which virtually made them a legal tender. For these privileges the Bank gave the government a bonus of $1,500,000. The parent Bank, located at Philadelphia, and the branches scattered throughout the country, engaged in ordinary banking business besides issuing notes. Four fifths of the directors were appointed by the private stockholders, and the other fifth by the President with Senate confirmation. The Bank was thus mainly a private institution so far as its management and ownership were concerned, while it enjoyed many of the privileges of a governmental agency.

*Reasons for protection*

Another nationalist policy sponsored by the Young Republicans was that of protection. With the end of the war the infant industries which had sprung up lost the virtual protection that they had enjoyed during the Restrictive Period. They now had to face the competition of old and well-established English factories, which for some time had enjoyed unrivaled advantages. Furthermore, the British manufacturers had on hand a large surplus of products which they proceeded to "dump" upon the American market. These articles were sold at prices too low to be met by American producers. If something were not done, the infant industry of the United States would be smothered in its cradle; the new manufacturing businesses which had been propped up by the commercial restrictions and by the war felt unable to stand alone. They therefore clamored for a protective tariff which would check the inflow of English goods until they could get firmly on their feet.

However, to save the vested interests of those who had risked capital in the new plants was not a valid reason for the country's launching upon a policy of protection. A measure which would raise the prices of goods to consumers throughout the country could not be justified on such grounds. The argument used in favor of protection was, therefore, that of economic self-sufficiency. The war had shown the danger and inconvenience of having to rely on European countries for manufactures and there was strong sentiment in favor of promoting industry in this country. By the aid of a protective tariff, industries would be developed to such an extent that in time of war the country could be supplied with clothing, munitions of war, and other necessary supplies even if it should be cut off from the outside world; in this way it would gain and keep its economic independence.

*The Tariff Act of 1816*

The tariff had been gradually raised since the beginning of Washington's administration until by 1812 it had reached a general level of about twelve and a half per cent. During the war the rate had been raised to about twenty-five per cent, with the expectation that it would be lowered with the coming of peace. An act was now passed (1816) which retained the war rates and even raised them on some articles. Calhoun and Clay were ardent in their support of the new policy. Calhoun urged it as a means to economic independence. Webster, who was representing a commercial district in Massachusetts, opposed the new tariff act on the ground that it would discourage commerce. Before the end of the next decade Calhoun and Webster had reversed their positions on the tariff, the former having become a strong opponent and the latter a warm advocate of protection.

*Internal improvements*

The war had also revealed the need of better means of transportation. The military campaigns had been greatly hampered by a lack of good roads. Better facilities for travel and transportation were also called for in order to tie the West more closely to the Union. President Madison, in strongly recommending the construction of roads and canals by the Federal government, suggested the proposal of an amendment to the Constitution to remove any constitutional obstacles which might be encountered. Clay and Calhoun contended that such an amendment was unnecessary, since the government already possessed the requisite authority. According to Calhoun, Congress is empowered by the Constitution to levy taxes to "provide for the common defense and general welfare." As roads and canals were necessary for the common defense and general welfare, Congress could provide for their construction.

## NATIONALISM ADVANCED BY THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

*John Marshall*

In the early years the Supreme Court did not give promise of its later importance. Consequently, a place on the supreme bench was not considered as great a distinction as it has since become. Early in the nineteenth century, however, the Federal judiciary began to take its place as an important branch of the government. It owed its new significance largely to the influence of John Marshall, who became Chief Justice in February, 1801. This honor came to this noted Virginian after he had spent a number of years in the public service and had won a reputation for unusual ability as a lawyer. He had a clear and forceful style and was a master of the art of reasoning. As has already been seen, he was an ardent nationalist; Washington was his patron saint and Jefferson his pet aversion.

*The Supreme Court nationalized*

When the Republicans came into power, all the Federal courts were manned by Federalists with nationalist opinions. Appointments by Republican Presidents gradually changed the character of the Supreme Court until by 1811 the majority of the justices were Republicans; but the nationalist movement which had captured the Republican Congress had had a like influence on the Republican judiciary, and thus the Supreme Court had been nationalized. Marshall's forceful and magnetic personality had also been a marked influence in this nationalization of the Republican part of the Supreme Court. Under such conditions it was reasonable to expect that the interpretation given to the Constitution by the Supreme Court would be of a nationalistic character. There were, therefore, a number of outstanding decisions which put the stamp of judicial approval upon the national legislation of the day.

One of the earliest of the noted decisions of the Court was in the

*Noted decisions*

case of *Marbury* v. *Madison,* in which the Court assumed the right to declare an act of Congress unconstitutional and void (see p. 190). The right to pass upon the validity of an act of a state legislature was asserted in the case of *Fletcher* v. *Peck* (1810), when the Court declared an act of the Georgia legislature null and void because it had impaired the obligations of a contract and was therefore in violation of the Federal Constitution. The doctrine of this decision was carried still further in the opinion handed down by the Court (1819) in the case of *Dartmouth College* v. *Woodward* (the *Dartmouth College Case*). According to this decision, a charter granted to a corporation is a contract, the terms of which cannot be violated by an act of a state legislature. The interpretation given to the Constitution by the two last-named cases was contrary to the doctrine of states' rights. This doctrine also received a serious setback in the two decisions of *Martin* v. *Hunter's Lessee* (1816) and *Cohens* v. *Virginia* (1821). In these opinions the Court asserted the right to hear appeals from the highest state courts in cases involving Federal rights. One of the most important decisions handed down by Marshall and his associates was the one given in the case of *McCulloch* v. *Maryland* (1819). In this decision the Court declared that the act creating the Second Bank of the United States was constitutional. In so doing it upheld—and that for the first time—the doctrine of implied powers as enunciated by Hamilton.

The Supreme Court gave a broad interpretation to that clause in the Constitution which confers upon Congress the power to regulate interstate commerce. In the case of *Gibbons* v. *Ogden* (1824) the Court declared that the right of Congress to regulate interstate commerce applies to navigation, as well as to buying and selling. Congress can also regulate navigation within a state when such navigation is a part of an interstate journey. A later decision of importance was that of the *American Insurance Company* v. *Canter* (1828). In this case the Court decided that inasmuch as the Federal government has the power to declare war and make peace and conduct negotiations with foreign powers, it can acquire territory in the exercise of these powers by war or by negotiation. Territory so acquired comes within the jurisdiction of the United States, and Congress can legislate for it, since it is granted the power to make all needful rules and regulations for the territories.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE

*The election of 1816*

The Republicans felt sure of success in the campaign of 1816. The Federalists had no issues on which to make a fight, and their attitude toward the war had made them unpopular. Their party thus had

been reduced to a helpless minority. In accordance with the usual practice, the Republican members of Congress held a caucus in Washington to make nominations for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The two names considered by the caucus were William H. Crawford and James Monroe. Crawford was the representative of the Young Republicans and had a strong following. Monroe, however, received the support of the Administration, and his availability was enhanced by the fact that he had not participated in the factional quarrels. He won the nomination over Crawford, but only by the narrow majority of 65 to 54. In the election Monroe had an easy victory over his Federalist opponent, Rufus King. King carried the three states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Delaware; Monroe all the rest.

*The "Era of Good Feeling"*

The eight years of Monroe's Presidency was an interlude of comparative peace in an age of political bitterness. The Federalist Party was too weak to put up an aggressive fight, and factionalism in the Republican ranks had not yet gone the lengths of extreme bitterness. For this reason the period is often referred to as the "Era of Good Feeling." This designation, however, is misleading in that it implies an entire absence of political strife; for within the bounds of party solidarity there was room enough for personal bickerings and differences in principle among politicians.

*Monroe; personal traits*

As a rule the President stood apart from these disagreements and was able to exert a moderating influence on them by virtue of the suavity of his manner and the serenity of his temper. He was, therefore, one of the most popular of all our Presidents, and when he came up for re-election in 1820 he received every electoral vote but one. One elector threw away his vote for the whimsical reason that he did not want any other man to receive the honor which had been accorded Washington of being unanimously elected to the Presidency. Monroe had had a long career in the public service and was experienced in legislative, executive, and diplomatic affairs. Of unquestioned integrity and patriotism, he was gifted with sound judgment which enabled him generally to make wise decisions on the important questions with which he was confronted. Although he was not endowed with brilliance or remarkable ability, he was a safe and successful President. The country was passing through a transitional stage and needed in its leadership the caution and common sense of mediocrity rather than the hazardous daring of genius. Circumstances had thus created a niche in the public service into which he could fit perfectly.

*His Cabinet*

Monroe was exceptionally fortunate in the selection of his Cabinet. For Secretary of State he chose John Quincy Adams, son of the second

President. The younger Adams had spent a good deal of time representing his country abroad and was therefore well trained by experience for handling the foreign affairs of the nation. Crawford was continued as Secretary of the Treasury. Clay was offered the Secretaryship of War but declined it because he was disgruntled at not being made Secretary of State. Calhoun thereupon became Secretary of War.

### THE PANIC OF 1819

*Causes of the panic*

The short-lived prosperity which came at the end of the war led to speculation and extravagance, which brought on panic. In the East a reaction from the self-denial imposed by the war caused an indulgence in extravagant luxuries. The high price of cotton and food products raised the price of land and encouraged wild speculation in Western lands. The land policy of the government had also promoted speculation. By the Act of 1800 one fourth of the cost of the land sold by the government had to be paid at the time of purchase, or a few months thereafter, and the remaining payments could be met within a period of four years. Under this plan speculators would buy up large areas with the hope of selling them in small tracts at a profit before the later installments became due. Actual settlers who purchased directly from the government would make the first payments and borrow from the banks for the later installments. In this way there arose a feverish boom in Western lands. Government sales mounted to more than 5,000,000 acres in 1819, and prices were run up by competitive bidding to unheard-of heights. Behind this "orgy of speculation" was a system of easy credit which kept expanding in an ever-widening circle. The numerous state banks were all issuing notes, and even the United States Bank at first pursued a lax policy and encouraged speculation. It was inevitable that the bubble would ultimately burst.

In the pricking of this bubble the Bank of the United States had an important part. After a short period of loose management, which brought it to the verge of failure, the Bank was reorganized and put on a sound and conservative basis. In order to save itself it adopted a stringent policy toward the state banks and individual creditors, with little or no regard for their rights or the interests of the country as a whole. All state bank notes received by it were sent in for redemption. To secure specie for these payments the state banks had to call in their loans and limit discounts. Debtors found it impossible to meet these demands without great financial sacrifice. To make matters worse, the European countries had recovered and were producing more and more of their needed

food supplies. The demand for American farm products, therefore, declined and prices fell. There were numerous bank failures, and merchants, manufacturers, and farmers, as well as speculators, were unable to meet their obligations and were forced into bankruptcy. Imports fell off and the revenue of the government was greatly curtailed. The panic, which reached its height in 1819, brought on hard times, and it was not until 1822 that prosperity returned.

*Tariff Act of 1824*

The financial crisis had also brought distress to the manufacturers. In the boom period industrial plants had been constructed beyond the needs of the country, and more goods were produced than could be sold. The manufacturers, therefore, again held out their hands to the government for help. In response to this appeal a tariff act was passed by Congress in 1821 which put a duty of twenty-five per cent on hemp and raised the rates on raw wool, iron, lead, glass, cotton bagging, and cotton and woolen goods.

## THE ACQUISITION OF EAST FLORIDA

*Anarchy in Florida*

East Florida (the present state of Florida) was still in nominal possession of Spain at the end of the War of 1812. At that time, however, the Spaniards had no control over the territory except at St. Augustine, St. Marks, Pensacola, and some minor points. The rest of the province was a refuge for criminals, runaway slaves, and former British soldiers. In this region there were also a large number of Indians belonging to the Seminole and other Creek tribes. The anarchy prevailing in Florida was a menace to the good order of the neighboring territory of the United States and afforded our government a plausible excuse for attempting to get possession of the province. Taking advantage of this opportunity, Secretary Adams entered into negotiations to this end with the Spanish minister at Washington. The negotiations had not gone far before they were suspended by General Jackson's invasion of Florida.

*Jackson in Florida*

A war with the Seminole Indians had broken out in southern Georgia at the end of 1817, and Jackson was put in command of the expedition against them. He took prompt and vigorous action against the Seminoles, pursuing them into East Florida. Not only did he bring the Seminoles to terms, but he also seized the Spanish posts of St. Marks and Pensacola (June, 1818) and ordered the execution of two British subjects, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, who had been found guilty by court-martial of inciting the Indians to revolt. Although Jackson had won the acclaim of the South and the West by quieting the Indians and occupying East Florida, he had brought embarrassment to the government by invad-

ing the territory of one friendly power and executing two subjects of another.

For a while it looked as though the American government, to appease England and Spain, would have to censure Jackson and disavow his acts. On the other hand, the attempt to discipline a popular hero, especially one with a fiery temper, was fraught with hazards which prudent politicians were loath to incur. A Cabinet meeting was held to determine what policy should be pursued in this delicate situation. Although Jackson had not been authorized to seize the Spanish posts, by a liberal interpretation of his instructions he concluded that such action would meet the approval of the Washington authorities.[1] Calhoun, the Secretary of War, was in favor of censuring Jackson publicly because he had exceeded his orders. Adams was opposed to this, contending that Jackson's course in Florida was in line with his duty. This view prevailed, and the decision of the President was to return the captured posts to Spain but at the same time sustain Jackson.

*Adams's firm attitude*

The incident was turned to the advantage of the United States by the bold diplomacy of Secretary Adams. He was able to convince the British foreign office that the conduct of Ambrister and Arbuthnot had been such as to forfeit all claim to British protection. To the Spanish authorities he justified Jackson's action on the ground that it had been necessary to protect the United States against Indian incursions from Florida. Instead of assuming a conciliatory tone he expressed strong disapproval of Spain's weak policy in Florida and made it clear that his government would not put up with it any longer. In a virtual ultimatum he demanded that Spain either maintain order in East Florida or cede the province to the United States. Spain had been frightened by Jackson's invasion and felt that Adams's ultimatum was not an idle threat. Since she was unable to restore order in the troubled province, Spain was forced to accept the second alternative and sign a treaty with the United States (February, 1819).[2]

*The treaty of 1819*

By this treaty Spain ceded East Florida to the United States and recognized the latter's right to West Florida. The United States agreed to pay the claims of its citizens against the Spanish government to the amount of $5,000,000 and gave up her claim to Texas. Whatever rights in the Oregon country north of the forty-second parallel

[1] Jackson also declared that he had received word through an unofficial channel that the occupation of Florida would be acceptable to President Monroe. The President, however, declared that he had never said anything that would justify such an impression.

[2] Spain postponed acceptance of the treaty two years, and therefore ratifications were not exchanged until 1821.

Spain may have had were by this treaty granted to the United States.

## THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE

*Missouri Territory*

The most important question which came before Congress during Monroe's incumbency was that of the admission of Missouri into the Union. When the southern part of the Louisiana Purchase was organized into the Territory of Orleans (1804), the rest of that vast region was created into the District of Louisiana. In 1812 this district was granted full territorial rights and was given the name of Missouri. Slaveholding had been established by custom in all the settled portions of Louisiana while it was under French and Spanish control. Nor had the United States government done anything to interfere with slavery since it had taken over the province. Missouri was, therefore, slave territory in 1818 and would continue as such unless Congress or a territorial legislature should pass laws prohibiting it.

*Missouri asks for admission to the Union*

By 1819 that part of the Missouri Territory comprised within the present state of Missouri had attained a population which entitled it to admission into the Union. Accordingly, a bill providing for its admission as a state was offered in the House of Representatives.

*The Tallmadge Amendment*

To this bill an amendment was added by James Tallmadge of New York which provided that the further introduction of slavery into Missouri should be prohibited and that all children of slaves born within the state after its admission into the Union should be free at the age of twenty-five. This resolution precipitated a heated discussion in Congress which lasted a year. The country at large shared in this excitement, and the debates in Congress were echoed by state legislatures and mass meetings throughout the land. This was the first serious controversy over the slavery question which had arisen under the present Constitution, and it was an earnest of the great and awful struggle which occurred in the 1860's.

*A sectional issue*

The controversy was a contest for political power between the North and the South. There were now eleven slave states and eleven free states, and, consequently, the two sections had equal representation in the Senate. But inasmuch as the population of the North had run ahead of that of the South, the former section had a majority in the House of Representatives. If Missouri should come in as a free state, the North would be in control of both houses of Congress. On the other hand, if Missouri should be admitted as a slave state the South would have a majority in the Senate. Furthermore, the decision in the case of Missouri might determine whether the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase would

be organized into free or slave states. If slavery should be allowed, the labor system of the North would be at a disadvantage in these new states, for free labor cannot compete on favorable terms with slave labor. But if slavery were prohibited, the labor system of the South would be excluded. The status of Missouri might therefore decide whether the remainder of the Louisiana Purchase would ultimately come within the orbit of the North or of that of the South.

*Arguments for and against restriction*

Although the question of political power was the chief issue, the leaders on each side presented able constitutional arguments in support of their contention. The antislavery advocates maintained that inasmuch as Congress has power either to admit or refuse to admit any new state, it has the right by implication to prescribe the terms on which the admission will be allowed. Besides, if slavery were to be legal in the new states, the slaveholding section would be given an undue voice in the Federal government; for by the three-fifths provision in the Constitution the slave states were allowed more representatives in the House in proportion to white population than were the free states. The Southern leaders, on the other hand, contended that even if Congress does have discretionary power in the admission of new states, this discretion is limited—it could either admit or refuse to admit, but it could not impose conditions. Furthermore, the widening of the area of slavery, they maintained, would not encourage the importation of more slaves into the country from Africa, since such importation was prohibited by law, but would alleviate the condition of those already here by preventing the overconcentration of them in the old states. The evils of slavery would thus be mitigated by diffusion.

*The House and the Senate deadlocked*

The House passed the Missouri Bill with the Tallmadge Amendment incorporated in it (February, 1819). The Senate refused to accept the amendment, however, and the measure was lost.

*The Maine-Missouri Bill*

The question came up again at the next session of Congress, but for some time the House and Senate were unable to agree on the terms for the admission of Missouri. In the meantime Maine, with the permission of Massachusetts, had adopted a constitution and asked to come into the Union as a free state. A bill for the admission of Maine passed the House (January, 1820) and was sent to the Senate. The Senate joined the Maine Bill to the Missouri Bill and voted to admit Maine as a free state and Missouri as a slave state. The House would not accept the Senate bill and again there was a deadlock. Thereupon a conference committee was appointed and its recommendations were accepted by both houses. By the terms of this final agreement (1820), Missouri was to be admitted to the Union as a slave state, and slavery was to be excluded from the

*Terms of the final agreement*

remainder of the Louisiana Purchase north of the parallel of 36° 30′. Maine in a separate bill was also admitted as a free state.[1]

*Jefferson's apprehensions as to the Missouri question*

With the acceptance of the Missouri Compromise there came a temporary lull in the fight over slavery. But the bitter controversy and the principle of agreement which grew out of it laid the foundations for serious trouble in the future. Thomas Jefferson, with prophetic instinct, spoke of the portents of evil emanating from this historic quarrel as follows: "This momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper."[2]

## THE MONROE DOCTRINE

*The American background*

In 1808 the Spanish American colonies revolted against the authority of Napoleon, who had deposed Ferdinand, the Bourbon King of Spain, and taken over the government. These colonies returned to their allegiance to the home country when Ferdinand was restored (1814); but the effort on the part of the Spanish government to restore the restrictions on colonial commerce was strongly resented in the American dependencies, and in 1817 they were again in revolt.

*Attitude of Britain toward the Spanish American rebels*

In the meantime an extensive trade, beneficial to both sides, had grown up between England and Latin America. British manufacturers were procuring valuable raw materials from South America and selling their finished products to great advantage in the rebel states. The suppression of the revolts and the consequent renewal of Spanish commercial restrictions would put an end to this lucrative trade. Therefore, the British government gave moral, and English citizens actual, support to the rebel cause. Spain was not able to

[1] Since President Monroe signed the bill, the dispute was apparently settled, but controversy was renewed when, in November, 1820, Missouri presented to Congress her constitution, which contained a clause prohibiting the immigration into Missouri of any free Negroes and mulattoes. The antislavery Congressmen contended that since in some states Negroes were citizens, to exclude them from Missouri would be to violate that clause in the Federal Constitution which says that "the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States." After a long and acrimonious debate a formula suggested by Clay was, after slight modification, finally agreed upon by both sides. By this second compromise Missouri was admitted to the Union under a promise given by her legislature that no law would ever be passed by it which would deprive any citizen of another state of any rights to which he was entitled under the Constitution of the United States.

[2] P. L. Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson*, 12 vols. (The Federal Edition, 1904-1905), xii, 157, 158.

cope with the situation, and in a few years had lost all her continental possessions in both Americas.

*Attitude of the American people*

In the United States the people—especially those in the West—strongly sympathized with the Latin American patriots. They regarded their struggle for the right of self-determination as a movement similar to the one by which our independence was gained.

*Clay's position*

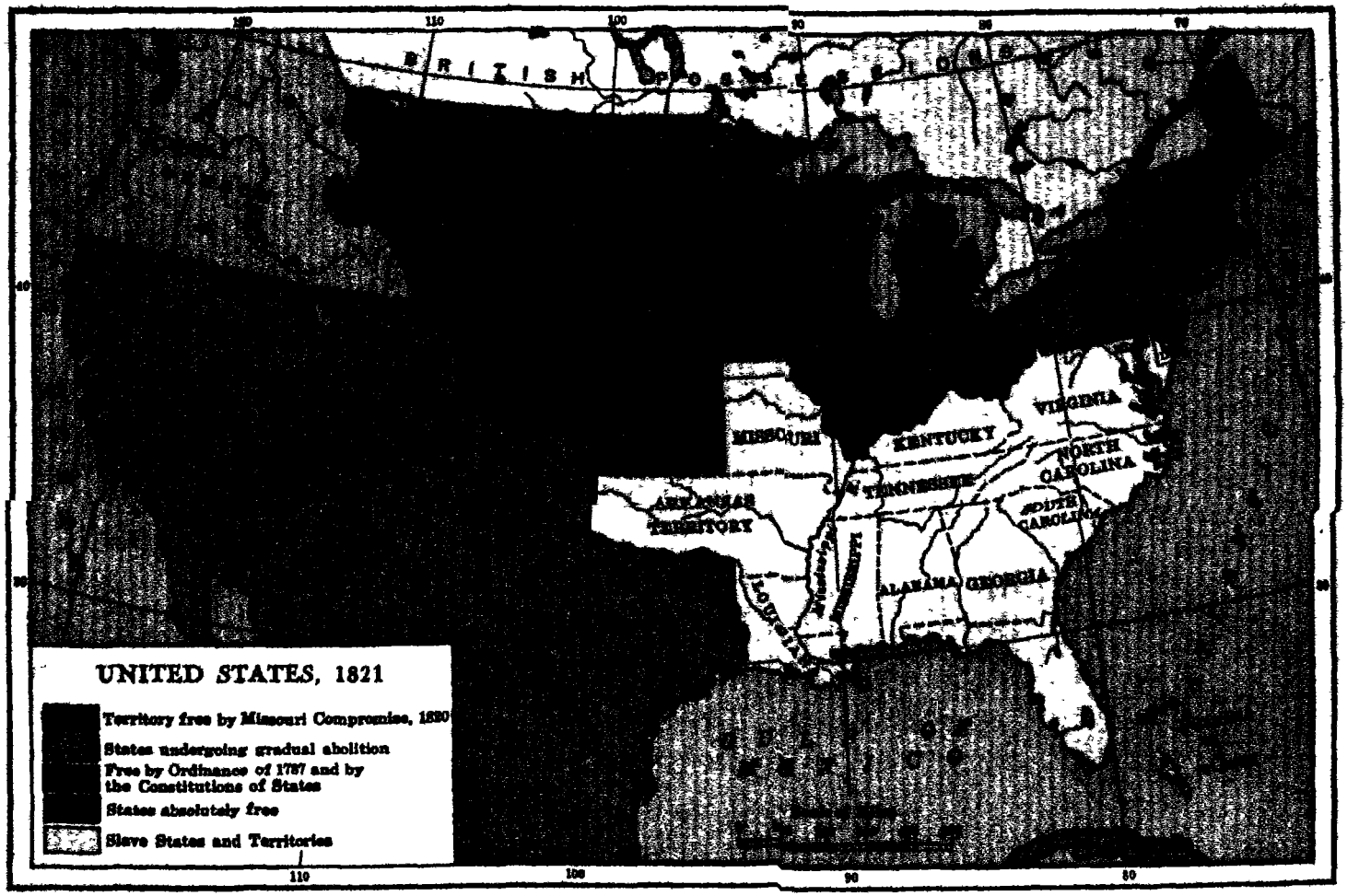
The most brilliant champion of this sentiment was Henry Clay. He made a great speech in the House (May, 1818) in which he earnestly supported his motion providing for the recognition of the insurgent states by the American government. He contended that by such recognition the new republics would be encouraged to preserve their rights and liberties, would be bound to the United States by close commercial ties, and would follow its lead in diplomacy and foreign policy. In this way our country would achieve a moral leadership and a sort of political hegemony throughout the Western Hemisphere. Such a position would greatly aid us in winning economic independence and security against outward attack. This foreign policy was one phase of the American System which he so ardently championed. Monroe, whose Latin American policy was in accord with Secretary Adams's advice, did not advance toward recognition as rapidly as Clay suggested. By the end of 1822, however, both the President and Congress had indicated a willingness to recognize the independence of some of the new republics, and others were added to the list later.

*Treaty with Russia*

At the time the United States was gaining territory in the Southeast by the purchase of Florida, it was threatened with a loss of its possessions in the Northwest. In 1821 the Russian czar issued a ukase laying claim to the Pacific coast of North America as far south as the parallel of 51°. In protest against this decree, Secretary Adams (July, 1823) declared to the Russian minister at Washington that the United States government did not recognize Russia's claim to this territory or *any other* territory on this continent. "We should assume distinctly," he said, "the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects of any new European colonial establishments." This principle was virtually accepted by Russia when she signed (1824) a treaty giving up all claims to land south of the parallel of 54° 40′.

*Intervention in Europe by the Holy Alliance*

In the 1820's, the leading powers of continental Europe (Russia, Prussia, Austria, and France) were in agreement that joint action should be taken by them in upholding the *status quo* in Europe. Several joint meetings were held by their representatives at which plans were made for intervention in other European states to put down revolution and check a trend toward liberalism in govern-


BRITISH
MISSOURI
KENTUCKY
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
TENNESSEE
ARKANSAS TERRITORY
LOUISIANA
ALABAMA
GEORGIA
UNITED STATES, 1821
Territory free by Missouri Compromise, 1820
States undergoing gradual abolition
Free by Ordinance of 1787 and by the Constitutions of States
States absolutely free
Slave States and Territories

ment. These powers therefore acted as a sort of European concert, which is generally, though improperly, called the Holy Alliance. At one of these meetings, the Congress of Verona (1822), it was decided to intervene in Spain so as to remove from the king, Ferdinand, the restrictions imposed upon him by a liberal constitution and restore him to his old position of absolutism.

*The possibility of intervention in America by the Holy Alliance*

This policy having been successfully carried out, Ferdinand also wanted the Holy Alliance powers to aid him in reconquering his rebellious colonies in America. Another European congress was to be held, and at this meeting intervention in the Western Hemisphere might be discussed. The British government was frightened by this prospect. If Spain were restored to her old place in America the commercial restrictions would be revived, and English merchants and manufacturers would lose the profitable trade which lately they had been enjoying. Furthermore, intervention, if agreed upon by the prospective congress, would be carried out in America by France, as had been done in Spain. This would increase the prestige and power of France and might enable her to get a foothold across seas that would be highly prejudicial to British interests.

*Canning's proposal*

Since England's position in Europe was that of dangerous isolation, Canning, the British foreign minister, began to look about for an ally. The United States was likewise opposed to intervention in Latin America by the European allies. Such intervention might not only put a stop to its new trade with South America but might menace its safety; the danger of attack on the United States would be increased if the European powers should gain a strong hold on the Western Hemisphere. Canning, therefore, saw in the youthful republic a possible ally that might co-operate with England in the pursuit of their common interests. Accordingly, he suggested that the two governments issue a joint statement pledging themselves against taking any of Spain's American possessions and declaring their opposition to any transfer of Spanish American territory to any other power.

*Monroe declines Canning's offer*

When Monroe received Canning's proposal he was at first favorably disposed toward it. He consulted Jefferson and Madison about the offer. Both advised acceptance and Jefferson was enthusiastic over the proposition. Adams, however, did not agree with the venerable ex-Presidents. He advised that it be declined, since he was opposed to our government tying itself up with a European power. It should act alone, he thought, in protesting against European interference in South America and not "come in as a cock-boat in the wake of the British man-of-war." Furthermore, he was unwilling to give the pledge that the United States would never take over

any Spanish territory, for he expected that at some future day Cuba would be added to the American domain.

*The Doctrine as enunciated by Monroe*

Monroe accepted the suggestions of his Secretary of State and embodied them in his annual message to Congress in December, 1823. In this message he gave the attitude of his government toward any possible intervention in Latin America by the European powers and toward Russia's claims with reference to the Northwest. These statements constituted the Monroe Doctrine. They are in brief as follows:

(1) The American continents "are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power."

(2) "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy, so to do."

(3) The political system of the Continental European powers is essentially different from that of America, and we should consider any attempt to extend this system "to any portions of this Hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety."

(4) "With the existing Colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere."

(5) But as to the governments that have declared and maintained their independence and whose independence we have acknowledged, "we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light, than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States."

*The immediate effect of the pronouncement*

The immediate effect of this pronouncement was slight. None of the European powers, with the possible exception of France, had had any intention of intervening in America; and if France had had any such purpose it had been dispelled two months earlier by the strong stand against intervention which Canning had taken in a note to the French minister in London. The declaration did, however, hold "up a hand of warning to Europe, a hand which in 1823 was little, but later was to be seen by everybody."[1]

*Policies out of which the Doctrine had grown*

This statement by President Monroe was a formulation of policies which had grown out of American foreign relations during the half-century of independence. Washington in his Farewell Address and Jefferson in his First Inaugural had come out vigorously for a policy of isolation—"no entangling alliances" with foreign powers. Opposition to the transfer of American territory from one European power to another was strongly shown by Jefferson in his attitude toward the cession of Louisiana to France by Spain. In the handling of the

[1] S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 204-205.

Florida question Jefferson and Madison had shown that the United States had an interest greater than that of any other country in the affairs of the Western Hemisphere. Thus the doctrine of isolation, opposition to transfer of colonial possessions, and the paramount interest of the United States in cis-Atlantic affairs had already been embodied in American practice. These doctrines were now all clearly and forcefully declared. To these older doctrines was added the new one that the political ideology and practice of the old world were not to find a lodgment in the new.

*Significance of the Doctrine*

The Monroe Doctrine as first enunciated was only a part of a Presidential message. It did not call for or receive any action from Congress. It had, therefore, technically no legal standing whatever, but it became the basis of the most important element in American foreign policy.[1] To prevent European nations from extending their power and influence in the Western Hemisphere became the cardinal principle in American policy of public defense. This policy is as deeply rooted in the minds of the American people as any that rests on constitutional sanction. The Monroe Doctrine is thus a part of the unwritten constitution of the nation.

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2. Postwar Tariff Policy, 1815-1818.—Babcock, *op. cit.*, ch. 14.
3. Westward Migration and Internal Improvements, 1815-1819.—*Ibid.*, ch. 15.
4. Important Decisions of the Supreme Court (1801-1828).—Babcock, *op. cit.*, ch. 18; and O. P. Chitwood and Frank L. Owsley, *A Short History of the American People*, I, pp. 323-324, 387-390.
5. James Monroe, Personal Traits and Political Views.—James Schouler, *History of the United States of America*, III, pp. 3-7, 200-207.
6. Social Life at Washington in the Eighteen-Twenties.—Schouler, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-220.
7. The Acquisition of East Florida.—Babcock, *op. cit.*, ch. 17. For text of the treaty with Spain (1819), see Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America*, III, pp. 3-18 (text in both Spanish and English).
8. Slavery in the United States before 1820.—J. W. Burgess, *The Middle Period*, ch. 3.
9. The Missouri Compromise.—Turner, *Rise of the New West*, ch. 10; or Burgess, *op. cit.*, ch. 1.
10. The Monroe Doctrine.—Turner, *op. cit.*, ch. 12; Ruhl J. Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy*, ch. 10. Excerpts from Monroe's message: Pease and Roberts, pp. 303-306; Commager, *Documents*, I, pp. 235-237. (For a full discussion see Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1823-1826.*)
11. The Tariff of 1824.—Turner, *op. cit.*, ch. 14.

[1] It was not until recently that Congress gave legal recognition to the Monroe Doctrine. In June, 1940, it adopted a resolution declaring that our government will not recognize the transfer of any American territory from one European power to another.

# CHAPTER XIV

# *Sectionalism in Politics*

## The Westward Movement (1815-1830)

*The sections*

DESPITE the revival of nationalism which resulted from the War of 1812, sectionalism in the early 1820's began to play an important part in American politics. The country was divided into the three regions of the Northeast, the South, and the West. So different in their economic interests were these three sections that the term "economic empire" has been suggested as the proper one to characterize the United States at this time. It is true that each region was subdivided into smaller economic areas with conflicting interests; but in each of the three sections there was one outstanding occupation which dominated the economic life of the entire region and gave to it a large measure of solidarity. In the Northeast, manufacturing had become before the end of this period the predominant interest, although commerce until lately had held the primacy; in the South the production of cotton, tobacco, and rice by the use of both slave and free labor was the leading factor in economic life; while in the West the growing of grain on small farms with free labor was the chief occupation.

*Economic conditions a factor in Western expansion*

Of these sections the one which developed most rapidly after the War of 1812 was the West. The main reason for the rapid growth of the West was the existence there of a seemingly unlimited amount of unoccupied land to match the land hunger of the farmers in the older settlements. The advantages of this section had been advertised by the war; the soldiers who participated in the frontier campaigns observed the fertility of the soil of the unoccupied regions and noted the fine opportunities they offered for agriculture. Western expansion was also considerably influenced by economic and social conditions in the East. The war and the events immediately preceding it had caused economic dislocations which gave rise to discontent among those groups in the East that had difficulty in making adjustments to the changed conditions. The restrictions on foreign trade which preceded and accompanied the War of 1812 proved a great drawback to the shipping and commercial

interests of the North. This meant unemployment for sailors and others engaged in seafaring occupations. Nor was the gap thus created bridged over by the infant manufacturing industries which had sprung up; the new jobs were filled mainly by women and children. The tiller of the soil in New England was suffering from the competition of the farmers on the rich lands of the then-settled West. He was thus inclined to leave his rocky hillsides and seek more productive lands on the frontier.

*Occupation of the Northwest*

At first the New Englanders, on leaving the older settlements, moved to the frontier regions of their own section and to western New York. It was not long, however, before many of them were going into Ohio, and after the completion of the Erie Canal (1825) a considerable number moved on into Indiana and Illinois. There also poured into the Northwest a large stream of emigration from the Middle states, especially Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Into the region north of the Ohio came many settlers from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the older Southern states. So numerous were these Southern emigrants that at the end of this period (1830) they were the predominant element in the population of Indiana and Illinois. Some of these Southerners belonged to the wealthier families and were attracted by the bright economic prospects and the opportunities for political leadership in the new section. They took their slaves with them, keeping them in bond service by technical contracts of indenture. Most of the Southerners, however, who went to the Old Northwest were yeomen, who owned few or no slaves. Many of them were affiliated with religious denominations, such as the Baptists and the Quakers, which opposed slavery.

*The Southwest*

But to the Southerner, the Southwest offered the finest field for expansion. After the War of 1812, and especially from 1830 on, emigrants from the South advanced rapidly into this section. Those who sought out this favored land included big planters and small farmers, a good many of the latter going from Tennessee and the upland regions of the older states. The soil in the Atlantic coastal plain was being depleted, and the rich lands of the Southwest were most inviting to the cotton grower. The Industrial Revolution had put in rapid motion the wheels of the cotton mills in both Old and New England, and there was a great demand for cotton. The invention of the cotton gin made it possible to meet this demand by the cultivation of larger areas.

*Circumstances favorable to Western migration*

While economic opportunities in the older states were declining, conditions in the West were becoming more inviting. Room for new settlers was made by securing more and more land from the Indians. As a result of the military activity of Jackson in the

Southwest and of Harrison in the Northwest, the natives had been subdued and forced to give up much of their territory. By a series of treaties almost all of the desirable land in both the Northwest and the Southwest had been surrendered by them before the end of this period.

Improvement in the means of transportation also made it easier for pioneers to reach their destination. The construction of turnpikes, notably the National Turnpike (which reached the Ohio River in 1818), rendered the approaches to the Ohio less difficult. The steamboat had been in use on the Ohio since 1811, and by 1820 was taking cargoes both up and down the Mississippi and its tributaries. Later, the completion of the Erie Canal afforded a convenient route for Northern emigrants.

*The Land Act of 1820*

It was also easier now to obtain land in the new country than it had been heretofore. The Land Law of 1820 was more favorable to the settler than the earlier acts had been. Prior to this time the minimum amount that the government would sell was one hundred and sixty acres and the minimum price was $2.00 per acre. One fourth of this had to be paid in cash and the remainder in four installments extending over a period of four years. By the Act of 1820 the credit system was abolished, but the minimum amount which could be bought was reduced to eighty acres and the minimum price to $1.25 per acre. As $100 would now buy a homestead, the land was put in reach of the actual settlers. Next year a provision was added for the relief of purchasers under the old plan who could not meet their payments. By this act persons who had fallen behind in their payments could retain such portions of their tracts as they had paid for and return the others to the government.

*Routes of travel to the West*

Before the Erie Canal was opened, the settlers made their way to the Ohio River over wagon roads, some of which were turnpikes. The most widely used of these turnpikes was the National Road, which ran from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling (now West Virginia). Pioneers from Kentucky, Tennessee, and the older Southern states, on their way to the Northwest or to Missouri, passed through the gaps of the Alleghenies to the Ohio. On reaching that river the emigrant either took a steamboat or loaded his family and belongings on a flatboat and floated downstream to the point of debarkation. A typical trip of this kind as described by a contemporary (1820) was as follows: "Today we passed two large rafts lashed together, by which single conveyance several families from New England were transporting themselves and their property to the land of promise in the western woods. Each raft was eighty

or ninety feet long, with a small house erected on it; and on each side was a stack of hay, round which several horses and cows were feeding, while the paraphernalia of a farm-yard, the ploughs, waggons, pigs, children, and poultry, carelessly distributed, gave to the whole more the appearance of a permanent residence, than of a caravan of adventurers seeking a home."[1]

Settlers going into the Southwest from the South Atlantic states followed the two upcountry routes running from Fredericksburg, Virginia, to a point near Milledgeville, Georgia. Here these roads converged to form the "Federal Road," which terminated at New Orleans. Some of the emigrants, however, left these roads at such points as Columbia, Greenville, and Athens and crossed the mountains to the road leading southwestward along the Great Valley. From this road and its branches settlers moved into interior Mississippi and north and west Alabama by the Jackson Trace and the Natchez Trace, or by the Coosa River.

*Stages of development in the West*

At the point of destination the emigrant unloaded his few household goods and proceeded through the wilderness to the site of his new home. Here he cleared out a small area and with the aid of neighbors erected a rude log cabin. Still ruder structures were also built to shelter his stock. A small acreage was prepared for cultivation by clearing out the underbrush and deadening the trees. This latter process consisted in cutting a circle through the bark around the tree at its base to prevent the sap from rising through the trunk to the branches. Some of the trees—those freest from knots and limbs—were split into rails for the zigzag fences. Other tree trunks when they fell or were cut down were rolled together and burned. This work was so heavy as to require the assistance of the neighbors. A logrolling, like a house-raising, was an important co-operative activity and, despite the arduous work, an occasion of enjoyment, for it usually brought forth generous supplies of food and drink. The first settler cultivated only a small amount of his land. His cattle and hogs were allowed to wander in the woods, the one feeding on the buds and grass of the treeless spots and the other picking up acorns and nuts dropped by the trees. By the aid of his long-barreled rifle the pioneer could supplement the supplies gathered from garden and field.

This primitive method of living did not last long. After a few years the pioneer had developed into a successful farmer or had sold his clearing with its improvements to a newcomer from the East. More lands were now brought under cultivation, orchards

[1] Quoted by E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson in *Readings in the Economic History of the United States* (Longmans, 1917), 352.

were planted, and more comforts were enjoyed. Sawmills and gristmills were erected and weatherboarded houses took the place of log cabins. Small villages grew up at which were located retail stores and, in some instances, schools and churches. Itinerant preachers passed through and stopped long enough to carry on revival meetings.

It was not long before the West reached another stage in its development. Villages grew into towns and cities; numerous schools, churches, and some small colleges were established; and life in these more advanced communities assumed the pattern of the old settlements in the East.

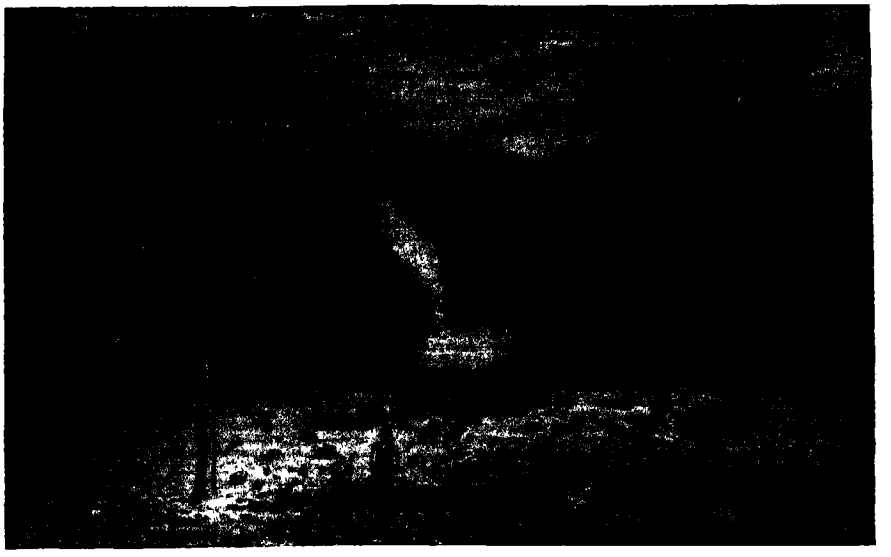
*Personal traits and ideals of frontiersmen*

The difficulties encountered in the occupation of this New West were very much the same as those generally experienced by frontiersmen. The hardships and severities of the early years tended to develop a type of character universally found under pioneer conditions. Courage and coolness in the face of danger, self-reliance, and inventiveness were highly prized virtues. Life in the untamed wilderness also brought forth certain ideals, such as a belief in the worthiness of the common man and a distrust of experts. The frontiersman was therefore usually a rugged individualist with strong democratic leanings both in his social relations and in his political views. On the frontier there was no great inequality as to the ownership of wealth, a condition which was conducive to social and political equality.

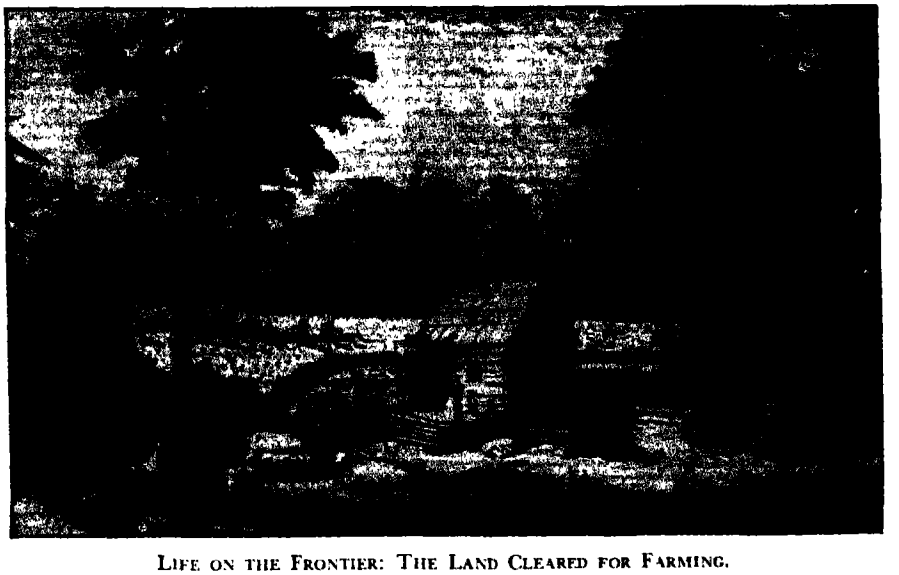
Along with these good qualities were developed some characteristics which were not so attractive. Because of the scarcity of schools and churches the frontiersmen were backward in intellectual, artistic, and spiritual culture and, therefore, often exhibited a rawness of personality which was anything but desirable. Self-confidence too often lapsed into braggadocio, and individuality into contentiousness. There was also an inadequate appreciation of the beautiful and too great a tolerance of ugliness. Under the new environment the customs of the old settlements were somewhat relaxed, and this exemption from restraint was favorable to the development of originality and inventiveness. But a disregard of some of the conventions deprived social relations of many pleasant amenities and tended to promote boorishness.

*Transportation in the West*

The main problem of the West was transportation. How to get needed supplies from the East and find an outlet for their farm surplus was a matter of deep concern for the frontiersmen. During the latter half of this period, merchandise from the East was brought across the mountains over the Pennsylvania turnpikes and the Cumberland Road. Companies using four-horse wagons made



LIFE ON THE FRONTIER: THE FIRST CRUDE CABIN.



LIFE ON THE FRONTIER: THE LAND CLEARED FOR FARMING.

(BOTH) From Woestemeyer & Gambrill's "The Western Movement,"
D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

LIFE ON THE FRONTIER: THE FARM DEVELOPED.

LIFE ON THE FRONTIER: *THE FAMILY HOMESTEAD ON A LARGE TRACT.*

(BOTH) From Woestemeyer & Gambrill's "The Western Movement," D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.

a business of transporting freight from the eastern cities to the interior. In the year 1820 more than three thousand wagons were driven from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh conveying merchandise valued at eighteen million dollars. Freight that was particularly heavy could not be transported in this way except at prohibitive costs and was usually brought to the interior by steamboat up the Mississippi and its tributaries. But western Georgia, Alabama, and eastern Mississippi were served by the rivers flowing eastward and southward and by the roads leading from Charleston, Savannah, and Mobile. The Coosa-Alabama-Tombigbee River system was particularly useful in the transportation system of Alabama and eastern Mississippi, and the Chattahoochee was important in west Georgia.

How to get the surplus of the western farms to market was also a problem. Livestock could be driven to eastern markets, and mules and horses were sent to the southern plantations in this way. Hogs and cattle in great numbers were also driven across the Appalachian Mountains. Travelers in this period report seeing droves of hogs numbering four and five thousand.

But the chief outlet for Western produce was the Mississippi River and its navigable tributaries. Down these streams were floated cattle, flour, bacon, whiskey, and other products of the farm on all kinds of river craft—including rafts, flatboats, keelboats, skiffs, and steamboats. The steamboat had the advantage over all its rivals not only because of its greater speed but also because of its being able to carry a cargo upstream as well as down. Before the invention of the steamboat a few barges conveying small cargoes made, with great difficulty, one trip a year from New Orleans to Louisville. It took about ninety days for this strenuous pull upstream, whereas the steamboat as early as 1822 could make the trip in sixteen days.

On reaching New Orleans some of the Western products were transshipped to the Atlantic seaboard and some to foreign countries. A good part of them, however, was distributed among the settlers of the Southwest. The rapid extension of cotton culture in this region greatly enhanced its importance as a market for food supplies produced in the northern West.

*The admission of new states*

The westward movement led to the rapid addition of a number of new states to the Union. Before 1812 three of these, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, had been admitted. From 1812 to 1821 six more were added—Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821).[1] The gain in population in these new commonwealths

[1] During this period one Eastern state, Maine, was also admitted into the Union (1820).

from 1820 to 1830 was nearly a million and a half, an advance of more than sixty-five per cent. Besides, there had been a large increase in the population of the frontier districts of the older states. This growth in population gave the West a marked increase in its representation in Congress. This section had therefore by the end of this period a strong voice in the councils of the nation.

### REALIGNMENT OF POLITICAL PARTIES

*onflict of iterests etween the ctions*

The conflict of interests between the sections impelled statesmanship to concern itself more and more with the problem of making the proper adjustments between these conflicting interests. The first serious clash between the sections was the dispute which arose over slavery when Missouri applied for admission to the Union. Although this controversy was settled by the Missouri Compromise, the slavery question was connected, either directly or indirectly, with most of the other disputes which afterwards arose between the sections.

*ttitude of he various ections oward rotection*

Among the sectional issues that arose in the 1820's, internal improvements and protection played a prominent part. The manufacturers of the Northeast were clamoring for a higher tariff, which would raise the prices of their products and thus protect home industry against foreign competition. They also advocated the construction of roads and canals at Federal expense. The Southerners could not share to any considerable extent in the benefits of protection, since manufacturing was not an important occupation in the South. Furthermore, a protective tariff would raise the price of the goods they would have to buy and thus saddle an unnecessary burden upon them. The home-market argument did not appeal to them, since the great staples of the South—tobacco, cotton, and rice—found a ready sale in foreign countries. A high tariff, by restricting imports, would also discourage exports. If the European countries were hampered in the sale of their goods in the United States, they would be less inclined to buy Southern and other American products.

*Attitude of the sections toward internal improvements*

Nor did the Southern planters and farmers favor the construction of internal improvements at the expense of the Federal government. Such a policy would impose extra taxes upon them without giving them adequate compensating advantages. The Appalachian mountain system formed a barrier between the Southern coastal plain and the West which could be crossed by turnpikes only with great difficulty and could be pierced by canals only at a few places if at all. The eastern South could, therefore, hardly hope for a proportional share of the roads and canals which would

be constructed in carrying out a national program of internal improvements. Furthermore, the doctrine of states' rights, which the Tidewater South had embraced, was contrary to the nationalism involved in a policy of internal improvements by the Federal government.

By the use of the steamboat and by the completion of the National Turnpike to the Ohio, and later by the construction of the Erie Canal, transportation facilities for the Westerners were greatly improved. These means of transportation were not, however, adequate to the needs of a rapidly increasing population. The Westerners therefore clamored, in the early days, for government aid in the construction of canals and favored Clay's policy of internal improvements. They also believed that a protective tariff by promoting manufactures would greatly aid in creating a home market for agricultural produce. Factories would be established in the West, as well as in the East, and towns would grow up around them. The employees in these industrial centers would be consumers of farm products and the farmer would be able to sell his commodities at home. The home-market argument in favor of a protective tariff therefore made a strong appeal to them. Thus on the questions of tariff and internal improvements they were nationalists.

It was only in the Northwest, however, that this nationalism persisted. For after the Southwest had become closely affiliated economically and socially with the southern East, the newer South took up the states'-rights views of the older South. Nor did the nationalism of the Northwest extend to the money question. Since many of the small farmers of this section were in debt, they wanted a cheap and abundant currency. Such a currency would be afforded by the state banks, provided there was no national bank to curb them in their issue of notes. Hence they were opposed to a national bank.

*The election of 1824: Political factions*

The era of good feeling ended with the close of Monroe's second term. The Federalist Party was no longer a factor in national politics, and the Republican Party, which had controlled the national government for nearly a quarter of a century, had broken up into factions. Each of these factions was led by an aspirant for the Presidency. The party was embarrassed with a superabundance of Presidential timber, and the problem of making a choice was a difficult one.

*Opposition to the Congressional caucus*

Since the national convention had not yet come into existence, the only machinery available for uniting on a single standard-bearer was the Congressional caucus. This had been the agency previously employed (since 1796); but with only one party in the field a

nomination by the caucus would be equivalent to an election. The President would thus be an appointee of Congress and the executive would become dependent upon the legislative branch of the government. There was therefore widespread opposition to the Congressional caucus as a means of selecting the Presidential candidate.

*andidates n President*

Despite this objection, there was still considerable support for the old plan, and in February, 1824, a caucus was held to choose the Republican candidate. Only sixty-six members of Congress attended the meeting, which declared almost unanimously for William H. Crawford, Secretary of War, for President, and Albert Gallatin for Vice-President. The reason for the smallness of the attendance was that the friends of the other candidates, all of whom had declared against a caucus, had refused to take part in the proceedings. If earlier precedents had been followed, this recommendation would have been accepted as a party nomination; but the action of a rump caucus weakened rather than strengthened the claims of Crawford. It identified him with an unpopular cause and gave his opponents the opportunity to use against him the slogan, "Down with King Caucus."

The refusal of the leaders to abide by the Congressional caucus left the way open to the state legislatures to make nominations. Accordingly, several names were so presented. It was in this way that Clay, Adams, and Jackson were brought forward. In the beginning Calhoun was also a candidate, but early in the campaign, realizing that his time had not yet come, he withdrew from the race to make sure of the Vice-Presidency. Many of his friends now lined up behind Jackson.

In this four-cornered contest personalities played a more prominent part than principles. It is true that the views of the candidates were widely divergent on the questions of the day, such as the tariff, internal improvements, and the financial policy of the government; but so successful were they in concealing their opinions that the voters had difficulty in knowing where they stood. Both sectionalism and political issues did, however, enter to some extent in the campaign.

*Crawford*

Early in the campaign (September, 1823) Crawford suffered a paralytic stroke and his recovery was slow and gradual. Despite this handicap he had a strong following among the Old School Republicans in the South. In New York his forces were ably led

*Clay*

by Martin Van Buren, a politician of exceptional astuteness. Clay's oratorical powers, his brilliant record in Congress, and his magnetic personality had drawn to him a personal following throughout the country and particularly in the West. Moreover, by his able

championship of a protective tariff he had won favor with the manufacturing interests in the East. Jackson's position with reference to the issues of the day was not generally known, but in the matter of personal popularity he had the advantage of all his competitors. His military record—the conquest of the Creek Indians, the victory at New Orleans, and the invasion of Florida—made a strong appeal to the hero worship of the masses, and in the West his popularity was even greater than that of Clay. Because of the skillful management of Major William B. Lewis and other Tennessee friends, the prospects of "Old Hickory" grew brighter as the canvass advanced, and when it ended he was leading the race.

*Jackson*

The election returns showed that Jackson would receive 99 electoral votes, Adams 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37. Calhoun was elected Vice-President by a very large majority. As no one of the four candidates for the Presidency had a majority, the final decision would be made by the House of Representatives, to which only the three highest names could be submitted. Clay therefore could not be considered. The chances were also against Crawford, partly because of his physical condition and partly because of the smallness of his electoral vote. The race was, therefore, between Jackson and Adams.

*No choice by the Electoral College*

Clay was Speaker of the House of Representatives and thus wielded a great influence in that body. His friends held the balance of power, and this gave the popular Kentuckian the role of President-maker. An alliance with him was, therefore, courted by the supporters of both candidates. He had had bitter personal differences with Jackson and had opposed some of the policies which Adams as Secretary of State had tried to carry out. To Clay, therefore, neither of the two candidates was entirely satisfactory, although he was in accord with Adams on the leading issues of the day. Clay therefore decided some time before the House entered upon the election that he would throw his influence to Adams. With this support and that of a vacillating Representative from New York (whose vote put that state in the Adams column) Adams was elected on the first ballot by a bare majority of one (February 9, 1825).

*Adams elected*

Jackson's friends were sorely disappointed over the alliance between the Kentuckian and the New Englander, and some of them believed that Clay's support had been purchased by the promise of a place in the Cabinet. In the latter part of January (1825) there was published in a Philadelphia newspaper an anonymous letter in which Clay and Adams were charged with having entered into a corrupt bargain. Clay was to throw his influence to Adams and in return was to receive the Secretaryship of State.

*The charge of a "corrupt bargain"*

Clay bitterly denied the accusation; but his acceptance of the highest post in the Cabinet was, in the opinion of some of his bitter opponents—Calhoun and Jackson among them—a confirmation of the charge that a corrupt bargain had been made. The suspicion aroused by this indictment was kept alive by the opposition during Adams's entire term and was used as a sharp weapon against him in the next campaign.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

*Adams; personal traits and previous career*

Adams entered upon his duties under unfavorable auspices. He had a feeling that two thirds of the American people were opposed to his choice. His election by the House of Representatives also made him the victim of the prejudice which had been aroused against the Congressional caucus as a means of nominating candidates for the Presidency. His selection over a candidate who had received a greater electoral vote than he accentuated this prejudice and enabled his enemies to represent him as the beneficiary of Congressional intrigue. Despite these adverse appearances, the younger Adams, like his father, was thoroughly honest and was one of the ablest and most patriotic of all our Presidents. He had been well trained by education and experience for the great responsibilities now assumed. He was a graduate of Harvard and at one time had been a professor in that college. As has already been seen, in a long diplomatic career he had taken a leading part in important negotiations with foreign powers. His record as Secretary of State gave additional prestige to an eminently successful career. But his high character and fine qualifications never won for him a strong popular following. Cold in manner, with a suspicious attitude toward others and a temper which was easily ruffled, he found it difficult to practice good fellowship and make easy contacts with other political leaders.

*The division of the Republican Party*

In his first message to Congress, President Adams suggested a broad program of progressive legislation, including the construction of roads and canals and other nationalist policies. The realization of this program would involve the assumption of large powers on the part of the general government. He thus put himself in the class of the ultranationalists and at once became anathema to the states'-rights planters of the South. In the beginning the President and his Secretary of State had a strong following in Congress and consequently the younger Adams was not a President without a party. His political adversaries, however, soon began to unite and thus form an anti-Administration party. Jackson was the standard-bearer of this group, and the campaign in favor of his candidacy

went on during practically the whole of Adams's term. The Republicans were now virtually divided into two parties. The pro-Administration party afterwards took the name of National Republican; the anti-Administration group were afterwards known as Democrats.

This new pro-Jackson party included, in addition to the original Jackson men, the followers of Calhoun and Crawford. Van Buren, the outstanding leader of the Crawford group in the North, after some hesitation and delay threw in his lot with the "Old Hero" and proved a tower of strength to his cause. The Crawford men of the South also went over to Jackson, although their support of the latter's candidacy was not characterized by marked enthusiasm. To them he was an unknown quantity opposed to an objectionable known quantity. Adams's extreme nationalism rendered him utterly impossible to them, whereas Jackson, being a Southerner, might be expected to favor the interests of his section.

*Internal improvements*

Adams was not able fully to carry out his plans for the construction of roads and canals, although expenditures for internal improvements were greatly increased during his term. The most important achievement of his administration in internal improvements was the impetus given to the extension of the National Turnpike. From 1825 on, liberal appropriations were voted by Congress for the extension of this highway across central Ohio, Indiana, and into Illinois.

*The "Tariff of Abominations"*

The mid-term elections (1826) had favored the pro-Jackson party and given it control of both houses of Congress. The leaders of this party in Congress decided to make use of the tariff issue in the fight for the succession. They felt that if they were committed in favor of a protective tariff the South would vote against the "Old Hero," whereas Pennsylvania would be against him if they should oppose a protective duty on iron. To frame a tariff bill which would avoid both horns of this dilemma was the problem. Their plan for meeting the difficulty was to propose a protective measure and have it defeated by the friends of Adams. Accordingly, they offered a bill which in its final form provided not only for the protection of manufactures but also for high duties on hemp, wool, iron, and molasses. Since these commodities were largely in use as raw materials by Northern manufacturers, a high tax on them would raise the cost and lower the profits of manufacturing. Congressmen who represented the industrial interests of New England were, therefore, expected to vote against the bill. Indeed, the objectionable features of the measure were inserted largely for that purpose. The enemies of protection, as one of them declared, wished to inject enough poison into the bill to kill it. The opposi-

tion of the New England Congressmen and that of their Southern colleagues, it was thought, would defeat the measure, and the South would rejoice over the outcome. The Jacksonians could placate Pennsylvania and the West by posing as advocates of protection and putting the blame for the failure of the bill on Adams's friends in New England.

But to the surprise of these politicians, a considerable number of the New Englanders swallowed the bill even with these objectionable features, "abominations," as they were called. They voted for it because it would prolong the life of the protectionist principle, and they felt that it would not be long until they could revise the objections out of the act. The measure also received the strong support of the Middle states and the West and was passed, despite the almost unanimous opposition of the South and the Southwest. In this way the "Tariff of Abominations" was foisted upon the country.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1828

*Presidential candidates*

For Adams the executive chair had proved to be a very uncomfortable seat. He had scarcely become ensconced in his high position when a vigorous campaign was launched to defeat him in the next election. The opposition party did all it could to discredit him and to bring Jackson into popular favor. Public measures were supported or opposed mainly with the view to their effect on the coming election. Early in 1828 party feeling, which had been at a high temperature during his entire term, broke into white heat. Both Adams and Jackson had been nominated by a number of state legislatures, and politicians were waging a relentless war of abuse in the name of their champions.

*Mudslinging*

The campaign was a disgraceful exhibition of partisan hate and unfair tactics. Mudslinging was indulged in to an unusual extent, even for American politicians. Not only was the policy of the President attacked but his motives and character were also assailed. His opponents made much of the charge of "bargain and corruption" and tried to convince the masses that their leader, Jackson, had been cheated out of the Presidency by political chicanery. But the Democrats were not the only offenders in this campaign of hate and misrepresentation. The pro-Administration leaders also did their best to asperse the character of Jackson. His conduct in the Creek War and the War of 1812, it was charged, had been arbitrary and overbearing. He was termed a ruffian, a duelist, a gambler, a murderer, and an adulterer. Handbills were circulated giving the names of persons who had been killed by him in duels and executed

by his orders as a military leader, with the picture of a coffin above each name. Much unjust publicity was given to the technical irregularity of his marriage. The basis for this unfair accusation was the fact that Jackson had married Mrs. Rachel Robards before the proceedings for divorce from her former husband had been consummated. These ugly stories cut deeply into his feelings and aroused within him the most vindictive hatred of his foes.

In the campaign, personalities played the major role and principles only a very minor part. Little attention was paid to the questions of the day, such as the tariff, internal improvements, and foreign policy. But underneath all the slander and loud talk of the campaign leaders there was a real issue at stake—democracy versus aristocracy. As Jackson was the idol of the Western democracy and the champion of the masses in other sections of the country, a vote for him was a vote to take the Federal government out of the hands of the upper classes and turn it over to the plain people. "Shall the people rule?" might, therefore, be properly regarded as the issue of the campaign. The Jackson men contended that Congress in 1825 by selecting Adams over "Old Hickory," who had received a plurality of the electoral votes, had thwarted the wishes of the people. To elect Jackson now would be (so they maintained) to vindicate the right of the people to choose the President.

*The real issue*

The outcome of the election showed that Jackson had received more than twice as many electoral votes as his opponent. The West and South had gone solidly for him, and he had also carried Pennsylvania and won a majority of the electoral votes of New York. Adams had received a part of the vote of New York and Maryland and every electoral vote in New England but one. He also carried Delaware and New Jersey.[1]

*Jackson elected*

SELECTED READINGS

1. The Significance of the Section in American History.—F. J. Turner, *The Significance of Sections in American History*, ch. 2.
2. Sections and the Nation.—Turner, *op. cit.*, ch. 12.
3. The Significance of the Frontier.—F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History*, ch. 1.
4. The Westward Movement, 1817-1860.—E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, *Readings in the Economic History of the United States*, pp. 338-369 (interesting contemporary accounts).

[1] To celebrate his victory Jackson's Tennessee friends arranged for a great banquet, reception, and ball to be given at Nashville. When the time set for this notable occasion arrived, Jackson was in no mood for festivities of any sort. On the contrary, he was passing through the greatest sorrow of his entire lifetime. The beloved Rachel was dead. She had been in poor health for some time and had died of a heart attack, which Jackson always believed was the result of the worry caused by the slanderous assaults made on her character in the campaign. She had, as he said, been "murdered by slanders that pierced her heart." In this way there was given a tinge of sacredness to his hatred of the opposition leaders.

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# CHAPTER XV

# *Democracy in the White House*

## The Accession of Andrew Jackson

THE United States was not a political democracy when it started out as an independent nation. In none of the states was there universal manhood suffrage, and the people who had the right to vote usually recognized the leadership of the upper classes. The Revolution, to be sure, released some radical ideas, as can be seen in the Declaration of Independence; for such phrases as "All men are born equal" cannot be bandied about without producing an effect, and thus some progress toward democracy was made at the time we separated from the mother country. But despite these new ideas, our national government for the first four decades of its existence was a political aristocracy. *The progress of democracy*

In the meantime, as has been seen, democracy had been growing up and developing a vigorous activity in the West and gaining strength in the East. The plain people in the older states began to tire of the leadership of their patrician neighbors and to clamor for a larger share in the government. In response to this demand constitutional changes were made in a number of these states which widened the suffrage and in some instances gave the right to vote to all adult white males. This democratic movement gained in momentum, until by 1828 it had become stronger than the forces of the aristocracy and captured the national government.[1] The election of Jackson, therefore, marks an important turning point in our development.

Jackson was eminently fitted by both character and temperament for the leadership of the plain people of the East and most of the people of the West in their struggle for supremacy. He had an unwavering faith in the people, and his democracy had in it no element of make-believe. The people, therefore, were guided by a true instinct when they regarded him as their faithful friend and *The personality of Jackson*

[1] For excellent maps showing the trend toward a broadening of the suffrage from 1780 to 1860, see Clifford L. and Elizabeth H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States*, 54-57.

aggressive champion. Moreover, he was the most typical Westerner to be found in the country at that time. The greater portion of his life had been spent on the frontier, and he had been an important actor in all the stirring and tumultuous events of his day. So deeply was he imbued with Western ideals that it may properly be said that he was the very incarnation of the spirit of the West. He had many of its shortcomings and most of its virtues, and in both his virtues and his vices he out-Westernized the average Westerner. Among his serious handicaps were a lack of formal education, strong prejudices, and a violent temper. In addition to the qualities that he owed to the frontier, he had also acquired a dignity and poise of manner which a cultivated Easterner might well have emulated. If the West, therefore, had wished to create a god in its own image it could not have done better than copy the personality of Andrew Jackson.

*The inauguration*

In the election of 1828 democracy had captured Washington, and on the fourth of March took up its domicile at the White House. Washington society awaited the new social order with amusement mingled with a modicum of disgust. Prophetic jokes were circulated as to what would happen at the White House. The inauguration must have been a disappointment to the disgruntled who had made these prophecies, for Jackson conducted himself during the ceremony with rare dignity and good sense, and nothing was said or done with which anyone could find fault. Attended by a group of friends, he walked the short distance from his hotel to the Capitol, amid the vociferous cheers of the immense crowd that had assembled for the ceremonies. The President-elect, advancing erectly with his white head conspicuous above those of his associates, looked worthy of the part he was called upon to play as the ruler of a vigorous young republic. The oath of office was administered by John Marshall, the aged Chief Justice, who probably felt apprehensions for his country similar to those experienced when he performed the same service at the installation of Jefferson.

*The reception at the White House*

The dignity which characterized the inaugural ceremony was not in evidence at the reception given at the White House. Democracy was not yet versed in drawing-room etiquette and had not learned good table manners. Consequently, the President's reception soon became an unruly mob. From fifteen to twenty thousand people rushed into the reception rooms to shake hands with the President and partake of the refreshments. They stood with muddy shoes on the damask chairs, and jostled the incoming waiters in their efforts to get at the refreshments. The jam was so great that the people inside could get out only by jumping out the

windows. It must not be inferred, however, that the social life of the White House was characterized by such pandemonium during the entire period of Jackson's administration, for this was not the case. Mrs. Jackson had died before the Inauguration, and Mrs. Andrew J. Donelson, the wife of Jackson's private secretary, was mistress of the White House. She discharged the duties of her responsible position with the proper dignity and decorum.

*The Cabinet*

In choosing his Cabinet the President had to recognize the claims of the different factions which had united to form the Democratic Party. The list of appointees included three of Calhoun's supporters and two of Jackson's political and personal friends. The Crawford group was represented by Martin Van Buren, who was made Secretary of State. This able politician had performed yeoman's service for the party in New York, and Jackson's victory in that state was due largely to his capable leadership. He was the only man of outstanding ability in the Cabinet as first organized. So mediocre were the others that a leading Democrat pronounced the President's official advisers "the most unintellectual Cabinet we ever had."

*The "Kitchen Cabinet"*

On such a Cabinet the President could hardly be expected to lean heavily for advice. In the early part of his administration little or nothing was asked of most of the members except the performance of the administrative duties of their respective departments. The practice of holding Cabinet meetings was discontinued after a few weeks. For advice the President looked to a group of intimates whom he consulted informally whenever the occasion arose. This little coterie of unofficial advisers—which included only two members of the regular Cabinet, Van Buren and John H. Eaton, Secretary of War—was known as the "Kitchen Cabinet."

*The spoils system extended to the Federal government*

Before Jackson's accession there had grown up in some of the states—notably New York and Pennsylvania—the practice of making appointments to office on the basis of party loyalty rather than on merit. The theory was that "to the victors belong the spoils." Accordingly, when a party won in a state election it rewarded its adherents by giving them the offices which had been made vacant by turning out such incumbents as belonged to the opposing party. This practice is known as the "spoils system." The spoils system was extended to the Federal government by President Jackson. The principle had been employed to some extent by his predecessors, however, as all of them had been influenced to a considerable degree by party loyalty in making appointments; but under Jackson there were more removals than there had been under any other President.

*Veto of the Maysville Road Bill*

At the time of his accession Jackson's position as to internal improvements was largely a matter of conjecture; but all doubt about his attitude on this question was resolved by his action on the Maysville-Lexington Road Bill. In May, 1830, Congress passed a bill authorizing the Federal government to take stock in a company which was planning the construction of a turnpike from Maysville to Lexington, Kentucky. The advocates of the bill contended that the road was national in character because it would be linked up with other roads and thus form a part of a great national system. Despite the opposition of the states'-rights advocates, the bill was passed by both houses of Congress and sent to the President. After due deliberation Jackson decided to veto the measure. The proposed road, he contended, was not a project of national importance but only of local interest as it began and ended in one state. Moreover, there was still doubt in his mind as to the constitutional power of Congress to construct and maintain public improvements. He suggested, therefore, that an amendment to the Constitution be proposed which would clearly define the powers of Congress on this question.

*The general attitude of Jackson toward internal improvements*

Although Jackson showed opposition to appropriations for roads, he signed a number of bills providing for road building in the territories and for the improvement of navigable streams and harbors. Jackson's stand on internal improvements had the effect of putting a decided check on the construction at Federal expense of roads and canals in the states.

## INDIAN AFFAIRS

*The controversy between Georgia and the Cherokees*

One of the difficult problems which Jackson had to solve was that of the relations of the Indians and the whites. This problem became especially acute in Georgia. In 1827 the Cherokees living in Georgia adopted a constitution and declared themselves an independent sovereign nation. Refusing to recognize the Cherokee state, the Georgia legislature passed a law (1828) providing for the annexation of the Cherokee lands to the adjacent counties and declaring that the laws of the state would apply to the Cherokees as well as to other citizens of the state. The President upheld Georgia in the dispute and in his message to Congress (December, 1829) suggested that the Cherokees emigrate to the region west of the Mississippi and settle on lands set apart for the Indians. In accordance with the President's recommendation, Congress passed a bill (May, 1830) providing for the exchange of Indian lands in the East for lands west of the Mississippi River and appropriating money to

*Creation of the Indian Territory*

defray the cost of removal. A later act (1834) created the Indian Territory in the West.

The Cherokees at first refused to emigrate, and the dispute went to the Supreme Court of the United States, where decisions against Georgia were handed down. Georgia ignored the decisions, and the President declined to enforce them. He is reported to have said: "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Jackson considered that the executive had as much right to interpret the Constitution as the judiciary—that his oath bound him to uphold the Constitution as he, and not as the Supreme Court, interpreted it. Later (1835) a treaty was signed with the Cherokees by which they surrendered their lands east of the Mississippi for a grant in the Indian Territory, five million dollars in money, and the expense of transferring them to their new home. But despite this agreement, force had to be resorted to in the removal of some of them.

*Decisions of the Supreme Court*

*Jackson's attitude toward these decisions*

The Sauk and Fox Indians in the Northwest were loath to leave their lands in Illinois and Wisconsin, and under the leadership of their brave chieftain, Black Hawk, put up a strong fight in defense of their rights (1832). In this bloody war many Indians, including women and children, were cruelly killed.

*The Black Hawk War*

The Seminoles of Florida also resisted removal, and a long war resulted, with Osceola as their leader. This war lasted from 1835 to 1842 and came to an end only after most of the Seminoles had been destroyed.

*War with the Seminoles*

### THE BREACH BETWEEN CALHOUN AND JACKSON

In the campaign of 1828 the friends of Calhoun supported Jackson with the expectation that the noted Carolinian would have the endorsement of the President for the succession. This hope was encouraged by the cordial relations which then existed between these Southern leaders. "Old Hickory" was expected to serve only one term and then Calhoun's turn would come. It was not long, however, before the President's friends began to talk of a second term, and Jackson did not discourage the suggestion. Calhoun's hopes for election in 1832, therefore, soon began to wane. In the meantime a formidable rival had arisen who might jeopardize his chances in 1836. This was the "Little Magician," Martin Van Buren. As leading member of the Cabinet he had a better opportunity to ingratiate himself into the good opinion of his chief than did the Vice-President.[1] With the rise of Van Buren in the Presi-

*Calhoun's hopes for the succession*

[1] Luck seemed to be against Calhoun in this contest with Van Buren, who was able to turn incidents of comparative unimportance to his own benefit. One such

dent's favor there went a rapid decline of Calhoun in the latter's esteem, and in a few years the two former friends had become bitter personal and political enemies.

*The Jefferson Day banquet*

Relations between the President and the Vice-President were subjected to a severe strain by the brusque behavior of the former at the Jefferson Day banquet. The Democrats had arranged for a dinner on Jefferson's birthday (April 13, 1830) at which Jackson was to be present. Since he was a Southerner and was thought to have states'-rights leanings, the South Carolina Democrats hoped that his attitude on this occasion might be favorable to the doctrine of nullification. Being warned in advance of these hopes, he determined to dash them violently to the ground. This was done with more boldness than courtesy when, looking Calhoun in the face, he offered this toast: "Our Federal Union—it must be preserved!"

The expression of this sentiment was not only an indication of the President's disapproval of nullification, but it was also an insinuation that Calhoun and his followers were disloyal to the Union. With a feeling of chagrin and resentment at this implied indictment, Calhoun made the best of the situation by replying with the following toast: "The Union—next to our liberty, the most dear! May we all remember that it can only be preserved by respecting the rights of the states and distributing equally the benefits and the burdens of the Union."

*The Crawford letter*

The most serious cause of the breach, however, was the leak of a Cabinet secret for which Crawford was responsible. When Jackson's action in invading Florida without instructions was considered by Monroe's Cabinet in 1818 (see p. 230), Jackson received the impression that Calhoun had defended him in the Cabinet meeting. In 1830 a letter previously written by Crawford was sent to Jackson which showed that Calhoun instead of defending had censured his conduct in Florida. Jackson wrote to Calhoun and received an unsatisfactory reply. He thereupon branded Calhoun a traitor and

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incident was the "Eaton Affair." Just before the inauguration, Major John H. Eaton, a warm personal friend of Jackson—soon to become Secretary of War—had married Mrs. Timberlake, an attractive young widow, often known as "Peggy O'Neill," since she was the daughter of William O'Neill, the proprietor of a tavern in Washington. Peggy had not always been careful in observing the strait-laced conventions laid down for women in that day. Consequently, gossip busied itself against her reputation and began to pull down her good name. Because of these rumors the wives of several Cabinet members would not recognize her socially. This aroused the ire of Jackson, who regarded Peggy as the innocent victim of a cruel and unwarranted ostracism. Van Buren cordially assisted the President in his attempt to secure proper recognition for Mrs. Eaton, and in so doing he won the favor of the "Old Hero." On the other hand, Mrs. Calhoun was a leader of the group which was unwilling to accord proper recognition to Mrs. Eaton. This was displeasing to Jackson and was a factor in disturbing the friendly feeling that had existed between the President and the Vice-President.

ended his last letter to him with the phrase, *"Et tu Brute!"* This terminated the personal friendship and the political alliance between the President and the Vice-President.

*The Cabinet reorganized*

After the break with Calhoun, Jackson reorganized his Cabinet by getting rid of the pro-Calhoun members and accepting the voluntary resignation of Van Buren. In the new Cabinet, Edward Livingston of Louisiana was made Secretary of State; Louis McLane of Delaware, Secretary of the Treasury; and Roger B. Taney of Maryland, Attorney General.

## THE DOCTRINE OF NULLIFICATION

*Personal traits of Calhoun*

At his accession to the Vice-Presidency (1829) Calhoun's intellectual gifts were at their best. He had already made a brilliant record in public life and was looking forward to still greater political preferment. Like several other noted statesmen of his day, he was a perennial candidate for the Presidency, but this ambition seems never to have swerved him from a faithful adherence to his principles. He was able to bring to his advocacy of public measures a vigorous personality which added force to his arguments. Descended from a Scotch Presbyterian ancestry and reared under semi-frontier conditions, he naturally imbibed a serious view of life. This seriousness was accentuated in appearance by deep-set eyes, heavy eyebrows, and bushy hair and was not relieved by a sense of humor. However, he had a gentle and kindly manner that attracted the good will of others and imparted an unusual magnetism to his personality. As a debater he was noted for force of argument, clarity of expression, and flawlessness of logic. He did not, however, employ the flowery style of oratory which was so popular in his day.

*The doctrine of nullification*

Before Calhoun and Jackson had come to the parting of the ways the former had ceased to be a nationalist and had become the leading advocate of states' rights. Following his theory to its logical conclusion, he had arrived at the doctrine of nullification. This doctrine was stated at length in a paper known as the "South Carolina Exposition"—prepared as a protest against the Tariff Act of 1828—and in his later writings, notably "A Disquisition on Government." According to Calhoun the Federal government could exercise only such powers as had been delegated to it by the Constitution. If it should exceed those powers and enact measures which are unconstitutional, such measures would be null and void. If the constitutionality of an act of the Federal government should be challenged, the question at issue could not be decided by the United States Supreme Court, for this court is an agency of the Federal government. In all such cases

the final arbiter would be the states acting jointly as they did in creating the Constitution and adding the amendments.

*The Webster-Hayne debate*

The doctrine of nullification was vigorously assailed and vigorously defended in the most dramatic debate ever staged in the United States Senate. This noted forensic contest was, however, an accident, having been occasioned by a resolution offered by Senator Foot of Connecticut which provided for a limitation of the sale of public lands. On January 19, 1830, Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina spoke against Foot's proposal. In the course of his speech he made a vigorous attack on New England Federalism and severely arraigned that section for its disloyalty in the War of 1812. This indictment brought Webster into the fray, for he felt called upon to defend his section. In this way began the noted debate which took up most of the time for the rest of the month.

*Nationalism vs. state sovereignty*

In this intellectual bout the doctrine of state sovereignty measured lances with that of nationalism, and the champion of each cause was probably the ablest that could be found in the entire country. Both statesmen were at the zenith of their illustrious careers and were well primed for the encounter.

*Daniel Webster*

Webster was an able constitutional lawyer and America's greatest orator. His speeches were so well organized and couched in such beautiful language that they would have been eloquent even if poorly delivered. On the other hand, he had an exceptionally attractive personality and his delivery was so effective that a commonplace production sounded oratorical when presented by him.

*Robert Y. Hayne*

Hayne was also an able lawyer, a finished orator, and a skillful debater. In personality and character he typified what was best in the South Carolina aristocracy. He was favored with a tall and well-proportioned figure, graceful carriage, and cordial and unaffected manners. With the exception of Calhoun, he was the ablest advocate of its doctrines that the Tidewater South could furnish.

*Position of Hayne*

Hayne defended with logic and eloquence the theory of nullification as it had been outlined by Calhoun. So well did he do this that Calhoun could not keep from smiling his approval from the Vice-Presidential chair despite his effort to pose as a neutral moderator.

*Webster's arguments*

Webster with equal or greater skill upheld the doctrine of nationalism. He contended that by the formation of the Union a government was created, not a league of nations. The states had no right to declare an act of the Federal government null and void and no legal right to secede from the Union. If a dispute should arise between a state and the Federal government, it should be referred to the United States Supreme Court as the final arbiter. Webster closed his great speech in a burst of eloquence which ended in the

oft-quoted phrase—"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."

*Significance of the debate*

This historic debate had the effect of clarifying the issue between localism and nationalism. It underscored the line which separated those who favored states' rights from those who advocated a strong national government. It furnished both groups with able arguments and thus accentuated the ardency with which each supported its cause.

### JACKSON AND THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

*A bill for rechartering the Bank is passed by Congress*

Jackson, like most Westerners, was opposed to the bank of the United States. In his first three messages he expressed opposition to a renewal of the charter, which would expire in 1836. McLane, Livingston, and other members of the Cabinet, as well as some members of the "Kitchen Cabinet," were favorable to the Bank, and they felt that Jackson could be won over if no application for recharter were made until after the election. But if a move toward a renewal of the charter were made in Congress before the election, the President would take it as a challenge and would veto the bill. The National Republican leaders, on the other hand, were in favor of bringing up the measure before Congress and thus making the Bank an issue in the Presidential campaign. Unfortunately for the Bank, its president, Nicholas Biddle, was convinced by the National Republican leaders that he should act before the election. Accordingly, application was made for a renewal of the charter, and a bill for rechartering the Bank was passed by Congress in the summer of 1832.

*Jackson vetoes the bill; his reasons*

The President vetoed the bill and returned it to the Senate with his objections. An effort to override the President's veto failed in the Senate, and consequently the bank measure was finally defeated. In his veto message Jackson expressed opposition to the bill on a number of grounds. Certain provisions were regarded by him as unconstitutional and to others there were objections of a practical nature. The charter, he maintained, created a monopoly and conferred special privileges upon a favored few. A large number of the stockholders lived in England, and most of the others resided in the Eastern states. On the other hand, the West was greatly indebted to the Bank and the interest paid by these debtors was contributing largely to its profits. The Bank was thus an agency for draining away from the West its money and pouring it into the coffers of Eastern and English capitalists.

*The appeal of the message to the masses*

Political scientists and economists of today place a rather low estimate on the President's constitutional and economic arguments, but the message made a deep impression on the people and proved

to be an invaluable campaign document. It appealed to American prejudice against England; to the jealousy of the West toward the East; and to the hatred of the poor for the rich. The ignorant masses were truly convinced that the Bank was an agency for making "the potent more powerful" and the poor poorer, as well as a means for giving England too much financial authority over the United States.

## THE ELECTION OF 1832

*Political parties*

By the end of his first term Jackson had consolidated his followers into a united group which was known as the Democratic Party. His vigorous measures, however, had aroused violent opposition as well as enthusiastic support. This opposition had crystallized into a new party, the National Republican, led by Henry Clay and which included in its membership the greater part of those who were opposed to the President's policies. In the meantime there had come into being a third political group, the Antimasonic Party. The mysterious disappearance in 1826 of William Morgan, of Batavia, New York, who was thought to have made public the secrets of Freemasonry, aroused the suspicion that he had been murdered by the Masons. The feeling against this secret order was so strong that it led to the formation of an Antimasonic party in New York. It soon spread to several other states and in the election of 1828 was able to play a minor part in support of Adams. In 1830 this new party was organized on a national basis, and a call was issued for a convention to be held the following year to nominate a candidate for the Presidency.

*Origin of the national convention*

After the Congressional nominating caucus fell into disfavor in 1824 the state legislatures were the only agencies left for nominating candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. This method was satisfactory in 1828 since there were only two outstanding candidates in the field. But the situation in 1832 was more complicated. The Democrats were united on Jackson for the Presidency but had to make a choice between several aspirants for the Vice-Presidency. Clay also was the generally accepted choice of the National Republicans, but a national convention was needed to name a Vice-Presidential candidate and consolidate support for the ticket. Among the Antimasons there was no generally recognized leader, and therefore it was necessary for them to get together and outline a program of national action. To meet these conditions, the national party convention was called into existence. As the national convention brought Presidential candidates closer to the people, its introduction was another forward step in the democratization of the Federal government.

*Nominees for President*

The Antimasonic Party held its convention in Baltimore, September 26, 1831, and nominated William Wirt of Virginia for President. This was the first national nominating convention ever held by a political party in this country. In December of the same year the National Republicans met in Baltimore and selected Henry Clay for the Presidency and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania for the Vice-Presidency. In May of the next year a convention of young National Republicans was held at Washington. At this meeting Clay and Sergeant were endorsed as candidates and a platform was adopted. This the first platform enunciated by a national political party declared against the policies of Jackson and in favor of a protective tariff and internal improvements. The Democrats held their convention in Baltimore in May, 1832. Jackson was unanimously endorsed, and Van Buren was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by a large majority. A rule was adopted that a two-thirds majority would be necessary for the choice of either candidate. This rule, except for one break, was in effect for more than a century.

*Results of the election*

As had been the case in 1828, the campaign was characterized by bitter feeling and loud abuse. In it the political cartoon was first used to any considerable extent. The President's veto of the Bank bill made that the leading issue. Jackson received a large majority of the popular vote and an overwhelming majority of the electoral vote. The victory won by the Democrats in the election was due partly to the opposition of the masses to the Bank, but mainly to their loyalty to the "Old Hero." The Antimasons carried only one state (Vermont), and this poor showing sealed their fate as a national party. They exerted considerable influence in the two succeeding campaigns, but never again did they offer a candidate for the Presidency.

## TARIFF AND NULLIFICATION

*The Tariff Act of 1832*

In his message to Congress (December, 1831) Jackson recommended a revision of the tariff, since the revenues of the government were in excess of the expenditures and the national debt was being paid off rapidly. The South and Southwest strove for revision downward; but the Northeast and Northwest were in favor of continuing the policy of protection. The friends of protection, under the leadership of Henry Clay in the Senate and ex-President John Quincy Adams in the House, succeeded in getting a protective measure through Congress in July, 1832. This act was in some minor respects an improvement on the one of 1828, as the "abominations" were removed and the general level of duties was slightly lowered; but since the reductions were made almost entirely on products not com-

peting with American manufactures, the protective feature was hardly touched.

*Discontent in South Carolina*

At the time the Tariff Act of 1832 was passed, South Carolina was not receiving her share of the prosperity which the country as a whole was enjoying. For her unfavorable economic plight she blamed the policy of protection, which forced her to buy in a protected market and sell in a competitive one. Although the high tariff was undoubtedly a real grievance, it was not the sole cause of her failure to keep pace with other sections in the increase of wealth. Her soil had been depleted by long years of cotton culture and was not able to compete on equal terms with the fresh lands of the new Gulf states. For this latter condition there was no immediate remedy, but an effort could be made to lessen the burdens of an unjust tariff policy.

*The Ordinance of Nullification*

Since Congress had committed itself by the Tariff Act of 1832 in favor of a high tariff as a permanent policy, South Carolina felt that the best way to meet this grievance was to resort to nullification. Accordingly, a state convention was called and it promptly passed an ordinance of nullification (November 24, 1832). By this ordinance the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 were declared unconstitutional and therefore null and void. No enforcement of these laws was to be allowed in South Carolina after February 1 of the coming year. Warning was also given that if force were used by the Federal government to compel the obedience of the state, South Carolina would sever her connection with the Union. In obedience to instructions from the convention the legislature met and passed laws for the enforcement of the ordinance. State officials were required to take an oath to carry out the ordinance.

*Action of the President*

*The Proclamation*

President Jackson at once showed that he had no patience with the action of South Carolina. He issued a proclamation (December 10, 1832) in which he took a strong stand in favor of nationalism. In this paper he declared that the Constitution formed a *government*, not a *league*—that the Union was a nation and therefore no state had the right to secede from it. "Disunion by armed force is treason." "The laws of the United States must be executed. I have no discretionary power on the subject; my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution."

*Measures taken to compel the obedience of South Carolina*

The dire threats of the Proclamation were accompanied by acts which were just as menacing. Seven revenue cutters and a ship of war were sent to Charleston with orders to be ready for instant action. Soldiers were also dispatched from Fortress Monroe to strengthen the garrison there, and General Scott was put in command of the defenses. On January 16, 1833, Jackson sent a special message to

Congress in which he reviewed at length the situation in South Carolina and recommended the enactment of such measures as would enable the executive to cope fully with the situation.

*The Compromise Tariff Act*

Along with the sword, the President bore the olive branch. In his annual message to Congress (December 4, 1832) he referred to the early extinction of the national debt and recommended a gradual reduction of the tariff. After an unsuccessful attempt of the Democrats to carry out this suggestion, Clay offered in the Senate a compromise tariff measure. By this bill there was to be a gradual reduction of the tariff until 1842, at which time the rate would not exceed twenty per cent on any article. This compromise was the result of an agreement between Clay and Calhoun, who had resigned the Vice-Presidency to take his seat in the Senate. With such backing the measure was easily put through Congress and was accepted by South Carolina.

*The "Force Bill"*

Congress sustained the President in his determination to uphold the authority of the Federal government in South Carolina. It passed a bill, known as the "Force Bill," which authorized him to employ the army and navy in carrying out the laws. This measure was very objectionable to the South Carolinians, who termed it the "Bloody Bill." When the compromise measure was passed, the South Carolina Convention rescinded the Ordinance of Nullification. At the same time, however, it reasserted its principles by declaring the Force Act null and void.

*Final settlement of the controversy*

With the ending of the controversy both sides claimed the victory. The nationalists contended that the authority and dignity of the Federal government had been upheld by the vigorous policy of the President and Congress. South Carolina, on the other hand, maintained that nullification had proved an effective remedy since it had secured a redress of her grievance. But the refusal of the other Southern states to lend moral support to South Carolina's action showed that nullification was not practicable as a method of protest against Federal usurpation. Nullification therefore was never again attempted in the South, and the extreme states'-rights party in that section thereafter looked to secession as the best method of defense against what it considered injustice at the hands of the national government.

## END OF THE SECOND BANK OF THE UNITED STATES

*Jackson decides to withdraw government funds from the Bank*

Jackson interpreted his victory of 1832 as a plebiscite in favor of his opposition to the Bank. The fight against the Bank therefore had been won, and it would cease to operate as a national bank in 1836. There was a danger, however, that if the Bank should wait and

terminate its business suddenly at the end of the period of its charter, loans would be called in such large volume as seriously to contract credit and possibly bring on a financial panic. There would then be an outcry for a continuance of the Bank, and Congress might yield to this pressure and pass a bill for recharter even over the President's veto. Biddle thus would win in the end over his powerful antagonist. Moreover, Jackson did not consider the Bank a safe repository for government funds. He was afraid too that if they were allowed to remain in the custody of the Bank they would be used to bribe members of Congress to pass a recharter over his veto.

These dangers could be averted if the business of the Bank were gradually reduced. To bring about such a result, Jackson decided that no more government funds should be deposited with the Bank or its branches and that those which were already on deposit (approximately $9,000,000) should be drawn out gradually to meet the current expenses of the government. In the future the Federal funds would be placed in certain state banks.

*Cabinet changes*

There was, however, one impediment in the way of carrying out this policy. The charter of the Bank provided that the money of the United States should be deposited in the Bank or its branches unless the Secretary of the Treasury should otherwise direct. McLane, who was Secretary of the Treasury, was friendly to the Bank and would not issue, of course, such an order. Moreover, he was too influential to be removed from office. Accordingly, he was promoted to the post of Secretary of State, made vacant by the appointment of Livingston to the English mission. William J. Duane of Pennsylvania was promptly selected for the headship of the Treasury, with the expectation that he would carry out the President's wishes; but he too refused to order the withdrawal of Federal funds from the Bank. Jackson thereupon removed him and transferred Roger B. Taney from the office of Attorney General to that of Secretary of the Treasury. Taney was an ardent supporter of the President's bank policy and, it is thought, wrote his veto message. He therefore at once (September 26, 1833) ordered his subordinates to cease making deposits of government money in the Bank or its branches.

*Taney discontinues government deposits*

*A brief depression*

Before the new policy was inaugurated, the Bank had begun to restrict its loans. These reductions were caused partly by the hostile relations that existed between the Bank and the Administration and partly by the alleged necessity of insuring the safety of the Bank. There followed as a result of this contraction the panic of 1833-34. This depression lasted for less than a year and conditions had returned to normal by the middle of the summer of 1834. Jackson and his friends contended that it had been brought on by Biddle,

who wanted to discredit the Administration, and that it affected only speculators. Whether the charge against Biddle is well-founded would be difficult to say. There was a feeling, however, that he had reduced discounts to a greater extent than was necessary and public sentiment forced him to renew lending.

*End of the Bank*

The Bank of the United States ceased to operate under a national charter in 1836. It had secured in the meantime a charter from Pennsylvania and for a few years continued as a state bank. Biddle caught the fever of the new era of uncontrolled "wildcat" banking and launched his bank into the speculative mania of the time. With such mismanagement the bank went down into final failure in 1843. With its downfall there went the loss of Biddle's reputation for financial ability and integrity. Jackson was thus avenged of his adversary and had realized his purpose of taking "the strut out of Nick Biddle."

## PUBLIC LANDS AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURPLUS

*"Pet banks"*

With the withdrawal of the public moneys from the national bank and its branches the government funds were deposited in certain state banks which had met specified requirements for safety. Banks chosen for deposit were called "pet banks." There were at first only twenty-nine of them, but before the end of 1836 the number had increased to eighty-nine. With these increases in their deposits the "pet banks" were able to extend their loans and note issues. This meant a considerable expansion of credit and, to a certain extent, inflation.

*The Specie Circular*

As times were flush and credit was easy, there was a great demand for public lands during the latter half of Jackson's second term. So great was this demand that the sales of government lands jumped from six million acres in 1834 to twenty million in 1836. Speculators and settlers were paying for the lands bought from the government with the notes issued by state banks. Some of these banks were on an insecure basis. When the limit of credit expansion should be reached, these banks would not be able to redeem their notes, and the government would have on hand large amounts of depreciated paper. To prevent this, Jackson decided to put a stop to the acceptance of bank notes for public lands. Accordingly, the Secretary of the Treasury, acting in accordance with the President's wishes, issued (1836) a circular of instructions to Federal land agents, known as the Specie Circular, directing them to receive only gold and silver in payment for public lands.

Early in Jackson's second term it became apparent that the public debt would soon be paid. This expectation was realized in 1835, and

*The debt of the Federal government paid*

*A surplus in the Treasury*

for a short period the general government was free from debt. Revenue was pouring into the Federal Treasury from two sources, the tariff and the sale of public lands. Each stream had been swollen by the prosperity of the time, and the Treasury was overflowing with funds. The surplus which was emerging was large enough to become a real problem. Extravagance begotten by prosperity was enlarging the volume of imports and thus increasing the income from tariff duties. Activity in the sales of Western lands was swelling the revenue from this source. The problem was how to relieve the Treasury of an embarrassment of riches. The tariff could not be changed prior to 1842 without violating the Compromise of 1833, and it was not considered proper to do this. Nor could the money be used for the building of roads and canals; in vetoing the Maysville Road Bill the President had shown that he was opposed to this type of expenditure.

*The Distribution Act of 1836*

Clay's solution of the problem was to distribute the proceeds of the sale of the public lands among the various states. This would remove the possibility of a reduction of the tariff, and consequently the principle of protection would not be further disturbed. Jackson was opposed to this policy, and a distribution bill passed by Congress in 1833 was killed by his pocket veto. The question was still agitated, however, and was settled by the Distribution Act of 1836. By this act all funds in the Treasury above $5,000,000, from whatever source derived, were to be distributed among the states in quarterly installments in proportion to their representation in both houses of Congress. To overcome Jackson's constitutional scruples, the distribution was to be technically (though not actually) in the form of a loan. The measure was quite popular and thus would help Van Buren's chances for the succession. The President, therefore, signed the bill, although with evident reluctance. The first two installments and one half of the third were distributed when the panic came and converted the surplus into a deficit.

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

*"Shirt-sleeve diplomacy"*

Unlike most of his predecessors, Jackson prior to his accession had had no experience in diplomacy. Not only was he unacquainted with the conventions that govern diplomatic relations, but his forthright manner ruled out the finesse of diplomacy. Furthermore, because of the spoils system, most of his subordinates who were responsible for the conduct of foreign affairs were new at their tasks and had not had time to learn the niceties of international usage. And yet, despite his practice of "shirt-sleeve diplomacy," he was able to score victories in foreign relations where his experienced predecessors had failed.

One such victory was the agreement with England regarding the

*Successful negotiations with England regarding the West Indian trade*

West Indian trade. This trade had been a most lucrative one in colonial days, and the restrictions on it imposed by England after the Revolution had cut off an important outlet for American products. Our government from the end of the Revolution on had been trying to come to an understanding with England whereby the direct trade with her West Indian colonies would be opened to our ships. These efforts in recent years had aggravated the situation, and when Jackson came into power both British and American ships were prohibited by law from engaging in the direct trade between American and British West Indian ports.

*The trade agreement with England*

Jackson was anxious to secure the re-opening of this trade, and negotiations to that end were begun by McLane, his first representative at London. Congress supported the President in his endeavor by authorizing him to open American ports without discrimination to the ships of England coming from her colonies whenever the British government should admit American vessels to British colonial ports on the same terms. Since the British authorities were already inclined toward a more liberal commercial policy, they welcomed the new attitude of the American State Department. Consequently, Jackson announced (October, 1830) that an agreement for mutual trade had been entered into. By this treaty American vessels could carry, with certain restrictions, imports to and exports from the British colonial ports. As a result of this understanding, the value of the imports to the United States from the British West Indies was in 1831 more than eight times that of the previous year, and the value of the exports from the United States to the British West Indies had increased from $140 to $1,439,593.

*Relations with France*

A like success rewarded the efforts of Jackson to come to terms with France over the claims against that country held by citizens of the United States. These claims had grown out of injuries to American commerce during the Napoleonic regime. Although they had been the subject of negotiation ever since 1815, no understanding had been reached at the time of Jackson's accession. William C. Rives was now sent as minister to France with instructions to arrange for a settlement if possible. The French government, as a result of the patience and tact of Rives, was finally won over to an acknowledgment of the legality of the American demands. In the meantime, however, the French foreign minister had brought up counter demands against the United States for losses sustained by France's nationals during the troublous times of Jefferson and Madison.

*The Franco-American agreement*

Finally, a treaty was signed (July 4, 1831), by which the claims of the nationals of each country against the government of the other were to be paid. The claims of France based on alleged violations

of the Louisiana Purchase treaty were offset by a reduction of the duty on French wines imported into the United States.

*Jackson's bold stand*

The treaty between France and the United States did not settle the controversy completely, for the French Parliament had declined to make the necessary appropriations to meet the stipulated payments. Feeling that a show of force was necessary to bring the French Parliament to terms, Jackson in his annual message to Congress (December 1, 1834) recommended that a law be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property should provision not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French Chambers. A great deal of excitement was aroused in France by Jackson's statement, and each government recalled its minister. Finally (April, 1835) the French Parliament made the necessary appropriation with the stipulation that it was not to be paid until Jackson had made a satisfactory explanation of the language used in his previous annual message.

*Settlement of the dispute*

In response to this action the President declared in his next annual message (December, 1835): "The honor of my country shall never be stained by an apology from me for the statement of truth and the performance of duty." In a later message he recommended as a measure of reprisal that French products and French ships be forbidden to enter our ports. The French government had put itself in an awkward position and was doubtless looking for a face-saving excuse for backtracking. Such an excuse it found in a statement by Jackson in his annual message to the effect that he had shown no "intention to menace or insult the government of France." An offer of mediation on the part of Great Britain also helped, and hence the French government announced its intention to meet the payments

*The Texan question*

When Louisiana was purchased from France in 1803 some of our American statesmen, among them Henry Clay and John Quincy Adams, contended that Texas was included in the grant. But in the treaty (1819) by which East Florida was ceded to the United States by Spain, the Sabine River was agreed upon as the southwestern boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. In this way the United States yielded to Spain whatever right she may have had to Texas. When Mexico won her independence from Spain (1821), Texas became a part of this new southern republic.

*Early efforts to secure Texas*

There was a feeling in the minds of some of our political leaders that Texas had been unduly relinquished and should be regained at the earliest opportunity. In response to this sentiment, an unsuccessful effort was made (1827) under President Adams and again under Jackson to purchase a part or all of Texas. The failure of these two efforts to secure Texas by purchase indicated that Mexico

was unwilling to part with this prized possession. But in the meantime events had taken such a turn as to open up the possibility of winning Texas by peaceable penetration, since numerous emigrants from the United States had settled in Texas. The young republic of Mexico was anxious to fill up the vast empty spaces in Texas with settlers from the outside and offered large grants of land at low cost to immigrants. The opportunity of obtaining good cotton and grain lands in Texas at a nominal figure thus made a great appeal to would-be settlers. So many immigrants came in from the United States that by 1835 there were in Texas about twenty thousand Anglo-Americans to three thousand Mexicans.

*Texas colonized by Anglo-Americans*

By 1830 the Anglo-American immigration had reached proportions which were alarming to the Mexican government. If this trend toward peaceable penetration continued, Texas would soon be ripe fruit, ready to drop from the Mexican tree into the open basket of the northern republic. Fearing this outcome, the Mexican government adopted a policy of discouraging, and for a time prohibiting, further immigration from the United States. There were other grievances of which the Texans complained and soon discontent grew into rebellion.

*Causes of the Texan Revolution*

The Texans rose in revolt (October 2, 1835) and soon drove out the Mexican forces. Santa Anna marched against the insurgents with a force numbering 3000 men and defeated them in several minor engagements. These victories were accompanied by atrocities which were greatly to the discredit of the Mexican leader. At the Alamo in San Antonio, 183 Texans held off for thirteen days a greatly superior attacking force. All the men except a small remnant of sick and wounded were killed and these were massacred after the capture of the fort (March 6, 1836). On March 20, 371 Texans were captured by the Mexicans at the town of Goliad, and a week later all of them were shot except twenty who had made their escape.

*Mexican atrocities*

The massacre at the Alamo aroused the bitter enmity of the insurgents against Mexico whereas its heroic defense inspired them with the determination to fight to the finish. "Remember the Alamo" became the battle slogan. Because of the barbarities practiced by the Mexican troops and the fine courage displayed by the rebels, public sentiment in the United States was strong against the former and warmly in favor of the latter, and men and supplies poured in to aid the Texans.

*Sympathy in the United States for the rebels*

Of all the Americans who went to Texas to take part in the struggle for independence, the most noted was Sam Houston, a great admirer and close personal friend of President Jackson. Having been made leader of the rebel troops, he defeated the Mexican forces at San

*Sam Houston*

*Battle of San Jacinto*

Jacinto (April 21, 1836) and captured their commander, Santa Anna, the President of Mexico. By this battle the independence of Texas was virtually won.

*Texan independence*

Shortly before this victory Texas had declared her independence (March 2, 1836) and had asked that it be recognized by the United States. As recognition might complicate relations with Mexico, Jackson hesitated to comply with this request and tried to throw upon Congress the responsibility for this important step. Congress was not afraid to act, and the independence of Texas was recognized at the end of Jackson's second term (March, 1837).

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# CHAPTER XVI

# *Politics and Panic*

BY the spring of 1834 the National Republicans had united with other anti-Administration groups to form a new party, which had assumed the name of "Whig." By thus appropriating a term which had been applied to the patriot party in the Revolution they were able to designate their opponents as Tories. With the National Republicans there were associated Antimasons and anti-Administration Democrats. Jackson's vigorous measures, notably his attitude toward the nullification policy of South Carolina and his removal of the Bank deposits, had given serious jolts to the Democratic Party and had shaken out a number of dissenters who had joined the ranks of the opposition. The Southern members of the new party who adhered to the doctrine of states' rights looked to Calhoun for leadership. In uniting these Southern Democrats with Northern National Republicans, politics was certainly making strange bedfellows. *Rise of the Whig Party*

The new party first tried out its national strength in the Presidential campaign of 1836. With so many diverse elements, agreement as to a platform was not possible and hence no national convention was held. The strongest faction in the coalition was the National Republican element, and in the main it endorsed William Henry Harrison, a hero of the War of 1812. In Massachusetts, however, the National Republicans supported Webster, and he received the vote of that state. The states'-rights Whigs of the South (except the Nullifiers of South Carolina) [1] supported as their candidate Judge Hugh L. White of Tennessee, who "was a strict constructionist of the purest type." The Whigs had two candidates for the Vice-Presidency, John Tyler of Virginia and Francis Granger of New York. *Whig nominees in 1836*

At the request of Jackson the Democrats nominated Van Buren for the Presidency, and Colonel Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was named for the Vice-Presidency. *Democratic nominees*

The Whigs did not expect that any one of their three candidates

1 South Carolina cast her electoral vote for Willie P. Mangum of North Carolina.

*Result of the election*

would receive a majority in the Electoral College, but they hoped that enough votes would be drawn away from Van Buren to prevent his receiving a majority. The election would then be thrown into the House of Representatives, where a Whig would have a chance to be chosen. But, largely because of the popularity of Jackson and the effective support which he gave Van Buren, the latter was elected by a good majority over all three of his competitors. Johnson received a plurality but not a majority of the electoral votes. The Senate was, therefore, called upon to make a choice between him and Granger, his closest competitor. Johnson was chosen on the first ballot.

### MARTIN VAN BUREN AS PRESIDENT

*Van Buren; previous career and personal traits*

Martin Van Buren (1782-1862) was of Dutch descent and was born and reared at Kinderhook, a village in eastern New York. After a long period of preparation he entered upon the practice of law and quickly achieved a brilliant success in the profession. He was, however, soon drawn into the stream of active politics, and, therefore, before entering Jackson's Cabinet he had held a number of important offices, among them those of United States Senator and governor (for a short time) of New York. To this record had been added the prestige gained by his success as Secretary of State and Vice President. Unlike his immediate predecessor, Van Buren did not have a picturesque personality. With a cheerful manner, a courteous demeanor, and an optimistic outlook, he was pleasing rather than colorful in his social contacts and official relations. An erect posture and dignified bearing atoned for a shortness of stature, which, combined with his rare intellectual acumen, won for him the sobriquet of "Little Magician." He was well endowed with the solid virtues of courage, sincerity, and honesty, but not with those which appeal to the popular imagination. He was, however, a very successful politician—probably the most skillful of his day and generation.

*His Cabinet*

In his inaugural address Van Buren indicated his agreement with the principles of his illustrious predecessor. Jackson's Cabinet was retained except that Joel R. Poinsett, the anti-nullification leader of South Carolina, was made Secretary of War in place of Lewis Cass, who had gone as minister to France.

*Causes of the panic of 1837*

Van Buren had hardly been firmly seated in the Presidential chair when there began to appear signs of a financial panic. This panic was caused by overspeculation in land and overexpansion in banking and transportation. The hopeful prospects held out to farmers had been attracting great numbers of them to the fertile lands of the Northwest, while the high price of cotton had caused a rapid extension of the plantation system in the Southwest. These movements pushed

the demand for government lands to unusual heights. The tendency was accentuated by the action of speculators in buying up large amounts of public land with the hope of reselling them at a profit. The revenue received by the government from the sale of its lands was stepped up from $2,000,000 a year before 1830 to $25,000,000 in 1837. Credit was easy because state banks had multiplied greatly and were pouring out a large volume of bank notes which were circulating as money. The feverish activity of this boom period was stimulated by Jackson's policy of depositing the public moneys in state banks ("pet banks") because it increased the amount of funds available for loans. The success of the Erie Canal had started a craze for canal building which had reached its height at the time the panic broke. More canals were constructed than the country needed and many of them were located at places where they could not be used to advantage.

The bubble of inflated credit and overstimulated prosperity would have burst eventually even if it had not encountered any adverse conditions. By 1837, however, several unfavorable circumstances had arisen which combined in pricking the bubble and causing it to collapse. Business failures in England in 1836 lessened the demand for cotton and caused a drop in the price of this important export. These failures also led to the sale of American securities held by English investors, which resulted in the transfer of specie from the United States to England. Then, too, in the years 1835 and 1837 there were crop failures, which led to a decline in the export of food products and left many American farmers unable to meet their obligations.

*How the panic was precipitated*

The panic was precipitated by two measures of Jackson, the Specie Circular and the Distribution Act. When the Federal land offices began to demand gold and silver in payment for lands (see p. 267), the speculators and other buyers presented their notes to the banks for redemption in specie. This run on the banks forced those which had overissued notes ("wildcat banks") to suspend payment in gold and silver and caused the sound banks to call in their loans and make drastic curtailments in discounts. The distribution of the Federal funds among the states suddenly took large amounts of specie from the "pet banks" in which these funds were deposited. To meet this emergency they also had to call in their loans. These drains on the banks, both strong and weak, caused the failure of many, especially the weak ones, and a general contraction of credit resulted.

*Repudiation of debts by the states*

There was a great shrinkage in bank note circulation, and the sale of public lands was reduced to a very low level. By May, 1837, specie payments had been suspended by every bank in the country. Most

of the states that had borrowed money from English capitalists for internal improvements were unable to meet their obligations. As taxes could not be raised in such a time of depression, some of the states repudiated these debts, much to the disgust of British creditors. Later, some of the bankrupt states paid off a part or all of their indebtedness although a few allowed their repudiation to become final.

*Hard times*

Cotton, which had been eighteen cents a pound, now fell to eight. Large numbers of men were thrown out of employment, and the promising growth of the new movement in favor of the organization of labor was halted. According to an estimate of Horace Greeley (1837), one fourth of all connected with mercantile and manufacturing interests were out of business. Times were hard and remained so until well into Tyler's administration.

*Pre-emption acts*

Nothing like a New Deal was attempted by the government, under either the Democrats or the Whigs, to aid the country toward recovery. The one step taken toward alleviating the distress caused by the depression was the extension of the policy of pre-emption. Lands in the surveyed areas were open for sale at the price of $1.25 an acre, but many would-be emigrants were unable to raise the $100 needed to purchase the minimum tract of 80 acres. Some of these went into the regions which had not been opened for sale and there established themselves as squatters in plain violation of the land laws. Public sentiment in the West would not permit the eviction of these trespassers on the public domain, and consequently the government acquiesced in and encouraged the practice by the enactment of pre-emption laws.

By these measures squatters who had occupied and made slight improvements on unsurveyed government lands were granted pre-emption rights to the tracts on which they had settled. The holder of such a claim (later, when that area, having been surveyed, was offered for sale) could buy the land covered by it (not to exceed 160 acres) at the minimum price. From 1830 on, a number of pre-emption laws were passed, which applied only to settlements already made. At the end of Van Buren's term a bill, known as the "Log-cabin Bill," which provided for general prospective pre-emption, was put through the Senate but was defeated by the opposition of the Whigs in the House of Representatives. Later in the same year, after Tyler had acceded to the Presidency, the Whig leaders in Congress gave up their opposition to pre-emption in order to gain votes for their policy of distribution. Pre-emption was thus adopted (1841) as a permanent policy and was to apply to future, as well as to past, settlements. Pre-emption had the effect of stimulating emigration to

the West and especially to the new Northwest. In the territories of Iowa, Minnesota, and Wisconsin there was much productive land which had not been disturbed by the surveyor and into this favored region went many pre-emptioners.

*The Independent Treasury plan*

The rapid decline in imports and the scarcity of gold and silver in circulation reduced to a low figure the income of the government derived from the tariff and from the sale of public lands. By this loss of revenue the surplus of the Treasury was soon changed into a deficit. To meet the crisis Van Buren called Congress in extra session in October. In response to his recommendation it voted to stop the distribution of money to the states and to replenish the Treasury by issuing treasury notes. The President also suggested a new plan for handling the government moneys. The use of both state and national banks had, he maintained, proved unsatisfactory. The Treasury should not deposit its funds in banks but should provide for their safekeeping and disbursement through its own agencies. By so doing its funds would be secure and could not be used by banks to stimulate speculation or be manipulated so as to cause a contraction of credit.

A bill embodying these suggestions was offered, but for some time it could not muster the support necessary to pass Congress. It was opposed not only by the Whigs but also by some conservative Democrats, mainly in New York and Virginia. Finally, in 1840 the plan, with modifications, was accepted under the title of the Independent Treasury Act. It provided that the government should keep its money in the Treasury at Washington and in subtreasuries in five other cities (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and New Orleans). There was also a provision that after the first of July, 1843, only gold and silver should be received for all government dues.

*Later history of the Independent Treasury*

The Whigs were strongly opposed to the Independent Treasury, or Subtreasury, Bill, as it was called, contending that it would ultimately put the country on a gold and silver basis, and the exclusive use of metallic money would lower prices and add great weight to the burdens which debtors were bearing. Consequently, when they came into power they repealed the act (1841). Five years later, with the Democrats again in power, the measure was adopted for a second time but with the omission of the provision regarding specie payments for government dues, and from that time (1846) until 1913 the government kept its money in its own vaults.

## RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

*Rebellion in Canada*

Van Buren not only had to contend with financial difficulties at home, but he was also confronted with some knotty problems in

foreign affairs. These were connected with the relations between the United States and England and grew out of an effort on the part of some Canadians to throw off British rule.

In 1837 a rebellion broke out in Canada against the authority of the English, and the demands of the insurgents for self-government found a sympathetic response in the United States. Americans along the border gave aid to the rebels and furnished them with arms and ammunition. Van Buren enforced a policy of strict neutrality at the cost of losing, along the border, votes which were badly needed in the next Presidential race. The situation was so intense that incidents could easily arise which might threaten the peaceable relations of the two countries. One such incident was that of the *Caroline*.

*The* Caroline *incident*

The *Caroline* was an American vessel which had been aiding the Canadian rebels in 1837. While this vessel was lying on the American side of the Niagara River, an expedition from Canada came over, cut the moorings of the ship, set her on fire, and allowed her to drift down the Niagara River. In the encounter an American citizen named Durfree was killed. The British authorities justified this action of the Canadians on the ground that it was a necessary means of defense. The American government contended that the act was unwarranted because it had been committed in American waters. It was not until July, 1842, that an agreement was reached. At that time Webster and Lord Ashburton, special minister from England to the United States, came to an understanding which was acceptable to President Tyler.

## "TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO"

*Whig nominees for President and Vice-President*

Early in December, 1839, the Whigs met in a national convention at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to select candidates for President and Vice-President. Clay was the ablest and best known of the candidates whose names were before the convention. But during his long career in Congress he had taken a decided stand on public questions about which there was marked disagreement among the Whigs; for this reason it was difficult for the diverse elements in the party to unite on him. Clay's strongest competitor for the honor was General William Henry Harrison, who might properly be considered a military hero of a mild type. Moreover, in his battle with the Indians he had won the sobriquet of "Tippecanoe," and this word would sound well in a campaign slogan. His career as a civilian in public affairs had been an inconspicuous one. To the great mass of the voters, therefore, his attitude on public questions was unknown, and he was not associated in the public mind with any policy that would arouse violent antagonism. For these reasons the politicians who controlled the

convention selected him as the standard-bearer of the party, considering his availability a better bet than the ability of the brilliant Kentuckian. For Vice-President the convention named John Tyler of Virginia, who was a strong states'-rights man and an ardent supporter of Clay. His nomination was a recognition of the Southern states'-rights element of the party and a peace offering to Clay's followers.

*The Whigs have no platform*

No effort was made in the convention to adopt a platform. The coalition which went by the name of the Whig Party was composed of groups of such diversified views that there was no possibility of an agreement on the important issues of the day. A straightforward statement of principles would have destroyed the unity of the party and invited defeat.

*Democratic nominees*

The Democratic Party held its national convention early in May (1840) in the city of Baltimore. The meetings were characterized by exceptional harmony, and Van Buren was renominated unanimously. The Democrats were hopeful of victory, as they were presenting a united front in the campaign. For twelve years this party had controlled the Federal patronage and also that of most of the states. Another valuable asset was the prestige and popularity of Andrew Jackson. There was, however, one dark cloud on the horizon. Times were still hard, and, of course, the Administration received the blame for this unfortunate state of affairs. Moreover, the Democrats allowed their opponents to outplay them in the game of dealing out buncombe to the voters. By a mistake in tactics they gave the Whigs an opportunity to create a great wave of popular enthusiasm and harness it to their cause.

*Slogans and campaign methods*

A Democratic paper unwisely published a statement representing Harrison as a simple man satisfied to live in a log cabin. This enabled the Whigs to depict their candidate as a simple farmer belonging to the class that drank cider and lived in log cabins. As a great many of the farmers at that time, especially in the West, lived in log cabins, it made a very favorable impression on the masses. The Whigs already had one good slogan—"Tippecanoe and Tyler too"—and now they added another—"Log Cabin and Hard Cider." The log cabin and cider barrel also lent themselves very appropriately to the dramatics of the campaign. At every great political rally a log cabin with a cider barrel in front and a coonskin tacked on the door—the latchstring of which was always on the outside—served as headquarters for the various delegations. In contrast to the plebian farmer standing at the plow on his Ohio farm, Van Buren was represented as an aristocratic epicurean living in the greatest luxury and extravagance in "the Palace," as the White House was termed. In actual fact, how-

ever, Van Buren was a self-made man of middle-class parentage, whereas Harrison and Tyler were both scions of old and aristocratic families and could boast of the proudest patrician blood.

*Campaign dramatics*

Despite the mudslinging engaged in by the leaders, this was a frolicsome, as well as dramatic, campaign. Political gatherings were made attractive by barbecues and long processions enlivened with the blaring of numerous brass bands. Singing also played a prominent part, and one Whig leader said that "General Harrison was sung into the Presidency."

*The Whigs noncommittal on important issues*

Since the Whigs had no platform and the component factions of the party were not in agreement on most of the major issues of the day, their speakers in the campaign generally took a noncommittal attitude on important questions. They were in agreement, however, in opposing some of the major policies of Jackson and Van Buren and especially the financial measures of Van Buren. There was, however, no such unanimity as to the remedies which should be employed to cure the monetary evils of the day, and certainly no decided general stand was taken for or against a national bank. There is, therefore, no warrant for assuming that Tyler or anyone else was honor-bound to support a national bank or any other particular policy (except the repeal of the Independent Treasury Act) as a result of commitments made during this burlesque campaign.

*Result of the election*

When the returns had all come in, it was found that the Whigs had won, although Harrison's plurality over Van Buren was not overwhelming, being only 145,914. In the Electoral College, Harrison and Tyler each received 234 votes to 60 for Van Buren.

## HARRISON'S SHORT TERM

*Harrison; previous career and personal traits*

William Henry Harrison (1773-1841) and John Tyler (1790-1862) were born and reared in the same county in Virginia, and their fathers were personal friends and at times political rivals. While Harrison was best known for his military career, he had held several responsible civilian positions, including those of governor of Indiana Territory and member of both houses of Congress. In none of these offices had he achieved any marked distinction, but he had made a creditable record as a legislator and administrator. He brought to his high office a sound common sense, fine principles and high ideals, and a reputation for sterling integrity. With simple and unassuming manners, he was easily approachable and able to win the affection of those who were associated with him.

*His Cabinet*

He arrived at Washington on his sixty-eighth birthday to assume, a few weeks later, a burden that was too heavy for his years. His first serious responsibility was that of naming his Cabinet. Daniel

Webster was made Secretary of State and Thomas Ewing of Ohio, Secretary of the Treasury. Clay had been offered any place in the Cabinet to which he might aspire, but declined office because he preferred to remain in the Senate, where, as he considered, he could "most effectually serve the new administration, and be ready to enter the field four years hence." He influenced the President to call an extra session of Congress and in other ways showed an inclination to dictate the policies of the Administration. So high were his assumptions of authority that Harrison had to remind him that he, not Clay, was President.

*Illness and death*

Harrison's routine of living was disturbed by social dissipation, and his peace of mind was upset by the importunities of hungry office seekers. When, therefore, he was attacked by pneumonia on March 24 he was unable to put up an effective resistance to the disease and succumbed to it on April 4, only one month after his accession. Tyler was promptly notified of Harrison's death by messengers sent by the Cabinet, and so hurriedly did he make the journey from his home at Williamsburg, Virginia, that he was in Washington in time to take part in the funeral ceremonies of the deceased President.

## THE ACCESSION OF JOHN TYLER

*Tyler; previous career and personal traits*

John Tyler had had exceptional experience in actual government when at the age of fifty-one he entered upon his high responsibility. During his public career he served a number of years as a member of the Virginia legislature, was twice elected governor of the state, was a member of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30, and was in Congress about fourteen years, serving first as Representative and later as Senator. In all this period he had never lost an opportunity to reaffirm his adherence to the particularistic views enunciated by Jefferson and vigorously to oppose a national bank, a protective tariff, and the construction of internal improvements by the Federal government.

The tenth President was favored with an attractive personality, which was enhanced by the naturalness, simplicity, and cordiality of his manners and the excellence of his conversational powers. His formal education at William and Mary College had been supplemented by wide reading and he was thus in possession of a good store of the kind of information which enriches conversation. He was noted for his poise and dignity, his kindliness toward men, and his gentleness and gallantry toward women. And yet this affable Virginian was the center of one of the most violent storms that ever raged in American politics.

*'resident or cting-'resident?*

As Harrison was the first President to die in office, there was no precedent to indicate whether the Vice-President should be accorded all the power and dignity of a regular Chief Magistrate or be regarded only as an acting chief executive. Tyler took the position that he was President in the full sense of the word and Congress accepted this view. The precedent set by Tyler has been followed in every subsequent case in which a Vice-President has succeeded to the Chief Magistracy.

*The Cabinet*

The first problem of the new incumbent was that of deciding as to the Cabinet inherited from Harrison. The members of this body, except Webster and Francis Granger, Postmaster General, were all partisans of Clay and were determined to use their influence in favor of his succession to the Presidency four years later. Such an attitude was not consistent with the fullest co-operation with the Chief Executive. Tyler, therefore, should have had a new Cabinet chosen on the basis of loyalty to him and his principles. But to call for the resignation of the heads of the departments would have caused a serious breach in the party. He, therefore, went along for a time with advisers who were not in entire sympathy with him. With such an official family the outlook was not bright either for harmony or efficiency.

*Clay, not Tyler, leader of the Whig Party*

Another serious drawback to the success of his administration was the inability of the President to take over the leadership of his party. As the Vice-Presidential candidate, Tyler had played an inconspicuous part in the campaign; therefore, neither the politicians nor the people looked upon him as the leader of the party, and both groups had all along regarded Clay as the outstanding representative of the Whigs. Furthermore, his wing of the party, the nationalists, greatly outnumbered the states'-rights faction to which Tyler belonged. Taking full advantage of all the circumstances in his favor, Clay assumed the leadership of the Whigs in Congress and determined to put through a program to his liking. His party was in control of both branches of Congress, and the Whig members—except a handful of Tyler supporters known as the "Corporal's Guard"—accepted his pronouncements as law and gospel. Therefore, with the co-operation of the President he could secure such legislation as he desired. But there was the rub. Tyler's states'-rights conscience would not allow him to go along with the program of nationalism which Clay had in mind.

*Clay's program of legislation*

Early in the extra session (June 7) Clay offered in the Senate six resolutions as a plan of work for the session. These resolutions provided for the repeal of the Independent Treasury Act, the establishment of a national bank, an increase in the import duties

to provide an adequate revenue for the government, the distribution of the proceeds from the sale of public lands, and other measures of minor importance. This program was strictly in accord with the principles of the nationalist wing of the Whig party and revealed Clay's intention to override the scruples of a President whom he chose to regard only as a sort of regent.

*Repeal of the Independent Treasury Act*

The first item on Clay's agenda made no difficulty. When a bill for the repeal of the Independent Treasury Act was passed by Congress, Tyler willingly signed it; but a conflict between the President and Senate leader broke out in violent form as soon as the former was asked to put aside his states'-rights scruples and endorse the bank policy of the latter. Clay offered a bill for chartering a bank to be established in the District of Columbia with branches throughout the country. The bill after having been amended was passed by Congress and sent to the President. Tyler, after due deliberation, returned it with a veto, basing his objections partly on practical, but mainly on constitutional, grounds. The action of the President aroused violent opposition among the supporters of a bank. A mob assembled at the White House late at night and insulted the President with cries of "Huzza for Clay!" "A Bank! A Bank! Down with the Veto!"

*A bank bill passed by Congress and vetoed by the President*

*A second bank bill passed and vetoed*

The bill could not be passed over the President's veto, and the Whig leaders therefore decided to come to terms with him on the question of the bank. Accordingly, the Whig caucus sent two emissaries to confer with Tyler and find out what kind of a measure would be acceptable to him. He would not discuss details with them but gave in a general way his views on the points at issue. Two members of the Cabinet—Webster and Ewing—also discussed the question with the caucus representatives and indicated the type of bill which, in their opinion, would meet with the approval of the President.

On the basis of these understandings a second bank bill was framed and offered in the House of Representatives. The sponsors of the measure contended that the bill had been framed in accordance with Tyler's wishes, and some of them declared that he had seen and approved the text of the measure before it was presented in the House. These assertions were stoutly denied by Tyler. Furthermore, soon after the bill appeared in the House he notified members of that body that he could not accept it unless it were modified. No heed was paid to this warning, and the measure was rushed through both houses of Congress without amendment. As might have been expected, it also was vetoed by the President.

These vetoes ended the attempt to establish a national bank.

*Effect of the vetoes on the bank question*

Although Tyler's action had occasioned loud outcries among the Whig leaders, it was probably acceptable to the country as a whole, for a majority of the people seem to have been indifferent or opposed to a national bank. No further effort to ally the banking business with the Federal government was made for more than a score of years.

*Cabinet changes*

After his veto of the second bank bill all the members of Tyler's Cabinet except Webster resigned in protest. The vacancies so created were quickly filled and the nominees were promptly confirmed by the Senate. The new appointees were all, or nearly all, men of ability, although most of them were not well known nationally. Webster saw no adequate reason for the dissolution of the Cabinet and therefore did not resign. If he had gone along with his colleagues he would have been furthering Clay's chances for the succession to the Presidency and sacrificing his own. But probably the main reason he did not leave his post at that time was that he had entered upon diplomatic negotiations with the British minister which gave promise of yielding new laurels to his fame. He, therefore, remained at the head of the State Department until 1843, when he was succeeded after a short interval by Abel P. Upshur of Virginia. Upshur was killed by the explosion on the *Princeton*,[1] and soon thereafter Calhoun was appointed Secretary of State.

### A PRESIDENT WITHOUT A PARTY

*Tyler read out of the Whig Party*

His two vetoes of the bank bill placed Tyler beyond the pale of Whig forbearance. Accordingly, a caucus attended by some fifty or more Whig members of Congress was held on Capitol Square, and resolutions were adopted which virtually expelled the President from the party. Henceforth Tyler was a President without a party. He had aroused a storm of opposition among Whig politicians throughout the country, and he received hundreds of letters threatening him with assassination. "The fires of a thousand effigies," he afterwards wrote, "lighted the streets of the various cities." "Indignation meetings were everywhere held, . . . and a universal roar of Whig vengeance was heard in every blast." Whig editors inked their pens with venom when writing about him. The *Lexington* (KY.) *Intelligencer,* Clay's special organ, was quoted as saying: "If a God-directed thunderbolt were to strike and annihilate the

[1] On February 22, 1844, the government warship, *Princeton*, took a party on a pleasure excursion from Washington to Mount Vernon and return. The list on board included the President, members of the Cabinet, and other political and social leaders. On the return trip the firing of a big gun stationed on the bow of the vessel caused an explosion which killed a half-dozen or more people, including Secretary Upshur and T. W. Gilmer, Secretary of War.

traitor all would say that 'Heaven is just.'" The Whigs persisted in their hatred of the President until the end of his term. Later vetoes by him fed their rage, and they kept up their efforts to vilify and discredit him. When an epidemic of influenza swept over the country, it gave them the opportunity of disparaging the President by calling it the "Tyler Grippe."

*The Tariff Act of 1842*

An act for increasing the tariff rates, passed in 1841, would, it was expected, more than meet the running expenses of the government. The proceeds from the sale of the public lands, therefore, could be used for distribution. Unfortunately the hoped-for prosperity on which this expectation was based was slow in arriving, and when Congress assembled in December for the regular session the condition of the Federal finances was anything but promising. In order to meet the needs of the government Congress passed an act (August, 1842) which raised the tariff rate above the twenty per cent level and also provided for the unconditional continuance of distribution. The President vetoed this bill because, he said, it proposed to give away through distribution a fruitful source of revenue at a time when the Treasury was in a state of extreme embarrassment and the government had not only to lay additional taxes but to borrow money to meet pressing demands.

The Whig leaders and the Whig press again raised a savage outcry against the President, charging him with treason against his party. Despite all the noise made by them, the Whigs in Congress realized that they dared not return to their constituents without having enacted a revenue measure. Hence they were forced to yield to Tyler and present another bill without the objectionable distribution clause. Accordingly, such a measure was passed and signed by the President (1842). This tariff act raised the general level of duties to that of 1832 and was quite satisfactory to the protectionists throughout the country. It was objectionable, however, to the low-tariff advocates, especially those in South Carolina.

## RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND

*Causes of ill feeling between England and the United States*

When Tyler acceded to the Presidency, American relations with England had assumed a threatening aspect. Prominent among the causes of dispute between the United States and Great Britain were the *Caroline* case (see p. 278) and a disagreement about the location of the northeastern boundary. There were other reasons, more or less intangible, for the growth of misunderstanding between the two kindred peoples. Some of the states had repudiated their debts, and as a result English creditors had lost heavily. The rebellion against British authority which had broken out in Canada had not

yet entirely subsided, and some of our citizens were in sympathy with the rebels. British fears exaggerated the activities of these American sympathizers of the insurgents and saw in them a feeling of hostility to England on the part of our people in general.

*The northeast boundary dispute*

The dispute with Great Britain over the northeastern boundary was as old as the American nation itself; it owed its origin to the vague or inaccurate wording of the treaties of Paris (1782, 1783). By 1798 the northeastern boundary of the United States had been fixed from the mouth to the source of the St. Croix River, but the rest of it was still under dispute. Before the accession of Tyler the location of the line ceased to be merely a question for academic discussion but had become the occasion of a dangerous practical controversy. The citizens of Maine and those of New Brunswick came to blows in the disputed area, the Aroostook Valley. These clashes (1838-1839), sometimes called the "Aroostook War," might easily have led to international strife. Van Buren sent General Winfield Scott to the frontier, and through his agency the friction was temporarily suspended. Efforts at arbitration made in 1840 were futile, and therefore the disagreement over the northeastern boundary was one of the most pressing problems left to Tyler by his predecessor.

*The "Aroostook War"*

*The Webster-Ashburton Treaty*

In the spring of 1842 Lord Ashburton was sent over as a special envoy to adjust the controversy. He was kindly disposed toward the United States and was very anxious to cement and prolong the friendship between the two English-speaking peoples. By a policy of give and take, Lord Ashburton and Webster were able to iron out their differences, and in due time an agreement was reached as to all the disputed portions of the American-Canadian boundary from the source of the St. Croix River to the Rocky Mountains. Under the terms of this treaty the United States received about seven of the twelve thousand square miles in dispute. This compromise was a considerable concession on the part of the United States; in the light of later evidence it appears that the boundary originally claimed by the American government was the same as the one agreed upon by the commissioners in 1782.[1] But this unconscious sacrifice of a few thousand square miles of land was a small price to pay for the adjustment of a dispute which had menaced the amicable relations of two great powers for two generations.

[1] Old maps with the northeastern boundary marked in accordance with the understanding of 1782 have come to light since this treaty was signed. One of these was discovered in the archives of Spain as late as 1933. The marking on these maps shows that the Maine-New Brunswick boundary, as laid down by the treaty of 1782, was the same as that which the United States had contended for all along. (See S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 263-264.)

*The African slave trade*

The treaty also provided for the co-operation of England and the United States in an effort to put a stop to the African slave trade. It was agreed that each nation would "maintain on the coast of Africa . . . a naval force . . . of not less than eighty guns to enforce, separately and respectively, the laws . . . for the suppression of the slave trade." Each squadron was to be independent of the other, but the officers of each were to receive from their respective governments such instructions as would enable them to co-operate whenever the exigencies should demand it.

*The treaty ratified*

The treaty was duly ratified by the Senate, and thus ended a most important chapter in the history of American diplomacy. Both the President and the Secretary of State were justly proud of their success in settling this long-standing dispute.

*Better times*

The accession of Tyler was preceded by a quadrennium of depression, and times were still hard. Recovery was on the way but had not yet peered around the corner. The Federal government was unable to balance its budget, and the deficit Tyler inherited kept piling up. Even with this excess of expenditure over income, the pay of the army, the navy, and the civil list was at times suspended, because of the utter destitution of the Treasury. Under such conditions the credit of the government naturally fell to an unusually low level, and it was with great difficulty that loans were floated. In March, 1842, the *New York Herald* said that the Federal treasury was empty, the nation bankrupt, several states bankrupt, and almost every city in debt. As a result of this lack of funds, the home squadron of the navy was lying idle, and the workmen in the navy yards and arsenals were grumbling because they had not been paid.

In time, however, the depression passed, and commerce and industry revived. The income of the government increased, and the deficit was wiped away. National credit was raised, and by September, 1842, government bonds were selling at par and some were being held at a premium.

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3. Personal Traits of President Van Buren.—James Schouler, *History of the United States of America*, IV, pp. 349-352.
4. Van Buren's Administration.—F. J. Turner, *The United States, 1830-1850*, pp. 453-477.
5. The Panic of 1837.—A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, ch. 20; Louis M. Hacker and Helène S. Zahler, eds., *The Shaping of the American Tradition*, pp. 426-433.

6. The Election of 1840.—O. P. Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*, ch. 13.
7. Harrison's Short Term.—Freeman Cleaves, *Old Tippecanoe*, ch. 25.
8. Personal Traits of Tyler.—Schouler, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 491-494 (unfair in its appraisal of his official record). See also Chitwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-258.
9. Tyler's Administration.—F. J. Turner, *op. cit.*, ch. 11.
10. The Quarrel between Tyler and the Whigs.—G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, ch. 4; Chitwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 471-477.
11. Foreign Relations from Jackson to Tyler.—J. H. Latané, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, ch. 9.
12. The Northeast Boundary and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty.—S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (1946 ed.), ch. 15; J. M. Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Canadian Relations*, ch. 9 (a good map); Chitwood, *op. cit.*, ch. 20.

# CHAPTER XVII

# *Expansion and Conflict*

## The Annexation of Texas and the Campaign of 1844

*Offers of annexation by Texas refused by the United States*

After the United States had recognized the independence of Texas (March, 1837), England, France, and other European Powers followed its example. The people of Texas, who were mainly emigrants from the United States, were desirous of having their new republic incorporated into the union of their fellow countrymen. This wish was shown unmistakably when in the plebiscite (September, 1836) on their constitution they gave an overwhelming majority in favor of annexation to the United States. Texas, therefore, as early as December, 1836, asked to be annexed. This request and one made the next year (August, 1837) were declined by the government of the United States. The refusal of the Washington authorities to accept the offer of Texas resulted from the opposition to annexation on the part of a good portion of the American people. This opposition was due in part to the fear that annexation would lead to war with Mexico. There was also in the North a strong objection to such an increase in the slaveholding area of the country, since it would greatly strengthen the cause of slavery and enlarge the influence of the South in the Federal government. The Texas question had thus become a sectional issue.

*Tyler and Upshur fear British influence in Texas*

This repulse to her advances was disappointing and humiliating to the debutante republic. Having failed to win the desired suitor by leap-year diplomacy, she retired into maidenly reserve and resolved to await overtures from Uncle Sam as the next step in the courtship. Accordingly, the offer was formally withdrawn the next year by order of President Houston. No other proposal for annexation was made by Texas until after Tyler's accession. Houston also began to encourage closer relations with Great Britain and this "flirtation" with John Bull aroused the anxieties of Tyler. Financial and social conditions in the new republic had gradually become worse, and by the end of the year 1842 it looked as if it could not continue its separate existence unless there was some strong outside

power on which it could lean. England, it was thought, stood ready to serve as a prop to this tottering state.

Such a connection, however, between the two countries would be fraught with danger to the United States. Its commercial and naval supremacy over the Gulf of Mexico would be menaced if Texas were brought under the protection of Great Britain. Moreover, if this great power, already in possession of Canada on the north, should get a firm grip on Texas, the United States in a war with England could be subjected to a pincers movement on an immense scale. Moreover, Texas under British influence might abolish slavery, and such a large area of free territory contiguous to the slave states would render slave property in the near-by states insecure. Tyler was therefore strongly in favor of annexation, and after the resignation of Webster, who was opposed to annexation, he decided to take steps looking toward the acquisition of Texas. He was enthusiastically supported in this aim by Abel P. Upshur, the Secretary of State.

*A treaty of annexation negotiated*

Spurred on by these fears, Upshur proposed a reopening of the negotiations with Texas. Houston accepted the offer, and negotiations were progressing hopefully when they were suspended by the sudden death of Secretary Upshur (see p. 284 n.). Calhoun took up where Upshur left off, and soon a treaty of annexation was agreed upon by the representatives of the two republics (April 12, 1844).[1]

*The treaty rejected by the Senate; reasons*

Much to the disappointment of Tyler and Calhoun the treaty was rejected by the Senate by a vote of 16 yeas to 35 nays (June 8, 1844). Although, generally speaking, the North opposed and the South favored annexation, this unfavorable vote was given on partisan rather than sectional grounds. The national conventions had been held, and the Texan question was considered not on its merits but only as a factor in the political situation. Clay, the Whig nominee for President, had come out against annexation, and consequently the Whigs (all but one) both in the North and the South opposed it. The Democrats had nominated Polk and declared in favor of annexation. They could, therefore, be expected to vote for ratification; but some of them were disgruntled over Van Buren's defeat and seven of them voted nay.

The next important stage in the development of the Texan situation was the Presidential campaign of 1844. In the early spring

[1] By the terms of the treaty Texas would be incorporated into the Union as a territory and its citizens would be admitted, as soon as consistent with the provisions of the Federal Constitution, "to the enjoyment of all the rights, privileges, and immunities, of citizens of the United States." The public lands of Texas were to be ceded to the United States, which was to assume the debt of Texas, amounting to ten million dollars. No mention of boundaries was made in the treaty.

*The campaign of 1844: Clay and Van Buren opposed to annexation*

of this year it seemed certain that Clay would be nominated for the Presidency by the Whigs and Van Buren by the Democrats. Both were opposed to the immediate annexation of Texas, and in April each published a statement giving reasons for this attitude. Since these pronouncements came out on the same day, it was thought that the two leading candidates had come to an agreement which in their opinion would eliminate this troublesome question as an issue in the approaching campaign. If such was their purpose, they were doomed to sad disappointment. Later on in the campaign, seeing that this stand on annexation would cause him to lose votes in the South, Clay made another statement, which was less unfavorable to annexation. This modification of his original position cost him Northern antislavery votes and left the people uncertain as to just where he stood on the question.

*Clay, the Whig nominee for President*

Clay, however, was unanimously nominated by the Whigs, who had assembled in national convention on May 1 in Baltimore. The platform had much to say in praise of the candidates but made no mention of Texas or a national bank. Otherwise, it reaffirmed the regular Whig position in favor of protection and internal improvements.

*The Democrats nominate Polk; reasons*

On May 27 the Democratic convention met in Baltimore. A majority of the delegates had been instructed for Van Buren, but because of his anti-Texan pronouncement most of the Southern delegates were opposed to his nomination. To provide them with a way of escape from their commitment in his favor, the two-thirds rule was renewed, despite the ardent opposition of Van Buren's supporters. As was intended, a deadlock was produced; although Van Buren received a majority of the votes on the first ballot, he could not get the required two thirds. His vote declined on subsequent ballots, and finally the deadlock was broken on the ninth ballot by the choice of James K. Polk of Tennessee. George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania was named for the Vice-Presidency.

*The Democratic platform*

The platform declared for the "re-annexation of Texas and the re-occupation of Oregon." By the use of the prefix "re" the effort was made to remove from a policy of expansion the taint of imperialism, the implication being that the United States was only trying to regain territory which it had formerly held. Furthermore, since accessions were to be made in the Northwest as well as the Southwest, the desire to extend slavery could not be ascribed as the motive for expansion.

*Tyler, a third-party candidate*

A group of Tyler's friends and supporters held a convention in Baltimore and nominated him for the Presidency. Tyler accepted the honor tendered him by this third party, whose only policy was

the annexation of Texas. Later, deciding that Polk's election was the only hope of immediate annexation, Tyler withdrew in favor of the Democratic nominee.

*The Liberty Party*

The Liberty Party, made up of Abolitionists, for a second time nominated James G. Birney of Michigan for President. It declared strongly against slavery and was violently opposed to any extension of the slave area. Clay's hedging on the Texan issue turned some of the antiannexationists against him and caused them to vote for Birney. With this help the Liberty Party was able to poll about sixty thousand votes, more than a fourth of which were cast in New York. If half of the antislavery vote of New York had gone to Clay, he would have carried this state and have been elected. Thus by giving this indirect aid to Polk the Liberty Party in actual practice was supporting immediate annexation, a policy to which it was strongly opposed.

*Polk elected*

*The annexation of Texas the main issue*

Polk was elected by an electoral majority of sixty-five; but in the popular vote his plurality over Clay was only forty thousand. Texas was the one outstanding issue in this campaign, and the election of Polk indicated that a majority of the voters of the country were in favor of annexation.

*The joint resolution in favor of annexation*

Tyler did not give up the fight for annexation even after his treaty was rejected by the Senate. He was greatly encouraged in his persistence by the election of 1844, which, he declared, was a plebiscite in favor of annexation. When Congress met in December, 1844, he recommended that annexation be accepted by Congress in a joint resolution. This procedure was suggested because a joint resolution, requiring a bare majority of each house, could be obtained more easily than the confirmation of a treaty by the Senate, which required a two-thirds majority. Although Tyler had no party to support him, his recommendation regarding Texas could not well be ignored. The endorsement of annexation by the people in the recent campaign had given the question a new importance. Even if the Congressmen had been inclined to sidestep the issue, they would have been forced into action by pressure from their constituents. For petitions from individuals and resolutions adopted by state legislatures showed that the people considered the subject a matter of outstanding importance.

*Terms offered Texas under the joint resolution*

Congress therefore passed a joint resolution proposing annexation. By the terms of this resolution, which were more favorable to Texas than were those of the rejected treaty, Texas was to be admitted as a state without going through the territorial period (see p. 290 n.). New states, not exceeding four in number, could with her consent be created out of her territory. Such new states if

north of the 36° 30′ line were to be admitted without slavery. If south of that line they would come in with or without slavery as their citizens might desire. Texas was to pay her own debt but was to retain her public lands.

*Texas accepts the offer*

Tyler signed the joint resolution and sent the proposal at once to Texas. The action of the United States government came just in time to save the cause of annexation, for events were moving in the opposite direction in the south. A treaty had been drawn up between Texas and Mexico providing for the recognition of the independence of Texas by Mexico on condition that the former would promise never to consent to union with another country. The Texan Congress voted unanimously in favor of rejecting the Mexican treaty and accepting the offer of the United States. The convention called to consider annexation declared for it (July 4) with only one dissenting vote. In October the people ratified the act of the convention by an overwhelming majority.

## THE PRESIDENCY OF JAMES K. POLK

*Polk: previous career and personal traits*

James Knox Polk (1795-1849) was the first "dark horse" to be nominated for the Presidency. By repeating the question "Who is James K. Polk?" the Whigs tried to brand him with an obscurity which was denied by a long and successful, although not a brilliant, career in the public service. After graduating from the University of North Carolina he studied law and was soon enjoying a lucrative practice at Columbia in his home county in Tennessee. Entering politics at an early age, he served for two years in the state legislature and fourteen years as a member of the United States House of Representatives. During the last four years of this period he was Speaker of the House. In 1839 he became governor of Tennessee, which office he held for two years.

Polk's strong points were sound judgment, firm determination, strict integrity, and an unlimited capacity for work. By persistent effort and rigid self-discipline he always kept his powers in a high state of efficiency. So punctilious was he in the performance of duty that he is said never to have missed a recitation while in college. While President his health was impaired by overwork, and the strain would have been still greater but for his Sunday rest, for he was regular in his observance of the Sabbath. A stern sense of duty, a dignified demeanor, and a secretive, if not suspicious, attitude were qualities which did not lend themselves to spectacular action, and he never was a popular idol.

*His Cabinet*

For his Cabinet Polk chose new men except that John Y. Mason of Virginia, who had been Secretary of the Navy under Tyler, was

made Attorney General. R. J. Walker of Mississippi became Secretary of the Treasury, and James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, Secretary of State.

*Polk's program: The Independent Treasury plan restored*

President Polk went into office with four definite objectives in mind. These were: to lower the tariff and put it on a revenue basis; to re-enact the Independent Treasury plan; to settle the Oregon dispute with England; and to secure California. Since the Democrats controlled both houses of Congress the first three of these measures were enacted in 1846. The Subtreasury system was restored but with the omission of the provision requiring all payments to the government to be made in specie.

*The Walker Tariff Act*

A tariff measure, framed in accordance with Secretary Walker's recommendations, and known as the Walker Act, was passed by Congress and signed by the President (1846). It lowered the general level of import duties to a strictly revenue basis and increased the number of articles on the free list. The protectionists contended that it would cripple manufactures and reduce the income of the government. On the contrary, manufacturing prospered under it, and the revenue of the government increased.

### THE OREGON QUESTION

*Countries originally claiming Oregon*

Oregon was originally claimed by Spain, England, the United States, and Russia. Spain based her claim on priority of discovery, Russia on the activity of her fur traders, and England and the United States on the rights conferred by their fur traders and explorers. England could point to an expedition under Captain Cook (1778) which touched at points on the coast of Oregon, and the United States to two expeditions by Captain Gray (1788, 1792), who traversed the coast of Oregon and sailed into and named the Columbia River. The American title was also strengthened by the explorations of Lewis and Clark.

*Spain and Russia give up their claims*

By the treaty of 1819 Spain yielded to the United States all her rights in this region north of the forty-second parallel. A few years later Russia by a treaty with the United States (1824) and with England (1825) gave up her claim to the region south of the parallel of 54° 40′. Oregon now had definite boundaries. These were the crest of the Rocky Mountains on the east, the Pacific on the west, the forty-second parallel on the south, and that of 54° 40′ on the north.

*Agreements of joint occupancy between England and the United States*

England and the United States, now the sole claimants, in 1818 entered into an agreement of joint occupation for a period of ten years. This convention was renewed indefinitely in 1827 with the stipulation that either party could terminate it by giving the other

a year's notice. In the 1830's, because of accounts given out by Methodist and Presbyterian missionaries, American settlers pushed into Oregon in increasing numbers, being attracted by the report of fine farming lands. This stream of emigration grew in volume in the 1840's, and in 1843 at least one thousand pioneers trekked westward into this distant land. In that year the settlers organized a provisional government and asked that the American government assume authority over them. This made it necessary for the United States to come to an agreement with Britain about the ownership of the territory.

*American settlers organize a provisional government*

By this time there had grown up a strong feeling in the West in favor of American control of Oregon. The Democrats saw an opportunity to capitalize on this sentiment and they declared in their platform of 1844 for the "re-occupation of Oregon." All of Oregon, it stated, rightfully belonged to the United States and it should lay claim to the whole region. This plank in the platform gave rise to the catchy slogans, "All of Oregon or none" and "Fifty-four forty or fight."

*Oregon as a campaign issue, 1844*

Despite the commitment of his party to the policy of taking over all of Oregon, Polk instructed Buchanan to propose (July, 1845) to Pakenham, the British minister at Washington, a settlement by extending the boundary along the forty-ninth parallel to the Pacific. This concession was made because of the probability of war with Mexico, for he wanted his country to be free from the danger of a conflict with England over Oregon before entering upon hostilities with Mexico.

*Polk renews offer of the forty-ninth parallel*

Pakenham declined Polk's proposal and couched his refusal in language which was not very polite. Furthermore, he did not take the trouble to forward the offer to the British government. Polk's fighting spirit was aroused by this cavalier treatment, and the offer was withdrawn. He was in favor of acting boldly in the assertion of American rights. "The only way," he said, "to treat John Bull was to look him straight in the eye" and " a bold and firm course on our part [was] the pacific one." In line with this policy he recommended to Congress, in his annual message of December, 1845, that notice be given at once of the intention of the American government to terminate the joint agreement at the end of twelve months; that the laws of the United States be extended over Oregon; and that forts be erected along the route to Oregon. The people of the West vociferously upheld the President in his bold stand and again was raised the cry of "Fifty-four forty or fight." Congress after much discussion authorized the President to give the notice at his discretion, and this was done in May, 1846.

*The proposal rejected by the British minister; Polk's bold recommendation*

*The British government offers a treaty*

Seeing that the action of the President was sustained by Congress and the country, the British government realized that a concession on its part would have to be made if conflict was to be averted. It felt that Oregon was not worth a war with a kindred people, and to come to an agreement it sent in as its proposal the draft of a treaty which embodied Polk's suggestions in slightly modified form.

*The treaty accepted*

To shield himself against the criticism of Western leaders who were clamoring for all of Oregon, the President forced the Senate to share with him the responsibility of a decision by asking it to advise him as to what action should be taken with reference to the proposed treaty. Since the Senate voted by a very large majority in favor of acceptance, he signed the treaty and it was promptly confirmed. By the terms of the treaty the boundary was extended along the forty-ninth parallel from the Rocky Mountains to the straits that separate Vancouver Island from the mainland and through the middle of this channel to the ocean.

*Terms of the treaty*

## THE MEXICAN WAR

*Causes*

When Texas was annexed, Mexico promptly broke diplomatic relations with the United States. She had never recognized the independence of Texas although this independence had been maintained for more than eight years, and during that time no attempt (except sporadic incursions by raiding parties) had been made to assert authority over the rebel state. Nevertheless in annexing Texas the United States had seized territory belonging to Mexico, according to the view held by the government of the latter country.

*Slidell's mission*

Another cause of dispute between the two republics was the claims against Mexico held by American citizens. Polk was also anxious about the influence that Britain might exert on the Mexican government with the view to getting California. With the hope of ironing out the differences between the two countries and of counteracting foreign influence in Mexico, the President sent John Slidell on a special mission to the southern republic with instructions to come to an agreement as to the boundary dispute between Texas and Mexico and to purchase New Mexico and California. To attain these objectives the American government would be willing to assume all claims held by its citizens against Mexico and pay her a liberal sum of money in addition. This plan failed since Slidell was not received by the Mexican authorities, and Polk was now resolved to bring Mexico to terms through military pressure.

*General Taylor sent into Texas*

In the summer of 1845 General Zachary Taylor was sent with an army into Texas and for some months was stationed near Corpus Christi about one hundred and fifty miles from the Rio Grande.

When Polk saw that Slidell's mission would fail, he ordered Taylor to move over to the Rio Grande. After this was done, Taylor received a message from the Mexican commander demanding that he withdraw beyond the Nueces River. Up to this time the Mexican authorities had claimed all of Texas and had refused to recognize American ownership of any part of it; but this demand indicated that they might acquiesce in the annexation of Texas if the Nueces were accepted by the United States as the boundary.

*War declared*

Since Taylor refused to comply with the demand of the Mexican general, the latter attacked the American forces and killed some of them. Polk had decided upon war before news of this skirmish reached Washington, but this attack gave him the opportunity to charge Mexico with having begun the conflict. Taking advantage of this turn in affairs, he now asked Congress for a declaration of war on the ground that the Mexican troops had invaded the United States. Congress thereupon fell in line with the suggestion and declared that we were at war by action of Mexico.

*Military events: Kearny's expedition*

The plan of campaign for the Americans included three lines of attack against Mexico. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny was directed to lead an expedition to the southwest and conquer New Mexico and California. As he approached Santa Fé, the Mexican army, four thousand strong, withdrew without offering battle. Kearney remained in New Mexico long enough to organize a temporary government and then advanced to California with a small band of troops.

*The conquest of California*

He was too late, however, for the conquest of California. This had already been effected by the American naval and land forces under the command, first of Commodore John D. Sloat, and later of Commodore John F. Stockton. The coast towns had been captured and the interior posts taken. Among those who had played an active part in the land movements was Colonel John C. Frémont, who on account of his explorations in that region was known as the "Pathfinder of the West." In the spring of 1847 a provisional government was set up for California.

*Taylor's campaign*

Before Congress had issued a declaration of war General Taylor had begun his attack on the Mexican forces near the mouth of the Rio Grande. On May 8 and 9, 1846, he defeated the Mexicans in two small engagements on the Texas side of the river and then crossed over and advanced into Mexican territory. In a three days' fight at Monterrey he defeated the Mexicans and captured the city. Three other towns were also occupied before the end of the year.

*Battle of Monterrey*

*Battle of Buena Vista*

Taylor's army, stationed at Buena Vista, had been greatly reduced by the withdrawal of contingents of troops sent by orders from

Washington to reinforce General Scott. Upon learning this, Santa Anna, at the head of the Mexican army, attacked with a force of twenty thousand men the little American army, which was only about one fourth this size. At the end of a day of furious struggle (February 23, 1847) each army held about the same position it had occupied the day before; but the morale of the Mexican army was broken, and in the night Santa Anna withdrew to San Luis Potosi. Taylor therefore reported the engagement as a great American victory.

*Scott's expedition into Mexico*

A third expedition, under command of General Winfield Scott, was to advance from the coast town of Vera Cruz to the heart of Mexico. A landing near Vera Cruz was made without opposition, and the city was captured after a four-day bombardment. Scott then advanced rapidly toward the interior to reach the upland region before yellow fever should set in in the lowlands. He met with no opposition until he reached the pass of Cerro Gordo, where Santa Anna had stationed a strong force. Although Santa Anna's army was considerably larger than Scott's, he was badly defeated and lost his ammunition and supplies. This American victory was due in large measure to a bold undertaking suggested by Captain Robert E. Lee. Another young officer, Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant, had a share in the honor of carrying out this plan.

*Battle of Cerro Gordo*

*The advance to Mexico City*

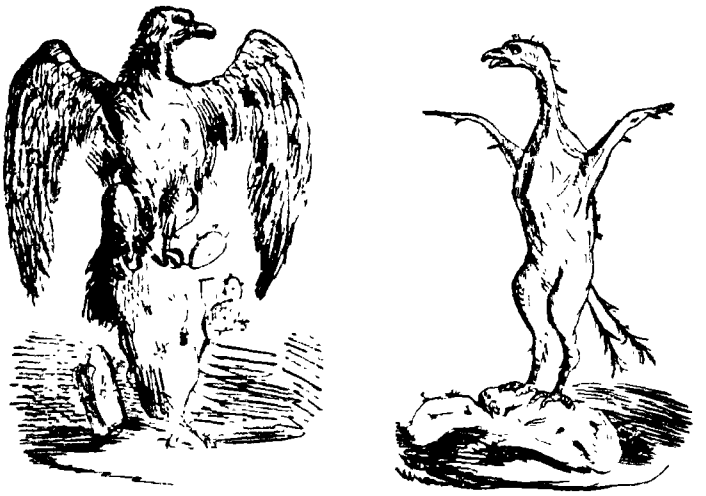
Scott then advanced from Cerro Gordo to Mexico City, meeting no resistance until he neared the approaches of the capital. After fierce encounters to capture the strongholds near the city, the Americans drove into the city of Mexico.

*Nicholas P. Trist as peace commissioner*

In the spring of 1847, Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk in the State Department, was sent to join Scott's expedition as a commissioner to negotiate peace when the time for such a move should seem opportune. This policy of waving the olive branch with one hand and flourishing the sword with the other was Polk's idea of "conquering a peace." Trist's mismanagement of the negotiations brought him into disfavor with the Washington authorities, and an order for his recall was issued. Since the capture of the city of Mexico had opened up the opportunity for peace, he went ahead and signed a treaty with the Mexican government although he had received the order canceling his authority to conduct negotiations.

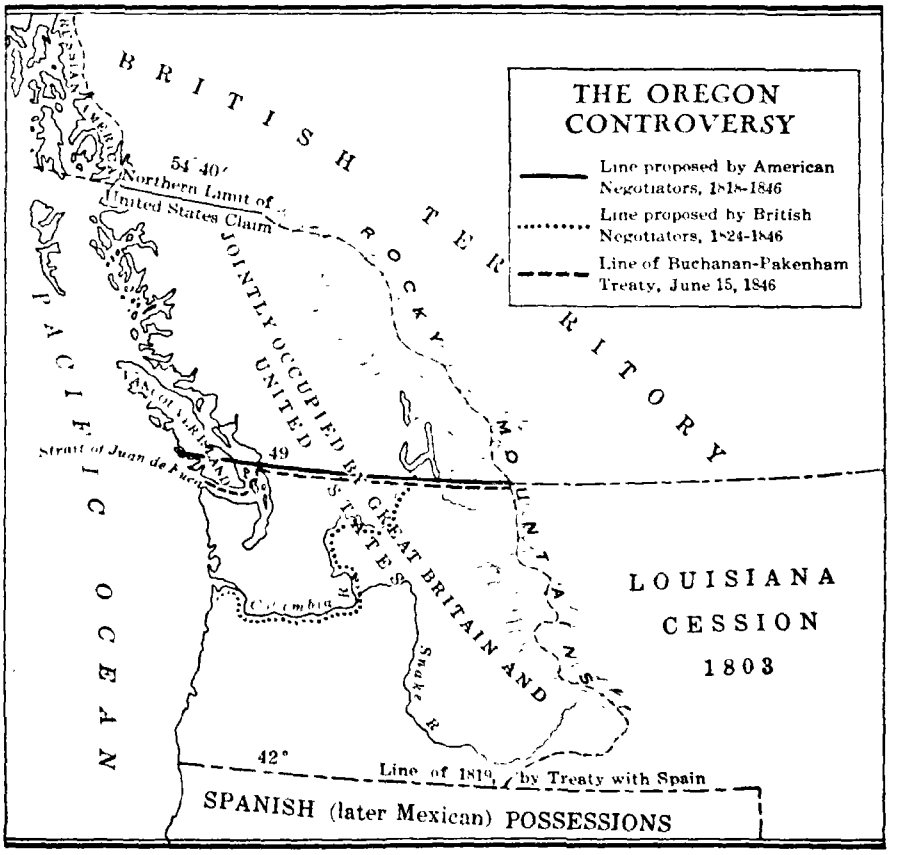
*Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo*

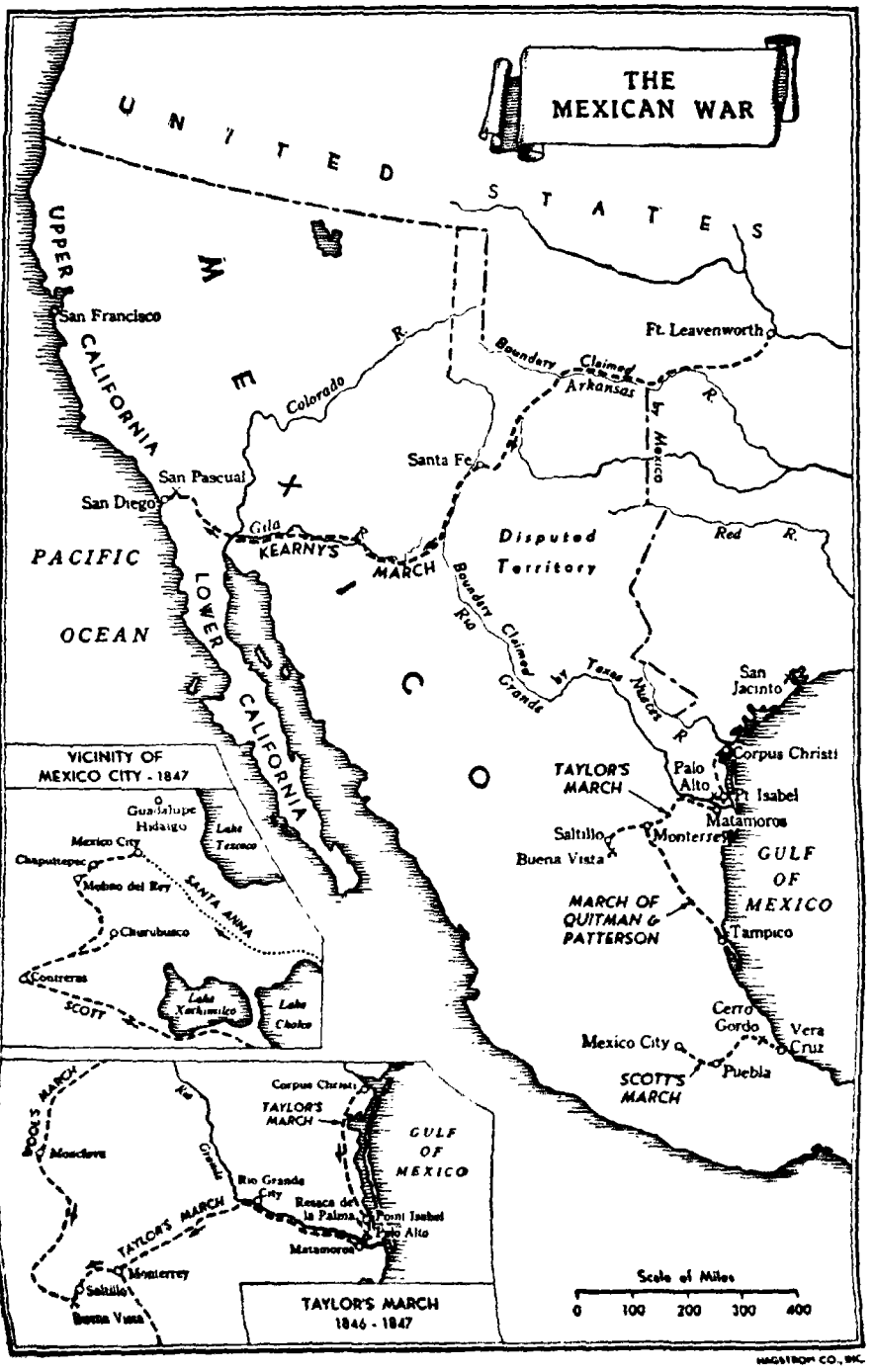
Trist's action in making the treaty was not official, and the President was not bound in any way by it. But the treaty was a satisfactory one, although it granted only a minimum of the demands mentioned in Trist's instructions. Despite his indignation at Trist's insubordinate action, Polk wisely disregarded the irregularity connected with the negotiation of the treaty and submitted it to the



The Mexican Eagle before the War! The Mexican Eagle after the War!
PLUCKED

Yankee bumptiousness in the forties From *Yankee Doodle*, 1847.




THE MEXICAN WAR
UNITED STATES
MEXICO
UPPER CALIFORNIA
LOWER CALIFORNIA
PACIFIC OCEAN
San Francisco
San Pascual
San Diego
Colorado R.
Gila
KEARNY'S MARCH
Santa Fe
Boundary Claimed by Arkansas
Ft. Leavenworth
Mexico
Red R.
Disputed Territory
Boundary Claimed by Texas
Rio Grande
San Jacinto
Corpus Christi
Palo Alto
Ft Isabel
Matamoros
TAYLOR'S MARCH
Saltillo
Monterrey
Buena Vista
GULF OF MEXICO
MARCH OF QUITMAN & PATTERSON
Tampico
Cerro Gordo
Vera Cruz
Mexico City
Puebla
SCOTT'S MARCH
VICINITY OF MEXICO CITY - 1847
Guadalupe Hidalgo
Lake Texcoco
Mexico City
Chapultepec
Molino del Rey
SANTA ANNA
Churubusco
Contreras
SCOTT
Lake Xochimilco
Lake Chalco
Corpus Christi
TAYLOR'S MARCH
Rio Grande
Rio Grande City
Resaca de la Palma
Fort Isabel
Palo Alto
Matamoros
Monterrey
Saltillo
Buena Vista
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400
TAYLOR'S MARCH
1846 - 1847

Senate. After making some modifications (which were accepted by Mexico) the Senate ratified the treaty by a large majority.

*Terms of the treaty*

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (signed February 2, 1848, at a town of that name near Mexico City), Mexico agreed to accept the Rio Grande as the Mexico-Texas boundary and to cede New Mexico and California to the United States. For this cession the United States agreed to assume all claims held by its citizens against Mexico and pay that country an additional sum of $15,000,000.

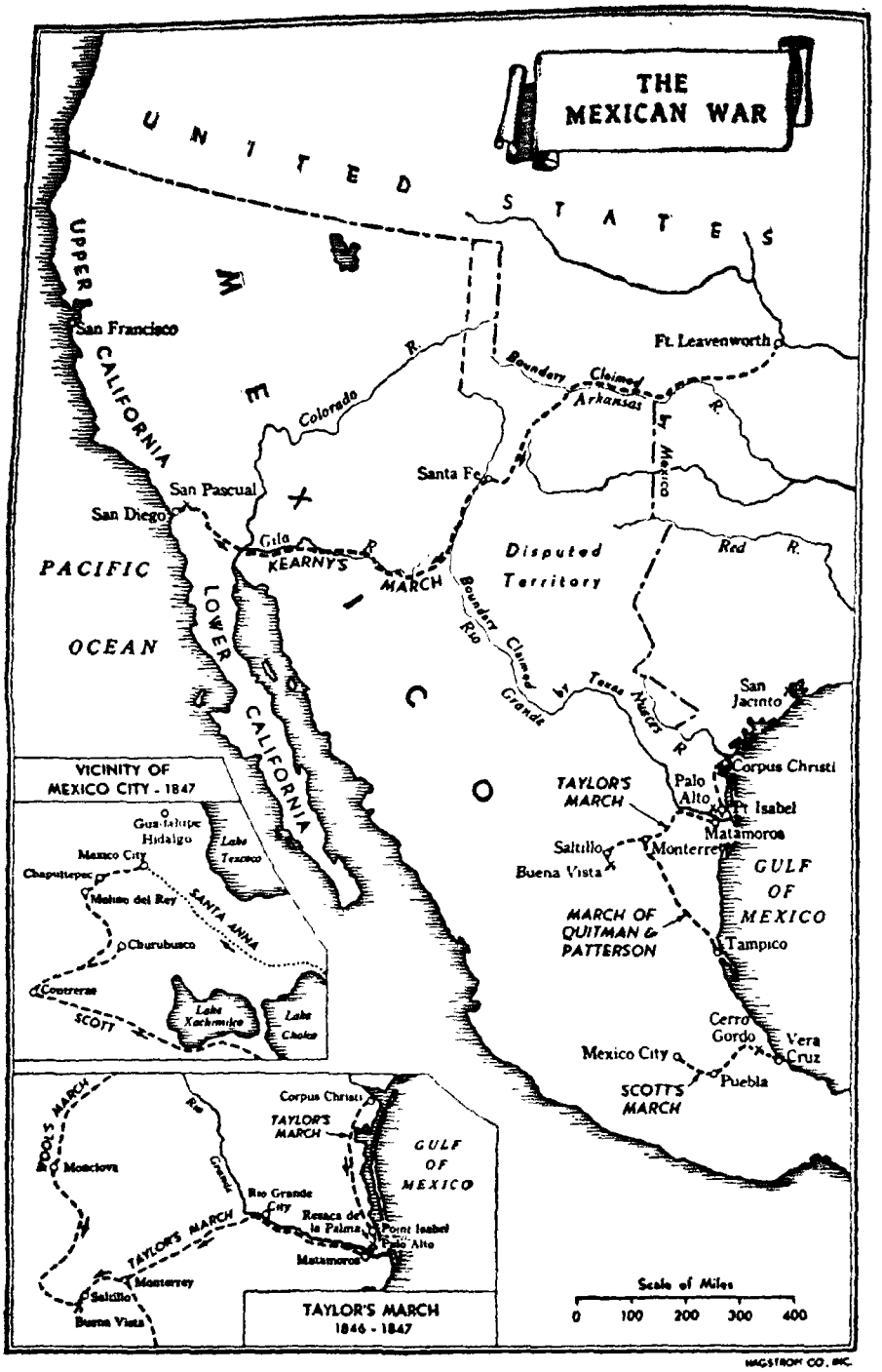
## THE SLAVERY CONTROVERSY GIVEN A NEW IMPETUS

*The Wilmot Proviso*

The accessions of territory resulting from the Mexican War added new fuel to the fires of controversy over the slavery issue. Indeed, before these accessions were made, the blaze began to flare up in anticipation of an extension of the national domain. In August, 1846, a bill was offered in the House of Representatives providing for an appropriation of $2,000,000 to be used by the President in the prospective negotiations with Mexico. To this measure was attached a rider proposed by David Wilmot of Pennsylvania. The Wilmot Proviso, as it was called, stipulated that the appropriation be made on the condition that slavery be excluded from all the territory which should be acquired from Mexico. The proviso stirred up a great deal of excitement and, although it was stricken out by the Senate, it gave a new impetus to the controversy over slavery. It solidified and strengthened the antislavery sentiment in the North and the proslavery sentiment in the South. The opponents of slavery now had a definite platform to which all of them could rally. The principle underlying the proviso was a disturbing factor in the political situation, and both of the old parties tried to eliminate it as an issue. But, like Banquo's ghost, it would not down.

*Causes of dispute between the North and the South*

In general the Northern people, especially the antislavery element, accepted the principle of the Wilmot Proviso and thus opposed the extension of slavery into any of the new acquisitions. The Southerners were just as strong in their demand that the recent accessions should be open to slavery. They contended that they had done their full share in winning the new territory and should not be prohibited from emigrating to it with their labor system. Furthermore, if slavery were excluded from the Mexican cession, the political balance between the North and the South would be upset to the disadvantage of the South. Arkansas and Michigan had been admitted as states in 1836 and 1837, respectively; Florida and Texas in 1845; and Iowa and Wisconsin in 1846 and 1848. As a result of this policy of balance in admitting new states, there was in 1848 an equal number of slave and free states. The South felt, however,




HAGSTROM CO., INC.

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that this equilibrium could not be maintained in the future if slave states could not be carved out of the Mexican cession; for Minnesota would soon be ready to come into the Union as a free state, and in time free states would be created in the Oregon country. These apprehensions were accentuated when in 1848, despite the persistent opposition of Southern Congressmen, Oregon was organized as a territory without any stipulations as to slavery, which meant that the government of the territory would be on an antislavery basis.

Not all the bitterness of feeling between the North and the South, which had now reached a new height, was rooted in the problems connected with American expansion. Some of this ill will arose from old and chronic causes of dispute. The Southerners were enraged at the abolitionist propaganda and frightened by its possible effect on the Negroes. They also felt that the Northerners were depriving them of their property rights by refusing to return fugitive slaves to their owners, in plain violation of the Constitution and a Federal statute. The status of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia was still a subject of violent discussion.

These old causes of trouble were assuming new importance because fresh heat had been imparted to them by the friction between the sections which had arisen over the new territorial acquisitions. The antislavery element in the North was clamoring for the abolition of the slave trade and slavery in the District of Columbia. It was contended that Congress had the constitutional authority to decide as to slavery since it was the legislature for the District. Some of the moderates of the South were willing to grant the abolition of the slave trade in the District, but both the conservatives and the radicals of this section contended that Congress, regardless of its constitutional powers, had no moral right to abolish slavery in the District. To do so would be, they maintained, to break faith with Maryland since that state had ceded the land of the District to the Federal government with the implied understanding that the laws of the District would not be so changed as to menace the security of her own institutions. The creation of a center of freedom in an area of slavery would constitute such a hazard.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1848

*The Democratic Convention*

There was a slight lull in the slavery agitation at the time of the Presidential election of 1848, for during the campaign sectionalism was to some extent tempered by partisanship. The Democrats held their national convention in Baltimore in May, 1848. In the plat-

form of 1844 the Democrats had declared in favor of the one-term principle, and Polk, therefore, was not a candidate for the succession. The convention chose General Lewis Cass of Michigan as its candidate for the Presidency. The platform contained a strong endorsement of Polk's administration, a justification of the war, and a condemnation of the opposition which had been arrayed against it. An effort to commit the party in favor of the Wilmot Proviso was voted down.

*The Whig Convention*

The Whigs held their convention at Philadelphia in June, 1848. Again passing over Clay, they chose a war hero, Zachary Taylor of Louisiana. He was a slaveowner, a point in his favor with the Southern but against him with the Northern wing of the party. A resolution endorsing the Wilmot Proviso was tabled and no platform was adopted. For Vice-President the Whigs nominated Millard Fillmore of New York.

*The Free-Soil Party*

The Democratic Party in New York had been divided for several years on state issues into two factions, known as "Hunkers" and "Barnburners."[1] The disagreement had arisen over state issues, the latter advocating a policy of liberalism in state management and the former one of conservatism. The Barnburners and Hunkers each sent a delegation to the national convention in 1848. The convention offered to divide the vote of the state equally between the two factions, but this decision was not satisfactory to either group. The Barnburners were also opposed to the extension of slavery. They therefore withdrew from the Democratic convention and later (June 22) in convention at Utica nominated Van Buren for the Presidency. The Liberty Party had already named John P. Hale of New Hampshire for President, but there was strong sentiment in favor of uniting the two antislavery groups into one party. This feeling led to a call for a national convention representing all the antislavery elements. The convention was held in August, 1848, and by it was launched the National Free-Soil Party. The new party declared in favor of free homesteads for actual settlers on the public lands and against the extension of slavery into any of the territories. Its slogan was, "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men." Van Buren was named for President and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President. Hale withdrew in favor of Van Buren, who in the main received the support of the antislavery groups.

[1] The Barnburners were so called because they were charged by their opponents with being extreme radicals—like the Dutchman who burned down his barn to get rid of the rats. Just why the Hunkers received this designation we do not know. It is quite likely, however, that the term was used because it is an ill-sounding one and aided the Barnburners in their effort to stamp their rivals as a bad lot.

*Result of the election*

As in the election of 1844, the vote of New York was the deciding factor. The division in the Democratic ranks enabled the Whigs to carry that state and thereby to elect Taylor and Fillmore.

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2. The Cotton Kingdom Rises.—Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*, ch. 5.
3. The Election of 1844.—G. P. Garrison, *Westward Extension*, ch. 9.
4. James K. Polk, Personal Traits.—Eugene I. McCormac, *James K. Polk*, pp. 1-9, 139-140.
5. The Annexation of Texas.—Garrison, *op. cit.*, chs. 6, 8, and 10; O. P. Chitwood, *John Tyler: Champion of the Old South*, ch. 22; H. S. Commager, *Documents of American History*, I, pp. 306-307 (text of joint resolution of Congress for annexation), Marquis James, *The Raven*, ch. 25.
6. The Oregon Question.—S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, ch. 16; Garrison, *op. cit.*, ch. 11, or T. H. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (3rd ed.), ch. 15.
7. The Mexican War: Military Campaigns and the Peace Treaty.—E. Channing, *A History of the United States*, V, pp. 552-559, 570-614. Contemporary accounts and documents: Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, ch. 2; MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, pp. 378-382 (text of Treaty of Hidalgo).
8. The Diplomacy of the Mexican War.—J. H. Latané, *A History of American Foreign Policy*, ch. 11.
9. Financial Readjustment under Polk.—Garrison, *op. cit.*, ch. 12, McCormac, *op. cit.*, ch. 23.
10. The Wilmot Proviso.—Garrison, *op. cit.*, ch. 16.
11. The Election of 1848.—*Ibid.*, ch. 17.

# CHAPTER XVIII

# *Economic Development (1783–1860)*

## Transportation

With independence and the subsequent expansion westward, there came a recognition of the need of better facilities for transportation and communication. This need has advanced with the growth of the country, and efforts to solve the problem have brought about several stages of development in the means of internal transportation. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the turnpike was the most popular and useful means of transportation. Private companies were carrying on a feverish activity in the construction of macadamized roads. This enthusiasm was stimulated in large measure by the success of the Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike, completed in 1794, which was the first hard-surfaced road of any considerable length in the United States. The road traversed a prosperous agricultural region and was the scene of a heavy line of traffic. The receipts of its nine tollgates were so large as to yield a fifteen per cent dividend to the stockholders of the company.

*The Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike*

A more noted turnpike of this period was the Cumberland Road, or National Turnpike, the funds for the initial construction of which were derived from the sale of public lands in Ohio (see p. 189). An act of Congress in 1806 provided for surveys, but construction did not begin until 1811, and only twenty miles of the road had been finished by the end of the War of 1812. By 1818 it was completed from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, Virginia, on the Ohio River. From time to time Congress voted funds for its extension until 1838, when Federal appropriations were stopped. With Federal and later state and local aid the road was gradually pushed westward reaching Columbus, Ohio, in 1833, and Vandalia, Illinois, in 1852.

*The Cumberland Road*

Other turnpikes built by Maryland connected the Cumberland Road with Baltimore, and the "National Pike" at once became an important highway to the West. Over this wide road, with its solid hard-surfaced bed, the emigrant traveled to the new country with greater ease, and commodities were carried east and west with

less cost and more speed than ever before. Both passenger and freight traffic soon became heavy.

*Stagecoaches and freight wagons*

Passengers were conveyed in large stagecoaches, which were painted in bright colors and drawn by four or six horses. The speed of these big coaches was almost incredible. One driver made the distance of twelve miles between Uniontown and Brownsville in forty-five minutes. Another, entrusted with the announcement of the declaration of war against Mexico, drove one hundred and thirty-one miles in twelve hours. Freight wagons were also numerous. The most noted of these was the Conestoga wagon. It had a capacious curved bed, the lower part of which was gaily painted in blue and the upper in red. Resting on heavy wheels bound by broad metal tires, and drawn by six strong horses, this vehicle had a large capacity for freight and was the best means for its overland conveyance.

*The river and canal period*

During and long before the first turnpike period, Western rivers were used extensively for transportation purposes. Even when the chief reliance was on the flatboat and the barge, these rivers served as the main outlet for Western produce. Their importance in transportation was greatly enhanced by the introduction of the steamboat on the Ohio River. This improvement in navigation was made possible by Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat. Prior to Fulton's venture a number of more or less hopeful experiments in steamboating had been made, some of which had attained a measure of practical success. Using a superior engine built in England, Fulton was able to achieve a greater success than any of his predecessors. In August, 1807, the *Clermont* in the face of a gentle wind made the trip from New York to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, in thirty-two hours. This was the longest and most promising voyage ever made up to that time by a steamboat and it proved that this type of craft was commercially practicable. Four years later (1811) the first steamboat—the *New Orleans*—was launched on the Ohio River, and in time the steamboat was used on all the navigable streams in that section.

*Fulton's steamboat*

*The first steamboat on the Ohio*

*The golden age of steam navigation in the West*

The period from 1840 to 1860 was the golden age of river navigation in the West. The extension of the cotton kingdom to the Southwest had created in that section a market for the products of the middle and upper Mississippi Valley. Before 1850 the railroads did not parallel the rivers but served to connect them with each other and with Eastern markets. They were therefore feeders to, rather than competitors of, the river trade. The passenger service was also important, and in this later period the vessels on the Mississippi were large in size and luxurious in their appointments.

*Early canals*

The use of the canal in this country as a means of transportation goes back as far as that of the hard-surfaced road. The Dismal Swamp Canal, the first constructed in the United States, was opened in 1794, the year which also saw the completion of the Philadelphia-Lancaster Turnpike. A number of other canals were dug in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth, but construction did not start out on a grand scale until after the completion of the Erie Canal. Its success stirred up the country into a feverish activity in canal building, and the second quarter of the nineteenth century was the period in which this type of waterway played its most prominent role in transportation.

*The Erie Canal*

The Erie Canal was built by the state of New York and connected Lake Erie at Buffalo with the Hudson River at Albany. It was begun in 1817 and completed in 1825, at which time it was opened with dramatic ceremonies. A flotilla made the journey from Buffalo to New York. Two kegs of water taken from Lake Erie were emptied into New York harbor, symbolizing the marriage of the Great Lakes to the Atlantic Ocean.

The project was a great financial success, since the toll receipts for the first ten years were sufficient to defray the cost of construction. It gave western New York an inlet and outlet for its trade and thus led to the rapid development of this part of the state. It also provided transportation facilities for all that region which was within reach of the Great Lakes and the rivers flowing into the Great Lakes. This area of accessibility was enlarged by the building of other canals in the Northwest, connecting rivers with each other and with the lakes. Some of these canals linked up the Illinois, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers with the Great Lakes, and in so doing diverted considerable trade eastward which had hitherto been going down the Mississippi to New Orleans and up the Ohio to Pittsburgh.

*Its usefulness enlarged by other canals*

*Effect on the West*

The Erie Canal was an important factor in the development of the West. The pioneers now had an easy way to reach the Northwest and a good means of conveyance for the products which they wished to sell to and buy from the East. Freight charges from Buffalo to New York, which had been $100 a ton, were now cut down to $25 and less, and the time of conveyance was reduced from twenty to eight days. As a result of this scaling down of freight rates, the Northwestern farmer could sell his grain and other produce at much better prices and at the same time purchase his tools and other commodities made in the East at much lower costs. In this way both East and Northwest were benefited, and the canal served as a strong economic tie to bind the two sections together.

This waterway gave New York City the lion's share of the Western

*Effect on New York City*

trade and made it the most important seaport in the United States. All products shipped to the seaboard through the canal and all foreign imports sent to the interior by the same route had to pass through New York. Such an advantage aroused the emulation of neighboring coast cities and caused them to bestir themselves in efforts to secure their share of the Western trade.

*The Pennsylvania Canal*

Philadelphia's plan for making a connection with the Ohio River was to build a combination canal and railroad from the Schuylkill River to Pittsburgh. This ambitious project, known as the Pennsylvania Canal, was prosecuted so energetically that the line was ready for traffic by 1834. The first part of the line was a horse railroad, which extended from Philadelphia to Columbia on the Susquehanna River. There was also a portage railroad over the mountains between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown. The rest of the distance was covered by canals. The most picturesque part of the route was the thirty-three mile strip over the Allegheny Mountains. Between Hollidaysburg and Johnstown there were five mountains to be crossed. This difficult break in the waterway was bridged over with inclined planes, on which first horse and later steam power was used. In this way the boats were carried over the mountains from one canal to the other (see picture, No. 28).

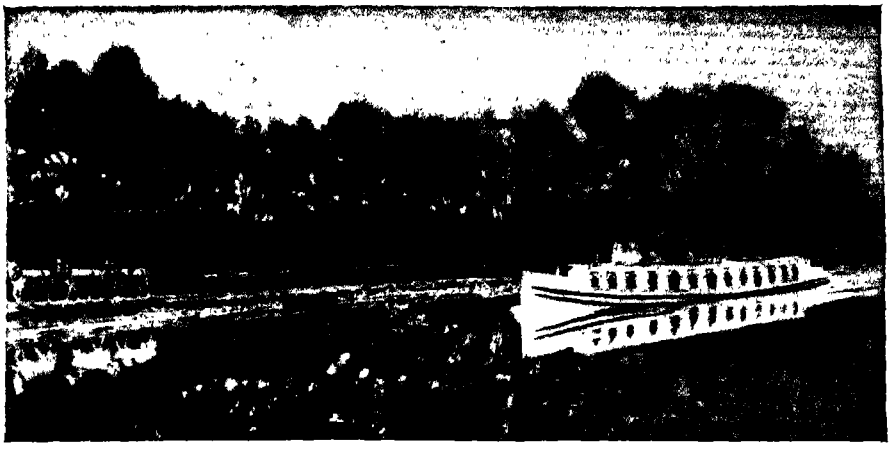
*Canals in the south and middle region*

Canals were built in the South to a much less extent than in other parts of the country. There was, however, far less need for them in that section, for the navigable rivers of the Southern states were very numerous and flowed directly into the Gulf of Mexico or the Atlantic Ocean. The most important canal in the middle region was the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, which was completed in 1850. It paralleled the Potomac River from Georgetown (now a part of Washington) to Cumberland, Maryland.

*Canals usually built by the states; reasons*

The canal projects were generally financed by the state governments—for several reasons. The financial outlook for such ventures did not always appeal favorably to corporations looking for gainful investments. At this time, too, there was a prejudice against corporations. The canals were to serve the interests of the public, and profits were to be a secondary consideration. Most of the money would have to be borrowed from abroad and could be obtained by public more easily than by private agencies. The United States government had paid off all its debt in 1835 and because of this was enjoying high credit in Europe. Undiscriminating foreign investors did not differentiate as closely as they should have between the Federal and the state governments and therefore were willing to extend to the latter a very generous credit.

In the delirium of overoptimism that characterized the decade



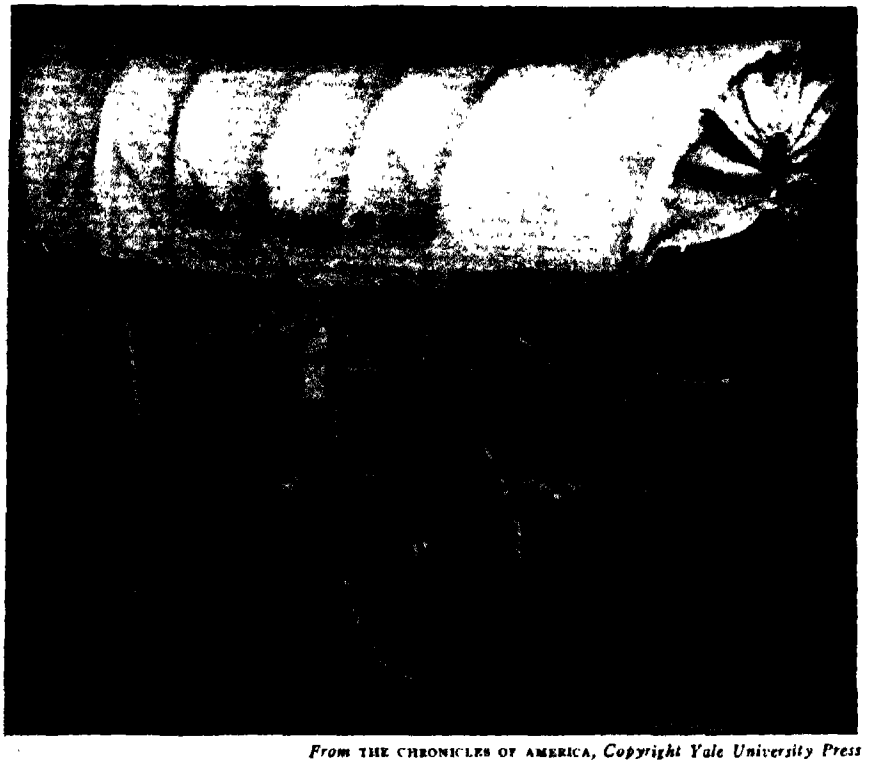
*Courtesy of New York Central Railroad*

PASSENGER PACKET BOAT ON THE ERIE CANAL IN 1820.
Speed six miles per hour.

*Courtesy of Pennsylvania Railroad*

CROSSING THE ALLEGHENIES IN 1840

Sectional canal boat being hauled over the inclined planes of the Portage Railroad.



*From* THE CHRONICLES OF AMERICA, *Copyright Yale University Press*

A CONESTOGA WAGON.

Photograph from the original in the National Museum, Washington.

*Overoptimism in the construction of canals*

following the completion of the Erie Canal, more canals were constructed than the country needed and many of them were located at places where they could not be used to advantage. Besides, because of extravagance and mismanagement, if not fraud, the cost of many of them was greater than it should have been. When the panic of 1837 came, some of these canals were abandoned when half completed and many of those that survived had a struggle for existence during the period of hard times. When the depression lifted, they were confronted with the growing competition of the railroads. The railroads finally won in the contest with the canal, and by 1850 they had become more important than the canals as a means of transportation. In the race for supremacy the railroad had some decided advantages over the canal. The latter had a more limited range of location, its cost of construction per mile was greater, and its speed of conveyance was less rapid than that of its rival. Besides, the railroad could be used throughout the entire year, whereas traffic on the canal was tied up by ice in the winter months.

*The railroad period: The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad*

When Baltimore, realizing her handicap in the race for water communication with the West, launched upon a bold experiment in transportation, the outcome of her venture was the building of the Baltimore and Ohio, the first important railroad in the United States.[1] The work of construction was begun in 1828 and in two years a stretch of thirteen miles was completed and open for traffic. The road was gradually extended westward until by 1853 it had reached Wheeling on the Ohio River. At first, horses were used for pulling the cars on the road and for a short time sails were experimented with as motive power. It was not long, however, before the steam locomotive came into use.

*Character of the railroads before 1840*

In the meantime railroads were built in other regions and by 1860 there were more than thirty thousand miles of track in the country. In the early years the rails consisted of wooden beams whose upper edges were protected against wear by iron strips. Passenger coaches were modeled after the stagecoaches and were uncomfortable. They were heated by wood stoves, and wood was also used for firing the engines. Because of the numerous sparks that poured out, a train was a serious fire hazard to the countryside through which it passed.

*Railroads after 1840*

After 1840 certain mechanical improvements were introduced in the building of railroads which greatly increased their efficiency as public carriers. One of the most important of these advances was

[1] The Charleston and Hamburg Railroad in South Carolina was a close competitor of the Baltimore and Ohio for the distinction of being America's first railroad of importance. The former road was chartered in January, 1828, and about six miles of the line were completed by January, 1830.

the use of iron rails in place of wooden beams faced with iron strips. These stronger rails made possible larger cars with heavier loads, as well as greater speed. In 1840 the roads were short and disconnected, and a lack of uniformity in gauge prevented the transfer of freight cars from one track to another. In the 1850's, however, there was a strong tendency to consolidate these railroads into continuous lines, each owned by a single corporation. As a result of this trend, rail connection was established between the Atlantic seaboard and Chicago in 1853, and as far as the Mississippi River by 1851. These through routes of transportation served as bonds to tie the West economically to the East; and this solidarity of economic interests was an important factor in deciding the central and northern West to unite with the North against the South in the great struggle of the 1860's.

*How railroad construction was financed*

In the boom period of canal construction the states burnt their fingers in canal building, and nearly all of them repudiated the policy of defraying the cost of internal improvements out of public funds. The Federal government had previously taken the same stand on the ground that it did not have the constitutional authority to participate in such activities. The building of railroads was therefore left mainly to private corporations. In the beginning, however, there were a few states which tried to finance the construction of their railroads. Other states gave aid to railroad corporations by buying stock, lending them money, or guaranteeing the sale of their securities. Subsidies were also voted by counties and cities. In the 1850's the Federal government made lavish gifts of land to Western states for the benefit of their railroads.

### COMMERCE AND SHIPPING

*American commerce from 1807 to 1861*

As has already been seen (see pp. 220 f.), during the Restrictive Period (1807-1815) American commerce and shipping declined as a result of the restraints imposed upon them just prior to and during the War of 1812. With the return of peace (1815), commerce with Europe again became active, and for a while goods were imported from England in large quantities and at low prices. The tariff barriers erected in the United States and in European countries tended to discourage American foreign commerce during the 1820's. After 1830, however, commerce between the United States and Europe entered upon an era of expansion which was continuous until 1861 except for interruptions caused by the panics of 1837 and 1857. This enlargement in foreign trade was brought about by the great increase in cotton exports due to the rapid extension of cotton culture to the Southwest.

*American shipping from 1815 to 1840*

After the War of 1812 was over, the European countries began again to transport their products in their own ships, and for a quarter of a century there was only a slight increase in American tonnage engaged in foreign trade. As there had been a decided gain in population, the per capita tonnage from 1810 to 1839 had declined from 13.43 to 4.25. One reason for this was that the high tariff of the period discouraged shipbuilding by increasing the costs of materials used for the construction of ships. In promoting manufactures in this country the tariff also discouraged the importation of foreign goods. After 1830 English shipping increased rapidly and entered into a vigorous competition with the American merchant marine.

*Circumstances favorable to the growth of the American merchant marine after 1840*

By 1840, however, conditions had begun to change in favor of American shipping. There had been developed in the United States a fine type of sailing vessel, the American clipper, which could easily outdistance other sailing vessels and even steamboats when the winds were favorable. So far ahead of its competitors was it in speed that it could make three trips to England in the time taken for two by English vessels. Because of the use of improved mechanical devices, the clipper ship required a smaller crew for its management than did any other sailing craft. The superior skill of American seamen also gave them an advantage over their rivals. Moreover, the growth of the American merchant marine was promoted by a series of occurrences in world affairs. The British-China war of 1840 transferred a good part of the China trade from British to American vessels. A like diversion of foreign trade to American ships was caused by the revolutionary uprisings of 1848 in Europe, the Crimean War (1853-1856), and the famine in India in 1857. The lowering of the tariff by the Act of 1846 also had the effect of lessening the cost of building ships in the United States. Numerous immigrants were coming into the country, and fortune hunters were rushing to the gold fields of California and Australia. American ships were reaping a rich harvest in transporting these passengers. As a result of such favorable conditions, the American merchant marine, including vessels engaged in the fisheries and the domestic trade, was in 1861 about equal in tonnage to that of Great Britain.

*British shipowners more progressive than American*

During this time, however, British shipowners were laying foundations for a future victory over their American competitors. In 1838 the *Great Western* and the *Sirius* crossed the ocean on their own steam, thus proving the practicability of the steamboat for ocean transportation. In this same year iron began to be used for the construction of the hulls of vessels. Great Britain put herself in line with these trends and by 1853 more than one fourth of her merchant

fleet was of iron and nearly one fourth was propelled by steam. The United States was backward in taking advantage of these improvements. At that time only twenty-two per cent of American ships were propelled by steam and scarcely any were built of iron.

*Domestic commerce*

More important than American foreign commerce was the interchange of goods between the different sections of the United States. Manufactures, fish, and other articles were shipped along the coast from the North to the South, and cotton, tobacco, and food supplies were brought back as return cargoes. By an act of Congress of 1793 this coastwise trade was reserved exclusively to American ships, and this monopoly proved an important stimulus to the growth of the country's merchant marine. The interior commerce was of greater value than either the foreign or the coastwise trade. The interchange of goods between the northern West and the southern West constituted an important part of our domestic commerce.

### COMMUNICATION WITH THE FAR WEST

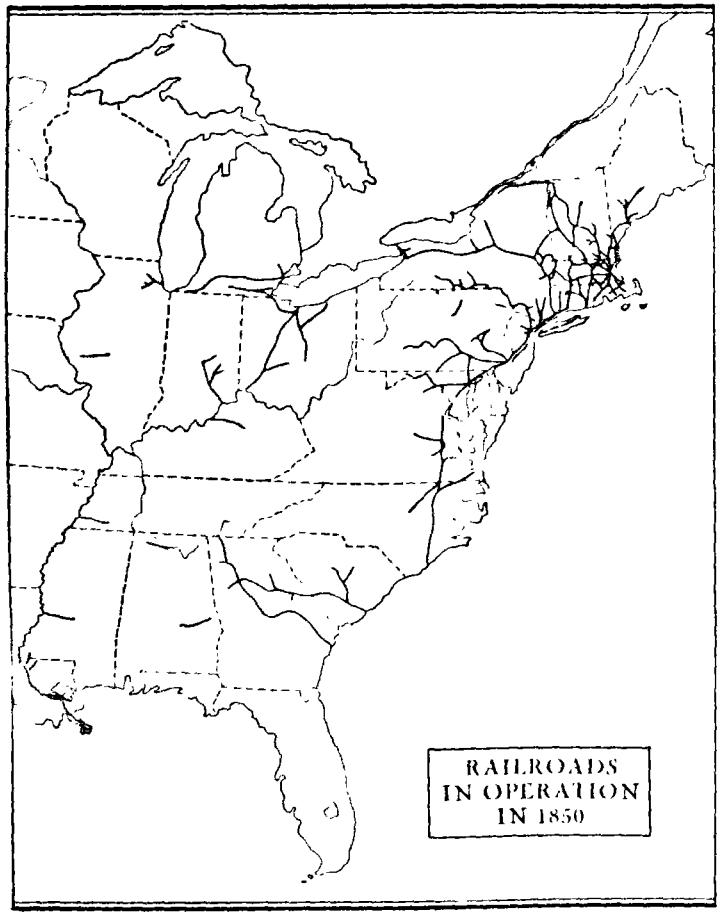
*Trails to the Far West*

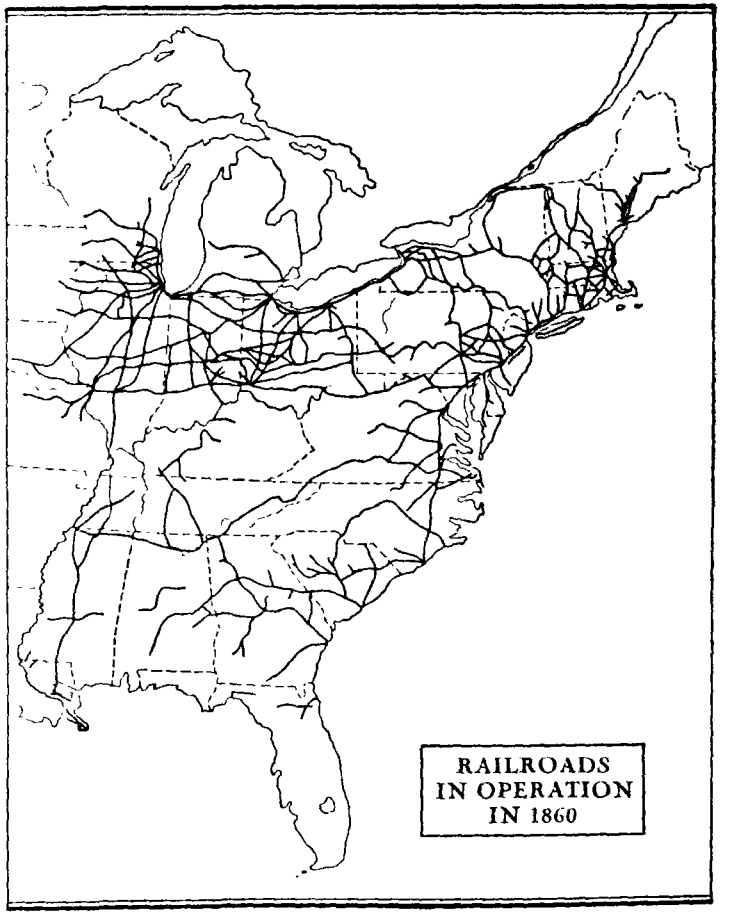
Long before the United States had come into undisputed possession of Oregon and had acquired New Mexico, routes to these far-off regions had been marked out. As the Missouri River was navigable to Independence, Missouri, this place was the starting point of the trails to the Far West. The most noted of these routes were the Santa Fé Trail and the Oregon Trail. The American frontiersmen had begun a profitable trade with the Spanish settlers in New Mexico before the middle 1820's. Every year a caravan of wagons, under the guidance of a capable leader, made a return trip from Independence to Santa Fé, carrying for sale hardware, cloth, needles and thread, and other articles highly prized on the frontier, and bringing back mules, furs, and gold and silver. After the Lewis and Clark expedition (1804-06) traders began to make journeys to Oregon, using different routes to reach their destination. By the 1830's, however, it was found that the Oregon Trail was the best route to the Northwest.

*Postal routes*

In the 1850's the Far West was brought in touch with the East by Federal mail routes. The first of these, established in the summer of 1850, extended from Independence to Santa Fé. The distance of eight hundred and fifty miles was usually covered in two weeks by coaches drawn by six mules and running day and night. Each had room for eleven passengers besides the driver and eight heavily armed men who acted as guards. The coaches "were beautifully painted and made watertight that they might be used as boats in crossing streams." Provision was also made for carrying the mail from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Salt Lake City.

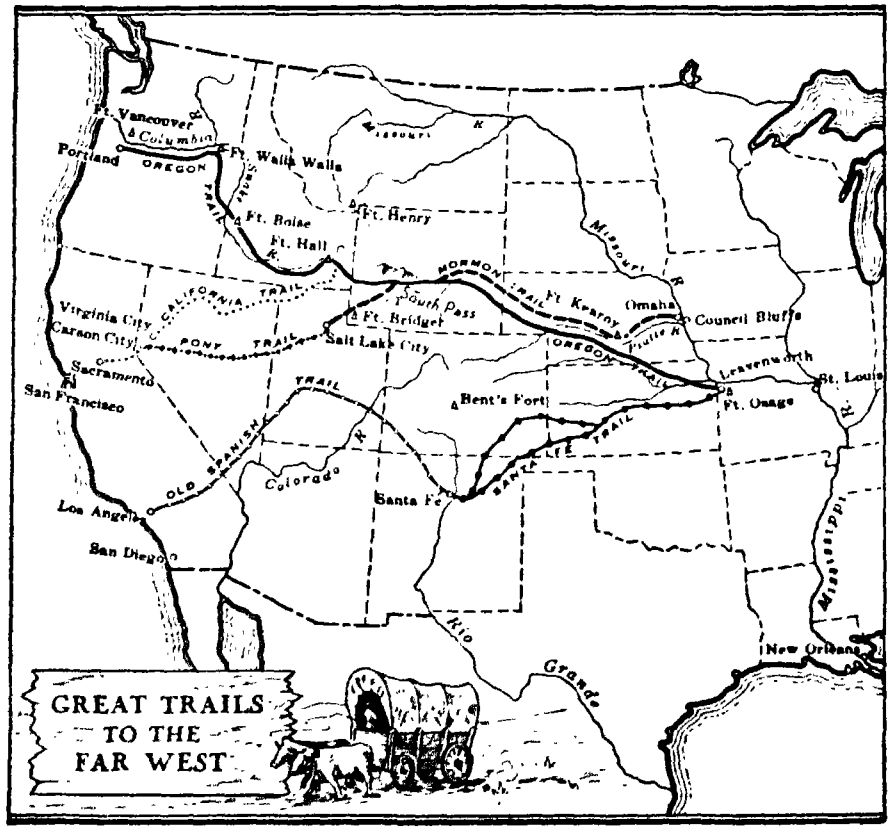
From 1858 on, the mail was sent regularly from two points on the


RAILROADS
IN OPERATION
IN 1850


RAILROADS
IN OPERATION
IN 1860

THE STAGECOACH.

Reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, from Charles H. Ambler's "History of Transportation in the Ohio Valley."



Mississippi (Memphis and St. Louis) to Los Angeles and San Francisco. From St. Louis to Tipton the pouches were carried by train and from there to Fort Smith by stagecoach. To this point too the mail was brought overland from Memphis. Leaving Fort Smith, the stage ran by a southern route to Los Angeles and then on to San Francisco. Other routes were soon opened which linked the East with the Far West.

*The Pony Express*

The overland mail to California went too slowly over these routes to meet the demands of this hurried age. Accordingly, the Pony Express was organized to provide a more rapid means of communication with the Far West. Beginning in 1860, letters and telegraphic messages were conveyed once a week each way by pony riders from St. Joseph to Sacramento, California. Along the line, ten or fifteen miles apart, there were stations at which the riders transferred themselves and their pouches to fresh ponies, which were awaiting them already bridled and saddled. The first trip from the Pacific Coast to St. Joseph was made in ten days and the last hundred miles in eight hours.

*The magnetic telegraph*

The means of communication were greatly improved by the invention of the magnetic telegraph. With the assistance of an appropriation by Congress, Samuel F. B. Morse constructed a telegraph line from Washington to Baltimore which was opened for use in June, 1844. Other lines were quickly put up and by 1860 there were 50,000 miles in operation. One was extended to San Francisco in 1861, and the Pony Express was discontinued

## INDUSTRY (1820-1860)

*Condition of manufactures in 1815*

While the Industrial Revolution in the United States had its beginning in the Restrictive Period (1807-1815),[1] it did not get well under way until the third decade of the nineteenth century. Many infant industries, which had sprung up behind the shelter of the virtual protection afforded by the commercial restrictions and the war, were forced to shut down when foreign goods were dumped upon the American market. This bad situation was aggravated by the panic of 1819. With the return of prosperity in 1823, manufacturing took on a new lease of life and continued to advance (except for interruptions by the panics of 1837 and 1857) until the end of this period. In 1860 the number of persons engaged in manufacturing in the United States was four times as large as it was in 1820, and the value of manufactured goods was probably more than eight times as great.

*Growth of manufactures after 1823*

*Reasons*

Of course, the use of machinery was the main factor in this rapid

[1] For the stimulus given manufacturing in the Restrictive Period, see p. 221.

expansion. There were, however, other conditions favorable to the American manufacturer which were not fully shared by his European competitor. One of these was the originality and inventiveness of the American worker. Workmen with a flair for mechanics can make more effective use of machines than can those who are not so endowed. The expense of transoceanic shipment added considerably to the cost of European goods and gave the American producer an advantage in the competition for the home market. This advantage was accentuated by American protective tariffs, although the increase in price of raw materials because of the tax on them served in some instances to offset this aid.

*The sewing machine*

Invention in the United States was stimulated by the patent laws, which gave inventors a monopoly of their inventions for a number of years. Of the American inventions which greatly aided the development of manufactures, the sewing machine was one of the most important of this period. It was invented by Elias Howe in 1846 and in a few years was improved by Isaac M. Singer and others. It was not only a great labor-saving device for the housewife, in that it relieved her of the tedium of hand-sewing, but it was also valuable in the manufacture of ready-made clothing. Because of an improvement added by McKay, the sewing machine could be used for stitching leather, thereby leading to the machine production of boots and shoes.

Other reasons for the development of manufactures were: the rapid growth in population; the expansion in railroad construction; the abrogation of the British corn laws; and the discovery of gold in California. When the English corn laws were repealed (1846) an excellent market for American grain was opened up. This brought prosperity to the farmers and increased their purchasing power for manufactured goods. The discovery of gold in California made money more plentiful and caused a continuous rise in prices. The general prosperity of the country also stimulated manufacturing. Wealth was pretty equally distributed, and the buying capacity of the masses gave a broad base to the home market.

### COMMERCIAL FARMING AND ANIMAL HUSBANDRY (1783-1860)

*Development of commercial farming in the nineteenth century; reasons*

The development of commercial farming and animal husbandry on an unprecedented scale was the outstanding characteristic of the history of American agriculture during the middle period with which we are here concerned. There was no country in the world with so many types of crops which could be produced on such a scale and sold upon the market. In the colonial period there had been a few outstanding money crops, notably tobacco, rice, indigo, and, to a

lesser extent, wheat. The raising of livestock for export—horses, cows, sheep, and swine—was also a source of considerable gain in the Southern and Middle colonies and was always a basic element in subsistence farming. It was not, however, until the nineteenth century that these staples attained great importance. In this latter period other money crops, such as hay and sugar, took their place alongside the older staples, and one of them, cotton, outranked them all as a cash product. The extensive production of so many money crops may be attributed to several basic causes: the existence of what seemed to be an inexhaustible supply of cheap, or free, rich lands capable of producing some or all of these staples; the expansion of domestic markets through the growth of the cities, particularly in the East; the opening of foreign markets;[1] the creation of cheap transportation, thus bringing the market closer to the producer; and the invention and manufacture of better farm implements and machinery.

*Improvement in farm implements*

The invention and manufacture of more efficient farm implements and machinery were partly the cause and partly the result of commercial farming. The fundamental tool in a more extensive agriculture—whether cotton, wheat, corn, or tobacco—was the improved type of plow. As has been noted, the plow used to break the land during colonial times was in no way superior to the one used in ancient times. Thomas Jefferson, a few years before the close of the eighteenth century, designed a plow on mathematical principles which had a moldboard or wing. From the time of Jefferson's contributions until 1830, more than one hundred and twenty patents were granted to inventors of plows; but the most important of them all was that of Jethro Wood of New York. Although these inventions had been known for several years, the new type plows did not come into general use until between 1820 and 1830. Quickly following the development of the steel and cast iron plow was the invention of iron harrows and cultivators.

*The new plow*

*The cotton gin*

The Industrial Revolution in England had created such a demand for cotton that a cheaper and more efficient method of cultivating the plant and separating the lint from the seed was necessary. Of the inventions that have had the greatest influence on cotton culture, the most important was that of the cotton gin, invented in 1793 by Eli Whitney. It soon enabled the Southern farmer to separate several hundred pounds of lint from the seed in the time heretofore taken

[1]The reopening of the British market to American grain was helped by the removal of restrictions on American trade with the British West Indies in 1830 as a result of a treaty negotiated between the United States and England, by the repeal of the British corn laws (1846); by the Irish famine in the late 1840's; and by the Crimean War (1853-1856).

in processing a few pounds. The result was that the Southern states dominated the world cotton market for over a hundred years.

*Implements used in the cultivation of sugar, grain, and hay*

In the production of sugar, iron and steel rollers were substituted for the old-fashioned wooden rollers in grinding the cane stalk; steam engines took the place of draft animals in propelling the cane mills; and vacuum pans outmoded the old open evaporators in making syrup and sugar. New implements used in the growing and harvesting of small grain and hay were the seed drill, gang plow, horse rake, and the mowing and reaping machines—first patented by Obed Hussey and Cyrus McCormick in 1833 and 1834, respectively—all mounted on wheels and ridden by the driver. Although the threshing machine was invented in 1786, it was not until about the middle of the nineteenth century that it came into general use in the United States. It was run by horse power, and the new process was a great improvement over the old method of beating out the grain with a flail or having it trodden out by horses. These mechanical appliances placed wheat, more than all other American crops, upon a mass production basis.

### AGRICULTURAL REFORM

*Exploitative nature of commercial farming*

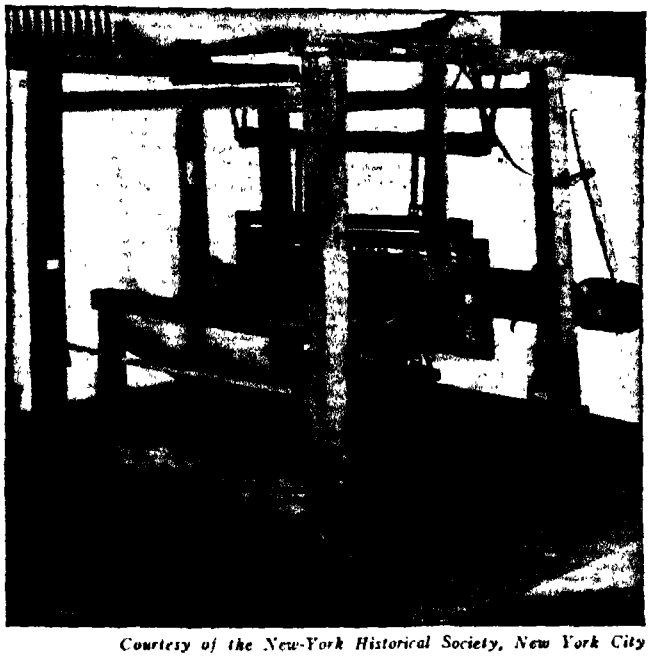
The one feature common to all commercial farming except truck farming and animal husbandry (sheep raising, horse and mule breeding, the raising of beef cattle, and dairy farming) was its exploitative nature. The presence of so much cheap land created a wasteful attitude toward the land, causing the American people to act much as if they thought that everything would last forever. The consequences of exploitation were first seen in the coastal area of the older states, particularly in Virginia and Maryland, where commercial farming had been highly developed in colonial times. Land which had been dark brown from the presence of humus began to grow a sickly yellow or red from sheet erosion and overcropping; or great red gulleys and scrub pines appeared in the old fields that had been cultivated so long. The yield of tobacco and grain began to decrease alarmingly. The natural pasturage derived from worn-out fields became less and less sustaining to the livestock. Toward the end of the eighteenth century thoughtful men became seriously perturbed over the blight which was spreading over the countryside in the older states. A movement was started, which gained volume and momentum, to restore the worn-out soil, save the fresh lands, breed better livestock, and introduce better methods of husbandry.

*Beginning of improved methods of agriculture*

Little was known at the end of the eighteenth century about the chemistry of soils and the essential elements of plant life; but great progress in soil conservation and renovation had been made in

*Courtesy of the Pullman Company*

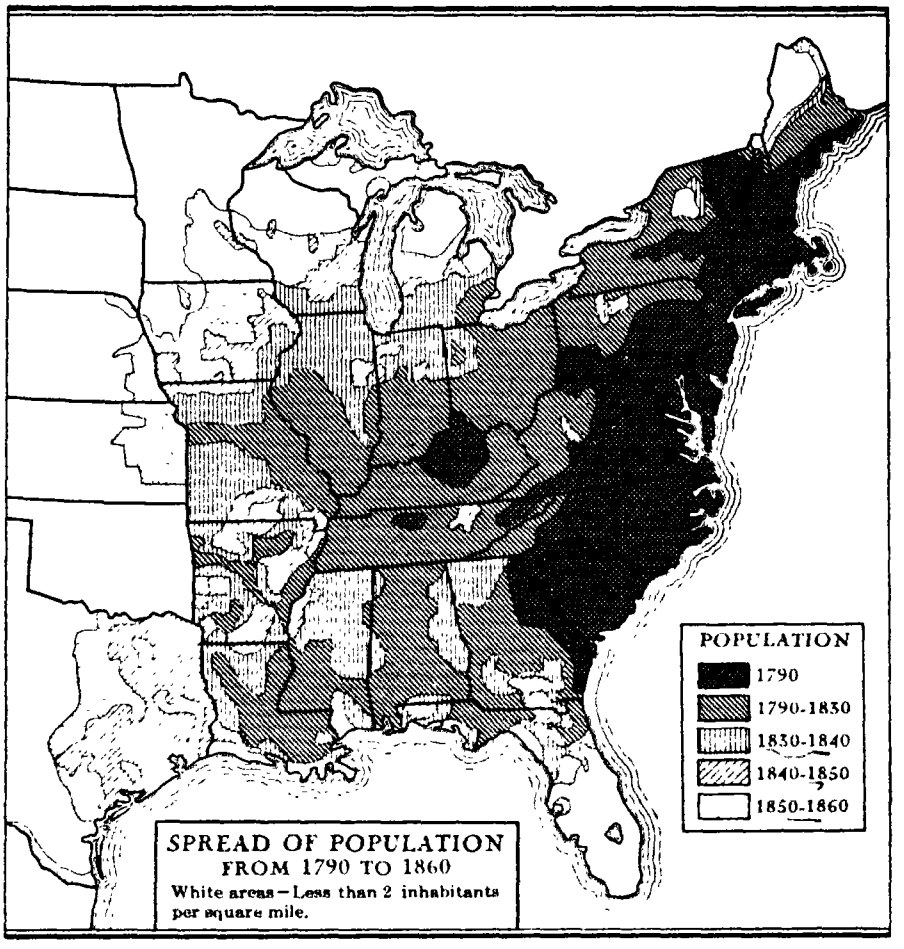
THE "FLYING DUTCHMAN."

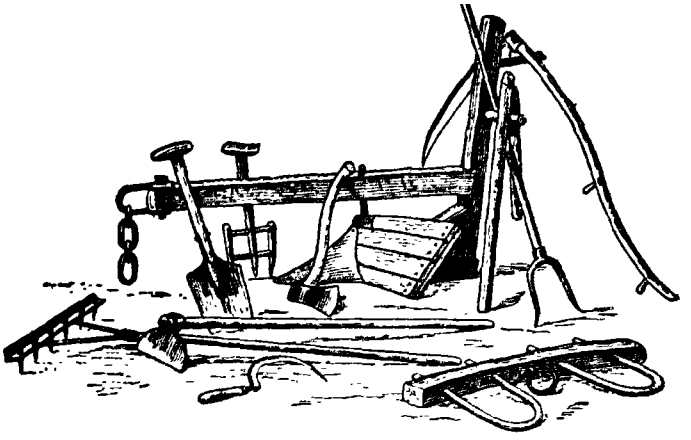


*Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City*

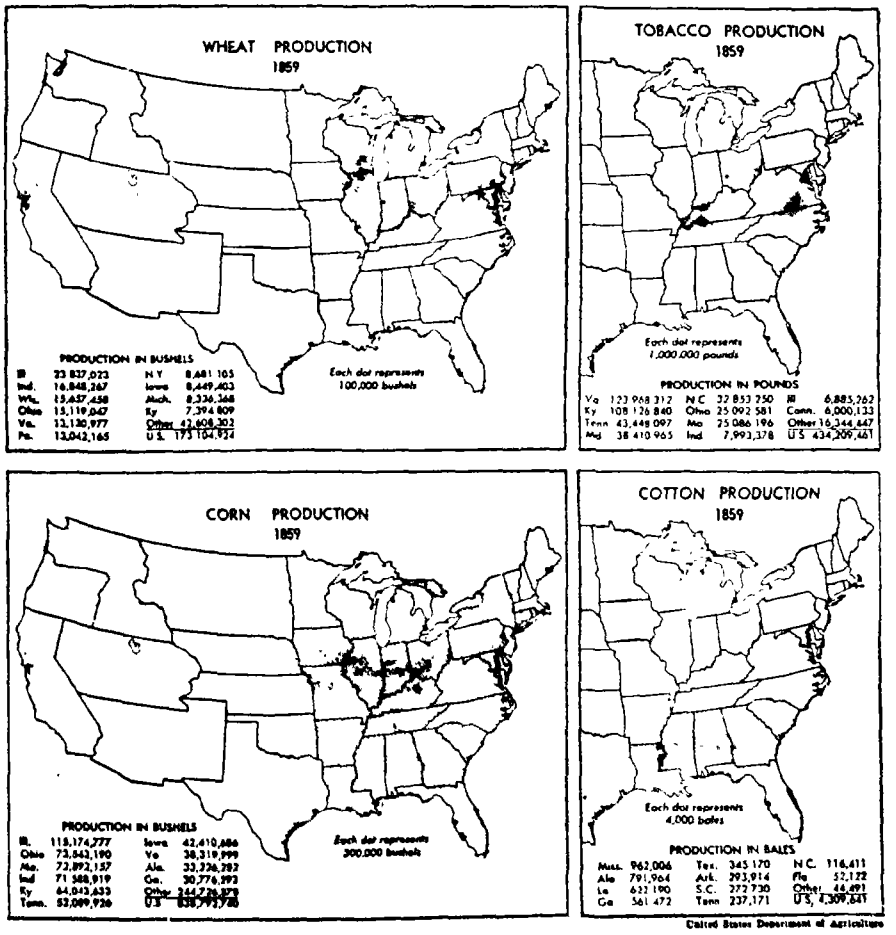
CLOTH LOOM.

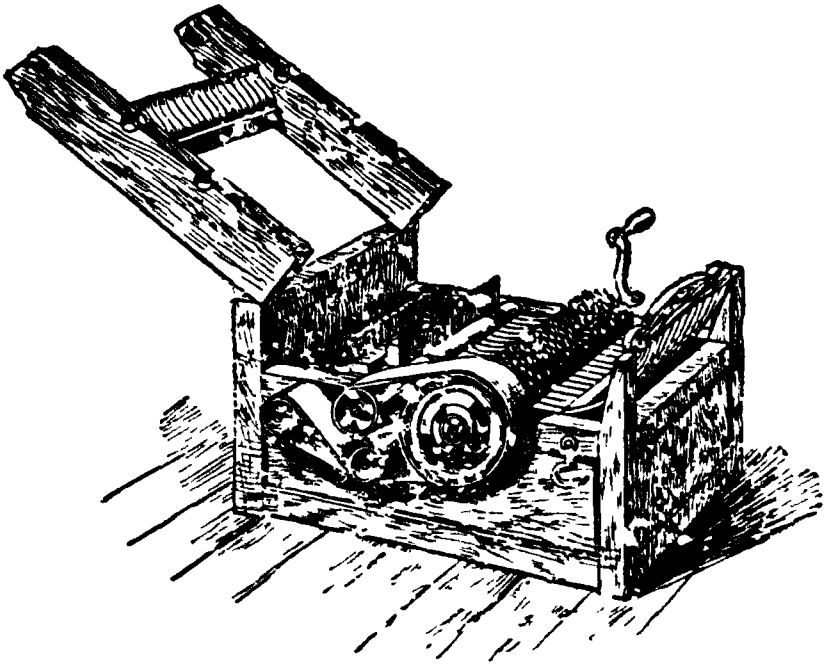
United States, early nineteenth century.
Mortise and tenon and pegged construction.


POPULATION
1790
1790-1830
1830-1840
1840-1850
1850-1860
SPREAD OF POPULATION
FROM 1790 TO 1860
White areas – Less than 2 inhabitants per square mile.



FARMING TOOLS, 1790.





Whitney's Cotton Gin

"A Cotton Plantation on the Mississippi"

From a Currier and Ives print

Europe by the process of trial and error. These practices were occasionally adopted in America in the latter half of the eighteenth century. In the Middle states and upper South, in particular, the use of clovers, animal manures, crushed limestone, lime sulphate, and marl, and the rotation of crops began before 1800 to receive attention from the more intelligent farmers under the leadership of several gentlemen farmers such as Richard Peters and Chancellor Robert Livingston of Pennsylvania, and Washington, Jefferson, and John Taylor, of Virginia. Agricultural societies sprang up everywhere, the chief function of which was to popularize the methods of the "New Farming," as already well established in Europe and just being tried out here and there in America.

*Knowledge of chemistry of plants and soils basis of scientific agriculture*

Although much knowledge of a practical nature was thus obtained, it was not until the basic principles of plant and soil chemistry were understood that agriculture could be put upon a scientific basis. Sir Humphrey Davy's lectures on the chemistry of soils, begun in 1803 and published in book form in 1813 under the title of *Elements of Agricultural Chemistry*, was the first work to become available to the agricultural leaders. It was this book and its later editions which formed the basis of the career of Edmund Ruffin in Virginia, perhaps the most outstanding scientific agronomist of the entire country in the ante-bellum period. A much broader and more accurate knowledge of soil and plant chemistry was made possible after the publication in 1841 of the American edition of Liebig's *Chemistry in its Application to Agriculture and Physiology* (1840).

*Farm journals and agricultural societies, 1840-1860*

The interest in scientific agriculture, as a means of increasing production and saving the land, resulted in the establishment of farm journals in every part of the country and the spread of agricultural societies from the old into the new states. These journals and societies sponsored agricultural fairs where the best agricultural products, the finest livestock, and the best farm tools were displayed. Scientific farming was also promoted by the agricultural schools which began to appear in the latter part of the ante-bellum period.

*Introduction of better breeds of livestock*

Alongside the development of a better knowledge of field husbandry was the rapid introduction of purebred livestock from Europe. The finest breeds of saddle and carriage horses had been brought over in colonial times, and other imported breeds were now added. Robert Livingston and David Humphreys, the ministers to France and Spain, respectively, brought over the first Merino sheep about 1802-1804. Washington had already introduced the Andalusian jack, which was soon to give rise to mule breeding, and between 1800 and 1840 most of the fine breeds of swine were imported from England—usually by gentleman farmers like Livingston and Jefferson.

However, it was chiefly after 1840 that the average American farmer became interested in building up the native breeds by crossing them with the imported strains.

*Agricultural reform in the South halted by the Civil War and Reconstruction*

By crop rotation, the use of animal manures, some commercial fertilizers, and clovers and grasses, deep plowing, and terracing and contour plowing, old land was improved, the destruction of new land retarded, and much of the bad effects of commercial farming eradicated, particularly in the older parts of the country where these effects were so much in evidence. But, as we shall see later, the great accomplishments of the agricultural reform were brought to naught in the South by the Civil War and Reconstruction, which impoverished the farm population and widely established the tenant system and a subsequent tendency toward the single crop system. On the other hand, scientific farming and scientific animal husbandry have gone forward in the North and Middle West with little interruption down to the present day.

## LAND TENURE

*Distribution of land ownership in the North*

During the period 1783-1860 the ownership of land in the North seems to have been fairly well distributed among the farm population, and the sizes of farms were usually medium or small. It has been estimated that farm ownership ranged from about 66 to 75 per cent of the total farm population in certain parts of the East. In other areas in the East, tenancy was very high. Considerable tenancy existed in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and even Iowa, at the end of the antebellum period; but the great quantity of cheap or free lands in the West enabled the bulk of farmers in that section to become landowners. By 1860 probably eighty per cent of the farmers in the more settled areas of the Northwest were landowners.

*Land ownership in the South*

In the South the bulk of the farm population consisted of small farmers, the greater proportion of whom owned their land. Eighty per cent of the farm population in the lower South and about seventy-five per cent in the upper South were landowners in 1860. About eighty per cent of the nonslaveholding landowners possessed up to 200 acres each, and twenty per cent from 200 to 1000 each. As to the slaveholders, about sixty per cent outside the Black Belt[1] and thirty-five per cent in the Black Belt owned less than 300 acres of land. Only about four per cent of the slaveholders had more than 2000 acres. The mass of Southern farmers, slaveholders and nonslaveholders, were plain, hardworking people.

*Sizes of farms and plantations*

[1] The Black Belt consisted of those portions of the South where the slave population outnumbered the whites, and where, as a rule, the land was fertile.

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2. The Turnpike Era.—J. A. Krout and D. R. Fox, *The Completion of Independence*, ch. 4.
3. The Cumberland Road.—A. H. Hulbert, *The Paths of Inland Commerce*, pp. 116-124; Seymour Dunbar, *A History of Travel in America* (1937 ed), ch. 33 (life and scenes on the Cumberland Road).
4. Early Taverns.—Seymour, *op. cit.*, ch. 13 (mostly on colonial period; interesting; pictures).
5. The Pennsylvania Canal.—Hulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-142.
6. The Erie Canal.—*Ibid.*, pp. 124-133.
7. Travel on the Canals.—Dunbar, *op. cit.*, ch. 38 (interesting).
8. The Invention of the Steamboat.—Holland Thompson, *The Age of Invention*, ch. 3; Hulbert, *op. cit.*, ch. 7; Dunbar, *op. cit.*, ch. 19 (pictures).
9. Dawn of the Railroad Age.—Hulbert, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-153; Dunbar, *op. cit.*, ch. 43.
10. The Clipper and Her Glory.—Ralph D. Paine, *The Old Merchant Marine*, ch. 9.
11. Invention of the Telegraph.—Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-146; Hart, *Contemporaries*, III, pp. 571-573 (interesting contemporary account of the first telegraph line).
12. Foreign Commerce and the Carrying Trade, 1783-1860.—Shannon, *Economic History of the People of the United States*, ch. 9.
13. Advance in Industry.—Thompson, *op. cit.*, ch. 4; A. C. Bining, *The Rise of American Economic Life*, pp. 239-263.
14. The Tariff and Protection, 1789-1861.—Shannon, *op. cit.*, ch. 10.
15. Eli Whitney and the Cotton Gin.—Thompson, *op. cit.*, ch. 2.
16. Agriculture in the Middle Period.—Bining, *op. cit.*, ch. 11 (pictures).
17. The Agricultural Revolution.—Thompson, *op. cit.*, ch. 5.

# CHAPTER XIX

# Labor, Immigration, and Reform (1815–1860)

## The Labor Movement

*Conditions which gave rise to the labor movement*

WHEREVER the Industrial Revolution has occurred, labor problems have emerged. The United States was no exception to this rule. The labor movement in this country, however, owed its origin not so much to the rise of the factory system as to a change in market conditions. When labor began to agitate for its rights, machinery was not predominant in industry but was confined mainly to the production of textiles. Besides, a large majority of the workers in factories were women and children.

Prior to 1820 most manufacturing was conducted on a small scale and under conditions similar to those of the colonial period. A master craftsman worked with a small group of apprentices and journeymen, sometimes in the home of the master. Under this system employer and employee were closely associated with each other, with no wide gulf, economic or social, separating them. There was little occasion for disputes over hours of labor or working conditions. The small output of goods was disposed of in the community on order.

In the 1820's the market for manufactured goods began to expand because of the growth of population, the improvements in the means of transportation, and the development of the West. Production on a large scale now became possible. This created an opportunity for a middleman between manufacturer and consumer—the merchant capitalist. The latter bought the products and disposed of them at wholesale. By controlling the price paid he brought master craftsmen and their workers under his control. The economic independence formerly enjoyed by the master and shared by his assistants was now lost. To meet the keen competition growing out of the new conditions, the master felt compelled to press down upon his workers. It was as a protest against this new situation that the labor movement was started.

*Effect of the Industrial Revolution*

In the meantime the factory system was advancing and the number of laborers was increasing, but the Industrial Revolution in the United States did not effect such a violent shock to the social order as it did in England. The application of machinery to industry was gradual and did not cause any serious dislocation of the old household industries. The American people had been accustomed to buy most of their manufactures from abroad, and therefore the number of workers which were supplanted by machines was not large.

*Working conditions*

There were, however, some evils connected with the introduction of machinery and the growth of towns around the mills. Laborers were crowded into cramped areas with poor housing conditions. Hours were long—from sunrise to sunset—and wages inadequate to maintain a high standard of living. As already observed, a large majority of the workers were women and children. This work kept these children out of school and confined them in dark factories at an age when they needed sunshine and play. The women who were employed in the New England factories seem to have been treated fairly well by their employers. Daughters of farmers from the neighboring countryside came to these mills to earn wages for a few years before marrying and settling down in their homes. An English traveler, who visited the mills at Lowell in 1854, reported that the young women employed there were admirably provided for. They had good food, well-furnished, airy bedrooms, and the use of a large living room in which they could entertain callers.

Despite this favorable view, the conditions under which these young women worked were far from ideal. The hours were long—thirteen hours in summer and from daylight to dark in winter. Their daily tasks were performed in rooms which were poorly ventilated and ill-regulated as to heat; their meals were eaten hurriedly on account of the short time allowed for them; and in the boarding-houses their quarters were too cramped to afford sufficient privacy.

*Older grievances of labor*

In addition to the hardships resulting from the Industrial Revolution, workers had certain other grievances, some of which were leftovers from the colonial period. The children of poor laborers could attend the schools without paying tuition, but in most sections of the country only at the price of being branded as paupers. Employees were frequently paid in bank notes which were not worth face value. The laws did not give them a first lien on the products of their labor, and lawyers' fees were so high that the courts of justice were almost closed to the poorer class. The militia laws were enforced in such a way as to relieve wealthy men of militia duty by the payment of a fine, whereas the poor laborer had no such way of escape.

By the time Andrew Jackson came to the Presidency most of the

*The "Workingmen's" Party*

states had broadened the suffrage so as to enfranchise the laboring class. Politicians now began to court the influence of this class, and consequently the workers tried to gain their rights by political action. A "Workingmen's" Party was formed in Philadelphia in 1828, and in a little while similar parties sprang up in all the seaboard states north of Maryland. They nominated candidates for local offices and for Congress and conducted newspaper propaganda in favor of the rights of labor. The party, however, was never organized on a national basis, since the reforms demanded by it required state action. The Workingmen's Party did not last long, and its membership was absorbed in the main by the Democratic Party. Most of the reforms advocated by it were afterwards carried out by Federal or state legislation.

*The demands of labor*

One of the most persistent of the demands of labor was a ten-hour day. After a successful strike in Philadelphia in 1835, involving seventeen occupations, acceptance of this demand was won in that city. President Van Buren gave strong moral support to the reform by decreeing (1840) a ten-hour day for Federal workers. In 1847 New Hampshire enacted a ten-hour law for factory operatives, and in five years five other states had adopted the same policy. Other reforms demanded by labor included the abolition of imprisonment for debt, universal education, abolition of chartered monopolies, equal taxation, revision or abolition of the militia system, a less expensive legal system, election of all officers directly by the people, a lien law for laborers, and freedom from legislation on religion.

*Extent to which labor was organized prior to 1820*

Prior to 1820 no serious efforts were made to unionize labor in the United States. Workmen's organizations had been formed in various trades, but they were mostly for benevolent purposes. There had even been occasional strikes, but no well-organized movement in favor of labor had been attempted. Although there was a considerable rise in wages immediately after the Revolutionary War, the workingman was still not getting his just deserts, considering the prosperous condition of the country. He was not in a good position to make a successful fight for his rights. The workers did not constitute a large or influential class and were not class conscious. Few, if any, of them expected to remain laborers all their lives. Under such conditions a strong permanent labor organization could not be effected.

*The labor movement in the 1820's and 1830's*

In the 1820's, however, conditions began to change, and in this and the succeeding decade labor awoke and made an effort to gain recognition of its rights. These efforts took the form of trades-unions and were confined mainly to skilled workmen. In 1827 a union was formed in Philadelphia made up of carpenters, glaziers, painters, bricklayers, and members of other crafts. A similar general union was

formed in New York City in 1833, and by 1835 there were in most of the larger industrial centers general unions representing the various trades of the entire city. In 1834 these organizations sent delegates to a national convention, a body not unlike the later American Federation of Labor.

Attempts were also made to organize the individual trades on a national basis. A national cordwainers' union was established in 1836 and other crafts soon followed this example. This stage of labor organization came to an end with the depression that started in 1837. With mills closed and unemployment widespread, labor was in no position to continue its fight.

*Effect of communistic experiments on the labor movement*

In the 1840's, interest in the labor movement was merged in the general feeling of humanitarianism which characterized that decade. The experiment of Robert Owen at New Harmony and the phalanges advocated by Fourier were attempts to better the condition of the laborers (see pp. 327 f.). A number of communistic settlements were begun, all of which proved unsuccessful. Since the idealists had failed to lead the laboring man to Utopia, he fell back upon a policy of realism.

*Organization of labor in the later period*

After an abortive effort to establish co-operatives, the laborer accepted as the plan for his protection the labor union of the modern type, with the use of the strike and the boycott as weapons. When the depression following the panic of 1837 was over, a period of prosperity set in, which lasted until 1857. During this time, especially the latter half, prices were soaring and the cost of living was high, but the increase in wages was greater than the rise in prices. In addition to this improvement in his economic status, the workingman had secured most of the social reforms for which he had been agitating. Notwithstanding these gains, however, labor unions were formed and strikes were carried out. These were mostly of a local character, and only four trades had been organized on a national basis by 1860.

## IRISH AND GERMAN IMMIGRATION (1820-1860)

*Increase in immigration to the United States after 1820, reasons*

During the first four decades after the Revolution the number of foreigners who landed on American shores was comparatively small, and those who came were mostly from the British Isles. Beginning in 1820, the stream of immigration gradually increased during the next third of the century, until it was checked by the panic of 1857.

Improvements in the means of ocean transportation facilitated the moving of the vast throng from the old world to the new. The marvelous prosperity in this country (except during periods of depression) made a strong appeal to Europeans who were dissatisfied with political, economic, and social conditions in the homeland. They

were informed of the opportunities in the United States by letters received from their friends and relatives there. These "America Letters" pictured in vivid colors a land of plenty where an honest laborer was respected, where he enjoyed full liberty, and where he had the opportunity by work and thrift to become prosperous. To a humble European peasant who had difficulty in eking out a scant livelihood for his family and who was accustomed to indignities from his social superiors and restraints on his freedom of action, such a country seemed a veritable Promised Land.

*Irish immigration; reasons*

Of the foreigners who migrated to the United States during this period (1820-1860), the Irish and the Germans were by all odds the most numerous. As has already been seen, there had been a large immigration of Scotch-Irish to the American colonies in the eighteenth century. There were also Celtic Irish here in colonial days, and they continued to come in after the Revolution. It was not until the 1820's, however, that they began to arrive in considerable numbers. The inflow kept on increasing until it totaled more than nine hundred thousand during the decade of the 1850's. There were a number of reasons to account for this persistent exodus from Ireland. The Irish were chafing under English domination and at times broke out in revolt against the restraints on their liberties. They also resented their exploitation by absentee landlords and the restrictions on their rights and privileges as loyal adherents of the Catholic Church. These grievances caused a rising tide of emigration, which reached its flood in the time of the famine of 1846-1847. The potato crop was a partial failure in 1845 and a complete failure the two succeeding years. As potatoes were the chief article of food for the masses, one quarter of the population was swept away by hunger and disease. The one way of escape from this awful plight was emigration to America.

*The Irish become day laborers*

The Irish peasant did not immediately resume his occupation of tilling the soil in the new world. He did not have enough capital to become an independent farmer in the old settlements or to pay his way to the West. He therefore became a day laborer and found employment near the port of debarkation. Fortunately his services were much in demand for the construction of turnpikes, canals, and railroads, and he was the chief reliance for this heavy work. When the project on which he was working was completed, he settled down in a near-by city, where he usually became a common laborer, or in a rural community, where he established himself as a farmer.

*Opposition to the Irish; reasons*

It was not long before the Irish immigrant began to meet with difficulties in his new home. Although he was kind and agreeable when in a good humor, he became combative and self-assertive when

he felt that his personal dignity had been infringed. Furthermore, this combativeness was too often stimulated by an intemperate use of alcoholic liquors. He was thus drawn into quarrels more frequently than was good for his reputation as a law-abiding citizen. The Irish generally congregated in certain localities in the cities and developed clannish customs. They usually voted as a unit and thus had a strong voice in politics. Some of them soon developed great ability for political leadership and were able to exert a controlling influence over their fellow countrymen. In this way the Irish immigrant lent himself to machine politics. His religion also gave trouble since he was an ardent Catholic and the native stock had a strong prejudice against Catholics. But the greatest cause of opposition to the Irish was their willingness to work for low wages. They could live more parsimoniously than could the American workers, and the latter could not successfully compete with them without lowering their standard of living.

*German immigration after 1820, reasons*

The stream of German immigration, which was so strong in the eighteenth century, slackened after the Revolution. It began to flow again in 1820 and by 1830 had assumed large proportions. The number of immigrants each year grew constantly in size until it reached a total of a million and a quarter during the period between 1845 and 1860.

The causes of this great transfer of population were both economic and political. Many people found it hard to make a comfortable adjustment to the new economic order brought in by the Industrial Revolution. This difficulty was aggravated by the shortsighted policy of petty German rulers who were more inclined to exploit their people than to promote their prosperity. The passing of the regime of Napoleon had left in Germany as elsewhere a good deal of political dissatisfaction. There was a strong element which clamored for constitutional government and the unification of Germany. An uprising in favor of these objectives occurred in 1830 and a more important one in 1848. Both of these efforts were crushed by the conservatives, and the old regime continued for a while undisturbed. Because of these failures many liberals were unhappy and lost hope for the success of their cause in the homeland. Some of them, therefore, emigrated to the United States, where liberal views were accepted as commonplace opinion.

*German settlers as farmers*

The German immigrants of this period usually had sufficient funds to begin farming on their arrival in the new country. Accordingly, they did not stop in the seaboard cities but moved on to the interior. The greater portion of them went to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Some became artisans in the Western cities, but

most of them took to farming. By hard work and Spartan economy they were soon able to gain possession of valuable farms. On these were erected large barns for their stock, while during the early years their families were lodged in small log houses. It was not long, however, until log cabins were supplanted by comfortable frame dwellings and the farm lands took on an air of prosperity.

*Their cultural and political ideals*

The German immigrants brought with them the customs and cultural ideals of the homeland. Many of them had a higher appreciation of art and music than did their American neighbors. Because of this quality they were able to make a much-needed contribution to the spiritual ideals of the West, and in so doing aided in the process of toning down the rawness in frontier life. Their educational ideas were also often in advance of those of their neighbors. Unfortunately, however, some of their customs clashed with the practices and prejudices of the native American stock. The Westerners in general were still adhering to many of the Puritanical principles which they had inherited from their New England and Southern ancestors. Serious-minded native Westerners, therefore, looked with marked disapproval upon the fondness of the Germans for beer and their laxity in observing the Sabbath. The sentimental attachment of the German settlers for the institutions of the fatherland was not mixed with any disloyalty to their adopted country. They were not Fifth Columnists; on the contrary, they were in agreement with the political system of this country and many of them were antagonistic to that of their native land, having left home for that reason. Some of them became leaders in liberal movements in their adopted country.

*Hostility to foreigners*

The coming of the foreigners in such large numbers was regarded by some of the American people as a menace to their ideals and institutions. It revived the old fear of the political power of Catholicism and aroused the latent hostility to foreigners. The antialien feeling was directed mainly against the Irish, although it extended in some degree to all classes of immigrants. This antagonism sometimes found expression in mob violence. The opposition to aliens also gave rise to

*The American, or "Know-Nothing," Party*

political agitation against them. Since the old parties were not willing to incur the ill feeling of the Irish by declaring against them, the antiforeign movement was carried on by independent political groups, which were active from time to time, beginning as early as the middle 1830's. By 1852 this movement had become widespread, and for four years played an important role in national politics under the name of the American, or "Know-Nothing," Party. This third party had grown out of a secret society known as "The Supreme Order of the Star-Spangled Banner," which had a grip, pass words, and the other mysteries and ceremonies characteristic of fraternal

orders. When a member was inquired of as to the principles of the society, he would always answer, "I know nothing." Hence the name "Know-Nothing" Party. This secret organization advocated more rigid immigration and naturalization laws, the deportation of alien paupers, and the limitation of officeholding to native Americans of the Protestant faith.

*Growth of population*

Partly as a result of the inflow of immigrants the population increased rapidly from 1820 to 1860. In 1820 it was 9,638,453; by 1830 it had increased 33.5 per cent; by 1840 it had gone beyond the seventeen million mark; and for each of the next two decades the rate of increase was more than 35.5 per cent. By 1860 the total population had reached 31,443,321.

During these four decades the rate of increase of population had been about twice as high for the cities as for the rural areas. The South did not keep pace with the rest of the country in growth of population, because comparatively few of the immigrants settled in this region. There were not many manufacturing plants in the South to attract hired laborers, and would-be farmers from foreign countries disliked slavery and felt that the small farmer was put at a social and economic disadvantage in competing with the large planter using slave labor. Also, the North and West offered him the type of field crops which he was accustomed to cultivate.

## HUMANITARIANISM AND REFORM

*Circumstances favorable to reform*

During the greater part of the period from the War of 1812 to the War for Southern Independence, the United States was blessed with peace and prosperity. The only break in peace was the Mexican War, and the only interruptions in prosperity were those caused by periodic panics. Such conditions were most favorable for the rise and growth of humanitarianism. The tendency toward altruism was stimulated by the intellectual renaissance and by influences from abroad. Hence during the three decades preceding the Civil War there was considerable agitation in favor of reform. Earnest, and in some instances effective, efforts were made to better the condition of the unfortunate and the underprivileged.

*Changes in debtor laws and the criminal code*

One such reform was an improvement in the laws against debtors. The old practice of imprisonment for debt was continued from colonial days, and at the time of Jackson's accession (1829) about seventy-five thousand persons each year were thrown into prison for debt. This practice worked a severe hardship on the members of the laboring class because many of them were imprisoned for small debts. The workingmen's parties, as well as the philanthropists, therefore strongly urged a repeal of these unjust debtor laws.

*Prison reform*

The new Western states took the lead in this reform, and their constitutions generally forbade imprisonment for debt except in cases of refusal of a debtor to surrender his property to his creditors. In the older states, too, debtor laws were gradually changed until imprisonment for debt was virtually abolished. Other desired changes in the criminal code were also introduced. The severity of the penalties for crime was mitigated, and the number of capital offenses was reduced. Improvement was also made in the treatment of prisoners. The idea that prisons should be used for reformation as well as punishment gradually gained in favor.

*Dorothea L. Dix*

Prominent among those who advocated prison reform was Dorothea L. Dix of Massachusetts. She also urged with great earnestness a better method of caring for paupers and the insane. With a New England conscience animated by the Quaker religion, she had a spiritual equipment which well fitted her for the role of reformer. She appeared before state legislatures and induced them to make appropriations in support of her cherished reforms. Effective appeals were also made to the philanthropic instincts of the wealthy. As a result of her endeavors, many old insane asylums were reorganized and many new ones were built. Furthermore, numerous jails and almshouses were constructed and run in accordance with the reform ideas.

*The peace movement*

World peace was one of the objectives of some of the reformers. A few peace societies were organized as early as 1815. In 1828 was formed the American Peace Society consisting of representatives from about fifty local societies. This national organization advocated the establishment of an international congress which, meeting periodically, would codify international law and create a world court for deciding controversies between nations.

In the meantime a similar movement had started in England. The merging of these two plans was signalized by the meeting in London in 1843 of a universal peace congress, at which thirty-seven American delegates were present. Five years later an international peace congress was held at Brussels, at which the American plan was endorsed. International congresses were held frequently thereafter, and the peace movement seemed to be advancing promisingly until it was seriously checked by the Crimean War and the War for Southern Independence.

*Temperance reform*

Another reform advocated in this period was that of temperance. At the end of the first third of the nineteenth century the American people were still freely indulging the appetite for strong drink which had come down to them from their ancestors of the colonial era. Drinking was common among both men and women, although intox-

ication among the latter was very unusual. In 1826, societies whose members were pledged to abstain from the use of liquor began to appear in Boston. So rapidly did these organizations spread that in five years there were more than a thousand of them. By 1833 the local groups were federated into a national organization. The movement made the greatest headway in the North and Northwest, sections in which the New England influence was strong. It did not, however, make much progress in the South.

*Methods of agitation*

The agitation was carried on by means of lectures, pictures, and books and other printed materials. The main arguments advanced were the evil effects of alcohol on the health and efficiency of the drinker and the harm done to his immortal soul by a sinful practice. Most of the religious denominations supported the propaganda, and many of the speakers were ministers. After 1840 the principal lecturers were reformed drunkards. Many of these cheapened the cause by their tawdry efforts at self-advertisement; but some of them, notably John B Gough, were sincere and eloquent speakers who could bring from the storehouse of their own experience unanswerable arguments against intemperance. Some of the outstanding writers of the day also helped in the literary campaign against liquor. The most famous of the books on temperance was *Ten Nights in a Barroom* (1854). When it was dramatized it vied in popularity with *Uncle Tom's Cabin.*

*Neal Dow and the Maine Law*

The advocates of temperance after a while decided to take their fight into the realm of government. These reformers argued that the addicts of drink should be delivered from the liquor habit by legal action. The next step therefore was the restriction or prohibition by law of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Neal Dow of Maine took the lead in this phase of the movement. Because of his influence Maine passed (1846) the first state prohibition law ever enacted in this country. In the next ten years a dozen other states in the North and West had followed Maine's example.

*Results of the temperance movement*

The results of the temperance movement were on the whole very beneficial. By the end of the 1850's drinking had virtually ceased among women except in the higher social circles and there it very seldom went to excess. There was also considerably less drinking among men than there had ever been before in this country.

*Communist experiments*

As was to be expected, the spirit of reform led to experiments in the social order. Of these one of the earliest and most noted was the one made (1825) at New Harmony, Indiana, by Robert Owen, a Scottish cotton manufacturer. Here a large tract of land was bought, and a co-operative community was established. Although this experiment was not successful, its failure did not stop the search for

panaceas. In the 1840's alone more than forty attempts were made to establish communistic settlements. The inspiration for these efforts was the Utopian philosophy of Charles Fourier, a French Socialist.

*The suffrage revolt in Rhode Island*

As has already been seen (see p. 253), a movement in favor of political democracy was in progress throughout the country at the accession of Andrew Jackson (1829), and in time the trend became general in favor of virtual manhood suffrage for whites. One of the last of the states to accept a broadening of the suffrage was Rhode Island, which until 1841 was still using its colonial charter as a constitution. Under this conservative plan of government more than half of the adult males were deprived of the right to vote, and there was no provision in the charter for its revision. In response to the great demand for change, the people, under the leadership of Thomas W. Dorr, took the situation in hand and called a constitutional convention (1841). This convention framed a constitution which provided for manhood suffrage. The procedure was irregular, and the old government did not recognize its legality. The new government was set up, however, with Dorr as governor. There was a clash between the two governments and the insurgents were defeated, but the victors had the good sense to make concessions to the malcontents by broadening the suffrage (1843).

*Grievances of women*

The advance in democracy throughout the country did not alter the political status of women and they were everywhere denied the right of suffrage. There were also certain legal discriminations against them. At marriage the husband acquired title to his wife's personal property and the right to manage her real estate. He also had the authority to punish her if he saw fit—and was able to do so. He was the guardian of the children and by will could make arrangements for their control after his death. From these laws it would seem that the father was a miniature despot in the home. This was far from the case, however. These powers were more theoretical than actual, and few heads of families could or would exercise them in a tyrannical way. Women occupied a high place in society, and the respect usually accorded them by public sentiment almost always served as a shield against any real mistreatment. In no country in the world was the position of women more enviable. For these reasons (the law to the contrary notwithstanding) the actual government of the household was probably vested in the mother as often as in the father.

*Leading agitators for women's rights*

A number of the reformers were women. It was only natural that in their program for social betterment should be included the redress of their own grievances. The class consciousness of the feminist leaders was aroused by Frances Wright, a brilliant and attractive

young Scottish woman who visited America in 1818. Besides supporting numerous other "isms," she was an ardent advocate of women's rights. Soon leaders among American women arose to carry the torch which had been lighted by the beautiful Scottish visitor. Prominent among these were Lucretia Mott, Susan B. Anthony, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. In furtherance of the cause there was held a woman's rights convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. At this meeting there was adopted a platform of principles, which declared "that all men and women are created equal," and demanded that men and women be made equal before the law and granted equal opportunities in education and business and the right of suffrage.

*Platform of the women's organization*

The women's organization waged a persistent fight for these objectives, and while in this period women did not win a complete victory, they succeeded in gaining some of their demands. Prior to 1860, laws granting to married women the right to control their own property were enacted in a number of states. Schools for the higher education of women were established, and girls were admitted to a few colleges and one state university before the Civil War. For the privilege of voting, however, they had to wait until a later day.

*Reforms secured prior to 1860*

## THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT (1783-1860)

At the end of the colonial period there were slaves in all the Original Thirteen Colonies. But the liberal philosophy behind the Revolution, which is embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the bills of rights of the states, was in conflict with the practice of slavery. This sentiment was reflected in state legislation limiting or forbidding the importation of slaves, and in the Association, or nonintercourse agreement, voted by the First Continental Congress, which contained a provision prohibiting the bringing in of any more slaves. Because of these restrictions the importation of blacks from Africa was brought almost to an end during the Revolutionary period. It was due largely to this liberal philosophy that slavery was excluded from the Northwest Territory and the slave trade was prohibited by an act of Congress (effective 1808).

*Effect of the Revolution on the slave trade*

The liberal philosophy of the Revolution, combined with the unprofitableness of slavery, resulted in a policy of gradual or immediate abolition in all the Northern states. The same philosophical and economic motives operated strongly in the South at this time, and many slaves were granted their freedom. In Virginia alone the number of slaves emancipated in eight years was equal to the whole slave population of Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1775. The proportion of slaves to freemen in the South was so great, however,

*Emancipation in the North and reasons for its failure in the South*

that the emancipation of all the blacks would have imposed upon the whites an economic burden which they did not feel able to bear. The race problem resulting from freeing slaves seemed even more serious than the economic burden. For this reason the most liberal advocates, like Jefferson, favored emancipation only upon the condition that the freemen be colonized outside the country—preferably in Africa. They feared that a large proportion of the Negroes, when released from the restraints and supervision of slavery, would lapse into crime or pauperism and thus become a burden on, or a menace to, society, since they had not had the opportunity to develop the initiative and self-discipline needed for the responsibilities of freedom. But if the blacks could be taken away from the South when freed, one serious objection to emancipation would be met. It was with the hope of removing this barrier that the American Colonization Society was founded.

*The American Colonization Society*

This society was organized in Washington in 1816. Its membership included many of the leading Southerners of the day, such as Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John Randolph, and Chief Justice Marshall. The object of the society was to promote the colonization of free Negroes in Africa. In 1820, eighty six Negroes were sent to Africa, and two years later Liberia was founded on the west coast. The American Colonization Society started out under very favorable auspices. The national organization was supported by many state societies, two of which, those of Maryland and Virginia, were aided by state appropriations. Other state legislatures, in both the North and the South, expressed approval of the plan, and the Federal government maintained a friendly attitude toward it. Despite these favoring influences, however, the movement was doomed to failure from the beginning unless a more accessible territory could be acquired. The distance to Liberia was so great as to make virtually prohibitive the cost of colonization on any considerable scale. Besides, most of the settlers after their arrival were unable to cope with the torrid climate and the diseases bred by it. Only 1162 Negroes were landed in Africa during the first decade (1820-1830), and the greater portion of these died within a few years.

*Effect of the invention of the cotton gin and the abolition crusade*

Later developments soon undermined the Southern emancipation sentiment. The invention of the cotton gin and the opening of the rich lands of the Southwest, as well as the spread of cotton culture into the Piedmont section of the seaboard states of the Southeast, had greatly increased the demand for more slaves after the War of 1812. The increased value of slaves resulting from this greater demand

THE DRUNKARDS PROGRESS.

THE HERMITAGE

PART OF THE HERMITAGE SLAVE QUARTER, 1889

ANOTHER PART OF THE HERMITAGE QUARTER, 1928

*Mansion and Cabins on the Savannah*

naturally caused slavery to be looked upon with more favor than when it had been less profitable.

*Types of antislavery movements*

Another cause of this change in sentiment in the South was the propaganda against slavery carried on by the Northern "free-soilers" and abolitionists. In the North there grew up a new antislavery movement which was very aptly termed a "crusade" by the leaders of the movement itself. Those who participated in the agitation were not all of one mind or of one purpose, but on one thing were they agreed: the ending of the influence or, as they put it, "the domination," of the "slave power." The "emancipationists" —weak in influence and rarely heard after 1830—would end it by gradual emancipation with compensation to owners and the colonization of the freemen. The "free-soilers" would lessen or destroy the power of the slaveholding section by closing all Federal territories to slavery so that no more slave states would be created. The abolitionists would effect the same result by the immediate and uncompensated emancipation by the national government of all slaves, without any regard to costs or consequences.

*Two principal classes of abolitionists*

The most aggressive of the antislavery groups was that of the abolitionists. These arch-opponents of slavery were divided into several categories, although as time passed they all tended to fuse into one body. In general, they may be considered as falling into two classes, those who were radical in their views and activities and those who were mild and philosophic. The latter argued against slavery upon the basis of abstract moral and political principles and made little use at first of sectional advantages or prejudices. Their appeal was directed *to* rather than *against* the Southern slaveholder. The radical abolitionists accepted the philosophical and moral principles of the mild abolitionists but dramatized them and clothed them in forms that would appeal to the emotions, the prejudices, and the sectional advantage of the Northern people. They did not appeal *to* the Southern people, but *against* them, directing their appeal to persons in the North and wherever possible to the Negro slaves themselves.

*Two groups of radical abolitionists*

For convenience the radical abolitionists may be divided into two groups: the Eastern, which was dominated by William Lloyd Garrison and other New England leaders; and the Western, under the leadership of Theodore Weld, Charles G. Finney, and James G. Birney. The former constituted the left wing and the latter the right wing of the body. The Western, or Weld, group favored political action as a means toward accomplishing its aims and took an active part in elections, frequently tipping the scales in favor of

certain candidates. The Eastern group advocated a policy of nonparticipation in any kind of political activity, but at the same time demanded that the Federal government abolish slavery without compensation. It gave its approval to the exclusion of slavery from the territories by Federal action and advocated the secession of the nonslaveholding states should they fail to obtain the abolition of slavery.

*William Lloyd Garrison*

The leader of the more radical Eastern group was William Lloyd Garrison. In 1831 he established *The Liberator*, which for a third of a century was the most violent of all the antislavery journals. He spoke as well as wrote against slavery. In 1832 he organized the New England Antislavery Society, and in December of the following year the Garrison and the Weld-Finney-Birney groups organized the American Antislavery Society at Philadelphia with Beriah Green as president. Local societies were now quickly formed and by 1840 they numbered about two thousand. So bitter was Garrison's opposition to slavery that in later years he became hostile to the Constitution and government of the United States because both recognized and permitted slavery. At the head of *The Liberator* was placed the statement that "the compact which exists between the North and the South is a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." In 1854 he went so far as to burn publicly a copy of the Constitution, uttering loudly this imprecation: "So perish all compromisers with tyranny!"

*Abolitionist pamphlets*

These extreme views were not shared by a majority of the abolitionists, who came more and more under the leadership of Theodore Weld and James G. Birney. Many of their prominent leaders did not accept the theory that the Constitution was proslavery and therefore they made no attack on it. On the contrary Weld and his associates took an active part in political campaigns. They were also most active in creating opposition to slavery in the North and West by their pamphleteering and their petition campaign. At the same time, just as Garrison was doing with *The Liberator*, they aroused the fear and anger of the South by distributing antislavery pamphlets in that section. By the use of these tracts the abolitionists could hurl incendiary bombs into the camp of the enemy without being subject to a return fire. In these circulars slaveholders were held up as brutal tyrants and the slaves as innocent victims of the most cruel barbarities. Masters were represented as beating their slaves with hundreds of lashes, knocking out their teeth with clubs, and cropping off their ears for purposes of identification. According to some of these accusations, Negroes were thrown to the bloodhounds and chewed; had turpentine, red pepper, and vinegar rubbed into their wounds;

were not given enough clothes to protect them from the weather; and were systematically starved and forbidden religious instruction. The Southern people strenuously objected to the use of the postal system as a means for this dangerous propaganda. They contended that such a use of the mails made an agency of the United States government a party to a cruel and dangerous slander of their section. Not only did the Southerners object to this slanderous misrepresentation, but they, like all self-respecting people, resented as officious meddling the attempts of outsiders to show them how to run their own affairs. Furthermore, they feared that the propaganda carried on by Garrison and other abolitionists might lead to slave revolts such as the one later attempted by John Brown at Harper's Ferry.

*Abolitionist assault and expansion in cotton-growing cause a change in Southern position on slavery*

Nor did the South receive this attack lying down. On the contrary it launched a vigorous counterattack on its accusers using the strong language that would be expected of a proud people resenting the gross insults that had been heaped upon them. One important result of the attack on slavery and the South was the development of a philosophical defense of slavery. Prior to this vigorous abolitionist assault from the North there had been very little defense or justification of slavery in the South. The general attitude was that slavery was a necessary evil. Now, however, the abolitionist crusade appeared so violent that a revolution in Southern thought immediately took place. There also entered into this change of view the economic factor referred to above, namely the marked increase in the value of slaves resulting from the rapid expansion in cotton growing. Southern intellectual leaders, such as Chancellor William Harper, Thomas Cooper, Edmund Ruffin, Thomas R. Dew, John C. Calhoun, and James H. Hammond, now formulated a new doctrine, which has usually been termed the "philosophy of slavery."

*The proslavery argument*

The proslavery argument as given by these new protagonists was as follows: (1) It is upheld by the Bible; (2) it is sanctioned by history since all past civilizations had rested on the very back of slaves; (3) it is a successful labor system and is so deeply rooted in the economic order of the South that its abolition would entail great financial loss and bring on an economic revolution; (4) slavery is the only proper method of solving the race problem. Two racial groups so different from one another as the whites and the Negroes cannot live in the same community or country upon terms of equality. One must dominate or destroy the other or be destroyed. According to this contention the blacks were inferior to the whites and the Caucasians should dominate the Africans in order to maintain the racial purity and civilization of the former. Within a few years the South, under the teachings of these new proslavery cham-

pions, became firmly convinced that, far from being an evil, slavery was a positive good. The new philosophy carried conviction to the majority of Southerners, and many of those who did not agree with it as a whole usually accepted it in part. Others who were opposed to slavery in principle felt that under abolitionist pressure the maintenance of slavery was a practical necessity. The effect of the abolitionist propaganda was therefore not to weaken but to strengthen the Southern grip on slavery. As the wind of abolitionism blew more and more fiercely from the North, the South wrapped the mantle of slavery more and more closely around itself.

*Why the yeomanry of the South acquiesced in slavery*

Furthermore, the abolitionist appeal also aroused the antagonism of the nonslaveholders of the South. Instead of welcoming the antislavery agitation, the plebeian nonslaveholder opposed the abolitionists as violently as did his patrician neighbor. He resented outside interference, and his conservatism revolted against what he deemed the fanatical radicalism of the Northern abolitionists. Since a majority of the families in the South had no slaves and since slavery was against their economic interests, one wonders why the yeomanry did not use their power of the ballot to put an end to the institution. One reason that the nonslaveowners acquiesced in slavery was that they, like the slaveholders, felt that free blacks and whites could not live together in peace and security. But probably the main reason was that the yeomanry were not class conscious. The line that separated the common people from the aristocracy was not an insuperable barrier and could be scaled by energetic and ambitious plebeians. A successful nonslaveholding farmer hoped some day to be a slave-owning planter. This expectation was often realized, for many of the outstanding political leaders of the planter class were sons of middle-class farmers. Besides, because of the poor educational opportunities open to the yeomanry, this class was lacking in effective leadership. The few nonslaveholders who were capable of leadership, on acquiring sufficient wealth to become slaveholding planters, usually graduated from their own class and joined that of the privileged order.

*Hinton Helper and his book against slavery*

A serious effort to create among nonslaveholders a feeling of class consciousness was made by Hinton Rowan Helper of North Carolina, who in 1857 published his book, *The Impending Crisis of the South*. He belonged to the yeoman class, being a son of a small farmer who owned only one family of slaves. This work is a severe indictment of slavery on economic grounds. Basing much of his discussion on the data furnished by the census of 1850, he declared that the South had lagged behind the North in education, economic prosperity,

and general civilization. This backwardness he attributed to slavery. A strong point in his argument was the economic dependence of the South on the North. "In infancy," he said, "we are swaddled in Northern muslin; in childhood we are humored with Northern gewgaws; in youth we are instructed out of Northern books; at the age of maturity we sow our 'wild oats' on Northern soil; . . . in the decline of life we remedy our eye-sight with Northern spectacles, and support our infirmities with Northern canes; in old age we are drugged with Northern physic; and, finally, when we die, our inanimate bodies, shrouded in Northern cambric, are stretched upon the bier, borne to the grave in a Northern carriage, entombed with a Northern spade, and memorized [memorialized] with a Northern slab!"

The abolition of slavery, without compensation to owners, was advocated, not on moral grounds but in justice to the nonslaveholding whites. The author had no love for the Negro but regarded slavery as the curse of the poor and middle-class whites. He made a violent attack on the intelligence and morality of the advocates of slavery. The yeomanry were urged to organize against the "lords of the lash," and the suggestion was thrown out that slave uprisings might be used in furtherance of the movement toward abolition. If he had succeeded in indoctrinating the yeomanry with his beliefs, the institution of slavery might have been overthrown by the masses in the South without any outside assistance. The great planters, therefore, were following a true instinct when they saw in this vituperative work an assault on the foundations of their peculiar institution. At first the book did not arouse much excitment in the South; but after politicians and the press in the North began to use its arguments for campaign purposes, Southern leaders bitterly denounced it and those who had aided in spreading what they considered a malicious slander against their section. The newspapers echoed the cry, and to such a pitch was public sentiment aroused that it became a crime to circulate this objectionable book in some of the states in the Southland.

*The comity of sections destroyed by agitation of the slavery question*

The psychosis of war developed out of the abolition attack upon the South and the counterattack of the South. The comity of sections was destroyed and intersectional goodwill disappeared. According to the opinion of the late Albert J. Beveridge (expressed in his *Abraham Lincoln*), "had it not been for what they [the abolitionists] said and did and the fear and anger they aroused, it is not altogether impossible that there would have been no war." In an atmosphere so taut with emotion a reasonable and peaceable solution of the

slavery problem could hardly be expected. To remove slavery from the social order at this time, while public sentiment was so inflamed, was to perform a major operation after infection had set in.

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3. The Teutonic Tide.—*Ibid.*, ch. 6.
4. Reform Movements (1830-1850).—C. R. Fish, *The Rise of the Common Man*, pp. 256-276; Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (1948), ch. 4 (the reform movement in the South in the 1830's).
5. The Slavery Controversy.—Sydnor, *op. cit.*, ch. 10.
6. Slave Life in the South.—U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South*, ch. 11; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, ch. 4.
7. The Childhood of a Slave.—Booker T. Washington, *Up from Slavery*, ch. 1 (an excellent account of the author's childhood on a small plantation).
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9. Books as Antislavery Weapons.—Jesse Macy, *The Anti-Slavery Crusade*, ch. 9.
10. Antislavery in Congress.—A. B. Hart, *Slavery and Abolition*, ch. 18.
11. The Social Philosophy of the Cotton Planter.—W. E. Dodd *The Cotton Kingdom*, ch. 3.
12. The Southern Defense of Slavery.—Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*, ch. 7; Hart, *Contemporaries*, IV, pp. 597-602 (argument by Thomas R. Dew, 1832); Arthur Y. Lloyd, *The Slavery Controversy*, chs. 4-7.
13. The Fear of Slave Insurrection in the South.—Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, ch. 4.
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# CHAPTER XX

# *Intellectual Advance*

## Schools and Colleges (1783-1860)

*Effects of the Revolution on schools and colleges*

The immediate effects of the Revolution were detrimental to education. The schools suffered severely from the destructive activities of the war. Some of the private and charity schools and most of the parochial schools were discontinued. Many of the academies and Latin grammar schools were forced to close because student attendance at them had been greatly reduced. Work in some of the colleges was suspended, and the others were left with a scant remnant of students. So much of the energy of the people was taken up with the prosecution of the war that interest in public education declined.

*Education aided by Federal land grants*

The problem of education was left to the states by the Constitution of 1787. It was not long, however, before the Federal government by grants of land began a policy of aiding the new states in solving their educational difficulties. When Ohio was admitted into the Union (1803), the new state was given the sixteenth section in every township for the maintenance of schools in that township. This same policy was pursued in the admission of all the other new states until 1850. When California was admitted in that year, she was granted two sections in each township. The other Western states which have been admitted into the Union since 1850 (not including Texas) have been given the same amount of land, except that Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico each received three sections in every township.

Partly because of the mismanagement of these lands and the limited demand for them, the revenue derived from them was not sufficient to sustain an adequate school system. The grants, however, created a sentiment in the West in favor of state schools and aided these new states in their efforts to establish a public educational system. They also influenced the older states to set aside funds or lands for the support of schools.

## THE FIGHT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

*Public education at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century*

By the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century public education on the primary level had made little advance beyond colonial conditions. In each of the New England states (except Rhode Island) there were public schools which were free to pupils of all classes. In the other portions of the country the best schools were private and were supported by tuition fees. In addition to these there were, in all the states, schools for indigent pupils, supported by taxation or by donations of charitable and religious organizations. From these same sources funds were also available for the payment of the tuition fees of poor children who attended the private schools. Schooling obtained through these aids was branded with the stigma of pauperism, and many self-respecting parents would not allow their children to take advantage of these opportunities. The "pauper school" was, therefore, a very unsatisfactory means of primary education. During the second quarter of the nineteenth century a persistent fight was made for the establishment of a public free school system which in the primary grades would apply to rich and poor on equal terms.

*Reasons for the advance in public education*

By 1830 most of the states had virtually accepted the principle of white manhood suffrage, and public education was one of the demands of the common people. This demand could not be ignored by political leaders who were bidding competitively for the votes of the recently enfranchised citizens. The movement in favor of free schools also received the support of the political liberals and reformers who felt that an ignorant electorate would be a menace to good government, now that the masses were in control of the state and Federal governments. Jefferson said that if "a nation expects to be ignorant and free in a state of civilization it expects what never was and never will be." In colonial days education was encouraged as a means to the promotion of religion, and consequently the school was the ally of the church. With the advent of wider suffrage, one of the main objects of education was to promote good citizenship, and therefore the logical policy was a union between school and state.

*Public education in the South*

The alliance between the common people and the intellectuals proved to be a strong combination and by 1860 had won a decisive victory for public elementary education throughout the North and Northwest. By this time, too, the principle of public education supported by taxation seems also to have been accepted by the South. In this section, however, the principle was not, to any great extent, put into practice until after the Civil War. State laws pro-

viding for a public school system were passed, but the acceptance of these laws was generally left optional with the counties, and many of them failed to make the appropriations necessary to execute the general plan. Therefore, in a considerable portion of the South the number of public schools established in this period was small, and in such localities the main result of these laws was merely to give indigents a few months of schooling.[1] The failure to keep pace with the North in the establishment of public schools was due mainly to the fact that in the rural South there were few towns of importance and the people were too widely scattered for easy co-operation in school plans.

*Opposition to public education*

The fight for public education was a strenuous one, even in the sections which accepted the reform. Property owners often objected to being taxed to educate other people's children. Many of them felt that the school should be a private enterprise and considered its management and support by the state as rank socialism. A conservative of Rhode Island boasted that he would use his shotgun on Henry Barnard if that radical reformer should ever be caught on his farm advocating "such heresy as the partial confiscation of one man's property to educate another man's child." Individuals and religious foundations interested in private schools contended that their vested rights would be infringed if their schools were forced into competition with those which had been financed from public funds.

### THE REFORM MOVEMENT IN EDUCATION

It was not enough to give a wider range to public education; it was just as necessary to make improvements in the school system which had come down from colonial days. Fortunately there arose in the 1830's some capable leaders to direct this reform movement. This leadership came mainly out of New England, a section in which public education had already gone further than in any other part of the country. Here, however, as elsewhere, the schools were far below what one might expect in a vigorous and prosperous young republic.

*Horace Mann's work in Massachusetts*

At the head of the list of reformers stood Horace Mann, who gave up fine prospects in the law and politics to become secretary of the newly created Massachusetts State Board of Education (1837). His connection with the state board enabled him to perform valuable service by integrating the schools into a system and bringing them under state supervision and direction. In his reports on conditions in the schools of Massachusetts he showed the great

[1] For maps showing the advance in public free schools in the South and the country as a whole, see C. L. and E. H. Lord, *Historical Atlas of the United States*, 84-85.

need of change, and by lectures at school meetings he aroused public sentiment in favor of his proposals. He did not make any discoveries or new contributions as to method, but was instrumental in putting into effect much-needed reforms. New ideas gained from the study of European school conditions, especially those of Prussia, were urged upon the Massachusetts authorities. Despite the opposition of obstinate conservatism, Mann was able at the end of a dozen years of service to point to a remarkable record of achievement. In Massachusetts, appropriations for public schools had been doubled, the school term had been lengthened, the pay of teachers had been increased by more than fifty per cent, and three normal schools for the training of teachers had been established. The first of these, which was also the first normal school in the United States, was opened at Lexington in 1839 with only three students.

*His influence in other sections of the country*

Mann's influence was not confined to his own state, for his work in Massachusetts gave an impetus to educational progress throughout the country. The reforms carried out by him and other leaders not only led to the improvement of the schools but also gave inspiration and encouragement to those who were fighting for an extension of the public school system.

*Henry Barnard*

Henry Barnard performed a service for education in Connecticut and Rhode Island comparable to that done by Mann in Massachusetts. As Secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Education he organized (1839) the first teachers' institute ever held in this country. It was, however, as editor for more than thirty years of the *American Journal of Education* that he made his finest contribution to education.

*The educational revival in the South*

The renaissance in education which started in New England later found its way to the South. In the latter section the reform movement drew its inspiration largely from Thomas Jefferson, who had been the most ardent champion of public education in the South, and to his influence was added the impetus that came from later Southern leaders.[1] As a result of the activity of these leaders, by the middle of the century an interest in state-supported public schools had become widespread. Educational conventions were held, propaganda in favor of public education was carried on by contributed articles in newspapers, and measures looking toward the establishment of a free school system were urged by governors upon their too-often reluctant legislatures. In some of the Southern counties and cities there were good schools supported by taxation,

[1] Prominent in the list of later Southern educational leaders were Henry Ruffner of Virginia; Archibald D. Murphey and Calvin Wiley of North Carolina; and William F. Perry and J. L. M. Curry of Alabama.

and plans for a general system of public education had been formed in a number of the states by 1860. The outbreak of the war checked this forward movement.

*Textbooks*

After the Revolution native authors became active in the preparation of textbooks for American schools. One reason for this was the difficulty or impossibility of getting books from England during the war. Furthermore, along with the political separation from the mother country there came the desire to become culturally independent.

*Webster's "Blue-backed Speller"*

In 1783 Noah Webster published his *American Spelling Book*. This "Blue-backed Speller," as it was called, was used in the teaching of both spelling and reading, for it contained a number of "moral reading lessons" to be assigned to the pupils. It superseded the New England Primer, which had been widely used in the primary schools for nearly a century. The Speller quickly attained a remarkable popularity, and sales were enormous. According to a reliable estimate, eighty million copies were sold by 1880. It "did more than any other single force to create a unified American language for the new nation."[1]

*McGuffey's Readers*

In 1836 there appeared the first two of a series of six readers by William H. McGuffey. This was the most noted series of readers ever produced in this country. For sixty years these readers were the ones most widely used throughout the country except in New England. The stories, fables, and literary excerpts were permeated with a sound moral tone, and all tended to make American ideals attractive to the young. In this way they exerted a profound influence in inspiring youth with high ethical and patriotic ideals.

## SECONDARY SCHOOLS

*The academy*

During the first half-century after the Declaration of Independence the chief interest in education was seen in the encouragement given to academies and colleges. The old Latin grammar school of the colonial era, with its emphasis on the classics and its objective of preparing for college, was not adapted to the needs of the new country. It therefore was being supplanted by the academy, which was more practical in its aim and offered a curriculum of more useful subjects than those of the Latin grammar school. Although Latin and Greek were continued as a part of the curriculum of the academies, special emphasis was placed on English grammar and to some extent also on oratory and declamation. It was probably due to this emphasis that the style of American writers and speakers was so good during this period. Other subjects were arithmetic, algebra,

[1] E. P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston, 1934), 290-291.

geometry, geography, and astronomy. In some academies surveying, rhetoric (including some literature), natural and moral philosophy, and Roman antiquities were also included in the list of studies.

Some of the academies were sponsored by religious denominations, but a good number of them were privately owned and run as business ventures. All of them had a religious tone, but they were usually careful to avoid the imparting of sectarian views. They were financed mainly by tuition fees, although many of them were subsidized by local or state funds or were aided by endowments. Some of the academies were for girls only, and many of the others were coeducational. As a rule, the academies had dormitories or boarding-houses.

From the Revolution to the War for Southern Independence the academy was the chief agency in secondary education. In the South, where this type of school was widely prevalent, it held its primacy much longer, for in this section it was not outdistanced by its competitor, the public high school, until the last decade of the nineteenth century. The academy was a suitable intermediary between the primary school and the college, although its curriculum often overlapped that of the other two. Not only did it prepare students for college, but it also served as a "people's college," giving many young men their final training for life. Furthermore, most of the teachers in the primary schools were trained in the academies. Many men in all sections of the country who attained eminence in politics or the professions finished their formal education in the academies.

*The public high school*

The academy, although less aristocratic than the old Latin grammar school, was far from being a democratic institution. Because of the cost of attendance at academies (although charges for board and tuition were often low), their portals were not wide open to the sons of the poorer classes. The progress of democracy therefore brought in a feeling of dissatisfaction with the academy. The rapid advances in industry and commerce were calling for a wider general education than that supplied by the state-supported primary schools. Accordingly, there arose in the second quarter of the nineteenth century a demand from forward-looking leaders for the extension of the public school system so as to include secondary education. It was to meet this new situation that the high school was brought in as a part of the state-supported school system.

The first public high school was the one established in 1821 in Boston. The high schools increased slowly in number until 1840, at which time there were only about fifty in the entire country, and half of these were in Massachusetts. By 1860 the number had increased to three hundred and twenty-one. More than half of

these (167) were in the states of Massachusetts, New York, and Ohio, and only about twelve per cent of them (38) were south of Mason and Dixon's Line and the Ohio River.

### HIGHER EDUCATION

*Old and new colleges*

The nine colonial colleges continued or resumed their work after the Revolution, and twenty-nine new ones had been established by 1820. During this post-Revolutionary period, however, the standard of scholarship upheld by these colleges was not high and the intellectual atmosphere created by them was far from stimulating. The number of students and professors was still small. The older colleges had been reorganized and in them, as well as in those newly founded, an attempt had been made to make a better adjustment of the course of study to the demands of a new country, and there was less slavish imitation of the English universities. Less emphasis was put on theology, and other changes were made in the curriculum.

*Denominational colleges*

In the 1820's higher education in this country entered upon an important stage of development both as to the number of institutions and the quality of the work done. From 1820 to 1860 a large number of small denominational colleges came into being, some of which were short-lived while others later grew into importance. The equipment of the denominational college, especially library and laboratory facilities, was usually ludicrously inadequate, and the professors were seldom noted for profound scholarship. Situated on a high elevation which commanded a fine view, with the buildings surrounded by shady lawns, these little colleges afforded their students a favorable milieu for study and were free from many of the temptations to idleness which beset present-day institutions of higher learning. Unfortunately, however, they were seldom able to offer the aids or create the atmosphere necessary for the promotion of sound and thorough scholarship. In the task of building character they probably scored a greater success than in that of diffusing knowledge. At these modest institutions a great many young men were indoctrinated with ideals which furnished the inspiration for fine achievement in later life.

*Improvement in the older colleges; reasons*

In the later middle period (1820-1860) the older and stronger colleges made great improvement in the quality of their work. The impetus to this change was the influence exerted on our colleges by the German universities, which were at the height of their usefulness during this time. For this favorable influence—especially in its initial stage—the American college is largely indebted to four brilliant young men (Edward Everett, Joseph C.

Cogswell, George Ticknor, and George Bancroft) who between 1815 and 1820 studied at two of the noted German universities. On their return they were given positions in Harvard, and through their efforts Harvard became the center of a productive scholarship and the leader in the fight for academic freedom—the fight to free scholarship from the restraints imposed by religious and political opinion and prejudice. Unitarianism was also a contributing factor in bringing Harvard to this liberal view. Other colleges caught this spirit of progress, and higher education was benefited by it throughout the country. There was a small but constant stream of young men going abroad for advanced study, and the influence of the German universities was continuous.

*State universities*

With the progress of democracy there gradually developed a feeling of opposition to the aristocratic character of the old colleges. From this feeling there arose an agitation in favor of state control of higher education. The outcome of this attitude was the establishment of the state university, an institution which was free from sectarian influence. Early in this later period the state university began to assume an important place in higher education. By 1825 eight states had either founded state universities or had taken steps for their future establishment. The oldest of these, the universities of North Carolina and Georgia, were opened for students in 1795 and 1805, respectively.

*Influence of the University of Virginia*

A new impetus was given to the movement in favor of state universities by the establishment of the University of Virginia in 1825. Thomas Jefferson was the founder and first rector of this institution, and the fathering of this his youngest brain child was an achievement of which he was very proud. For the location of this new university a proper site was chosen in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Here under the eye of the Sage of Monticello suitable buildings were erected for the accommodation of students and professors and for the housing of libraries and laboratories. The long colonnades which façaded the structures, and the lawn enclosed by them, were worthy of the golden age of ancient Athens. Up to this time "the muses had never found such a beautiful home on the American continent." The young institution started off with every prospect of success and almost at once took its place as the leading American state university.

*State universities numerous in the West*

From 1825 on, the number of state universities continually increased. By 1860 there were seventeen state institutions of higher learning and two or three other colleges that had some sort of a connection with the state governments. State universities were more numerous in the South and West than in the North and East. The

founding of these institutions in the West was greatly aided by land grants made by the Federal government. Beginning with Ohio in 1803, each new state that came into the Union (except Texas, which retained its own public lands) was granted two townships as an endowment for "a seminary of learning."

*Higher education for women*

At the opening of the nineteenth century there was not a college in the United States to which women were admitted. It was not until 1865 that Vassar College was opened, which is generally considered the first college for women in the country.[1] But before 1860, women students were admitted to a few coeducational institutions in the West. The first of these was Oberlin College, which opened its doors in 1833 to twenty-nine men and fifteen women students. Oberlin was an institution of high standing, as its curriculum compared favorably with those of the old Eastern colleges. Prior to 1860 several other Western colleges and one state university (Iowa) had become coeducational.

*Coeducational colleges*

*"Female seminaries" and academies*

It must not be inferred, however, that these coeducational colleges were the only institutions of higher learning to which women were admitted. As has already been seen, there were many "female seminaries" and academies for girls. It was in these schools that women students had their first opportunity for higher education. By 1860 there were sixty-one of these institutions in the entire country. Of the many girls' schools of this period the most noted was Mt. Holyoke Seminary at South Hadley, Massachusetts (established in 1837). Mary Lyon, the founder of this seminary, was a young woman of rare intellectual gifts and exceptional strength and fineness of character. She had overcome great obstacles in achieving a broad education and was eminently fitted to inspire girls with a high idealism, a love of learning, and a sane philosophy of life.

*Mary Lyon*

*College life*

College life in this period was similar to that of colonial days, except that the Puritan rigor which characterized discipline in the older time was gradually relaxing in favor of greater freedom. Unlike his successor of a later era, the college student of the middle period took his classroom duties more seriously than his extracurricular activities. Nor were there many outside interests to divert students from their regular work. No time was devoted to intercollegiate athletics by the boys, and none lost by the girls in

[1] This claim is contested, however, by two institutions in the South. Elizabeth Academy, a Methodist school at Old Washington, Mississippi, was chartered as a college in 1820. In 1836 the Georgia Female College (now Wesleyan College at Macon) received a charter authorizing it to grant degrees. Neither of these institutions is willing to yield to Vassar the primacy usually conceded to it, and each claims for itself priority in the field of college education for women. But the claim that the instruction given in these institutions prior to 1865 was on the college level is challenged by many if not most educators of today.

priming themselves for beauty contests. The literary society was the noncurricular activity which commanded the greatest interest. In it young men received practice in debate, oratory, and essay writing. These exercises afforded useful training in public speaking, an art which was highly valued by the politician, lawyer, and clergyman of that day. In the third decade of the nineteenth century the social fraternity began to take its place in the American college, and by the end of the period a considerable number of these organizations were firmly established. For some years the fraternity combined literary with social activities.

### PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL SCHOOLS

*Theological schools*

By the end of the eighteenth century the religious tone which had characterized the colonial college had declined, and ardent churchmen felt that new arrangements for theological training should be made. It was this feeling that led to the organization of separate theological schools. The first of these was founded by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1784, when Dr. John H. Livinston, pastor of the Collegiate Church of New York City, was made professor of divinity for the whole denomination. In 1810 Dr. Livinston was made professor of theology in and president of Rutgers College. In this way his theological school was absorbed by this college and it has maintained this connection since that time.

The second theological school was St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore, established by the Roman Catholics in 1791. Other such schools were founded from time to time, and by the middle of the century each of the leading denominations had one or more institutions for the training of ministers. In 1819 Harvard established a school of divinity, and three years later Yale added a theological department to her curriculum. These examples were gradually followed by other colleges.

*Rise of the law school*

In 1779 George Wythe, a prominent lawyer and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was made professor of law in the College of William and Mary. This was the first law department established in any school in the United States.[1] The first permanent law school with degree-granting power was organized at Harvard in 1817. Law schools were soon established in other colleges, in Yale

[1] It ought to be said that some authorities contend that the instruction given by Wythe at William and Mary was not professional and therefore his department was not a law school. To such as accept this contention priority in the establishment of a law school belongs to Judge Tapping Reeve, an able lawyer of Litchfield, Connecticut. For some years Reeve had had a number of young men studying law under his supervision. Out of this association there had developed by 1784 a law school which in time attracted students from every state in the Union. A good number of these students afterward occupied high place in the official life of state and nation, one of whom was John C. Calhoun.

in 1824 and the University of Virginia in 1826. By 1840 there were only about a half-dozen law schools in the United States, and the total number of students in attendance at them was very small in comparison with the number of practitioners in the profession. This shows that the great majority of the lawyers were still being trained in the offices of older attorneys.

*Medical schools*

In colonial days the greater number of medical students received their training by reading medicine under the supervision of practicing physicians, and only a small proportion of them ever attended a medical school. There were no medical schools in the colonies until near the end of the colonial period. The first regular medical school was the Medical College of Philadelphia (now a part of the University of Pennsylvania), which was founded in 1765. The second one was established two years later as the medical department of King's College (now Columbia University). By 1820 the number of medical schools had increased to nine.

*Schools of dentistry and pharmacy*

By 1860 there had grown up several dental schools and less than a half-dozen schools of pharmacy. The first dental college, the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery, was founded in 1839. The first school of pharmacy, the Philadelphia College of Pharmacy, began its career in 1822.

*The United States Military Academy*

Washington recommended to Congress the establishment of a military academy, but it was not until July, 1802, while Jefferson was President, that the Military Academy at West Point was opened. Starting out with ten students, this school has been going continuously from the beginning except for one year at the time of the War of 1812. In addition to being the chief reliance in the training of officers in our armies, until 1825 it was the only engineering school in the country. A number of technologists and superintendents of public works have therefore been trained there. Just before the outbreak of the Mexican War (1845) the United States Naval Academy was established at Annapolis, Maryland.

*Technical schools*

Another technical school was the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, founded by Stephen Van Rensselaer at Troy, New York (1825). For the first ten years it offered courses in agriculture as well as engineering and therefore may be classed as the first agricultural college. From 1850 on, it gave a regular four-year course in engineering. By 1860 a technical school, or school of applied science, had been established in affiliation with each of the older New England colleges—Harvard (1847), Yale (1847), and Dartmouth (1851).

*Training for farmers*

The need of scientific education for farmers was not generally felt during the middle period and therefore little was done toward the founding of agricultural colleges before 1860. For the first two and

a half centuries of our history, land was so abundant and cheap in this country that the people were slow in awakening to the importance of scientific farming. There was, however, at times some agitation in favor of providing better training for farmers, and at one time there seem to have been some small private agricultural schools in New York. It was near the end of the period (1857) when the first state agricultural college was established. This was the Michigan State Agricultural College at Lansing. Two years later Maryland established a state agricultural school near Washington.

### ADULT EDUCATION

*Public meetings*

Schools and colleges were not the only agencies employed in education. Opportunities for intellectual development were open to adults as well as to those of school age. Men were brought into association with each other in town meetings, on court days, and at elections and political gatherings. In this way many persons who were denied the privilege of formal schooling received the kind of training which results from the contact of mind with mind.

*Other educational agencies*

In the cities and larger towns could be found public libraries affording useful reading material to the general public; mechanics' institutes which had night schools for vocational training; or lyceums, which were associations for promoting debates, public lectures, and scientific demonstrations. In this way the people were brought in touch with the leading intellectual lights of the country. The lecturers who appeared before the lyceums included such prominent men as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

*Newspapers*

Probably the most important agency for adult education was the newspaper. The press had been free in this country since long before the Revolution and had played an important part in molding and expressing public opinion. It was not until the 1830's, however, that the newspapers rose to their full measure of influence. Prior to that time they devoted too much space to political discussions and stale news from abroad and not enough to stories of human interest. The price to subscribers was high and therefore the circulation was limited.

The newspaper started on a new era when in 1833 the New York *Sun*, under the management of Benjamin H. Day, was offered to the public at one cent a copy. This reduction in price was made possible by the financial gain from the advertisements attracted by wide circulation and was also encouraged by improvements in the mechanics of printing such as the application of steam to the Napier

press (1835) and the use of the Hoe press (patented 1846). The interest of the reader was aroused by sensational stories, some of which furnished thrill at the cost of truth.

Other papers soon followed the example set by the *Sun*. Outstanding among these were: the New York *Herald*, edited by James Gordon Bennett; and the New York *Tribune*, founded in 1841 by Horace Greeley. Usually the editor was the owner of the press and therefore was untrammeled in the expression of his views on public affairs. The result was that there came from the sanctums of these competent editors able discussions on the problems of the day. These editorials were usually warped by political prejudice and deeply colored with vituperation. The reader therefore was given an excellent opportunity to use his skill in discriminating between cold fact and heated opinion. As a result of these improvements, newspapers had a wide circulation and exerted a marked influence during the quarter-century preceding the War for Southern Independence.

## ART AND MUSIC (1783-1860)

*Post-Revolutionary painters*

Soon after the Revolution the young republic gave promise of developing a native art. There were several portrait painters of merit, the most noted of whom was Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828). He made a number of portraits of Washington and of other American statesmen, including most of the early Presidents. Charles Wilson Peale (1741-1827) was a portrait painter who also made canvases of prominent Americans of the same period. He was able to inspire others with artistic appreciation and was influential in founding the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (1805). John Trumbull (1750-1843) not only made portraits, but also many paintings of dramatic events of the Revolution. All the American artists of this period received their training in Europe, and some of them spent a good deal of their time abroad, where they could receive the inspiration and criticism of fellow craftsmen.

*Post-Revolutionary architecture*

In the post-Revolutionary period, architecture was greatly influenced by the classical tradition. The Roman dome and Greek portico were often used in the construction of public buildings, and tall columns of the Greek type frequently constituted the façades even of private homes, especially in the South. Thomas Jefferson, in planning his own home, the Capitol at Richmond, and the buildings of the University of Virginia, followed closely the classical idea and exerted considerable influence in making it fashionable.

The promise as to art which was held out in the beginning was not fulfilled in later years. During the last three decades of this

*Backwardness in art of the later period*

period there was no advance either in painting or sculpture, but rather a decline. In architecture the classical ideal dominated until about the middle of the century. Then a violent change occurred, and there was a revival of the Gothic tradition with overdone ornamentation. Lack of taste and ugliness ran rampant in building construction. In painting, conditions were no better. There were portrait and landscape painters, to be sure, but none of marked distinction. Nor was any advance made in sculpture. What little originality there was in this field was put in a strait jacket by a slavish adherence to Roman ideas.

*Music*

During this period, however, the American people were awakening to an appreciation of music. In the larger cities there were musical performances by artists from abroad who were touring the country. The most noted of the foreign singers was Jenny Lind, the Swedish singer, who in 1850 made a tour of the country under the direction of P. T. Barnum. Her voice of unusual sweetness made a most favorable impression on the masses as well as the cultured classes.

*Negro spirituals and plantation songs*

In the long period between 1783 and 1860 there were few musical composers in the United States and none of outstanding reputation. There are, however, a number of hymns and popular songs which date from this era. In this field the Negroes made a real contribution. The songs used by them when at work and the hymns employed in their public worship were largely the creations of the black race. Although the originals of these hymns and songs may have been borrowed from the whites, they had been made over and appropriated by the Negroes, who had stamped their own sentiments and ideas upon them. The type of song which idealized the plantation life of the old South was suggested but not created by the Negroes. Many of these songs—such as "The Old Folks at Home," "Old Black Joe," "My Old Kentucky Home," and "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground"—were composed by Stephen C. Foster (1826-1864), who was a native of Pennsylvania. He understood the spirit of the Negro remarkably well for one not to the manner born, and in interpreting it showed little sign of his Northern origin.

*The theater*

In the interval between the two wars for independence the theater in this country gradually became more American and less British in character than it had been in the colonial period. Prior to the Revolution nearly all the plays presented in English America were written by British authors and acted by British performers. This was also the case for some time after the Revolution. From the 1830's on, there were usually stock companies in the larger towns and cities with which professional actors on tour co-operated

in giving their performances. The most popular of these itinerant stars were from England, but there were a few noted American actors, such as Edwin Forrest, Edwin Booth, and Charlotte Cushman. Near the end of this period (the late 1850's) Joseph Jefferson, after a long, hard apprenticeship, was coming into prominence. It was not until after the Civil War, however, that he entered upon his famous career in the role of "Rip Van Winkle."

The tragedies and comedies of Shakespeare and other English classics were usually preferred by American audiences, and consequently not many of the dramas given in this period were written by American authors. There were, however, a few contemporary plays of both English and American authorship which had a very popular appeal.

## SCIENCE AND INVENTION (1783-1860)

*Advance in science*

In the field of science and invention a better showing was made than in that of the fine arts. For much of this advance we are indebted to two foreign-born scholars who had come to the United States to live. These were Louis J. R. Agassiz, an emigrant from French Switzerland, and J. J. Audubon, who was of French birth and education. By organizing the data he had collected, Agassiz made important contributions to the sciences of geology and botany. Audubon's work was in the study of birds. He spent his time wandering about in the forests and swamps observing and drawing pictures of them. These descriptions and drawing were remarkably accurate and thus constituted a valuable contribution to ornithology. Another noted American scientist was Asa Gray, who did much to promote the science of botany.

*The discovery of anesthetics*

The most important advance in science made during this period was the use of anesthetics in surgery. In 1842 a Georgia physician, Dr. Crawford W. Long, found that pain could be deadened during an operation by the use of ether. He did not publish the result of this finding until seven years later, and in the meantime Dr. Horace Welles, a dentist of Hartford, Connecticut, had discovered (1844) that nitrous oxide gas would serve as an anesthetic for the extraction of teeth. Two years later a Boston dentist, Dr. W. T. G. Morton, with the help of a noted chemist, C. T. Jackson, repeated Dr. Long's discovery and proved that ether could be successfully used as an anesthetic.

*Inventions*

During this period there was a greater advance in the field of invention than in that of pure science. Some of the most useful inventions of the century were made by Americans. Prominent in this list are the magnetic telegraph, the reaper, and the sewing

machine (see pp. 311, 312, 314). In 1846 there was patented the rotary printing press, invented by Richard M. Hoe. The revolver was invented by Samuel Colt of Connecticut, who first patented it in England and later (1836) in the United States. The process of vulcanizing rubber was discovered (1836) by another son of Connecticut, Charles Goodrich.

A number of other inventions introduced from Europe were improved and adapted to the needs of this country. The English locomotive, for example, was changed before it could be used effectively on American railroads. The daguerreotype was developed into the photograph. Improvements were made in stoves both for cooking and heating, and, by the middle of the century, lamps using whale oil were superseding candles. At that time too in some of the cities gas was used for lighting, and houses were heated with furnaces and supplied with plumbing.

## LITERATURE (1783-1860)

*Literature in the period of the Revolution and the Confederation*

During the Revolutionary era and the period of the Confederation there was very little American literature except orations and essays of a political character. According to tradition, James Otis and Patrick Henry attained great heights in their oratory, but the portions of their speeches which have come down to us are too fragmentary to confirm or deny the traditional view. Of the essays written at that time, which were printed as pamphlets or as newspaper articles, the most noted were Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, the *Declaration of Independence*, and the group of articles written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, and known as *The Federalist* (see p. 157). Other than political discussions, the one outstanding literary production of this period was Franklin's *Autobiography*. It was begun in 1771, but was not completed until 1789. In simplicity and clearness of style and directness of statement it is a classic in biographical narration. It is the most noted autobiography in American literature. With the exception of this book and political essays and orations, no works of marked literary excellence were produced in the United States from the beginning of the Revolution until near the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, although efforts at writing poetry and prose fiction had been made with some degree of success.

*The Knickerbocker Group*

The first literary movement in this country to command the favorable notice of the English public was inaugurated by three young men who lived in New York and are therefore generally known as the Knickerbocker Group. These pioneers in American

literature were Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and William Cullen Bryant.

*Irving*

Washington Irving (1783-1859) began to write in his early twenties and by 1809 had published his *History of New York,* which is an amusing caricature of the leading actors and events in the Dutch period of New York history. The *Sketch Book* (1819) was the work which received the widest acclaim in Europe. Irving was especially happy in his short narratives and is properly recognized as one of the pioneers in the writing of the modern short story. Among his tales "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" are outstanding. They portray in humorous vein the life of the Hudson Valley in the olden time. Irving's style, which was modeled after that of Addison and Steele, was often spiced with a kindly humor. He pointed out to Americans the value of European culture and was the first to win for American literature recognition abroad.

*Bryant*

No outstanding poem had even been published in English America until 1817, when *The North American Review* brought forward "Thanatopsis," written by William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878). It has always been one of the most popular of American lyrics and has won for Bryant the title of "Father of American Poetry." Next to "Thanatopsis" his most noted poem is "To a Waterfowl." Although he was lacking in warmth and fervor, Bryant was the greatest of the early American poets.[1]

*Cooper*

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) was the first of American novelists to gain distinction. In 1821 he published the first of his successful works, *The Spy,* America's first historical novel. Prominent in the list of his stories are the *Leather Stocking Tales,* which describe the relations between the whites and the Indians in pioneer days. In these novels thrilling incidents are detailed with great skill, and the grandeur and beauty of the natural setting of these dramatic events are described with rare vividness.

*New England in flower; explanation*

In New England during the quarter-century preceding the Civil War there was an outburst of intellectual activity which is sometimes designated a renaissance. The movement was brought on by a galaxy of brilliant writers in both prose and poetry that gave to the United States its Golden Age of literature. This flowering of Puritanism, which had been noted for its sternness in the olden time, was like the unfolding of beautiful blossoms on prickly cactus stems. This unusual phenomenon was the result of forces both from

[1] Among the minor American poets, each of whom was the author of at least one well-known poem, the following may be mentioned: Joseph Hopkinson, who wrote "Hail Columbia"; Francis Scott Key, "The Star-Spangled Banner"; Samuel Woodworth, "The Old Oaken Bucket"; and John Howard Payne, "Home, Sweet Home."

without and within New England. During and immediately preceding this time, the European universities were exerting their greatest influence on American thinking, and this stimulus from the outside was doubtless a factor in bringing on a new intellectual movement. The rise and progress of liberalism in theology, with its revolt against the sterner aspects of Puritanism, are also given as a cause. These liberals maintained that there is a divine spark in man and that he has infinite possibilities for development. This new mental and spiritual attitude with its emphasis on individuality and intellectual freedom provided an atmosphere favorable to creative activity in the realm of thought and feeling.

*merson* The most original and vigorous thinker of this brilliant group was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). He was born in Boston and educated at Harvard, but he did not conform his thinking to the pattern of New England orthodoxy. He gave expression to his views through lectures and by the publication of his prose and poetry. One of the most outstanding of his addresses was the Phi Beta Kappa oration, "The American Scholar," delivered at Harvard in 1837. In this address he urged that American writers throw off the trammels that bound them to the old world culture. In so doing he was, as has been said, issuing a declaration of cultural independence. Although he wrote poems of real merit, his finest literary productions were the *Essays*, which contained the ideas previously presented in his lectures. Within everyone, he maintained, is a holy impulse or instinct, corresponding to the Inner Light of the Quakers or the Holy Ghost of the early Christians. We are at our best when we are acquiescent to its demands and obedient to its orders. The surrender of our intellects to this deity leads to genius; of our wills, to virtue; and of our emotions, to love.

*horeau* Closely associated with Emerson was his younger friend, Henry David Thoreau (1817-1862), who was also educated at Harvard. He was fond of nature and strongly advocated simplicity in living, and these ideas are emphasized in his writings. His outstanding literary productions were: *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers* (1849), and *Walden; or Life in the Woods* (1851). In these works he showed himself to be one of the greatest of American prose writers.

*lawthorne* High in the top rank of American novelists stands Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864). He was born at Salem, Massachusetts, and was a product, although not an admirer, of Puritanism. On the contrary, he hated Calvinism and repudiated other tenets of his ancestral faith. Although the fire of the Puritan religion did not burn within him, the smoke of this fire hovered around his character and imparted a strain of gloom to his personality which

EDGAR ALLAN POE.

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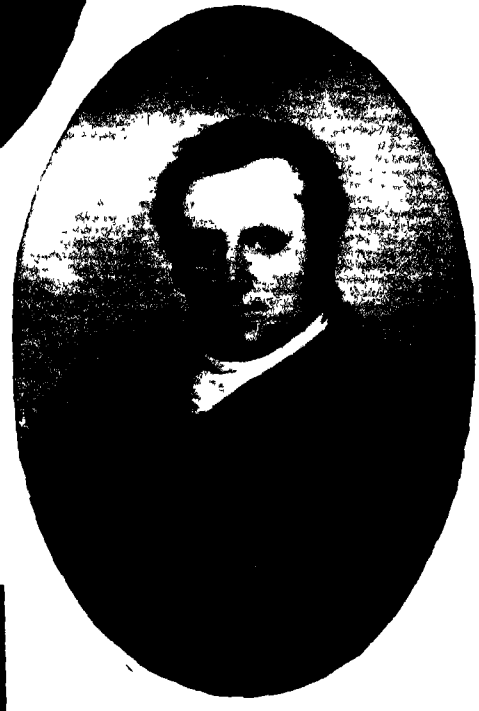

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER.

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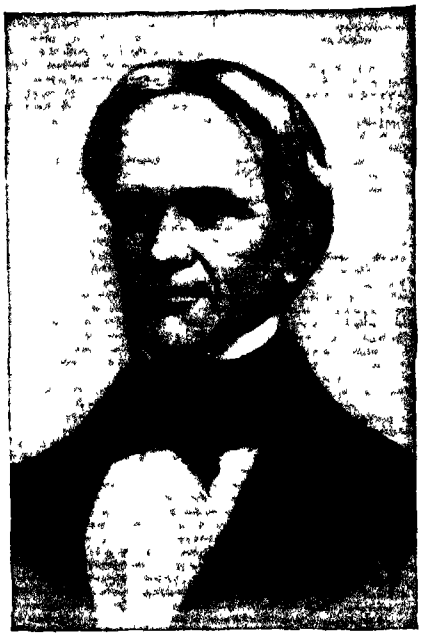
WASHINGTON IRVING.

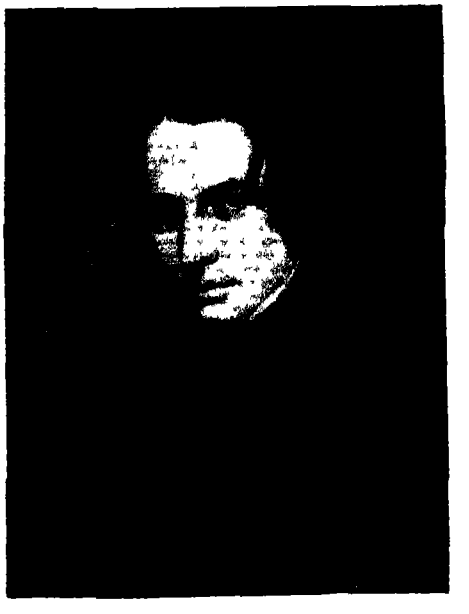
From daguerreotype portrait about 1855.

*Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City*



HORACE MANN

*Courtesy of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*



HENRY W LONGFELLOW
Age 33 Portrait by G C Thompson in 1840

*Courtesy of Craigie House Cambridge Mass*

found expression in his writings. He wrote a number of good short stories, but it was as a novelist that he won his highest title to fame. His greatest novel, *The Scarlet Letter,* was an effort to X-ray the human soul and show what influences hinder and what help its proper functioning. In *The House of the Seven Gables,* which Hawthorne regarded as his best work, sin is discussed as a hereditary taint, transmitting moral obliquity and trouble from generation to generation.

*Longfellow*

Of the New England group of poets of this period Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) was easily the most popular. He was born in Portland, Maine, and was educated at Bowdoin College. Prominent in the list of his short poems which enjoyed a marked popularity were: "The Psalm of Life," "Hymn to the Night," "The Village Blacksmith," "Excelsior," "The Bridge," and "The Day Is Done." Of the longer poems three have been especially well received: *Evangeline* (1847), *Hiawatha* (1855), and *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858). In his day Longfellow was ranked in America as her greatest poet and he also had a wide vogue in England. The favorable reception accorded his poems was due in part to the moral and religious idealism that breathed from them. The present generation does not place so high a value on the productions of the New England bard. It points out his lack of genius and originality and finds fault with the orthodoxy of his preachments.

*Whittier*

Longfellow's friend and contemporary, John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), the Quaker poet, also held an honored place in the list of New England poets. The emotional impetus for many of his poems was his crusading zeal in favor of abolition. Whittier never had the genius that inspires great poetry nor the technique that adorns inspiration with artistry. One of his most popular poems, "Snowbound," which is a beautiful portrayal of a rural scene in winter, did not appear until 1866, when he was mellowing with age and had laid down the weapons with which he had been fighting slavery.

*Holmes and Lowell*

An account of the flowering of New England, however brief, would be incomplete unless it included two other well-known authors, Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894) and James Russell Lowell (1819-1891). Both of them were writers of prose and poetry and both enlivened their literary productions with wit and humor. With each, literature was an avocation rather than the main business of life. Both were born in Cambridge, were educated at Harvard, and were deeply imbued with the New England spirit.[1]

*Whitman*

Standing in a class all to himself and having no connection with

[1] For an account of Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), see pp. 386, 387.

the New England group, was the unconventional poet, Walt Whitman (1819-1892). Born on Long Island, he spent the greater part of his active life in or near New York City. In 1855 he published a small volume of poems under the title of *Leaves of Grass*. The collection was reissued and enlarged from time to time until by 1876 it comprised two volumes. More popular than this collection was a volume of war poems entitled *Drum Taps*, published in 1865. After the Civil War he produced some prose works of merit, among them *Democratic Vistas*. Owing to his great sympathy for the common man and his firm faith in the mission and destiny of his country, democracy and patriotism are the two sentiments which are featured in his poems. For some time Whitman has been highly rated in England and on the Continent and, in recent years, has been accorded by critics in this country high rank among America's greatest poets.

*Melville*

Contemporary with Whitman was another New Yorker, Herman Melville (1819-1891), who won distinction as a writer of fiction. He wrote several novels dealing with the life of the South Sea islanders, the most popular of which is *Moby Dick*, published in 1851. This is his masterpiece and is considered one of the most outstanding prose works of this entire period. It is noted for its clarity of expression, accuracy of description, and correctness in the portraiture of personality.

*Poe*

Although New England can rightfully boast of having played the leading part in the creation of the Golden Age of American literature, it did not have a complete monopoly of the great literary lights of that day. Certainly one outstanding figure cannot be appropriated by this section, although he was born in Boston and spent a few years there in mature life. This writer was Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849). He lived in a number of cities, but since he was reared in Richmond he always considered himself a Southerner. Poe's fame rests mainly on his poems and short stories, although his work as a critic was of a high order. "The Raven," his most noted production, is a poem of gloom and despair, with a jingle and a rhythm probably not surpassed by any poem in the English language. Poe was also a master of the short story. "The Gold Bug" and "The Purloined Letter" are among the best detective stories ever produced in this country, and "The Black Cat" has few, if any, equals as a gruesome tale.

Poe did not preach, as did the moralist-poets of the North; he contended that artistry is the one essential in verse. Although he met this requirement with unusual success, he did not win proper appreciation in his lifetime. Foreign critics, however, have always held him in

high esteem and now regard him as America's greatest poet. In recent years opinion in this country has also grown more favorable to him, and today it is strongly inclined toward the European view.

*Simms*

The claim of the South to a share in the literary renaissance does not rest on Poe's writings alone. There were other authors in both prose and poetry who played a part in this literary movement. At the top of this list stands William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870). Born and reared in South Carolina, he was a typical Southerner. He was a voluminous writer, having to his credit a large amount of both poetry and prose fiction. Outstanding among his stories is *The Yemassee*, considered by some critics as the best American historical novel. In his novels Simms takes a position in direct opposition to that of Harriet Beecher Stowe in that he represents slavery as a blessing.[1]

## POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL WRITING (1783-1860)

*Political writings in the South*

The South also made an important contribution to political thought during this period. John Taylor of Virginia (1753-1824) published several political treatises in which he argued ably in favor of agrarian liberalism and the Jeffersonian doctrine of states' rights. John C. Calhoun was one of the most original thinkers in the field of political science that this country has ever produced (see pp. 259 f.). The doctrine of slavery was ably upheld by William Harper of South Carolina (1790-1847) and Thomas R. Dew (1802-1846), professor in and later president of William and Mary College.

*Magazines*

During this period there were in the United States several magazines which promoted the literary movement. The oldest of these was *The North American Review* (established in 1815). Under the editorship of Jared Sparks it attained prominence in the 1820's, and throughout this period (to 1860) it attracted contributions from the ablest historians and other literary men. *The Atlantic Monthly*, edited by James Russell Lowell, was started under favorable prospects (1857). In its columns appeared many articles written by the outstanding writers of New England. The most noted of the literary magazines of the South was *The Southern Literary Messenger*.[2]

[1] Other noted writers of the Old South that deserve mention were: the poets, Henry Timrod (1829-1867) and Paul Hamilton Hayne (1830-1886); and the novelists, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker (1784-1851) and John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870). In *Swallow Barn* Kennedy idealized the life of the aristocracy of old Virginia as did Thomas Nelson Page at a later time. His best-known novel, however, was *Horse-Shoe Robinson*, a romance of the Revolution. Tucker's *George Balcombe* (1836) was regarded by Edgar Allan Poe as "the best American novel."

[2] Other magazines that deserve mention were: *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1850), *Harper's Weekly* (1857), and *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830). The last-named was primarily a fashion magazine, although it also contained stories and articles giving advice on manners and morals. Business magazines were: *De Bow's Review*,

*istorians*

In the writing of history New England during this period easily took the lead over all other sections. There are a number of reasons for this. The libraries in Boston and Cambridge contained the finest collections of the source materials of history that could be found in the United States. It happened too that in this region there were several scholars with a leaning toward historical research and with the means to prosecute that ambition.

*parks*

The first, in point of time, of these historians was Jared Sparks (1789-1866). He wrote a number of biographies of leading American statesmen. He also published valuable collections of documents. These included the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution* and the writings of Washington and Franklin. In preparing these papers for publication he made revisions of the original texts for which he has been criticized by later historians. His reason for taking these liberties was that he considered it disrespectful to the fathers of the country to advertise any slips in spelling or grammar which they may have made, believing, as has been said, that they should never appear in public except in full dress.

*ancroft*

A more successful historian than Sparks was George Bancroft (1800-1891). He was born and reared in Massachusetts and educated at Harvard. After his graduation he went to Germany and took an extensive course in the University of Göttingen. His great literary production was the *History of the United States* in twelve volumes, the first of which appeared in 1834 and the last in 1882. This work, however, although so voluminous, does not carry the narrative beyond 1789. In writing this valuable work the author made use of an ornate style, but allowed his democratic beliefs and his ardent patriotism to impart more color to the narrative than is permitted by the canons of objective historical writing.

The greatest of all the historians of this period were a trio of writers—Prescott, Motley, and Parkman—whose names are familiar to students of history. All three of them lived in or near Boston and bore the stamp of Harvard. Their writings, especially those of Parkman, were based on careful research and were couched in good literary style. The subjects treated were interesting, the selection of facts wise, and the method of expression clear and often ornate. In

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*Hunt's Magazine*, and the *Banker's Magazine*. *De Bow's Review* had a wider circulation than any other Southern magazine. *Niles' Weekly Register* (1811) was a most useful news publication. It discussed the important issues of the day and reprinted editorials and news stories taken from the daily press throughout the country. For this reason it was an excellent reflector of public opinion and is today a valuable storehouse of historical information. (The date following each title is for the first year of publication.)

short, never before or since has the writing of history in this country been more of a fine art than it was under these noted historians.

William Hickling Prescott (1796-1859) was the author of four great works. These were: the *History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* (1837); the *History of the Conquest of Mexico* (1843); the *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847); and the *History of the Reign of Philip II.* These works were written in a dignified and interesting style, although later scholarship has questioned the accuracy of some of the statements. The outstanding historical works of John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877) were *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) and *The History of the United Netherlands,* which came out between 1860 and 1868. In these works he displayed great skill in describing events and depicting historical characters, along with a brilliance in style that is rare in historical writing. His hatred of Spanish tyranny gave a spice to his narrative which was very acceptable to the reader but detracted from its objectivity. The youngest and greatest of this noted trio was Francis Parkman (1823-1893). Most of his works, however, did not appear until after 1860, and he therefore more properly belongs to a later period.

*Prescott*

*Motley*

*Parkman*

SELECTED READINGS

1. Jefferson and State Education.—E. E. Slosson, *The American Spirit in Education*, ch. 6.
2. Catholic Education in America.—Slosson, *op. cit.*, ch. 13.
3. The Educational Awakening.—Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States* (1941 ed.), ch. 8.
4. Horace Mann and the American School.—Slosson, *op. cit.*, ch. 9.
5. Education in the South.—W. L. Dodd, *The Cotton Kingdom*, pp. 111-117 (a brief but interesting account).
6. Illiteracy in the Old South: Reasons.—Clement Eaton, *Freedom of Thought in the Old South*, ch. 3. (Percentages as to illiteracy should be checked with the census reports of 1850.)
7. Rise of the State University.—Slosson, *op. cit.*, ch. 12.
8. Higher Education for Women.—C. F. Thwing, *A History of Higher Education in America*, ch. 15.
9. The Knickerbocker Group.—Bliss Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature*, ch. 5.
10. Romance, Poetry, and History.—*Ibid.*, ch. 7.
11. Writers of Fiction (1809-1850).—W. P. Trent, *A History of American Literature, 1607-1865*, chs. 10 and 14.
12. Writers of Verse (1809-1860).—Trent, *op. cit.*, chs. 11 and 15.
13. Bancroft, Prescott, and Motley.—*Cambridge History of American Literature*, II, pp. 110-112, 123-147.

# CHAPTER XXI

# *Religion and Social Life*

## THE CHURCH IN THE FEDERAL PERIOD (1783-1860)

*Church organization nationalized*

DURING the years immediately following the Revolution, some of the leading religious denominations, like the states and the Federal Union, began to form constitutions which would give them more effective organization. In the 1780's the Methodists, Catholics, Presbyterians, and Episcopalians were organized on a national basis. In New England, strange to say, the trend toward nationalism in church government did not appear, although political nationalism was making greater headway there than in many other parts of the country. The old congregational idea of democracy and decentralization in church government was being revived, and the Congregationalists refused to effect a national organization. By this refusal they put themselves at a disadvantage in the contest with the denominations which were more efficiently organized.

The Baptists were likewise committed in theory to the doctrine of democracy and decentralization, since their form of church government was also congregational, but a spirit of nationalism soon grew up among them. The necessity of uniting their membership in all sections in the fight for religious freedom (in which they took a leading part) caused the churches of this denomination to develop a machinery of co-operation. Accordingly, regional associations increased in number and importance, and in 1814 a national convention was organized to direct foreign missions.

### THE WESTWARD MOVEMENT IN THE CHURCHES

*Baptists*

The Presbyterians and Congregationalists outdistanced the other denominations in establishing schools and spreading culture in the West, but they were not so successful in gathering in members as were the Baptists and the Methodists. The numerical strength of the Baptists in the West was due partly to the number of emigrants of this faith from the older states, and partly to their success in winning converts in the new land. Their system of church government, by which all the members had an equal voice in the administration

of church affairs, was in accord with the democratic ideals of the frontier. There was also a strain of mysticism in their religion which made a strong appeal to the emotions. Strict discipline was enforced on the members. Delinquents were admonished and rebuked and if they proved recalcitrant were excluded from the church. Some of the other denominations also held their members up to a rigid standard of conduct. The enforcement of this discipline proved a valuable aid to the authorities in their effort to preserve law and order on the restless frontier.

*Methodists*

The Methodists likewise were able to secure a strong foothold in the West. Their system of circuit riders, which had been devised by Wesley for England, was well adapted to a new and sparsely settled country. Under this plan the minister would travel over a large district, visiting the churches as often as possible and preaching daily at such places as would furnish him an audience. The Methodist doctrine, like the Baptist, had a warm emotional content which found a ready response in the hearts of backwoodsmen. With a zeal and energy worthy of a great cause, the circuit riders went along the highways and byways organizing new churches and strengthening those which had already been established. As they moved on from place to place, class leaders and local preachers were left behind to keep the fires burning. These efforts were attended with great success, and the church grew rapidly in numbers and influence throughout the Western country.

*Catholics*

In the early years the Catholic Church did not play as prominent a part in the indoctrination of the West as did the Protestant denominations. The few Catholic emigrants from the East were served by itinerant priests, and missionary priests were sent out to the French settlements at Detroit and in the Illinois region. By 1808 there were enough Catholics in the trans-Allegheny region to warrant the establishment of a diocese. Bishop Joseph Flaget was put in control of this diocese, which included Tennessee, Kentucky, and all the Northwest Territory. The Catholic cause in both the West and the East was greatly strengthened by the coming of the Irish and German immigrants, for virtually all the former and a large portion of the latter were Catholics.

## THE SECOND AWAKENING

*Religious and moral conditions immediately after the Revolution*

The general deterioration in religion and morality which resulted from the Revolution (see pp. 135 f.) lasted until near the end of the eighteenth century. During this period the American church is thought to have reached the lowest point in spirituality and moral efficacy ever plumbed in its entire history. Far worse than the

material losses of the churches occasioned by the war were the deep inroads which unbelief was making on the faith of the people. Moral integrity and religious earnestness were, however, too deeply imbedded in the American character to be uprooted permanently by the skepticism and infidelity that had been brought in by British and French soldiers. Hence in the last years of the century the American people began to slough off immorality and infidelity and yearn for the garments of salvation. The time was thus ripe for a religious revival, which made a good start about the turn of the century.

*The Second Awakening: its beginning*

To differentiate this revival from that of the first half of the eighteenth century, we speak of it as the Second Awakening. It started in the East, in all probability partly as a result of the evangelical activity of the Methodists in Boston. Strange to say, the Eastern colleges, which had recently been the strongholds of skepticism and deism, now became important centers of the revival. Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale, was able to exert a strong influence on his students in favor of religion, and a revival began there in 1802 which led to the professed conversion of one third of the student body. This fine beginning was followed by other revivals occurring at frequent intervals. Amherst, Williams, and Dartmouth had like experiences.

*The emotional character of the revival*

The revival, however, was not confined to New England and the colleges, but spread throughout the entire country and affected all classes. In the West it took a very serious and colorful form. Here the emotions of the people were stirred to the depths, and feeling was expressed in dramatic fashion. Conversion was regarded as the most outstanding experience in the personal history of any individual. It brought to the sinner a sense of pardon for all his sins and qualified him for a life of joy and peace throughout eternity. When under conviction the sinner was brought down to the hell of despair; with conversion came a sense of relief which exalted him to the heaven of religious ecstasy.

*The revival in the West*

The revival in the West started in Logan County, Kentucky, in 1796, under the preaching of James McGready, an earnest Presbyterian minister. From this center the movement spread under the leadership of Presbyterian, Methodist, and Baptist ministers until the whole Western country had experienced a religious awakening. Meetings were held which lasted day and night for days at a time. These were attended by hundreds and sometimes thousands of earnest listeners. At one gathering the number present was estimated at from 10,000 to 25,000. Families came to these meetings bringing their provisions with them and prepared to stay several days in their

tents. Out of this practice developed the camp meeting, which played an important part in the evangelization of the West.

*Local revivals*

The Second Awakening was followed by small, local revivals that occurred periodically throughout the country. Each year virtually every community had an evangelistic campaign which resulted in winning new recruits for the church and in increasing the spiritual fervor of those who had previously been converted. The camp meeting played an important part both in the Second Awakening and in these follow-up revivals. Bibles, tracts, and other literature distributed by colporteurs also helped to stimulate the spirit of religious fervor.

*The "Great Revival of 1858"*

The spark of evangelism which was kept alive by these means again burst into flame in the "Great Revival of 1858."[1] The panic of 1857 was an important factor in this revival. The suffering incident to hard times was interpreted by many as a sign of God's displeasure with the sin and worldliness of the prosperous years. The panic also caused many people to appreciate the deceitfulness of material wealth and to look to spiritual sources for consolation. Thus as doors to earthly opportunity were closing, windows looking toward heaven were opening. This later religious movement was largely interdenominational in character and, except in rural sections, was not characterized by emotional excesses.

*Effects of the waves of evangelism*

The imprint made on the American character by the successive waves of evangelism was both good and bad, but, according to the best-informed opinion, the good far outweighed the evil. One practical result was a decided increase in church membership. A more intangible, but none the less important, result of the revivals was the deepening of the spiritual life of professed Christians. They imparted to religion a warmth and zeal of which it had stood greatly in need. New churches were erected, and the pulpit attracted the energies of able and consecrated men who served the cause of religion with a zeal, courage, and self-devotion in keeping with their high calling.

The series of evangelistic movements brought on a revival of orthodoxy as well as religion, and a belief at variance with the fundamentals of Christianity was no longer popular. Reverence for the Bible went almost to the verge of bibliolatry. The Scriptures were regarded as having been verbally inspired, and quotations from them were cited as unanswerable arguments in all sorts of controversies. In the sermons, prayers, and hymns of church worship, strong emphasis was placed on otherworldliness. According to the church leaders, the great aim of religion was not to improve social conditions

[1] In the 1820's also, the country had been swept by a revival.

on earth but to prepare the individual for a career of happiness and usefulness in the world to come.

Another effect of the revivals was an improvement in the morals of the people. One observer, who seemed inclined to give a judicial appraisal of the movement, spoke of it (1803) as follows: ". . . some neighborhoods, noted for their vicious and profligate manners, are now as much noted for their piety and good order. Drunkards, profane swearers, liars, quarrelsome persons, etc., are remarkably reformed."[1]

One cost of the revival was the restraint which a renewed interest in religion imposed upon certain types of intellectual freedom. With the triumphant return of orthodoxy, church leaders became hostile to any views which were in conflict with their conception of religion. Scientific theory and liberal philosophy, therefore, did not now enjoy such freedom of expression as they had in the post-Revolutionary decade.

### MORMONISM

As the evangelistic movement swept in successive waves over the country it left a doctrinal sediment in which religious irregularities might easily sprout. Accordingly, there arose a number of religious movements which were considered vagaries by the orthodox. Prominent in the list of unconventional denominations which grew out of evangelical soil was Mormonism. The founder of this new church was Joseph Smith, a young man of western New York, who had imbibed from superstitious parents a firm belief in visions. In a trance at the age of eighteen, so he maintained, he was directed by an angel to locate a buried book made up of golden plates or pages. By the aid of two miraculous lenses found with the plates he was able to read them. The book purports to be an account of America going back as far as the Tower of Babel, with emphasis on the ups and downs of God's chosen people in this hemisphere. This golden book after having been translated by Smith with the aid of four helpers was published as the Book of Mormon and became the sacred book of the Mormons.

*Joseph Smith and the Book of Mormon*

Smith was soon able to win adherents to the new faith, and a church was organized in Seneca County, New York (1830). In the same year began the missionary activity which has done so much to promote the Mormon cause. But Smith fell into disfavor with his neighbors, and troubles arose which led to a move to Kirtland, Ohio, and then to Far West, Missouri. At the latter place the strife between

*Organization and early history of the church*

[1] Sweet, *op. cit.*, 333.

the Mormons and the older inhabitants became serious, and the former then withdrew from Missouri and settled at Nauvoo, Illinois.

The new community at Nauvoo started off promisingly and in a few years was in a flourishing condition. Trouble soon came, however, for in 1843 Smith professed to have received a new revelation authorizing polygamy. Opposition to the Mormons now became intense, and civil strife again arose between them and the anti-Mormons. Smith and his brother were put in jail at Carthage on the charge of treason. With the connivance of the authorities a mob attacked the jail and shot the Smith brothers (1844).

*Brigham Young as leader of the Mormons*

Two years later, under the able leadership of Brigham Young, the Mormons left Nauvoo and started on their long trek to a new and permanent home. Before the end of 1848 there were five thousand of the faithful in Utah ready to change the arid valley of the Great Salt Lake into a land of milk and honey. Irrigation projects were planned and carried out, and soon the desert flowered into beauty and ripened into fruitfulness. Missionaries were sent out to gather in recruits, many of whom came from foreign lands. An emigration fund was established to aid new converts in their long journey to the Promised Land.

## THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT

*Home missions*

The religious fervor generated by the great revival and sustained by subsequent evangelistic efforts aroused a feeling of humanitarianism which found expression in missionary activity at home and abroad and in other efforts at human betterment. In the period that overlapped the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a number of societies for promoting home missions were formed by several denominations in the Middle and New England states. These organizations were generally local and interdenominational in character. Later, societies for home missions were organized on a denominational basis in all the leading denominations.

Some of these missionaries worked faithfully in sparsely settled communities preaching to the frontiersmen, while others were putting forth their best efforts to convert the Indians. In the 1830's the Methodists were represented by Jason Lee in far-away Oregon, where he and his associates were earnestly trying to bring the Indians to a knowledge of Christ. The Presbyterians also were active in the same region in that decade. Marcus Whitman, whom they had sent as a medical missionary to work with the Indians (1836), is noted not only for his sacrificial work among the natives but also for an heroic journey on horseback from Oregon to Boston and Washington

(1842).[1] The Catholics from Canada were also active as missionaries in Oregon, and this rivalry whetted the desire of the American Protestant missionaries for the acquisition of the region by their own country.

*Foreign missions*

Early in the nineteenth century American Protestants began to organize societies for the promotion of foreign missions. The movement had a dramatic beginning when five consecrated and zealous young men were ordained at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1812, and sent out to preach to the people of India. The organization which sponsored this first mission was under the auspices of the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. Other denominations followed suit, and in time all the larger ones had national missionary societies. Foreign missions were established in China, Japan, and other distant regions. In Hawaii the missionaries had marked success in Christianizing and civilizing the natives.

*The Sunday School*

The Sunday School was another agency for imparting religious instruction during this period. The first Sunday School in this country was organized by the Methodist bishop, Francis Asbury, in Hanover County, Virginia, in 1786. The example set by the Methodists was followed by other denominations, and the movement soon became widespread.

*The Young Men's Christian Association*

Later in this period (1851) the Young Men's Christian Association was brought to the United States. By 1865 it had made considerable headway in the larger cities.

### THE CHURCH AND SLAVERY

*Earlier and later attitude of Southern churches toward slavery*

During the first half-century after the Declaration of Independence, official pronouncements against slavery were made by religious groups in the South, as well as in the North, especially among the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians. This agreement on the slavery question between the branches of these churches in the South and North was not seriously disturbed until about 1830, when the second and more violent period of slavery agitation began. The advocacy of emancipation was now frowned upon by public sentiment in Dixie, and the attacks on slavery gradually grew fiercer in the North. Under such conditions it was only natural that the slavery dispute should invade the churches.

[1] Although the long trip was probably made primarily in the interest of his mission, Whitman is thought to have interviewed President Tyler and Secretary Webster, who received him cordially and respectfully. Tradition relates that this rugged pioneer, dressed in leather breeches and worn and torn furs, and whose hands had been frozen on his three-thousand-mile ride, made a deep impression on the President and his Secretary of State when he pointed out to them the great value of this far-off region. On his return to his mission he accompanied a large group of emigrants to Oregon. (See O. P. Chitwood, *John Tyler*, 335.)

The denominations which had the largest membership were the Methodists and the Baptists. As the controversy over slavery grew in intensity and bitterness the Baptists and Methodists of the South took an increasingly firm stand in favor of slavery, while their brethren in the North became more and more outspoken in favor of abolition. Schism was the inevitable outcome of this feeling.

*Division of the Baptist denomination*

The breach in both denominations came in the middle 1840's. In October, 1844, the board that had charge of Baptist home missions refused to appoint James E. Reeves as a missionary in the home field because he was a slaveowner. Later in the same year the board for foreign missions declared that it would not send out any slaveholder as a foreign missionary unless he liberated his slaves. Thereupon the Baptists in the South severed their relation with their Northern associates and organized (1845) the Southern Baptist Convention.

*The Methodist Church divides*

In the meantime the Methodist General Conference in a meeting in New York in 1844 had considered the case of Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia, who had by marriage become the owner of a few slaves. This was the first time that a Methodist bishop had been handicapped by such an encumbrance. After a debate of eleven days a resolution was passed asking Bishop Andrew to abstain from his episcopal activities until he had disposed of his slaves. The Southern annual conferences now seceded from the national organization and next year (1845) organized at Louisville, Kentucky, the Methodist Episcopal Church South, creating a breach which remained open for nearly a century (until 1939).

*Effect of slavery on the unity of the Presbyterian Church*

In 1837-38 the regular Presbyterians divided into two groups, the New School and Old School Presbyterians. The New School group was strongly antislavery in sentiment, and its General Assembly finally (1857) adopted a resolution vigorously condemning slavery. This resulted in the withdrawal of a number of Southern members who organized the United Synod of the South. The Old School Presbyterians refused to take any official stand against slavery and thus escaped division until after the outbreak of the Civil War.

*Effect of the division of the churches*

After their division both the Methodists and the Baptists increased in membership and in missionary activity, but the numerical gain was purchased at the cost of weakening the cause of political union. Hitherto the national unity of these large denominations had been an important tie in binding North and South together. The snapping of this tie subjected the political bond to additional strain and thereby aggravated the trend toward disunion.

## AMERICAN LIFE AT MID-CENTURY (1840-1860): COUNTRY LIFE

*Small farmers*

During the 1840's and 1850's a large majority of the American people followed agriculture as an occupation and therefore lived on isolated farms or in small villages. The greater portion of the land in all sections was held by small landowners, who cultivated it with the aid of their sons and often one or more hired men. The wives and daughters also sometimes lent a helping hand with the outdoor work. Usually, however, the women were kept busy with their own allotted tasks. These included not only cooking and housekeeping, but also such miscellaneous duties as milking and churning, drying fruit, poultry raising, sewing, and spinning and weaving. Neighborhood co-operation was still practiced in the performance of such tasks as house-raising, grain threshing, logrolling, and other similar kinds of work which called for the joint labor of a number of men (see p. 61). The yeoman farmers were the backbone of American society. They had much in common whether they lived in the North or the South. Their manners and customs and ethical and religious ideals were very similar in all sections. They prized highly the homely virtues of courage, honesty, industry, and frugality and had a great respect for religion.

*The yeomanry in the North*

Owing to diversities of soil, labor systems, and social conditions, the economic outlook varied in different sections of the country. In New England the hillsides had worn thin, and the farmers were making a losing fight in competition with the grain growers of the West. In more favored regions of the North and in the Northwest the small farmer enjoyed the great advantage of fertile soil; consequently, he generally lived in a comfortable house, had good barns for his stock, and was well supplied with necessary food and clothing. Except for a few owners of large landed estates, there were no great inequalities of wealth among the farmers in these sections.

*The yeomanry in the South*

Less fortunate than the yeoman of the Northwest was the small farmer of the South. There were, however, some points in favor of the latter. The long summers were an advantage in crop production, and land was so cheap that any industrious worker could hope to become a landowner. But the lands which the yeomen held were frequently not of the best grade, and the crop yield on them was not large. Then, too, many of them could not give their children the opportunities for elementary education which were enjoyed by the masses in the North and Northwest, for the South had lagged behind these sections in public education.

The small farmer of the South was, generally speaking, not in as good financial circumstances as his brother of the North. Further-

more, his long, lanky appearance, his carelessness of dress, and his untidiness in the use of tobacco caused him to appear at a disadvantage when in the presence of strangers. In descriptions of the South written by hurried and sometimes biased travelers he therefore plays an unattractive role. These observers were quick to note his somewhat ungainly exterior but were not able to appreciate his good qualities—his industry, honesty, love of freedom, courage, reverence for religion, respect for womanhood, and loyalty to friends. It was these deeper inner traits which later enabled him to make a successful adjustment to a new social order brought in by war and reconstruction.

*The "poor whites"*

In all countries and in every age there is a stratum of people who because of physical or mental handicaps and a lack of economic opportunity fall into poverty or petty criminality or both. There was such a class in every region of the United States. In the Northwest, because of the abundance of fertile land, it was small, although it was recruited to some extent by pauper immigrants. In the South it was larger than in other sections, partly on account of the excess of poor land and partly on account of the prevalence of hookworm and malaria in certain localities. With their physical and mental vigor sapped by disease and malnutrition, the poor whites could not put forth the exertion needed to earn a comfortable living. These unfortunates were termed by the Negroes "poor white trash," and some of them merited the designation.

*The mountain whites*

Another group of small farmers in the South consisted of the mountain whites, who occupied the Appalachian region from Maryland to northern Alabama. Since they were not in easy reach of transportation routes, they were shut off from the main stream of progress. As a result of this isolation, living conditions among them were very much as they had been in pioneer days, the manners and customs of the colonial age having been preserved with slight change. Dwelling in a log cabin, the hardy mountaineer cultivated a small acreage in the elevated valleys, or "coves," as they were called, and managed to grow enough grain to supply his family and the few razorback hogs and other livestock that he kept. Seldom, if ever, did he have the assistance of a slave, for there were very few Negroes in the entire region. The furnishings of his house were scant and most of the utensils were of wood. An attractive feature of the humble dwelling was a large fireplace over which were suspended pothooks and a crane used in the family cooking.

*Large landholders of the South*

The group in the South which has attracted the most attention of the writers of both fiction and history is that of the wealthy landed proprietors. Everywhere in the Southland there were big estates

manned with numerous slaves. In each case the owner lived in a mansion, supplied with costly furnishings and surrounded by beautiful lawns and gardens. In some cases broad columned porticos, wide halls, and beautiful wainscoting were characteristic architectural features. The mansion house was usually the center of a group of buildings which gave the plantation the appearance of a village.[1] The surrounding buildings consisted of a kitchen, smokehouse, laundry, storerooms, office, granaries, barns, poultry houses, schoolhouse, blacksmith shop, weaving room, and, at some distance away, hidden behind a clump of trees, a group of Negro cabins, each with its small yard and larger vegetable garden.

### CITY LIFE

*The Northern aristocracy*

At mid-century throughout the North there were landed estates comparable in size to those of the South; but in the former section the wealthy class owed its affluence mainly to manufacturing, banking, and commerce rather than to agriculture. This favored group therefore lived mostly in the cities and large towns. The patricians in the North and South had much in common as to manners and customs, styles of dress, and social ideals. The luxury of the rich Southern planter was more than matched by that of the Northern merchant prince.

*Cities; number and size*

The development of American industry and the marked improvement in transportation facilities were attended by the rapid growth of the older cities and the rise of new ones. In 1790 the census reports listed only two cities (Philadelphia and New York) as having a population of twenty thousand and more. By 1800 the number had increased to five. These were, in order of size, Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, Boston, and Charleston. It was twenty years before another, New Orleans, was added to the list. The number increased rapidly during the next three decades, having climbed up to eight by 1830, to sixteen by 1840, and to thirty by 1850.[2]

*New York*

At the opening of the century Philadelphia was the largest city, but by 1812 New York had won first place, a rank which it has held ever since. With a population (1840) of more than three hundred thousand, New York had become the great commercial and financial center of the country. Broadway was the great avenue of traffic and the promenade of fashion. Along this poorly paved street, dimly

[1] In the lower South the mansion house was often located, not on the plantation, but in a near-by town or village.

[2] Of these thirty cities, only four (New Orleans, Charleston, Richmond, and Mobile) were in the states which afterwards formed the Southern Confederacy. The aggregate population of these four cities was 307,445; the total population of the thirty was 2,271,774.

lighted by gas, there passed a continuous stream of vehicular traffic. Conspicuous in the line of pedestrians along the sidewalks were the women dressed in costly furs or in bright-colored silks and satins. Until 1842, when the Croton Water began to be piped into the city, much of the water supply was obtained by use of hand pumps scattered throughout the city.

*Philadelphia*

Next to New York in size and importance came Philadelphia, a city still noted for its Quakerlike calm and quiet. According to the census of 1840 its population was around 220,000 and by 1850 about 340,000. Its clean and well-paved streets were straight and monotonously regular. Along them behind beautiful rows of trees could be seen pretentious mansions, with white doors and marble steps. With its fine public squares and well-stocked shops the city presented an attractive appearance.

*Baltimore and Boston*

Baltimore and Boston, third and fourth respectively in size, were also growing rapidly in importance and were attracting favorable comment from foreign observers.

*New Orleans*

New Orleans was the largest city in the South and the most picturesque one in the country. As a protection against the river there had been constructed a broad levee which rose eight feet above the level of the city and which was approached by a gradual inclined plane. Four miles of this levee were used as a wharf. New Orleans was the most cosmopolitan of all our cities. A part of it was like any other large American city. In one quarter visitors were reminded of Paris by the language, mode of life, amusements, shops, and restaurants of the French and Creole population. There was a third portion which was reminiscent of Cadiz. Here dirty and grass-grown streets and dilapidated wharves and houses proclaimed poverty and distress.

*Charleston*

Charleston was the second city in the region south of the Potomac River, but it was lagging behind its rivals in growth. It was still, however, the center of a charming social life and the guardian of patrician traditions.

*Cincinnati*

Cincinnati was the metropolis of the West and the leading pork-packing center in the United States. Its pork industry and other businesses afforded employment for ten thousand workers. Foreign observers were impressed with the attractiveness of the city and commented favorably on its broad, well-paved streets, beautifully adorned with shade trees, and its private residences remarkable for their elegance and neatness. It was a center of culture as well as prosperity. It could boast of two fine public libraries, six daily newspapers, and several colleges, including a medical college, a law school, and a theological seminary.

*Chicago*

Chicago was exhibiting youthful vigor but was not giving promise

of its future greatness. It had been organized into a city in 1839 and by 1840 had a population of more than five thousand.

*San Francisco*

The most phenomenal growth of all the cities was that made by San Francisco. The waving of the magic wand of gold had suddenly transformed it from a little town of slightly over eight hundred inhabitants (in 1848) to a city of more than thirty-four thousand (34,776) by 1852.

*Living Conditions*

The cities were not properly drained, and in none of them was there a proper disposal of refuse. Rubbish was thrown into the gutters, and garbage was allowed to accumulate in alleys and back yards. In some places the air was polluted by vile odors emanating from slaughterhouses and malodorous manufacturing plants. Dogs were allowed the freedom of the streets, and under the wooden sidewalks lived innumerable rats. The hogs that roamed at will in most of the cities served as scavengers, but often were a nuisance in that they impeded traffic and dug unsightly holes in the streets for wallowing places. As late as 1853 there were said to be more hogs than people in the town of Urbana, Illinois, now the seat of a great state university.

In the cities housing conditions were generally bad, almost beyond belief. Many of the poor "lived in damp, dark, ill-ventilated, vermin-infested, underground rooms." By 1850 a number of cities had been furnished with community water systems, but there was no guarantee that the water supplied by them would be pure. For example, the water which was piped into Chicago from Lake Michigan was frequently contaminated by the drainage from the manure piles on the lake shore. Nowhere was the public protected against the sale of milk from diseased cows, and it was charged that in New York eight thousand children annually lost their lives as a result of infection from milk.

*Conveniences in the home*

In the mid-century decades, families of means were beginning to enjoy many of the conveniences of the machine age. In some homes there were hot and cold running water, bathrooms, cookstoves, and occasionally a hot-air furnace. German and Irish immigration had brought in a good supply of servants, who were relieving the womenfolk of drudgery in prosperous families in the North, while slaves were performing the same service for the wealthy in the South.

*Epidemics and plagues*

Since the rules of sanitation were largely ignored, it is no wonder that the cities were often scourged with epidemics. In winter smallpox was widely prevalent. Vaccination was practiced to some extent but was not an adequate curb on the disease since it was not compulsory. The South was time and again the victim of yellow fever, and, whenever midsummer approached, the people in this section

stood in dread of its recurrence. One of the most violent of these outbreaks was the one that occurred in the summer of 1853. It was at its worst in New Orleans. Starting in May, it attained the greatest virulence in August. On the 21st of that month the number of deaths in the city for one day was nearly three hundred. The mortality was as high as that in London from the great plague. The only bright spot in the awful situation was the heroism and wisdom displayed by the physicians, nurses, and others who cared for the victims of the disease. Worse even than the yellow fever were the epidemics of cholera. The greatest scourge from this disease began in the spring of 1849. Starting in the South it gradually spread throughout the country. It reached the Pacific coast by 1851, and three years later returned to New York and Chicago, this time in a most virulent form. When a city was in the throes of the plague, no one could be seen on the streets except doctors, undertakers, and coffinmakers. "Thousands fled panic-stricken before the scourge, while days of fasting, humiliation and prayer were appointed in view of its probable advent."

### AMUSEMENTS

*Outdoor amusements*

There were many wholesome amusements participated in by the people, especially by the class that had the leisure to enjoy them. These included skating, boating, horseback riding, yacht sailing, hunting and fishing, and the playing of such games as football and baseball. Baseball, which had developed from "Old Town Ball," was played in the early 1850's very much as it is today, except that the number of players on each side ranged from eleven to thirteen. By 1858 a National Association of Baseball Players had been organized, and the game had been standardized under a regular code of rules. Every community of any importance had its local team, and colleges and high schools had taken up the popular sport.

*The circus*

The circus was a great attraction to all classes. It had developed into greater importance in the 1850's by the consolidation of small troupes into large organizations and by the use of the railroad for the transportation of circus equipment. P. T. Barnum was the dean of circus managers.

*The theater*

In the cities the theater offered a type of recreation which was very popular (see pp. 350 f.). The small towns located on the navigable rivers were also favored with occasional theatricals given on showboats. In these towns the people gladly welcomed the periodic visits of the showboats and were thrilled with the dramatic performances and the loud and stirring music with which they were accompanied.

*Indoor amusements*

The indoor amusements were similar to those of the present time. Cards, chess, checkers, billiards, and other games were popular. The

spelling match was in high favor with the youth since it was both an intellectual contest and a social diversion. Dancing also had a wide vogue, and masquerade balls were rather common. Although the quadrille was still the most usual form of dancing, the polka and the waltz were often seen in fashionable circles. To stern moralists with conservative leanings the waltz was an improper type of amusement. When Senator John Tyler (afterwards President) first witnessed the waltz (1827) he was shocked by the performance. In writing to his daughter about it he described it as "a dance which you have never seen, and which I do not desire to see you dance. It is rather vulgar I think." In the cities there were public dance halls which were regarded as "sinks of iniquity."

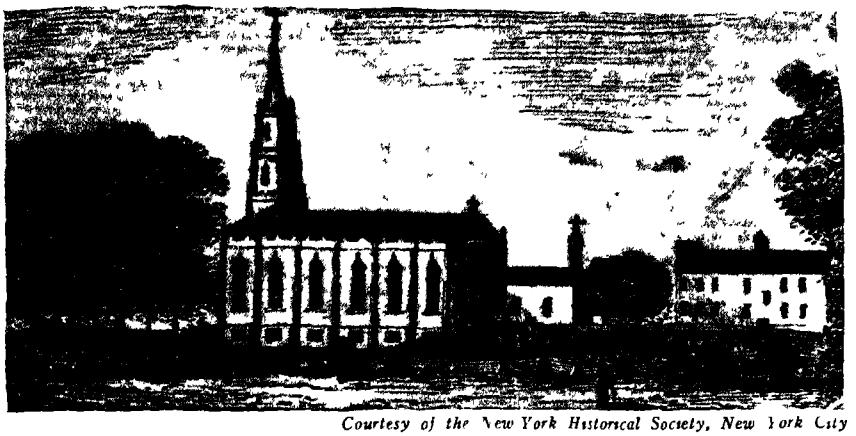
*Summer resorts*

Every family of the opulent class tried to make at least one tour of Europe—the "Grand Tour," as it was called. For the wealthy the summer resort also served as an important center of recreation, amusement, and social intercourse. In the 1850's Newport, Rhode Island, took the lead as a seaside resort. Every summer the cottages and hotels of this watering place were crowded with well-dressed women, accompanied by their prosperous husbands and fathers. They whiled away the time in dancing, horseback riding, bowling, bathing, and flirting. Of these amusements bathing was the most popular. The awkward costumes worn by the women gave them a picturesque appearance but greatly hampered their movements in the water. Their swimming suits were a combination of long-sleeved red frocks and white pantalets coming down to their ankles.

Mineral springs in the interior also attracted large numbers of summer visitors. Of these, Saratoga Springs of New York and White Sulphur Springs in Virginia (now West Virginia) were especially noted. These fashionable spas were patronized by the wealthy from all parts of the country. Some of the patrons were lured by the hoped-for benefit of the medicinal waters, but the majority were attracted by the opportunities for amusement and social intercourse.

For a long time Southern planters and Northern manufacturers and merchants met each other on most friendly terms at these summer colonies. This mingling of the social leaders of the two sections had a wholesome effect in that it tended to counteract the trend toward sectionalism. But in the late 1850's the ill feeling between North and South found its way to the summer resorts, and the Southern guests began to complain of a lack of cordiality toward them by their Northern associates. Accordingly, a movement was started in favor of boycotting Northern resorts and developing those of the South.

Unfortunately, most of the amusements listed above were open

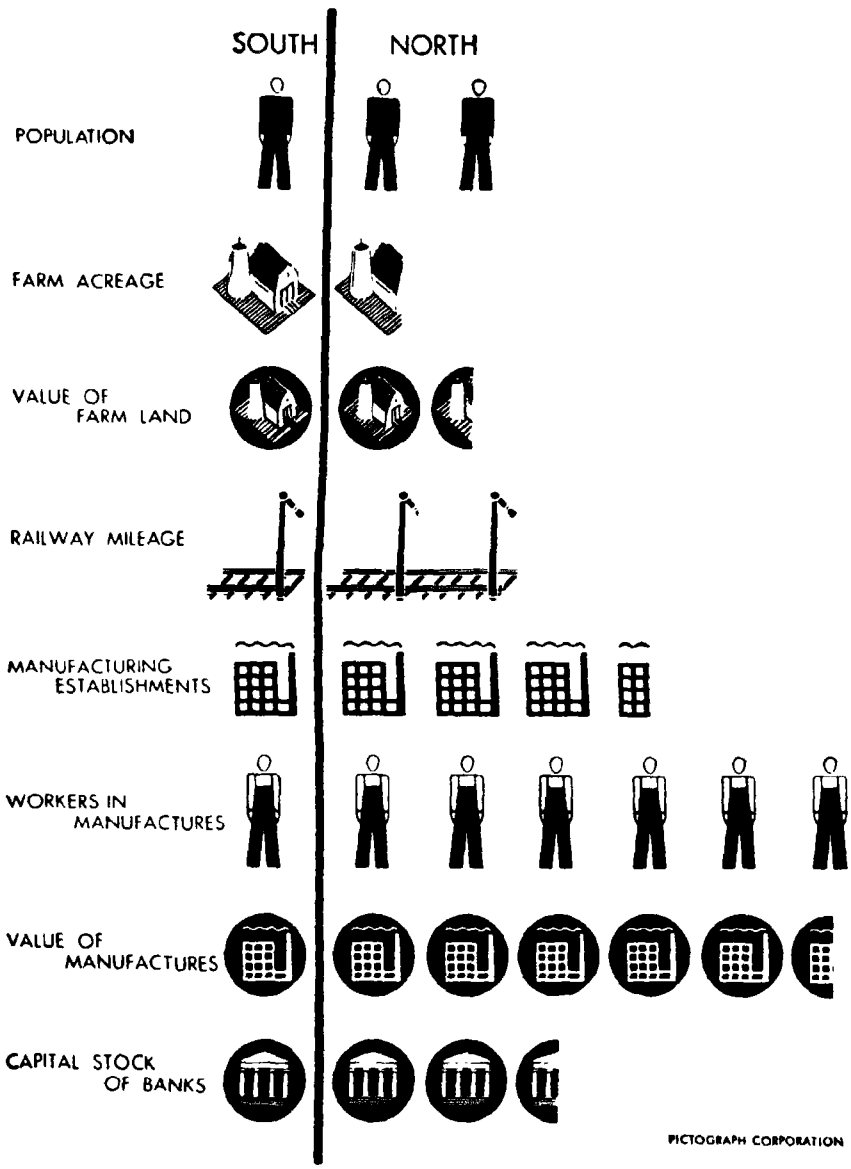


*Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City*

ST JOSEPH'S CHURCH AND CONVENT
OLDEST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN OHIO
From Howe's Historical Collections of Ohio 1847"

*Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City*

COSTUMES OF 1812
From Graham's Magazine, March 1842.




The chart is from Louis M. Hacker, *The United States. A Graphic History*, p. 61. Modern Age Book, Inc., N. Y., 1937.

*Lack of proper amusements for the lower class*

only to the prosperous classes. In the cities little or nothing had been done to provide recreation for the poor. In large measure what recreation existed was supplied by the barroom and the public dance hall. It was therefore under these unwholesome surroundings that many of the youth, especially in the poorer quarters, found their diversion. That immorality and crime would be encouraged under such conditions should have occasioned no surprise.

The yeomanry in the country were somewhat restricted in their amusements by a lack of leisure. There was, however, a variety of diversions which were open to them. These included (in addition to the semisocial working parties) outdoor games, hunting and fishing, dancing and indoor games, visiting, churchgoing, and attendance at public meetings. One useful form of recreation indulged in by the rural classes was conversation. Farmers meeting each other at the inn, country store, church, or the county seat on court days, elections, and other public occasions, exchanged views on politics, condition of crops, and the questions of the day. Often this conversation took the form of anecdote and sometimes of coarse jokes. These meetings served as a clearinghouse of views, afforded amusement, and kept alive a sense of humor in a rather drab countryside.

## DRESS

*Extravagance in dress among women*

The two decades immediately preceding the War for Southern Independence were an era of extravagance, especially as to the wearing apparel of women. The hundred-dollar gowns, costly shawls, and beautiful ribbons with which well-to-do matrons and maids adorned themselves offended the sense of thrift of old-fashioned Americans. The strict moralists also objected to the low-necked dresses worn in fashionable circles. Criticism was leveled against the length of the skirts, which were termed "street-sweepers." So far had this silly fashion gone that it aroused a protest from Mrs. Amelia Bloomer, a prominent advocate of woman's rights. She set the example of wearing a costume which was a combination of a short skirt and a pair of full "trousers." For a few years this new garb, known as "bloomers," gave promise of being popular and was adopted by so well known a personage as Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton. But masculine ridicule was too much for feminine persistence, and after 1853 the costume was seldom worn except by suffragettes and other zealous advocates of the independence of women.

The hoop skirt which followed had better luck than the "bloomer." This new fashion was set by the Empress Eugénie, who introduced it at the French court in 1853. With such high sponsorship it is no

wonder that this fad was popular and held its own for some years beyond the end of this era.

*Mode of dress among men*

The men at this period were less pretentious in their mode of dress than were their fair wives and daughters. The frock coat and the stovepipe hat were still much in use among the well to do. For a while the severity of this style of dress was relieved by colored vests of velvet or satin. Men, both young and old, frequently wore beards and mustaches, and the mustache cup was in great demand.

## "GROWING PAINS"

American life in the 1840's and 1850's presented both attractive and unattractive features. The latter are regarded by a present-day historian[1] as the "growing pains" of an otherwise healthy young society. It could hardly be expected that a generation which was tingling with youthful enthusiasm would be entirely free from the frailties which beset human nature.

*Crime in the cities and mining camps*

In the cities theft, robbery, and murder grew more and more common, and prostitutes plied their trade with unabashed boldness. Young boys were often caught pilfering and picking pockets. More serious were the gangster organizations which infested all the larger cities. Another evil which had recently grown into great proportions was that of professional beggary introduced by German and Irish immigrants. The restraints on crime were weakened by the inefficiency and laxity of the police and the misplaced clemency of pardon officials. It was in the gold diggings of California that crime flaunted itself with the most brazen impudence. San Francisco for a time was terrorized by thugs and other criminals. Conditions became so intolerable that the law-abiding element was forced to organize itself into vigilance committees which restored law and order.

*Drunkenness*

All the crime, however, could not be charged to the economic situation. Drunkenness, for example, was a vice of the prosperous as well as of the poverty-stricken. The consumption of hard liquor was lessened as a result of the fight against it by the temperance agitators. But by 1856 this reform movement was on the decline, and the trend toward abstinence was checked by the drinking of beer. This practice, begun about 1850 by the native Americans in imitation of the German immigrants, had become widely prevalent in a decade.

*Gambling*

Gambling was also a very common vice. In the big cities, in the mining camps, and on the steamboats which went up and down the Mississippi River, this evil practice was engaged in to the greatest

[1] See A. C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (1850-1865), ch. VII.

extent. Dueling was still practiced among the upper classes in the South, but by this time an affair of honor was very unusual in the North.

*American life still sound at the core*

In thus considering the evils of this period we are to guard against exaggerating its shortcomings and overlooking its many good points. It must not be forgotten that the two decades which overlapped the mid-century, despite much that is to be deprecated, were in some respects a golden age. In a large portion of the country the great natural resources were being appropriated for the uses of man, and the people were enjoying material comforts and leisure for the cultivation of the finer things of life. There was still left enough of the sturdy virtues of pioneering days to furnish society with a sound moral basis. Maturity had not brought on cynicism and undue sophistication, but was coupled with a breezy optimism which proclaimed the hopeful youthfulness of the age. Lingering traces of an earlier liberalism and a lively faith in religion gave a wholesome spiritual content to American social philosophy. This philosophy was finding expression in philanthropic and reform movements. Although society was a long way from the millenium of which cheerful optimists dreamed, progress toward a better day was gradually going forward, when war came to end many cherished hopes.

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# CHAPTER XXII

# Compromise and Controversy

## Zachary Taylor as President

*President Taylor, personal traits*

GENERAL TAYLOR was a man of limited education and strong prejudices. He was honest and was possessed of unusual moral and physical courage. In acting upon his firm convictions he displayed a fixed determination which was reminiscent of Andrew Jackson. His previous career afforded no experience which would qualify him for high office. He had never held a civil office and, prior to his nomination, had never voted in a Presidential election. As he owned a large sugar plantation manned with several hundred slaves, Taylor was naturally inclined to view the slavery question with Southern eyes. But it was not long before he fell under the influence of Seward, and then he inclined toward the Northern view of the slavery question. He therefore was not in favor of yielding to the South on that issue and was opposed to Clay's compromise measures. Any hint of secession aroused in him violent antagonism, and he let it be known that an effort in that direction would be met by a boldness like that shown by Jackson in the nullification crisis.

*His attitude toward compromise*

*The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty*

For Secretary of State Taylor selected John M. Clayton of Delaware, who was able to score a noted diplomatic success, the negotiation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. The settlement of the Oregon dispute and the acquisition of California had given the United States a new interest in the construction of a canal which would connect the Atlantic with the Pacific Ocean. In pursuit of this interest the United States secured from New Granada (now Colombia), by a treaty signed in 1846, the right of transit across the Isthmus of Panama. Taking advantage of the opportunity offered by this agreement, American capitalists built the Panama Railroad in the half decade of 1850-1855.

One of the three possible routes for a canal was through Nicaragua, in a location on which Great Britain had designs. She had already obtained the eastern and was trying to get the western terminus. The rival plans of England and the United States made it necessary for the two Powers to come to an agreement, which was embodied in

the treaty negotiated (1850) by Secretary Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer, British minister at Washington. Under the terms of the agreement any canal constructed in Nicaragua would be protected and its neutrality guaranteed by both countries. Both nations were pledged never to obtain exclusive control over the canal or to erect fortifications commanding it or to exercise any dominion over any part of Central America.

## THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

*Intense feeling between North and South*

When the new Congress met in December, 1849, the sectional bitterness had reached a great height. Resolutions adopted by state legislatures and other bodies showed that there was intense feeling on the slavery question throughout the country. From these expressions of opinion it was evident that there was an overwhelming sentiment in the North against the extension of slavery to California and New Mexico, whereas feeling in the South was equally strong in favor of keeping the new territories open to it. An amicable agreement, therefore, on the questions at issue could be reached only as a result of compromise. In the efforts at compromise no co-operation could be expected from the radicals of either side. There were, however, moderates from both sections who in a spirit of compromise were willing to meet their opponents on middle ground.

*Urgency of the problem*

In the meantime events in New Mexico, Utah, and California had taken such a turn as to demand immediate action by Congress. New Mexico was in need of a territorial government and Utah was asking for statehood. The Mormons there had organized a government for the new state of Deseret (1849), elected Brigham Young as governor, and applied for admission into the Union.

*The gold rush*

The problem of greatest urgency arose in connection with California. The discovery of gold there early in 1848 had caused a mighty inrush of immigrants to the new El Dorado. "Blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, farmers, bakers, tapsters, boarding-house keepers, soldiers, and domestics all left their occupations. . . . Privates from the army and sailors from the naval ships deserted and repaired to the gold diggings."[1] In this heterogeneous group there were many good citizens but also a considerable number of criminals and outlaws. In 1849, eighty-one thousand immigrants went to California.

*A free state constitution ratified by the people*

The military government of California had not been devised for such a situation and was not able to cope with the new conditions. Strife over mining titles led to fights, and there were numerous

[1] J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, I, 111. (Quoted by permission of the Macmillan Company.)

brawls of other kinds. A sort of lynch law, regulated by the better element, was nearly all that stood between the people and anarchy. The need of law and order was strongly felt by all well-meaning citizens, and a constitutional convention was called to organize a government. Meeting in September, 1849, it framed a state constitution which prohibited slavery. In taking steps toward the formation of a new government, the people were assisted by the confidential agent of the President, for Taylor stated that he "desired to substitute the rule of law and order there for the bowie-knife and revolver." The constitution was ratified by the people, and application was made to Congress for admission into the union.

*Clay offers a group of compromise resolutions*

In the Congress that met in December, 1849, Henry Clay was one of the most prominent leaders. At this trying time he came forward to perform his last public service. Because of frail health and his advanced age, he had given up all hope of the Presidency, and consequently his judgment was free from the bias of personal ambition. He now assumed the role of peacemaker and offered eight resolutions which provided for a compromise settlement of the questions at issue. These resolutions led to one of the most remarkable debates ever staged in Congress. Prominent among the noted speakers who took part in it, besides Clay himself, were Calhoun, Webster, Stephen A. Douglas, William H. Seward, and Jefferson Davis. A few days after offering his resolutions (February 5, 1850), Clay appeared on the floor of the Senate to uphold them. When he arose to speak, he faced an appreciative audience that overflowed the galleries. With deep earnestness he urged each section of the country to make concessions to the other for the sake of the Union. The North, he contended, should accept a law that would provide for the return of fugitive slaves to Southern owners. Nor should the North insist upon applying the Wilmot Proviso to the new territory, for the restriction was entirely unnecessary. If admitted at all, California would come into the Union with her antislavery constitution, and slavery could not exist in New Mexico because physical conditions there were unfavorable to it.

*A notable debate*

*Attitude of Calhoun toward the Compromise*

About a month later (March 4), Calhoun was slated to appear before the Senate. He was nearing death's door and was not strong enough physically to deliver his speech. Swathed in bandages, he tottered into the Senate chamber, where he sat quietly while his speech was being read by Senator James M. Mason of Virginia. In this serious address he expressed opposition to the compromise resolutions on the ground that they did not go far enough in recognizing the rights of the South. He declared that the only way in which the Union could be preserved was for the North to show a willingness

to return to the South her runaway slaves; stop the slavery agitation; allow the South an equal share in the public domain; and consent to an amendment to the Constitution which would restore the political equilibrium between the sections.

*Webster's Seventh-of-March speech*

A few days after Calhoun's speech was presented, Webster took the floor in favor of compromise. His speech made on March 7 was a great forensic achievement and deserves to rank with his reply to Hayne. In it he advocated compromise for the sake of the Union and pointed out grievances of which the South had a right to complain. Like Clay, he urged the adoption of a stricter fugitive slave law and contended that slave restrictions by Congress on California and New Mexico were unnecessary. Even if there were no such restrictions, slavery could not exist in those regions, and therefore to apply the Wilmot Proviso to them would only serve to antagonize the South. Since California and New Mexico were destined to be free, "I would not," he said, "take pains uselessly to reaffirm an ordinance of nature, nor to re-enact the will of God. I would put in no Wilmot Proviso for the mere purpose of a taunt or reproach."

This was the last joint appearance on the public stage of that triumvirate of elder statesmen which had played so prominent a role for a generation. Calhoun died in less than a month after the delivery of his address, and both Clay and Webster passed away before the end of 1852.

*Attitude of Northern and Southern extremists toward the Compromise*

Clay's resolutions were opposed by extremists in both the North and the South. The Northern radicals were against the proposed compromise on the ground that it did not sufficiently loosen the shackles of slavery, whereas the Southern radicals opposed it because it did not give adequate recognition to the rights of the slaveowner. Prominent in the list of the younger statesmen who for these reasons objected to the Compromise were William H. Seward of New York, on the one side, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, on the other. Seward said that there was a "higher law than the Constitution, which regulates our authority over the domain."

*Seward's doctrine of the "higher law"*

*The Compromise passed as separate measures*

Clay appeared on the floor of the Senate seventy times in support of his proposals. It was, however, the political strategy of Douglas, rather than the eloquence of Clay, that secured the enactment of the measures. They were carried through the Senate under his leadership and through the House by his friends.[1] The debates in Congress showed that Clay's resolutions could not pass if tied together in one bill, for few of the members were willing to support all of them. They

[1] For an excellent account of the part played by Douglas in the fight for the Compromise, see an article by F. H. Hodder in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXII, 525-536.

therefore were broken down into separate measures, each of which was passed by Congress and signed by the President.

*Provisions of the Compromise*

This group of acts, which embodied in substance the original proposals of Clay, is known as the Compromise of 1850. It contained some provisions favorable to the North and some favorable to the South. California was to be admitted as a free state. The South was compensated for this concession to the North by a new fugitive slave law, providing for more effective return of slaves escaping to free states. A neutral measure was the one that provided for the organization of the territories of Utah and New Mexico with no provision for slavery during the territorial period. When these territories, or any portions of them, were ready for statehood, they were to be admitted into the Union with or without slavery as their constitutions should prescribe at the time of admission. Texas was to receive $10,000,000 from the Federal government if she would cede to the United States the large area of land in dispute on her western and northern borders.[1] This agreement was favorable to the North, as it took territory from the slave state of Texas and added it to the Territory of New Mexico from which could be carved free states. Concessions were made to both sides in the slave law for the District of Columbia. By it slavery was continued but the slave trade was prohibited in the Federal district.

*Significance of the Compromise*

The Compromise was a truce in the slavery conflict which postponed secession for ten years. During this decade the economic bonds between the northern West and the northern East were strengthened by the numerous railroads which linked the two sections together. This solidarity was an important factor in the decision of the northern West to support the North in the Civil War and thus assure the success of the Union cause.

*The Compromise accepted by the country*

The Compromise was anathema to the extremists in both the North and the South, but the country as a whole welcomed a cessation of the strife over slavery. Despite its strong objection to the admission of California as a free state, the South, except South Carolina and Mississippi, accepted the Compromise as a satisfactory settlement. It was also favorably received in the North, although the Fugitive Slave Law was a bitter pill to the people of that section. At well-attended meetings held in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other Northern cities, resolutions were voted expressing satisfaction with the new laws and a willingness to carry them out.

1 Texas claimed as her western boundary the Rio Grande to its source. The United States had insisted upon the same boundary in the dispute with Mexico; but now there was opposition in the North to allowing Texas all of this vast area.

## THE PRESIDENCY OF MILLARD FILLMORE

*A new Cabinet*

On July 9, 1850, after a short illness, President Taylor died. Millard Fillmore, who at once took up the reins of government, was more fortunate than have been most of our Vice-Presidents who have succeeded to the Presidency, in that he was able to choose his own Cabinet. On the death of Taylor the Cabinet resigned, and Fillmore selected a new one. Webster was made Secretary of State and became the dominant personality in the group.

*Personal traits of Fillmore*

Millard Fillmore (1800-1874) was a self-educated man of ability who had had considerable experience in governmental affairs. For eight years he had been a member of the House of Representatives and had presided over the Senate as Vice-President with dignity and impartiality. He had a pleasing personality and a suavity of manner that disarmed political opponents. Prior to his election to the Vice-Presidency he had been opposed to slavery, but he had now come to fear that a further advance of the crusade against slavery would jeopardize the Union. Consequently, he was in favor of the Compromise. Since Webster also exerted great influence in its favor, the passage of the compromise measures was furthered by the coming in of the new Administration.

*He favors the Compromise*

*The campaign of 1852*

The breach in the Democratic Party had been healed when it held its national convention at Baltimore early in June, 1852. The outstanding candidates for the nomination were Cass, Buchanan, Douglas, and Marcy. For a number of ballots the convention was deadlocked, and it became evident that none of these leaders would be selected. Then on the forty-ninth ballot there was a stampede to Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, and he was nominated almost unanimously. William R. King of Alabama was named for the Vice-Presidency. The platform gave an unqualified endorsement of the Compromise of 1850.

The Whigs held their convention in Baltimore later in this same month of June. Before it were the names of Fillmore, Webster, and General Winfield Scott. Fillmore started out with a plurality (not a majority) of the votes, but later fell behind Scott, who was nominated on the fifty-third ballot. Scott owed his victory to the fact that the pro-Administration forces were divided between Fillmore and Webster. The platform, like that of the Democrats, endorsed the Compromise, including the Fugitive Slave Act.

There was little excitement in this campaign. The Whigs tried without success to stir up enthusiasm for their military hero and thus repeat the performance of 1840. So far as their platforms went, there was no real issue between the two parties. Nevertheless Scott,

although reared and educated in Virginia, was thought to lean toward the antislavery cause. This opinion arose from his close association with Seward, who had effectively supported his nomination. Pierce, on the other hand, was supposed to be wholeheartedly in favor of the Compromise, and his election therefore offered the better guarantee that the slavery controversy would not be reopened.

*Result and significance of the election*

Scott did not receive the cordial support of the whole Whig Party. The antislavery element liked the candidate but objected to the platform. A considerable number of the Southern and conservative Whigs, on the other hand, endorsed the platform but were dissatisfied with the candidate. Pierce had behind him a united party and was able to make a strong appeal to the independent voters. The people were tired of slavery agitation and wanted a vacation from controversy. Times were good, and the business interests feared that this prosperity would be frightened away if the slavery dispute were reopened. For these reasons Pierce was elected by an unusually large popular and electoral majority, carrying every state but four. The Free-Soil Party did not make nearly so good a showing as it had in the previous campaign. This was another indication that the country was weary of the strife over slavery and was longing for rest.

## FOREIGN POLICY OF PRESIDENT PIERCE

*Franklin Pierce: personal traits and previous career*

Franklin Pierce (1804-1869) was in his forty-eighth year and was thus the youngest man elected President up to that time. He had an attractive personality, was an eloquent speaker, and enjoyed a reputation for strict honesty and earnest religious convictions. He had been in public life for a number of years, having served in the New Hampshire legislature and in both houses of Congress. In the Mexican War he had displayed courage and ability, serving under General Scott as a brigadier general.

*Pierce's inauguration*

The inauguration of the good-looking new President was witnessed by the largest crowd that had ever assembled on such an occasion. His inaugural address, which was a well-phrased literary production, was effectively delivered, not read. It advocated a strict enforcement of the Compromise measures and such territorial expansion as would be necessary for home defense. "The policy of my administration," he said, "will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion."

*Prosperity*

If the snow falling on his bare head as he took the oath of office was an unfavorable omen, the other auspices pointed to a successful administration. It was a time of great prosperity. Immigrants were pouring into the country, and railroad construction was boom-

ing. The acceptance of the Compromise by both of the great political parties gave the impression that the evil spirit of slavery agitation had finally been exorcised.

*The Cabinet*

Pierce's outstanding weakness as President was his indecision of character, a fault which was aggravated by his intense desire to please everybody. The wisdom or unwisdom of his policy would therefore be determined largely by the influences that would be brought to bear upon him. For this reason the selection of his official advisers was an important step. In his Cabinet there were three men who had attained eminence in public life. These were: William L. Marcy of New York, Secretary of State; Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Secretary of War; and Caleb Cushing of Massachusetts, Attorney General. Davis was rapidly becoming the leading champion of the Southern cause, and the other two took a moderate attitude toward slavery. Under such guidance the President was more cordial toward Southern interests than ordinarily would be expected of a Northern President.

*Pierce's plans for expansion*

At his accession Pierce probably looked forward to the annexation of Cuba as the principal objective of his administration. By this time, however, the question of expansion was so interlaced with that of slavery that there was no way of separating them. The South favored and the North opposed the acquisition of Cuba because expansion southward would seemingly enlarge the area of slavery and thereby give the South a stronger position in the Union. With sentiment thus divided at home, the President was not able to carry out his desire for expansion. Furthermore, no outward event occurred which opened the way for an agreement with Spain looking to the purchase of Cuba.

*The Gadsden Purchase*

The only new territory gained was a small area south of the Gila River, which was bought from Mexico (1853) for ten million dollars. This acquisition is known as the "Gadsden Purchase" because the purchase was negotiated by James Gadsden, American minister to Mexico. This land was coveted because the surveyors thought it would be needed for the proper location of a southern railroad to the Pacific.

*The treaty with Japan*

The Administration scored a diplomatic success in the Far East which led to results important not only for the United States but for the world at large. Soon after a commercial treaty with China was signed (1844),[1] an unsuccessful attempt was made to open commercial relations with Japan. At that time the Japanese were strongly prejudiced against foreigners; no trade was allowed with the outside

[1] In 1844 a treaty negotiated by Caleb Cushing was signed with China, by which American citizens were allowed full trading privileges in certain Chinese ports.

world except with the Dutch, and that only to a limited extent. Foreign sailors shipwrecked on her coast were harshly dealt with. In 1852, Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent by President Fillmore to Japan with instructions to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that eastern nation. Not succeeding on his initial voyage, he returned with a large squadron (1854) and overawed the authorities into the acceptance of a treaty. By the terms of this agreement two ports were opened to American trade, and shipwrecked American sailors were to be cared for. This was the entering wedge of Occidental influence in Japan. It led to a breakdown in the isolation of the island kingdom and ultimately to the acceptance of western civilization.

### THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT; *Uncle Tom's Cabin*

The abatement of the slavery dispute resulting from the Compromise of 1850 proved to be only a short-lived truce, during which hostilities did not entirely cease. The spirit of bitter controversy had left, for the time being, the halls of Congress but was still exciting the minds of the people throughout the country. During this interval the centers of disturbance were the Fugitive Slave Act and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

*The Fugitive Slave Act*

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was more stringent than the one of 1793, which had become a dead letter. The newer law imposed upon Federal marshals and their deputies the obligation to take every step necessary for the recapture of runaway slaves and made it an offense punishable by fine or imprisonment for anyone to aid in their escape. Negroes accused of being fugitives were brought before Federal courts or commissioners appointed by them and were denied the right of trial by jury. They were not allowed to testify in their own behalf, whereas the evidence of the claimants or their agents was accepted. The enforcement of the law tended to aggravate rather than alleviate the strife over slavery. The South contended that the opposition to the law on the part of abolitionists in the North was causing many fugitives to escape and was thereby inflicting heavy financial losses on slaveowners. The opposition became stronger after public sentiment had been inflamed by the Kansas-Nebraska Act. The abolitionists sometimes went to the extent of releasing fugitives by mob violence. The North, on the other hand, was dissatisfied with the workings of the act, alleging that free Negroes were being enslaved under its enforcement.

*The "Underground Railroad"*

That the people in the North who opposed slavery on moral grounds did not co-operate in the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act is beyond question. Some of these refused to assist in

carrying out the law, whereas others were active in opposing enforcement. For aiding slaves to escape to free states and Canada the latter group had an effective organization called the "Underground Railroad." Along routes of escape there were designated places at which runaways were received and given assistance. These were the stations. The persons who led the fugitives from one station to another were called conductors. By this secret system a considerable number of Negroes were assisted in their flight from slavery to freedom. To the owners of the escaped slaves this meant the loss of valuable property.

*Uncle Tom's Cabin*

An important use was also made of literature in the fight for abolition. The most effective indictment ever made against slavery was the novel, *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* by Harriet Beecher Stowe. When *Uncle Tom's Cabin* came out in book form in 1852, it at once attained great popularity, and the number of sales was almost incredible. Its fame extended to other lands, and it was translated into twenty foreign languages. It was soon dramatized, and large numbers of people who were unable to read the book witnessed the play. As a literary production the work was far from being a masterpiece. The style was commonplace, the language in places inelegant, and the portrayal of plantation life far from accurate; but, measured by the influence wielded, "it stands at the very top of American fiction." It was received in the North with great acclaim and it intensified there the opposition to slavery and also the hostility to the South. The people of the South, on the other hand, felt that the book held up their section in a false light before the world. A Southern minister spoke of it as "that book of genius, true in all its facts, false in all its impressions." This alleged slander increased the Southerner's hatred of Northern abolitionists. This difference in reaction revealed the gulf that separated the two sections and widened and deepened it.

## THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA ACT

*Stephen A. Douglas*

The good auspices under which Pierce entered office soon gave way to portents of trouble. After less than a year of smooth sailing, the Administration ship hit upon a rock—the Kansas-Nebraska controversy. The leading part in this dispute was assumed by Stephen Arnold Douglas (1813-1861), a statesman who was born in Vermont but had moved to Illinois in young manhood. He was short of stature, but his large head and broad shoulders gave the appearance of physical strength, whereas his brilliant mind raised him far above the ordinary intellectual level. On account of these mental and physical traits he was called the "Little Giant."

*Reasons for organizing a territorial government for Nebraska*

As an aid to a correct understanding of the controversy of which Douglas was the center, a glance should be taken at the map of the trans-Mississippi region. West of Missouri, Iowa, and Minnesota Territory, and north of the present Oklahoma, there was a vast area of unoccupied land which extended to the Rockies on the west and to Canada on the north. In this extensive region there were wide prairies well suited to farming, and the Westerners were eager for the opportunity to settle in this favored land. But before it could be occupied the land would have to be surveyed and provision made for a territorial government. Furthermore, for some time there had been considerable talk of a railroad to the Pacific. The North and the South each wanted this railroad to be linked up with its own section, and three possible routes were under consideration—a northern, a central, and a southern. The organization of a territorial government for the region described above would be favorable to a northern or a central location for the road.

*The Kansas-Nebraska Act*

In furtherance of these aims, Douglas, as chairman of the Committee on Territories, reported a bill which in its final form provided for the organization of two territories—Kansas and Nebraska—in each of which the people were to decide through the territorial government whether they would or would not have slavery. Douglas termed this principle of government "popular sovereignty." But as there were very few settlers in these prospective territories, the question would have to be determined by the newcomers, or "squatters," who would rush in from the older communities. The opponents of the bill therefore called the policy "squatter sovereignty." The slavery provision was contrary to the compromise of 1820 and there was therefore a clause definitely repealing the Missouri Compromise. The bill received the entire support of the Administration, and with this backing was passed (1854) by safe majorities in both houses. Although the Southern members of Congress had had no part in initiating the measure, they voted overwhelmingly for it.

*Opposition in the North to the measure*

The enactment of this law proved the opening of Pandora's Box, and the evils of slavery agitation began to swarm out with unabated fury. The controversy, now renewed, continued with accelerated momentum until slavery met its death in a terrible fratricidal war. Public sentiment in a large part of the North was lashed into fury over the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. It is true that this compromise was only an act of Congress and legally could be repealed as could any other act of Congress. But the North contended that it was a sort of compact between the two sections and that it was more binding morally than an ordinary

law. As the Kansas-Nebraska Act made it possible for the people of one or both of these territories to vote in slavery, it was jeopardizing an area which the North had already staked off for itself. A great deal of excitement was thus aroused, both inside and outside of Congress.

*Douglas attacked for his sponsorship of the bill*

It was through the skillful management of Douglas that the bill was pushed through Congress, and he therefore became the butt of severe criticism in the North. The motive for his action, it was charged, was the selfish desire to strengthen himself in the South and thus enhance his chances for the Presidency. So unpopular was he in the North that, as he afterwards said, he could travel "from Boston to Chicago by the light of his own effigies." This bitterness of feeling was largely due to the propaganda carried on by the abolitionists and their political allies, and much of it rested on gross slander. Although the motives that prompt the action of men in public life are often complex and hard to determine, in the light of recent research it may be safely assumed that one strong motive (and probably the main one) of Douglas's action was his desire that the Pacific Railroad should take the central route and make Chicago its eastern terminus. The organization of territorial governments for Kansas and Nebraska would aid in the furtherance of this plan. The provision as to slavery would win the support of Southern Congressmen and thus ensure the passage of the bill. Furthermore, popular sovereignty was in keeping with the democratic principles to which he adhered.

## "BLEEDING KANSAS"

*Nebraska organized as a free territory*

After the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been passed, settlers moved into Nebraska from Iowa and took steps toward organizing a government. The Southerners made no attempt to win this region for slavery, and Nebraska at once became a free territory. The citizens of Iowa had taken a prominent part in the election of members of the Nebraska legislature, and some of them had resorted to the practice of stuffing the ballot boxes. However, these irregularities did not attract the attention of other parts of the country, since the slavery question did not enter into the election.

*The political situation in Kansas*

Very different was the reaction from the outside to the efforts to organize a government for Kansas, since both the proslavery and antislavery forces made a vigorous fight for supremacy. Whether the territory would be free-soil or slaveholding seemed to depend upon the proportion of the settlers from the North to those from the South. Antislavery leaders in the North formed the New Eng-

land Emigrant Aid Company and other similar organizations to encourage by financial support active emigration from the Northern states to Kansas, hoping that these settlers would be numerous enough to outvote the proslavery men and thus organize the territorial government on a free-soil basis. This method of stimulating settlement gave the antislavery party a big advantage over its opponents in the race for the control of Kansas. Later on, the South tried the same plan and emigrant aid societies were formed in nearly all the Southern states. These efforts, however, met with little success, for comparatively few planters were willing to assume the risks involved in taking their slaves to a territory from which slavery might be excluded.

An election was held in Kansas in the spring of 1855 to choose members of the territorial legislature. Slaveholders from Missouri came in large numbers and took part in the election. In the contest the proslavery party was successful. The free-soilers contended that this victory was due to the illegal participation in the election by voters from the Missouri border, to whom Horace Greeley applied the term of "Border Ruffians." This outside interference was a serious blunder; but whether the proslavery party needed this assistance to win the election is difficult to determine.[1]

*A proslavery government organized in Kansas*

Despite the irregularity of the election in which the Missourians had heavily stuffed the ballot boxes, the territorial legislature thus chosen was recognized by President Pierce. This legislature created the machinery for a territorial government and adopted a civil and criminal code which included laws favorable to slavery. The antislavery party denied the legality of the acts of this legislature. Moreover, it held a convention at Topeka, which framed an antislavery constitution. Although the call for this convention did not rest on a legal basis, the free-soilers contended that it represented a majority of the settlers and asked that Kansas be admitted as a state with this antislavery constitution. This request for the admission of Kansas to the Union was voted on favorably by the House of Representatives but was rejected by the Senate.

*Civil strife*

With two governments thus facing each other in Kansas, each with a group of adherents enraged against the other side, serious friction was the inevitable outcome. Accordingly, the territory soon fell into a condition of strife which gave rise to the term "Bleeding Kansas." It was a case of Greek meeting Greek, and both sides

[1] According to a census taken late in the preceding winter the number of bona fide settlers from the South was greater than that from the North. But not all of the Southerners in Kansas were in favor of slavery and not all of the Northerners were against it. (See George F. Milton, *The Eve of Conflict*, 192; and Avery Craven, *The Coming of the Civil War*, 362.)

were at fault. The Missourians who crossed the border were not loath to use the arms with which they were equipped. In the North money was raised not only to send immigrants to Kansas but also to supply them with rifles. Henry Ward Beecher, one of the most noted preachers of the North, warmly advocated the furnishing of arms to the free-state men and declared in public addresses that rifles might prove "a greater moral agency" than the Bible. For this reason the Sharps rifles supplied to the antislavery immigrants were usually called "Beecher's Bibles." The slavery controversy was the main but not the only cause of this strife. Some of it grew out of frontier conditions and some of it was caused by personal differences and disagreements over land titles. Furthermore, the seriousness of the situation was exaggerated by distorted newspaper reports.

*The Lawrence incident*

One of the deplorable incidents of this struggle was the sack of the antislavery town of Lawrence by the proslavery party. The United States marshal and a county sheriff led a posse of seven hundred and fifty men to Lawrence to make some arrests (1856). The men indulged freely in the whiskey found there, and the posse was converted into a mob. After the arrests had been made, some newspaper offices were destroyed, a hotel was burned, and the town was sacked.

*John Brown at Pottawatomie Creek*

A crime of still greater enormity was committed at Pottawatomie Creek (May, 1856) by a small group of antislavery men led by John Brown. Brown was a narrow-minded fanatic in whose religion there was a fierce strain of belated and decayed Puritanism. The milk of human kindness in his philosophy had soured, and earnestness had hardened into intolerance. The abolition of slavery was the one reform toward which he devoted his energies with unabated effort. He regarded the institution of slavery as a cancer on the social order which could be removed only by painful surgery. "Without the shedding of blood there is no remission of sins," was one of his favorite sayings. In keeping with this philosophy he and six associates (four of whom were his own sons) captured five men on Pottawatomie Creek, killed them, and mutilated their bodies. His excuse for this massacre was that it avenged the death of five antislavery men who, he claimed, had lost their lives at the hands of the proslavery party.

*Contest over the election of the Speaker of the House*

If Douglas thought that his bill would relieve Congress of slavery agitation he had less foresight than should be expected of a brilliant politician, for there was the same disagreement and bitterness of feeling inside as outside the halls of the national legislature. This is shown by the fact that it took the Thirty-fourth Congress, meeting

early in December, 1854, nearly two months to agree upon a Speaker.

*The assault on Senator Sumner*

A shameful exhibition of this ill feeling was a most obnoxious speech made by Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts and the assault on him by Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina. In his speech on what he termed "The Crime against Kansas," Sumner used the most abusive expressions and inexcusable personal allusions, making a violent onslaught on the character of A. P. Butler, an aged Senator of South Carolina. Brooks, who was a nephew of Butler and a member of the House of Representatives, avenged the insult to his relative by attacking Sumner while he was seated behind his desk in the Senate chamber, beating him over the head with a gutta-percha cane until he became unconscious. So severe was Sumner's injury that it was not until December, 1859, that he returned to full-time attendance in the Senate. This unfortunate affair strengthened the antislavery and weakened the proslavery cause, for the Northerners regarded the attack as a cowardly and brutal assault inspired by the slave power. The abolitionists contended that the South as a whole acclaimed or at least condoned what they termed a dastardly act. In this way the incident fanned the flames of hatred against the South that were already making great headway in the North.[1]

## THE ELECTION OF 1856

One important result of the Kansas-Nebraska Act was the formation of a new political party. Prior to 1854 the two great national parties—Whigs and Democrats—had been able to maintain their national character despite the inroads of sectionalism. The Kansas-Nebraska Act led to a division of the Democratic Party and to the destruction of the Whig Party. The Northern Whigs were almost unanimous in their opposition to the act, while a majority of the Southern wing were in favor of it. The Democrats were also divided into pro-Nebraska and anti-Nebraska factions.

*Origin of the Republican Party*

While the Kansas-Nebraska Act was under discussion, a number of meetings were held in various parts of the country to protest against the proposed measure. At one of these meetings, held at Ripon, Wisconsin (March, 1854), it was suggested that a new

[1] The South on the whole did not approve the method employed by Brooks in meting out punishment to the Massachusetts Senator. It is true, however, that the people of South Carolina in general approved of Brooks's action and there was considerable sentiment in his favor in other localities in the South. This sympathy was expressed in gifts of canes and in newspaper statements and editorials. However, the predominant feeling of the South (outside South Carolina) was that the assault was rash, unwise, and indefensible, and would injure the South and the cause of slavery.

party, assuming the name "Republican," be organized to oppose the extension of slavery. In July of this same year a convention was held at Jackson, Michigan, by the antislavery party, and a state ticket was nominated. A few other states followed this example and put out state tickets. The Republican Party had thus been successfully launched before the end of 1855.

*The "Know-Nothing" Party*

The American, or "Know-Nothing," Party had come into prominence by 1851 (see pp. 324 f.). In this year it carried Massachusetts and received a strong vote in New York and Pennsylvania. The next year it carried three New England states. Although this party made its chief appeal by its opposition to Catholics and foreigners, it could not ignore the slavery issue. In 1855 the General Council of the party declared that Congress should not prohibit slavery in any of the territories or the District of Columbia. It also refused to demand the restoration of the Missouri Compromise. This pro-Southern stand alienated the antislavery wing of the party in the North. The "Know-Nothings" entered the race in 1856 with Millard Fillmore as their candidate for the Presidency.

*The Whig Party divided*

The Whig Party was unable to stand up against the onslaughts of sectionalism. Since the Compromise of 1850 it had been badly split, and after the Kansas-Nebraska Act it was hopelessly divided. The Southern adherents of the party felt disgruntled at the attitude of their Northern associates toward the Kansas-Nebraska Act. Some of them joined with the "Know-Nothings" and others with the Democrats. In the North the antislavery Whigs united with the Republicans. The remnant of the old Whig Party endorsed the nomination of Fillmore.

*Frémont nominated for President by the Republicans*

The Republican Party was now forging rapidly to the front. The main element in this new coalition was the group of former antislavery Whigs. The party also included Free-Soilers, anti-Nebraska Democrats, and "Know-Nothings" who had seceded from their party because of its recent proslavery stand. In February, 1856, the Republican Party was organized on a national basis in a convention meeting at Pittsburgh. Another national convention was held at Philadelphia (in June of the same year), at which John C. Frémont was nominated for the Presidency. He was also endorsed by the antislavery wing of the "Know-Nothing" Party. The platform, which was unanimously adopted, declared that Congress should "prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism, polygamy and slavery." It also demanded the immediate admission of Kansas to the Union with her free-state constitution. William H. Seward of New York was the most prominent member of the party, but he was passed by because he had made enemies, especially among the

*Position of the Republicans on the slavery issue*

"Know-Nothings," and his availability was questioned. Frémont had had little experience in governmental affairs but had won the title of "Pathfinder of the West" from his explorations in that region. Because of his somewhat overrated adventurous career in California, he was crowned with a halo of romance which made a strong appeal to voters and stamped him as a suitable leader for an enthusiastic young party.

*Buchanan the nominee of the Democrats*

The Democratic Convention met in Cincinnati in June (1856). The platform declared in favor of the Kansas-Nebraska measure and commended the Kansas policy of the Administration. As Douglas and Pierce had been the chief sponsors of this policy, it would seem that one or the other of them was the logical candidate. But the Kansas-Nebraska Act and its aftermath had aroused so much hostility in the North that anyone prominently identified with it would be seriously handicapped. Because of this lack of availability neither of these leaders was named and, after considerable balloting, James Buchanan was chosen. He had been minister to England and therefore had not been associated with the Kansas-Nebraska Act. His record in Congress had been quite satisfactory to the South, and as he was from Pennsylvania it was hoped that he would carry this close but important state. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

*Result of the election*

It soon developed that the "Know-Nothing" Party would be out of the running and the real contest would be between the Democrats and the Republicans. The Republicans tried to make "Bleeding Kansas" the main issue by harping on the unsettled conditions in that territory. The Democrats contended that only by their continuance in power could the Union be saved—that the South would secede if the sectional Republican Party should come into power. Fillmore carried only one state, Maryland. The rest of the South went solidly for Buchanan. Although Fillmore received a fair popular vote in this section, Frémont's popular vote south of the Mason and Dixon Line, the Ohio River, and the Missouri Compromise line was negligible. In the North many conservatives supported Buchanan, who represented the only national party, and he was elected. Frémont carried eleven states and received 114 electoral votes.

## THE ACCESSION OF BUCHANAN

*Buchanan; personal traits and previous career*

Few, if any, of our Presidents have had better training through experience than James Buchanan (1791-1868), since the greater part of his life had been spent in the public service. He was in Congress for more than a score of years, having been in the House

of Representatives for nearly half of this time and in the Senate for the remainder. He had been minister to Russia for two years, Secretary of State during Polk's entire term, and minister to England from 1853 to 1856. In all these important positions he had worthily discharged his duties, although he had exhibited at no time in his career any marked brilliancy or originality. He was of a conservative turn of mind, and to this temperament he doubtless owed his attitude toward slavery. Although he was opposed to slavery in the abstract, he recognized that the slaveowner had certain legal rights which ought to be respected. Furthermore, he was always against any measures which might cause trouble between the slaves and their masters. He was therefore more considerate of the rights of the Southern slaveholder than were most of his anti-slavery associates in the North. For these pro-Southern leanings he was dubbed by his opponents a "doughface," a Northern man with Southern principles. Any President with such a political philosophy would have had great difficulty in pleasing a constituency among whom the controversy over slavery had been raised to white heat.

*His Cabinet*

In line with his policy of peace and moderation, Buchanan, in choosing his Cabinet and in making appointments to office in general, tried to maintain "the sacred balance" between the sections. Four members of his Cabinet were from slave states and three from free states. His Cabinet was not an outstanding one—it was not equal in ability to that of his predecessor. Prominent members of it were: Lewis Cass of Michigan, Secretary of State; Howell Cobb of Georgia, Secretary of the Treasury; and Judge Jeremiah S. Black of Pennsylvania, Attorney General.

*Persistence of the Kansas trouble*

One of the most urgent problems that confronted Buchanan on his accession was the Kansas situation. The murders committed by John Brown on Pottawatomie Creek had led to a sort of guerilla warfare between the rival groups which resulted in the death of two hundred people. The original territorial government was in the hands of the proslavery party, but it was not accepted by the free-state men. Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, who had been in the United States Senate for a number of years and had served as Secretary of the Treasury under Polk, was now appointed governor of Kansas. He made an honest effort to put down the strife and give the territory a government which would represent a majority of the people.

*The Lecompton Constitution*

With the view to carrying out this purpose, the governor issued a call for a convention to meet at Lecompton to frame a constitution. By that time the free-soilers were decidedly in the majority

and could have controlled the convention if they had participated in the election of delegates. Unfortunately they acted under the guidance of an unwise leadership and refused to take part in the election. The Lecompton Convention was therefore completely in the hands of the proslavery party. A constitution favoring slavery was adopted (1857) and was to be referred to the people for their approval or disapproval. But the terms under which the referendum was to be carried out were such that the voters could not reject the constitution but could only pass upon the further introduction of slavery. The free-state men refused to vote under these conditions, and the constitution with strong proslavery clauses was overwhelmingly accepted.

In the fall election the free-state men voted and gained control of the legislature, which submitted the Lecompton Constitution to the voters for the second time. The proslavery men refused to vote in this referendum, and the constitution was rejected. The Lecompton Constitution had now been accepted by one referendum and rejected by another, and in both cases the majorities were overwhelming. The second vote, against this Constitution, was much larger than the first, in its favor, and showed that the free-state men were greatly in the majority. Popular sovereignty therefore would have meant the organization of the territory on an antislavery basis.

*The Lecompton government recognized by President Buchanan*

Buchanan, however, continued to recognize the proslavery government and asked Congress to admit Kansas as a state with the Lecompton Constitution. Douglas now came out strongly against the acceptance of this constitution until there should be a real, not a partial, ratification of it by the people. He contended that to recognize a government upheld by a minority and opposed by a majority of the voters was to violate the principle of popular sovereignty. In taking this stand he sacrificed much of his popularity in the South and aroused the bitter enmity of the President, who after this used the powerful influence of the Administration against him.

*Final settlement of the Kansas dispute*

The proposal to admit Kansas as a state with its proslavery constitution was passed by the Senate but rejected by the House. The deadlock in Congress was broken by the adoption by both houses of a proposal made by Senator William H. English of Indiana. This measure provided for submitting the Lecompton Constitution again to the people of Kansas. If ratified by them Kansas would at once be admitted as a state, with a gift of public land approximately the same in amount as that usually granted to new states. If the constitution were rejected, Kansas would remain a territory until it had a population as great as that of a regular Congressional

district. The constitution was rejected by the voters, and therefore Kansas did not come into the Union until January, 1861, when after some Southern members had withdrawn from Congress she was admitted as a free state.

### THE DRED SCOTT CASE

In his inaugural address President Buchanan referred to the dispute over slavery in the territories as "a judicial question which legitimately belongs to the Supreme Court of the United States before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled." This reference was to the Dred Scott case, which was decided two days later. The facts in this noted case are as follows:

*Facts of the case*

Dred Scott was a Negro slave who had been taken by his owner, Dr. John Emerson, an army surgeon, first into Illinois (1834) and then (1836) to Fort Snelling in the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase (now Minnesota). Two years later Scott returned to Missouri with his master and was held as a slave until after Emerson's death. In 1846 Scott brought suit in a Missouri court against Emerson's widow, demanding his freedom on the ground that his sojourn in a free state and free territory had removed the shackles of bondage from him and his family. Slavery had been legally prohibited in Illinois first by the Ordinance of 1787 and later by the state constitution. It was also forbidden in the Louisiana Purchase north of 36° 30′ by the Missouri Compromise. The case was taken by appeal to the supreme court of Missouri (1852), where it was decided that the condition of slavery reattached to Scott on his return to Missouri regardless of his status while he was away.

*The decision of the Supreme Court*

Not satisfied with this decision, the abolitionist lawyers behind the suit brought the case before the United States Circuit Court in Missouri and later to the United States Supreme Court. At a session in February, 1857, the Supreme Court by a majority vote agreed to hand down a decision to the effect that Dred Scott was still a slave and to give no opinion as to the political questions involved. However, the two minority justices (McLean and Curtis) decided to argue in their dissenting opinions in favor of the constitutionality of the Missouri Compromise. Inasmuch as the minority would present their views on the important political questions, the majority felt that they also should uphold their side of the case. Accordingly, it was then decided that the opinion should cover all the points at issue and should be written by Chief Justice Taney. In coming to this conclusion the majority were influenced by the arguments of Justice Wayne, who felt that a decision by the highest tribunal in

the land would allay the strife over the troublesome slavery question. The final decision as reported by Taney and upheld by a majority of the Court was as follows:

1. Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri in the constitutional sense and had no right to sue or be sued in a Federal court. No Negroes were citizens, since the rights and privileges guaranteed in the Constitution applied exclusively to the white race. Negroes, whether free or slave, did not come under the shelter of its protection.

2. Congress did not have any right to prohibit slavery in any of the territories carved out of the Louisiana Purchase.

3. The Missouri Compromise (1820), which prohibited slavery in this area north of the parallel of 36° 30′, was therefore unconstitutional and null and void.

4. Dred Scott was still a slave since his status was determined by the law of Missouri which, as interpreted by its highest court, did not recognize any change of his status by virtue of his temporary residence outside the commonwealth.

*Attitude of the political parties toward the decision*

The decision at once became a political issue. By declaring that Congress had no authority to prohibit slavery in the territories it struck at the cardinal principle of Republican doctrine. If the view of the Court should prevail, this new party would lose its reason for being. Self-preservation therefore demanded that it strike back, which it did not hesitate to do. The adherents of this party declared that the decision, in so far as it referred to slavery in the territories and the Missouri Compromise, had no relation to the case before it and was therefore obiter dictum. To them it was not a decision but only an opinion—one which they expected to be reversed when the personnel of the Court had been made over to their liking.

The Northern Democrats accepted the decision but were somewhat embarrassed by it, inasmuch as it struck at the doctrine of popular sovereignty (see p. 388). The Southern Democrats, however, enthusiastically acclaimed the decision, for it was an endorsement of a principle which Calhoun and other Southern leaders had been proclaiming for years.

*Effect of the decision*

Those well-meaning justices who thought that the decision would quiet the slavery controversy were sadly disappointed, for it had just the opposite effect. The antislavery leaders and newspapers in the North raised a storm of opposition greater than that ever encountered, before or since, by a decision of the United States Supreme Court. An editorial in Horace Greeley's influential New York *Tribune* said that the decision "is entitled to just so much

moral weight as would be the judgment of a majority of those congregated in any Washington barroom."

## THE PANIC OF 1857

*Causes*

Buchanan had been in office less than six months when the panic of 1857 started. It was caused by overactive speculation, especially in real estate, and overexpansion in railroad building, manufacturing, and agriculture during the preceding years. Prior to this time, except for a brief interruption in 1854, the 1850's had been a period of exceptional prosperity. The great output of gold in California was increasing the supply of money and causing a constant rise in prices. Inflation was encouraged by this abundance of gold and by the banking practice of the day. For two decades there had been no national bank in the country, and the numerous state banks had been issuing notes more freely than they had before that time. Easy credit and rising prices were stimulating activity in all lines of business. Railroads had been constructed in sparsely settled regions where they were not called for by traffic needs. Manufacturing had gone beyond the available demand of the country and had piled up goods for which there was no sale. The Crimean War had raised among farmers expectations of high prices for grain, and they had greatly increased their indebtedness to extend the acreage of production.

*The financial crash*

In the winter of 1856-57 business leaders began to show nervousness over financial conditions, and by August optimism had given way to distrust. Banks were calling in their loans, and this greatly increased the feeling of uneasiness. The crash was precipitated by the suspension of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company (August 24, 1857), which was engaged in a large banking business. Soon there appeared all the symptoms of a full-fledged panic. Manufacturing plants closed, throwing laborers out of employment; mercantile establishments failed; stocks declined; a number of railroads went into bankruptcy; and for a short time all but a few of the banks in the country suspended specie payment.

*Hard times*

The financial panic was followed by a period of hard times which lasted until the end of the decade. Farmers in the North felt the pinch, as well as manufacturers, speculators, and businessmen. In the breathing space between European wars the demand for grain declined and prices fell, leaving many farmers with an indebtedness which they could not meet. The cotton planter of the South, however, was more fortunate than the grain grower. Cotton still commanded a high price, since the foreign demand for it did not fall off. The continuance of prosperity in this section at a time when

the rest of the country was suffering from depression gave the South greater confidence than ever in the soundness of its economic system. It encouraged *De Bow's Review*, the leading economic journal of the South, to make this boast: "The wealth of the South is permanent and real, that of the North fugitive and fictitious." Hammond of South Carolina declared in the Senate that "cotton is king."

*The tariff issue renewed*

One effect of the panic was the demand by Northern manufacturers for an increase in the tariff. The tariff had been lowered by the Act of 1846 and still further reduced by that of 1857. Urged on by the industrial interests of his own state, Buchanan recommended the raising of the import rates. In May, 1860, the Morrill Bill, which provided for an increase in the tariff, was passed by the House but defeated in the Senate. Later (March, 1861), after the Senators and Representatives from seven Southern states had left Congress, the Morrill Tariff Act was passed.

### THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES (1858)

*The Illinois Senatorial election*

Douglas's opposition to the Kansas policy of the President had made him popular in the North. By contending that Kansas should be turned over to the free-state majority he won the favor of Republicans, as well as Northern Democrats. His term as Senator would soon expire (1859), and some Eastern Republican leaders advised the Illinois Republicans not to oppose his re-election. The latter did not take this advice, however, and put up Abraham Lincoln against him.

*Lincoln's speech of acceptance*

In accepting the nomination Lincoln made the famous speech in which he said:

> "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved—I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new—North as well as South.

This was a very radical stand for an aspiring politician to take, and some of Lincoln's friends had advised against his making so strong an utterance. It gave Douglas the opportunity to accuse him of favoring a settlement of the slavery issue by agitation and warfare between the sections. Lincoln denied the charge, affirming that he

had repeatedly declared against the interference with slavery in the states. As the Senator would be chosen by the legislature, Lincoln was trying to secure the election of a Republican legislature and Douglas a Democratic one.

*Joint debates*

Douglas and Lincoln each carried on a very active campaign throughout the state. Of the numerous speeches made by them, those that attracted most outside attention were a series of seven joint debates. These meetings were held in the open in groves and on the prairie because no halls could be found which would accommodate the crowds. Speaking from the same platform, they addressed audiences numbering from five to ten thousand, and on one occasion it was estimated that twenty thousand people heard the discussion.

*The Freeport Doctrine*

The most historic of these joint debates was the one held at Freeport. It was here that Lincoln asked his opponent a question the answer to which is known as the Freeport Doctrine. Lincoln had declared against the Dred Scott decision, and Douglas had expressed his acceptance of it. The question put to Douglas was: "Can the people of a United States territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" To appreciate the dilemma in which Douglas was now placed it must be remembered that according to his doctrine of popular sovereignty the people of a territory acting through the territorial legislature could accept or reject slavery. But in the Dred Scott decision the Supreme Court had declared that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the territories. As the authority of a territorial legislature was derived from that of Congress, it followed by implication that a territorial legislature also had no power to interfere with slavery.

When Lincoln directed his embarrassing query to his rival, he knew what the answer would be, for the "Little Giant" had already stated his position on this question in a number of speeches. As early as June 12, 1857, he had declared in an address at Springfield, Illinois, that although Congress could not divest a slaveowner of his right to take his slave to any territory, this right could be rendered barren by nonaction on the part of a territorial legislature. If the people of a territory were opposed to slavery, the legislature, reflecting this feeling, could refuse to give it the necessary police support and provide adequate penalties for the protection of the rights of the slaveowner. Without such local legislation slavery could not exist. At Freeport, Douglas gave Lincoln a forthright answer and reaffirmed this position declaring that no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court might be on the abstract

question of slavery in the territories, "the people have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it as they please." This clever explanation, which is known as the Freeport Doctrine, relieved Douglas for the time being from an embarrassing situation, but it was a virtual denial of the efficacy of the Dred Scott decision.

*Significance of the campaign*

Long excerpts from the speeches made in these joint debates were published in the metropolitan press and other leading newspapers, and consequently the country was able to follow the discussions. Douglas won in the Senatorial contest, but he owed his victory to his personal popularity and his skill in debating, for the Republican state ticket was elected. Few campaigns in the history of the country have had a wider significance than did this off-year contest. The "Little Giant's" views were acceptable to some Southern statesmen, but the Freeport Doctrine and his later utterances—notably an article which he contributed to *Harper's Magazine*—alienated many of the political leaders of the South. By thus weakening his hold on the Southern wing of his party, the Senatorial campaign, although it gave him the unchallenged leadership of the Northern Democrats, destroyed his availability for the Presidential nomination by a united Democracy. On the other hand, it greatly increased the prestige of Lincoln and enhanced his availability for the Republican nomination in 1860.

## JOHN BROWN'S RAID

*Brown's plans*

In the following year the slavery controversy was brought to a crisis by an untoward abolitionist stroke, John Brown's raid. By the fall of 1859 Brown's hatred of slavery had developed into a dangerous obsession. He had conceived the idea of seizing and fortifying a position in the mountains of Virginia and using it as a center from which forays into the surrounding country would be made for the liberation of the slaves. When the movement was well under way, slaves from the South and free Negroes from the North would join his standard, and slave property would become so insecure that masters would rapidly emancipate or otherwise dispose of their slaves. The movement would gradually eat its way farther and farther into the South and would ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery throughout the entire region. He made known his plans to some idealistic but impractical philanthropists of the North who furnished the money for the project.

*He captures Harper's Ferry*

Using as the base of operations a farm on the Maryland side of the Potomac four miles from Harper's Ferry, Brown with eighteen armed followers, five of whom were Negroes, marched into this little Virginia (now West Virginia) town on a dark, cold Sunday

night in mid-October (1859). Arms had been provided not only for the attacking force but also for expected recruits. In this equipment were included fifty pikes for use of the slaves who were expected to enlist under his banner. Other arms would be obtained from the United States armory at Harper's Ferry as soon as the village should be captured. Taken unawares, Harper's Ferry, including the United States armory, was by midnight completely in possession of the invaders (October 16). Pikes were put in the hands of some Negroes who had been brought in from near-by plantations, and they were ordered to strike for freedom. Standing dumb with amazement, these Negroes showed no disposition to make use of them against their masters.

*The insurrection put down and Brown captured*

Brown and his men fortified themselves in the armory engine-house, which was taken by assault by a company of United States marines sent down from Washington under the command of Colonel Robert E. Lee. Brown and four of his followers were captured, but not until after he had received several saber cuts and bayonet thrusts. The casualties of this unfortunate affair included fifteen killed and nine wounded. Ten of those killed were Brown's followers, and five killed and nine wounded were citizens or members of the attacking force. The first fatality was that of a free Negro, who was shot while peaceably attending to his duties as baggagemaster.

*Brown convicted and hanged*

The leader and his captured associates were put in jail at near-by Charles Town, there to await a speedy trial. The prisoners were represented by able counsel, and the hearing was an impartial one. On the last day of October the jury brought in a verdict against Brown, declaring him guilty of treason, conspiracy, and first-degree murder. This sentence was carried out without delay, and the stoic prisoner was publicly hanged at Charles Town (December 2).

*Significance of the raid*

Although the saner element of the North condemned Brown's harebrained undertaking, there were some Northern idealists who regarded him as a God-inspired prophet who had put himself in the class of the early Christian martyrs. Some of these idealists allowed their zeal to run away with their discretion. Emerson, in an address which was loudly cheered, spoke of John Brown as "that new saint, than whom none purer or more brave was ever led by love of men into conflict and death—the new saint awaiting his martyrdom, and who, if he shall suffer, will make the gallows glorious like the cross."

To the South, on the other hand, the raid was an act of the deepest criminality—one that was fraught with grave danger to the peace and security of its people. Fear of a slave insurrection had from ancient times been a nightmare to trouble the sleep of

slaveowners. Southerners saw in Brown's thwarted plan the stark attempt at slave insurrection peeping through the mist of Northern glorification. They felt that the lives of their wives and children were menaced. It is difficult for the present generation to appreciate the fear occasioned by this raid. The fact that the raid was hailed as a worthy deed by some prominent leaders in the North and condoned by others led many Southerners to feel that the two sections could no longer pull together. In this way the effect of the raid on the South was, therefore, to weaken the feeling of loyalty to the Union and to strengthen the belief in the necessity of secession.

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# CHAPTER XXIII

# *The War For Southern Independence: Secession*

## The Election of 1860

THE violent disagreement between North and South over the slavery question was destined to work havoc in the ranks of the Democratic Party. When the Democrats assembled in national conclave (April 23) at Charleston, South Carolina, they were divided into two opposing camps. The issue between them was Douglas and his doctrine of popular sovereignty. The "Little Giant" was the outstanding leader of the Northern Democracy, and his policies were acceptable to that wing of the party. He also had a considerable following among the rank and file of the Southern Democrats, but the radical proslavery advocates, "Fire-eaters," as they were called by their opponents, were strongly opposed to him. The ultras were ably led by William L. Yancey of Alabama. This eloquent orator, with his soft, musical voice and picturesque personality, was the dean of the "Fire-eaters." In a brilliant speech before the convention he boldly stated the demands of his section and earnestly urged the adoption of a platform which would meet them.

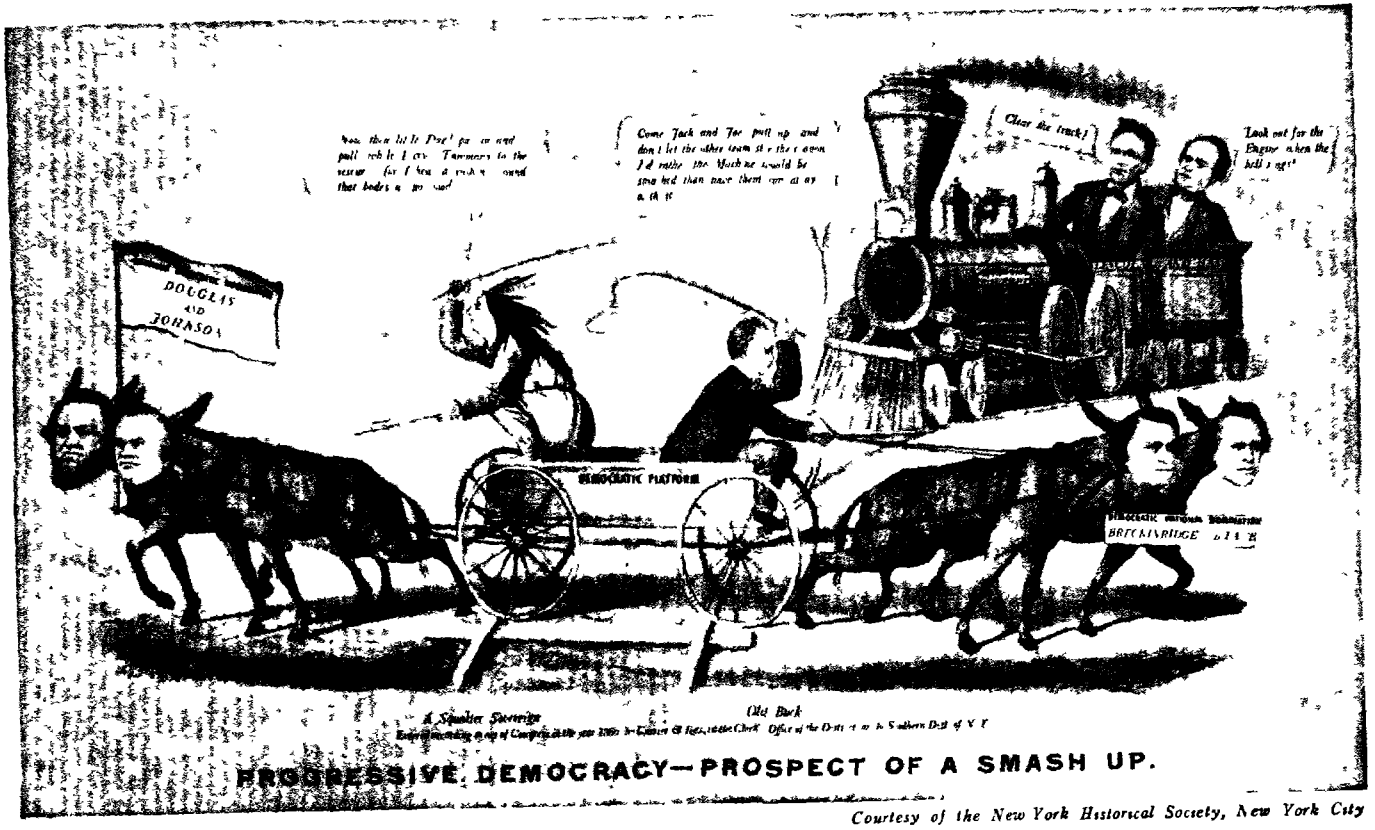
*The Democratic Convention in Charleston*

*William L. Yancey*

The Douglas men were in the majority and were able to dictate the platform. They presented a platform which did not meet the wishes of the ardent advocates of Southern rights, although it went farther in that direction than any party had ever gone before. Upon the adoption of the platform the delegations from Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Florida, and a majority of those from several other Southern states, withdrew from the convention. Under the rule then adopted, no nomination could be made with less than two thirds of the original number of delegates. For two days they balloted on a candidate for President. While Douglas was easily in the lead, he could never obtain the required two-thirds majority. The body was hopelessly deadlocked and, after fifty-seven ballots had been taken, it adjourned to meet again in Baltimore on June 18.

*Northern delegates in control*

*Southern delegates withdraw from the convention*




Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York City

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

the tariff rates as would "encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country."

*Lincoln nominated*

Several names were before the convention, but it soon developed that the real race was between Seward and Lincoln. Seward's long public career had made him better known than his rival, and he had a strong following among both the leaders and the rank and file of the party. Unfortunately for him, however, his availability was questioned. His reference in one of his speeches to the slavery controversy as an "irrepressible conflict" and his enunciation of the "higher-law" doctrine stamped him as an extreme radical, and this arrayed many conservative leaders against him. Lincoln's House-Divided-against-Itself speech was just as radical, but Lincoln's statement was susceptible of two interpretations. The prophecy that the country would become all slave or all free could be held out to the abolitionists as a promise of the destruction of slavery in the states, while to the conservatives it could be explained as referring to a gradual process to take place in the distant future. Promises as to Cabinet positions made by Lincoln's manager to rival candidates also helped the cause of the Illinoian. Lincoln did not authorize these pledges, but he carried them out after he became President.

Although the slavery question was the outstanding issue of the campaign, the tariff also played an important part in Pennsylvania and New Jersey. While the tariff plank in the Republican platform was vague, it was accepted in these two states as a pledge in favor of protection. Such an interpretation was favorable to Lincoln, since the sentiment in both states was strong for a higher tariff. The provision advocating free homesteads was also a winning card with prospective immigrants to the West.

*Result of the election*

Lincoln was elected by a good-sized majority of the electoral vote, although he received only forty per cent of the total popular vote.[1] The Republicans, however, failed to gain control of either house of Congress.

Lincoln's support came almost entirely from the states north of the Potomac and Ohio Rivers. The Republican platform, it was said, could not cross these streams. Although the South was opposed to the economic policies of the Republicans, its main attack was directed against the antislavery plank in the platform. Its objection to this plank seems to have been more a matter of principle than of policy. For there were in 1860 only forty-six slaves in all the territories, and soil and climate had decreed that none of these territories could ever

[1] The electoral vote was as follows: Lincoln, 180; Douglas, 12; Breckinridge, 72; and Bell, 39. The popular vote was: Lincoln, 1,857,610; Douglas, 1,365,967; Breckinridge, 847,953; Bell, 590,631.

become slave states. Furthermore, there was a fear on the part of some of the Southern leaders that the Republican Party if successful would not stop at the exclusion of slavery from the territories but would demand its abolition in the states.

### FUTILE EFFORTS AT COMPROMISE

*Secession of the cotton states*

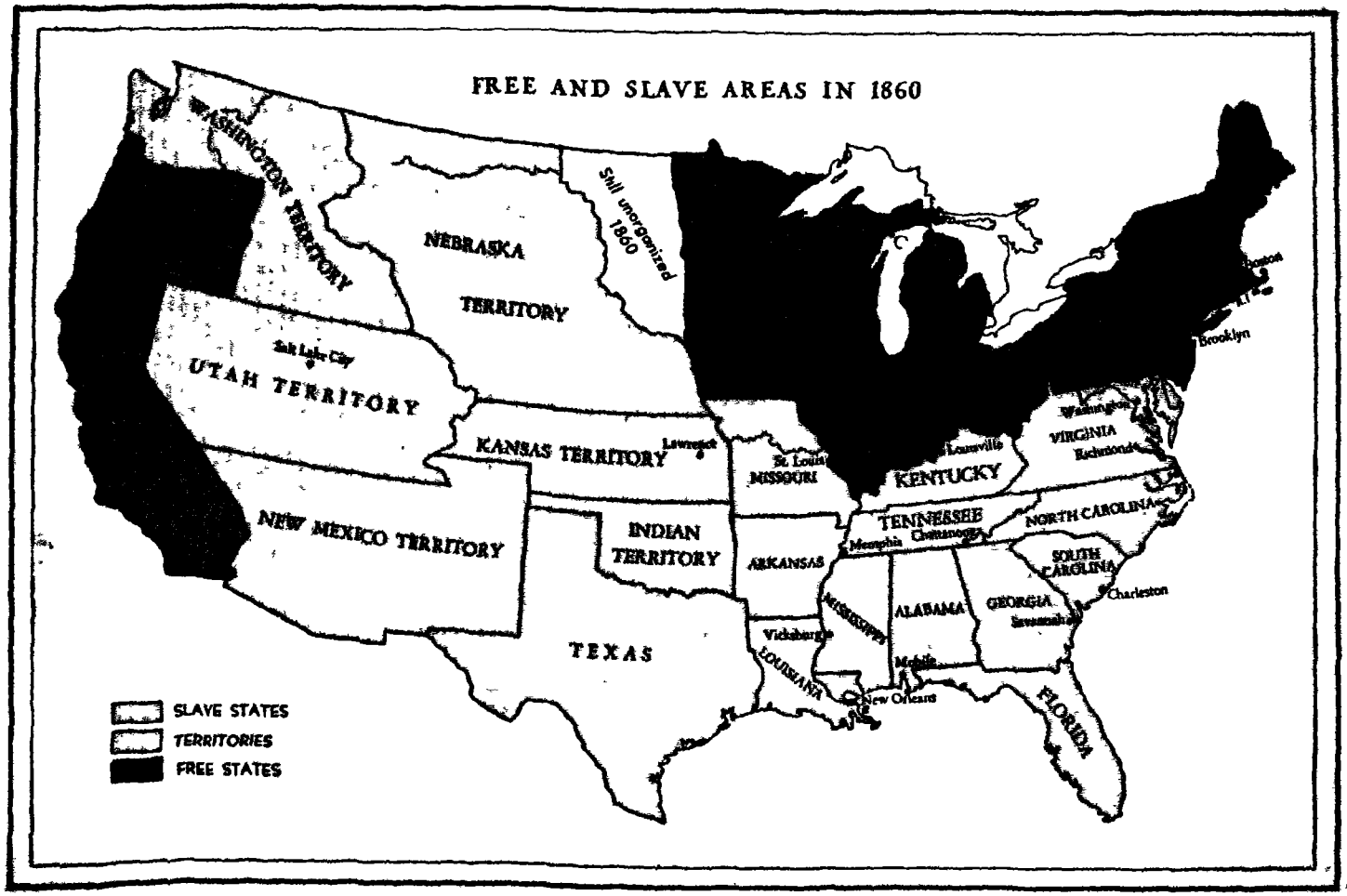
Lincoln had been elected President by one section of the United States and upon issues which the South considered dangerously hostile to its rights, interests, and peace. South Carolina felt that the time had now come for her to withdraw from the Union. Accordingly, two days after the election (November 8) her legislature issued a call for a state convention to meet on December 17 to consider the future relations of the state with the Union. Meeting at the appointed time, the convention on December 20 by a unanimous vote passed the ordinance of secession. In January, 1861, five other states—Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana—declared in favor of secession. Texas too joined the list when on February 23 the people ratified the ordinance of secession which had been submitted to them by the state convention.

*The political theory of secession*

In thus withdrawing from the Union the seceding states were, according to their interpretation of the Constitution, acting within their legal rights. Most Southern publicists contended that the Union had been created by the accession to it of sovereign states. The states had acted in their sovereign capacity in acceding to the Union; they could therefore by a like act of sovereignty secede from it. For this reason secession would not be revolutionary, but would be as legal as the original act in joining the Union. Another basis of secession was the natural right of revolution and that of self-determination. Just as the Revolutionary fathers rebelled against grievances inflicted upon them by the mother country, so the Southern people had the natural right to revolt against the infringement of their rights by the Northern majority. And if thirteen sparsely settled colonies had the right to political independence under a government of their own creation, then eleven well-populated and well-developed states should be allowed to govern themselves in their own way.

*The Crittenden Compromise*

Despite widespread resentment in the South, there was a strong sentiment in this section, as well as in the North, in favor of a compromise by which the Union could be preserved. It was in keeping with this sentiment that the first and most important compromise was proposed. This measure, which was in the form of a series of constitutional amendments, was presented in the Senate by John J. Crittenden of Kentucky, who as the successor of Henry Clay wished to continue the compromise tradition of the Great Pacificator. The


FREE AND SLAVE AREAS IN 1860
WASHINGTON TERRITORY
NEBRASKA TERRITORY
Still unorganized 1860
Salt Lake City
UTAH TERRITORY
KANSAS TERRITORY
Lawrence
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY
INDIAN TERRITORY
TEXAS
St. Louis
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
Louisville
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
Memphis
Chattanooga
VIRGINIA
Richmond
Washington
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
Charleston
GEORGIA
Savannah
ALABAMA
MISSISSIPPI
Vicksburg
LOUISIANA
Mobile
New Orleans
FLORIDA
Brooklyn
SLAVE STATES
TERRITORIES
FREE STATES

Crittenden Compromise provided that slavery should be prohibited north of latitude 36° 30′ and permitted south of that line; that slavery could not be abolished in the District of Columbia without compensation and the consent of its inhabitants and those of Maryland and Virginia; and that compensation should be granted by the United States for fugitive slaves not recovered. Finally, the proposed amendments to the Constitution were not to be amended or repealed.

This measure was submitted to a Senatorial committee of thirteen with Crittenden as chairman. It was composed of five Republicans, two representatives of the lower South, three Democrats from the North, and three representatives of the upper South. Other prominent members in addition to Crittenden were Jefferson Davis, W. H. Seward, and Stephen A. Douglas. The members from the lower South agreed to support the Compromise if the Republican members would vote for it. This the latter refused to do, however, because Lincoln declared against the Compromise. The acceptance of Crittenden's proposals would have opened up some of the territories to slavery, which would have been a violation of the pledges of the Republican platform. Furthermore, Lincoln contended that if this concession were made to the slave-owning interests, they would demand the further extension of slavery by advocating territorial acquisitions in Cuba and Mexico. For these reasons Lincoln opposed the Crittenden Compromise, and the Republican members of the committee voted against it. The members from the cotton states also now refused to support it, and the measure was killed in committee.

Crittenden next asked that his resolutions be submitted to a vote of the people. No action was taken on this proposal because of the delaying tactics of the Republican Senators. If these proposals had been submitted to a popular referendum, it is more than likely that they would have been accepted by a majority of the voters in both the North and the South. With such support Congress in all probability would have voted the Compromise and war might have been averted.

*The Peace Convention*

Another important attempt to avoid a conflict was made when at the call of the Virginia legislature a peace convention met in Washington in February, 1861. It was attended by delegates from twenty-one states and was presided over by ex-President John Tyler. The convention was able, finally, to agree upon a compromise (one that was less favorable to the South than the Crittenden Compromise), the essential feature of which was the extension of the Missouri compromise line to the Pacific. But the proposed settlement received very little support in Congress; it was rejected by the Senate and did not come up for consideration in the House.

### ESTABLISHING THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

*The provisional government*

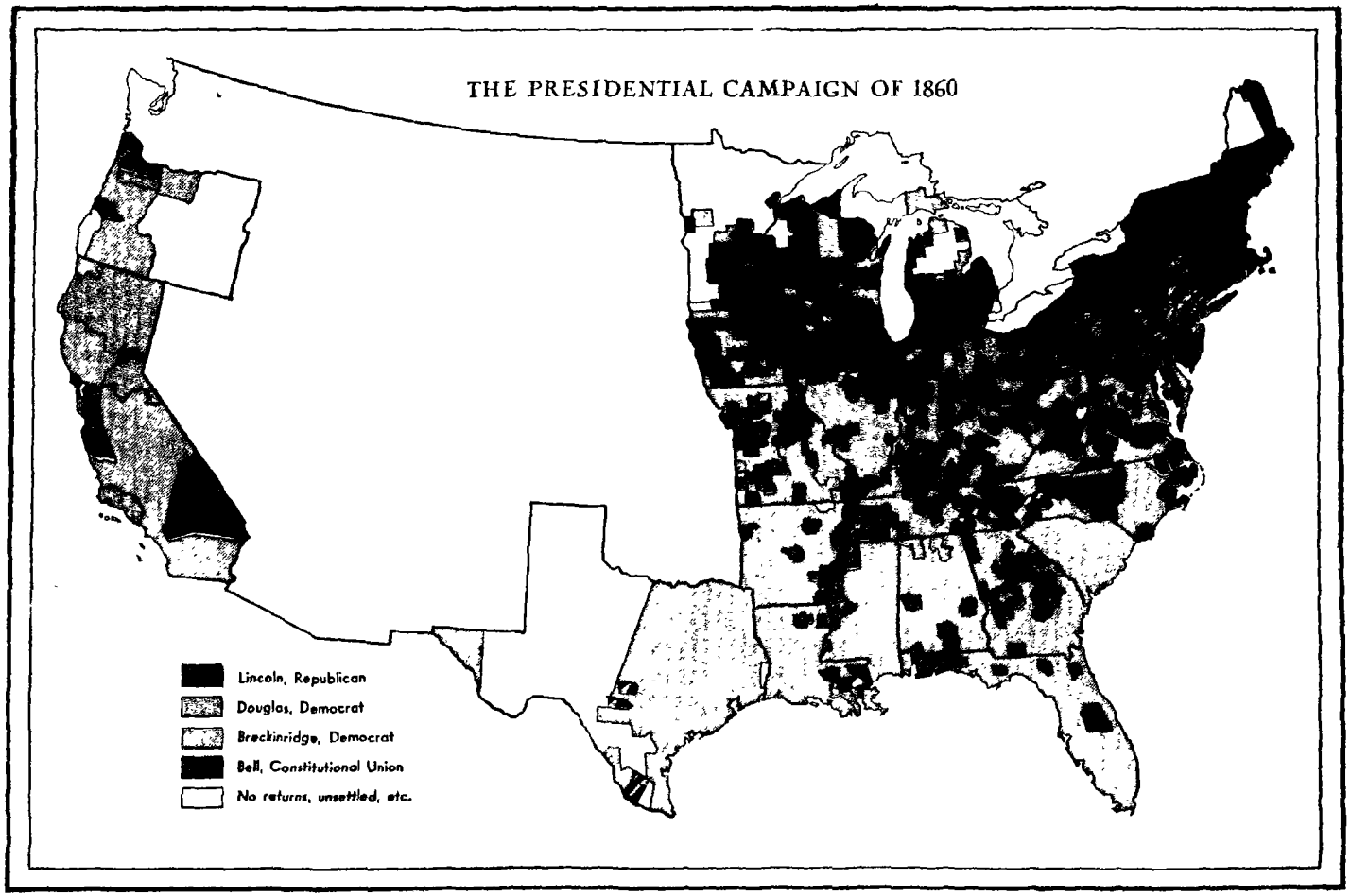
On February 4, 1861, six of the seven states of the lower South—Texas had not completed all the formalities of secession—met in convention at Montgomery, Alabama, drew up a provisional constitution, and set up a provisional government which remained in operation until February, 1862. The convention by unanimous vote elected Jefferson Davis provisional President and Alexander H. Stephens provisional Vice-President. Jefferson Davis, who had had a distinguished career under the Federal government as soldier, Senator, and Secretary of War, accepted the office with reluctance because of his desire to serve the South in a military capacity. When the permanent constitution went into effect Davis and Stephens were continued as President and Vice-President, respectively. Montgomery was the seat of government for only a short time; when Virginia seceded, Richmond became the permanent capital of the Confederacy.

*Davis's Cabinet*

Davis's first Cabinet was not, with the exception of Judah P. Benjamin, former Whig Senator from Louisiana, and Robert Toombs, one time Whig Senator from Georgia, composed of outstanding men; and even these two exceptions were placed where they were least fitted to serve. Benjamin was made Attorney General, then Acting Secretary of War, and finally Secretary of State. Toombs was made Secretary of State, a job for which he was particularly unfitted and for which he had no liking. For the other four places selections were made from among the Democrats. Strange to say, the list did not include such able and enthusiastic secession advocates as William L. Yancey and Robert Barnwell Rhett.

*The Confederate constitution*

The permanent constitution adopted by the Montgomery Convention on March 11, 1861, was essentially the Constitution of the United States with some significant changes. It clarified certain questions which had been subjects of dispute under the Federal Constitution: a protective tariff could not be levied; the Confederate government could not appropriate money for internal improvements; Negro slavery was to be protected in the territories by Confederate law; the foreign slave trade was prohibited; and no state could be admitted into the Confederacy without the consent of two thirds of both houses of Congress. Certain other changes were made, however, which had no relation to the sectional disputes. One of these was the provision for an executive budget system. Among the other innovations the following were important: The President could serve only one term of six years; and he could veto items in a bill without invalidating the rest of the measure. Cabinet


THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860
Lincoln, Republican
Douglas, Democrat
Breckinridge, Democrat
Bell, Constitutional Union
No returns, unsettled, etc.

members, although they could not vote, could sit in Congress and explain their reports or answer questions. The Confederate judiciary was to consist of the district courts and a Supreme Court. Although the Confederate district courts functioned regularly during the existence of the Confederacy, the Supreme Court waited on the coming of peace to be organized. Under this constitution, despite the state sovereignty theory, a real national government was established which, under the stress of war, set up a system of economic control with a strangely modern aspect.

*Buchanan's inaction*

President Buchanan met secession with no positive action, but on the contrary temporized during the period from the election of Lincoln to the latter's inauguration, and such lack of direction seemed to the radicals near akin to treason. His inaction was due primarily to his views as to the nature of the Union. Although he regarded secession as unconstitutional, he believed that the Federal government had no legal power to force a state to remain in the Union. Furthermore, Buchanan was restrained from coercive action against the seceded states by practical considerations. He realized that any attempt to retake the Southern forts, or to strengthen Forts Sumter and Pickens, would put an end to all efforts at the restoration of the Union by a compromise agreement, and would precipitate sectional war and the secession of most, if not all, of the upper slave states. Nor did he find any decided trend in Northern opinion during his last few months in office which could be considered a mandate to force the seceding states back into the Union. Perhaps a majority of Northern Democrats held views not very different from those of Buchanan; and at this time the extreme Garrisonian abolitionists were loud in their expressions that the withdrawal of the slave states should be welcomed as a cause of great rejoicing in the North. Then the conservatives of the Bell-Everett Party, and the general business class who had joined the Republican Party to obtain a high tariff and other governmental favors, were strongly in favor of compromise and looked with disfavor upon any proposal to use force. Only a minority, although a large one, of the Republican Party, calling themselves "stiff-backed Republicans," were demanding of Buchanan an uncompromising use of force; and these were the men and principles which Buchanan blamed for bringing on the great crisis.

*The* Star of the West

However, Buchanan was not entirely inactive; he made one futile effort at provisioning Fort Sumter, in the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, which was held by a force of eighty-four men under the command of Major Robert Anderson. On January 9, 1861, the *Star of the West* attempted to enter the harbor with provisions for

Sumter, when it was fired upon by South Carolina artillery and forced back. The firing on the *Star of the West* could have been as easily regarded as an act of war as the firing on Sumter on April 12 had Buchanan desired to make an issue of it. As it was, Northern opinion remained relatively quiet.

## LINCOLN IN COMMAND

*Lincoln's inaugural address*

In his inaugural address President Lincoln adopted a conciliatory tone but he made it clear that he regarded secession as illegal and that he would enforce the "laws of the Union" in "all the states." In enforcing the law, said the President, there would be no bloodshed unless the law were resisted, or, as he put it, "unless it be forced upon the national authority." He also asserted that he would use the powers of government "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts" and to maintain the mail service. In short the President proposed to carry on the chief functions of the Federal government in the seceded states and would use no more force than was necessary to accomplish this aim. For a month apparently nothing was done to implement this aim, and the policy of the new Administration appeared on the surface to be one of inaction like that of Buchanan. Lincoln was not, however, passively watching the Union disintegrate, but was grappling with the problems of its preservation.

*Lincoln's Cabinet*

When Lincoln assumed office, he appointed a Cabinet composed of practically all the men who had been his rivals for the Presidential nomination, as well as representatives of some other political elements. Seward was made Secretary of State; Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury; Simon Cameron, Secretary of War; and Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy. Later Cameron proved unequal to his task and he was superseded by Edwin M. Stanton as Secretary of War.

*The problem of the border slave states*

Lincoln could hardly begin any attempt to retake the Southern forts and enforce the Federal laws before he had been assured that he would not lose the bulk of the upper slave states. He was aware, as Buchanan had been, that any attempt to retake the Southern forts or to reinforce Pickens and Sumter, still under Federal control, might precipitate the secession of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Tennessee, Kentucky, Arkansas, and Missouri. This, of course, would doom to failure any attempt to restore the Union. Accordingly, the first month of Lincoln's administration was considerably preoccupied with organizing and, wherever possible, arming the Union elements in the border slave states for the day when the move against the

Southern forts would be made and the issue of secession be presented to these states.

*Plans to send supplies to Sumter*

At the same time that Lincoln was thus strengthening the hand of the Union, especially in Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland, he was struggling to formulate a policy for dealing with Fort Sumter. This fort was the one remaining symbol of the Federal Union in South Carolina, and its position placed it at the mercy of Confederate batteries. Both Major Anderson and General Scott had warned Lincoln, when he assumed office, that it would require a powerful fleet and an army of no inconsiderable size to relieve Fort Sumter. Despite this discouraging advice, the President determined to do something about Sumter and presently ordered a naval expedition to be made ready to proceed to that place. At the same time an expedition was prepared to reinforce Pickens. Although he had been advised by the two agents whom he had recently sent to Charleston that any attempt to reinforce Sumter or send in fresh provisions would precipitate war, he gave formal orders (April 4) for the expedition to proceed. On April 6 he sent by the hand of R. S. Chew of the State Department a message to Governor Pickens that Fort Sumter would be reprovisioned, "and that, if such an attempt be not resisted, no effort to throw in men, arms, or ammunition will be made without further notice, or in case of an attack upon the fort."

*Confederate and Federal conflict over Sumter inevitable*

Here, then, was an issue that would have to be met. Under the Southern belief that secession was legal, Fort Sumter belonged to the Confederacy and must be taken. But, regardless of theory, the fort lying in one of the South's best ports could hardly be left in the hands of a foreign nation. On the other hand, under the theory that a state could not withdraw from the Union except by successful revolution, Sumter belonged to the United States, and must be held if possible or surrendered only after a struggle. Lincoln must try to hold, and the Confederacy try to take, the fort under such conflicting beliefs. It would seem inevitable, under the circumstances, that war must begin here.

*The attack upon Fort Sumter*

When President Davis received word that an expedition was on its way to Sumter, he and his Cabinet decided to compel Anderson peaceably or by force to evacuate the fort. Accordingly, after some negotiations Davis ordered General P. G. T. Beauregard, who was in command of the Charleston area, to ask the immediate evacuation of Sumter and to reduce the fort should Anderson not comply with the request. Anderson refused a prompt compliance with this demand, and on April 12, 1861, the Confederate batteries opened upon the fort. The next afternoon Anderson surrendered, and he and his men marched out with honors of war.

*Each side considered the other the aggressor*

The war had begun, and, in the North, the South was considered the aggressor because it had fired upon the flag, troops, and a fort of the United States. Feeling in the North was deeply stirred. In the South, Lincoln and his party were deemed the aggressor for the refusal to surrender Sumter and the attempt to reinforce it. Southern feeling, too, was aroused and bitter.

### IMMEDIATE REACTION TO FORT SUMTER

*The call to arms in the North*

The surge of indignation in the North at the firing on the United States flag and troops enabled Lincoln to implement his declared purpose of repossessing Federal property and maintaining the authority of the United States government in the Confederate states. On April 15 he issued a proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteer militiamen to serve for three months. The avowed purpose was to send these troops into the Southern states to put down combinations "too powerful to be suppressed by the ordinary course of judicial proceedings" and "to cause the law to be duly executed." Volunteers soon exceeded the quota of April 15; and the President, on May 3, authorized the enlistment of 42,000 volunteers for three years, and directed that the regular army and navy be strengthened by the addition of 22,700 and 18,000 men, respectively.

*Secession of the Southern border states*

Lincoln's call for volunteers to be used against the seceded states was considered in the South to be a declaration of war by the President of the United States, and it imposed upon the upper Southern states the necessity of choosing sides. Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas quickly chose the side of the Confederacy, nor is it entirely doubtful that Maryland and Kentucky would have taken similar steps had not the secession movement been disorganized by the arrest by the Federal government of prominent leaders and the attempt of Kentucky and Maryland to remain neutral.

*The decision of Robert E. Lee*

By the secession of their home states the Southern officers and men who were in the Federal army and navy were placed in a trying position. To remain in the service of the Union would mean that they would have to fight against their own people. Most of the Southern officers were unwilling to do this, and therefore they withdrew from the army and navy of the United States to lend their services to the South. Of those who were called on to make this difficult decision the most noted was Robert E. Lee. No one loved the Union more than Lee; but his conception of the Union was a spiritual union, not a mere physical body held together by a governmental mechanism. He now felt, however, that the sectional quarrel had destroyed this spiritual union and that secession, like a final divorce decree, merely recorded outwardly what had already occurred. Since to him the

Union no longer existed, it was a matter now of taking sides with the North or the South, and most particularly it was a matter of taking sides for or against Virginia. To him there was only one choice. He could not raise his hands against his mother state nor against the Southern people. In making this decision he also sacrificed the prospects of a most brilliant military career. General Winfield Scott, the superannuated commander-in-chief, regarded Lee as the best officer in the United States army and recommended that he be placed in active command of the Federal forces. Acting on this recommendation, Lincoln in an indirect way virtually offered the position to Lee. He declined the offer stating that he could never take part in the invasion of the Southern states. Because of Lee's prestige as a military leader, won by his brilliant record in the Mexican War, and his high standing as a citizen, gained by his attractive personality, fine principles, and admirable character, this decision added much in the way of moral support to the Southern cause.

*Raising the Confederate armies*

The reaction of the whole South to Lincoln's call for volunteers and his declaration of a blockade of the Southern waters on April 19—later to be extended to Virginia and North Carolina—was, if anything, more vigorous than that of the North against the firing upon the flag and troops at Fort Sumter. The Confederate Congress on March 6 had provided for the raising of 100,000 one-year volunteers; but apparently recruiting was slow under the terms of this act until after the fall of Sumter. Before that date few Southerners had expected war and, like their Northern brethren, they preferred to remain in the ranks of the state militia which, with honorable exceptions, was martial only in dress. But with the outbreak of hostilities volunteers came forward in large numbers to enlist in the Confederate army for one year.

Davis convened the Confederate Congress in special session on April 29, and it immediately passed an act recognizing that a state of war existed between the Confederate States and the United States. A few days after Lincoln's Proclamation increasing the armed forces of the United States, the Confederate Congress enacted a law authorizing Davis to accept as many volunteers as he deemed necessary "for and during the existing war, unless sooner discharged." In August another act provided for the recruiting of an army of 400,000 men to serve for not less than one year nor more than three. In addition individual states called out their militia, which in most cases was mustered into the Confederate service. By August, 1861, there were at least 200,000 Southern men in the military service of the Confederacy, and many thousands more in the service of the states. Before the end of the first year of war, according to the reports of the Con-

federate War Department, 600,000 men offered their services to the Confederacy, although scarcely more than half of this number were accepted because of lack of equipment.

### FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

*Sectional structure of the Union*

Before proceeding with the story of the military struggle between the Northern and Southern states, a brief recapitulation of causes leading to this conflict will be helpful. A glance at the history of the United States from its founding until the outbreak of this fratricidal war will disclose one constant source of conflict, namely, the sectional structure of the American Union. The sections, as Frederick Jackson Turner has frequently pointed out, were no artificial creation, but were the inevitable products of certain physical and social forces. Nature had marked off the United States into geographic provinces where soil, climate, rivers, and harbors predisposed those regions for certain economic activities. Adding powerfully to this physical demarcation of the country into natural provinces was the human factor: these geographical areas were inhabited severally by provincial, self-conscious, aggressive, and ambitious populations of various origins. The geographic and human factors combined to create in them diverse social and economic systems, and the passage of time and the cumulative effects of history sharpened the sectional pattern.

*Loss of intersectional good will*

Each section strove to exercise the greater influence in the Federal government to protect and further its social and economic interests. The East would control the Federal government in the interest of a high tariff, a central banking system, internal improvements, and the restriction if not the abolition of slavery. On the contrary, the South would control the central government in the interest of low tariff, the protection of slavery, and a general policy of governmental noninterference in local affairs. If the West should dominate the Federal government it would have free homesteads, internal improvements at national expense, and cheap money. This sectional rivalry was inevitable. It was dangerous, but perhaps not dangerous enough either to divide the nation spiritually or disrupt it physically as long as such rivalry was conducted with the proper regard for the comity of sections. But, as observed in a previous chapter, intersectional good will and mutual courtesy disappeared under the impact of the slavery controversy, and, in the sectional quarreling during the forty years preceding the election of Lincoln, the essence of national unity was destroyed.

*The development of two nations*

Embittered by this quarreling, a majority, perhaps, in the Northern and Southern sections had come by 1860 to distrust and even hate one another; and after the election of Lincoln and his refusal

to compromise, the South had come to the point where it regarded a continuation under the same government with the North as undesirable and dangerous. By 1861, Southern sectionalism had developed into Southern nationalism, laying claim to the right of self-government. Lincoln, on the other hand, appealed to the principle that the majority had the right and obligation to govern, and the minority, even though the latter had developed into a separate nationality, was under obligation to acquiesce. The Southerners in 1861 did not reject the principle of majority rule and propose to substitute the rule of the minority—the Confederate constitution and the history of the Confederacy demonstrate the attachment of the South to democratic ideology. What the South rejected in 1861 was the government of one nation by another and hostile nation—for now, too, the North was a nation.

## COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF THE WARRING SECTIONS

*Population and man power*

In considering the military phase of the Civil War[1] a comparison of man power and material and technological resources would seem to place the South at a great disadvantage. The population of the Northern and upper Southern states that remained in the Union was about 22,700,000, half a million of which were slaves; and that of the Confederacy was approximately 9,000,000, three and a half million of which were slaves and 140,000 free Negroes. During the war, however, the North obtained thousands of soldiers from the Southern mountain regions and recruited the bulk of its 183,000 Negro troops from the slave population of those portions of the Confederacy overrun by Federal armies. On the other hand, the Confederacy drew tens of thousands of troops from the slave states which had not become part of the Confederacy. Although it is obvious, then, that the potential man power of both North and South cannot be exactly estimated, it is probable that the Confederacy could count upon not less than a 6,000,000 white population as a recruiting ground, whereas the North could draw from about 21,500,000 whites and free Negroes within the Union and about 1,000,000 Southern Negroes.

*Industrial superiority of the North*

Although there had been a rapid industrialization of the South during the ten years preceding the war, nevertheless, the Confederate states were seriously lacking in the industrial and technological equipment so necessary in the waging of war. The North, of course, had far better industrial equipment than the South, but it

[1] The term "Civil War" will be used for convenience rather than the longer phrase "The War for Southern Independence" (see Preface).

was not self-sufficient for war in 1861. Until 1864 great quantities of military supplies had to be purchased from Europe.

*Other advantages of the North*

The North had other distinct advantages over the South. It had an established government of three quarters of a century's standing, with all its functions well organized and its departments well staffed. Internationally, it was recognized as the legitimate government of not only the North but of the seceded states also. Its financial and monetary system was in good standing at home and abroad. It had the regularly organized army of about 20,000 and, above all, the Federal navy. Finally, the North had the advantage of interior lines in the West. The Cumberland, Tennessee, and Mississippi Rivers spread like the spokes of a wheel into the heart of the Confederacy, from the Cairo-Paducah area which may be thought of as a hub. The railroads from Paducah and Bowling Green were auxiliary spokes. The Federals could concentrate along any one of these spokes while the Confederates must scatter their forces along the outer rim which they must defend. In the East, the situation was not so favorable to the North; but even there, the James, York, and Potomac Rivers, dominated by the United States naval forces, gave entrance to interior Virginia.

*Magnitude of the war not foreseen*

There was a lack of comprehension on the part of each section as to the duration and magnitude of the oncoming conflict. Lincoln and Seward, whose views were those of the greater part of the Northern public, insisted that the mass of Southern people were loyal at heart to the old Union and only deluded and coerced by the slavocracy; and they believed for months that one crushing victory over the Southern armies would disperse the soldiers homeward. The Southern opinion of the North was that the abolitionists and their sympathizers were agitators but not fighters, and that the commercial and industrial magnates of the North were so devoted to making money that they would not want to make war on their best customer. The mass of Northern people were considered unfriendly, but it was not believed that they would support a war against the South. Even should the North undertake a real war, political leaders at first hoped, and many believed, that England and France would intervene in the struggle and thus effect an early termination of the conflict in order to obtain the Southern cotton on which their textile industries were based. Unlike the majority of Southerners, however, Davis feared a long war, and he urged—vainly until after Lincoln's call for volunteers—that a strong force be raised to meet any invasion.

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# CHAPTER XXIV

# *Military and Naval Operations*

## War in the East, 1861

*Scott's grand strategy*

THE strategy of Winfield Scott, the aged general-in-chief of the United States forces, was to strangle the South by blockade, seize its rivers—particularly the Mississippi and its tributaries—and railroads, and thus cut it into isolated segments. Even before the upper Southern states seceded, Scott had urged upon Lincoln the necessity of raising and thoroughly training at least 300,000 three-year troops, who would require fully three years to finish the task of conquest. But the Northern press and public scoffed at any idea of a real war; and until after the humiliation of Bull Run in July, 1861, Lincoln did not fully believe in the necessity of such a long-range military policy.

*Military problem of the South*

The military problem of the South was to prevent the success of the Northern grand strategy. Southern military strategy was of necessity to be a defensive type, preferably an offensive-defensive, that is, an offensive against the enemy within Southern territory.

*Battle of Bull Run*

In early July President Lincoln, harassed by the popular clamor for an immediate march upon Richmond, ordered General Irvin McDowell with his army of 30,000 near Alexandria to advance against the Confederate force of 23,000 under General P. G. T. Beauregard near Bull Run. At the same time General Robert Patterson, with a force of about 19,000 men occupying the lower end of the Valley of Virginia, was ordered to prevent Confederate General Joseph E. Johnston's detachment of 9000 men, stationed at Winchester, from uniting with Beauregard. McDowell advanced, and battle was joined at the little stream of Bull Run. By a brilliant flanking movement (July 21) McDowell drove back the Confederates and by midafternoon victory for the Federal forces seemed assured. But unfortunately for McDowell, Johnston had eluded Patterson in the Valley, and, in the nick of time, a contingent of the best of his troops under General Thomas J. Jackson

came to the aid of Beauregard.[1] The Federal charge was halted, and by the further arrival of Johnston's troops defeat for the Confederates was turned into victory. The Federal defeat soon became a rout, and McDowell's troops broke and fled in panic, not stopping their frightened rush until they were safely across the Potomac in Washington. The Confederate army was almost as badly disorganized by this surprise victory as were the Federals and no effort at pursuit was made.

*Effects of the battle*

The effects of the battle of Bull Run were beneficial to the North and harmful to the South. In the North popular pride was stung almost beyond endurance, and both the public and the President began to comprehend the magnitude of the struggle that the South would make for a separate existence. The military forces of the United States were soon raised to more than half a million men, well equipped, intensively trained, and enlisted for three years or the duration of the war. On July 24, just after Bull Run, George B. McClellan was given the command of all the Federal forces in the department of Virginia. In the South there was much rejoicing and some gloating over the rout of the "Yankees." The Confederate military leaders, on the contrary, were apprehensive at the inevitable effect of overconfidence in the South. Events were soon to confirm their fears, for thousands of soldiers, homesick and believing that the war was about over, took this occasion to visit home—frequently without leave. During the same time volunteering slackened considerably.

*Conscription adopted in the South*

This popular letdown, accompanied by the shortsighted policy of state governors in building up state military organizations for local defense, and the Confederate defeats in the West in the early part of 1862, had one helpful effect: the passage in April by the Confederate Congress of the Conscription Act, which required, with certain exceptions, the military service of all men between eighteen and thirty-five years of age—soon to be extended by further legislation to forty-five. The chief service of these acts was to retain the large army existing in April, 1862, and to bring in many thousands as "volunteers" who did not like to be conscripted.

*McClellan Lincoln's ablest general in 1861*

General McClellan, who had the task of training the Army of the Potomac, was without doubt the best selection that Lincoln could have made at this time. Although a graduate of West Point, he had been a railroad executive for some time, and his large business experience was of service now. He was a great organizer,

[1] Jackson's brilliant performance in this battle won for him the sobriquet of "Stonewall." This honor was conferred upon him by General Barnard E. Bee, who in an effort to rally his retreating brigade, exclaimed: "See Jackson standing like a stone wall! Rally behind the Virginians."

drillmaster, and a popular commander. But as a combat general he had several shortcomings: he was a stickler for detail, too often when detail was not vital; he overestimated the size but not the striking power of the opposing armies; he was cautious and deliberate to an excessive degree; and he was opinionated, outspoken, and not always courteous in dealing with the President and other civilian officers of the government. He never made, however, any major error in the conduct of a battle; and in a war of attrition he inflicted more relative damage upon the Confederate army in 1862 than Grant did in 1864.

*McClellan's refusal to be hurried*

For months after Bull Run, McClellan showed no intention of joining battle with the Confederates. President Lincoln wheedled him, pricked him with good-natured sarcasm, ordered him to attack, and offered to borrow the army if he did not want to use it, while the Congressional committee on the conduct of the war accused him of treason and demanded his removal. On November 1, 1861, the President, in the face of radical criticism, made him general-in-chief of all the armies of the United States. McClellan, however, would not budge before he was convinced that his army was strong and seasoned enough to stand up against the Army of Northern Virginia. Indeed, it was not until in March, 1862, that he was ready to move against the Confederate army; and when he did move, it was by way of the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers.

### MILITARY OPERATIONS IN THE WEST, 1861-1862

*Federal forces successful in Missouri*

Missouri had perhaps been prevented from joining the Confederacy by the quick action of Francis P. Blair, Jr., and Captain Nathaniel Lyon in organizing Union guards. The governor and legislature were favorable to the Confederacy until deposed by a Unionist convention, and they authorized General Sterling Price to raise a Confederate army in Missouri, which soon reached a total of 20,000 men. The Union forces finally got control of the state although General Lyon was defeated and killed in a desperate battle at Wilson's Creek (August 10, 1861).

*Western Virginia*

The majority of the people in the section of Virginia west of the mountains seem to have been Unionist in sentiment, and certainly they held long-standing grievances against eastern Virginia. Consequently, when McClellan and his successor, W. S. Rosecrans, defeated and drove out the Confederate forces under Robert E. Lee, the thirty-nine transmontane counties formed themselves into the state of West Virginia, which was admitted into the Union on

June 20, 1863.[1] The creation of West Virginia out of a Confederate state was soon to have great influence upon the attitudes of the people in the mountainous portions of the neighboring states of Kentucky, Tennessee, and North Carolina.

*Position of the opposing armies*

By the winter and spring of 1862 the Federal forces in the West had gained a position which was favorable for a successful advance. The line held by them extended from southern Missouri through southern Kentucky to the mountains. General Henry W. Halleck was in command of the Federal Department of the West, which eventually included all armies west of the Alleghenies. Serving under him was General U. S. Grant, who was a West Point graduate but had not been in the army during the seven years preceding the outbreak of the war. He had attained the rank of captain by 1854, when he left the service to avoid a trial by court-martial for drunkenness. During this period of civilian life he had failed in various business undertakings, and he doubtless welcomed the opportunity to engage in a work for which he was well fitted both by native ability and training. It soon became evident that he had many of the qualities of an outstanding leader. Among these were resourcefulness, unyielding persistence, boldness in strategy, and the ability to win the effective co-operation of his subordinates.

*Grant*

*Capture of Forts Henry and Donelson*

Facing the Union line was a weak and poorly equipped Confederate army under the command of General Albert Sidney Johnston. His main position based on Nashville was protected by garrisons at Columbus on the Mississippi, Fort Henry on the Tennessee River, Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, and Bowling Green, Kentucky. Grant rightly concluded that a successful attack on the Confederate center resulting in the capture of Forts Henry and Donelson would lead to a deep withdrawal of the Confederates and a corresponding advance of the Federals. Halleck's consent having been obtained, Grant, with the aid of gunboats under the command of Commodore Andrew H. Foote, was able to carry out his plan with remarkable success. Fort Henry, lying on a low bank, was easily reduced by the bombardment from Foote's gunboats (February 6, 1862). Grant then invested Fort Donelson with a force of 28,000 men, and after severe fighting the Confederate commander surrendered not only the fort but also the garrison of 15,000 men (February 16).[2]

[1] The formation of West Virginia will be discussed in more detail in connection with Lincoln's policy of reconstruction (see pp. 464 f.).

[2] Just before surrendering the fort, General Simon B. Buckner, who was finally left in command of Fort Donelson, asked Grant for the terms on which he would accept surrender. Grant's reply was: "No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted." It was in this way that the victorious commander became to many of his admirers "Unconditional Surrender" Grant.

*Immediate Consequences*

This surrender was a staggering blow in itself, but its strategic consequences were to be appalling to the South. A. S. Johnston was now forced to abandon middle Tennessee and fall back to Corinth in northeast Mississippi, where he could assemble the other portions of his scattered army and await reinforcements. The morale of the South, both on the home front and in the armies, was severely shaken, and that of the North greatly strengthened.

*The battle of Shiloh*

Soon after the fall of Fort Donelson, Grant proceeded to Nashville and then moved on to southern Tennessee. His main force was stationed in a very dangerous position at Pittsburg Landing, on the Tennessee River. In the meantime Johnston had reorganized his army into a force of 40,000 men. He then attacked (April 6) the most exposed part of Grant's army, which was encamped near Shiloh Church, three miles west of Pittsburg Landing. Here occurred one of the bloodiest battles of the war, with heavy casualties on both sides. It was a complete surprise and the Union army, although making a desperate fight, was thrown back in great disorder. The Confederates, however, paid a high price for this first day's victory; Johnston was mortally wounded and died on the battlefield. Grant was now reinforced by the arrival of Buell's army, and with these fresh troops next day he launched a counter-attack which threw the Confederates back and forced them that night to withdraw toward Corinth.

*Bragg's expedition into Kentucky*

The Confederate army stationed at Corinth was at first under the command of Beauregard and later of General Braxton Bragg. Halleck, after slow and careful preparations, was by the last of May ready to attack Bragg at Corinth, when the latter withdrew without battle and later collected his forces at Chattanooga. General Don Carlos Buell was ordered to advance against Chattanooga, but before he was ready for the attack Bragg left Chattanooga and moved rapidly into Kentucky. The immediate effect of this counter-offensive was to compel Buell to fall back all the way from north Alabama to Louisville, Kentucky, and thus clear the greater part of Tennessee and over half of Kentucky of Federal forces. There were, however, no permanent gains of real value. Bragg had not been able to win any considerable number of recruits for his army, as he had expected, and he quickly withdrew from Kentucky and returned to Chattanooga.

*Battle of Stone's River, or Murfreesboro*

Buell failed to obey the order to pursue Bragg into East Tennessee and he was superseded by General W. S. Rosecrans. The failure of the new general to carry out the order to take and hold East Tennessee enabled Bragg to move up to Murfreesboro. At Stone's River, near Murfreesboro, a bloody battle was fought (on December

31, 1862) when Rosecrans marched from Nashville against Bragg's position. The Federal forces were pushed back for several miles; but Bragg failed to follow up this first day's victory with an immediate attack and when the battle was renewed two days later he could not dislodge the Federals from their strong positions. He was so shocked by his failure to defeat Rosecrans that he withdrew to Tullahoma. The losses on both sides had been so disastrous that neither army was in any condition to renew the struggle. The Federals lost in killed, wounded, and captured 12,906 out of an army of 47,000; and the Confederates suffered a casualty of 11,739 out of 38,000.

*Net gains of the Federals in the West*

During the year 1862 the Federals also made considerable headway toward gaining control of the Mississippi River. With the aid of gunboats, General Pope captured Island No. 10 and with it more than 5000 prisoners (April 7, 1862). Shortly afterward (April 29) Admiral D. G. Farragut and Commander D. D. Porter had by a bold and skillful use of their gunboats captured New Orleans. The city was turned over to General B. F. Butler's army of occupation. By the end of the year 1862 Federal forces were in control of both the upper and lower reaches of the Mississippi River. They also held all of Kentucky and western, with a considerable portion of middle, Tennessee.

## WAR IN THE EAST, 1862

*Strong and weak points in McClellan's plan*

While the military movements just described were advancing in the West, a contest of equal or greater significance was going on in the East. As has already been seen (see p. 422), McClellan finally began his advance against the Confederate forces (March, 1862). His new plan of an assault upon Richmond by way of the peninsula formed by the York and James Rivers had the great advantage of an all-water communication. But the one defect of the plan was that it uncovered Washington and exposed it to attack from the forces operating in the Valley under Jackson. Lincoln, who gave only a reluctant consent to the plan, detached McDowell's corps of 40,000 men from McClellan's army to protect Washington.

*McClellan's advance up the Peninsula*

McClellan had his main army at Fortress Monroe by early April; but when he moved up the Peninsula he found a portion of Joseph E. Johnston's army lying across his path at Yorktown. McClellan deployed his army and brought up his siege guns. The Confederates retreated to Williamsburg on May 3, fought a delaying action, and withdrew to the outworks at Richmond. McClellan then established his base at White House Landing on the Pamunkey River, within twenty miles of Richmond. At about the same time the

Confederates abandoned Norfolk and blew up the Confederate ram, the *Merrimack* (*Virginia*), to prevent its falling into Federal hands (see p. 439). This cleared the river to Drury's Bluff, six miles from Richmond, so that Federal gunboats and transports moved without interruption up the James almost to the Confederate capital.

*The Valley campaign of Stonewall Jackson*

McClellan was expecting McDowell to come down from Fredericksburg and join him in the campaign against Richmond. Instead of allowing him to do so, President Lincoln in great haste and anxiety ordered McDowell to march back to defend Washington against the Confederate forces operating under Stonewall Jackson in the Valley of Virginia; for Jackson in a series of swift and daring actions had defeated or confused the Union forces there, and had alarmed Washington. Turning back suddenly from his advance down the Valley, he escaped the noose that three Federal generals had tried to throw around his neck and returned to the Confederate base in the Richmond area, after having achieved one of the most remarkable performances of the war.

*The battle of Seven Pines*

McClellan's army without the hoped-for addition of McDowell's corps, consisted of 105,000 men, who were well equipped and well trained. To oppose him Johnston had a force of about 75,000 men. The first major encounter between the two armies was an indecisive battle of two days (May 31-June 1, 1862) at Seven Pines (or Fair Oaks), a few miles from Richmond. Johnston was seriously wounded, and Robert E. Lee succeeded to the command.

*The Seven Days' Battles*

Soon after Lee took command, his army and that of McClellan came to grips in a series of five battles near Richmond which are known as the Seven Days' Battles (June 26-July 1). Lee, by a wide flanking movement to McClellan's right, was able to cut the latter's line of communication with his base at White House, and McClellan shifted his base to Harrison Landing on the James River twenty miles below Richmond. The Confederates in these encounters had lost about one-fourth more men than had the Federals, although the Northern army was more than one-third larger than that of the Southerners. McClellan's new base was well located and his army, although discouraged—but far from being demoralized—was still strong enough for a vigorous offensive after a short period of recuperation. The effect of these battles, however, was generally regarded as favorable to the South since by them Richmond had been saved. McClellan therefore had fallen into disfavor with the Federal government, and instead of receiving reinforcements, as he requested, he was soon ordered to transfer his army to northern Virginia to reinforce Pope. He therefore was not allowed to con-

summate a plan like the one afterward carried out with success by Grant (see p. 435).

*The second battle of Bull Run*

On July 11 General Halleck was brought to Washington from the West and made commander in chief of the Union forces. General John Pope was also called to the East and put in command of an army composed of the divisions that had been operating in northern Virginia. Pope was a self-confident and incautious commander who boasted that in the West he had only "seen the backs of our enemies." Lee decided to attack Pope before McClellan could join him, and this attempt led to the second battle of Bull Run (August 29-30). As a result of a bold flanking movement by Jackson which enabled him to take position at Pope's rear, the Union army was badly defeated and forced back to Washington.

*McClellan restored to command*

When the despondent Federal armies were brought back to the Washington defenses, McClellan was immediately restored to active command of all the troops in the East. Under his genius for organization and his gift for inspiring confidence, the army was back in good spirits in a few days.

*Lee's decision to invade the North; reasons*

Lee, with the consent of Davis, decided after the victory of second Bull Run to carry the Confederate army across the Potomac into Maryland and Pennsylvania. His reasons were good. By maneuvering he would draw the Federal army away from Virginia and permit the war-ridden population a respite and an opportunity to harvest their crops; he would permit the Confederate army to subsist itself in fresh territory, although there was to be no looting or seizure of private property; he believed that Maryland might join the Confederacy if given a fair chance; and, finally, and of great importance, he hoped that an invasion of Maryland and Pennsylvania, accompanied by a successful battle, might well result in foreign intervention of some kind. Nor was his calculation ill-founded in this last respect.

*The battle of Antietam*

Crossing the Potomac east of the Blue Ridge Mountains, Lee advanced into Maryland. He then divided his army by sending the left wing under Jackson to capture Harper's Ferry and thereby open a line for supplies from the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson was successful in forcing the surrender of the Federal garrison at Harper's Ferry without a battle, and, by September 17, 1862, all his troops had rejoined Lee's force. On that day was fought the significant battle of Antietam, with heavy casualties on both sides. Lee's army successfully repelled the ferocious attacks of McClellan's troops, but it was greatly weakened and was forced to withdraw across the Potomac. So far as the actual fighting was concerned, this the bloodiest single day's engagement of the war was a drawn battle;

but it had the effect of a Union victory because it had checked Lee's invasion of the North.

*The battle of Fredericksburg*

McClellan's failure to prevent Lee's retreat into Virginia soon caused Lincoln to remove him and put in his place General Ambrose E. Burnside. Lee continued his retreat until he reached Fredericksburg, where he became well intrenched on the heights overlooking the town, with the Rappahannock River in front. Burnside unwisely attacked Lee in this strong position (December 13, 1862). Throwing his troops across the river with great difficulty, he made a series of frontal attacks on the Confederates, all of which were hurled back with great loss to the assailants. This costly Federal defeat took a toll of 12,650 casualties from the Northern army of 120,000, and 5300 from the Confederate army of 78,000.

## THE WEST IN 1863

*Each side anxious to control the Mississippi River*

Although the successes of 1862 in the West were encouraging to the Federals, they were not nearly so important as those gained the following year. In 1863 they not only won outstanding victories at Chattanooga but were also able to attain their major objective—entire control of the Mississippi River. Since both the upper and lower reaches of the Mississippi had been taken over by the Union forces, the capture of Vicksburg and Port Hudson would bring the great river throughout its entire length under Federal control. This severance of the trans-Mississippi territory from the rest of the Confederacy would be a serious if not a fatal blow to the South; for the Trans-Mississippi Department had come to be the principal source from which horses, cattle, and swine were obtained for the Southern armies.

*The capture of Vicksburg*

Beginning in the fall of 1862, Grant carried on a series of unsuccessful operations against Vicksburg, and it was not until the last of April, 1863, that the tide turned in his favor. Taking his army down the west side of the river, he crossed over to the east shore and captured Bruinsburg, below Vicksburg, on May 1. After winning in several other engagements he sat down in front of Vicksburg to bottle up General John C. Pemberton's army in the town. In the meantime General Joseph E. Johnston had been placed in command of the Department of the West and was hurrying to Pemberton's aid. Their joint armies at first outnumbered that of Grant, but, because of their failure to unite, Pemberton did not receive any outside aid. After enduring a long siege (from May 22 to July 4) he surrendered Vicksburg and his army of 31,000 men. Four days later Port Hudson with 5000 men surrendered to

General N. P. Banks, and the Federal forces were now in complete control of the Mississippi River. The capture of Vicksburg was one of the most significant events of the war, and this, Grant's brilliant performance, put him in the forefront of all the Federal commanders. Since this great victory came the next day after the Confederate defeat at Gettysburg, the North had a double reason for a jubilant Fourth-of-July celebration.

*Battle of Chickamauga*

Next to the capture of Vicksburg, the most important of the movements in the West in 1863 was the campaign in the Chattanooga area. During the six months following the battle of Murfreesboro, Rosecrans reorganized, re-equipped, and strengthened his army; and in the summer he launched a series of brilliant flanking movements that pushed Bragg back to the vicinity of Chattanooga, one of the vital railway junctions of the South. Bragg was forced out of the town by skillful maneuvers, and a bloody battle occurred at Chickamauga Creek twelve miles south of Chattanooga (September 19-20, 1863). On the second day the Union right and center were thrown into confusion and then into panic. However, the Confederate army was unable to follow up its victory, for the Federal left wing under the command of General George H. Thomas (the "Rock of Chickamauga") held firm and this enabled Rosecrans to assemble his disorganized units within the works at Chattanooga. The losses of both armies were nearly a third of their total strength. Bragg lost 18,000 killed, wounded, and captured, whereas Rosecrans lost 17,000.

*Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain*

Bragg occupied Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge, elevations which commanded the Tennessee River and nearly all the approaches to the town. If he had attacked the Federals in Chattanooga before they had had time to reorganize, he might have inflicted a severe defeat on them. But instead of attacking, as he was advised to do by competent subordinates, he laid siege to Chattanooga. He also weakened his army by sending away detachments to operate against Burnside's army at Knoxville. In the meantime Grant, who had been placed in command of the Military Division of the Mississippi, had come to Chattanooga (October 23), and within a month he had his forces well organized, plentifully supplied, and their morale restored. With such an army and with able subordinate generals to carry out his orders, Grant had high hopes of success. Accordingly, an attack was made on the Confederate positions on Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. In a spectacular fight of three days (November 23-25) the Federals won a decisive victory and the Confederates withdrew to Dalton, Georgia.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE EAST, 1863

*Battle of Chancellorsville*

Soon after the battle of Fredericksburg, Burnside was superseded by General Joseph Hooker, who was an excellent organizer and drillmaster. By the end of April he had a well-equipped and well-trained army of 138,000 men under his command near Fredericksburg while there were other forces in Washington and across the Blue Ridge Mountains that he could call upon. On the other hand Lee had reduced his army to about 65,000 men by sending most of Longstreet's corps to North Carolina. The two armies encountered each other at Chancellorsville, nine miles from Fredericksburg, and for three days (May 2, 3, and 4, 1863) a terrific battle raged, with the Confederates scoring another important victory. Here Jackson carried out the flanking strategy that had been so successful at second Bull Run. While a portion of Lee's force was threatening Hooker's front, Jackson made a wide detour, getting behind Hooker's right flank. This daring and successful movement was, however, purchased at a great price. In the twilight Jackson with a few other horsemen ventured out to reconnoiter, and going farther than they intended, were fired upon by their own men, who took them for enemy cavalrymen. Jackson was severely wounded and died a few days later (May 10). During the three days of fighting at Chancellorsville the losses on both sides were heavy. Since the casualties of the Southern army were relatively higher than those of the Northern, the Confederate success was in the nature of a Pyrrhic victory. The loss of Jackson was irreparable. Lee's army never again would be able to strike so swiftly and with such force as it had when "Stonewall" commanded the left wing.

*Jackson mortally wounded*

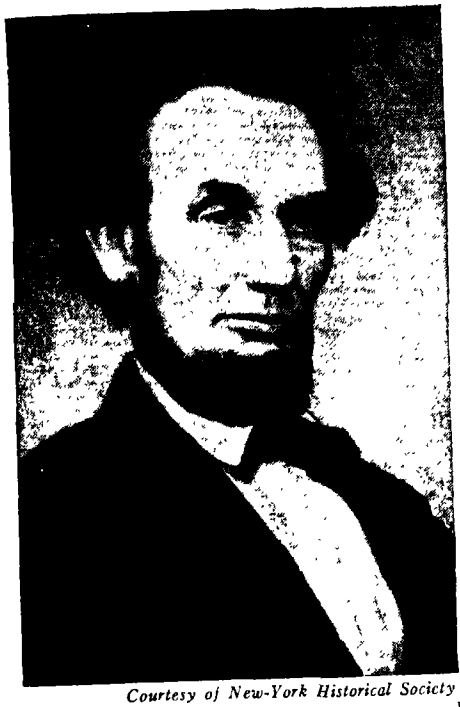
*Heavy casualties*

*Lee's second invasion of the North*

Shortly after Chancellorsville, Lee determined to invade the North for the second time and for reasons similar to those that prompted his first invasion, namely: to draw the enemy away from Virginia; supply his army at Northern expense; encourage the peace movement; and gain foreign recognition by a victory on Northern soil. With great skill he began to withdraw his army from the Rappahannock, and by June 26 nearly all of it was across the Potomac.

*Gettysburg: First day*

Hooker was at odds with both Halleck and his subordinates and on June 27 resigned as commander of the Army of the Potomac. He was succeeded by General George G. Meade, who was an able commander and popular with his colleagues. By accident the two armies came together at Gettysburg, and here for the three days of July 1-3, 1863, occurred the most important conflict of the entire



*Courtesy of New-York Historical Society*

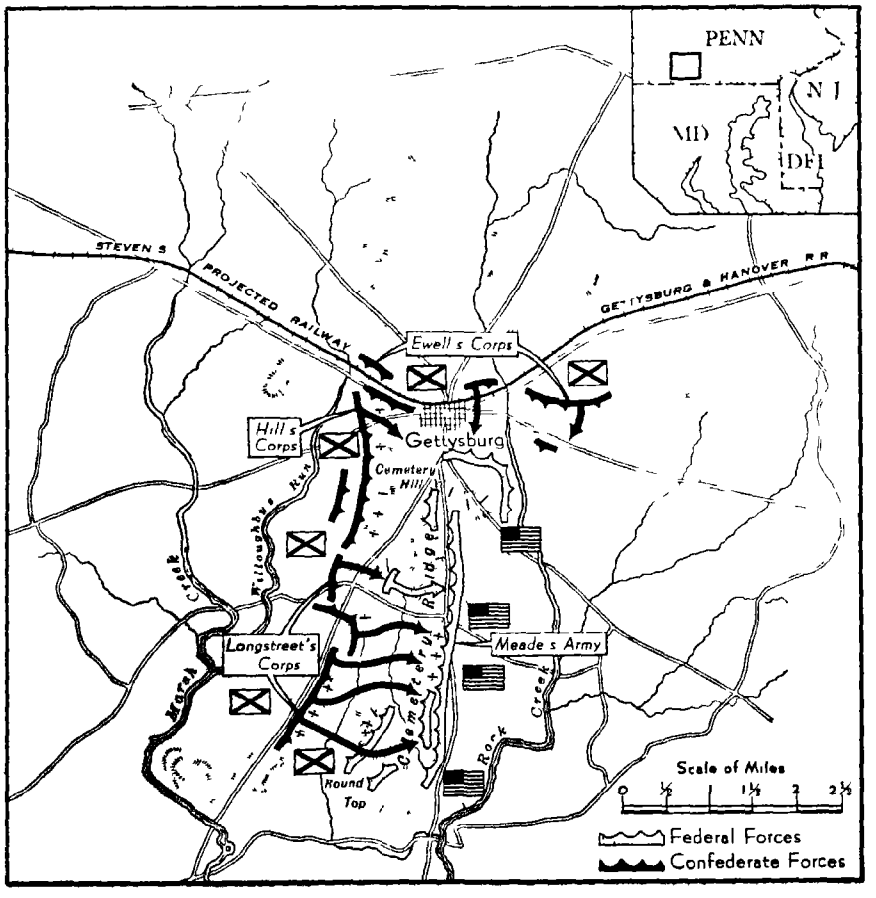
ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

*Courtesy of New York Historical Society*

JEFFERSON DAVIS.

*Atlas of Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*

*Above* PONTOON BRIDGE ON THE JAMES RIVER *Below* BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG



war. On the first day the Confederates succeeded in pushing back the Federals and were able to occupy Seminary Ridge, a wooded eminence west of the town. They failed, however, to take advantage of their gains and the Federals intrenched themselves in a strong position on Cemetery Ridge a mile or more to the east of the Confederate position. At each end of Cemetery Ridge were two hills: Little Round Top and Round Top on the south; and Cemetery Hill and Culp's Hill on the north. Federal artillery placed on these hills could protect both flanks and sweep the front with a cross fire; but if the Confederates gained these elevations they could deliver an enfilading fire against both ends of the Federal line with crushing effect.

*Second day; struggle for the hills dominating Cemetery Ridge*

The real strategic contest of Gettysburg was for possession of these hills. Lee knew this and on the night of July 1 ordered Longstreet to storm the Round Top Hills and Ewell to seize Culp's Hill in the early morning of July 2 before Meade had fortified these positions. However, Longstreet, who had opposed any attempt to take these hills by frontal assault, but who had argued in favor of a wide flanking movement around Meade's left, delayed the attack until late afternoon. By that time Meade had strongly fortified the Round Tops and Cemetery Ridge, and Longstreet's assault failed to dispossess the Federals. Farther north, Ewell, who had likewise delayed his assault upon Culp's Hill until late afternoon, was halted by darkness just short of his goal.

*Third day; Pickett's Charge*

Although Lee had failed to win the heights commanding Cemetery Ridge, he decided to deliver his next and main attack against Meade's center. On the night of July 2 he ordered Longstreet to move out in the early morning of July 3 with about 15,000 men and attack the center of the Federal lines. Longstreet, reluctant to obey this order, did not set his troops in motion until nearly three in the afternoon. Since the attack was spearheaded by General George E. Pickett's division, it is known as "Pickett's Charge." The Confederates, like the Union troops at Fredericksburg, marched to the attack as if on dress parade, while the artillery from the Round Tops tore their flanks into shreds, and the guns on the ridge in front cut gaps from one end of the line to the other like a giant mowing machine. When the Confederates were within a distance of about two hundred yards, the Federal riflemen from behind stone walls and entrenchments opened point-blank fire. Yet the decimated Confederate divisions swept on over the stone wall, past the Federal artillery, and well to the rear of the ridge. There have been few, if any, exhibitions in human history of finer valor than that shown by the Confederates in this ill-fated charge. It proved, however, to

be a useless sacrifice of life; the men were captured or driven back, and the battle of Gettysburg came to an end with the close of the day (July 3, 1863).

*Both armies too badly crippled to resume the battle*

Neither army was able to renew the attack, and both remained quiet next day "like spent lions nursing their wounds." During the three days' fighting, Meade had lost in killed, wounded, and captured, 23,000 men and great quantities of equipment, and he contented himself with having repulsed Lee. As for Lee, he had lost 20,000 men, and his supplies and ammunition were not sufficient for another battle. On the night of July 4-5 he withdrew his army southward. After waiting a few days for the Potomac, swollen by recent rains, to subside, he withdrew to northern Virginia without interference from Meade. Lincoln was sorely disappointed at his new general's failure to follow up the advantage he had gained over the Confederates.

## THE WEST IN 1864

*Grant given supreme military command*

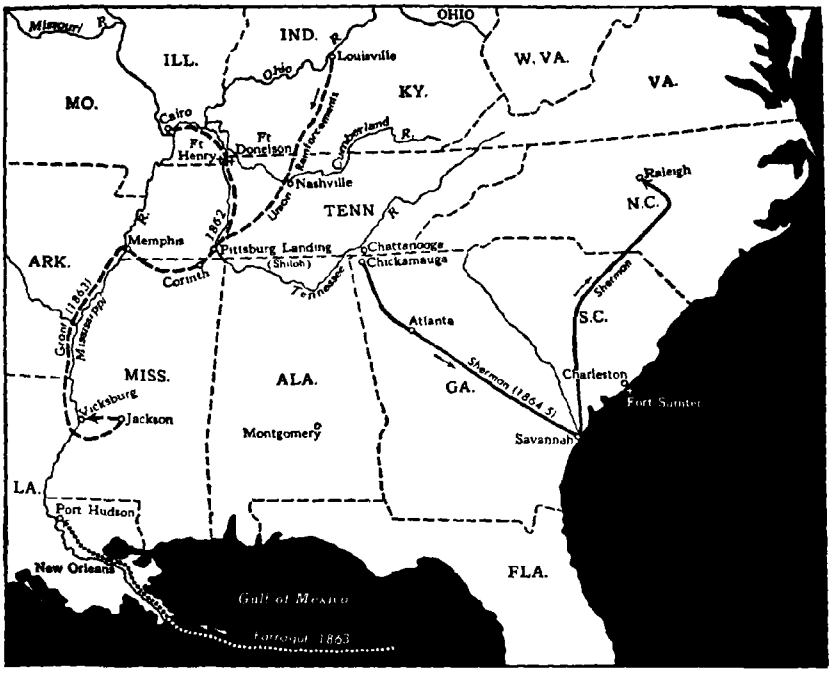
In the spring of 1864 Grant was called to Washington and placed in command of all the armies of the United States, with the rank of Lieutenant General. This rather small man, with slightly stooped shoulders, untrimmed beard, wrinkled uniform, and a cigar or pipe clinched between his teeth, did not look the part of a hero any more than had the seedy and unobtrusive Stonewall Jackson. But Grant, although not arrogant or conceited, had the self-assurance that came from knowing that he was the best general in the United States army. Before assuming the responsibilities of general-in-chief he exacted terms from Lincoln that no one else had obtained: there was to be no meddling by the Administration with his conduct of military affairs, and he was to be given everything in men and equipment that he asked.

*His grand strategy*

Grant had devised a strategic plan for the defeat of the Southern armies. Sherman was to take over command in the West and drive the Confederate Army of Tennessee back into the lower South until it was destroyed. By such a movement he was to sever the lower South from the eastern theater of war, devastate it and break the morale of the people, and dry up the sources of supply in men, food, and equipment. Grant himself would direct military operations in Virginia.

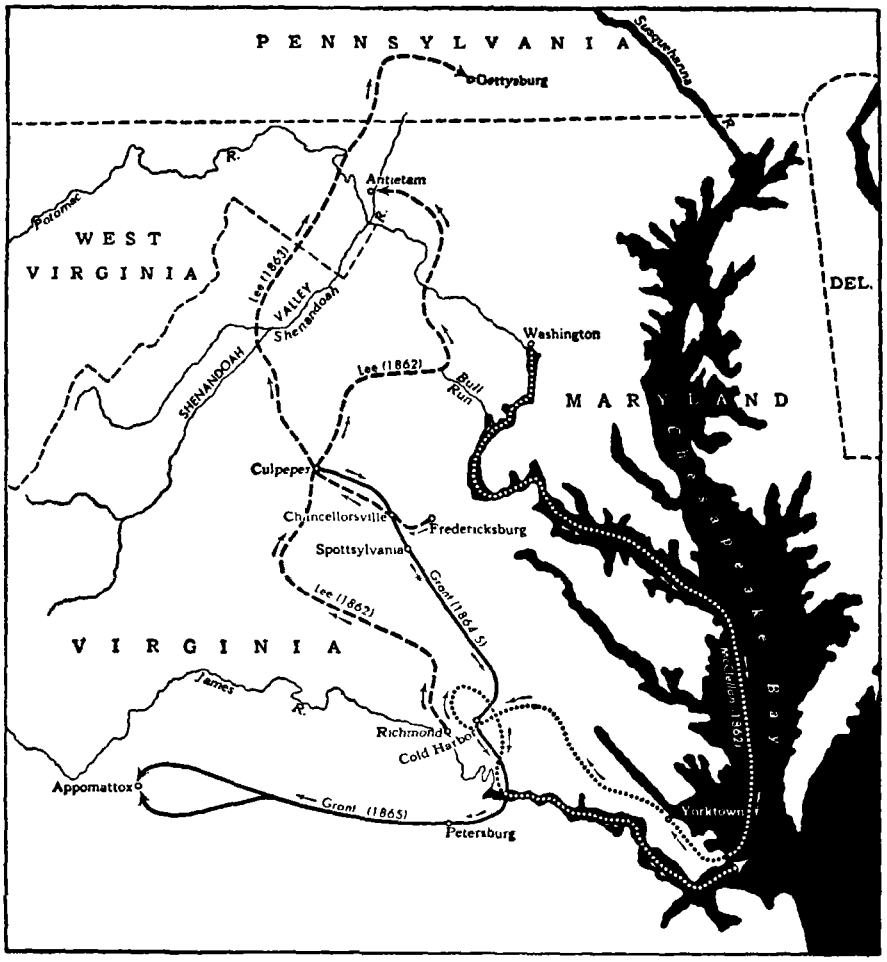
*Sherman's advance to Atlanta*

In May, 1864, Sherman with an army of 100,000 men started on his march to Atlanta, one of the most important railroad and industrial centers in the South. To contest his advance there was a Confederate army of 63,000 men under the command of Joseph E. Johnston, whom President Davis, under the pressure of public opinion,




*The United States Experiment in Democracy*, Craven and Johnson, Ginn & Co.

THE WAR IN THE WEST.




*The United States Experiment in Democracy*, Craven and Johnson, Ginn & Co

THE WAR IN THE EAST.

had appointed to succeed Bragg. The disparity in the size of the two armies prevented Johnston from challenging the enemy in open fight. He could only hope to match Sherman's clever maneuvers by skillful retreats and thereby keep his army unimpaired while leading his opponent farther and farther from his base at Chattanooga. He was quite successful in carrying out this plan; but President Davis, who was opposed to this Fabian policy, removed him from command before Atlanta and placed in his stead John B. Hood, with the expectation that he would fight. Hood met this expectation by making two furious attacks on an army twice the size of his own, which cost him the loss of 11,000 men (July, 1864). Sherman was soon able to envelop Atlanta and on September 2 Hood, faced with siege and capture, evacuated the town, which Sherman at once occupied.

*The destruction of Hood's army*

With the hope of drawing Sherman away from Atlanta, Hood took his army back to Tennessee. Sherman sent Thomas and General J. M. Schofield toward Nashville with a strong force to deal with Hood. The greater part of his army (60,000 men) he kept for his march to the sea. Hood had a bloody encounter with Schofield at Franklin which seriously crippled the former's army. Hood's force had also been depleted by sickness, lack of food, clothing, and shoes, and by desertion and straggling. But with this battle-weary skeleton of an army Hood moved on to the hills south of Nashville to fight against the army of an unbeaten general. On December 15, Thomas attacked Hood's army and in a two-day battle gave it a crushing defeat. This was the virtual death of the Army of the Tennessee, since by this defeat it was reduced to a mere remnant.

*Sherman's march to the sea*

Meanwhile Sherman was proceeding with his famous march to the sea. Leaving Atlanta in November, 1864, he advanced with little or no opposition through the heart of Georgia destroying private as well as public property and thus giving the world a preview of the total war which was the curse of invaded regions in World War II. Like a colossus swinging his scythe, Sherman cut a swath sixty miles wide through Georgia from Atlanta to the sea. He estimated that he had destroyed $100,000,000 worth of property, four fifths of which were "simple waste and destruction." He arrived at Savannah on December 10 and, after a ten-day siege, he forced Hardee's garrison of 15,000 men to give up the town and withdraw northward.

## THE EAST IN 1864

*Grant as commander in chief joins the Army of the Potomac*

After Gettysburg, there were no important military operations in the East until Grant, as commander in chief of the Union forces, joined the Army of the Potomac. Although there was considerable

dissatisfaction with Meade because of his inactivity, he was left in nominal command of the Army of the Potomac, the movements of which were to be directed by Grant.

*Battle of the Wilderness*

On May 4, 1864, Grant launched the campaign intended to bring the war to a close in a few months. He had an army of more than 100,000 men, while Lee had less than 65,000 in the Army of Northern Virginia. Crossing the Rappahannock and the Rapidan Rivers, Grant was ambushed by Lee at the Wilderness near Chancellorsville and was defeated in a bloody encounter which lasted two days (May 5-6). Grant's casualties were 17,700 and Lee's about 7600.

*Spotsylvania Court House*

In an effort to outflank Lee and get between him and Richmond, Grant rapidly marched to Spotsylvania Court House. Lee anticipated this move and had his army awaiting the Federals when they arrived. Grant threw his men against Lee's entrenched position in desperate assault in an almost continuous battle from May 8 to 12. Heavy rains after that put an end to the battle. Grant was still undismayed and determined although he had lost 13,500 men at Spotsylvania. Writing to Halleck, he said: "I propose to fight it out on this line, if it takes all the summer."

*Cold Harbor*

After Spotsylvania Grant, advancing now with caution as well as great skill, continued his march toward the Confederate capital until he reached Cold Harbor, ten miles from Richmond. Here Lee, who had moved on shorter, interior lines, was waiting for him behind entrenchments. Grant made a frontal attack on the fortified Confederate line in apparent disregard of the cost in human life. In the chilly dawn of June 3 wave after wave of Federal soldiers charged across the rain-soaked fields only to be cut down by Lee's veteran riflemen and by artillery fired at point-blank range. Grant wasted more than 7000 men, most of whom were killed or died in the blazing woods where they lay wounded. Lee suffered less than 1500 casualties.

*Early's operations in the Valley and his threat to Washington*

Soon after Cold Harbor Lee sent General Jubal A. Early against Generals Sigel and Hunter, who were operating in the Shenandoah Valley. Early defeated the Federals in the Valley and advanced to the outskirts of Washington. Here reinforcements from Grant's army halted Early and drove him back across the Potomac. Grant now sent against Early the young, brilliant General Philip Sheridan with a force twice the size of that of his antagonist. After defeating Early in three battles (September 19 and 22 and October 19), Sheridan under Grant's orders carried out a policy of devastation in the Valley. Many residences were burned; and livestock, wagons, farm implements, grain, hay, and other food for man and animal

*Sheridan's operations in the Valley*

were carried off or put to the torch. When Sheridan completed this assignment, he sent Grant a message stating that he had wrought such destruction that "a crow flying over the country would need to carry his rations." The Valley was now finally cleared of the Confederates.

*Grant crosses the James to attack Petersburg*

In the meantime Grant by brilliant maneuvering had moved his army to the south side of the James River with the purpose of taking Petersburg and Burkeville and thereby cutting off Richmond from the rest of the South. To prevent this, on June 18 Lee sent heavy reinforcements to Beauregard, who commanded the garrison in Petersburg. With this aid the Confederates, protected as they were by heavy breastworks, were able to repel a series of frontal assaults by the Federals and to inflict heavy losses on the assailants. From May 5 to July 30, 1864, Grant had lost at least 65,000 men, mostly veterans, while Lee had lost fewer than half that number. Grant's critics contended that he was unduly sacrificing his men, and Lincoln cautioned him against any further attempts to destroy Lee's army by assault. Grant therefore settled down to a long siege of Petersburg, the gateway to the Confederate capital.

*The seige of Petersburg*

## THE CURTAIN FALLS

*The devastation of South Carolina*

After a month's rest in Savannah, Sherman moved into South Carolina (January, 1865) and began to perpetrate a devastation far more widespread than he had in Georgia. The soldiers were burning with a desire to wreak vengeance upon South Carolina since they blamed her for starting the secession movement. A number of towns were partially or entirely destroyed by fire and a large part of the capital city of Columbia was burned.[1] In the wide area devastated, the people were to a great extent deprived of clothing, shelter, and the means of subsistence. That disease and death, from exposure and lack of food, especially among old people and children, would follow in the wake of this terrible march is no more than could be expected.

*Sherman's North Carolina campaign*

Sherman began meeting some opposition from Confederate forces in North Carolina. Joseph E. Johnston, now restored by Lee's orders (Lee had on February 6, 1865 been made commander in chief of the Confederate forces), headed a small Confederate army made up of the remnants of Hood's command and such troops as Hardee and Beauregard had been able to collect. Johnston's army was poorly equipped and had a large element of state militia, always nearly

1 There is still some disagreement among the authorities as to Sherman's responsibility for the burning of Columbia. Apparently the fire was caused by the irresponsible acts of drunken and undisciplined soldiers. (See R. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, 565-566.)

worthless in a sustained campaign. With such a force he could at best only delay Sherman's advance.

*Lee's unsuccessful attempt to join Johnston*

In the early spring of 1865, Grant began extending his left flank until it had reached almost to the one remaining railroad which supplied Lee's army from southwest Virginia and western North Carolina. Because of the critical military situation Lee abandoned Petersburg and Richmond April 3 with the purpose of advancing down the Richmond and Danville Railroad to join with Johnston. But successful withdrawal of the weakened army of Northern Virginia was now doubtful. The Confederate officials abandoned Richmond, and Lee started his army to Amelia Court House on the Danville Railroad. His men and horses were nearly starved, and the spirits of many were hopelessly crushed to find, on reaching that point on April 4, that no food was there. When they retreated down the Danville Railroad to meet Johnston, who was falling back on Greensboro, fifty miles below Danville, they were confronted on April 5 by Sheridan with a strong force. Lee turned off in the direction of Lynchburg, but Sheridan's cavalry soon threw themselves across Lee's path at Appomattox Court House. Pursued from the rear and blocked in front, Lee decided that further resistance would be a useless shedding of blood and he asked Grant for terms of surrender.

*Lee and Grant at Appomattox*

Generals Lee and Grant with their staffs met under a flag of truce at the McLean House in Appomattox on April 9 and, after some discussion of details, Lee surrendered his army to Grant. Grant showed rare graciousness in arranging the details of the surrender: he permitted all officers to retain their side arms and personal belongings; allowed the men to take their horses home—looking the other way when they took those belonging to the Confederate government; and finally he paroled the men and officers and permitted them to go home on condition that they would not take up arms again until exchanged. This condition was a mere formality since both armies regarded Lee's surrender as the end of the war. So it was.

*Johnston surrenders to Sherman*

Although President Davis had joined Johnston in North Carolina, he was unable to induce that general to retire to the mountains or to the West and carry on the struggle. Lee's example was too powerful. The average soldier under Johnston, now that the great leader had laid down arms, was unwilling to continue the unequal struggle, particularly in view of the general understanding that Lincoln's peace terms involved no humiliating and grinding conditions. Johnston met Sherman near Durham, North Carolina, April 17 and 18, and the two agreed on armistice terms. These terms were not

accepted by the Washington authorities, however, and it was not until April 26 that the final surrender of Johnston was effected.

*The capture of Davis*

On May 4, General Richard Taylor surrendered his forces in Mississippi and Alabama; and May 26, Kirby Smith surrendered the troops in the Trans-Mississippi Department on similar terms. On May 10, Jefferson Davis was taken prisoner near Irwinville in southern Georgia and thus suddenly collapsed the entire military and civil structure of the Confederacy.

*The assassination of Lincoln*

Lincoln, however, did not live to see the curtain fall at the close of these final, lesser events. On the night of April 14, he had attended the Ford Theater; during the performance John Wilkes Booth, under the delusion that he was aiding the South, entered the President's box and shot him. Next day Lincoln passed away, and the country had to mourn the loss of the leader who was best suited to grapple with the difficult problem of reconstruction. Booth, who managed to elude capture for the moment, was soon caught in a burning barn in Maryland where he was killed. His three accomplices and Mrs. Surratt, the mistress of the boardinghouse where the assassins consorted, who was actually innocent, were hanged by order of an extralegal military tribunal.

## NAVAL OPERATIONS: THE WORK OF THE FEDERAL NAVY

*How the United States navy aided the war effort*

In 1861 the Federal navy of about fifty sail ships and forty wooden steamers, although obsolete in comparison with the ironclad fleets of France and Britain, was all-powerful in relation to that of the Confederacy, and it retained this position of inferiority and superiority with reference to the respective European and Southern navies until the end of the Civil War. Secretary of the Navy Welles devised a navy for the special and almost sole purpose of aiding in the defeat of the South and with little thought of competing for sea power with France and Britain. The chief functions of the United States navy during the Civil War were threefold: to blockade the Confederacy; to co-operate with the army in amphibious warfare; and to capture or destroy the Confederate raiders such as the *Alabama* and the *Florida*.

*Blockade of the Southern ports*

Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the coast of the Confederate States on April 19, 1861, which he extended to include that of North Carolina and Virginia when they seceded. But an ordinary blockade of the South was impossible. The Confederate shore line was more than 3500 miles in extent, and great stretches of it were composed of long, narrow islands screening almost continuous bodies of water—such as Biscayne Bay and Indian River in Florida, Albe-

marle and Pamlico Sounds in North Carolina—through which flat-bottomed steamers and sail vessels could pass without being observed from the sea. There were not enough warships in the world to surround and guard effectively such a long and complex shore line, which, according to American doctrine and that of continental Europe, was the only legal method of blockade. What the President did was to lay down the British type of blockade, which, it will be recalled, had a great deal to do with bringing on the War of 1812. As soon as the navy had sufficient strength, an arc of naval vessels was placed around each of the principal Confederate ports, and other ships patrolled at intervals the long intervening stretches of coast.

*Blockade running*

The very announcement by Lincoln of the blockade served in the beginning to frighten foreign ships away, but as the price of naval stores, tobacco, and cotton rose, so did the courage of the merchantmen. In a few months they began coming back into the Southern trade despite the risks of capture. As the Federal navy strengthened its squadrons and made it more hazardous for ordinary steamers and sail vessels to attempt to run the blockade, vessels were specially constructed for this business. Blockade running was exciting, spectacular, and very profitable. Young men of daring and skill from the South and from Great Britain manned the blockade runners, the stories of whose adventures rival any of our tallest tales.

*The blockade not effective according to previous American doctrine*

Although the Federal navy was never able to establish a blockade which would have been considered effective according to previous American definitions when dealing with Great Britain, it was able to destroy the normal export and import trade of the South and thus contribute greatly to the defeat of the Confederacy. The blockade also imposed serious hardships on the civilian population of the South by creating a serious scarcity in much-needed supplies, such as tea, coffee, salt, matches, soap, and medicines. The blockade runners made thousands of successful trips through the blockade. About 1,000,000 bales of cotton were shipped out, and 600,000 to 1,000,000 stand of small arms, a good portion of the artillery, and much food and clothing were brought in.

As a means of strengthening the blockade, Federal land and naval forces co-operated in taking strategic centers along the Confederate coast. The places so captured were used as bases of operation for military movements as well as for activities of the blockading fleet. In this way the Federal army and navy gained control of important stretches of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts. The contest for the control of the Virginia coast and the tidal rivers led to a sig-

nificant naval battle between the *Merrimack* (or the *Virginia*) and the *Monitor*.

*Battle between the* Merrimack (*the* Virginia) *and the* Monitor

The Confederates had raised and transformed the old United States steam frigate, the *Merrimack* (which the Federals had sunk on evacuating the navy yard at Norfolk) into an ironclad ram by covering it over with four inches of iron plate. On March 8, 1862, this monstrous looking vessel (whose name had been changed to that of the *Virginia*) steamed out of Norfolk and attacked the Federal wooden fleet on blockade duty in Hampton Roads. It destroyed five vessels and captured two others. On the next day it returned to its business of destruction only to meet an even stranger looking craft than itself, an ironclad which had its deck almost even with the water and on top of which was a revolving gun turret. This queer naval craft, "a cheese box on a raft," was the *Monitor*. The fight between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimack* did little damage to either vessel, but because of its defective engines the *Merrimack* did not return to the fray. The work of the *Merrimack* in destroying the wooden ships rendered obsolete all the United States deep sea naval vessels except the *Monitor*. These were not the first ironclads, although this was the first time one ironclad had been pitted against another. Federal steamers, partially ironclad, had already attacked Forts Henry and Donelson and were sinking wooden steamers on the western rivers (see p. 423). The Federal government constructed a number of ironclads of the *Monitor* type, which, although slow and frequently unseaworthy, were quite effective against the Confederate "homemade" ironclads and fortifications.

*The* Merrimack *sunk by its own crew*

The *Merrimack* would have steamed up the James River toward Richmond and thus contributed much to the frustration of McClellan's march up the Peninsula, but the draft was too great. For that reason, when Norfolk fell into the hands of the Federals the Confederate vessel, now left without a base, was blown up by its own crew. After this, the coast of Virginia and the James and York Rivers fell permanently into the hands of the Federals.

*The "fresh water" navies*

Both the Federal and Confederate governments had their "fresh water" navies operating on the inland waterways of the South. The Confederates built new river vessels and reconstructed old ones. Their river fleet included a few poorly equipped and inadequately powered rams. The work of the Federal river fleet was twofold: clearing the rivers of Confederate gunboats and co-operating with the armies as transports, convoys, and fighting units. In the performance of this latter service, as has already been seen, the Federal ships gave invaluable assistance to the army in its operations in the West.

After the Federals got control of the Mississippi River throughout its entire length, the Confederate ironclads retreated up the Red River and other Mississippi tributaries and continued traffic across the Mississippi—though at considerable hazard and in greatly reduced volume—until the end of the war.

### THE CONFEDERATE NAVY

*Building the Confederate navy*

The Confederacy had no seagoing navy to begin with, but Secretary of the Navy Stephen Mallory and his able subordinates constructed several powerful ironclad rams at home, including the *Virginia*. Furthermore, because of the efficient efforts of the Confederate naval agents in Europe, there were constructed in England the two famous raiders, the *Florida* and the *Alabama*. Later there were also built for the Confederacy two ironclad rams in England and one in Scotland. Through the connivance of the emperor, Napoleon III, two ironclads and four cruisers were also constructed in France for use in the Southern navy. With the exception of the *Alabama* and the *Florida*, however, none of these war vessels was permitted to leave either the French or British ports for Confederate service, although by a ruse the Confederacy got possession of the *Stonewall* just before the war ended.

*Work of the Confederate commerce raiders*

The Confederate cruisers, headed by the *Alabama* under the command of Raphael Semmes, directly and indirectly inflicted staggering damage upon the American merchant fleet. These and other Confederate cruisers and privateers captured or sank more than two hundred ships, but their greatest destruction was by indirection. Their presence upon the high seas was such a menace to the commerce of the United States that by the end of the war the better part of its merchant fleet had been sold to the British or transferred to British registry. The task of running down and destroying these swift cruisers was a difficult one indeed for the American navy. Finally, however (June 19, 1864), the *Alabama* was sunk off Cherbourg, France, by the powerfully armed and stronger built *Kearsarge*. Later by violating the neutrality of Brazil, Federal warships were able to capture the *Florida* in the port of Bahia.

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2. The Rule of Lincoln.—N. W. Stephenson, *Abraham Lincoln and the Union*, ch. 8; Burton J. Hendrick, *Lincoln's War Cabinet*, passim.
3. Military Events.—The text gives enough detail for most students. If a fuller account is desired, it can be found in J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (see table of contents).

4. Gettysburg.—William Wood, *Captains of the Civil War,* ch. 8.
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6. Lincoln's Gettysburg Address.—J. G. Randall, *Lincoln the President,* II, ch. 28; Brown p. 264; Commager, *Documents,* I, pp. 428-429.
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10. Was the Civil War a Useless Conflict?—Avery Craven, *The Repressible Conflict,* ch. 3.
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# CHAPTER XXV

# *Foreign and Domestic Affairs*

## The Diplomatic Front

*The hope and fear of European intervention*

THE North and the South were both deeply concerned as to what would be the attitude of England and France toward the Confederacy. The South hoped and the North feared that these two European powers would recognize the independence of the Confederacy and give aid to its war effort. To further these hopes the Confederate government sent capable representatives to England and France, prominent among whom were W. L. Yancey, James M. Mason, and John Slidell. The United States government was ably represented at London by Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy Adams, and in France by William Dayton and John Bigelow.

*Sympathy in England and France for the Confederate cause*

The ruling class in England—the landed gentry, the manufacturers, and merchants—were generally sympathetic with the South after the outbreak of the war. The emperor of France, Napoleon III, was also favorable to the Southern cause. In each country there were political and economic reasons for this attitude. In both France and England the manufacture of cotton goods had been a very important industry, and in both countries eighty-five per cent of the raw cotton used in industry had come from the Southern states. Since the blockade cut off the major portion of this supply of raw material, it was thought that a severe blow was being inflicted on British and French manufactures. By intervention England and France could raise the blockade and reopen the channels of trade to the South. Furthermore, if the South should win, the United States would be so weakened by the loss of the Southern states that it would never be a dangerous rival of Britain. The division of the United States into two weak republics would also remove the chief obstacle to Napoleon's plan of getting control of Mexico.

*Why Britain failed to aid the South*

There were, however, other considerations which influenced the cautious British government. The laboring class—although it suffered from the unemployment caused partly by the scarcity of raw cotton and partly by the surplus of manufactured goods on hand—was opposed to slavery and generally sympathized with the

North, for it felt that victory for the North would mean the abolition of slavery. Certain reformers, such as John Bright and Richard Cobden, took the same view and were strongly pro-Northern in sentiment. Of more importance even, the cotton manufacturers were at first not harmed, but rather helped, by the shutting off of imports from the South. They had on hand a surplus of both raw materials and finished products and had been forced to sell cloth below cost. The scarcity soon pushed up the price of textiles and brought prosperity to the industry. By the fall of 1862, however, the surplus had been exhausted, and the English textile industry was faced with a cotton famine. Many small mills went into bankruptcy, and 500,000 operatives were thrown out of work. The stronger plants were, however, able to weather the storm, and by using Egyptian, Indian, Brazilian, and Chinese cotton—and the Southern cotton received through the blockade—continued to operate on a profitable basis until the end of the war. Napoleon, therefore, could not persuade Britain to join him in outright intervention or send her fleet along with his to break the blockade. It is true that for a short time during Lee's invasion of Maryland in September, 1862, the British Cabinet was seriously considering intervention because of the rapidly developing cotton famine; but the battle of Antietam, followed as it was by the Emancipation Proclamation, arrested this move for the time being, and the rapid recovery from the cotton shortage, together with the general prosperity of the country after 1862, laid it permanently on the table. And what little hope the South had of recognition and intervention was completely destroyed by the great defeats at Vicksburg and Gettysburg.

*England recognizes the Confederacy as a belligerent power*

Although the British government never recognized the independence of the Southern Confederacy, the queen did issue a proclamation of neutrality between the North and the South which was a recognition of the belligerency of the South. Seward and Adams protested warmly against this proclamation since, according to the theory of Lincoln, the fight then being waged by the Confederates was not a legalized war but an irresponsible insurrection. In thus according the Southern Confederacy the status of a government the British authorities were doing what Lincoln himself had in effect (although unwittingly) done in his proclamations declaring a blockade of Southern ports.

*The* Trent *affair*

A more serious cause of friction between the United States and Britain was the *Trent* affair. On November 8, 1861, Captain Charles Wilkes of the U.S.S. *San Jacinto* stopped the British steamer *Trent* while en route to England and seized the two Confederate

commissioners, James M. Mason and John Slidell, bound for England and France, respectively. Although this was a violation of the principles of the freedom of the seas, as heretofore proclaimed by the United States, Wilkes's act was greeted with applause throughout the North, and the stamp of official approval was put on it by the House of Representatives and the Secretary of the Navy offering the captain their congratulations. When the news of the *Trent* affair reached England about November 27, the British naturally accepted it as a challenge, and the popular demand for war compelled the government to send an ultimatum to the United States demanding the surrender of the prisoners and an apology. At the same time 8000 troops were dispatched to Canada. Lincoln and Seward agreed that the United States could not fight two wars at once and released the prisoners. Seward offered no apology; but by releasing the captives and disavowing the act of Captain Wilkes he met the demands of the British government and the dispute was settled in a satisfactory manner.

*Britain and the United States clash over legal right of neutrals to build warships for belligerents*

The construction of the Confederate ironclads and cruisers in England and France aroused deep and prolonged resentment in the North and brought the United States close to breaking off diplomatic relations with both countries, and even to talking of war. The British contended that under international law warships could be built, armed, and equipped in neutral ports and sold to belligerents as merchandise, provided such ships were delivered at a port of the belligerent before they were permitted to begin operations. Adams would not accept this view, and when the *Alabama* escaped he began a ceaseless demand for indemnity to cover the damage done by that cruiser. When the ironclads which were under construction in Britain were about ready to depart, he wrote to Lord Russell, the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, observing (September 5, 1863) that if these warships were allowed to leave port, "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your Lordship that this is war." Three days previously, however, Russell had ordered the seizure of the Confederate ships as a matter "of policy though not of strict law." In this way a serious crisis, if not war, between the two countries was averted.

*Napoleon's intervention in Mexico and the attitude of the United States*

Napoleon III had been nursing for some time an ambition to build a French empire in the Western Hemisphere. The first step in the plan was to get control of Mexico. It was not, however, until the United States was involved in this war that he undertook to carry out this scheme. Jointly with England and Spain he sent troops into Mexico in 1861, ostensibly to collect the debts which that strife-torn country had not been able to pay. When the other inter-

vening powers withdrew from the venture, he revealed his ulterior purpose by reinforcing his army and proceeding to subjugate the republic. Seward had attempted to prevent European intervention by an offer to pay the interest on the Mexican debts, but the offer was not accepted. In carefully guarded words he constantly warned Napoleon that the United States, although it recognized the right of France to make war on Mexico, could never accept French interference with the Mexican government or annexation of Mexican territory. This, of course, was the essence of the Monroe Doctrine. Napoleon gave fair words of assurance that he had no ultimate designs upon Mexico, although while he was saying these things he was overthrowing the republic of Mexico and setting up a puppet empire under Maximilian, the Austrian Archduke. But the United States government had to bide its time and Seward had to pretend that he accepted Napoleon's promises.

*Confederate friendship essential, and must be paid for by French intervention*

Slidell bluntly warned Napoleon that the successful outcome of his Mexican venture depended not only upon the establishment of the *independence* of the Confederacy but upon its *friendship* as well, and this friendship would come only at the price of French intervention on the side of the South. If such aid were not forthcoming, the South would, as soon as it gained its independence, form with the North "an offensive and defensive alliance, for the establishment of an American policy [the Monroe Doctrine] on our continent, which will result in the suppression of monarchical institutions in Mexico." This was no idle threat, for French intervention in Mexico was as unpopular in the South as it was in the North, and Confederate acceptance of it would be the price to be paid for Napoleon's aid.

*Napoleon afraid to pay the price*

The Emperor's unpopularity at home, his fear of war with Russia and Prussia, his distrust of Great Britain, and his fear of war with the United States rendered him too timid to pay this price. Consequently, the Mexican situation, like the other reasons for European intervention, did not work out as was hoped in the South and feared in the North.

## HOME FRONTS: LIFE IN THE NORTH

*Economic depression*

In the beginning the North experienced a severe economic depression as a result of secession and war. Banks suspended specie payments and many closed their doors forever. Thousands of business houses failed. Cotton factories were soon deprived of their normal supply of raw material and were compelled to close down or run only part time. But the North soon began to recover, then to prosper as never before. Army contracts were let on such terms

*Industrial recovery and prosperity*

that contractors netted incredible profits. Dividends of forty per cent in the textile mills were common. The heavy industries, the munitions factories, and the private arsenals reaped enormous profits from a government desperately arming under war conditions. Millions were made in the lumber business and in the production of coal. At the same time rich, newly discovered gold and silver mines were being worked in Nevada, Arizona, and Colorado, and the petroleum industry developed during the war into one of major importance.

*The prosperity of the farmer*

Northern agriculture profited temporarily from the war. The succession of bad grain crops in western Europe and the needs of the armies stimulated the production of grain and wool in the North far beyond anything of prewar days. Millions of acres of fresh land were brought into cultivation and sowed in small grain or planted in Indian corn. The grain farmers supplied Great Britain forty per cent of her flour and wheat and quantities of Indian corn, rye, barley, and peas. To enable the farmers, whose sons were frequently away on the battle front, to cultivate and harvest so much grain, the use of farm machinery—the riding cultivator, reapers, threshers, and gang plows—was expanded upon a scale never dreamed of. It is estimated, for example, that there were not less than 250,000 reapers in use in the North in 1865. The production of wool almost quadrupled under war demands, whereas hogs and beef cattle were marketed in greater numbers than ever before.

*The railroads*

The transportation of troops and military supplies, and the increased production of every commodity, except cotton textiles, greatly stimulated railroad building, so that railroads which had been practically bankrupt before 1860 found themselves paying excellent dividends even on watered stock.

*The hard lot of the laboring classes*

The high prices of wartime were not all the result of extraordinary demand and of profiteering, but were in part due to inflation of the currency. This inflation, high prices, and lack of organization excluded the laboring classes and those on fixed salaries from the prosperity of the banker, the industrialist, the merchant, and the farmer. Indeed the lot of the laborers was hard: whereas nominal wages were higher, real wages were much lower than in prewar times, and as a result of their poverty laborers were unable to buy exemption from military service or hire substitutes as could others who so desired. For this reason they came to have a feeling that it was "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." This attitude was made stronger when, by looking around, one saw neighbors hiring substitutes or buying exemptions for a mere bagatelle compared

with the enormous profits they were wringing from the United States government from which they had bought this exemption.

*"The pursuit of happiness"*

The third inalienable right of man was in great evidence during the war: all except the soldiers and the laboring classes seemed strenuously engaged in the "pursuit of happiness." Theaters were crowded from gallery to orchestra, where bedizened dames from gambling halls and cheap cabarets occupied conspicuous boxes cheek by jowl with the old elite and the "shoddy aristocracy"—those who had made their fortunes by selling "shoddy" uniforms to the Federal government. The race course, the barroom, and more questionable resorts did a land-office business. "Who at the North would ever think of war, if he had not a friend in the army, or did not read the newspapers?" asked the New York *Independent* in the fourth year of the conflict.

## LIFE IN THE SOUTH

*Factors undermining Southern economy*

The South suffered a greater shock than the North as a result of the severance of the national political structure and the outbreak of war. Unlike the North, it never recovered from the first shock. The reasons for this are that the South was blockaded by the Federal navy and invaded and occupied, piece by piece, by the Federal armies. The blockade, although never effective according to the early American definition, destroyed the normal export of cotton, tobacco, and rice from the South, upon which the economic life of that section had so greatly depended (see p. 238). Since the markets for their staple crops were partially cut off, Southern farmers and planters turned more and more to subsistence farming. At the same time they were forced to fall back upon household manufacture, and the rural population except in the path of the invader was not long in becoming self-sufficient in a crude but not uncomfortable fashion.

*Return to domestic manufacture*

*The cities of the Confederacy suffer want*

The cities, however, suffered want, for they had to buy everything with depreciated currency from farmers and merchants who were more and more reluctant to part with their produce in exchange for such money. Then, too, the railway systems of the South were unable to carry the extra load of war and at the same time transport ordinary articles of trade to the cities and seaports. This failure of the Southern railroads was due in part to the inadequate facilities for repairing rails and rolling stock and in part to the destruction or capture by the invading armies of many of the most important roads. The Confederate armies, so dependent upon imports of guns, munitions, uniforms, blankets, and eventually certain foods, were weakened by poor transportation.

There was much gaiety in Richmond and a few other urban com-

*Life in the South somber and tragic*

munities where soldiers on furlough and their families met, war profiteers assembled, and gambling resorts and other such places of evil influence sprang up; but in the South generally life was somber and tragic. Since the Confederacy had at most a white population of only 6,000,000 to draw from, and 700,000 or more saw active military service first and last, nearly every family had sons or a father at the front. At least one third of all the men whom the South sent to the front never returned, and perhaps an equal proportion were crippled.

### CREATING THE NORTHERN ARMIES

*Methods of raising troops: Volunteer enlistments and the draft*

For the first two years of the war the North relied upon volunteer enlistments and state drafts to fill the armies, but, long before this period expired, volunteering had almost ceased. It became necessary in the spring of 1863 to resort to the draft, and on March 3 an act was passed making all men between the ages of twenty and forty-five subject to military service. The law, however, permitted a man to gain exemption by paying three hundred dollars or by employing a substitute, even though the substitute died or deserted the day after he entered the service. Sole supporters of aged parents and fathers of young children were exempt. Each state was assigned its quota, at first on the basis of population and then on the basis of the total number of those registered. States and registration districts were given credit for all the soldiers that they had previously furnished.

*Draft riots*

The result of this latter provision was interesting. The West had already furnished most of its quota for the first draft, whereas the East was far behind. Great numbers in the East in comfortable circumstances paid their three hundred dollars or hired substitutes. The draft, then, came to bear heavily upon the poor in that section. Finally, in some large cities the Democrats, many of whom were Irish, were probably drafted out of proportion to their numbers. The Irish-Americans, and the Eastern Democrats generally, already angry because of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, deeply resented what they believed to be the unfair operation of the draft law. In New York City on July 13, 1863, the second day of the draft, a mob drove the provost marshal from his office and destroyed the registration lists. Then for about four days the city was in turmoil. A vast mob stormed the city, burning, stealing, and killing Negroes, policemen, and even soldiers. Trouble occurred in other Eastern cities. General Meade, who was reorganizing his army after Gettysburg in preparation for another invasion of Virginia, was compelled to detach 15,000 troops to quell the riot in New York, where a large

number of persons had been killed or injured, and to put down threats of resistance in other Eastern cities.

*The bounty system*

The draft brought a relatively small return directly; indirectly it brought in hundreds of thousands. In order to raise their quotas, cities, counties, and states offered large bounties for "volunteers" and substitutes. Even the Federal government resorted to bounties to obtain "volunteers." In New York the combined local, state, and Federal bounties aggregated nearly seven hundred dollars for each three-year enlistment. Bounty brokers and Federal agents swarmed over Ireland, Great Britain, Germany, and the Low Countries recruiting soldiers in the guise of laborers.

*The recruiting of mercenary troops*

This policy of recruiting foreign mercenaries was instituted by the United States Secretary of State. In a document—Circular 19—distributed widely throughout Europe, Seward promised free land and good jobs to all able-bodied men who would immigrate to the United States, and made veiled references to military bounties for those who would enlist. Under this policy of disguised recruiting in foreign countries many thousands of mercenary soldiers were enlisted. John Bigelow, who had charge of the recruiting, was convinced that the foreign mercenary was the decisive military factor in the Civil War. He was of the opinion that the State Department Circular 19, on which the recruiting of mercenaries was based, explains "the mysterious repletion of our army during the four years of war, while it was notoriously being so fearfully depleted by firearms, disease and desertion."

## RAISING THE ARMIES IN THE SOUTH

*Volunteering and conscription*

The Confederacy had far more volunteers than it could arm during the first year of the war. Before the first year ended, however, the great enthusiasm for enlistment had cooled, or young men had satisfied their sense of duty by joining one of the local defense organizations. The bulk of those in the Confederate service had enlisted for one year, and their terms would begin to expire in the spring of 1862. In order to save its veteran armies, as well as to get new recruits, the Confederate government, April 16, 1862, passed a conscription act. Under this act men between eighteen and thirty-five were liable to military duty. A few months afterward by a supplementary act the age limit was extended to forty-five. In 1864 the military age was extended to include all men from seventeen to fifty. Under the laws many were exempt: state officials, ministers, school teachers, newspaper editors, apothecaries, conscientious objectors, railway employees, millers, blacksmiths, and one white man of military age on any plantation where there were twenty or more slaves—sixteen by

a subsequent act. Then, too, for the first two years of the war a man could hire a substitute; but as the price rose with the depreciation of Confederate currency, only the affluent could afford substitutes. This partiality for those who had money gave rise, just as in the North, to the devastating slogan, "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." It was, however, not usually the planters but the businessmen, especially the war profiteers, who hired substitutes. The planters as a class contributed both their wealth and their share of man power to the Confederate military service. The several Confederate conscription acts, like the Federal draft acts, did not directly bring many into the army. What they did was to cause that class of young men to volunteer who had offered their services in 1861, but who had "cooled off."

*Opposition of the states'-rights leaders*

Conscription was the most drastic and centralizing piece of legislation ever enacted in America up to that time. It violated the theory of states' rights and state sovereignty, which formed the legal basis of secession and which was stressed in the Confederate constitution. Lee and Davis, however, threw the weight of their prestige in the balance, and most of the governors of the states of the Confederacy accepted it as constitutional. But the states'-rights leaders, especially Governors Joseph E. Brown of Georgia and Zebulon Vance of North Carolina, waged a war of sabotage against the law and did much to cripple its operation by the wholesale creation of minor state offices and by granting state military commissions. Despite the opposition to conscription offered by the extreme states'-rights governors and leaders like R. B. Rhett and Vice-President Stephens, the state courts —even of Georgia—upheld conscription as constitutional.

### FEDERAL FINANCE

*Sale of bonds and treasury notes*

When the Federal Congress met in extra session on July 1, 1861, it had already become apparent that the war was going to be an expensive undertaking. But Congress, being unwilling to ask the people to pay for the war and fight it at the same time, quickly decided to depend chiefly upon borrowing. In the two acts of July 17 and August 5, 1861, Congress authorized the Treasury to borrow $250,000,000 by the sale of treasury notes and bonds; but this was inadequate to meet current needs, and under later acts greater loans were made until a grand total of $2,650,000,000 was raised by the sale of treasury notes and bonds. The interest on these ranged from five to seven and three-tenths per cent.

*Legal tender paper money or greenbacks*

Another form of borrowing was the issuing of legal tender paper currency, or "greenbacks," as they were called. This paper money was made a legal tender in all transactions except the payment of

import duties and the interest on the public debt. Under the loan acts of 1861 about $60,000,000 in such paper were issued, and by successive acts to March 3, 1863, the volume of greenbacks authorized was increased to $450,000,000, all but $17,000,000 of which were issued. This irredeemable paper money began at once to depreciate and on July 11, 1864 (when Early was on the outskirts of Washington), one dollar in greenback was worth only thirty-nine cents in gold. This cheap paper money ran the dearer money, specie, out of circulation, and fractional metallic money also ceased to circulate. The government was therefore forced to issue fractional paper money for use as small change.

*A confused currency system*

During the quarter-century preceding the outbreak of the war, state banks had a complete monopoly of the banking business, including that of issuing notes. There were about 1600 of these banks and 7000 or more different types of notes issued by them. These bank notes, although not a legal tender, were used in financial transactions and therefore served as money. Since these notes varied greatly in value and many of them had a strong tendency toward fluctuation, the currency system was unstable and confused.

*The national banking system*

To establish a uniform currency to supplant the state bank notes and enlarge the market for Federal bonds, Congress passed a series of laws creating the national banking system. The first of these acts, the one passed February 25, 1863, was supplemented by another passed June 3, 1864. These laws provided that any association of investors meeting the conditions laid down in the acts could secure a Federal charter for the establishment of a national bank. These conditions included, along with others, the following requirements and regulations: (1) The whole system was to be under the supervision of a bureau in the Treasury Department headed by a newly created officer, the Comptroller of the Currency. (2) Each bank must have a capital stock ranging from $50,000 to $200,000 (depending on the size of the town or city in which it would be located). In every bank, stockholders were subject to double liability for the obligations of the bank to depositors. For the protection of depositors the banks were also required to keep in their own vaults and in "reserve cities" reserves of specified amounts. (3) To become a member of the system each bank would have to purchase Federal bonds equal to at least one third of their paid up capital and deposit them with the United States Treasury. With these bonds as security the Treasury would issue to the owning bank national bank notes up to ninety per cent of the market value of such bonds. These notes were not legal tender except between banks, but their redemption was guaranteed by the government and were receivable for government dues except im-

ports. The state banks were not prohibited at first from issuing notes, but by an act of March 3, 1865 (effective July 1, 1866), a ten per cent annual tax was imposed on all state bank notes. This tax put an end to the issuance of notes by state banks and caused many of them to enter the national bank system.

### CONFEDERATE FINANCE

*Bonds and paper money*

In the matter of finance the Confederacy held itself up by its boot straps for the duration of the war. It used the printing press more freely than did the Federal government; nor were the state and municipal governments and private corporations timid in their resort to paper. The Confederacy issued about two billion dollars in bonds and over a billion in paper money, and for the first year of the war both bonds and paper currency maintained a level comparable with that of the Federal government.

*Impressment of supplies*

However, the armies could not have been supported in the field by government paper alone; the Confederacy supplemented this paper by having its armies "live off the country" to a remarkable extent. It commandeered or "impressed" food, mules, and horses, railroad iron, rolling stock, and Negro slaves to work on fortifications. All these things were paid for at market price until 1863. On March 26, 1863, a law was passed which legalized and limited the impressment of goods and slaves. Unfortunately, those parts of the country near railroads and in the vicinity of the armies were compelled to bear most of the burden of impressment.

*Tithe tax*

Closely related to impressment was the tithe tax on agricultural products and livestock. This was an income tax on the farmers and planters which was paid in produce and live or slaughtered animals. It was of very doubtful constitutionality since it taxed only certain occupations, and it aroused great opposition. It was by this tax that the Confederate armies were fed to a large extent during the last year or more of the war.

*Confederate credit in Europe*

The government cotton carried through the blockade during the last half of the war greatly strengthened Confederate credit in Europe. In the spring of 1863, Slidell was able to float a loan of $15,000,000 in cotton bonds, through Emile Erlanger, the French banker. And in the winter of 1865, Duncan Kenner, special Confederate agent, was able to obtain favorable consideration in British financial circles of a loan of $45,000,000.

### LINCOLN AND EMANCIPATION

Before 1860 Lincoln had said that if he were a Southerner he would not know what to do with slavery, but that whatever was done

would have to be done gradually. With the outbreak of war, however, his attitude began to change. On August 6, 1861, he approved a confiscation act containing a provision that allowed the emancipation of slaves employed in digging trenches, building fortifications, or constructing any other military project. In the Second Confiscation Act (passed by Congress July, 1862) there was a provision declaring free all the slaves of those who supported the Confederate cause.

*The emancipation provisions of the confiscation acts*

Lincoln was not going as rapidly toward emancipation as the Radicals desired, and they were bitter in their denunciation of him. Partly as a step toward mollifying these critics, he suggested that Congress enact a law offering an average of four hundred dollars each for the slaves in the border states of Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri, and the District of Columbia. Both Congress and the border states at first turned a deaf ear to the proposal, but in April, 1862, slavery was abolished with compensation in the District of Columbia. Later in the same year he again attempted to placate the Radicals by urging the border slave states to accept compensated emancipation. Representatives of the border states suggested that Congress should take the initiative; again that body refused to act.

*Lincoln favors compensated emancipation in border states and the District of Columbia*

On July 22, 1862, the President announced to the Cabinet his intention to declare free on the following New Year's Day all slaves held in Confederate territory. Montgomery Blair objected to the proposal because of the political effect it would have in the border states. The other members of the Cabinet, however, approved of the idea, but induced Lincoln to postpone action until after some important Federal victory, lest it be regarded as a confession of impotence.

*Lincoln's decision to emancipate slaves by executive decree*

While the plan for emancipation by Presidential order was quietly awaiting further developments, Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune* unwittingly gave Lincoln an opportunity to pave the way for the appearance of the Emancipation Proclamation. On August 20 in an editorial entitled "The Prayer of Twenty Millions" Greeley upbraided the President for revoking emancipation orders of two Federal generals, for his failure to execute the provision of the Second Confiscation Act freeing slaves, and for his tender regard for the border states and their "fossil politicians." Lincoln published in the *Tribune* on August 22 a reply to Greeley's editorial, which had a profound effect in building up sentiment in favor of emancipation as an instrument for the preservation of the Union. In this adroit reply, Lincoln said:

*Lincoln's reply to Horace Greeley*

> As to the policy I "seem to be pursuing," as you say, I have not meant to leave anyone in doubt. I would save the Union. I would

> save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be the "Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union.

*The preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation*

After the battle of Antietam on September 17, 1862, followed by Lee's retreat two days later, Lincoln issued (September 23) the preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation. It warned that the slaves in all the states in arms against the Federal government on January 1, 1863, would be free. On January 1 the final Proclamation was published which declared all the slaves free in the Confederate States, except those of Tennessee and portions of Louisiana and Virginia, where reconstructed governments had been set up.

The Emancipation Proclamation, as previously suggested, differed in no fundamental respect from that part of the Second Confiscation Act freeing the slaves. But Lincoln, doubting the constitutional authority of Congress to enact such a law, was convinced that the President in the exercise of his war powers did have the right to free the slaves as a war measure. The Proclamation was issued, therefore, on the grounds of military necessity. But it seems that the reasons were largely political and personal: first, to hold the support of the Radicals; second, to stimulate greater sympathy for the North in western Europe, particularly in England and France; and, finally, to give slavery a severe blow, something that he doubtless had wished to do for a long time.

### POLITICS NORTH AND SOUTH DURING THE WAR

*Varying degree of approval of the Proclamation*

The regular Republicans, who were not abolitionists but were opposed to slavery, accepted the Emancipation Proclamation as a war measure and nothing more—just as they had other arbitrary acts of the executive. The Radical Republicans were inclined to regard it as a timid effort at abolition for its own sake and were, consequently, impatient to get along much faster with the business. The "War Democrats," who composed a small minority of the Democratic Party, continued to co-operate with the Administration; but in

private many prominent leaders of this group, like Governor Horatio Seymour of New York, were gravely concerned over the social and political implications of the emancipation decree.

*The Democratic opposition*

The regular Democrats regarded it, together with the Second Confiscation Act freeing the slaves, as further evidence that the Republican Party was waging war not to preserve the Union but to free the Negro slaves, and that to accomplish this purpose it was subverting the Constitution and destroying the liberty of the white man. They now reviewed the succession of arbitrary acts of the Administration. After the fall of Fort Sumter during the period of over two months the President had raised an army, carried on war, and financed it without convening Congress. He had suspended the writ of habeas corpus without Congressional consent, and under his authority the mayor of Baltimore, members of the Maryland legislature, and many other prominent men had been arrested and held without trial on hearsay and suspicion of having Southern leanings.[1] The Democrats, now convinced that the war was not being waged primarily for the preservation of the Union, began demanding that a truce be called between the warring sections and that a convention of all the states North and South be held for the purpose of compromising the sectional differences and restoring the Union.

*Disapproval shown in state and Congressional elections*

As a result of this feeling, the Democrats in the fall of 1862 carried the state elections in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, and gained thirty-three additional members in the House of Representatives. The Administration carried the border states in the face of the Emancipation Proclamation and arbitrary arrests. Troops had been stationed at the polls in many places, however, and the Democrats accused the President of military coercion.

*The "Copperheads"*

The most violent opponents of the war and of the Republican Administration were the extreme states'-rights element of the Democratic Party, which soon won for itself the name of "Copperheads." Although they must have known that the Republicans had in mind the poisonous reptile of that name, these Democrats chose to ignore the opprobious implications of the title and turned it into a compliment to themselves and a reproof to their enemies. They wore

[1] Early in the war Lincoln had some members of the Maryland legislature arrested on suspicion of treason because he feared that at the coming meeting of the legislature they would vote for secession. When these prisoners secured from Chief Justice Taney a writ of habeas corpus ordering their release, Lincoln refused to obey the order. In September, 1862, he issued a proclamation suspending the writ of habeas corpus and empowering military courts to try persons who had discouraged enlistments in the service or had taken part in any other disloyal activities. In March, 1863, Congress passed an act regulating the practice by which the writ could be suspended. President Davis also suspended the writ in certain areas, but only after authorization by the Confederate Congress.

badges, made of the copper cent bearing the head of the Goddess of Liberty, and assumed the role of champions of freedom. There were doubtless traitors among the Copperheads, men and women who were pro-Southern to the extent of working for the independence of the Confederacy. Most of them, however, were desirous of seeing the Union restored, but like Buchanan they did not believe that real union could be built upon force and conquest. They wished to end the war for this reason and because they were convinced that the war was devouring the freedom of the Northern people. There was probably little difference in their convictions and those of the Democratic Party as a whole, yet they were more violent—indeed seditious—in their denunciation of Lincoln and the Republican Party.

*Vallandigham*

One of the most prominent leaders of the Copperhead movement was Clement L. Vallandigham, former member of Congress from Ohio, who in 1863 became a candidate for governor of that state. Vallandigham, a powerful speaker, constantly denounced the Republican Administration for its disregard of the Bill of Rights and the principles of free government. General Burnside, now in command of the area, had Vallandigham arrested on charges of disloyalty and tried by the military commission—although the civil courts were open in Ohio,—which condemned him to prison for the duration of the war. President Lincoln, with his usual adroitness, commuted Vallandigham's sentence to that of banishment to the Confederacy, which avoided making him a martyr in the eyes of all save the Copperheads, but instead made Vallandigham seem ridiculous in the eyes of many otherwise potential sympathizers. Going from Richmond to Canada, Vallandigham waged from a distance a campaign for governor of his state. The Federal victories at Gettysburg and Lincoln's discrediting of Vallandigham ended, however, in the election of the rival candidate. At the same time, the elections in several other Northern states went favorably for the Administration.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1864

*Lincoln renominated*

Lincoln's political strategy had such finesse that his Radical colleagues utterly failed to comprehend it, and they misjudged him a weak and timid man. In 1864 the elect of the Radicals groomed Chase for the Republican nomination, and Lincoln with good-natured tolerance for Chase's naive political maneuvering permitted his ambitious Secretary of the Treasury to run his course. Chase, when his own state of Ohio declared for Lincoln, relinquished temporarily his chronic ambition and settled down to administering the business of the Treasury. The Radicals then turned to Frémont to

displace Lincoln, but Lincoln had the party convention so thoroughly in hand that when it met on July 7 he not only obtained a unanimous nomination for himself but also was able to have his friend Andrew Johnson, a Union Democrat, nominated for Vice-President.

*The spirit of defeatism*

There was no such unanimity in the North at large as there was in the nominating convention of 1864. Grant's staggering and seemingly futile losses in the Wilderness-to-Petersburg campaign, and Sherman's inability to bag Johnston's army, all brought a wave of defeatism throughout the North during the months of May, June, July, and August. There was such a feeling of despair of bringing the struggle to a successful close that the President expressed the widespread belief that he would not be re-elected.

*The Democratic platform and nominee*

Meeting in Chicago in August, 1864, the Democrats in their national convention adopted a policy which they hoped would be acceptable to both the peace and the war factions of the party. The platform, written by the peace Democrats, referred to the "four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war" and declared in favor of the cessation of hostilities "to the end that at the earliest possible moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States." The War Democrats, on the other hand, were pleased with the nomination for the Presidency of General George B. McClellan, who was not only the most popular leader in the party but was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of the war and the preservation of the Union.

*Defeatism ended by military success*

Military successes, however, brought a turn in the tide of Northern defeatism. Farragut captured Fort Morgan and Mobile Bay in August; Sherman captured Atlanta, September 3, and the march through Georgia was being prepared by the middle of October. Sherman probably saved Lincoln from defeat. As it was, he received 212 electoral votes to McClellan's 21. Lincoln's popular majority, however, was very small. It showed public opinion closely and deeply divided even after it began to appear certain that the North would win the war.

*Opposition to Davis: The Whigs and states'-rights Democrats*

In the Confederacy a political situation strikingly similar to that in the North developed. The fall elections of 1861 under the permanent constitution retained Davis and Stephens in office and returned a Congress friendly to the Administration. But after 1862 both state and Confederate elections revealed a widespread and rapidly mounting opposition to the Davis regime. The most important opposition at first was that of the old national Whigs, so many of whom were great planters, merchants, and industrialists. Such persons had always deprecated sectional agitation, and they had accepted secession and

war with grave doubts of success and sure knowledge of what they might lose. They entered the Civil War resentful toward the Democratic Party, which had taken the lead in the secession movement, and critical of every act of the Confederate government dominated by that party. The states'-rights Whigs, like Robert Toombs and Zebulon Vance, secessionists though they were, were just as critical and suspicious of the Democratic Administration as were the national Whigs. The extreme states'-rights Democrats, among whom were the most prominent leaders of the secession movement like Robert Barnwell Rhett, W. L. Yancey, and Joseph E. Brown, governor of Georgia, soon joined with the states'-rights Whigs in opposition to most of the war measures adopted by the Confederate government.

*Opposition to war measures as violation of the constitution*

These groups opposed as a violation of states' rights and the Confederate constitution such measures as the conscription acts, the tithe tax, impressment of supplies, Confederate control of blockade running, the suspension of the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, and many other features of administrative policy. Their opposition did much to cripple the effectiveness of military operations.

*The peace societies*

Another form of opposition to Davis and to the Confederacy was that of the peace societies, known variously as the Red Strings, the Order of the Heroes of America, the Peace Society, etc. These were composed in part of deserters, draft dodgers, and Unionists, although largely of persons of Confederate sympathies, who had come to look upon the continuation of the war as a hopeless slaughter of their loved ones. They were the destitute victims of the ravages of war.

*Peace elements in both North and South almost in ascendency in 1864*

In 1864 the peace element in the South was rapidly gaining the ascendency, just as it was in the North before Sherman captured Atlanta. The peace societies and the states'-rights factions in the South were advocating the same approach to peace as were the Copperheads and the regular Democrats in the North—a convention of all the states, North and South, to discuss peace terms. The Southerners would insist on separation as the basis of peace, and the Northerners would insist upon union as the basis. In the meanwhile, both were willing to declare a truce. In the summer of 1864 both the Northern and the Southern peacemakers would have settled for less than they were demanding; and, if the war had continued stalemated, peace by negotiation would probably have been attained and the Union reconstructed by mutual concessions.

*Results of the war*

The war decided for all time the question as to whether sovereignty, or supreme authority, resides in the Union or the states. Since 1865 the supremacy of the Federal government has been accepted throughout the entire country. The war also put an end to slavery. The Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, was

submitted to the states in January, 1865, and was ratified and made a part of the Constitution by the end of that year. The war also gave a great impetus to the growth of industrialism. It enhanced the wealth of the manufacturing interests and greatly increased their influence in the Federal government. As a result of the downfall of the Southern planters, who had been the strongest opponents of a protective tariff, the industrialists were able to win a continuance of the policy of protection by which the home market was turned over in large measure to American industry. But these gains were purchased at a terrific price. Not only did the material losses of the war run up into the billions, but the costs also included the killing or wounding of a million men. Furthermore, the war and its aftermath, reconstruction, bequeathed a legacy of bitter sectional feeling that bedeviled political problems for three quarters of a century. There was also left a difficult interracial question which has never found a just solution. A wise statesmanship, acting in an atmosphere that had not been heated by sectional bitterness, could probably have worked out in the decades preceding 1860 a solution of all of these problems without a resort to war. That such was not the case is cause for deep humiliation on the part of both the North and the South.

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# CHAPTER XXVI

# *Presidential Reconstruction*

## The South at the Close of the War

IN the light of after events, it would have been to the best interests of the country as a whole if at the end of the Civil War the South could have been promptly restored to a normal political and economic position in the Union. The national government was therefore confronted with a serious responsibility—one that called for a farsighted statesmanship, not trammeled by sectional hate and a desire for sectional economic advantage. Unfortunately, however, Federal statesmanship was at this time rather the reverse of what was needed; it was inspired by a spirit of narrow partisanship and vindictive and self-interested sectionalism.

*Southern problems*

The South was in much the same condition then as were the devastated areas of Europe at the end of World War II. As an aid to its rehabilitation and restoration as a part of the Union, the Federal government needed to adopt certain recuperative policies, such as the following:

(1) Immediate and adequate relief for those—black and white—who were in dire need of food and clothing; (2) a political reconstruction which would quickly restore the Southern states as full-fledged members of the Union; (3) the economic restoration of the war-torn areas with the adjustment of both whites and blacks to a new economic and social order; and (4) the cultivation of a spirit of loyalty to the Union in the minds and hearts of the Southern people.

In short, there should have been a comprehensive plan for the recovery of the South similar to the European Recovery Plan adopted by the United States to aid in the restoration of Europe at the end of World War II. But apparently nothing of this sort was even thought of, and except for administering temporary and partial relief to the destitute, the government made no proper effort to aid in the solution of these questions. What was done helped to entangle rather than unravel the difficulties the people were already experiencing.

*Destitution of the South*

The most urgent of these problems was that of supplying the needs of the destitute. The destruction by Sherman, Sheridan, and others had brought a large part of the white population of the South and hundreds of thousands of Negroes to the point of starvation. In Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi alone, 500,000 people in the fall of 1865 were without the necessities of life and there was actual starvation. In South Carolina, northern Virginia, and the Valley of Virginia, the situation was equally as bad if not worse.

The returning soldiers found it difficult if not impossible to obtain seed corn to plant or the farm tools and horses with which to cultivate it. Cases were recorded where men hitched themselves to the plow while their wives and small children helped guide it. Swine and poultry had been killed by the invaders or eaten by the starving population. Most of the railroads were torn up or worn out, and the river steamers had been captured or burned by the Federals. There was no money, no credit at first, and no local accumulation of goods to be purchased when credit could be obtained. Because about half the white men between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five had been killed or badly wounded, there was a serious lack of man power with which to carry on the farming and ordinary business of the South.

*The conduct of the freedmen*

The behavior of the freedmen added to the troubles that were harassing the South. As soon as the Negroes learned that they were free, they naturally but unwisely went on a prolonged vacation. Many of them neglected their crops, deserted their farms, and gravitated to the towns, Federal garrisons, and the Freedmen's Bureau, where they were given free meals. Some of the younger ones abandoned their children and their old parents and often carried with them whatever was left of the farm work stock. Unaccustomed to such freedom of movement, too many of the Negroes spent their days and nights in lounging about town. Some drank quantities of hard liquor, indulged in rowdy parades in which white people were frequently pushed from the sidewalks, and took from barns and smokehouses whatever happened to be there. However, there was at first no great amount of crime against the person of the Southern whites; but it was generally recognized that the Negroes under the influences just described were gradually being worked into a dangerous frenzy like the Indian braves at the war dance.

*Relief administered by the Freedmen's Bureau*

An effort to meet this crying need was made to some extent by the Freedmen's Bureau (see p. 470), which undertook a measure of temporary relief for the dispersed Negro and white population. During the early months of peace tens of thousands of whites and many more Negroes were given food and shelter by the Bureau. The

relief work of the Bureau was also supplemented by that of private benevolence. In some of the areas these rations were all that either whites or blacks had to eat for some time. Scores of hospitals and many additional clinics were established and half a million patients were treated. Eventually, the issuing of free rations was put to powerful political use by the Radicals.[1]

## LINCOLN'S PLAN OF RECONSTRUCTION

*Attitude of the South toward the new regime*

When the Southern armies surrendered, they acted in good faith with no intention of renewing the contest at a more favorable moment. But the soldiers stopped fighting because of military defeat, and neither they nor the civilian population repudiated the principles for which they had fought. The Southerners also accepted the freedom of the slave as a finality although they had not changed their opinion of the Negro as a result of defeat. The ex-slave belonged to a race regarded as socially and politically immature. It was naturally assumed, therefore, that the freedmen would need much tutelage and that their former masters and friends would be the tutors.

*The South deprived of its rightful leadership*

Although the Southern attitude was displeasing to many, especially to the Radicals of the North, nevertheless it afforded the basis, under wise direction, of effective co-operation between victor and vanquished. Unfortunately, however, this wise direction was lacking. As has already been said, too many of the Northern political leaders were swayed more by heated emotions than by cool intellects, and the natural leaders of the South were soon disfranchised, leaving them no voice in public affairs. If the Southern military and civilian leaders had been allowed a political authority in keeping with their ability and merit and their hold upon the affections of the people, their influence would have been favorable to an easy adjustment of the South to the new order. Their wise counsel would have been an important factor in effecting a sensible co-operation between the conquerors and the defeated. In disbanding the armies, for example, the generals and even minor officers urged the soldiers to return home, live in peace, try to forget the bitterness of the past, and become loyal and useful citizens of the United States.

*Political status of the South*

The political status of the Southern states was a constitutional question over which there were wide differences of opinion. The Southerners contended that the states had not lost any of their rights and powers by secession and could be restored to their former

[1] The Radicals were that faction of the Republican Party that advocated harsh treatment for the South.

place in the Union by accepting the authority of the national government. The feeling in the North, however, was that the political restoration of the South should not be on such easy terms, but should be effected under conditions that would safeguard the results of victory. Whether the conditions for re-admission to the Union should be laid down by the executive or the legislative branch of the government was a question in dispute between the President and Congress.

*Lincoln's theory of reconstruction*

President Lincoln's plan for reconstruction was based upon an understanding of the Southern people and Southern conditions and was conceived in justice and kindness to the vanquished. His plan was in keeping with the constitutional theory upon which the North had waged war against the South—namely, that secession had been illegal and void and that, therefore, the Southern states were still states in the Union. But, according to this theory, the majority of the people in the Southern states had committed treason and were, consequently, not qualified to participate in organizing the new government. It was necessary, therefore, for the President to create by his pardoning power a "loyal electorate." Once the people so pardoned had again become "loyal" citizens of the United States by accepting the amnesty or pardon and by taking the oath of allegiance, they could then re-establish the governments of their respective states. This would, according to the usual procedure in setting up a new state government, involve three steps: first, the election of a constitutional convention; second, the adoption of the constitution drawn up by this convention; and third, the election of state and Federal officers under the new state constitution. Lincoln was thus willing to receive the repentant prodigal states in their father's house, although he did not propose the killing of the fatted calf to celebrate their return.

*Stevens's and Sumner's theories of reconstruction*

Lincoln's theory of reconstruction was not acceptable to the Radical wing of the Republican party (see p. 462, footnote). These Radicals were led in the House of Representatives by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, and in the Senate by Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Stevens, the most powerful parliamentary leader of his day, was a past master in the use of withering sarcasm and stinging repartee. He was obsessed with a spirit of bitterness toward the South and advocated a policy of vengeance toward the Southern people and especially their leaders. Sumner, on the other hand, was an intellectual who prided himself upon his God-like detachment from human passion. With a firm conviction that the Negro should be protected in his rights, he proposed by legislative enactment immediately to make the Negro ex-slaves the political, social, and

legal equals of the Southern whites; and he would do this regardless of results or the realities of the situation. Stevens and Sumner were in substantial agreement as to their theories of reconstruction. Stevens contended that the Southern states were conquered provinces at the mercy of the conquerors, and that the Federal Constitution, therefore, gave no protection to the Southern white people. The authority to reconstruct the South resided in Congress, not the President, and in the exercise of this authority Congress was not limited by any constitutional restraints. Sumner contended that the Southern states had committed suicide as states by the acts of secession and war, and that in doing so they had reverted to the status of unorganized Federal territories. The terms for the readmission of the seceded states to the Union were therefore to be prescribed, not by the President, but by Congress.

*The establishment of West Virginia*

The problem of reconstruction first appeared in connection with the establishment of the state of West Virginia. Perhaps a majority of the people of western Virginia were opposed to secession; and they had strong grievances against the older part of Virginia, particularly the Tidewater section that exercised political power out of proportion to its white population. This internal sectionalism brought about the immediate separation of western from eastern Virginia as soon as Virginia seceded from the Union. In a convention held on June 11, 1861, the counties west of the mountains and the county around Alexandria occupied by the Union forces organized a new government. They declared it to be the legal government of Virginia, since it was supported by "loyal" citizens, and claimed that the government at Richmond, based on "disloyalty," was illegal. This reconstructed Virginia, guided by the Federal government, elected F. H. Pierpoint[1] governor, filled the other state offices, and elected two United States Senators. The "Virginia" legislature, composed of members from the counties west of the mountains and the Alexandria district on the east side, submitted the question of separation to the western counties. It was favorably acted upon by the voters in these counties, and the "Virginia" legislature, which in reality was the legislature of western Virginia, gave its consent in the name of Virginia to the separation of western Virginia to form the state of West Virginia. Congress then passed a law on December 31, 1862, providing for the admission of West Virginia into the Union; and on June 20, 1863, the new commonwealth was formally recognized as a full-fledged member of the Federal Union.

The Pierpont government, still calling itself "Virginia," was

1 Later changed to "Pierpont."

now left with a small tract of land in and about Alexandria; but it had a state legislature, state officers, and two Senators and was recognized by the Federal government as the state of Virginia. This was Lincoln's first reconstructed state. According to his slowly evolving theory of reconstruction, the Pierpont government would form a nucleus about which the disillusioned and defeated people of Virginia would rally until it really did become Virginia. But Lincoln and Pierpont were both disappointed, for there was very little rallying about the banner of the latter. At the end of the war Pierpont moved to Richmond and the rump government represented by him became the government of the whole state.

*The Pierpont government of Virginia*

In 1862 portions of Tennessee, Arkansas, and Louisiana had been occupied by the Federal armies, and these areas were put under the control of military governors appointed by the President. On December 8, 1863, Lincoln issued a proclamation setting forth plans for permanent reconstruction. In this Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction he proposed by the use of his pardoning power to create a "loyal" body of citizens. All except certain classes of Southerners[1] would be granted pardon for "rebellion" against the Union by taking the oath of allegiance to the United States and accepting the laws and proclamations respecting slavery. When the number taking the oath of allegiance in a state equaled ten per cent of those who had voted in 1860, these "loyal" citizens would be qualified to establish a government which the President would recognize as the legal government of the state.

*The Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction*

The Radicals were unwilling to accept this plan of reconstruction, and as a substitute for it they had Congress pass a measure known as the Wade-Davis Bill (July 2, 1864, two days before the end of the session). This bill laid down severe terms for the readmission of the Southern states. Lincoln refused to sign the bill and thus killed it by "pocket veto." The passage of this bill and Lincoln's veto of it widened the breach that had already started between the President and the Radical Republicans. The latter issued a manifesto severely attacking the President, accusing him of trying to advance his personal ambition by a despotic policy.

*The Wade-Davis Bill*

As the war drew toward a close, Lincoln gave strong evidence of

[1] The classes excepted from the general pardon or amnesty were the officers of the Confederate army and navy above the rank of colonel and lieutenant, respectively; civil officers of the Confederate government; former Federal judges, Congressmen, and naval and army officers who had resigned their offices to aid the Confederacy; and those who were accused of refusing to treat captured Negro soldiers and their officers as prisoners of war. Lincoln mistakenly believed that the important Southern leaders had deluded the rank and file of the people and therefore should be excluded from the general amnesty at least temporarily. Later, they could with no great difficulty have their political disability removed by personal application to the President.

*Lincoln desired a more generous peace than that provided for in his amnesty proclamation*

desiring a more generous peace settlement with the South than the terms set forth in his proclamation of December 8, 1863. In the closing days of the war when there was no longer any doubt as to Northern victory, the entire trend of Lincoln's thought seemed toward generosity and friendship for the South, for a peace settlement that would be both just and merciful, above all, one that would go far toward reuniting the Northern and Southern people into a genuine Union. His inaugural address on March 4, 1864, foreshadowed the kind of peace that Lincoln had in mind, as is shown by the following oft-quoted paragraph:

*The second inaugural address*

> With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

*His last Cabinet meeting*

In his last Cabinet meeting, held on the day of his assassination, Lincoln spoke with deep regret at the spirit of revenge that animated the Radical leaders and in the following noteworthy statement warned that he would have none of such business:

> I hope there will be no persecutions, no bloody work after the war is over. No one need expect me to take any part in hanging or killing these men, even the worst of them. Enough lives have been sacrificed. We must extinguish our resentment if we expect harmony and union. There is too much desire on the part of some of our very good friends to be masters, to interfere and dictate to those states, to treat people not as fellow citizens; there is too little respect for their rights. I do not sympathize in these feelings.

*Lincoln's death and Radical reaction to it*

Whether Lincoln could have prevailed in his policy of reconstruction is and always will be a matter of interesting speculation. With his great skill at shaping public opinion and in dealing with men, including those who were opposed to him, there can be no doubt, however, that some of the tragedy of Radical reconstruction would have been avoided had he lived out his second term. Unfortunately, his assassination by J. Wilkes Booth deprived the country of his wisdom, moderation, and kindliness of spirit at a time when it stood in greatest need of such qualities in its leadership. His death also strengthened the hand of the Radicals by the removal of one great obstacle to their program. The fact that Booth was a Southerner aided the politicians in their preposterous effort to fix responsibility for the assassination on Jefferson Davis and his

colleagues. The ground was thus laid to win the Northern public to the support of the Radical plan of reconstruction, which, according to Lincoln's opinion, contemplated neither justice nor mercy for the South.

### JOHNSON'S RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

*Johnson's threats against Southerners*

Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln, was a Southerner but was strongly opposed to secession. When his state, Tennessee, withdrew from the Union he refused to go along with her. He retained his seat in the United States Senate and later was made military governor of Tennessee. He owed his nomination for the Vice-Presidency to Lincoln, who wanted a War Democrat as his running mate. To the Radicals Johnson at first seemed to be a man just to their liking. His sentiments as expressed in numerous speeches and his record as military governor of Tennessee gave promise of a vindicative and relentless policy toward the South. Jefferson Davis and members of his government, state governors, and other officers were put in prison. In addition to the charges against him of treason and cruelty to prisoners, Davis was accused of complicity in the plot to assassinate Lincoln. He was chained to his bed and tortured by having a light placed close to his face. Johnson had nothing directly to do with this physical cruelty, although it was reported to him and for some time he did not interfere to put an end to it.

Johnson was born of humble parents at Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1808. In 1826 he moved to Greeneville, Tennessee, where for a while he continued to work at his trade as a tailor. He was prosperous in his new location and in time became the owner of several slaves and considerable land. With a very limited formal education—obtained largely through the instruction given by his wife—he entered politics and was eminently successful in advancing from the lower to higher positions. Before becoming Vice-President he had been a member of the House of Representatives, governor of Tennessee, and United States Senator.

*Johnson a strict constructionist Democrat*

Johnson was, however, a strict Jeffersonian Democrat and a strong believer in states' rights. He, therefore, held with Lincoln that the Southern states, despite the conduct of their citizens, continued to be states. The states were only in a condition of "suspended animation"; and all that was needed to reanimate them was a loyal citizenry. This loyal citizenry could be created only through the pardoning power of the President. As a result of these views, his acts were not as bad as his words.

The Radicals broke with Johnson when it became evident that his policy of reconstruction was a continuation of that of Lincoln.

*Johnson continues Lincoln's policy of reconstruction and breaks with the Radicals*

His first step in this direction was to recognize Lincoln's reconstructed governments in Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee, and Virginia. On May 29, 1865, he issued his Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction, the provisions of which were very much the same as those of Lincoln's Proclamation.

*Establishment of provisional governments in the South*

Under this plan Johnson had appointed provisional governors by the middle of July, 1865, for all the late Confederate States not reconstructed under Lincoln. These men were all citizens of their states and, although most of them had not been secessionists, they had not taken part, as a rule, against their states. In short, with the exception of W. W. Holden of North Carolina, they were not Scalawags (see p. 484). In all these states the voters elected state conventions which met in the fall of 1865 and amended the old constitutions so as to conform to the "peace terms" either implied or stated in the President's proclamations. Three conditions had to be met before the President would accept the work of the conventions: the abolition of slavery; the repudiation of the ordinance of secession; and the repudiation of the "rebel" debt, whether state or Confederate. These conditions were to a great extent the recognition of accomplished facts, and the conventions readily accepted them, except that South Carolina did not repudiate her state debt contracted in support of the war.

*Reconstruction completed except in Texas*

The conventions completed their work and provided for the election of local and state officers and members of Congress under the new constitutions. By the end of December, 1865, in all the ex-Confederate States except Texas, reconstruction had been completed, the state governments were functioning, and the Representatives and Senators were in Washington ready to take their seats. But Congress, under the clever leadership of Stevens and Sumner, refused to seat the Representatives and Senators elected by the "Johnson" governments, and thus was war openly declared between Johnson and the Radicals. This will be discussed later; first let us follow the work of the new governments of the reconstructed states.

*The new Black Codes*

The new state governments, however, proceeded at once to grapple with the problems that confronted them. One of the most difficult of these was that of defining the status of the former slave. Feeling that the Negro should be dealt with as a ward until he gained experience and demonstrated his fitness for adult citizenship, some of the Southern legislatures during the fall and winter of 1865-66 enacted a special system of laws governing the Negro, which were known as the Black Codes. Although these laws were more favorable to the Negroes than were the black codes of the

ante-bellum period, they imposed more restraints on the blacks than on the whites. In only six states could Negroes testify in court in all cases at law, although in every other Southern state they could serve as witnesses in cases in which Negroes were involved. Not only were the races forbidden to intermarry, but they were also separated in school—although not in church—and in traveling on the railways. In some states because of the fear of incendiarism, a Negro had to have a special license to preach or to carry firearms.

*Vagrancy and apprenticeship laws*

Some of the Black Codes contained special provisions for Negro vagrancy and the apprenticeship of young Negroes; and most of them required the Negro offender to work out his fine rather than pay it in money. It will be recalled that in places the majority of the able-bodied Negroes had abandoned the farms in the summer and fall of 1865 to flock to the towns and villages and had thus created for themselves and their white employers further destitution (see p. 461). It was to meet this situation and to force these ignorant, irresponsible wanderers to settle down to work that the vagrancy laws were passed. These laws required idle persons with no visible means of support to have regular employment by a specified date. The laws of apprenticeship were intended to apply to thousands of orphaned, stranded, and deserted Negro children. All orphans and abandoned children could be bound out until they became of age, as apprentices, usually to their former masters, with whom as a rule they were already living. The master was given the authority generally exercised under the laws of apprenticeship throughout the English-speaking world and was under the usual obligations.

*The Black Codes of Mississippi and South Carolina more extreme than those of other states*

The Black Codes of Mississippi and South Carolina diverged more from the white codes than those of any of the other states. It will be recalled that these laws were passed in the fall of 1865 while the Negro was wandering over the country or congregating in the towns and refusing to work. Most of the laws of the other Southern states were enacted after the beginning of the new year of 1866 when the Negroes had begun to settle down to work. This in itself had a tendency to produce milder legislation and in some cases to cause the abandonment of special legislation for the Negroes; but the reaction in the North to these Black Codes and the interference of the Freedmen's Bureau and the army were doubtless even more influential in causing the Southern states to abandon the attempt at placing the Negro in a separate legal class.

The Radicals, with the aid of hostile firsthand reports upon conditions and attitudes in the South, seized upon the Black Codes as evidence that the South was attempting to re-enslave the Negro.

*Black Codes represented by Radicals as attempts of South to re-enslave Negro*

The Black Codes, thus presented to them by the Radical propagandists, were accepted by the majority of Northerners as acts of bad faith on the part of the Southern people, and they furnished powerful support, when taken in this light, to the Radical plan of reconstruction. The South, however, passed these laws in good faith. With the exception of a few features in the Mississippi and South Carolina codes, they were an earnest and realistic effort to assign the Negro, not to a state of peonage or thinly disguised slavery, but to a legal status for which he was prepared. It was an effort to treat the race problem with due consideration to actual local conditions.[1]

## THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU

*Administrative officers of the Bureau*

The Radicals not only refused Southern guardianship of the freedmen but determined to assume that responsibility for the Federal government. The first important step in that direction had been taken by the passage of the act of March 3, 1865, to establish the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This Bureau, called the "Freedmen's Bureau," was to continue in operation for one year after the war had ended, but the time limit was later extended and it continued until 1872. Its chief business at first was to care for the Negroes and Unionists who came within the Federal lines. The Bureau was in the War Department, but for all practical purposes it was virtually independent of executive and military control. Indeed, it was like a fourth branch of the government during most of its existence. Its real control was not in the government at all, but in the hands of the Radicals who dominated Congress. There was a commissioner at the head of the Bureau, an assistant commissioner over each state, and district, county, and town agents under the assistant commissioner's authority. General O. O. Howard, commissioner of the Bureau, was a man of good character; yet he had the Radical attitude that Southerners could not be trusted in their dealings with the freedmen, and that the Negroes must be protected from them by their Northern friends. The local agents, as a rule, were unsuited to their tasks. Many, perhaps most, of them were Northerners, known as "Carpetbaggers" (see p. 484), who had gone South after the war. Handicapped by ignorance as to actual conditions and actuated in many cases by greed and prejudice, they made many serious, if not tragic, mistakes in the exercise of their large authority.

*Supervision of white-Negro labor relations*

As has already been seen, one important service performed by the Bureau was that of distributing relief to the needy—whites as

[1] See W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, 96-97.

well as blacks. However, the main function of the Bureau came to be that of guarding the welfare of the Negro as the Radicals conceived it. In pursuance of this object it assumed the supervision and regulation of all Negro labor agreements. Written contracts were drawn up by the Bureau agent and signed in his presence by both employer and employee. Wages, periods of work and of rest, holidays, and other duties and rights were specified in great detail for wage hands, and specific details were embodied in contracts for share croppers. For the purpose of safeguarding the rights of the Negroes the Bureau was authorized to establish courts and supervise closely the trials in state or local courts where Negroes were involved. These local agents untrained in the law rendered judicial decisions affecting the rights of whites as well as blacks, often with serious injustice to the former. White men of the highest character were sometimes hailed into court from a distance of forty miles on the most trivial charges, where they "were lectured, abused, ridiculed, and arbitrarily fined or otherwise punished."

*Educational work of the Bureau*

The Freedmen's Bureau not only "protected" the Negroes in their economic and civil rights but directly and indirectly undertook the education of the ex-slaves. The Bureau established hundreds of schools for the Negroes and assumed the general supervision and protection of the other hundreds of Negro schools established by churches and other benevolent organizations. The educational division of the Bureau was the propaganda instrument of the Radicals. Through it the Negro was instructed not only in the subjects of the school curriculum but also in the doctrines of the Radicals and eventually in the more practical doctrines of the Republican Party.

*The teachers and their teachings*

The thousands of men and women who conducted the educational work of the Bureau were burning with unselfish zeal to uplift the colored race. As a rule, they were utterly brave and disregardful of personal comfort. But their love for the ex-slave was discounted by their hatred of the Southern white people. In their relations with the Negroes they disregarded the customs of the people among whom they settled and demanded the immediate lowering of all racial barriers. Their schools also very quickly became political training centers for the freedmen when it seemed that they would be granted the right to vote. Here the ex-slaves were taught that the election of any but Republicans would bring about their re-enslavement. It was due to the teachings of the Northern missionaries that the Negroes separated from the white churches to which they had belonged and organized themselves into independent churches.

These activities on the part of the Northern teachers naturally

aroused serious antagonism in the South. Because of this feeling the Southerners were inclined to overestimate the evil and underestimate the good in these endeavors. Permanent success could scarcely attend the efforts of these zealots, and their work in most instances terminated when reconstruction was ended. Although the common schools set up by this group were temporary, several important institutions of higher Negro education were established and have continued to be of great benefit in the education of Negro leaders. An offset to these gains was the racial and sectional animosities aroused by the missionary teachers, which in the long run retarded the development of Negro education; for the hostility and indifference to Negro education that long survived reconstruction came largely as a direct result of the Northern schoolteacher's bitter teachings.

The work of the Bureau was carried on under the administration of Andrew Johnson, as well as later, and much of it while the reconstructed Johnson governments in the South still functioned. It will be seen, therefore, that the Bureau, sometimes called the "fourth department" of the Federal government, had interfered so greatly with the states of the South that they were mere ghosts of states, and these ghosts were rendered even less of a reality by the constant interference of the military garrisons that took their orders from the Radical Secretary of War, Edwin M. Stanton.

*"Forty acres and a mule"*

The Freedmen's Bureau Act also provided that abandoned and confiscated lands in the South should be distributed among the freedmen in amounts not exceeding forty acres to each adult male. Since the policy of confiscation was not carried out to any considerable extent, there was not much land available for such distribution. However, the plan as misrepresented by unscrupulous interested persons gave rise to the expectation among the Negroes that each of them would receive at the end of 1865 as a Christmas gift forty acres of land and a mule. This hope caused many of them to quit work and thus add to the confusion already existing in the labor system.

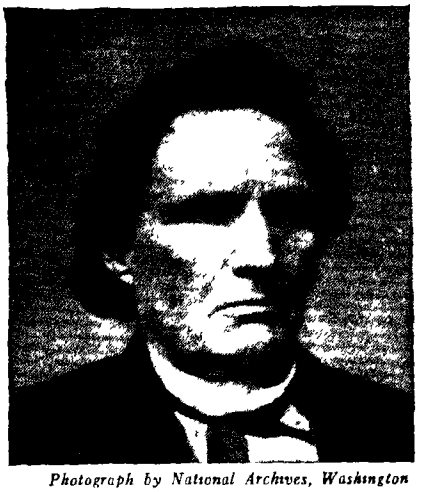
## PRESIDENTIAL RECONSTRUCTION OPPOSED BY THE RADICALS

*Radical appeal to conservative opinion*

During the early days of his administration Johnson's reconstruction policy was very popular in the North, and for a time the Radicals had difficulty in launching a successful attack on the Presidential plan. Unfortunately, the Southern states themselves came to their aid when in the fall of 1865 they supplied the Radicals with their best argument by the passage of the Black Codes. This, said the Radicals, was open defiance of the victorious North; this was

THADDEUS STEVENS

Leader of the Radical Republicans in the House of Representatives in the Reconstruction era, he urged a stern policy toward the South



*Photograph by National Archives, Washington*

*Harper's Weekly, June 2, 1866*

OFFICE OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE.
Trial of a Southern White Man.

"Error Wounded Writhes in Pain."

John Bull. "Did you mean to step on my corns?"

Brother Jonathan. "Yes, Sir. And if you don't pay me what you ought I'll grind your Corns for you, and swell that other Foot bigger yet!"

*Harper's Weekly, July 5, 1869*

*Harper's Weekly, November 11, 1876*

The Democratic Team. A Republican View.

"Thou Shall not Plow with an Ox and an Ass Together."

rebellion: the Negro was being re-enslaved right before the eyes of the Northern people and of the entire world. Were the Northern people going to permit a defeated and dishonorable enemy thus to flout them, to defy them and undo the work of the four years of blood and sacrifice?

*Unfavorable reports on the South*

In support of the evil forebodings of the Radicals were the numerous reports of Northern newspaper correspondents, Bureau officials, army officers, and those dispatched to make semiofficial investigations. These reports were, with few exceptions, overwhelmingly unfavorable. In one of these (that by Carl Schurz) it was stated that the loyalty of the people and most of the leaders consisted in necessity. In reply to these reports Wade Hampton, a prominent Southern leader, gave a correct appraisal of the situation as follows:

> The South unequivocally "accepts the situation" in which she is placed. Everything that she has done has been done in perfect faith, and in the true and highest sense of the word, she is loyal. By this I mean that she intends to abide by the laws of the land honestly, to fulfill her obligations faithfully and to keep her word sacredly, and I assert that the North has no right to demand more of her. You have no right to ask, or expect that she will at once profess unbounded love to that Union from which for four years she tried to escape at the cost of her best blood and all her treasure.

*The Joint Committee on Reconstruction*

The North was naturally inclined to accept such reports as those made by Schurz rather than those of Southern leaders such as Hampton. The Radicals, ably led by Thaddeus Stevens in the House of Representatives and by Charles Sumner in the Senate, were prompt to take advantage of the situation in their favor. Through their influence Congress refused admission to the Representatives and Senators sent to Washington by the reconstructed states and appointed a Joint Committee on Reconstruction, composed of nine Representatives and six Senators, to inquire into conditions in the late Confederate States. In the investigation made by the Joint Committee a few outstanding Southerners like Robert E. Lee and Alexander H. Stephens were examined, but most of the witnesses called in were those that would naturally be supposed to give such evidence as the Radicals desired. The evidence so gathered was used to influence public opinion and win the support of the more conservative members of the Republican Party for a stern policy of reconstruction. It was not long before many newspapers in the North were carrying a column or more purporting to depict Southern outrages against loyal blacks and whites. This had a

profound influence over public opinion, and the winter had not passed before there were distinct signs that the Northern public was looking with more and more favor upon the policy of severity advocated by the Radicals.

*The open break between Johnson and the Radicals*

In the meantime, Johnson and the Radicals had reached an open break, and the President, by his lack of tact and restraint, had said much to offend the Northern public and the moderate Republicans and thereby strengthen the Radicals. At the same time the Radicals had initiated a series of measures which undermined the President's Southern policy still further. The first of these was a bill passed (February, 1866) to widen the powers and extend the life of the Freedmen's Bureau for an indefinite period. Johnson vetoed this bill, giving his reasons in a specially able message. His veto message and executive prestige for the moment swayed a sufficient number of conservative Republicans to sustain the veto, and the bill failed at the time to become law. Unfortunately, the President by his lack of tact threw cold water on the sentiment in favor of his policy. In an impromptu speech made to a large crowd on the night of February 22 he hurled epithets and veiled threats at the Radicals calling by name Stevens, Sumner, and others. By this performance and others of like character Johnson lost the support of some conservative Republicans which might have been retained if he had always displayed the good temper, tact, and finesse which Lincoln used in dealing with political opponents. By thus playing into the hands of his enemies he strengthened their cause and weakened that of his own.

*The Civil Rights Bill*

The Radicals soon showed their power by having Congress pass the Civil Rights Bill (March 13, 1866). This bill declared that all persons born in the United States (except Indians not taxed, and subjects of foreign nations) are citizens and are entitled to all the rights and privileges of citizenship in all the states. Johnson vetoed the bill on political, constitutional, and social grounds. It was, he said, an infringement upon the rights of the states and would "foment discord among the races" by instituting a perfect equality of the white and black races in every state of the Union. Congress passed the law over the President's veto, and shortly thereafter, again over his veto, passed virtually the same Freedmen's Bureau Bill that had recently been lost.

*The Fourteenth Amendment*

In its final report on affairs in the South the Joint Committee on Reconstruction stated that the Southerners were still disloyal and had offered "no evidence whatever of repentance for their crime." The Federal government should exact from these unrepentant "rebels" indemnity for past injuries and security against their

recurrence. To achieve this indemnity and security certain conditions must be imposed upon the South. These conditions were embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment, which was adopted by Congress on June 13, 1866, and submitted to the states, including the Southern states which the Joint Committee report had just declared illegal. This amendment made the Negro a citizen and granted him equal protection under the law; it provided for the reduction of representation unless the Southern states granted suffrage to the Negro; it disqualified from Federal and state offices all persons who had taken the oath, required by such office, to uphold the Constitution of the United States and afterward had supported the Confederacy; it guaranteed the validity of the national debt and forbade the payment by state or national government of the Confederate debt or compensation for the emancipation of the slaves.

*The New Orleans riot, an aid to the Radicals*

If the Radicals were to carry to completion their policy of harsh reconstruction with reference to the South, it would be necessary for them to have a two-thirds majority in both houses of the next Congress. They therefore made a supreme effort to win an overwhelming victory in the Congressional election of 1866. They were greatly aided in this endeavor by a bloody riot which occurred at New Orleans (July 30, 1866), in which 41 men were killed and 146 wounded. The number of white Radicals and Negroes killed and wounded was greatly in excess of the casualties suffered by the white conservatives, and to the uninformed Northerners it looked like a "massacre" of Negroes and "Unionists" by the "rebels." In reality it was a fight between the city police, composed largely of ex-Confederate soldiers, and a mass of well-armed but untrained Negroes led by Carpetbaggers and Scalawags, who were attempting to overthrow the state government of Louisiana and replace it with a Radical government. The mayor of New Orleans had urged the Federal General Baird to send in his soldiers to prevent rioting and bloodshed, but Baird had refused to act. The mayor then telegraphed President Johnson to intervene; but Stanton withheld the telegram until after the mayor had taken matters into his own hands and brought about the "massacre" of July 30.

*Negroes led by Radicals*

Another riot in which a great many Negroes were killed occurred in Memphis; and there were other violent disturbances over the South. In nearly all of these race conflicts the Negroes, untrained in the use of weapons of war, were led by both local and national Radical politicians into situations where they came into deadly conflict with ex-Confederate soldiers highly skilled in the use of such weapons. The Northern people did not know the extenuating circumstances in favor of the Southern participants in these riots,

and the slaughter of so many freedmen by Southern white men stirred the indignation of the mass of Northern people. It began to look as if the guardianship of the Negro, which had been exercised through the Freedmen's Bureau, the Federal courts, and the military garrisons, was too weak to protect the Negro. Stronger measures seemed justified.

*Johnson's swing around the circle*

The Radical cause was also aided by the unwise efforts made by Johnson in the Congressional campaign. His famous "swing around the circle" was his chief and most disastrous attempt at winning support in the North for his policy of reconstruction. He was invited to be present in Chicago at the laying of the cornerstone of the monument in honor of Stephen A. Douglas, and he made a tour of the principal cities of the North. At Philadelphia, New York, Cleveland, Chicago, Indianapolis, and St. Louis he made impromptu speeches in which he denounced the Radicals, frequently calling them by name, as revolutionaries worse than the Southern rebels—as enemies of their country. He was mercilessly heckled and tormented by mobsters who had been "planted" by the Radicals for that purpose, and he lost his head and replied to his tormentors. Many, perhaps most, of the newspapers jeered and mocked the unfortunate President and wrongfully accused him of drunkenness and immoral conduct. The cartoonist, Nast, and the humorist, Petroleum V. Naseby, used their pens as effectively as harpoons against the sorely wounded old man. Seldom or never in history has the head of an enlightened nation been subjected to such humiliation; perhaps none with the integrity and high morality of Andrew Johnson has been so brutally and unjustly treated.

*Radical victory*

In consequence the Radicals won a great victory in the Congressional and state elections in the fall; but it is difficult to decide to what extent the North voted *against* Andrew Johnson, *against* his policy of reconstruction, or *for* the Radical program.

*The ex-Confederate states reject the Fourteenth Amendment*

During the fall and winter of 1866-67, the Fourteenth Amendment was submitted to the states for ratification; and, despite the majority report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction that the Southern state governments had no legal existence, Congress placed the amendment before the legislatures of these states for ratification. Since the members of the Southern legislatures—as well as every officer from governor to justice of the peace—would be declared disqualified from holding office under its provisions, the Fourteenth Amendment would have the effect of destroying all the state governments in the South with the exception of Tennessee, whose government was in the hands of the Unionist element. Although both Johnson and the Southern states would have rejected the

Fourteenth Amendment because of this feature, they also objected to the alternatives of Negro suffrage or reduced representation. Therefore, all the Southern states except Tennessee rejected the Amendment. Tennessee, whose governor, W. G. Brownlow, was a man after the heart of Thaddeus Stevens and whose whole government was in the hands of bitter Radicals from the mountains, was admitted to the Union on ratification of the amendment.

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CHAPTER XXVII

# The Rule of the Radical Oligarchy

## Radical Intimidation of the Supreme Court

*Republicans control both houses of Congress*

THE Congressional election of 1866 had given the Republicans a two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress and they could pass, over the President's veto, any measure upon which they could agree. The Southern legislatures in the winter of 1866-67 eliminated the most objectionable features from their Black Codes, but by rejecting the Fourteenth Amendment they had brought the reconstructed state governments into further disfavor in the North. Because of these circumstances, the Radicals were able fully to realize their plan for the reconstruction of the South. They could, in the words of James A. Garfield, "remove the rubbish and rebuild from the bottom." That is, they would now cast aside the Johnson governments and build new states based upon the Negro population—led always, of course, by Radical white men.

*The Supreme Court a threat to Radical reconstruction:* ex parte Milligan

The Federal executive was now without power to restrain the tyranny of the Radicals, but at first it looked as if the Supreme Court would make an effective effort to save constitutional government. In the case of *ex parte Milligan* (1866) it seemed as if the use of the army as a governing agency would be broken. In 1864 Milligan was convicted and jailed by a military tribunal on charges of disloyalty. In reviewing the case in 1866, the Supreme Court held that the Federal government had no constitutional authority to establish martial law or to try civilians by military courts wherever the civil courts were open. The principle of the Milligan decision, if applied to the military reconstruction acts of the Radicals soon to be put into force, might have resulted in these acts being declared unconstitutional. The Republicans loudly condemned this decision, and Congress reduced the number of judges on the Supreme Court from nine to seven, by providing that the two vacancies then existing on the bench should not be filled. In this way Johnson would be prevented from naming justices whose views would be against the Radical policy.

*Other Supreme Court decisions*

This decision was followed by others declaring two recent acts of Congress unconstitutional. To safeguard its reconstruction policy against further interference by judicial interpretation, Congress passed an act (March, 1868), over Johnson's veto, which effectively took away from the Court jurisdiction over such cases as might bring into question the constitutionality of the reconstruction acts. The Supreme Court, apparently intimidated by the trend of public opinion and the threats of Thaddeus Stevens, accepted this curtailment of its authority with undignified haste, and denied that it had further jurisdiction in cases relating to Congressional acts dealing with reconstruction.

## THE IMPEACHMENT OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

*The Tenure of Office Act*

On March 2, 1867, Congress passed, over the President's veto, the Tenure of Office Act, which prohibited the President from removing, except with the consent of the Senate, officeholders confirmed by the Senate. Cabinet officers were to hold office during the term of the President who appointed them and one month after. In case the President should remove a Cabinet officer while Congress was not in session, he was required to report the matter to the Senate not later than twenty days after Congress convened. The Senate was free to disapprove the President's action and reinstate the officer. Although the Constitution is not specific as to the right of the President to remove those officeholders whose appointment must be confirmed by the Senate, nevertheless, the Presidents had exercised this power almost from the beginning of the Federal Union, particularly in the matter of Cabinet officers.

*Early efforts at impeachment*

By the spring of 1868 the Chief Executive had been subordinated to Congress and placed in a humiliating position. But the extreme Radicals were not satisfied. Led by Stevens, they proposed to oust Johnson from the Presidency by impeachment proceedings. For the purpose of intimidating the President and in the hope of finding evidence on which to base impeachment, a continuous investigation was carried on during the spring and summer of 1867 without finding anything in his character or record on which charges could be brought. The great majority of the House favored impeachment if enough "evidence" could be obtained to satisfy the public. So far Johnson had accepted and carried out in good faith the laws recently enacted by Congress which were so objectionable to him. Now, however, he defied Congress by an apparent violation of the Tenure of Office Act, which he regarded as unconstitutional.

*Stanton's removal from office*

Edwin M. Stanton, the Secretary of War, was a thorn in the President's side. He made use of his position in the Cabinet not to

further the aims of his chief but to give aid to his Radical enemies. Johnson's patience finally reached the limit and he asked for Stanton's resignation. When this was refused, the President suspended him during a recess of Congress and, in keeping with the Tenure of Office Act, reported the suspension to the Senate when Congress reassembled. The Senate refused to confirm the President's action, and after five weeks of indecision Johnson went ahead without the consent of the Senate and dismissed his obstreperous War Secretary (February 21, 1868). Stanton barricaded himself in his office and continued as Secretary of War in violation of the President's order of dismissal.

*The impeachment and trial of the President*

The Radicals were overjoyed at the President's walking into their trap. They now hoped to impeach and remove him from office on the charge of violating the Tenure of Office Act and other misdeeds. The House by party vote passed a resolution impeaching Johnson "of high crimes and misdemeanors in office" and brought eleven charges against him. The accusations on which they mainly relied dealt with the President's alleged violation of the Tenure of Office Act in dismissing Stanton.

These charges were presented to the Senate on March 4, 1868, by seven managers from the House, and on the following day the Senate was organized as a court with Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase presiding. Thaddeus Stevens and Benjamin F. Butler were the two most prominent members of the House Committee conducting the prosecution; and they represented a majority in the House who were willing to remove the President on a mere party vote without reference to the law. Johnson had as legal counsel some of the ablest lawyers in America, but they were allowed only ten days to prepare the defense. Despite the short time for preparation, they quickly demolished the legal basis for the impeachment charges and demonstrated with complete clarity that the attempt to get rid of the President was political and partisan. The removal of Stanton, they contended, did not violate the Tenure of Office Act, because this act provided that a Cabinet officer was to hold office—unless the Senate agreed to his dismissal by the President—only during the term of the President appointing him and one month afterward. Stanton was appointed by Lincoln in his first term and the act did not protect him. Furthermore, the President and his Cabinet believed that the act was unconstitutional, and the only means of testing the constitutionality of the law was to dismiss Stanton so as to bring the case before the court. The attempt to test the constitutionality of a law could scarcely be considered grounds for the impeachment and removal of a President.

*The failure of the Radicals to oust the President*

As the impeachment trial proceeded and the partisan motives became clear to the public, the more cautious Republican Senators showed less and less willingness to lend their aid in removing the President. Seven of them after hearing the evidence were convinced that Johnson was innocent of any unlawful act, and they decided to vote for acquittal. The twelve Democrats and these seven Republicans cast their vote against conviction of the President, and the vote stood 19 in favor of acquittal and 35 for conviction. Thus the Radicals lacked one vote of the two thirds necessary for removing the President. While the trial was in process, Johnson strengthened his case by wisely nominating as Stanton's successor General J. M. Schofield, in whom both Radicals and conservatives had confidence; and the appointment was proof enough to those in a reasonable state of mind that the President was not trying to evade the enforcement of the reconstruction acts by placing a personal "tool" in that office.

*Significance of the outcome*

The impeachment trial cleared the atmosphere to a considerable degree. The failure to convict the President on partisan grounds preserved the independence of the office of the chief executive, which otherwise might have become subordinate to Congress. Although Johnson did not become popular in the North, the trial revealed his honesty of purpose and his good faith in executing laws that he believed unconstitutional. At the same time it caused many to doubt the honesty and sincerity of the Radicals. Public opinion in the North definitely was rapidly moving away from support of the Radical policy of reconstruction.

## CONGRESSIONAL RECONSTRUCTION

*The reconstruction acts of 1867*

The basic measures of the new reconstruction policy was the Military Reconstruction Act, passed over the President's veto on March 2, 1867, and two supplementary acts passed March 23 and July 19. The Reconstruction Act of March 2 declared that no legal state governments existed in ten Southern states still living under the Lincoln-Johnson governments (the government of Tennessee, having accepted the Fourteenth Amendment, was recognized and continued). It divided the South into five military districts, each governed by a general appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The general was to preserve order, and in doing so might make use of the civil officials and courts or substitute complete martial law, as his judgment might indicate. A constitutional convention was to meet in each state and draw up a constitution satisfactory to the Radicals. To accomplish this, Johnson's "loyal electorate" was set aside and a new "loyal electorate" created, made up of the freedmen above twenty-one years of age, and such remaining

whites as could take the oath that they had "not been disfranchised for participation in any rebellion or civil war against the United States." Since it was believed that most ex-Confederates were willing to take the oath in order to defeat Negro-Carpetbag rule, the law of July 19, 1867, gave the registration officers the right to go behind the oath of such prospective registrants and refuse to register those who were in their opinion disqualified by having participated in rebellion.

*The rule of the generals*

Despite his conviction that the Radical reconstruction acts of March 2, 23, and July 19 were unconstitutional and revolutionary in purpose, Johnson proceeded to put them into effect without delay. He appointed the five generals over the five military districts into which the South had been divided. Most of these men were honest and capable; some were Radicals, some moderates, and others conservatives, but all were aware of their obligations to fulfill the letter and the spirit of the reconstruction laws whether they approved of them or not. At first it was the policy to allow the civil officers of the states to continue to perform their official duties during good behavior; but this policy was soon superseded by one of wholesale removals, and the vacancies so caused were filled with "Carpetbaggers" (see p. 484) and native Radicals. In Virginia, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas even the governors were removed. In addition to removing thousands of elective officers, from county clerks to governors, they suppressed numerous newspapers and jailed the editors for criticizing reconstruction, closed churches, prohibited public meetings, stopped court proceedings, dismissed juries, required all jurors to take the ironclad test oath which excluded ex-Confederates. They enacted laws, levied taxes, and made appropriations from the state treasury.

*Radical discrimination against Southern whites in the registration of voters*

The first step taken under the reconstruction acts toward establishing state governments was the registration of voters, which was completed by October, 1867. Registration was placed completely in the hands of the Radicals, and Negroes were listed without question. Many were allowed to "repeat" in several neighboring precincts, whereas the whites were frequently refused registration when they were qualified even under the Radical law. The authority given the registrars, states W. L. Fleming, of using their own discretion as to a man's qualifications to register "was invoked to carry the disfranchisement of the whites far beyond the intention of the law in an attempt to destroy the leadership of the whites and to register enough Negroes to outvote them at the polls." In the ten Confederate States, where the whites outnumbered the Negroes nearly two to one, there were 703,000 Negroes and only 672,000

whites registered. In all but four of the ten states Negro majorities were registered, and in all of them the Radical whites and colored voters combined were in the majority.

*The Negroes drawn into the Republican Party*

This system of registration placed the Southern states in the pocket of the Republican Party. Virtually all the Negroes could be counted on to vote for the party that had given them their freedom and was now championing their rights. The feeling that the Republicans were their friends and benefactors had been intensified by the propaganda carried on by the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, the missionaries and teachers of the North, and the leaders of the Union, or Loyal, League.

*The Union League as a propaganda agency for the Republican Party*

The Union, or Loyal, League was formed during the war in the Northern states to bolster morale, combat the Copperhead movement, and to act as a bureau of propaganda for the Radicals and as a pressure organization to influence Congress and the President. With the progressive conquest of the South, Loyal League councils or lodges were organized for the Negroes in the occupied areas. Every hamlet had its League and by 1868 practically every Negro was a member of the League. The great objective of the white Radicals who organized and dominated the League was to control the Negro vote. The League was a secret order, and it met only at night and nearly always in a Negro church or schoolhouse. At these meetings the Negroes participated in elaborate, thrilling initiatory ceremonies that made a strong appeal to their dramatic instincts. They were told that unless Republican Congressmen and Presidents were elected and kept in office they would be re-enslaved; but that on the other hand if the Republicans were kept in power, particularly if General Grant were elected President, the Negroes would be given farms and political offices.

*Negro support gained by persuasion and coercion*

This appeal to the Negroes' fears, gratitude, and natural desire for gain could hardly fail to win the support of the majority. However, a large minority of the Negroes disapproved of the methods and doctrines of the League and refused at first to toe the party line. Such Negroes were brutally treated by the League members, or were dismissed from their churches and schools, ostracized by their own color and the white leaders, and thus coerced into League membership and into voting for the Republican candidates whom the League endorsed. The League therefore became a powerful political machine, and by its aid the vote of the Southern states was assured to the Radical Republican Party from county clerk to President.

There was another side to the League, other than the political—its violence and menacing conduct with regard to the white people—which will be discussed later.

*"Carpetbaggers" and "Scalawags"*

The Republican Party in the South also included two groups of whites—the "Carpetbaggers" and the "Scalawags." The former term was the one applied to those Northerners who had come to the South after the war. A few of these were earnest crusaders who were actuated by the desire to help the Negroes and uphold their rights; others had come to fish wealth out of the troubled waters in law-honest fashion; whereas still others, a numerous group, had swooped down upon the war-torn section to pick the bones of a dead social order. As a rule, these Northerners were poor and were said to have brought their belongings with them in carpetbags—hence their name. Some of the Carpetbaggers were men of high character, but many, probably most, of them were self-seekers, who were willing to promote their own interests at the sacrifice of the rights of the Southern people. Therefore, the latter looked with disfavor upon the class as a whole. The "Scalawags"[1] were the white Southerners who co-operated with the Negroes and Carpetbaggers in carrying out the policy of the Radicals. A few of the Scalawags were men who had opposed secession and were conscientious in their support of Radical rule. Not many of the Scalawags, however, were prompted by high motives. Some of them were small farmers who resented the attitude of superiority which the planter class had held toward them, whereas many, probably most, of the Scalawags collaborated with the Radicals in the hope of advancing their own interests. Public sentiment in the South frowned heavily upon them, considering them traitors to their section.

*The "solid South"*

The great majority of the white people of the South, regardless of their prewar political affiliations, felt that they should unite into one party to fight against the rule of the Negroes, Carpetbaggers, and Scalawags. At first they were known as "Conservatives"; but since the Democrats had all along opposed the Radical policy of reconstruction, the "Conservatives" naturally gave their support to that party. In this way there came into being the "solid South."

*The whites vainly attempt to defeat the calling of conventions by refusing to vote*

After the voters had been registered, the next step in Radical reconstruction was to have a double election in each state: one on whether a constitutional convention should be held, and the other on the choice of delegates to the convention should it be held. Since the law required that a majority of registered voters should cast their ballots in the election, many of the whites attempted to defeat the calling of conventions by abstaining from voting. But the Negroes, coached by the Union Leagues and other Radical agencies, came to

1 "Scalawag" originally meant a scaly sheep. It was probably because of this connotation and the ugly sound of the word that the native Southerners used it to designate the Southern whites who collaborated with the Radicals.

the polls in full strength, and a sufficient number of whites cast their ballot to bring the total vote to a majority of all who had registered. Consequently, the policy of part of the ex-Confederate element of abstaining from voting resulted in the constitutional conventions having larger Radical majorities than they would have had if all the Southern whites not disfranchised had participated in the elections.

*The Radical state constitutions*

The constitutions of most of the states were completed by the spring of 1868. These were alike in their vengeful attitude toward native Southern whites; for, with some exceptions, the disfranchisement of ex-Confederates went further than the provisions of the Radical reconstruction acts of 1867. The constitutions accordingly disregarded the customs of the South and lowered or abolished race barriers. In South Carolina and Louisiana all race lines were abolished. On the other hand, there were many features of these new constitutions, most of which were taken from some of the newer constitutions of the Northern states, that the Southern whites regarded with approval. For example, many of the educational provisions, although not appropriate at the moment for the ruined and impoverished South, were to be utilized later in promoting a better public school system than the South had ever known before. Certain improvements in the machinery of local government were also introduced.

*The Radicals in need of the Southern "pocket boroughs" to maintain themselves in power*

By the spring of 1868 constitutions had been framed in most of the Southern states and were ready for submission to the registered voters. The Republicans were anxious to have these states back in the Union, for they needed their votes in the Presidential election of 1868. The fall elections of 1867 showed that the Republicans were losing ground in the North and the Radicals were worried about the prospects for the campaign of 1868. The reconstruction policy of the Republican Party, particularly Negro suffrage, was becoming unpopular despite the constant revival of Southern "outrage" propaganda. The states of Minnesota, Michigan, Kansas, and Ohio had just rejected Negro suffrage and thus repudiated the basic principle of Radical reconstruction, whereas in the entire Union only five New England states and New York permitted the Negro to vote. Seven of the Southern states were admitted into the Union in time for the election of 1868, and they, as well as Tennessee, could be counted as "pocket boroughs" of the Republican Party. Their electoral vote would guarantee the success of the Republicans in the coming election. By 1870 the other three (Virginia, Texas, and Georgia) had been admitted, and reconstruction was now technically complete. In each Southern state the government was turned over to the legislature and officials elected by the voters, and the military governors

withdrew. There was, however, so much oposition to the new regime that the army of occupation was kept in each state.

### THE PUPPET STATE GOVERNMENTS

*The puppet states under control of Negroes, Carpetbaggers, and Scalawags*

The government of the Southern states was now placed in the hands of the Negroes, Scalawags, and Carpetbaggers, who acted under instructions from the Radical Republicans in the North. These puppet states remained under this type of rule from about three to nine years. Only one state, Virginia, escaped to some extent after three years of military rule. All these states had many common experiences, although reconstruction bore harder on some than on others. Those on whom it bore the hardest had a large Negro population like South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi.

*Corruption and incompetence of the governors*

Under this regime the state governments were corrupt and incompetent in all three branches—executive, judicial, and legislative. The governor, who was the official in closest touch with the Radical leaders in Washington, exercised large authority through his power of appointment and removal. As a rule, the governors were not competent for their responsible positions and were politically corrupt; many of them were also without personal honor. The governors and the "Radical ring" of subordinates not only collected their salaries and fees, but looted the states in which they operated. The "Radical ring" bought and sold offices as if dealing in stocks and bonds. These offices were made to pay. For example, clerical employees in the state auditor's office of Arkansas, which under the Johnson government were paid $1000, under Radical rule in 1872 were paid $92,000. The cost of state printing rose into millions. From top to bottom it was thus.

*State and Federal district courts corrupt*

The "fountain of justice," the state and Federal judiciary of the South, was polluted. Supreme Court Judge R. K. Scott of South Carolina advertised his decisions for sale and was promoted to the governorship of the state as due reward for such "services." F. J. Moses, who later became governor, already had a criminal record as a thief when made judge in South Carolina; and it was estimated by Governor D. H. Chamberlain, the last Carpetbag governor of South Carolina, that there were two hundred South Carolina trial judges who not only had no knowledge of the law but could neither read nor write.

*Ignorance and corruption of the Radical state legislatures*

The state legislatures were, if possible, more corrupt and possessed of a lower intellectual level than the judiciary. Much of the Radical vote, predominantly Negro in some of the Black Belt states, was for sale. There were fixed prices ranging from a few dollars on minor bills to several hundred on a bill to support a railroad by state en-

dorsement of railroad bonds. In Louisiana a railroad bill, according to the testimony of a witness, cost $80,000 in the purchase of the legislature and more than that when the signature of the governor was obtained. The legislatures voted themselves extra mileage and "legislative supplies" consisting of such articles as bacon, country hams, feather beds, perfume, corsets, bustles, monogram cut glass, furniture, whiskey, wines, and champagnes. The South Carolina legislature maintained for itself a free restaurant which cost the state $125,000 during one session. James S. Pike, a Republican writer, visited the South Carolina legislature during the period when it was composed largely of the recently freed slaves. In a book entitled *The Prostrate State*, he makes some shrewd observations and descriptions, not unsympathetic to the Negro, but realistic as to the larger meaning:

> In the place of this old aristocratic society stands the rude form of the most ignorant democracy that mankind ever saw, invested with the functions of government. . . . It is barbarism overwhelming civilization by physical force. It is the slave rioting in the halls of his master, and putting that master under his feet. And, though it is done without malice and without vengeance, it is nevertheless . . . completely and absolutely done.

*The Negro used by Radicals*

In all this the Negro, unlettered, untaught by experience and tradition, and unaware of the moral responsibility attached to the political franchise and power, was being used to his great detriment by fanatical abstractionists like Sumner and political opportunists like B. F. Butler. Tragically, the Negro would be made to pay for mistakes for which he was only in the smallest degree responsible.

*Sale of bonds and the great tax burden on land*

As previously observed, the Civil War had destroyed much of the accumulated wealth of the South: all moneys, all bonds related to the Civil War, the investments represented by nearly four million slaves, much of the physical equipment including buildings, industrial plants, railroads, bridges, fences, livestock, etc. But there remained the land, which could still produce cotton, tobacco, sugar cane, and rice. This one remaining form of capital wealth was made to carry much of the burden of the Radical governments described above. In addition to mortgaging the future of the Southern states by the sale of from two to three hundred millions of dollars in bonds, the Carpetbag-Negro regime levied an unbearable tax load upon the land. For example, the state tax rate was increased 800 per cent in Louisiana and 1400 per cent in Mississippi, and other states suffered similar burdens. Such a burden was more than tens of thousands of farmers and planters could carry, and great empires of land were sold for taxes under the sheriff's hammer. In Mississippi alone an area

the size of Massachusetts and Rhode Island combined was sold in one year because the owners were unable to pay the taxes. It was at this time that white tenancy in the South acquired its impetus; for many of those who lost their lands were small farmers.

*The Fifteenth Amendment*

Although the Southern state constitutions had all provided for Negro suffrage, farsighted Radicals in Washington had seen from the first the necessity of granting the Negro the ballot by amendment of the Federal Constitution. For it would be only a matter of time until the ex-Confederates and conservative Unionists, who were uniting everywhere against Negro-Carpetbag and Scalawag rule, would gain control in the South; and, if not prevented by the Federal Constitution, they would repeal the provisions of the state constitutions granting suffrage to the Negroes. The result was the Fifteenth Amendment, which states that:

> The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any state on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude.

This Amendment was soon ratified and became part of the Constitution early in 1870.

### THE SOUTHERN UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT

*Reaction of the South to the social revolution*

By the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments the Negro had been transformed from a slave to a citizen with the right of suffrage. The power to govern his former master had also been conferred upon him and his Carpetbag and Scalawag associates. Surely the bottom rail was now on top. This sudden revolution in the social order was contrary to the usual practice among English-speaking peoples. Prior to this time it had been the tradition among Anglo-Saxons to bring about political and social reforms by the process of gradual evolution rather than by sudden revolution. That the Southern people would calmly accept the new order, with the deplorable misgovernment that attended it, could not be expected in view of their loyalty to ancestral tradition. Therefore, to protect themselves against the oppression of the new regime they organized a type of resistance similar to but far more effective than the underground organization of the countries occupied by Hitler in the Second World War.

*Secret organizations*

The Southern underground was usually called the Ku Klux Klan by the Radicals. As a matter of fact, however, there were numerous secret organizations of the white people. Perhaps the largest of these was the Knights of the White Camelia, which operated primarily in the Black Belt of the lower South. The more spectacular Ku Klux

Klan, which operated more in the upper South—although it did not confine itself to any region—ranked second. Then there were the Order of the Pale Faces, The White Man's League, The Red Shirts, Shot Gun Clubs, and others too numerous to mention.

*The Ku Klux Klan*

The Klan proper was organized at Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865 by a group of mischievous but bored young men who held secret meetings in an abandoned and "haunted" house with the idea of amusing themselves. Attired in fantastic hoods, cardboard hats, and long flowing robes, they stood on stumps and rock fences, and sat upon tombstones in the neighborhood graveyards near the roads, where the Negroes passed in their nightly going to and coming from the revival meetings, lodges, and Union Leagues. These devices were so effective in frightening the superstitious Negroes that they were used everywhere by the Southern whites to induce the Negroes to conduct themselves with more regard for law and order. Accordingly, the organization spread rapidly in one form or another throughout the ex-Confederate States and even in some of the border states. The term "Ku Klux" was derived from the Greek word *Kyklos*, meaning "circle"; and the word "Klan" was probably added for euphony as well as the implication of "clan." It was organized as a unified, military body at Nashville in April, 1867, and called itself the "Invisible Empire." As reorganized in 1868, the head of the "Empire" was the Grand Wizard, who, it is supposed, was the famous Confederate cavalry leader, N. B. Forrest. The smallest unit of organization was the Den, or local chapter, directed by the Grand Cyclops and two assistants who had the appropriate title of Night Hawks.

Although the Ku Klux Klan appropriated the title, the entire underground movement might have been fittingly called the "Invisible Empire," for in truth these secret societies were for many years the only government to which the Southern whites could turn for protection.

*Little resort to force until the Union League began its career of violence*

During the first two years the Klan continued its Halloween antics, riding over the countryside in fantastic disguises. A Negro who had committed some offense would be wakened at night to find half a dozen white-robed figures standing silently around his bed: or sitting upon white-robed horses in the yard. Eventually, a sepulchral voice might inform the Negro that he was beholding the ghosts of former white neighbors, who had been killed at Shiloh or Gettysburg, and who had been unable to rest because of misconduct of the Negro and his friends.

After having been fooled and frightened for a year or more the Negroes became aware that white Southern men were underneath the ghostly apparel. The Klansmen then considered it necessary to

*The Klan provoked to violence by the Union League*

resort to violent measures. However, the Klan and its kindred societies did not usually resort to force until 1867-68, when the Union League entered upon a career of violence. At the meetings of the lodges of the League the Negroes heard inflammatory speeches by Radical leaders and were told that the only way to have peace and plenty, to get "the forty acres and a mule," was to kill some of the leading whites in each community as a warning to others. It is no wonder, therefore, that League members began to shoot into the ranks of Klansmen and commit acts of violence upon peaceful citizens. "In North Carolina twenty-eight barns were burned in one county by negroes who believed that Governor Holden, the head of the State League, had ordered it."[1] The Klan and the Knights reacted to this violently. Members of these orders, going in groups, would break into the meetings of the League, seizing both black and white leaders and carrying them to some secluded spot. Here they were tried by a court and not infrequently flogged and sometimes shot.

*The Klansmen abuse their power*

The underground organizations also turned their attention to Bureau clerks, missionaries, and loud-mouthed politicians who were at the bottom of the Negroes' ill will and hatred toward Southern whites. These were warned to mend their ways, and if they disregarded this warning they were subjected to severe punishment, ranging from being "bull whipped" to being shot. For a while the activities of these secret organizations were kept more or less within bounds, but their methods gradually grew more and more unrestrained until 1869, when the leaders ordered the dissolution of the "Invisible Empire." The order was not obeyed, however, since the Dens continued their practices, now without the restraints of the organization as a whole. Many of the more responsible members now withdrew, leaving the dens in control of the irresponsible, rowdy element. Consequently, outrages were perpetrated which could not be justified even under the untoward circumstances.

*The success of the underground responsible for the force bills and Congressional investigation*

The success of the Klan and the Knights of the White Camelia in breaking up the Union League and quieting or driving out many of the Carpetbaggers and Scalawags convinced the Radicals that these secret organizations were a serious menace to their authority in the South. To meet this danger they had Congress pass (1870-71) three enforcement acts, or "force bills," as they were called. The last of these acts is also known as the Ku Klux Klan Act (see p. 492).

*A reign of terror instituted by the Federal government*

Although the United States Supreme Court later (1875 and 1882) declared the Ku Klux Klan Act and most of the force acts unconstitutional, President Grant in the meantime had vigorously carried out the provisions of the Ku Klux Klan Act. He declared a state of war

[1] W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, 185.

and suspended the writ of habeas corpus in nine counties in South Carolina and made free use of soldiers in other Southern states. Several thousand of the most prominent men, chiefly in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Mississippi, were arrested, and thousands of others fled the country to escape the grasp of the marshal and his deputies, the United States soldiers, and the black-and-tan state militia.

*The Klan officially disbanded; but whites closely and openly organized*

The terroristic methods used to execute the force acts, especially the Ku Klux Klan Act, together with the growing violence of the secret orders, caused the more cautious and farsighted leaders officially to disband the Klan and kindred organizations. The Southern whites were, however, still organized and ready for united action; but their organization was no longer secret nor did they wear disguises, and they were openly political. They announced that they were going to regain the control of the state governments at any cost. Organizations like the Red Shirts of South Carolina and the Mississippi Shot Gun Clubs rode over the countryside and through the towns and villages in large numbers, armed with a brace of Colt revolvers and sawed-off shotguns. Before election day they went from house to house and warned the Negroes not to go to the polls. On election day they rode to the vicinity of the polls and sat their horses quietly and menacingly. Always they stopped short of violence and advised against it; but by 1871 they were prepared to use violence if necessary to regain control of their states.

*Causes of the failure of reconstruction in the South*

The determination of the Southerners to overthrow reconstruction and restore home rule was aided by a change in the attitude of the North. The Northern people had grown tired of the Southern question and wanted a change of mental diet. They were also inclining to the view that the South ought to be free to solve its own problems. The incompetence and corruption of the Carpetbag-Scalawag rule gave an added impetus to this feeling. The final cause of the overthrow of reconstruction in the South was the division among the Radicals. In every Southern state the excesses of the Carpetbaggers and the entrance of the Negro in politics caused most of the Union Democrats, Scalawags, and the old Whigs who had collaborated with the Radical Republican Party, to desert the latter and join the Democrats; next, the more conservative Carpetbaggers went over to the "white man's party"; and, finally, there was a division between the Radical Carpetbaggers and Negroes, who realized that they were getting only crumbs. Thus split into factions, the Radicals became easy victims for the powerfully organized whites, who had taken over all but three states when Hayes brought the whole process of military reconstruction to an end.

### LATER JUDICIAL VIEW OF RECONSTRUCTION

*The Supreme Court renders its decisions on reconstruction after the defeat of the Radicals*

The Supreme Court, restrained in part by Congressional action (see pp. 478 f.) and in part by fear for its own existence as an independent department of government, refrained until 1875 from expressing any opinion on the constitutionality of the Radical reconstruction laws. Indeed, reconstruction was virtually ended and the Radicals had been swept from power by the "tidal wave" election of 1874 before the Supreme Court felt that the time had come to reassert itself. One cannot forego the conclusion later expressed by Mr. Dooley that the Supreme Court follows the election returns. At any rate the Court, beginning in 1875, proceeded methodically to demolish whatever remained of the legal basis of reconstruction. The military reconstruction acts of 1867 (see pp. 481 f.) in theory automatically terminated by the end of 1870, after the Southern states were all "readmitted" into the Union; and the Freedmen's Bureau law had expired in 1872, so that the Court had no opportunity to pass on them when they were in force. The most important laws of reconstruction remaining in 1875, when the Supreme Court turned to this matter, were the force acts and the civil rights law.

*The force acts and Civil Rights Act*

The first force act (1870) placed heavy penalties on all *persons* using threats, force, bribery, or other means to prevent citizens from voting. The President was authorized to use the armed forces of the United States to enforce the law. The second force act (1871) amended the first by placing the Federal elections under the jurisdiction of the Court. The third or Ku Klux Klan Act gave the President the right to suspend the writ of habeas corpus when and where he thought it necessary and placed a severe penalty upon all *individuals* participating in Klan activities—presumably to prevent Negroes from voting and to curtail their civil rights. The Civil Rights Act (1875) secured to the Negro equal privileges in hotels, railway cars, theaters, and other public accommodations.

*The Supreme Court declares the force acts and the Civil Rights Act unconstitutional*

Beginning in 1875 the Supreme Court began to attack the constitutionality of the force acts and the Civil Rights Act. In this year the Court, in cautious language, decided that most of the first force act was unconstitutional; and in 1882 it declared, in unequivocal terms, that the Ku Klux Act and the chief provisions of the force laws were unconstitutional. Two years later (1884) it was decided that the Civil Rights Act was also unconstitutional. All of these decisions were on the same ground—namely, that these acts were directed against discrimination by *private persons,* whereas the late Amendments to the Constitution (under which the cases were brought into court)

were directed not against discrimination by private persons but against discriminatory state laws.

## THE ELECTION OF 1868

*Grant nominated for President by the Republicans*

The reconstruction policy of the Radicals had repercussions in the North as well as in the South. As has already been noted, the campaign of 1866 was a landslide for the Radicals. In 1867, however, there was a great reaction against Radicalism in the state elections. The Democrats carried New York and Pennsylvania and in Ohio they defeated the Negro suffrage amendment by 50,000 votes. This reaction against Radicalism portended defeat for 1868 unless the Radicals could circumvent the trend. This they did, by "readmitting" seven Southern states in time to cast their votes for the Radicals and by "drafting" General Grant as Presidential nominee. Before the war Grant had shown little interest in politics and he had voted only once in a Presidential election, and this vote was cast for the Democratic nominee Buchanan in 1856 "because he knew Frémont." Since the war his attitude toward their reconstruction policy had been satisfactory to the Radicals, and he had been brought into higher favor with them by his bitter quarrel with Johnson. The main reason, however, for making him the Republican standard-bearer was that he was easily the most popular man in the party. Accordingly, he was unanimously nominated on the first ballot. The convention named for the Vice-Presidency, Schuyler Colfax, the Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Grant accepted the nomination in a characteristically brief letter in which he promised, if elected, to "administer all laws in good faith, with economy and with a view of giving peace, quiet, and protection everywhere." He concluded his letter with the famous words, soon made ironic by the events of his administration, "Let us have peace."

*The Republican platform*

The Republican platform naturally endorsed Radical reconstruction; it explained that, although Negro suffrage must be imposed upon the Southern states by national authority, it was a matter for each Northern state to decide for itself. The platform promised that payment of the national debt should be made "in the utmost good faith to all creditors." This was vague enough not to antagonize the greenback element in the West, but at the same time it implied, for the Eastern bondholders, a promise to pay the national debt in specie.

*The Democratic platform*

The Democrats meeting in national convention in New York on July 4 adopted a platform which scathingly denounced the work of the Radicals in the South. Instead of restoring the Union, it asserted, they had placed ten Southern states under "military despotism and

Negro supremacy" and had so embittered the South that real union was further off than ever. This whole reconstruction policy was denounced as "unconstitutional, revolutionary and void." The platform boldly grappled with the currency question, which was almost as important to Westerners as reconstruction. It incorporated the greenback plank of George H. Pendleton of Ohio. This was the proposal that the government war bonds be paid off in greenback currency unless the law covering a particular issue of these bonds specified that they should be paid off in specie. To Westerners this "Ohio idea," as it was called, looked like simple justice since a considerable portion of the bonds had been purchased from the government with depreciated greenbacks during the war. They wanted the same money for both "the bondholders and the plow holders."

*The nomination of Seymour and Blair*

Although the convention incorporated the greenback plank of the West, the Eastern Democrats were unwilling to support Pendleton, its author, for President. The convention therefore passed him by and unanimously nominated for the Presidency Horatio Seymour, Democratic war governor of New York. For the Vice-Presidency the convention named Francis P. Blair of Missouri.

*Republican campaign waged over the Civil War*

The Presidential campaign that now followed was one of great bitterness. Although Grant and Seymour took very little active part, the political leaders of both parties left few things unsaid. The Republicans, as they were wont to do for the next generation, "waved the bloody shirt."[1] They appealed to the "patriotism" of the Northern white people and the gratitude of the Southern Negroes for support. The Republican Party, they proclaimed, was the party of the Union and emancipation; whereas the Democratic Party, identified with the Copperhead movement in the North and "rebellion" in the South, was the party of treason and slavery. The Democratic Party was also denounced as advocating the payment of the national debt in "dishonest money," which was, they asserted, just another form of repudiation. The Republicans boldly upheld their reconstruction policy in the South by contending that it was the only method by which the Southern people could be kept from open rebellion and from re-enslaving the black man. They supported their arguments with tales of outrage by Southern whites committed against the black and white Unionists and branded as grossly exag-

1 The expression, "waving the bloody shirt," was applied to the efforts of Northern politicians to stir up feeling against the South and the Democrats, who were friendly to the South. It owed its origin to a dramatic incident in the House when Representative Ben Butler was urging drastic measures against the South on account of the Ku Klux outrages. To give point to his argument he waved a bloody nightshirt of a Carpetbagger who had been mobbed in Mississippi. After home rule was restored in the South, the politicians there would also appeal to the prejudice aroused by the war and reconstruction—to win votes for the Democratic Party.

gerated or untrue the stories of corruption, violence, and fraud on the part of the Radicals and Negroes in the Southern states. The Democratic leaders, however, strove mightily and with some success to keep the attention of the Northern people upon the reconstruction record of the Radical Republican Party, North and South. The enslavement of the South, they contended, was already accomplished by military despotism; the North was rapidly falling victim to this despotism; and the election of Grant would complete the process. They attempted also to establish as party issues the currency question and the protective tariff.

*A narrow Republican victory*

Despite the growing alarm in the North over Radical excesses, Grant's popularity as "the savior of the Union" carried the election for the Republican Party. Superficially, it looked like a landslide for that party, for Grant received 214 electoral votes and carried twenty-six states, while Seymour received only 80 electoral votes and carried only eight states. But Grant's majorities in those states that he carried were not large, for out of six million votes cast for the two candidates, Grant had won by a bare three hundred thousand.

### SELECTED READINGS


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3. "Swinging Around the Circle."—Lloyd P. Stryker, *Andrew Johnson*, ch. 39.
4. The Impeachment of President Johnson.—W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, ch. 7; J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States*, VI, ch. 33; J. G. Randall, *op. cit.*, ch. 24; Allen Johnson, *Readings*, ch. 60; J. W. Burgess, *Reconstruction and the Constitution*, ch. 9.
5. Thaddeus Stevens, Personality and Career.—Claude G. Bowers, *The Tragic Era*, ch. 4 (interesting).
6. The Reconstruction Acts of 1867 (texts of the laws).—William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book*, pp. 500-504, 508-511, 514-518. The act of March 11, 1868.—*Ibid.*, pp. 529-530.
7. Carpetbag and Negro Rule.—W. L. Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, ch. 10; Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, II, ch. 8, sections 1-2.
8. The Union League of America.—Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, ch. 8.
9. The Darkest Days in the South (1865-1873).—Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America*, ch. 1.
10. The Ku Klux Movement.—Fleming, *The Sequel of Appomattox*, ch. 11; Commager, *Documents*, II, pp. 49-50.
11. The Churches in the Period of Reconstruction.—W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, ch. 20; Fleming, *Documentary History*, II, ch. 10.
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# CHAPTER XXVIII

# *The Grant Regime*

## Grant Not Suited for the Presidency

GRANT assumed office as President without real political obligations. On the contrary, the Republican Party owed him everything. Men with a social conscience hoped, therefore, that he would place a firm check upon the corruption in public office which had grown at an accelerated speed since 1861 and would restore peace and stability to the nation. To those who had such hopes, Grant's two administrations were to be bitter disappointments.

*Grant not a good executive*

The last, and in some respects the worst, phase of Radical reconstruction in the South came after Grant's accession to the Presidency. That the general who showed such a generous spirit at Appomattox Court House should share, as President, the blame for the great injustice done to one section of the country is one of the strange paradoxes of history. The explanation is that Grant was sadly lacking in the qualities needed for the responsibilities which he as President had assumed. The failures he had experienced in his business ventures in the prewar years caused him to place too high an estimate on financial success. His disposition to support his friends and subordinates against adverse criticism—even when deserved—was a serious fault in a President although it might have proved only a shortcoming, or even a virtue, in a general. He was also a poor judge of men and had no skill in playing the difficult game of politics. That he would become the victim of unscrupulous stock gamblers and corrupt spoilsmen should have occasioned no surprise.

*Bad appointments to office*

One of the most serious mistakes made by the President was his failure to choose the right persons for the various Federal offices. His list of appointees included too many personal friends and relatives as well as too many petty grafters and large-scale embezzlers. These corrupt officials had scarcely warmed their official chairs before they began laying plans for graft; and they were only joining in with Congressmen and officers of state or municipal governments who had already had much experience in this field of public finance.

*The Cabinet*

The President's lack of judgment in choosing his subordinates was also shown in the selection of his first Cabinet, although he was able to secure the services of a few very capable men. After E. B. Washburne, a Representative in Congress from Grant's home district in Illinois, had served as Secretary of State for a short time this important post went to Hamilton Fish of New York. This was a fortunate choice, for Fish was capable and markedly successful in the conduct of foreign relations. For Secretary of War, he chose his old chief of staff, John A. Rawlings, who died within a few months. Governor J. D. Cox of Ohio was appointed Secretary of the Interior, and Judge E. R. Hoar of Massachusetts, Attorney General. Hoar and Cox were men of caliber and character, and, because of their refusal to go along with the spoilsmen who surrounded the President, they were soon forced out of the Cabinet. Grant's Cabinet, then, with the exception of Hamilton Fish, was of extremely low quality.

## FINANCIAL PROBLEMS

*Election of Grant considered a mandate by "sound money" Republicans to pay national debt in specie*

Since the Republicans in their platform in 1868 had promised that the payment of the national debt should be made "in the utmost good faith to all creditors," the "sound money" element of the party chose to consider the election of Grant in 1868 as a mandate to redeem both the bonds and the greenback currency in gold or its equivalent. If this were done, the paper currency would rise in value to par and prices would fall. This would be an injury to debtors, for they would have to pay debts contracted in depreciated greenbacks with a currency on a par with gold. It would also virtually be giving a bonus to the bondholders by paying them in gold or its equivalent for bonds bought with a depreciated currency, which at one time was worth less than forty cents in gold. Despite this objection to a policy of deflation, about two weeks after Grant's inauguration in 1869 Congress enacted a law pledging "the faith of the United States" to pay the national debt "in coin or its equivalent as soon as possible."

*Supreme Court's decisions in the legal tender cases:* Hepburn *v.* Griswold

It was soon after this declaration by Congress of the intention of the government to pay off the national debt in coin that the Supreme Court cast its influence upon the side of "sound money." In the case of *Hepburn* v. *Griswold* the Court, in a five-to-three decision, declared unconstitutional that aspect of the legal tender acts making greenback currency legal tender for debts or obligations contracted prior to the passage of the first of these laws (February 25, 1862). Although Salmon P. Chase as Secretary of the Treasury had approved the law making greenback notes legal tender, as Chief Justice he voted with the majority and delivered the majority opinion. In this

opinion he contended that this provision of the law was unconstitutional because it violated a contract and deprived a person of property without due process of law. The minority decision, delivered by Justice Miller, upheld the constitutionality of the legal tender acts on the grounds of the necessities of war and the right of Congress to disregard a contract: the Constitution forbade a state but not Congress to violate a contract.

*Attack of the greenback wing of Republican Party on legal tender decision*

The powerful greenback element of the Republican Party, whose stronghold was in the West, but which had allies in the East, now raised a bitter hue and cry against Chase and the Court. The railroads and many other large corporations which had issued bonds either for gold prior to the war or for greenbacks during the war were thoroughgoing greenbackers; they would gain if they paid off their prewar gold bonds in greenbacks and lose if they paid off in gold the bonds sold for greenbacks. They, too, joined in the protest against Chase and the Court majority.

*The decision reversed*

In the meantime two vacancies in the Supreme Court, created by the death of Justice Grier and the resignation of Justice Swayne, were filled by the appointment of two railroad attorneys, William Strong and Joseph P. Bradley. In making these nominations Grant probably had no intention of influencing the action of the Court on the greenback question; but the new appointees agreed with Justice Miller, and there was now a majority in favor of the constitutionality of the legal tender acts. The Court therefore soon reversed its former decision and in two new cases (*Knox* v. *Lee* and *Parker* v. *Davis*) declared that greenback currency was a legal tender in the case of contracts made prior to, as well as after, February 25, 1862.

*The panic of 1873*

The greenback advocates believed that the panic of 1873 and the depression which followed were chiefly the result of deflation caused by the rapid payment of the national debt, the accompanying withdrawal of the national bank notes which had been issued upon these bonds, and the consequent deflation of prices. This deflationary policy, however, was not solely responsible for the panic. Other and more important causes were overexpansion of credit in the building of railroads and the development of industries, and the overproduction of agriculture, largely on credit, in the West. Much of the capital used in financing the railroads and industrial enterprises was secured abroad. The interest on these loans had to be paid in gold, and the excess of imports over exports also had to be met by gold. This drain on the gold supply was greater than the country could stand. Just prior to 1873 prosperity became feverish and speculators overactive. As always happens, the overextended boom was followed by a crash. The failure of the noted banking firm, Jay Cooke and Company,

that had overinvested in the Northern Pacific Railway, gave the signal for panic, which broke in September, 1873. It had the usual characteristics of a financial crash—the tumbling of stocks, bankruptcies, and the closure (for ten days) of the stock market. The financial panic was followed by a six-year depression, during which factories were closed and unemployment was widespread.

*The Resumption Act of 1875*

Despite this growing dissatisfaction of the West with the Administration's seeming partiality for the Eastern capitalists, and the Republican defeat in the election of 1874, the Grant Administration continued to direct efforts toward "sound money" and deflation. The result was the passage of the act of January, 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payment on January 1, 1879. In order to accomplish this the law provided that greenback notes, amounting at the time to $356,000,000, should be retired until only $300,000,000 remained in circulation, and that sufficient gold be purchased with bonds to redeem whatever greenbacks should be presented for exchange. It was believed correctly, as events proved, that once people found that they could exchange their greenbacks for gold, they would prefer to keep the paper money.

*The reduction and abolition of internal revenues*

In the platform and campaign of 1868 the Republican Party had promised a further reduction of the remaining war tax. Congress in 1865 had repealed taxes on pig iron and coal, lowered the rates on other articles, and reduced the revenue derived from internal taxes about $45,000,000 in one year. In 1866 the taxes on other articles were lowered or abolished, and the tax on incomes of less than $1000 was abolished. In the two succeeding years the taxes were lowered or abolished on many more articles. The Grant Administration had, therefore, only to complete a process already well advanced. The act of July 14, 1870, abolished almost the whole system of internal taxes, including the tax on incomes, which was to cease within two years. The taxes on liquors, tobaccos, and the licenses to sell them were about all that were left of the complex internal war tax system.

*High protective tariff agreed to as an offset to high internal taxes*

During the war the manufacturers had paid, as has been observed, income tax, license tax, tax on their products, etc., and it was considered just that they should be protected by a high tariff against the competition of foreign manufacturers who were not handicapped by such a tax burden. It was generally agreed, however, that when the internal taxes were lowered or abolished, the tariff on imports would be correspondingly reduced.

*Slight reduction of tariff by the Act of 1872*

The industrialists, however, continued to ask for protection and demanded an even higher protective tariff. Duties were raised on raw wool in 1869, and on copper and copper ore in February, 1869. This high tariff policy aroused such opposition in the West that some

concession had to be made. Nothing of any consequence was done, however, until 1872, when as a part of the campaign strategy the Radicals made a considerable gesture toward tariff reduction. By a series of acts in the summer of that year Congress lowered or abolished the duties on many imported raw products and actually lowered the tariff on a few manufactured articles such as wool, paper, jute, cotton, leather, metal, and India rubber goods. This slight concession was made in time to have its bearing upon the 1872 fall elections; but once again the great body of protected manufactures was untouched, and all the winds of discontent during the next forty years blew in vain against the tariff wall.

## THE ELECTION OF 1872

*Liberal Republican opposition to Grantism*

In 1872 Grant and the Republican Party went before the country for an appraisal of their stewardship. Although Grant was still popular with the rank and file of his party and with the veterans of the Union army, he had alienated many important Republicans of liberal views. The opposition within his own party found its first organized expression in Missouri, where B. Gratz Brown had been elected governor and Carl Schurz made United States Senator by a coalition of Liberal Republicans and Democrats. In the East Charles Francis Adams and Horace Greeley, editor of the powerful New York *Tribune*, represented this revolt against Radical rule and what had become known as Grantism.

*Liberal Republicans organize their own party and nominate Greeley*

The Radicals supported Grant, but the Liberal Republicans, deciding to organize their own party, called a convention at Cincinnati in May, 1872. In their speeches and platform they denounced the Southern policy of the Administration, the spoils system, and corruption in public office, and demanded civil service reform. Most of the Liberal Republicans were advocates of a lower tariff; but in order to win the support of Greeley, a high tariff advocate who agreed with them on the issues of reconstruction and Grantism, they evaded the tariff question by leaving it to Congress. There were several aspirants for the Presidency, among whom were Horace Greeley, Charles Francis Adams, Senator Lyman Trumbull, Chief Justice Chase, and Gratz Brown. After much squabbling the convention committed party suicide by nominating Horace Greeley for the Presidency. Brown was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

*Republicans renominate Grant*

The Radical Republicans on June 9 nominated Grant and Henry Wilson for President and Vice-President, respectively, while their platform stood by their record on reconstruction and the protective tariff—and demanded more of each.

The regular Democratic Party proved itself politically bankrupt

*Democratic Party nominates Greeley*

by accepting Greeley as its nominee for the Presidency. His political record had been one of violent opposition to the Democratic Party: he had been an abolitionist before the war and a Radical during and after the war—indeed, his political, economic, and social philosophy had run counter to most of the principles for which the Democratic Party had stood in the past. But Greeley, although anti-Southern until the full implications of reconstruction began to dawn upon him, had shown some time before 1872 a much kindlier attitude toward the South. He had made a gracious gesture in signing the bond to release Jefferson Davis from prison, and he had been waging war in the New York *Tribune* against Radical reconstruction. It was easy, therefore, for Southern Democrats to forgive Greeley; and they made the political mistake of supporting his nomination. The Northern delegates at the Democratic convention accepted Greeley with reluctance.

*Greeley an easy target; his defeat*

The Liberal Republican-Democratic nominee for the Presidency was made to order for the Republicans. Here was a high tariff man leading two parties that advocated low tariff, an old abolitionist leading ex-slaveholders, an anti-Southern editor appealing to the South for support, a Republican running for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket. Thomas Nast the cartoonist plastered *Harper's Weekly* with cartoons of Greeley, and other cartoonists and editors harpooned the old man. At the same time the Republicans "waved the bloody shirt," pointed with horror to the riots, outrages, and Klan violences in the South, and urged men to vote as they had shot in the late war. Grant carried all the Northern states and all the reconstructed Southern states except Tennessee, Georgia, and Texas, which had overthrown Radical control. Greeley carried the three Southern states mentioned above and the three Southern border states, Missouri, Kentucky, and Maryland. The Republican majority in the House of Representatives was raised from thirty-five to one hundred and five. Greeley was deeply humiliated by his overwhelming defeat. "I was," he said, "the worst beaten man who ever ran for high office."

## GENERAL MALFEASANCE IN OFFICE

*A general decline in public morals*

With the corps of officials with which Grant had to work it would have been difficult for any administration to keep in the straight and narrow road of honesty. Furthermore, the spirit and circumstances of the time were not such as to encourage official integrity. The elimination of the Southern white people from the councils of the nation weakened for several years the opposition party, the chief function of which is to criticize and bring before the public

eye the acts of the party in power. But the general background of decline in public morals was a more potent factor than the weakening of the opposition in producing the dark regime in both Federal and local governments. From the initial idealism of the war there had been a great reaction to materialism which had permeated deeply into the masses. The evil practices of war profiteers and government contractors, the manipulators of railroads, and other business malefactors were condoned, and the acquisition of wealth, even by dishonest methods, was hailed as "success." The metropolitan press was, with some exceptions, cynical and corrupt. The editorial opinions were "hired" by the great financiers and corporation agents. The legal profession deteriorated rapidly under the influence of the money ideal. The courts, the "fountains of justice," were being filled with corrupt lawyers and politicians whose decisions were bought and sold as commodities.

*Fisk and Gould plan to corner the gold market*

About six months after Grant assumed office, he was led into a great scandal by two unscrupulous sharpers, Jim Fisk and Jay Gould, who had tried to get control of the gold supply of the country. Gold was not circulating as money but was used in foreign exchange. The United States Treasury usually kept on hand a large supply of gold received from the collection of import duties. Except for that held by the Treasury the gold in America was comparatively small in amount. The Treasury usually sold from two to six million dollars in gold each month to be used by businessmen in the foreign trade and for other purposes. Fisk and Gould planned to corner the gold of the nation and thus raise its price to a fabulous height. Their plan could not be successful, however, unless the Treasury should stop selling gold. These stock gamblers persuaded the naive President to order Secretary of the Treasury Boutwell to suspend the sale of gold, assuring him that such suspension would raise prices and thus benefit the farmer. With this aid from Washington, Fisk and Gould pushed the price of gold up until on Friday ("Black Friday") September 24, 1869, the price of gold went up to 163. Panic seized Wall Street, for merchants and bankers were being ruined by the dozen. At this juncture Grant, who at last realized what was happening, intervened and had Boutwell begin selling gold, which declined to 135. While Grant was not a party to but rather a victim of the conspiracy, there was much chagrin at the President's lack of a sense of propriety in associating with such low and dangerous characters as Gould and Fisk.

*The Crédit Mobilier affair*

The next scandal to receive official attention was the Crédit Mobilier affair. The Crédit Mobilier was a construction company

especially organized for the building of the Union Pacific Railway, and its chief stockholders were also the chief stockholders of the Union Pacific. By excessive charges for the work of construction and by the fraudulent transfer of Union Pacific stock to the Crédit Mobilier, a group of schemers holding large amounts of stock in both companies were able to rob the Union Pacific Corporation and pile up high profits for themselves at the expense of the stockholders who were not on the inside.

*Congressmen involved in the scandal*

An investigation by a Congressional committee disclosed that Representative Oakes Ames had transferred by contract or sale three hundred and forty-three shares of the Crédit Mobilier stock to thirteen Senators and Representatives. He sold the stock at $100 a share when it was worth $200 and the dividends were incredibly high. When Ames completed the transaction he wrote, "I don't fear any investigation here. . . . I have used this where it will produce most good to us, I think." Out of the thirteen Congressmen accused the committees found only three guilty: Representatives Oakes Ames and James Brooks and Senator James W. Patterson. The committees recommended the expulsion of these three members; Congress, however, only censured, did not expel, them. Among the other men who received Crédit Mobilier shares from Ames were Vice-President Schuyler Colfax and James A. Garfield. These two men were exonerated of any intentional corrupt dealing, but Colfax was held suspect by the public and his political career was ruined.

*The "Salary Grab" Act*

While the Crédit Mobilier scandal was at its height, Congress brought further disrepute upon itself by the passage of the "Salary Grab" act of March 3, 1873. By this act Congress raised the President's salary from $25,000 to $50,000 a year, raised the salary of its members from $5000 to $7500 per annum, with "back pay" for the previous two years. The public was so outraged at this "back pay steal," as it was called, that Congress quickly repealed the act (January, 1874).

*The Sanborn contracts*

There was another public scandal in connection with some contracts for collecting back taxes which had been made between one John D. Sanborn and W. A. Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury. An investigation by the House Ways and Means Committee showed up Richardson in such an unfavorable light that he resigned, although Grant had urged him to hold on to his office.

*The Whiskey Ring*

Another important exposure was that of the Whiskey Ring. Secretary Benjamin H. Bristow of the Treasury Department found that the government gaugers at the distilleries in St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee were in collusion with the distillers; and that in St. Louis

alone the government had been defrauded of at least $1,000,000 a year for a number of years. Secretary Bristow also discovered that General Orville E. Babcock, Grant's private secretary, was deeply involved. Grant declared his belief in Babcock's innocence and after he resigned as private secretary to the President, he was appointed by the President to the office of inspector of lighthouses. Most of the other offenders who went to prison were pardoned before Grant went out of office in the spring of 1877.

*Belknap receives $20,000 from the trading post at Fort Sill*

It was not long before there was another exposure of fraud on the part of a member of Grant's official family. On March 2, 1876, a committee of the House of Representatives discovered that William W. Belknap, Secretary of War, had been exacting tribute for years from the post trader at Fort Sill, Indian Territory. The Secretary of War received $20,000 from this one trading post. The House of Representatives impeached Belknap, but he escaped conviction by the Senate by resigning, for the Senate had no authority to try a private citizen.

*Corruption in state and municipal government*

The scandals in the national government were the manifestation of a widespread breakdown in public and private morals. Corruption in state, county, and municipal governments in the North was almost as widespread as it was in the national government. Jay Gould, Daniel Drew, and Cornelius Vanderbilt purchased members of the legislatures of New Jersey and New York in the same business-like fashion as they bought shares on the stock market; nor was the judiciary of these states much less venal than the legislatures. In Pennsylvania the political machine of Simon Cameron—the man whom Lincoln finally concluded might steal a red-hot stove—sold the state legislature practically at auction. In Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and California the railroad corporations owned the legislatures. The city governments were the juiciest prizes of all. In New York City, the largest of the cities, William M. Tweed and his gang stole $100,000,000 before they were put in prison. Philadelphia's Gas Ring was as bad as the Tweed Ring, the difference being in the size of the cities. In the District of Columbia "Boss" Alexander R. Shepherd carried out a policy of illegal government and public graft which would have made Tammany Hall under Boss Tweed a bit envious.

*Congressional election of 1874*

The exposure of corruption in the national government was under way when the Congressional election of 1874 was held, and it was causing the Republicans some uneasiness. Their leaders made strenuous efforts to overcome the bad impression thus created, pulling out all the stops and playing the "patriotic" themes in thunderous volume. They "waved the bloody shirt" and had their

newspapers play up the Southern outrages. President Grant sent troops to the Southern states to assist the United States marshals and Republican election officers. This effort was successful, but in those Southern states that had overthrown radical rule the vote was decidedly against the Administration. The tide against the Republicans also ran strong throughout the North. As a result of the election the Democrats substantially increased their strength in the Senate and won control of the House of Representatives, the Republican majority of two thirds having been reduced to a fair-sized minority. In this way the country had administered a severe rebuke to the Republican Party for the corruption and misrule under its management.

## FOREIGN AFFAIRS

*Partisanship not so pronounced in foreign policy*

The United States was more successful in solving its difficulties abroad than at home during the reconstruction era; the bitter partisan and sectional feeling did not figure so prominently in foreign policy as it did in domestic affairs. However, the enmity of the Radical Senate toward the Administration was an important reason for the rejection by the Senate of a treaty for the annexation of the Danish West Indies which Seward had negotiated (1867). It also treated with contempt the recommendation of President Johnson in favor of the purchase of Santo Domingo, which at that time could have been bought for a song.

*Mexican problem solved chiefly by impending war in Europe*

One of the most urgent of the postwar foreign problems was the unfinished business in Mexico. The solution of the Mexican problem was greatly aided by the impending war in Europe, which threatened to engulf France and finally did so in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. Seward had refused to recognize Napoleon III's puppet Emperor of Mexico, Maximilian, and had steadily exerted pressure for the withdrawal of French support.[1] When 50,000 United States troops were sent to the Mexican border after the war was over and others were about to be sent, Napoleon III found it convenient to come to terms—especially when he needed his soldiers at home. He therefore recalled the French troops and left Maximilian to his fate. Maximilian's authority—now no longer propped up with foreign bayonets—collapsed and the unfortunate "emperor" was court-martialed and shot by the enraged Mexicans (1867). It had thus been unnecessary to use any force to oust the French.

*Purchase of Alaska*

In the same year that saw the final liquidation of French intervention in Mexico, Seward bought Alaska from Russia. Under the

[1] See pp. 444 f. for an account of French intervention in Mexico.

mistaken notion that the Russian fleets that were dispatched to San Francisco and New York in 1863[1] had been sent to aid the United States should the French and English intervene on the side of the Confederacy, there was a deep sense of obligation to Russia in the North. When, therefore, it was learned that Russia desired to sell Alaska, Seward eagerly seized the opportunity to pay off the supposed obligation as well as to extend the possessions of the United States. When the Russian minister at Washington, Baron de Stoeckl, offered to sell Alaska to the United States for $7,200,000, Seward practically dragged the delighted Russian to the State Department, where the night of March 2, 1867, was spent in drawing up the treaty.

*Hamilton Fish's diplomatic success*

President Johnson's good fortune in acquiring Alaska was matched by some important successes in foreign affairs achieved by Grant. For these successes President Grant was indebted to the wise policy of Hamilton Fish, his able Secretary of State. Fish was able to effect a settlement of the Civil War claims against Great Britain and to keep the United States from intervening in the Cuban insurrection. The explanation lies partly in Grant's willingness to let Fish manage foreign affairs in general and partly in Grant's strange preoccupation with the attempt to annex Santo Domingo, which kept his mind diverted from more vital matters. Grant was finally able to obtain a treaty for the annexation of Santo Domingo; but owing to the powerful opposition of Senator Sumner the Senate refused to ratify this treaty. Preoccupied though Grant was with the Santo Domingo question, he was a constant menace to Fish's major diplomatic enterprises—the Cuban insurrection and the *Alabama* claims.

*Grant's efforts to annex Santo Domingo frustrated by Sumner's opposition*

*United States involved in the Cuban revolt*

An insurrection in Cuba had started in 1868, which lengthened into a ten-year war. American soldiers of fortune, filibusters, and gunrunners flocked to Cuba. The United States thus became involved through sympathy with the Cubans and concern for its own filibustering nationals. In an effort to put a stop to this outside interference the Spanish authorities captured ships flying the American flag and shot American citizens. Fish protested vigorously against this practice, although the Spanish argument was virtually the same as that which the United States government all along had been making against the British for permitting ships and contraband to leave British ports for the use of the Confederacy. It was a dangerous argument for the United States in view of the pending *Alabama* claims soon to be brought before the Geneva arbitration

[1] Russia had sent her fleets to American waters to escape the British navy in case of war with England that seemed imminent, and to operate against British commerce.

tribunal. It was doubtless this consideration that induced Fish to modify his demands and arrive at a settlement.

*American grievances against Great Britain*

The outstanding diplomatic accomplishment of the Grant Administration was the settlement of the grievances against Great Britain arising from the latter's alleged unneutral policy and sympathy for the South during the late war. These grievances were kept alive by Charles Francis Adams, American minister at London, who continued to demand reparations for the damage done by the *Alabama, Florida,* and other Confederate raiders that had either been fitted out in England or were believed to have used English ports as bases of operation.

*The Johnson-Clarendon convention*

The first step by the American government toward reaching an understanding with England over the claims was taken by President Johnson. Unable to make any headway through Adams, the President sent Senator Reverdy Johnson as minister to England in the summer of 1868. The new minister was very friendly toward England, and a like cordiality was shown him by the English government and people. Circumstances thus being favorable, he was able to come to an agreement with Lord Clarendon, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The Johnson-Clarendon Convention (signed January 14, 1869) went so far in yielding the principle for which the American government was contending that it was very unpopular in the country. It was even unacceptable to the President's Cabinet, and the Senate, under the leadership of Sumner, rejected it almost unanimously—by a vote of fifty-four to one.

*Demand for indirect damages*

What Sumner wanted, indeed what the majority of the Northern people wanted, was for the British government—which had not the slightest feeling of guilt for unfriendly or unneutral acts against the United States—to acknowledge its wrongdoing. According to Sumner, this "massive grievance" was threefold: first, Britain's granting of belligerent rights to the Confederacy; second, British negligence in enforcing its neutrality, which resulted in the escape of the *Alabama* and other raiders; and third, the failure of the British authorities to prevent such ships from receiving supplies and hospitality in British ports. The direct loss to the merchant marine of the United States from the *Alabama* and other Confederate ships, said Sumner, was $15,000,000, and the indirect damage resulting from America's merchant marine being driven from the seas was $110,000,000. The greatest indirect damage, however, was the prolongation of the war by two years, which was the result of British encouragement and aid. These extra two years cost not less than $2,000,000,000, and by implication Britain was liable for this amount. Sumner and his colleagues hinted or openly stated that

*Great Britain would have to cede Canada in payment of the vast* debt.

*The British angry, but cautious because of danger of war in Europe*

The British were furious at the Northern attitude revealed by *Sumner and others who spoke in the same vein and at the almost unanimous rejection of the Johnson-Clarendon convention. Sumner's old friend, John Bright, said that either Sumner was a fool* or he thought the British were fools. Had not the Franco-Prussian War and a general European conflict been threatening at the time, the British government doubtless would have refused to give further consideration to the American grievances. As it was, however, Great Britain might at any moment be drawn into a desperate struggle in Europe, and if the dispute were not settled the United States might permit Britain's enemies to build and arm many *Alabamas* to operate against British commerce.

*The Treaty of Washington; the British apology and agencies for settling disputes between the two countries*

In the face of such dangers the British government showed an earnest willingness to come to terms with the United States. The result was the Treaty of Washington, signed on May 8, 1871, which provided for a tribunal of arbitration to meet at Geneva, Switzerland, to settle the *Alabama* claims. The tribunal to arbitrate the *Alabama* claims was to be composed of five members, one each to be chosen by the President of the United States, the Queen of England, the King of Italy, the President of Switzerland, and the Emperor of Brazil. In the treaty the British government expressed regret for the escape of the *Alabama* and other vessels from British ports and for the depredations committed by those vessels.

*The Geneva tribunal*

The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams as its representative on the tribunal, and Great Britain appointed Chief Justice Alexander Cockburn. Adams at first insisted that claims for indirect damage be considered, and the arbitration was on the verge of collapse. Mr. Gladstone said angrily in the House of Commons that it would be accusing the British of insanity to suppose that they would submit to such humiliating terms.

*The final settlement*

At length, however, Adams and Fish, convinced that they had pushed Great Britain too far, agreed that the claims for indirect damages would not be insisted upon. The tribunal then voted to exclude such claims; and in September, 1872, it agreed—Lord Cockburn dissenting—that Great Britain had been negligent under the rules laid down in the Treaty of Washington in permitting the *Alabama* and two other cruisers to escape. England was to pay the damages adjudged at $15,500,000. The British public was shocked at the award to the United States of this large sum, but the European situation was tense and the bitter pill was swallowed.

The Treaty of Washington also provided for the settlement of

other less important disputes between the United States and Britain by arbitration and joint commissions. The controversy over the boundary line between British Columbia and the United States was submitted to the German emperor, who rendered a decision in favor of the United States and thus gave the latter country the San Juan Islands. Britain's claims for damage to her commerce and subjects by the United States during the war were submitted to a commission which awarded her in September, 1873, $1,929,819. There was also a provision in the treaty for a joint commission to settle the dispute over fishing rights in the North Atlantic. After delays and other obstacles, in 1877 the fisheries commission awarded Great Britain $5,500,000. The Americans were about as angry over this award as the British had been over the *Alabama* award.

*Agencies established by treaty for the settlement of other disputes*

## THE ELECTION OF 1876

During Grant's two terms the standing of the Republican Party with the voting public had been greatly lowered by misgovernment in the North, despotism in the South, and the corruption that had honeycombed the public service. Nor had the country been able to throw off the depression that followed the panic of 1873. The outlook for success in the election of 1876 was therefore anything but encouraging. Grant, however, although he was largely responsible for this gloomy prospect, was blind to the real situation, for he was walled off from public opinion by the flattery of the men who surrounded him. He was therefore eager to lead his party in a third race; but this was made impossible by a resolution against a third term passed by the House of Representatives by an overwhelming majority.

*Grant's desire for a third term discouraged by Congress*

Since Grant was thus eliminated, in the Republican convention, meeting in Cincinnati in June, 1876, there was a free-for-all fight for the nomination. Seven candidates were voted for on the first ballot with James G. Blaine far in the lead. Blaine was, however, opposed by the reformers and also by the New York machine, led by Roscoe Conkling, a bitter personal enemy. In the face of this opposition Blaine could not get a majority, and on the seventh ballot both the Radical machine and the reformers concentrated on Rutherford B. Hayes and nominated him for President.

*Hayes nominated for the Presidency by the Republicans*

The platform on which Hayes was nominated pledged the party to a high tariff for the protection of American labor; promised the redemption of the greenbacks and the resumption of specie payment; expressed the gratitude of the country to Grant for his great "service in war and in peace"; and promised the enforcement of the reconstruction amendments for the protection of the freedmen. In

*The Republican platform*

short, it held out no specific promise of better government in the North and no end to reconstruction in the South.

*Nominee and platform of the Democratic Party*

The Democrats nominated for the Presidency Samuel J. Tilden, an able corporation lawyer who had led the fight that broke up the Tweed Ring and had made a good record as reform governor of New York. The platform pledged the Democratic Party to the full payment of the national debt in specie and denounced the record of graft and misgovernment of the Republicans in the North and in the South.

*The issue: The "bloody shirt" vs. corruption and misgovernment*

*The disputed election*

In the ensuing campaign Blaine, by "waving the bloody shirt," cleverly shifted the issue from graft back to the Civil War and to "Southern outrages" against Negroes and Unionists. In so doing he caused many, particularly Union soldiers, who were against Grantism to stick to the party line. Despite these efforts, however, Tilden carried New York, New Jersey, and other doubtful states, as well as the eight Southern states in which Radical rule had been overthrown. Even the three Carpetbag states of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana had apparently cast a majority for Tilden. The general impression throughout the country was that Tilden had been elected. He had 184 undisputed electoral votes, whereas Hayes had only 165. If Tilden received one vote from either South Carolina, Louisiana, Florida, or Oregon, he would be elected; on the other hand, it would be necessary for Hayes to receive all the disputed votes in order to win the election.

*The Republicans lay claim to all the disputed votes on the ground that the Democratic vote was fraudulent*

The Republican leaders, however, laid claim to the entire electoral vote of the three Southern states and of Oregon, where one electoral vote was in dispute. Both parties sent representatives (termed in derision "visiting statesmen") to the South to influence in their favor the reports of the state returning boards. The Republicans could outbid the Democrats in this contest; their "visiting statesmen" were not only better supplied with funds, but they could also promise government jobs to Carpetbag and Scalawag politicians, whose political careers would be ended by the election of Tilden. In South Carolina there seems to have been some basis for the Republican claim, and the Republicans had no difficulty in getting a decision in favor of Hayes. In Florida and Louisiana they also induced the Radical returning boards to certify the Hayes electors.[1] The claim of the Democrats to one electoral vote

[1] A fair count of the votes would doubtless have given Florida and Louisiana to the Democrats; but many Negroes had been frightened away from the polls, and if their vote, virtually all of which was Republican, had been included, Hayes might have received a majority in these two states. However, it must not be overlooked that many of the Negroes had lost interest in politics and might have stayed away from the polls without being intimidated.

from Oregon was based on a technicality and it rightfully went to the Republicans. According to the Republican count, by claiming all the electoral votes from the three Carpetbag states and Oregon, Hayes had exactly 185 votes and Tilden 184.

*No constitutional provision and no precedent for settling a disputed Presidential election*

The country was thus confronted with a grave situation, for unfortunately there was no provision in the Constitution and no act of Congress which covered such a disputed election. There seemed to be no way out of the difficulty, and feeling was so intense that there was loose talk of putting Tilden in the White House by force.

*The Electoral Commission and its decision*

Finally, after much argument back and forth, Congress agreed to the creation of an Electoral Commission to which all the disputed election returns were to be referred. This Commission consisted of five Representatives, five Senators, and five justices of the Supreme Court. The Commission thus constituted was composed of seven Democrats and eight Republicans; and every ruling and decision was along party lines. The Commission by an eight-to-seven vote set up the principle that Congress could not go behind the election returns when certified by the proper state authorities; but in doing this they were repudiating the action of the Radical Congresses that for ten years had been going behind election returns and designating which among the claimants was the legal state government. The principle thus established enabled the eight Republican members of the Commission to accept the verdict of the Radical returning boards and the certificate of Radical governors in each of the Southern states in dispute. In this fashion the Commission decided eight to seven that Hayes had received 185 votes and Tilden 184, and that Hayes was elected President of the United States.

The Democrats were greatly disappointed over the results; in the North there was deep bitterness, for Tilden had a popular majority of more than 200,000 votes. The Southerners, although disappointed, felt less bitterness, for Hayes had promised before and during the campaign to put an end to military reconstruction. This promise he proceeded to carry out soon after taking office, and home rule was restored to all the Southern states after twelve years of reconstruction.

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# CHAPTER XXIX

# A Half-Century of Social and Cultural Development, 1865-1914

IN the period between the Civil War and the First World War there were developments in the United States—and throughout the civilized world—that profoundly altered the manner of life and thought of the people. The advancement in the knowledge of the sciences and the inventions based upon the practical application of scientific principles were the underlying causes of the change: they produced an industrial revolution with its accompanying social, cultural, and economic re-orientations. The new industrial revolution was characterized by mass production, by the nationalization of transportation and communication, by the development of the giant corporation to carry on this nation-wide business, and by the rise of the great cities and industrial towns where millions of employees forgathered from the peasant villages of Eastern Europe and the poverty-stricken rural communities of America. The urbanization of the United States hastened the spread of public education and at the same time, together with the new scientific knowledge, brought about, temporarily at least, a decline in religion. The opposite side of urbanization was the depletion and often the complete ruin of the rural communities of America by the migration of so many of the inhabitants to the cities and industrial centers. The concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the great corporations resulted in the counter organization of the laborers and of the impoverished farmers.

## THE PROGRESS OF SCIENCE AND INVENTION

*The principal inventions occur in the means of communication and transportation*

Although great advances were made in every field of science, the greatest were in chemistry, physics, and biology. The inventions of this period were based primarily upon the principles of chemistry and physics. The outstanding inventions during the period under discussion were largely in the field of transportation and communication, and most of them were based upon the principle of the

expansive power of gas, already well known, and the principles of electricity just discovered or in the process of being discovered.

*The streetcar; its early history*

The streetcar was the first medium of transportation to utilize electric power successfully. In 1880 Thomas A. Edison and his associate, Frank J. Sprague, built an experimental electric railway in Menlo Park, New Jersey, and in 1887 Sprague built a complete city-wide electric railway system in Richmond, Virginia. In a few years the electric street railways were installed in many towns and cities.

*The development of the automobile*

The automobile started out as a horseless carriage driven by an electric current generated in a storage battery. Unlike the streetcar, however, the electric automobile was unable to make direct use of the dynamo and consequently could never be widely adopted because of the expense and lack of range of the storage battery. It therefore was not until the compact, relatively light but powerful, internal combustion engine was perfected that any progress was made in the development of the automobile. Because of the contributions of a number of inventors such an engine was contrived, and the future of the automobile was assured. A one-cylinder internal combustion motor was built in France as early as 1860; and in the next fifteen years fairly successful models were constructed in Germany and the United States. By 1890 French manufacturers were producing a few very expensive automobiles, and by 1892 two Americans, Charles Duryea and Ellwood Haynes, were making high-priced cars.

*Henry Ford's contributions: Mass production and interchangeable parts*

These exclusive, luxury vehicles were not viewed with any favor by the rank and file of Americans, who were suffering from the panic of 1893 and the succeeding depression. It was not until Henry Ford, a young Detroit mechanic, applied the principle of interchangeable parts and assembly-line production that the automobile was made sufficiently cheap for people in modest circumstances. In 1902-03 after more than ten years of experimentation, Ford finally began to put his car in volume production and to place it on the market. He democratized the automobile and compelled the manufacturers of other cars to follow his example, with the result that the horse and buggy rapidly disappeared. Beginning with only a few hundred in 1900 there were at least 4,000,000 cars on the road by 1916.

*The airplane; Langley's experiments*

The airplane like the automobile was no sudden invention. During the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of men were experimenting with heavier-than-air flying machines, and some progress had been made in Europe with airplane gliders. In the United States it was Samuel P. Langley who constructed the first

airplane that would fly. After a number of failures he succeeded on May 6, 1896, in launching a small airplane driven by a steam engine that flew without an aviator a minute and a half and covered the distance of half a mile. More successful were the experiments of the Wright brothers, Orville and Wilbur, who made several successful flights in a biplane equipped with a gasoline motor. The first of the successful flights was at Kitty Hawk, North Carolina, December, 1903.

*The successful flight of the Wright brothers*

The advances in the means of communication were as spectacular as those in the means of transportation, and both were essential to the development of the great corporations and the consequent nationalization of business. The submarine cable, which was merely the underwater extension of the telegraph, had been in use since just before the Civil War. Great Britain had a cable between Sicily and Alexandria, Egypt, and one between the Persian Gulf and a point in India; and France had laid one across the Mediterranean to Algiers. But it was the American, Cyrus W. Field, who succeeded first in laying a cable across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1858 Field laid down a cable between Ireland and Newfoundland, which functioned for about a month and then went dead. It was not until the Civil War had ended that Field was able to obtain sufficient capital and government support to resume his experiments with a trans-Atlantic cable. In 1865 he laid another cable between Ireland and Newfoundland only to have it break. After having fished the cable up four times only to lose it each time because of inadequate hoisting machinery, Field returned to America and had his ship properly equipped and another cable constructed. This time he was successful, and very soon every important telegraph station in the United States was in contact with Europe and points in North Africa and Asia. Business could now keep in daily touch with the foreign markets and with branch offices in foreign countries.

*The trans-Atlantic cable*

Of greater use in the development of nation-wide business has been the telephone, which was invented in 1876 by Alexander Graham Bell and his assistant, Thomas A. Watson. The telephone was perfected over the years by the inventions of others. By 1890 at least 500,000 telephones were in use in the United States, and by 1914 there were about 10,000,000, or seventy-five per cent of all in the world.

*The invention and development of the telephone*

Doubtless of even greater future consequence than the telegraph, the cable, or the telephone was the development of wireless telegraphy out of which came the radio, television, radar, and the mysterious field of electronics in general. In 1901 the young Italian electrical engineer, Guglielmo Marconi, after about ten years of

*Radiotelegraphy*

experimentation, was able to send a wireless message from England to Newfoundland. Radiotelegraphy was quickly taken up and improved throughout western Europe and America, and by the outbreak of the First World War it was almost universally used on ocean-going vessels and widely used on land.

*The typewriter*

In discussing means of communication the typewriter should be given an important place. The first practical typewriter was invented by Charles L. Scholes in 1867 and was in use in most large business offices by 1885.

*Edison's invention of the incandescent light bulb*

There were many other important inventions that contributed to the new industrial revolution, but there is little doubt that the most important of these was Thomas Edison's invention of the incandescent light bulb. The open arc light was already coming into use for out-of-door lighting; but it was too noisy and uneven for indoor purposes.

*Pasteur's discoveries of the bacteriological origin of diseases*

In terms of human welfare the greatest progress in medicine was the discovery of the germ and virus origin of most diseases and the development of antiseptics and serums for the treatment or prevention of such diseases. The pioneers in this field were the French chemist, Louis Pasteur, and the English surgeon, Joseph Lister. Pasteur quickly established the hypothesis that diseases in plants, animals, and persons were caused by microscopic organisms, called bacteria, microbes, and germs. Probably his greatest service to humanity was the discovery of a serum for the prevention of hydrophobia. Before the outbreak of the First World War this treatment was readily available in most cities of the civilized world. Before his death Pasteur made many other great contributions to science. He was the father of the new science of bacteriology and of preventive medicine.

*Joseph Lister, the father of antiseptic surgery*

Accepting the conclusions of Pasteur as to the relation of germs to disease, Joseph Lister applied them to surgery by thoroughly sterilizing his instruments, his hands, the bandages, and the wound with carbolic acid. The results thus obtained were miraculous, and Lister soon published a treatise on his antiseptic system, which became the foundation of modern antiseptic surgery.

*The X ray*

Of great importance to surgery and medicine were the discoveries in 1895 of Wilhelm Konrad Roentgen, a German, of the X ray and the development by himself and the Englishman, Sir William Crookes, of the X-ray machine. This machine, because of the penetrating power of its rays, could photograph the interior of any portion of the anatomy and became an invaluable aid in diagnosis. X rays have also proved of considerable benefit in the treatment of certain diseases.

*Radium*

Three years later, the Frenchman, Pierre Curie, and his wife, Madame Marie Curie, assisted by G. Bémont, obtained radium from the uranium mineral, pitchblende. Radium, like the X ray, has been used for the treatment of certain diseases. Perhaps its greatest significance is its relation to the atomic bomb of a later date.

## IMMIGRATION

*Change in the type of immigrants to America*

The hordes of north Europeans that had begun coming into the United States before the Civil War continued in increasing numbers until about 1880. The fact that between the Civil War and the First World War from 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Germans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, and English came to the United States presented no real problem in national and racial unity. Because of their similarity to the old American stock in race, customs, religion, and—except in the case of the Germans—political ideology, they were very assimilable. Before the end of the nineteenth century, however, there had been a noted change in the type of immigrants. By 1882 there had begun to flow into this country a large stream of foreigners from eastern and southern Europe. The new group gradually increased in proportion to the old, and by 1914 the former were outnumbering the latter by about three to one. In that year nearly a million and a quarter (1,218,500) foreigners were admitted into the United States. The south and east European immigrants included Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Bohemians, Slovaks, South Slavs, Greeks, and Rumanians.

*The south and east European immigrants segregated in cities; they prove difficult to assimilate*

The immigrants of this newer type were so different in customs, language, religion, and physical appearance from the old American stock and the northern Europeans that they seemed to be impossible to assimilate. For two generations, indeed until the war and the laws restricting immigration put an abrupt stop to this peaceful invasion, the new immigrants almost Balkanized the Northeast and the old Midwest. Each group segregated itself and compartmentalized the cities; they clung to the customs, language, and religion of the European homeland. Their political outlook also presented a serious problem. Although most of them had fled from the dark tyranny of their respective lands, they did not have a proper conception of the meaning of free government and personal liberty. Accustomed to arbitrary government and the all-powerful state, they could not understand the significance of constitutional restraints upon government. What they asked was not free or good government but benevolent government; and they were, therefore, easily swayed by leaders who promised them the good things of life.

Organized labor was naturally opposed to this wholesale immigra-

*Opposition to foreign immigration*

tion. American laborers felt that the competition offered by this horde of cheap workers would lower their own scale of wages and standard of living. There was also a general feeling that foreigners were coming in too rapidly to be properly assimilated. The "melting pot" was filled to the brim and overflowing. Into the structure of American society being erected the new material did not fit as well as did the old. If the existing trend should continue with unabated force the temple of American democracy, which so far had been built along the Anglo-Germanic plan, would be finished off in accordance with the Latin and Slavonic style of architecture. This lack of harmony in the two styles of political architecture was especially noted by conservatives, who attributed (probably without sufficient reason) the increasing radical agitation to this new exotic infusion.

*Literacy test for immigrants*

With the view to curbing the influx of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe and thus restoring the balance in favor of those from northern and western Europe, Congress passed an act (1915) denying the admission to this country of "all aliens over sixteen years of age, physically capable of reading, who cannot read the English language or some other language or dialect." Since illiteracy was more common in southern and eastern than in northern and western Europe the law would have the effect of reducing the proportion of immigrants from the former regions. Wilson vetoed the bill on the ground that literacy was a test not of fitness for citizenship but only an indication of youthful opportunity. In so doing he was following precedents set by Cleveland and Taft, each of whom had vetoed a similar measure (1897 and 1913, respectively). Later (1917), after the United States had declared war on Germany, Congress repassed the literacy-test act, this time over the President's veto.

*The descendants of the eastern and southern Europeans thoroughly Americanized*

Since immigration to the United States has by later laws been virtually ended and reinforcements thus cut off, the problem of assimilating culturally and politically the descendants of those who came from eastern and southern Europe has largely disappeared. The public school system, where all have had to learn the English language, the national games of football and baseball, city playgrounds, boys' clubs, and other youth organizations, to mention only a few assimilative influences, have served to Americanize the younger generations. Nor can the influence of the two World Wars be discounted as important nationalizing factors. The younger generation of our more recent European immigrants are, therefore, now as much a part of America as are the descendants of those who founded Virginia and Massachusetts.

Between 1849 and 1882, when the first act for Chinese exclusion was passed, 300,000 or more Chinese immigrants had landed in the United States and chiefly on the West Coast. Many, probably most, of them had come to find employment with the expectation of returning to China when they had earned a sufficient amount to become independent merchants and farmers. Many, however, remained and became permanent inhabitants—although it was not until the Second World War that citizenship was bestowed upon them. The Chinese were energetic, conscientious, and efficient workers. They were accustomed to living at the very lowest level of subsistence, and this enabled them to underbid the white laborers. This fact largely explains the violent opposition that grew up on the West Coast to Chinese immigration and to the Chinese in general; and it, of course, was the basic cause of the series of exclusion acts that cut off Chinese immigration after 1882. After 1900 the Japanese began to migrate in large numbers to the West Coast; by 1906 there were about 75,000 of them, and the exclusion policy was applied to them also.

*The Chinese and Japanese on the West Coast*

Neither the Chinese nor the Japanese have proved assimilable. The Chinese even more than the Japanese have clung to their native customs, religion, and way of thinking. It is partly on this account that the immigration of the Chinese has been virtually ended.[1]

## URBANIZATION AND THE DECLINE OF RURAL LIFE

*The United States becomes urban except in the South and portions of the West*

The new industrial development that brought millions of European immigrants to America, especially to the urban centers, swept millions of native Americans from their rural homes and sucked them into the city as into a vacuum. For weal or woe, parts of the Pacific Slope, the old Midwest, the Middle Atlantic states, and New England became predominantly urban. The South and the trans-Mississippi West remained rural and agrarian, although the two sections suffered serious loss by the migration of many of their young people to the cities of the North and East. If one defines as urban all population centers with 8000 or more inhabitants, then about one sixth of the American people were urban in 1860, one third in 1900, and about two fifths by the end of the First World War.

*The rise of the great cities*

It was the rise of the great cities, however, rather than the growth of towns and small cities that constituted the real urbanization of America. The growth of the cities was phenomenal, as will be seen from a few leading examples. New York in 1860 had a population

[1] The Chinese annual quota of immigrants to the United States was established at 105 in 1943.

of about 850,000, but by 1914 it had about 4,000,000. Chicago with its 110,000 in 1860 was no more than a big country town, but by 1914 it had more than 2,000,000 people and ranked next to New York in size. Philadelphia had grown from 563,000 in 1860 to more than 1,500,000 by 1914. Pittsburgh, Cleveland, Detroit, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Atlanta, Birmingham, New Orleans, Houston, and San Francisco were growing after 1900 almost as rapidly.

*Some problems of the cities*

The housing problem which these newcomers, both American and European, created was worse than it was to be after the Second World War. Even before the great migration began the American cities had not taken adequate care of the working people. New York in 1860 had one hundred thousand people, or about one eighth of her population, living in tenements without lighting facilities or adequate ventilation. An estimated twenty thousand were living in cellars, others lived in "flop houses" where a bedding of vermin-filled straw cost two or three cents a night. Blacks and whites, men and women, slept thus in serried rows of filth. As late as 1902, and despite such exposures as Jacob Riis's *How the Other Half Lives* (see p. 652), New York's slums were just as bad and much bigger than in 1860. Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and all the cities old and new, had similar conditions among the poorer, laboring classes.

*Later improvements*

Although it scarcely can be said that housing was much improved for the slum dwellers during this period, certainly great strides were made in other directions. Departments of health and public health laws did much to improve sanitary conditions; sewage disposal and a plentiful supply of good water were two problems that were solved in the cities by the end of the century; preventive medicine founded by Pasteur and Lister stamped out epidemics. Parks were established for recreation, where baseball, football, and other American sports relieved the deadly monotony of the tenements and the alleyways.

*Moral deterioration resulting from rapid urbanization*

The cities of the new industrial era were not organic societies such as had evolved in Europe and even in ante-bellum America. They were vast aggregations of individuals, strangers to one another, unfriendly and frequently hostile, a hodgepodge and hash of humanity pulled from its roots in the rural communities of Europe and America and transplanted in a strange and inhospitable environment. That there should be moral and social deterioration in people thus removed from the controlling influence of public opinion and family counsel of the small community was only natural.

But what of the rural communities from whence these new city dwellers came? The congested European communities were doubt-

less benefited in the long run; but the rural American communities, where population was relatively sparse, were seriously injured and frequently ruined. The rural villages of New England, once neat and thriving, suffered a steady decadence, although many such towns were later rehabilitated by immigrant truck and dairy farmers. The deterioration of rural life in the South and the trans-Mississippi West, as manifested in church, local school, community entertainment, games and general neighborliness, meant the decline of those sections as a whole; for they did not have the cities and industries to counterbalance, economically, the losses suffered by the country districts. Perhaps the most serious loss to the rural sections of the United States has been that of many of its energetic, able, and well-educated young people—potential leaders—who went to the cities as writers, editors, scholars, lawyers, or to become captains of industry and masters of capital.

*The evil effect on rural communities of the migration of their population to the urban centers*

## EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

During the fifty years following the Civil War public primary and secondary school systems, outside the South so impoverished by war and reconstruction, continued to develop at a greatly accelerated rate along the lines laid out by Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, and other educational reformers. The census of 1870 listed 6,871,000 pupils enrolled in the public elementary schools. In 1900 there were 15,503,000, and by the end of the First World War more than 20,000,000 were attending elementary public schools. Of course the quality of education received varied from place to place. The country school, more often than not, was a one-room, one-teacher school. In many cases the teacher had just completed high school, although occasionally he or she had attended normal school or college. Despite the usual group of tough young men whom the teacher had to thrash or outwit in order to maintain his standing, and notwithstanding the constant hum of recitations that made the one-room schoolhouse sound like a beehive in June, the rural school laid the educational foundations of many great men. There was nearly always a boy or girl in the school with a yearning for knowledge seldom encountered in a city environment where there are so many interesting diversions. Then, too, the relationship between student and teacher was personal and frequently very close. The town and city schools were, of course, staffed with better trained teachers, and the grades were usually taught in separate rooms. On the other hand, in the larger cities at least, mass education was severing the personal ties between teachers and pupils, especially where so many of the latter were foreign or of foreign parentage.

*Elementary public schools*

*The secondary public school system*

The secondary public school system grew even more rapidly than the elementary. Prior to the Civil War the private academies, many more or less subsidized by the state and county, had been the principal secondary schools. Many of them were fine junior colleges where a student was given a good education, and others were high schools. They were private institutions, however, and after the Civil War they were rapidly replaced by the public high school supported by taxation. In 1860 only a few thousand students were enrolled in public high schools, but by 1914 the number had passed the million and a half mark. In addition to this great enrollment in the elementary and secondary public schools, several million pupils were attending private and church schools at the end of the period.

*Teacher training*

The great increase in the number of schools and pupils gave rise to the demand for teachers specially trained for the profession; and the development of the teacher training or normal school followed. In 1860 there were only twelve normal schools in the United States; but fifty years later there were more than three hundred, and departments of education for the training of public school teachers were established in the state universities and the larger endowed institutions.

*Influences in the development of higher education*

The development of higher education was as spectacular as that in the elementary and secondary fields. There were many factors that contributed to this growth, some tangible and some intangible. The most fundamental factor was the almost universal assumption that liberty and free government could not long endure among an ignorant people, that indeed they depended upon an enlightened citizenry and an educated leadership. Of great importance in the development of higher education in the United States was the influence of the German universities. As has already been seen (see pp. 343 f.), American students began in the second decade of the nineteenth century to attend the German universities. By 1865 several score educators and men of letters had studied in the German universities; and from that time until after the close of the century the stream grew larger. This predominant German influence lasted in America until the outbreak of the First World War; and the American university of today bears a much closer resemblance to the German than to the English university.

*The influence of the German universities*

*Federal and state aid in creating our system of higher education*

With those German-trained educators to show them the way, state and national governments and private individuals eventually created the largest and most elaborate system of higher education in the world. The national government began its aid in 1862 with the

Morrill Land Grant Act, which gave to each state 30,000 acres for each Senator and Representative in Congress for the establishment and maintenance of colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts. In 1887 Congress passed the Hatch Act, which gave to each state $15,000 a year for an agricultural experiment station, and in 1906 the Adams Act increased this grant to $30,000 a year. In 1890 the second Morrill Act gave $25,000 to each state annually for instruction in agriculture, the mechanic arts and related sciences, and English. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 appropriated $4,580,000 a year to the states on condition that they raise an equal amount "to aid in diffusing . . . useful and practical information relating to agriculture and home economics." Under the terms of the first Morrill Act the states established twenty-six colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts, founded several universities where these subjects are taught, and adjusted the curricula of older colleges and universities so as to meet the terms of the act. By 1914 the land-grant colleges and universities numbered sixty-nine and were receiving from the states and national government about $30,000,000 a year.

*Private philanthropy aids in founding and expanding institutions of higher learning*

Private philanthropy was instrumental in founding or expanding numerous universities during this time. Some outstanding institutions established through private beneficences were Cornell University (1868), Vanderbilt (1875), Johns Hopkins (1876), Tulane (1884), Leland Stanford Junior (1891), and the University of Chicago (1892). Older institutions received an immense stream of funds from alumni and from men of vast fortunes. State institutions built up endowments from private benevolences so that the American universities, taken as a whole, were receiving incomes from private sources comparable to the grants from the state and national governments.

*Changes in the methods of teaching, in the curriculum, and in the course requirements*

Not only was there an unprecedented development in size, number, and wealth of colleges and universities after the Civil War, but there were equally great changes in methods of instruction, in the curriculum, and in the student's freedom of choice of subjects—the elective system. The laboratory method in science and the analogous seminar method in teaching history were imported into the United States by scholars trained in Germany. The changes in the courses of study were in part an adaptation of education—as in the establishment of colleges of agriculture and mechanics—to the scientific and social revolution taking place in America and elsewhere, and in part the result of German and French influence. Elaborate courses in history, government, political economy, modern languages, English literature, physics, and chemistry were put into the curriculum

where heretofore such studies were conspicuous for their absence or were mere scraps to be taught by anyone able to hold a textbook in his hand.

*The introduction of the elective system*

The elective system so widely introduced into the American colleges and universities in the period under consideration grew in part out of the broadening of the curriculum beyond the ability of one student to take all the courses offered. Perhaps in some cases the influence of the German universities—where the elective principle had been so long practiced—was important. Prominent in the list of colleges that led the way in adopting the elective system—in some instances before the Civil War—were the College of William and Mary, the University of Virginia, the University of Michigan, and Washington College (now Washington and Lee University). However, the great impetus to the elective system was given by Harvard. In 1869 Charles W. Eliot, graduate of a German university, became president of Harvard, which he began to develop into one of the world's great universities. Under his leadership the curriculum was broadened and the elective system was adopted to a marked degree. The example of Harvard was very powerful and was soon followed by many other universities and colleges.

*The development of graduate schools*

The establishment of graduate and professional schools in the American universities resulted, inevitably, from the training that the leaders in American education had received in Germany where such schools were already highly developed. Yale established a graduate school in 1871, Harvard in 1872, and Columbia in 1884. Johns Hopkins, founded in 1876, at first offered graduate courses only, and in this way it gave a strong impetus to the movement in favor of graduate work. Since the highest degree awarded in the German universities was that of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.), the graduate schools of Yale, Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and other American universities adopted the Ph.D. as their highest degree.

*Professional schools: Medical schools*

The medical schools, which had been so poor before the Civil War, now took a turn for the better, and some of them were from the beginning essentially graduate institutions. In the forefront of the medical schools were those of Harvard, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Pennsylvania, soon closely followed by medical schools at a dozen other large universities. The antiseptic surgery introduced by Lister and Pasteur's revelations concerning the relation between microbes and certain diseases were the very cornerstones of the new medical science in America.

*Law schools*

The law schools at the larger universities, beginning with that of Harvard, revolutionized the study of law by the introduction of the case method by which many similar cases were examined in the

process of determining the fundamental legal principles. Heretofore law students had used textbooks dealing rather generally with legal principles, and it was only after becoming practicing lawyers that they became acquainted with cases. Doubtless, British practice was a strong influence in establishing in the law schools the systematic study of cases, for the Inns of Court in London had always made considerable use of this method of training lawyers.

*Higher education of women*

The higher education of women made greater strides in this period than that of men. As has already been seen, Vassar College opened its doors in 1865. In 1875 two other colleges for women—Smith and Wellesley—were established. Others came in rapid succession, and by 1914 there were excellent institutions of higher learning for women students in all sections of the country. Coeducation had also made great headway. Prior to 1861, there were only three coeducational institutions of college rank in the entire United States and all of them were in the West. Now there were a great number of them, with some in every section. In the East and South, coeducation had not advanced as far as it had in the West, and the Southerners and Easterners still preferred separate colleges for men and women. Some of these women's colleges were, however, parts of the large universities for men, such as Harvard, Columbia, and Tulane.

*Colleges for Negroes*

In this period provision was also made for the higher education of Negroes. The first of the Negro colleges was Howard University in Washington, founded in 1867. Several other colleges were afterward established, among them Fisk University at Nashville, Tennessee, and Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute, at Hampton, Virginia, which had been founded (1870) by the American Missionary Association. The main purpose of the latter institution was to train its students for the skilled trades and other work open to Negroes in the South. One of its students, Booker T. Washington, later (1881) founded a more noted school of like character at Tuskegee, Alabama.

## TRENDS OF THOUGHT

*The theory of evolution, the most powerful influence in American thought after the Civil War*

Perhaps the most powerful influence in American thought after the Civil War was the theory of evolution, first stated by Darwin and expanded and applied broadly by Spencer, Huxley, and others. The general principle was that all complex forms of plant and animal life—including man—had evolved over a long period of time from lower organisms. In this process of evolution only the hardiest individuals survived—the "survival of the fittest." The

missing link between the lower animal and man was not factually established, however; but most scientists and men of letters had a tendency nevertheless to accept the principle of evolution in accounting for man's existence.

*Theory of evolution applied to society*

Social philosophers quickly seized upon the idea of evolution as the underlying principle not merely of the individual person but of society itself. In short, society was an organism and was in the process of evolving into a higher form. Such a conception made men of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries optimists; for regardless of what individuals might do, society as a whole was growing better day by day. In the field of economic thought the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest greatly strengthened the doctrine of *laissez faire*,[1] which was already more extreme in America than in Europe because of the greater opportunities in a large, rapidly growing nation. It justified in their own eyes, and even in the eyes of the less "successful," the jungle ethics of such "robber barons" as Gould, Daniel Drew, and others. To prey upon one's weaker fellowman was the law of nature, and of "success." The literature of political science, economics, and sociology reflected this new sanction of the doctrine of *laissez faire*.

*Effect on theology and religion*

The discovery of the evolutionary nature of plant and animal life and the great age of the earth and of the stars was for a long time of disastrous consequences to theology, and it had an unfavorable effect on religion. Orthodox theology was based upon the belief in the verbal inspiration and therefore the literal truth of the Scriptures. The Bible seems to imply that the earth is only a few thousand years old; but geologists, botanists, and zoologists have produced evidence to support their contention that plants and animals were created over a period of millions of years. The Scriptures were subjected not only to the tests of scientific knowledge but to historical knowledge and to textual criticism. Comparative studies were made of the literature of other religions, and the similarity of their doctrines and religious stories to those of Christianity was often found to be striking indeed. These conclusions aroused in the minds of many people doubts as to the infallibility of the Scriptures or a belief that the sacred literature of other religions was likewise inspired.

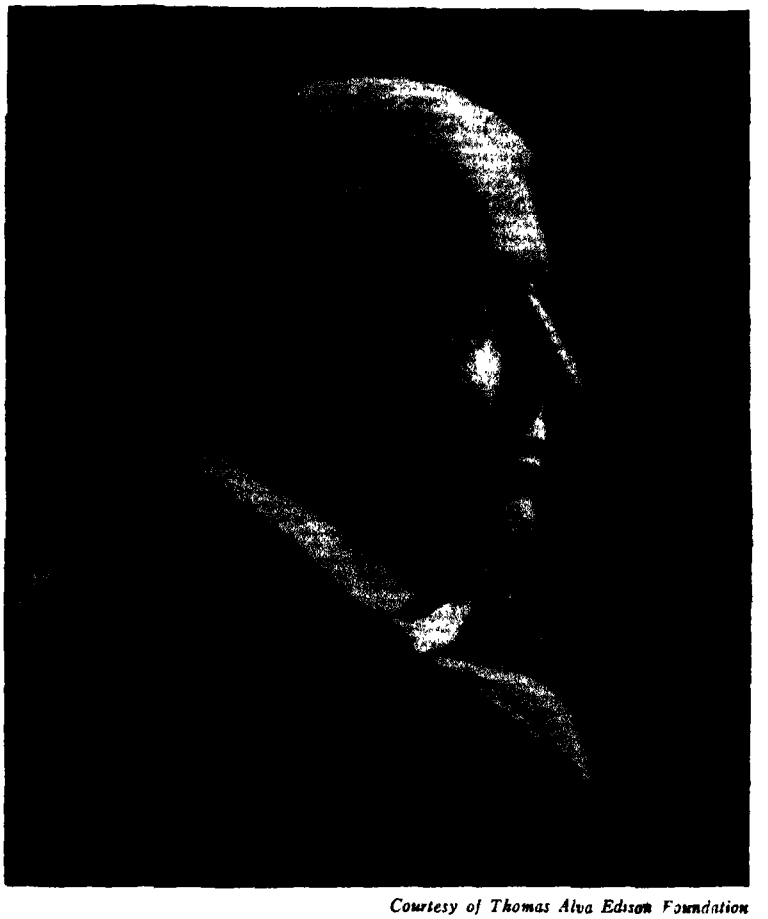
*Many religious leaders repudiate the conclusions of the scientists*

Many religious leaders, among them the great evangelist Dwight L. Moody, refused to accept these conclusions of science and the higher criticism and warned their followers of the danger of questioning

1 The French phrase, *laissez faire*, means "let [people] be or do [what they wish]." In ordinary usage it means no governmental interference with or regulation of labor, industry, commerce, or business.

BOOKER T. WASHINGTON.

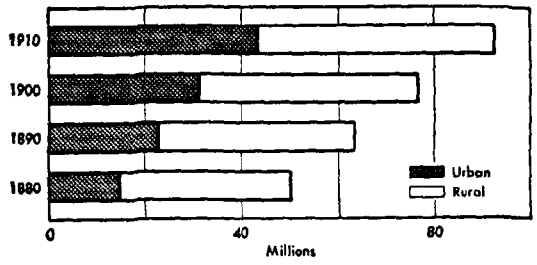
*Ewing Galloway*



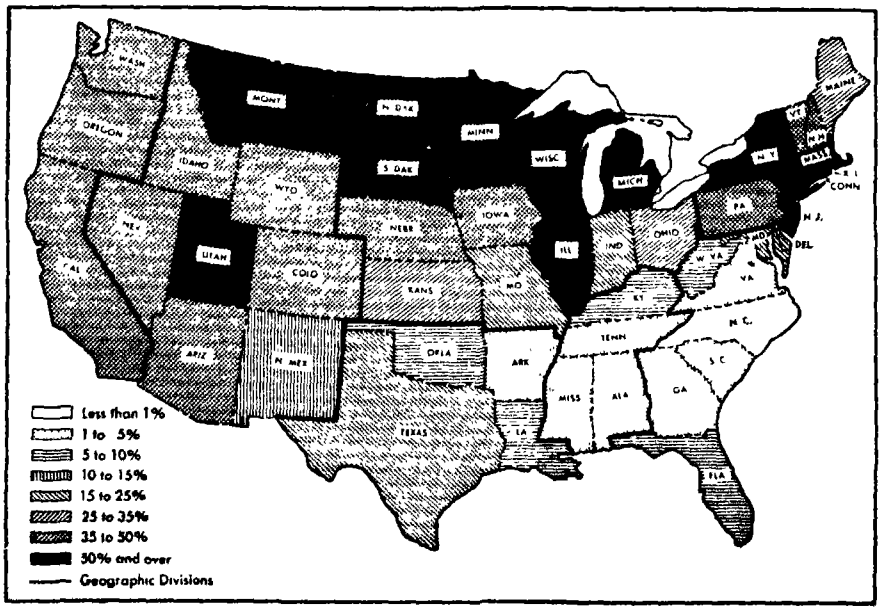
*Courtesy of Thomas Alva Edison Foundation*

THOMAS ALVA EDISON.

Symbol of Modern America.




URBAN AND RURAL POPULATION—1880-1910.




PERCENTAGE OF FOREIGN-BORN WHITES AND NATIVE WHITES OF FOREIGN OR MIXED PARENTAGE COMBINED IN THE TOTAL POPULATION—1910.

the literal truth of the Scriptures. A large proportion of church members accepted the teachings of these leaders and thus continued to adhere to the old belief in an unmodified form. There were, however, a number of other people who acclaimed the work of the scientists, higher critics, and students of comparative religion, although they considered their findings contradictory to the fundamental doctrines of the Bible. Some of these became agnostics like Robert G. Ingersoll or atheists like Mark Twain.

There were still others who considered the Bible a collection of literature which records the religious experiences of good and great men who received revelations from God. These revelations were not only contained in earthen vessels but they were also formulated and transmitted under ordinary human limitations. The teachers and writers who produced the Bible used the thought forms of their day. If their statements and methods of expression had been in harmony with modern scientific knowledge, they would not have been understood by their contemporaries. Furthermore, the Scriptures are spiritual documents and do not purport to be treatises on the physical universe. According to the last-mentioned group, the new attitude toward the Bible, by separating religion from superstition, was favorable for the promotion of a sound spiritual life.

## LITERARY TRENDS[1]

*The decline of the New England group; reasons*

Most of the writers who dominated American literature in the late ante-bellum days survived until well toward the end of the century, and as editors, critics, and literary sages their powerful influence was felt throughout their lives. But their creative genius seems to have expired with the old regime; and for a number of years after the Civil War there was practically a blank in our creative literature. Many explanations have been offered for this sudden deficiency of the New England school: narrow provincialism in an age of expanding nationalism; over-refinement amounting to effeminacy when America was bursting with robustness; and a colonial attitude toward Europe when the American people were preoccupied with themselves and—outside of the South suffering from defeat and reconstruction—were self-satisfied to the point of bumptiousness.

[1] In the discussion of literary trends no effort will be made to give an adequate account of American literature since 1860. It is assumed that college students who use this text have had or will have a course in American literature giving a much fuller treatment than can be attempted in the space allotted to it in this work. Students who have not and will not take a course in American literature are referred to: Bliss Perry, *The American Spirit in Literature* (1921); or W. P. Trent, ed., *The Cambridge History of American Literature*, 3 vols. (1933).

*Whitman*

What Americans demanded was fiction and poetry dealing with America, not just a pale American reflection of Europe. In fiction the background and setting must be realistic, the characters must be probable, and the plot or story possible. In poetry, only Walt Whitman (see p. 356) had the spirit of the new age. In 1866 he published his *Drum Taps*, containing many poems of the Civil War period, and until his death (1892) he continued to compose poems of a high order incorporated usually in the revised editions of his noted collection of poems, *Leaves of Grass*.

*Emily Dickinson*

Of the dozens of poets during this period between two great wars, two deserve special mention, Emily Dickinson and Sidney Lanier. Emily Dickinson, the New England poet, began writing poems during the period of the Civil War and continued until her death in 1886. She wrote poetry for her own amusement or solace, as one keeps a diary, and it was not until after her death that her poems were published—in violation of her instructions that they should be burned. Much of her poetry is of high quality, and one of the most beautiful poems ever written is her short lyric entitled "The Chariot."

*Sidney Lanier*

The South had one outstanding poet during this period—Sidney Lanier, and he died at the age of thirty-nine of tuberculosis contracted while in a Federal military prison. Despite his bitter war experience, his poetry showed no taint of sectional hate. He had to earn his living by flute-playing and hack writing, and he had little leisure for composing poetry. The result was that much of his work is unfinished. Still there is an element of greatness in some of his poems. One of the best-known of his poems is "The Song of the Chattahoochee."

*Local color fiction*

In fiction this period was especially fruitful. Short stories and full-length novels were written by regional, local-color authors, who faithfully described the manners and customs of the people. An excellent portrayal of life in the Far West was given in the short

*Bret Harte*

stories of Bret Harte, which he began to publish in the 1860's. These stories are vivid representations of the wild and adventurous life in the mining camps of California.

*Mark Twain*

Another representative of the West, although of a different type from that of Bret Harte, was Samuel Clemens, generally known as Mark Twain. Clemens was reared at Hannibal, Missouri, where the South and the West met, and he knew the old semi-frontier, West and South. He also knew and loved the Mississippi River and river life, for he was one of the best pilots on that river. He thus had an excellent background for the kind of writing that he chose for his field—that of portraying life in the West. His best works therefore

had a western setting—*Roughing It* (1872); *Tom Sawyer* (1876); *Life on the Mississippi* (1882); *and Huckleberry Finn* (1884). He also published a volume of western short stories (1867) and a humorous book of travel, *Innocents Abroad* (1869). In the latter work he ridiculed the colonial attitude of the American literati toward European civilization. Despite marked defects in craftsmanship, Mark Twain is considered the outstanding writer of American literature of the last third of the nineteenth century.

*Edward Eggleston and the Midwest*

Edward Eggleston began almost simultaneously with Mark Twain and Bret Harte to write local-color fiction about the Midwest. *The Hoosier School Master* (1871) and *The Circuit Rider* (1874) are two of his best novels. With considerable fidelity, these novels portray the background and character of rural Indiana as Eggleston had known it as a schoolboy and as a young minister.

*The South succeeds the West as a land of romance; G. W. Cable*

The Far West and Middle West had their chief vogue in the 1870's. After that time for more than a decade the South became the newly discovered land of romance and adventure. George Washington Cable of New Orleans was the first of the postwar Southern writers to attract the attention of the Northern publishers and the reading public generally. In 1879 he published in book form, under the title *Old Creole Days,* a collection of stories dealing with life in old New Orleans among the French, which at once made him famous. There soon followed other collections of stories and novels such as the *Grandissimes* (1880) and *Madame Delphine* (1881).

*Thomas Nelson Page*

Thomas Nelson Page of Virginia was the second Southern writer to hold the stage, and his influence was greater and more lasting than that of Cable because he wrote sympathetically of the life on the ante-bellum plantation, whereas Cable described the exotic life and restricted area of the French Creoles of Louisiana. In 1884 Page published "Marse Chan," a long short story written in Negro dialect. It was hailed as a masterpiece. Other stories of a similar nature followed, and in 1887 they were collected and published in book form under the title *In Ole Virginia.* In these delightful stories life on the ante-bellum plantation and the relation of master to slave are over-idealized. Later, Page wrote some novels which, although inferior to his short stories, were widely read.

*Joel Chandler Harris and the Uncle Remus stories*

Of the numerous other Southern writers of fiction who exploited the rich material of that region, space will permit of the mention of only one—Joel Chandler Harris of Georgia, the author of the *Uncle Remus* stories. These stories had been handed down by the Negroes for generations and were put into literary form by Harris in 1880 and 1892. They constitute the Negro's finest contribution to American literature. Although Harris in retelling these stories closely

followed the original pattern, his reproduction of them is a masterly work of art. It shows an intimate acquaintance with the Negro method of speech and a sympathetic understanding of the fine traits in the Negro character. The stories are flavored with a mild, kindly humor that never leave a bitter taste in the mouth.

*William Dean Howells*

Mention should be made of one other writer of fiction, who was contemporary in time but not in thought with Clemens, Cable, Harris, and the other writers mentioned above. This was William Dean Howells, a Westerner transplanted to New England. His novels of New England, such as *A Modern Instance* (1882), *A Woman's Reason* (1883), and *The Rise of Silas Lapham* (1885), were written in a sophisticated, self-conscious, urbane style, and were concerned with the manners and outward life of the people rather than with their inner life.

*The romantic revival*

The end of the century brought three distinct schools of fiction: a revival of romanticism, the beginning of modern realism and even naturalism, and a revival of the humorous short story or sketch. Of the numerous writers who participated in this revival of romanticism it would be very difficult to select one author who more than the others represented this type of fiction. As a rule, each novel had a happy ending with the triumph of good over evil. The hero, who was an embodiment of the virtues then held in high esteem, after many trials finally worsted the villian and won a crown of worldly success. In the grand finale, the heroine, a paragon of beauty and charm, gives her hand to the hero to whom her heart has all along been committed. And the presumption is that they live happily ever afterward.

*Beginning of modern realism*

Both the realist and humorous short story schools were influenced by contemporary European writers, especially the French writers, Balzac, Zola, and de Maupassant. American realism, like its French prototype, was romanticism in reverse. It taught a cynical pessimism and delighted in pointing out the shortcomings of human nature. The leading characters of these novels are not paragons of virtue but either conventional weaklings or interesting and attractive scoundrels.[1]

*The humorous short story*

Perhaps it is well to close this brief sampling of the literature of the period on the lighter note of the humorous short story, and none was lighter than that of O. Henry (William Sydney Porter). O. Henry's output of short stories was remarkable. He was a skillful and self-conscious craftsman—greatly influenced in this respect by de Maupassant—but fundamentally a jokester; as Fred Lewis Pattee

[1] This type of writing reached its height—or depth—at a later period. For a further discussion of it see p. 768.

puts it, "a little devil with a bean shooter." O. Henry's stories were the vogue for a long time. Few persons who read books in the period up to 1920 had failed to read *Cabbages and Kings* (1904), *The Four Million* (1906), and *Options* (1909). Taken in broken doses, like a pun or a spicy joke, they are always amusing.

SELECTED READINGS

1. The Gilded Age.—C. A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, II, ch. XXV (a long but brilliant essay).
2. Science and Health (1898-1914).—H. U. Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, ch. 10.
3. The Fathers of Electricity.—Holland Thompson, *The Age of Invention*, ch. 9.
4. The Telephone.—Burton J. Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, ch. 4.
5. The Saga of the Motor Car.—P. W. Slosson, *The Great Crusade and After*, ch. 8.
6. The Democratization of the Automobile.—Burton J. Hendrick, *op. cit.*, ch. 7; Mark Sullivan, *Our Times*, IV, ch. 3 (Henry Ford).
7. The Conquest of the Air.—Thompson, *op. cit.*, ch. 10.
8. Population and Immigration (1906-1917).—F. A. Ogg, *National Progress*, ch. 7.
9. The New Agriculture.—L. M. Hacker and B. B. Kendrick, *The United States Since 1865*, ch. 9.
10. The American Churches in the Age of Big Business.—W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religions in America*, ch. 31.
11. Religion and Reform (1898-1914).—H. U. Faulkner, *The Quest for Social Justice*, ch. 9.
12. American Life, Letters, and Art (1865-1900).—Hacker and Kendrick, *op. cit.*, ch. 13.
13. Everyday Life in the Postwar Decade (1865-1878).—Allan Nevins, *The Emergence of Modern America*, ch. 8.
14. American Life at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century.—F. R. Dulles, *Twentieth Century America*, chs. 4 and 10.

# CHAPTER XXX

# *Industrial Combination and Labor Organization*

## Industrial Advance after the War

*The Second Industrial Revolution*

As has already been seen, the Industrial Revolution in the United States began in the Restrictive Period (1808-1815). From that time until 1861 there was a steady advance in industry, in the North, Midwest, and to some extent in the South. During the Civil War this trend was accelerated in the North by war demands and other favorable circumstances (see p. 446). After the war, industry entered upon a new advance, with such a change in the method and volume of production as to merit the designation the Second Industrial Revolution. Before 1860 manufacturing was carried on in numerous small plants, as a rule supplying local markets. In the decades after the war, industry was organized on an immense scale and catered to a nation-wide market.

*The United States leads the world in industry*

The changes in organization and method of production resulted in a great increase in the output of the factories. Agriculture was still the leading occupation in the United States until 1880, but the census of 1890 showed that the value of manufactures had gone beyond that of agricultural products. Other countries—notably Japan and the nations of central and western Europe—were also forging ahead in industry, but the United States outdistanced them all, becoming by 1894 the leading manufacturing country of the world.

*Reasons for the industrial advance in the United States*—

There were a number of reasons to account for this rapid advance in American industry. Among them might be mentioned the following: (1) an abundance of coal, oil, and iron ore—the minerals that are basic to industry—within easy reach of industrial centers; (2) an ample supply of labor recruited from the native stock and foreign immigrants; (3) the superiority of the average American workman over his European competitor in initiative and skill in mechanical pursuits; (4) capable management, with the use of efficient methods and the best labor-saving mechanical devices in

production; (5) the extensive use of steam-driven machinery to take the place of labor; (6) an extensive home market unhampered with internal tariff barriers; and (7) the aid and encouragement of friendly legislation.

*Industry in the South. Favorable and unfavorable conditions*

In the South considerable progress in the development of industry had been made in the decade prior to the Civil War, and as soon as conditions became somewhat stable after reconstruction this development was resumed or begun over again. The movement was handicapped by a lack of capital and credit, but was encouraged by other favorable circumstances. The raw materials, especially for the manufacture of cotton goods, were close at hand. There were also rich deposits of coal and iron ore in certain parts of the South. In the Birmingham area coal, iron ore, and limestone were in close proximity to each other, which meant a great saving in freight charges to the iron and steel manufacturers of that region. The waterfalls and rapids at the fall line furnished ample water power, and the impoverished yeomanry, accustomed to a low standard of living, were a source of cheap and efficient labor.

*The development of textile industries*

Very rapidly during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, cotton mills multiplied near and above the fall line from North Carolina through Alabama and here and there in other states. Likewise there grew up the knitting industry in the same area. These mills were built by hard-earned Southern capital—blood money—and it was not until the business was well established and thoroughly profitable that Northern capitalists began buying interests in the mills, buying them outright, or building new mills. By 1900 the Southern mills were rapidly being taken over by powerful financial interests in the East as were the railroads (pp. 535 ff.) and the iron and steel industry.

*White labor used in textile mills; reasons*

Only white persons were employed as spinners and weavers in the new mills, for, as has been seen, the promotion of the textile business was by Southern whites, who, embittered by the Civil War and reconstruction, were only interested in giving employment to those of their own race. Had there been no antagonism toward the Negroes at this time, Southern custom would have been an insuperable obstacle to using them. Although there was little or no objection—except in the mountains—to Negro men and white men laboring together, public and private opinion demanded the segregation of the races where women and children worked. Perhaps there is another factor involved in this early pattern of employment of whites exclusively: the mills were built near or above the fall line where most of the population was white.

The cotton-seed oil business also began to develop into an im-

*Other industries; absentee ownership*

portant industry during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century. The iron and coal industries likewise sprang into existence in Alabama, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, and West Virginia. In all these—textile, cotton-seed oil, coal and iron industries—absentee ownership prevailed by the end of the century, and the employees soon found themselves not as well off in many respects as they had been back on the farms; hence they too joined the voice of distress and discontent manifest in the agrarian movements.

*Big business favored by the Republican Party*

The Republican Party was favorable to big business and, except for the periodic loss of control in Congress and the election twice of a Democratic President, it was in power during the early decades of industry's growing importance. The small, intelligent group who led the party stood consistently for a policy that not only favored industrial society in general, but the great business organizations in particular. This policy included a high protective tariff, the redemption in gold of Federal bonds sold for depreciated greenbacks, the deflation of currency and credit, the granting of large subsidies in land to railroads and the loan to them of millions of dollars in government bonds, and many other special favors to the large corporate interests.

*The American people long unaware of the trend of their economic system*

These governmental favors not only promoted industrial development but also greatly aided in the formation of industrial combinations, or trusts, by which a comparatively small group of men would gain control of the means of production and the bulk of the resources of the United States. However, the rank and file of the Republican Party had little conception of the kind of social and economic system they were fostering. They believed that they were merely championing free private enterprise and seemed not at all to realize that they were aiding and abetting a dangerous trend. Nor was the Democratic Party, rank and file and much of its leadership, any more aware of the true drift of affairs. Accustomed to the idea that a factory or a mine or a store was the private property of an individual, the mass of American people, regardless of party, could see no reason for governmental interference. Long unaware of what was taking place and lacking imagination to evaluate what they saw, when the realization finally dawned upon them that corporations and trusts were becoming more powerful than state or national government, many were possessed with a feeling of utter futility, but most prepared for battle to destroy the great combinations or to bring them under control.

## RAILROAD COMBINATIONS

*Evolution of the trunk line*

The first and most natural of such combinations was that of the railroads. Most of the railroads built during the first two decades of railway construction (1830-50) were short, independent lines

planned to serve local needs or to connect navigable rivers and canals. In the 1850's, however, there was a strong tendency to consolidate these railroads into continuous lines each owned by a single corporation. As a result of this trend by 1861 rail connection had been established between the Atlantic seaboard and the Mississippi River.

*The New York Central formed by the purchase of numerous short lines*

A good illustration of the growth of trunk lines is afforded by the history of the New York Central. By 1850 eleven railroads had been built along the Mohawk Valley, one of them being the New York Central. In 1853 these eleven railroads were consolidated to form a trunk line from Albany to Buffalo. The New York Central Company owned not only the trunk but also numerous branch lines, making a total of five hundred and sixty miles of railroad. Unfortunately, however, the company did not own the two railroads that formed the connecting link between Albany and New York City.

*Cornelius Vanderbilt purchases controlling interest in the railroads connecting Albany with New York*

In 1862-63 Cornelius Vanderbilt at the age of sixty-nine decided to abandon the steamship business, in which he had made a fortune of about $11,000,000, and enter the railroad business. He decided that he wanted the New York Central; but he moved upon the road by flanking attack. He purchased the controlling interest in the two railroads that linked Albany with New York and then offered to purchase the controlling share of the New York Central. When the chief stockholders refused to sell, he promptly severed connections between his two railroads and the New York Central at the Albany bridge and refused to receive passenger or freight transfers. The public and the legislature protested, but the old man, totally unaware of any sense of public responsibility involved in railroad ownership, asked angrily: "Can't I do what I want with my own?" The men who owned the bulk of the shares of the Central capitulated in the winter of 1866-67 and permitted Vanderbilt to purchase control. Soon the New York Central, thus enlarged, was capitalized at $90,000,000, about half of which was "watered" stock.

*The New York Central prosperous, but guilty of exploiting the public*

The New York Central soon gained access to Chicago by purchasing other roads, and it continued to expand until eventually its lines extended more than 13,000 miles. Like the other great railroads of their day it corrupted courts and legislatures, exercised a powerful influence in Congress, charged all the traffic would bear, gave rebates, and charged as much for a short haul where there was no competition as for a long haul when competition did exist. More will be said about such practices later.

*The Union Pacific charter*

The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific railroads—the first line to the Pacific coast—were planned as trunk lines from the beginning. The construction of these roads was one of the greatest peacetime

undertakings in the history of the United States up to that time. In 1862 the United States government chartered the Union Pacific Railroad Company. This act and the amending act of 1864 granted the company the right to build from some point on the one hundredth meridian of longitude in Nebraska to the eastern boundary of California. Since the greater portion of the road was to be built through uninhabited, semiarid territory which would contribute no revenue to the railroad, the Federal government offered a substantial bounty. This bounty was in the form of a liberal loan in government bonds, $48,000 a mile through the mountains, and $32,000 in the high plateaus between the ranges. This loan was at first secured by a first mortgage; but the act of 1864 permitted the company to sell its own bonds as a first mortgage. Besides this loan the government granted the Union Pacific twenty sections of land to the mile in alternate blocks on each side of the line, checkerboard fashion. In this way the Union Pacific received 12,000,000 acres of land with all the timber and mineral rights.

*The charter of the Central Pacific*

At the same time the Central Pacific Railroad of California was granted a Federal charter on the same terms as that of the Union Pacific. It was authorized to build a line from the Pacific coast at or in the neighborhood of San Francisco through Nevada and eastward to meet the Union Pacific.

*The construction of the roads, a spectacular show*

Some construction was begun on both roads before the close of the Civil War; but it was not until the war had ended that the work really got under way. The building of these two roads as they raced toward each other, bent upon getting as much of the government subsidy as possible, was to the excited public like a continuous football game or horse race. When the roads met near Ogden, Utah, on May 10, 1869, there was great celebration from the President to the urchin in the street. When C. P. Huntington, a leading stockholder of the Central Pacific, drove the last spike, made of California gold, the reverberations of the hammer were transmitted by telegraph throughout the country. The deep significance of uniting the Atlantic and Pacific states by rail and thus tying the continent together and strengthening the bonds of union, was fully appreciated. What the public could not know, of course, was that these two roads had been built by construction companies that looted both the public and the roads they had constructed (see pp. 502 f.).

*The Northern Pacific and other transcontinental lines*

In 1864 Congress issued a charter, with a lavish grant of land, to the Northern Pacific Railroad Company to build a railroad from Lake Superior to the Pacific coast in the vicinity of Portland, Oregon. Because of financial difficulties construction was delayed and interrupted and the road was not completed until 1883. Before the end

of the century two other transcontinental roads were in operation—the Great Northern and the Southern Pacific.

*The Southern railroads*

The general trend toward concentration in the ownership of railroads was carried on in the South as well as in other sections of the country. In the 1890's J. P. Morgan got control of a number of railroad lines in the South and organized the Southern Railroad Company as a holding company. Millions of dollars were expended in making improvements on the roads such as rebuilding old lines and replacing the rolling stock with new equipment. Numerous connections with railroads north of the Ohio and Potomac were arranged so that Morgan's Southern Railway system, comprising 9000 miles of railroads, ranked among the larger railroad systems of the country. Just as in the other systems, Morgan's railroads of the South eliminated competition whenever possible and by the end of the nineteenth century had assumed the aspect of a monopoly.

*Improvements in railroad service*

The rapid increase in construction that went on in the first few decades after the war was accompanied by marked improvements in the means of both travel and transportation. In 1864 there came the first sleeping car, invented by George M. Pullman, to be followed in a few years by the dining car and more comfortable cars for day travel. In 1868 the airbrake was introduced by George Westinghouse, and in a few years its application became automatic. Speed and convenience in freight and passenger carriage were enhanced by the general adoption of a uniform gauge for tracks and by the use of union stations and better terminal facilities. There was also a gradual substitution of steel for iron in the manufacture of rails and the construction of bridges. With these firm tracks and strong bridges heavy locomotives and cars could be used.

## THE GREAT INDUSTRIAL AND BUSINESS COMBINATIONS

With transportation and communication thus becoming nationalized and with the natural resources of the country scarcely touched at the end of the Civil War, other vast business enterprises aiming at monopoly rapidly emerged. The purposes of such monopolies and large business organizations—usually spoken of loosely as trusts—were aimed at obtaining the greatest returns on capital investments. Competition, as the word monopoly implies, was to be eliminated. The stifling of competition enabled the corporation or trust to fix the price of the goods it sold to the consumer and the price of the raw material that it purchased from the producers. Labor unions were crushed by corporations with plants scattered over the country by the simple expedient of closing down plants where trouble was threatened and producing in those plants where labor was not

organized. Government was influenced, intimidated, and too often "bought" by these great business organizations.

*Origin of the oil business*

The first great monopoly was the Standard Oil Company which was developed under the ruthless genius of John D. Rockefeller and his able and equally ruthless partners. Long before the Civil War, farmers in western Pennsylvania had been using the petroleum which seeped out of the ground as a lubricant for their wagons. It was also used in some places as a medicine. It was not, however, until after the middle of the nineteenth century that its possibilities as an illuminant were discovered. In 1855 Professor Benjamin Silliman, Jr., of Yale College, in a report on experiments made by him pointed out that a fine illuminant, as well as useful by-products, could be made from petroleum. With this information, George H. Bissell organized a company which sent Edwin Drake to Titusville, Pennsylvania, to drill an oil well. The attempt was successful, and in 1859 this well, called "Drake's Folly" by the residents, was yielding twenty barrels of oil a day. The success of this venture led to the sinking of a great number of wells, not only in western Pennsylvania but by 1872 also in certain localities in Ohio and West Virginia.

*Rockefeller enters the oil business*

During the Civil War, Cleveland, Ohio, located on Lake Erie not far from the oil fields of northwest Pennsylvania, became the oil refining center of the country. In 1866 John D. Rockefeller, with an uncanny prophetic instinct of its possibilities, entered the oil business and soon had in operation several excellent refineries. From the first he set out to establish a monopoly of oil. His first move in this direction was to reduce the cost of production so that he might make a larger profit or undersell his competitors. He did this by the elimination of the middleman. He established plants to make his staves, barrels, and acids, bought steamers and warehouses, built storage tanks, and processed and sold at a profit the by-products, such as naphtha, paraffin, and heavy grease. Moreover, the Rockefeller firm always maintained large cash accounts so that it was never dependent on a bank to help it over crises, but on the contrary was always able to bring up its cash reserves, as a good general does his reserve divisions, to throw into a critical position and win the battle.

*Early history of the Standard Oil Company*

In 1870 Rockefeller's firm brought in several large capitalists in Cleveland and New York and incorporated as the Standard Oil Company of Ohio. The new organization then invited its rivals in Cleveland to come in with the Standard Oil Company. Those who refused to come in were then asked to sell at Standard's own price, usually less than half the cost of the plant. The Standard Oil Company was receiving a rebate both on its own oil and that of its competitors, and this privilege was an important factor in inducing Standard's

rivals to accept its terms. Soon Standard Oil owned all the crude oil pipe lines running to railheads and most of the tank cars, the terminals in the East, and the storage tanks. With these facilities, and by "persuading" the railroads not to deliver oil to the rival refineries in the East, Standard laid down at times a blockade around those refineries. In this way it destroyed or brought within its own folds the important rivals in New York, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, Titusville, and Philadelphia. By these and other ruthless methods—notably by driving out competitors by underbidding them in their markets—Standard had by 1880 obtained control of about ninety per cent of all the refineries in the United States.

*The Standard Oil Trust formed*

In 1882 there was formed the Standard Oil Trust, with headquarters in New York. The various companies which at this time united with the Standard Oil Company to form this the first of American trusts turned their stock over to nine trustees, with Rockefeller at their head, and received trust certificates as evidence of their stock. Dividends were paid on the basis of these certificates, but all voting power was transferred to the trustees. These trustees thus became a central agency for the management of the business of all the member companies.

*The Standard invests in banks, railroads, and mines*

The Standard grew and prospered greatly, so greatly that it had to look elsewhere than to the oil business to utilize its great and rapidly increasing accumulation of cash. This surplus capital was used for making heavy investments in banks, railroads, and mines. The result of this tremendous concentration of capital has been that the Standard Oil Company—the trust was dissolved by action of the Ohio Supreme Court in 1899—became not only the largest oil company in the world, but the greatest railroad power and one of the greatest banking powers. So colossal had this institution become by the end of the nineteenth century that men usually had in mind the Standard Oil Company when they spoke of the "Money Power."

*The organization of the United States Steel Corporation*

Another noted example of combination in industry was the formation of the United States Steel Corporation. The two men who acted most prominently in the organization of this trust were John Pierpont Morgan and Andrew Carnegie. By wise management and the use of the latest methods in the production of steel, Carnegie won extraordinary profits for the Carnegie Company and became the greatest steel manufacturer in the world. In the meantime Morgan, who had had a noted career in the organization of banks and in the reorganization and refinancing of railroads, had become interested in "integrating" the steel industry. He and Judge Elbert Gary formed (1898) the Federal Steel Company and then bought at a fabulous price Carnegie's interests in the steel business. In this way Carnegie's

corporations were united with the Federal Steel Company to form the United States Steel Corporation. This latter corporation then purchased other independent steel plants and acquired Rockefeller's Mesaba ore fields and ore fleet for $98,000,000 in United States Steel stock.

*The community of interest and control between the great corporations*

Thus in 1901 at least seventy per cent of the steel business was brought under control of the United States Steel Corporation, which was soon capitalized at $1,500,000,000. United States Steel was now indeed integrated. It owned its own coal and iron mines, its ore fleet, and was allied through Morgan and Rockefeller with every important railway system in the country. The Standard Oil, the railroads, the house of Morgan, and the United States Steel Corporation thus began the twentieth century so closely interlocked by mutual ownership of one another's stock, or by certain powerful individuals owning large shares in all and having a voice in the control of all, that they began to seem as if they were one vast trust.

*Other great business combinations*

While these combinations were going on, scores of other great business combinations were being made, many of which interlocked with the foregoing groups. In the period from 1897 to 1904 the capitalization of million dollar corporations increased from less than $2,000,000,000 to more than $20,000,000,000. By 1907 the railroads alone were capitalized at $12,000,000,000, and the capitalization of other corporations had increased proportionately. The wealth and resources of the country were rapidly passing into the hands of small groups of men and, along with economic control, went political power.

## LABOR UNIONS

The mass of people, unaware that any change was taking place in the nature of property, clung to their philosophy of *laissez faire* until they found that their own property rights and political freedom were being jeopardized by the great corporate organizations. Then they began to bestir themselves to place a curb upon such corporations. These efforts, continuing to the present time, have taken the form of counter-organization and legal restraints and regulations. Such action will be noted in each period as it occurred. The counter-organizations of labor and of agriculture were the chief restraints placed upon the great organizations of capital until after 1900.

*The early unions and the reason for their weakness*

As observed previously (see pp. 320 f.), there had been labor organizations prior to the Civil War, a few of which had been of national extent. In addition there were local trade unions in all important cities. The objective of these unions from the beginning had been to obtain better bargains by collective action than could

be obtained by individual dealings with the employers. Strikes and boycotts had been used with indifferent results. The common law against conspiracy in restraint of trade had been successfully invoked on occasion or the court injunction used, and the labor movement had attained little headway. But the weakness of labor organizations was inherent in the American situation rather than in the law and the use of injunctions: the vast public domain seemed to beckon the discontented, and the door of opportunity seemed wide open to all energetic and ambitious people, with the result that laborers did not regard themselves as a permanent class, but as individuals who had reached only a particular rung on the economic ladder, which they would eventually scale. A day laborer today and an employer tomorrow constituted a familiar pattern of social and economic evolution in the United States prior to 1865.

*The development of class consciousness*

The rapid growth of cities resulting from the development of industry, and the influx of millions of European immigrants, whose families since the dawn of history had belonged to the laboring class without hope of ever rising out of this class, did much to develop a class-conscious feeling in America. The development of the great corporations, which in turn formed themselves into employer associations to deal with labor by the use of the black list and agreements on wage scales and cuts, also fostered the growth of class consciousness among the laborers. That is, more and more of those who worked with their hands for their bread and shelter came to feel that the door of opportunity was, if not closed, only slightly ajar, and that they and their descendants were permanently consigned to the role of laborers. Under such circumstances the laboring classes would inevitably strive to give dignity and security to labor.

*The organization and program of the National Labor Union*

In 1866 W. H. Sylvis, head of the Iron Molders' International Union, together with the heads of other national trade unions and certain reformers, organized the National Labor Union, a loosely built federation of local, city, and national trade unions. This organization, although it agitated for the eight-hour day with some success, became more and more engrossed in the greenback movement and in co-operatives. The National Labor Union, which had always been greatly concerned with legislation, met in 1872 as a political convention, nominated Judge David Davis of the United States Supreme Court for President, and adopted a platform similar in many ways to the Liberal Republican platform and the Greenback Party platform of 1876 (see pp. 587 f.). But the national trade unions that formed the body of the National Labor Union did not favor an alliance with a new political party and withdrew from the union; consequently it ceased to exist.

*Only two labor groups show vitality during the depression*

Then came the panic of 1873 followed by six years of depression, and the organized labor movement seriously disintegrated. Only two groups showed vitality during the depression, the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor—commonly called the Knights of Labor—and the New York group of the International Union of Cigar Makers.

*Knights of Labor, a secret order, founded by Uriah Stephens*

The Knights of Labor, founded in 1869 by Uriah S. Stephens, was in the beginning a secret order, and its membership was kept secret to prevent reprisals and black listing by the employers' associations. In 1878 under the leadership of the machinist, Terence V. Powderly, twice mayor of Scranton, Pennsylvania, the secrecy of the Order was abolished. The Order consisted of one big union composed of both skilled and unskilled laborers. Their program included not only such labor demands as the eight-hour day and workingmen's compensation but also such general reforms as taxes on incomes and inheritances, government ownership of public utilities, and the establishment of productive and distributive co-operatives. The Order also proposed as an ultimate aim to manufacture and sell its own products, and thus the laborers would all be working for themselves. To obtain its ends, the Knights, and especially Powderly, preferred arbitration to strikes.

*Program of the Order*

*The growth and decline of the Knights*

Despite opposition to the strike, the Knights of Labor became embroiled in the most violent strikes of the nineteenth century: the railway strikes of 1877, 1884-86, and the meat packers' and other great strikes of 1886-87. It was during the strikes of 1886 that the Knights of Labor achieved its greatest reputation. Its apparent strength in gaining its demands and its insistence on the one big union, in which skilled and unskilled labor participated equally, brought in hundreds of thousands of new members from the ranks of the common laborers. In 1886 there were about 700,000 members, although the general impression was that the number was 5,000,000.

After 1886 the membership and prestige of the Knights declined rapidly; in fact there was a mass desertion of the Order. Since the top leaders of the Knights actually opposed the principal trade or craft unions and insisted that the skilled and the unskilled stand shoulder to shoulder in collective action, support of the trade unions weakened; and when the Order began to attack the trade unions the latter retaliated and withdrew all support. The unskilled and semiskilled laborers, the bulk of whom were Europeans who had immigrated since the Civil War, soon deserted the Knights of Labor because the Order, instead of stressing class consciousness and the class struggle to which the Europeans were accustomed, aimed at the elimination of class by the final universal adoption of the co-operatives. The Knights were also blamed by the general public for some of the violence that

had accompanied the strikes, notably the disturbance at Haymarket Square, although the Order was not responsible for this riot (see pp. 544 f.). The depression of 1884–85, with the consequent widespread unemployment after 1886, and the active fight of employers' associations against labor unions in the form of black lists, lockouts, and detectives and armed guards, were added factors in reducing the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor to an unimportant organization confined to small town and rural communities whose old American society lacked class consciousness.

*Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions*

While the Knights of Labor was thus rapidly declining, the trade unions were organizing into a national federation. In 1881 several craft unions, under the leadership of Samuel Gompers, Adolph Strasser, and others, united in the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the chief objective of which was to obtain favorable laws for labor.

*The American Federation of Labor founded; its methods*

In 1886 Gompers, with the aid of other labor leaders, reorganized the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions into the American Federation of Labor, and with the exception of one year Gompers was president of the new Federation until his death in 1924. The Federation proposed to leave the legislative program to the subordinate state and local unions, while it concerned itself with collective dealing with the employers in such matters as wages, hours, and recognition of the union as a bargaining agent, and with jurisdictional matters. Each national and international union of the Federation was completely independent, with all rights of discipline over its members and with a free hand in dealing with the employers. (The term "international" was used to include Canada.) The American Federation of Labor has from the beginning been nonpolitical, favorable to private enterprise, and generally conservative. Gompers and his colleagues viewed trade unionism with its class consciousness as an instrument with which to fight the capitalists not for the purpose of destroying them but for the purpose of obtaining all the benefits possible from capitalism, such as higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions.

*Nonaffiliating trade unions*

Several powerful national trade unions did not affiliate with the Federation, although they had a tendency to co-operate with it. Among such unions were the railway brotherhoods—Locomotive Engineers, Railway Conductors, Locomotive Firemen—and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers.

## STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS

*Strikes and riots on the railroads*

In the summer of 1877 there were a number of strikes by railroad employees as a result of a ten per cent reduction in wages. Along

with these strikes there went riots, the most serious of which were those at Martinsburg, West Virginia, Cumberland, Maryland, Baltimore, and Pittsburgh. These outbreaks were put down by state militia and Federal troops.

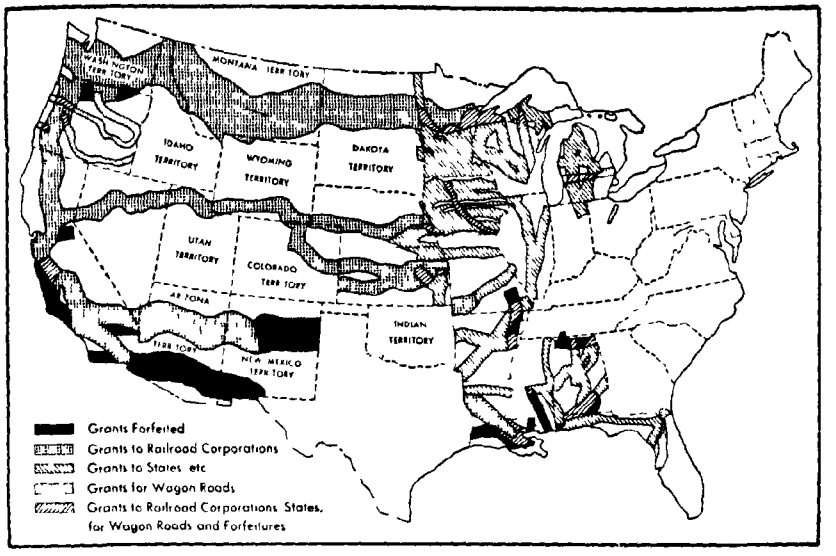
*Later strikes*

The striking railroad employees had little to do with the violence and destruction of property, which was the work of an irresponsible and enraged mass of the unemployed and of vicious elements from the underworld; but the strikers received full blame for it and therefore lost, to a considerable extent, the public sympathy with which they had been supported. Even labor unions now began to question the wisdom of strikes, especially the Knights of Labor (see p. 542) under the leadership of Terence V. Powderly. The short-lived prosperity in the early 1880's, however, came to an end with the depression of 1884-85, which brought on reduced wages and increased unemployment. There now occurred widespread strikes in protest against the reduction of wages and for the recognition of the unions as bargaining agents. In these strikes at first the Knights of Labor and later the American Federation of Labor took a leading part. From 1883 to 1900 more than 20,000 strikes and lockouts occurred involving at least 6,000,000 employees. More than half of these strikes were wholly or partly successful. Of these later strikes the most noted were the May Day strikes of 1886 (and the Haymarket Riot that accompanied them), the Homestead strike, and the Pullman strike.

*The anarchists and the Haymarket Riot*

In May, 1886, organized labor staged a series of strikes to gain an eight-hour work day which involved approximately 340,000 workmen. These strikes were chiefly the work of the trade unionists, but, although they were opposed by the national officers of the Knights of Labor, the rank and file of the latter order joined in the movement. It was in connection with this strike movement that there occurred in Chicago a bloody outbreak known as the Haymarket Riot. On May 3, 1886, at a strikers' meeting held near the McCormick Harvester Works, which was being operated by strike breakers, or "scabs," as they were called, an anarchist made an inflammatory appeal urging the use of violence against both the strike breakers and the McCormick property. While this meeting was in progress, the strike breakers, on leaving the building to go home, were violently assailed by the angry crowd with bricks, bottles, and clubs. The police rushed to the defense of the workmen under attack and, upon being pelted with brickbats, fired into the crowd and injured several, four of whom were reported to have died.

Immediately the anarchists called a meeting for the next evening (May 4) "to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police," and




FEDERAL LAND GRANTS IN AID OF RAILROAD AND WAGON ROAD CONSTRUCTION 1828 1871.

*(Photograph by Savage & Ottinger, Salt Lake City)*

COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD—MEETING OF LOCOMOTIVES OF THE UNION AND CENTRAL PACIFIC LINES: THE ENGINEERS SHAKE HANDS.

*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*

SAMUEL GOMPERS.

*(Courtesy of Carnegie Corporation of New York)*

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*

J. P. MORGAN.

urged the workingmen "to arm themselves and appear in full force." The type of arms especially advocated was the bomb. Under the leadership of men giving such advice a large crowd gathered in Haymarket Square, where several anarchists addressed them in incendiary speeches. One English anarchist, Samuel Fielden, said: "You have nothing more to do with law, except to lay hands on it and throttle it until it makes its last kick." "Kill it, stab it." Hearing such violent advice being given to the excited crowd, the police captain ordered the crowd to disperse. Immediately one of the anarchists threw a dynamite bomb among the police and others fired pistols into their ranks. One police officer was killed and sixty-seven others were wounded. The police then rallied and, firing their pistols, charged and scattered the mob, a large number of whom were killed and injured.

*Eight anarchists sentenced*

Eight anarchists were arrested and tried for their lives. Seven were sentenced to death, of whom four were hanged; one died by his own hand; two had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment but were later pardoned by Governor John P. Altgeld; and one was given fifteen years in the penitentiary. Although these men and all their fellow anarchists advocated just such use of dynamite as had resulted in the death of the policeman and the wounding of many others, nevertheless the evidence on which they were convicted failed to prove that they had any connection with the attack upon the police. That is, in the heat and excitement of the moment, these men were sentenced to die more for holding a dangerous opinion than for putting the opinion into practice.

*Labor suffers setback; public opinion, hard times, and employers' associations responsible*

Public sentiment strongly condemned the Haymarket Riot, and therefore the cause of labor lost for a while much of the public support which it had gained in recent years. Because of its share in other violent strikes, the Knights of Labor suffered most from this riot. For the time being, however, about 200,000 workmen over the country were granted the eight-hour day. But soon the employers' associations began to take advantage of the public reaction and of the return of hard times and withdrew the concessions made in 1885-86. In October and November (1886) the Chicago employers forced their employees back upon the ten-hour day schedule by lockouts and the use of "scab" labor, and in the first part of 1887 the coal handlers and longshoremen of New Jersey and New York City lost their strike against a wage reduction. By the first of January, 1887, most of the wage increases and the eight-hour day programs had been abolished.

There was, however, as a result of improved economic conditions, a favorable turn to the cause of labor during the next five years. In

*Frick refuses to renew the contract with the steel workers' union*

1889 the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, the strongest trade union in existence, obtained a favorable three-year contract with the Carnegie Steel Company, despite the bitter hostility of the new chairman of the Company, H. C. Frick, who had demanded that the union be dissolved. At the end of the three-year period the union asked for a continuation of the agreement under the terms of the contract of 1889. Soon Frick countered with a proposed contract which involved the reduction of the rate of pay for piece work, arguing that such a reduction in the scale of pay was justified by the introduction of machinery which enabled men to turn out more work and thus earn more. Several conferences were held, but no agreement could be reached.

*The Homestead strike; Frick breaks the union*

While negotiations were still in progress, Frick arranged to have the Pinkerton Detective Agency send 300 armed guards; he built a high fence around the steel mill at the Homestead Works and prepared to introduce nonunion men or "scabs" to take the places of those who might strike. The union called a strike on June 29, 1892, and on July 1 Frick closed the Homestead Works and thus met the strike with a lockout. When Pinkerton's men arrived at the Homestead Works (July 6) they were greeted by the workmen and sympathetic citizens with rifles, dynamite, two cannon, blazing oil, and natural gas. Very soon the Pinkerton guards displayed white flags, only to be met with the cry of "no quarter." In the afternoon, after ten had been killed and sixty wounded, the detectives were permitted to surrender.

Immediately the Carnegie Steel Company asked the governor of Pennsylvania for military protection, and the governor called out the entire National Guard of the state, numbering 8000. Protected by this large force, Frick reopened the plant with nonunion labor and with those of the union who were willing to resume work. In a few months the treasury of the union was empty, and many of the members had given up their cards and returned as nonunion laborers. On November 20 the strike was officially called off, and most of those who had stuck it out returned to their old jobs as nonunion men. There were strikes in the other Carnegie plants, and the men there likewise returned without their union cards.

Frick thus broke the union of iron and steel workers. That this had been his main objective from the first is shown by his message to Carnegie, who was in Scotland at the time. "Our victory is now complete," he cabled. "Do not think we will ever have any serious labor trouble again." In a letter to Carnegie he confided that, although the strike had cost $2,000,000, the company would realize sixteen per cent profit on the invested capital. Most important, however, he

said, "We had to teach our employees a lesson, and we have taught them one they will never forget."

*Chief reasons for his success*

The complete success of the Carnegie Steel Company in breaking up the union was due in part to the alienation of public sympathy by the attempted assassination of Frick at the hands of Alexander Berkman, a Russian anarchist. Mainly, however, it was the result of the overwhelming power and resources of a typically modern corporation of which the Carnegie Steel Company was one of the strongest. Not for more than two score years would steel and iron workmen again be able to organize effectively as a bargaining agent.

*Strike and lockout at the Pullman Company*

The panic of 1893 and the prolonged depression that succeeded it gave rise to numerous labor disturbances similar to those in 1877 and in 1885-87. The most widespread and violent of these strikes was the Pullman strike of 1894. The Pullman Company, having lost much of its business because of the panic and depression, and desirous of saving intact the huge profits of 1893 gained from the World Fair traffic, discharged or laid off one third of the men and cut the wages of the remainder about twenty per cent. But the rent charged company employees for company-owned houses and the prices of goods sold by the company store were not reduced, nor were the salaries of the officers of the company. A strike was called, and on May 11 most of the employees walked out. Pullman immediately turned the others out.

*The American Railway Union precipitates widespread railroad strikes*

The American Railway Union, comprising 150,000 railway employees, came to the aid of the half-starving strikers with relief money; and on June 26, 1894, Eugene V. Debs, the founder and head of the American Railway Union, ordered a boycott of Pullman cars on all railroads centering in Chicago. This sympathetic action was taken only after Pullman had refused to negotiate with a committee of the union or submit the dispute to arbitration. Soon passenger and freight service was virtually paralyzed from Chicago to the Pacific.

*The use of Federal troops*

The General Managers' Association, representing the twenty-four railroads, contended that there was widespread violence and appealed to President Cleveland to send in Federal troops to put down the disorder and prevent the obstruction of the mails. Governor John P. Altgeld of Illinois, who was in sympathy with the strikers, would not ask the President for troops, feeling that he was prepared to deal with the situation without such aid. There was ground for doubt as to whether the President had power under the Constitution to send in Federal troops to put "down domestic violence," since the Constitution does not grant him authority to do so except "on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the

Legislature cannot be convened) . . . ." But acting on the advice of his Attorney General, Richard Olney, President Cleveland on July 4 placed a large force of soldiers in Chicago to end this violence. He based this action on the tenuous ground that the United States mail and interstate commerce were being obstructed. He is reported to have said that "if it took every dollar in the Treasury and every soldier in the United States army to deliver a postal card in Chicago, that postal card should be delivered." Governor Altgeld protested the action of the President, contending that he had violated a fundamental principle of the Constitution. The presence of the Federal troops seems to have set off the most violent phase of the strike, now joined by anarchists, tramps, and those stranded from the World's Fair, and a dozen or so were killed and many injured.

*The use of injunctions to break the strike*

Debs and several other labor leaders were enjoined on July 2 by the Federal court at Chicago against further activities in connection with the strike and on July 8 were arrested—although let out on bail—on the charge of conspiracy to obstruct the mails. On July 12 Debs, in defiance of the injunction, urged a group of labor leaders to undertake a general strike, whereupon he, together with six others, was hailed before the judge and sentenced to six months in jail for contempt of court. The United States Circuit Court for the northern district of Illinois based the right to issue the injunction against Debs on the Sherman Antitrust Law (p. 565), and the United States Supreme Court upheld the injunction on the ground that the Federal government had the right to prevent interference with the transportation of the mails and interstate commerce.

Needless to say, by the use of Federal troops and court injunctions the strike was broken and so was the American Railway Union. As for Debs, he came out of jail a bitter, implacable radical. He and many other labor and farm leaders were now convinced that there was an unholy alliance between big business and the government.

The Pullman strike was only an extreme example of a series of strikes that occurred throughout the country during the 1890's. With the exception of the strike of the anthracite coal miners in 1902, which will be discussed later (see pp. 654 f.), the period from 1900 to 1914 was relatively free of major troubles.

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# CHAPTER XXXI

# *From Hayes to Cleveland*

## Hayes as President

*Hayes; previous career*

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES (1822-1893) was not without experience in public affairs when he became President. He had served with distinction in the Civil War and had won the brevet rank of major general. After a brief career as a Representative in Congress he resigned to run for the governorship of Ohio. He was three times elected governor and had made a record as an honest and capable administrator. Although the method by which Hayes had come into office was open to serious question, it soon became evident that he was an independent and courageous man who wished to relegate war issues and sectionalism to the past and to look squarely to the future. In his program as set forth in his inaugural address three objectives were emphasized. First, the South was entitled to "peaceful self-government," which, however, must not be gained at the expense of the freedman. Second, he would give honest and efficient government to the United States by establishing a permanent civil service based upon merit and not subject to partisan influence or control. His belief in civil service reform was shown in his oft-quoted statement: "He serves his party best who serves his country best." Third, Federal bonds, greenbacks, indeed all Federal money and credit, must rest upon "a coin basis," which, Hayes soon made clear, was gold coin.

*Hayes's personal platform*

*The Cabinet*

In the choice of his Cabinet President Hayes also showed his courage and his determination not to be ruled by the party machine. Although his Cabinet was an exceptionally able one, it was selected without much advice from the party bosses. Prominent in the list of his appointees were: William M. Evarts, Secretary of State; John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury; David M. Key of Tennessee, Democrat and ex-Confederate, Postmaster General; and Carl Schurz, the enemy of spoilsmen and machine politicians, Secretary of the Interior. Most of these selections were objectionable to the old-line leaders, such as Blaine, Simon Cameron, and Roscoe Conkling. The latter were therefore inclined to oppose their confirmation;

but when public opinion sustained the President they reluctantly withdrew their opposition. They were, however, determined to block Hayes's program as far as possible.

*Hayes fulfills his pledge to end reconstruction*

Since the President's election had depended upon the entire electoral vote of Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana, the collapse of the Carpetbag governments in those states from lack of Federal support would weaken still further Hayes's title to the Presidency. Despite this difficulty, however, he quickly fulfilled his promise to end reconstruction in the South. Florida had regained home rule by court action. Federal troops were ordered withdrawn from South Carolina on April 3, 1877, and the Carpetbag government at once came to an end. Governor Chamberlain departed for Massachusetts, and Wade Hampton moved into the state house. On April 22 the President gave the order for the withdrawal of Federal troops from Louisiana, and the state promptly returned to the control of the native government with F. T. Nicholls as governor.

*Civil service reform*

The Southern problem having been attended to according to his convictions and promises, the President was now ready to take up the problem of civil service reform. By a law passed in 1871 the President was given authority to prescribe rules for the appointment to office and to set up a commission to pass upon the fitness of applicants. This law had become a dead letter because of the failure of Congress to make the appropriations necessary to carry it out. Hayes now dusted off this law and determined to make it the basis of a reform in the civil service. In pursuit of this aim he laid down certain principles according to which merit rather than political activity should be the major consideration in making appointments to and removals from office.

*Conditions in the custom houses*

Schurz, who had been so influential in formulating the ideas of civil service reform, promptly devised rules embodying these principles. The heads of other departments complied more or less, and the welkin rang with howls of indignation from the machine bosses. The New York custom house was the core of the Conkling machine, and its odor could be scented from afar. Investigation by commissions appointed by Sherman, the Secretary of the Treasury, showed that conditions were even worse than had been suspected. The entire New York office was filled with men whose appointments were rewards for services to Conkling's machine, and without regard for job qualifications. Furthermore, it was found that many customs officials were accepting bribes from importers—who in this way escaped paying full duty—and were thus co-operating in smuggling.

Deciding to make New York a test case, in September, 1877, Hayes asked Roscoe Conkling's chief lieutenants, Chester A. Arthur,

*The New York custom house a test case with Conkling*

the collector of customs, and Alonzo B. Cornell, naval officer, to resign. These two men had treated with disdain the President's orders forbidding Federal employees from engaging in partisan activity and had continued to use the custom house as "a centre of partisan political management." Both men refused to resign, and for a time the Radicals in the Senate, under the leadership of Conkling, blocked the confirmation of their successors. Finally, after a long and bitter fight, the President, with the aid of the Democrats, obtained the confirmation of his appointments.

*A President without a party*

Although Hayes had defeated the Conkling machine and other corrupt political organizations and thereby gone far toward establishing decent government, he had won this victory at the cost of losing the support of the Radical Senatorial oligarchy that had controlled the United States since 1866. At the same time he offended the Liberal Republicans and Independents by the generous manner in which he rewarded by appointment to office the Carpetbaggers who had cast the electoral votes of South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana for him and had determined his election. Hayes, then, soon found that he was a man without a party; nor could he expect aid from the Democrats except in cases where the opportunity of getting revenge upon the Radicals or of splitting the Republican Party was greater than their desire to beat the President.

### THE GOLD STANDARD AND THE FREE SILVER MOVEMENT

*Sherman's efforts to accumulate a gold reserve opposed by farmers in South and West*

As previously observed (see p. 499), the resumption act of 1875 authorized the Secretary of the Treasury to accumulate a gold reserve sufficient for the resumption of specie payment on the first day of January, 1879. Secretary Sherman, with the support of Hayes, carried out this provision of the act by building up a large gold reserve, which amounted to $133,000,000 by January 1, 1879. But Sherman was immediately confronted with powerful opposition from the West and South. The farmers of these rural sections were burdened with debt, a large part of which was incurred during the period of cheap money, principally before the panic of 1873, when a greenback dollar ranged in value from thirty-nine cents to eighty-nine in terms of gold. Not only did the rise in the value of greenbacks lower the price of the farmer's produce and increase his actual tax load and the value of bonds which he must help redeem, but, more immediately, it increased his indebtedness. If he had borrowed $1000 in greenbacks in 1864 when this currency was worth only thirty-nine cents on the dollar, he would have owed at that time $390 in gold, and at the rate of ten per cent would have paid only $39.00 interest annually. But should the resumption act be put into

operation in January, 1879, his debt would be increased to $1000 in gold and his interest to $100 a year in gold.

*The resumption of specie payment*

The unfairness to debtors did not, however, prevent resumption from going into effect, and on January 1, 1879, the Treasury offered to redeem greenbacks in gold.[1] The paper money had, however, gradually increased in value and before resumption began greenbacks were as good as gold. There was therefore no rush for redemption; on the contrary when the people were assured that they could exchange their paper currency for gold, they lined up at the banks and exchanged the gold that they had been hoarding for the more convenient greenbacks and bank notes.

*The free-silver movement*

The conditions that produced the inflationist movement in Congress and the Greenback Labor Party (see pp. 587 f.) gave rise at the same time to another inflationist, or in later terminology "reflation," movement which was to increase until the campaign of 1896. This was the demand for "free silver"—that is, the coinage of all silver bullion presented at the government mints.

Over a period of centuries the commercial value of gold and silver had remained almost fixed, the ratio being around fifteen to one. That is, it had required about fifteen ounces of silver to purchase one ounce of gold. With the development of accurate means for determining the weight and content of coins, governments found it necessary to prescribe as nearly as possible a ratio of values between gold and silver coin that was in keeping with the commercial value of gold and silver bullion. In the early days of the American Republic the ratio had been established at approximately fifteen units of silver to one of gold. This soon proved to be too high a ratio for silver, that is, it meant that the commercial value of the silver in the silver dollar was less than the commercial value of the gold in the gold dollar. Since the cheaper money always drives the dearer out, gold ceased to circulate. In 1837 the ratio was established at sixteen to one, which undervalued silver, and this drove silver out of circulation. When the coinage act of 1873 was passed, the silver dollar was worth $1.02 and, since no bullion was being offered for coinage, no provision was made in this act to continue the coinage of the standard silver dollar, although a trade dollar worth $1.02 in gold was to be coined for the China market.

*The coinage act of 1873*

*The decline in the value of silver*

The failure to provide for the coinage of the standard silver dollar aroused no interest at the time, for it had been more than twenty years since such a dollar had circulated. But in 1873 new

[1] In May, 1878, Congress, in response to the demands of the cheap money advocates, had set the permanent volume of greenbacks at $346,681,000 instead of $300,000,000 provided for in the resumption act.

silver deposits were discovered in Nevada and elsewhere in the West, and, besides, the improved process of mining silver resulted in a cheaper and larger output of the metal. In 1871 Germany adopted the gold standard and began disposing of her silver for commercial purposes. The Scandinavian countries quickly followed her example, while the Latin Union, consisting of France, Italy, and Switzerland, placed limitations upon the coinage of silver. The result was that there rapidly developed a surplus of silver, and the price declined steadily until by 1900 a silver dollar with the ratio of sixteen to one was worth scarcely fifty cents. The silver mine operators, as soon as the price of silver began to decline, denounced the failure to provide for the coinage of the standard silver dollar as the "crime of '73"; and the cheap money advocates joined with them in the cry.

*The Bland-Allison Silver Purchase Act*

In 1878 Congress made a concession to the free-silver advocates by passing over the President's veto the Bland-Allison Silver Purchase Act. As passed by the House under the sponsorship of R. B. Bland of Missouri it provided for unlimited coinage of the standard silver dollar at the previous ratio of approximately sixteen to one. The silver dollar was to be legal tender despite the fact that it was worth less than a dollar. In the Senate for the free-silver provision there was substituted an amendment by W. B. Allison of Iowa, which ordered the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase each month from two to four million dollars worth of silver at the market price, to be coined into silver dollars. The amended bill then passed the Senate and House. The law was never administered as it was intended, for the silver dollars, constantly declining in commercial value, were kept at par in terms of gold by making them exchangeable for gold dollars.

### THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1880

*"Stalwarts" and "Half-breeds"*

The breach in the Republican ranks caused by Hayes's attempts at reform had not been healed when the party convention met at Chicago on June 2, 1880, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The conservative group, led by Roscoe Conkling of New York, Don Cameron of Pennsylvania, and John A. Logan of Illinois, who called themselves "Stalwarts," were opposed to reforms of any kind—economic, social, or political. They ridiculed the liberal Republicans who supported Hayes's reform measures calling these Republicans "Half-breeds."

Hayes had promised not to run again, and he was therefore not a candidate for renomination. The Stalwarts were strongly in favor of Grant's nomination, and, acting under the leadership of Conkling,

they made a vigorous fight in support of the war leader. At first there were three outstanding contestants for the nomination, Grant, James G. Blaine of Maine, and John Sherman of Ohio. For the first thirty-five ballots most of the votes were cast for them, in the order named, with no one of the three receiving a majority. On the thirty-sixth ballot the deadlock was broken when the forces of Blaine and Sherman threw their votes to a "dark horse," James A. Garfield of Ohio, and made him the nominee. Then to appease the disgruntled Conkling and his Stalwart allies, the convention nominated for Vice-President the New York Senator's chief political henchman, Chester A. Arthur.

*The Democratic convention*

The Democratic convention meeting in Cincinnati, June 22, 1880, had less difficulty than the Republicans in nominating a candidate. Tilden could have received the nomination if he had desired it; but he was too old and ill to become a candidate. The convention on the second day nominated Winfield Scott Hancock of Pennsylvania, who was a professional soldier with a brilliant military record. He had also proved himself an honest and able military governor of Louisiana during reconstruction, and this had won him the respect and gratitude of the South. He was indeed a very appropriate choice. His war record would make the Democratic Party less vulnerable to the Republican charges of being a Copperhead and Rebel organization.

*The Democratic and Republican platforms very similar; many real issues ignored*

Both the Republican and the Democratic platforms advocated the restriction of Chinese immigration and civil service reform. The Republicans declared in favor of maintaining a tariff that would protect American labor, and the Democrats were for a tariff for revenue only. Thus the only real issue between the two parties was the position of each on the tariff. Moreover, the tariff was virtually eliminated as an issue by Hancock when he declared that the tariff was a "local" affair. Other real issues of the day, such as an increase in the volume of greenbacks, free silver, the regulation of the great monopolies, the abuses of the railroads, and the proper disposition of the public domain, were largely ignored by the two major parties. Instead, they were left to the minor parties, especially the Greenback Labor Party, which had polled a million votes in 1878, had elected fifteen Congressmen, had influenced the election of many other officers, and had now nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa for President.

*Republican victory*

Garfield and Arthur were elected by a safe electoral majority but only by a narrow popular plurality over their Democratic opponents. James B. Weaver, the candidate of the Greenback Labor Party, received more than three hundred thousand votes. The Republicans

had also gained control by a very narrow margin of both houses of Congress, and now for the first time in six years all three branches of the government were in the hands of one party.

### GARFIELD AS PRESIDENT

*Garfield; personal traits and previous career*

James Abram Garfield (1831-1881) was born in a log cabin in Ohio, and his career is a typical American success story. A good part of his education was in the school of hard knocks. In his boyhood and youth he was in succession farm hand, canal boy, carpenter, and teacher. He attended Williams College, and at the age of twenty-six was president of Hiram Eclectic Institute (now Hiram College). He made a good record in the Civil War and rose to the rank of major general. Entering Congress in 1863 he soon attained to prominence as a result of his ability as an orator and debater. In the early reconstruction period Garfield co-operated with Stevens and the other Radicals in their policy of cruelty toward the South, but during Hayes's term he showed a trend toward liberalism and reform.

*The fight between Garfield and Conkling over the New York patronage*

One disturbing condition that called for delicate handling on the part of the President was the bitter feeling that existed between Blaine and Conkling. Blaine was made Secretary of State and Thomas James, a friend though not a henchman of Conkling, became Postmaster General. This latter selection was the only recognition Garfield gave to the Conkling faction in making up his Cabinet. Blaine virtually controlled the appointment of the others. Naturally, Conkling would be hostile to an administration thus allied with his most dangerous antagonist. The breach between the President and the New York boss was made irreparable when Garfield appointed as collector of the customs at the port of New York William H. Robertson, an uncompromising enemy of Conkling.

Despite the violent protest of Conkling, the Senate confirmed the appointment of Robertson. In so doing it had violated the tradition in favor of Senatorial courtesy, which forbids the confirmation of appointments made by the President unless they are acceptable to the Senators from the states for which the appointments are made. On receiving this rebuke from his fellow Senators, Conkling resigned from the Senate on May 14. His colleague, Thomas Platt, likewise resigned in protest against Garfield's treatment of Conkling and thus gained the nickname "me too Platt." The two hastened to Albany to lay their case before the state legislature, which, they were positive, would send them back to the Senate to fight for the right of dictating appointments in their state. To their great sur-

prise, however, both of them failed of re-election and they retired from public life, Platt temporarily and Conkling permanently.

*Garfield assassinated*

Garfield had been in office scarcely four months, when he was shot (July 2, 1881) by a disappointed office seeker, who claimed to be a Stalwart and wanted Arthur to be President. The stricken President after lingering for weeks died on September 19, and Arthur succeeded to the Presidency.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF ARTHUR

*Arthur's succession to the Presidency considered a national calamity*

The accession to the Presidency of Chester Alan Arthur (1830-1886) was an occasion of deep gloom for all who believed in decent government. Arthur had never in his political career been more than a glorified ward heeler in the Conkling machine of New York. After becoming Vice-President he continued to think solely in terms of New York politics and the spoils of office. He had lobbied with the New York legislature for the return of Conkling and Platt to the United States Senate after those two had resigned in protest against Garfield's appointment of Robertson and others without consulting them. There were, however, some points in his personality and career to offset partially at least his reputation as a machine politician. He was the son of a Baptist minister, he had attended Union College, was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and had been a lawyer employed in the defense of fugitive slaves. Although his political ethics had never been on a high plane, his personal relations had always been characterized by the strictest integrity.

*Arthur supports civil service reform*

Arthur's reaction to the great responsibilities suddenly thrust upon him was an agreeable surprise to those who saw in him only a machine politician. Instead of dismissing his Cabinet promptly and appointing Stalwarts, as had been expected, he replaced the members cautiously with men of moderate views and proved ability. In December, 1881, Blaine resigned as Secretary of State and was succeeded by Frederick T. Frelinghuysen of New Jersey. Robertson as collector of the Port of New York and other appointive officers were permitted to serve out their terms instead of being replaced with Stalwarts. The most unexpected move on the part of Arthur, however, was his championship of a civil service system. The assassination of Garfield by a disappointed Stalwart so shocked the public that reform was demanded. E. L. Godkin said that the crime "acted on public opinion very like a spark on a powder magazine." The civil service reformers met in August, 1881, and organized the National Civil Service Reform League, which set about drafting a civil service bill. This bill was introduced by Senator Pendleton in

the fall of 1881, and Arthur, in his first message and in the succeeding ones during the next year, gave it his endorsement.

*The Pendleton Act*

In the Congressional election of 1882 the Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives by a majority of eighty. The Republicans, now that they were in the minority, suddenly became interested in civil service reform in order that they might retain many appointive officials in office. Partly for this reason and partly because of the pressure of public sentiment, the Pendleton Bill was passed by the "lame duck" Congress and signed by the President (January, 1883). The Pendleton Act provided for the appointment by the President of three civil service commissioners, "not more than two of whom shall be adherents of the same party." The commissioners were, with the approval of the President, to arrange in classes the offices placed under the civil service, and hold competitive examinations in the preparation of lists of persons eligible for appointment. No public officer should be under obligation to make political contributions or perform party service. Customs districts, post offices, and bureaus at Washington, where as many as fifty persons were employed, were placed under civil service rules, but the President was authorized by this act and that of 1871 (above) to place other executive offices under the civil service classification.

*The work of the civil service commission*

Arthur appointed the veteran civil service advocate, Dorman B. Eaton, as chairman of the commission. The commission, under this earnest advocate of decent government, prepared the rules and graded the offices, and by the end of the first year about 14,000 were under classified civil service. Near the end of his administration, when he was about to be succeeded by Cleveland, a Democrat, Arthur (in order to entrench his own appointees) extended the classified services so that 2000 or more were added. When Cleveland was succeeded by Harrison, Cleveland extended the classified lists for the same reason and so it continued until by 1933—when the New Deal entailed such an increase of officials—the great majority of executive appointments were under civil service.

*Some evil effects of the tariff*

By 1883 there had arisen considerable opposition to the protective tariff policy that had been in effect since the Civil War. Economists and financial experts without regard to party, such as David Wells, William Graham Sumner of Yale, and F. W. Taussig of Harvard, most of the Democrats of the South and West, and even a majority of the Republicans from those regions, were opposed to a high tariff on the grounds that it taxed the many for the benefit of the few, and that it injured foreign trade. Another evil result of an immediate and tangible nature was the surplus. Each year more

than $100,000,000 in excess of the needs of government was brought into the treasury. (For objections to the accumulation of a surplus, see pp. 566, 567.)

*The tariff commission recommends lower duties*

In his first message to Congress, Arthur expressed concern over this surplus and urged that the internal revenue except on liquor and tobacco be repealed and the tariff revised so as to produce less revenue. He recommended the creation of a nonpolitical tariff commission to study the tariff and report back to Congress. In the following spring (1882) Congress, faced with an election, enacted a law providing for such a commission consisting of men to be appointed by the President. The committee chosen by Arthur was comprised entirely of protectionists. Its president was John L. Hayes, secretary of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, and three others were directly connected with a protected industry. Those interested in a low tariff or a more scientific tariff looked upon the commission as a pack of wolves appointed to guard the sheep. Therefore, they were greatly surprised when this group of men, after a prolonged and careful study, recommended an average reduction of duties of twenty per cent or more.

*The "Mongrel Tariff"*

Congress promptly entered upon a consideration of the revenue and tariff questions. Its deliberations on the tariff were greatly influenced by pressure from lobbies representing all the protected interests. Finally, on the last day of the "lame duck" Congress a bill was passed by a close vote which reduced the internal revenue but left the general level of the tariff virtually unchanged. This measure, passed on the last day of the existence of this Congress, deserved the title, the "Mongrel Tariff," which was applied to it first by Miss Ida M. Tarbell.

## THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1884

*The Republicans nominate Blaine and Logan*

As a rule the incumbent of the Presidential office is named by his party to succeed himself if he desires the nomination. This was not done, however, in the case of President Arthur, whose policy had not been acceptable either to the Stalwarts or the Liberals. He had gone too far in his civil service reforms to please the Stalwarts and not far enough to please the Liberals. Therefore, when the Republicans met in national convention in Chicago, on June 3, 1884, they passed him by and selected James G. Blaine, the "magnetic man from Maine," for the Presidency and John A. Logan of Illinois for the Vice-Presidency.

*The Republican platform*

The Republicans adopted a platform filled with platitudes and pointed with pride to its record of patriotism and public service. But

it took two decided steps forward: it declared unequivocally for a protective tariff and advocated a law regulating interstate commerce.

*Blaine; personal traits and previous career*

The platform was unimportant, however, compared with the candidate. Blaine had had a long career in public life. He had served as a member of Congress for eighteen years (five years in the Senate and thirteen in the House), and during five of these years was Speaker of the House of Representatives. As has already been seen, he had also been Secretary of State under Garfield. Fascinating in personality and brilliant in conversation and on the platform, he could make a strong emotional appeal to the prejudices of the masses. He was thus an adept in the art of political campaigning, but, despite this great advantage, he was exceptionally vulnerable as a candidate.

*The Mulligan Letters*

In the 1870's he had used his position as Speaker of the House of Representatives to obtain the passage of a bill renewing a large grant of public land to the Fort Smith and Arkansas Railroad, an enterprise in which he had a private interest. He had also had some transactions, profitable to himself, not only with this railroad but also with the Northern Pacific Railroad. In 1876 Blaine's political enemies accused him of these shady transactions, citing as evidence certain letters then in possession of James Mulligan. By a clever trick Blaine got possession of these letters and used them to his advantage in a brilliant speech which he made in the House in answer to these charges. By making favorable selections from these letters he was able to clear himself in the eyes of his admirers, and to them he was still "the Plumed Knight" whose reputation "Copperheads" and "Rebels" had vainly attempted to besmirch. Not all the voters, however, were convinced by Blaine's defense, and the Mulligan Letters played a part in defeating him for the Presidential nomination in 1876 and 1880. In the campaign of 1884 these letters were the chief weapon used against him. They were now published in full and were reinforced by cartoons that represented Blaine in an unfavorable light.

*Cleveland and Hendricks nominated by the Democrats*

The Democrats had only one strong candidate, Grover Cleveland; but Cleveland as governor of New York had by his policy of reform thoroughly offended John Kelly, the Tammany boss, and other Democratic machine politicians. Despite their opposition, the Democrats, meeting in national convention in Chicago on July 8, 1884, nominated Cleveland for President and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President.

*Cleveland's early career*

Grover Cleveland (1837-1908) was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, where his father was pastor of the Presbyterian Church. Later the family moved to Fayetteville, New York, and after that to

Clinton, where the father died (1853), leaving a widow and nine children, four sons and five daughters. Grover's formal schooling was cut short at the age of sixteen by his father's death, for he had to help support his large family. He studied law at odd times and at night and was admitted to the bar in 1859 at the age of twenty-two. In 1881 he was elected mayor of Buffalo and the next year governor of New York, winning in the latter contest by a 200,000 majority. Both as mayor and as governor he took a decided stand in favor of honesty in government, and he vetoed a large number of measures with a graft or pork barrel taint. These vetoes and his general policy of reform aroused the bitter antagonism of grafters and some of the political bosses. This opposition was, however, an important point in his favor with the liberals. General E. S. Bragg of Wisconsin, in seconding his nomination at Chicago, said that "we love him for the enemies he has made." In his previous career he had shown independence in judgment, decisiveness in character, and exceptional common sense, courage, and honesty—qualities much needed in a President.

*Minor parties*

The Greenback Labor Party nominated B. F. Butler for President, and the Prohibition Party named as its standard-bearer John P. St. John, the popular Republican ex-governor of Kansas. The Liberal Republicans refused to support Blaine, and under the leadership of such men as George William Curtis, Carl Schurz, Edwin L. Godkin, editor of the New York *Nation* and New York *Evening Post*, and Charles Francis Adams, Jr., they virtually formed a third party and were known as Independents or "Mugwumps."

*A mud-slinging campaign*

Because of their lack of confidence in Blaine's integrity, the Mugwumps not only supported Cleveland but insisted, in the words of George W. Curtis, that "the paramount issue this year is moral rather than political"; but almost at once the Republicans countered with the accusation that Cleveland was the father of an illegitimate child in Buffalo. This was a great shock to the supporters of Cleveland; but he did not deny it; indeed, when asked by the party leaders what to say, he replied, "Tell the truth." It was the folly of his younger bachelor days. It probably lost Cleveland some votes, yet his forthright honesty in the matter and his blunt refusal to sanction the spreading of false rumors about Blaine's private life probably gained him more than he lost. But no such restraint was exercised by others. Mudslinging has seldom been greater.

*Cleveland elected; reasons*

The campaign ended in a very close decision. In the entire country Cleveland won by only 23,000, but his electoral vote was 219 to Blaine's 182. He carried Delaware, Indiana, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and all the Southern states. Cleveland's margin

in New York was 1149 and in Connecticut 1200. The Democrats also won a safe majority in the House, but the Republicans still had a majority in the Senate, and they held control of the upper house of Congress throughout Cleveland's first term. Several factors brought about Cleveland's success. The Independent or Mugwump vote contributed heavily, and the Prohibitionist vote took about 25,000 away from Blaine in New York. (Had there been no Prohibitionist candidate, most of the Prohibitionists would have voted for Blaine, since they were either Republicans or were offended at Cleveland's bibulous habits.) Even though Mugwumps and Prohibitionists cut in on the Republican votes, "Ben" Butler with his Greenback Labor ticket detached about 17,000 Democrats from Cleveland.

*"Rum, Romanism, and rebellion"*

The Irish vote also figured as an important factor in Blaine's loss of the New York election. Blaine's mother was an Irish Catholic, and his sister was a Catholic nun. Because of this family connection and his anti-British attitude, he counted heavily on the Irish vote. He was disappointed in this expectation by an unfortunate circumstance which occurred as follows: When a group of Protestant ministers met at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to endorse Blaine, their spokesman, Rev. Samuel Burchard, denounced the Democratic Party as one "whose antecedents have been rum, Romanism and rebellion." Blaine, who was weary from travel and campaigning, obviously did not hear what Burchard said and failed to rebuke him. Quickly the Democrats spread the phrase and soon were attributing to Blaine himself the statement made by Burchard. Despite this unhappy incident Blaine did receive a greater portion of the Irish vote than any Republican candidate usually received. But many of the Catholic clergy and their congregations were angry and voted against him.

All these factors may be accounted as important in the defeat of Blaine; yet the underlying cause was the twenty-three years of Republican rule. The Republicans were by all odds the majority party by 1884; but many of them were weary of winning elections by appealing to Civil War issues and ignoring the real issues of the day, such as the growth of the giant corporations, the railroads, the currency question, overproduction, the tariff, and labor organizations. But the immediate issue in 1884 was, let it be repeated, honest and responsible government.

## CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

*His Cabinet*

Cleveland's Cabinet compared favorably in ability with those of his Republican predecessors. Thomas F. Bayard of Delaware was

made Secretary of State and Daniel Manning of New York, Secretary of the Treasury. The South was given recognition by the choice of L. Q. C. Lamar of Mississippi for Secretary of the Interior and A. H. Garland of Arkansas for Attorney General.

*Cleveland's difficulty in adhering to his ideas of civil service*

When Cleveland took office in 1885, he was confronted with the fact that the Republican party had held the Presidency for twenty-four years, and all but a minor portion of the Federal offices were filled by Republicans. He was, therefore, in an embarrassing situation when he came to the appointment of officers at the lower levels. He was sincerely committed to civil service reform and he wished to live up to the principle that a public office is a public trust; yet it seemed preposterous to him that the entire Executive Department—outside of the group covered by the civil service, most of whom were Republicans—comprising about 86,000 offices should be manned solely by Republicans, especially under a Democratic administration. Then, too, his party associates were bringing pressure upon him. The old and embittered Tilden favored a policy of "turning the rascals out," and the demand of the Democrats for the appointment of their supporters was almost overwhelming.

To solve the difficulty he laid down certain principles by which he would be governed in making appointments. He would remove officers not because they were Republicans but because they had made use of their office for partisan purposes; Republicans who had held office for four years should give way to Democrats, and all resignations would be gratefully received. But the hordes of office seekers, who engulfed Washington like a tidal wave, made it difficult at all times and often impossible to adhere to the rules he had laid down. By the end of his term in office the majority of the Republicans had been replaced by Democrats, many of whom were unfortunate appointments. Yet Cleveland did not go far enough in replacing Republicans with Democrats to satisfy his party and he went too far to satisfy the Mugwumps. The President carefully guarded the Pendleton civil service law, however, and by the end of his term had added 12,000 to the classified list.

*Efforts to protect the public domain*

One of the crying evils that the President attacked at once was the fraudulent acquisition and illegal use of the public domain. Speculators, railroads, lumber companies, mining corporations, and great cattle ranchers, with the collusion of government surveyors, were grabbing up and exploiting the public lands. The depredations of the lumber companies were reported as "universal, flagrant and limitless." Mining companies sank shafts on the public lands, and gold, copper, lead, and silver were taken out. The cattle kings grazed their herds upon government land without permission; they fenced

streams and water holes and barred the smaller herdsmen and farmers from large areas. Millions of acres had thus been illegally acquired or occupied. Vast areas of land, much of it fine timber, mineral, or farm land, were being exploited by the railroad officials. The President acted swiftly to put a stop to the fast dwindling of the public domain. On March 13, 1885, less than ten days after assuming office, he ordered all squatters and graziers out of the Oklahoma lands in Indian Territory. Later he returned to the Indians other lands that had been taken from them. On August 7, in accordance with a provision of a law of February 25, he also ordered all unlawful fences to be removed at once from the public domain.

*Some reform measures*

*The pensions issue*

Acting under pressure from the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), composed of Union veterans of the Civil War, Congress in 1887 passed the Dependent Pension Bill. This bill would grant a pension to every veteran of as little as ninety days' honorable military or naval service who was dependent upon his own labor for a livelihood but was unable to earn it. The passage of the bill was greeted throughout the North with angry protests, for it was perfectly obvious that the persons to be pensioned by the new bill had no real claim on their government. General Bragg of Wisconsin characterized it as "a bill to pension the rubbish of the United States." Cleveland, who had been vetoing hundreds of private pension bills based on fraudulent claims, now killed this bill by vetoing it as a general fraud. In so doing he aroused the lasting enmity of the G.A.R., an organization of great political influence. The Union veterans were confirmed in their ill will toward the President by his order—which he afterwards revoked—that the flags captured from the Confederates be restored to their respective states.

### THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

*State regulation of interstate railway traffic first upheld and then denied by the Supreme Court*

The most important law of the Cleveland Administration dealing with current economic problems was that which established the Interstate Commerce Commission. The cutthroat competition between railroads, followed by combinations or pools to charge what the traffic would bear, the discrimination between shippers, the rebates obtained by such capitalists as Rockefeller and Carnegie, and the many other abuses against which the Granger movement had been directed (see pp. 585 ff.) had led some of the states to pass laws regulating railroad rates. In earlier decisions these laws were upheld by the United States Supreme Court (see pp. 586 f.). But in 1886 in the Wabash case, the Court reversed itself and held that the regulation of interstate commerce was under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Federal government. Thus the railroads were left without ade-

quate legal restraint. The public, however, was in no mood to leave the railroads to their own devices—which were many and dark. The investigations during the Granger agitation and the reports of the various state railroad commissions all pointed most urgently to the necessity of Federal regulation.

*Strong sentiment in favor of Federal regulation*

In 1885 the Senate appointed a committee of five with Shelby M. Cullom as chairman to investigate the railroad situation and report some plan of regulation. This committee visited many cities and towns and interviewed farmers, Grangers, businessmen, and especially state railroad commissioners. After this investigation the committee on January 18, 1886, rendered a thorough and very disturbing report, and Cullom told the unwilling Senate that the public would stand no further delay.

*The Cullom Committee*

On February 4, 1887, Congress passed an act regulating the practices of railroads and establishing an Interstate Commerce Commission to administer the law. The Commission was to consist of five men appointed by the President for six-year terms. No more than three should belong to the same political party. The law attempted to remedy the chief railroad abuses that the Granger agitation, state railroad commissions, and the Cullom report had revealed. Pools, rebates, preferential treatment of persons and places, and higher rates for short hauls than long hauls were forbidden. The Commission was charged with the investigation of all alleged violations of the law. Its decisions against a railroad were, however, always subject to appeal to the Federal courts, and in this way the railroads within a few years were able to tie up cases against themselves in a series of endless litigations and thus to render the law almost useless. Indeed it was not until 1906, when under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt Congress passed the Hepburn Act, that anything like effective railroad regulation was accomplished. Still the experience gained and administrative procedures established by the first Commission and the education of both the railroads and the public in the idea of Federal control of interstate commerce were valuable for the future.

*The law establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission, its weakness*

## THE TARIFF AND THE ELECTION OF 1888

For some years after reconstruction the two major parties had apparently become so much alike that they had not dared to deal vigorously with real economic issues, lest some large minority should desert to the opposing party that claimed, for the sake of election at least, to have a different point of view. In 1888, however, the two parties openly contested the campaign upon a real economic issue—the tariff. Prior to the Civil War the Democrats had consistently

*Cleveland brings forward the tariff as the issue between the two parties*

opposed a high tariff, but from 1865 to 1888 they had stressed other issues and had not made a determined fight for tariff reform. It was due to the influence and leadership of Cleveland that they abandoned the policy of opportunism hitherto followed and adopted tariff reform as their main objective. Having studied the tariff methodically in its bearing upon the economic system of the country, Cleveland finally concluded that tariff reduction was imperative, and he made up his mind to place the issue before the American people. Accordingly, on December 6, 1887, he sent Congress a message devoted exclusively to the subject of tariff reduction. Since the Democrats, a minority of whom were protectionists, controlled the House of Representatives by the very narrow margin of twelve members, and the Senate was Republican—as it had been throughout the Cleveland Administration—it was not possible to pass a low-tariff bill. Cleveland's message was therefore a campaign document. By this message, which he wrote without consulting the Democratic leaders, he compelled both parties to make the tariff the issue in the election of 1888.

*The tariff message of 1887*

In his message the President pointed out that revenues were far in excess of expenditures, and that the surplus thus being piled up at a fearful rate was a dangerous "withdrawal from use of the people's circulating medium." Furthermore, continued the message, such accumulation of the currency in excess of legitimate needs of the government and at the expense of the consumers was "indefensible extortion and a culpable betrayal of American fairness and justice." The highly protective tariff raised the price to consumers of imported goods, and the manufacturers of the same types of articles at home raised the prices of their goods to correspond with the prices of imported goods. In this way all the people were taxed, and those who purchased imported goods paid the tariff to the government, while those who purchased home products paid the equivalent of the tariff to the manufacturers. It was the use of the government by a few men—now organizing into trusts—to exploit the people.

*The Mills Bill and the "Great Tariff Debate of 1888"*

The message produced a profound reaction. In response to it the House Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Roger Q. Mills of Texas immediately prepared and reported a bill to reduce the tariff from an average of forty-seven per cent to forty. Several items such as wool, lumber, hemp, flax, cotton ties, and salt were placed on the free list, and the internal revenue duties, especially on tobacco, were reduced. It was estimated that the total reduction of internal and external revenue would amount to $80,000,000 per year if the Mills bill could be made into law. This

bill precipitated a prolonged discussion which William Springer of Illinois characterized as the "Great Tariff Debate of 1888." Mills and J. G. Carlisle, Speaker of the House, upheld Cleveland's point of view with great ability. Thomas Reed, the future Republican Speaker of the House, and William McKinley, to be elected President within eight years, upheld the position, now for the first time frankly announced, that the Republicans desired a tariff sufficiently high to exclude all competitive foreign goods from the American market and thus give the American industrialists a monopoly of the home market.

Aside from the injustice of a protective tariff and the danger of further withdrawal of money from circulation, the growing surplus invited reckless and extravagant expenditures. All Federal bonds that were payable had been brought in, and the Treasury had repurchased at a premium those salable bonds not yet due. There was, then, no legitimate objective of expenditure left. The government revenue must be reduced at once to bring to an end this excessive piling up of the surplus. In readjusting the tariff system (declared the President) the interest of American labor and the preservation of our manufactures must be kept in mind. Cleveland was not advocating free trade, for this was no time to dwell "upon the theories of protection and free trade." Indeed, he earnestly argued, "our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade. This savors too much of bandying epithets. It is a *condition* which confronts us, not a theory."

*Defeated tariff bills serve as party platforms*

The Mills Bill was passed by the Democratic House (July 21, 1888) but met defeat in the Republican Senate. On the other hand the Senate, under the leadership of Nelson A. Aldrich of Rhode Island and W. B. Allison of Iowa, passed a high tariff bill acceptable to the Republicans. These bills had been voted with no expectation of enacting them into law but only for the purpose of showing the position of each party on the tariff issue. They thus served as the main planks in the party platforms in the election of 1888.

*Cleveland renominated by the Democrats*

Cleveland's position on important questions had aroused considerable dissatisfaction in his own party. Protectionist Democrats were opposed to his tariff policy, and the Southern and Western Democrats did not like his opposition to free silver. Nor did the Tammany organization or such machine politicians as Governor David B. Hill of New York feel happy over the President's civil service policy. Cleveland's courageous fight for honesty and economy in government had, however, won the support of the masses, and when the Democratic convention met in St. Louis on June 5 he

was renominated by acclamation. The platform declared in favor of a reduction in the tariff rates as indicated in the President's message and the Mills Bill.

*Harrison nominated by the Republicans after Blaine's withdrawal*

The Republicans wanted to nominate Blaine, but partly on account of ill health and partly for fear of defeat, he showed an unwillingness to accept the nomination. With Blaine out of the running, the leaders had difficulty in agreeing on a standard-bearer. After days of futile balloting, the convention meeting in Chicago (June, 1892) heeded Blaine's advice and nominated Senator Benjamin Harrison of Indiana for the Presidency. Levi P. Morton, wealthy New Yorker, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

*The Republican platform; emphasis on the protective tariff*

The Republican platform repeated the platitudes of former platforms about civil service reform and laws to curb monopolies; but it frankly advocated a high protective tariff system, which in remembrance of Henry Clay it called "the American System of protection." Indeed it favored "the entire repeal of internal revenue taxes rather than the surrender of any part of our protective system." It promised the Union veterans of the Civil War liberal pensions.

*Harrison's "front porch campaign" waged upon the tariff issue*

The Republicans managed their campaign with skill. Harrison wisely conducted a "front porch campaign" from his home in Indianapolis. He made more than ninety speeches to visiting delegations and in them he aroused considerable enthusiasm by his charm and persuasiveness. His discussions were based on principles and he never descended to personal recrimination. He emphasized the tariff issue, putting forth the old argument that a protective tariff insured the American working classes against the pauper labor of Europe. The Republican Party had an immense campaign fund with which to keep its political machinery in good running order. This money was contributed largely by the manufacturers, who as beneficiaries of protection were strongly urged by the Republican leaders to give generous financial aid to the party that favored protection. This method of filling the campaign chest was known as "fat frying." The Democrats did not have manufacturers that they could "fry" and therefore they had to get along with a relatively small campaign fund.

*Harrison elected by carrying the pivotal states*

In the election Cleveland received 100,000 more votes than Harrison, but these votes were so located that Harrison received 233 electoral votes to Cleveland's 168. Harrison had carried the pivotal state of Indiana by only 2300 and New York by only 12,000.

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2. Garfield as President.—E. P. Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 99-120.

3. President Arthur, Personal Traits.—H. T. Peck, *Twenty Years of the Republic*, pp. 8-11 (a favorable account).
4. Arthur's Administration.—E. P. Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 121-160.
5. The Election of 1884.—F. L. Paxson, *Recent History of the United States*, ch. 9: Lingley, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-191: Allan Nevins, *Grover Cleveland*, chs. 10 and 11.
6. Grover Cleveland: Personality and Previous Career.—H. J. Ford. *The Cleveland Era*, ch. 3; Robert McElroy, *Grover Cleveland—The Man and the Statesman*, I, chs. 1-3.
7. Cleveland's First Term.—P. L. Haworth, *The United States in Our Own Times*, pp. 164-177.
8. The Interstate Commerce Act of 1887.—W. Z. Ripley, *Railroads: Rules and Regulation*, ch. 13; William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History*, pp. 581-590 (text of the act, not complete).
9. Cleveland's Tariff Message of 1887.—Allan Nevins, *op. cit.*, ch. 21.
10. The Campaign of 1888.—E. P. Oberholtzer, *op. cit.*, V, ch. 33.

# CHAPTER XXXII

# *Western and Southern Background of Agrarian Discontent*

*Farmers of East suffer less than those of South and West*

ALTHOUGH the industrial workers were held down to a low standard of living during the three decades following the Civil War, they were probably better off than the American farmers. Indeed the economic well-being of farmers declined almost steadily from 1865 to near the end of the century. This decline occasionally ceased and even reversed itself slightly, and the optimistic tillers of the soil forgot their ills; but most of the time the farmers were in distress and during the last decade of the century they were desperate and many were ready for a revolution.

The agriculturists everywhere shared more or less in this gloomy lot. But the farmers of the industrial East suffered less as a group or as individuals because of their nearness to the great urban centers where there was always a fair market for their truck, fruits, dairy products, livestock, poultry, and staple crops. Furthermore, the possessors of the industrial and financial wealth which had accumulated in that section helped, although unwillingly, to bear the expense of maintaining social, cultural, and religious institutions and the cost of government. However, the farmers of the predominantly agricultural West and South received little rewards for their labor and at times seemed to be penalized for their hard work. It is primarily, then, with the South and West that we are concerned here.

## THE WEST

*Old Midwest more prosperous than trans-Mississippi West*

The states of the Old Midwest—that is, those lying between the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and the Appalachian Mountains—were still predominantly agricultural, but their nearness to such urban centers as Chicago, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh and their well-developed network of railroads made diversified agriculture, truck farming, and dairying profitable at times, and relieved them to some degree of the great transportation costs which

bore so disastrously upon the trans-Mississippi West. As depressed as was the economic life of the farmers in this region, it was prosperous compared with that of the people in the states of the Great Plains and the mountains of the trans-Mississippi.

*The trans-Mississippi West; causes of its rapid settlement*

This trans-Mississippi West consisted of two settled strips—one along the Pacific coast and one along the Mississippi River—and a vast region, a thousand or more miles wide, lying in between, composed of mountains and high plains considered unfit for white habitation and called the Great American Desert. On the Pacific the states of Oregon and California had been admitted before the Civil War, and Nevada during the war. The settled strip across the Mississippi was made up of one tier of states, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Arkansas, adjacent to the river, and the beginning of a second tier, Texas and Kansas, lying to the west and partly within the so-called desert. The settling of the Great Plains and mountain frontier, "the Middle Border," required about thirty years; indeed, the entire trans-Mississippi West, excluding Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, was settled in less than fifty years compared with the period of two hundred years for the region east of the Mississippi.

The factors that speeded the process of settlement of the "Last Frontier" were: the discovery of vast gold and silver deposits in the mountains, which caused hundreds of thousands of daring spirits to brave the desert, the Indians, and the wild beasts; the building of the trans-continental railroads (see pp. 536 ff.), which carried the immigrants in and their produce and cattle out; the use of the army to force the Indians from the best lands and settle them in reservations; the favorable land laws which enabled the farmers to acquire large holdings; the development of barbed wire with which the farmers' fields could be protected from the range cattle; the liberal extension of credit by the Eastern capitalists; the use of mechanized equipment; and finally the widespread use of the windmill which pumped a steady stream of water from the deep wells dug or bored by the settlers.

*The discovery of gold and silver in the Southwest; Nevada, Colorado, and Arizona organized*

By 1860 the prospectors for gold and silver had begun to invade the Great American Desert. In 1858 gold was discovered in western Utah just a few miles from the border of California. The next summer further important discoveries were made both of gold and silver, the most noted being the Comstock lode in western Utah, which yielded over $300,000,000 in twenty-five years and more than $1,000,000,000 in gold and silver up to the present. Thousands of miners rushed into this high desert country, and cities sprang up overnight. As a result of this gold and silver rush, the Comstock region in 1861 was made into the territory and in 1861 the state of

Nevada. Men were swarming also into the Pikes Peak country to mine gold and silver. By 1860 at least 100,000 men had moved in, and in 1861 this newly occupied area was formed into the territory of Colorado.

The free gold soon gave out, however, and those miners who had come in their covered wagons with the sign "Pikes Peak or bust" and with no other tools than a wash pan, a pick, and a shovel, turned their wagons back toward Kansas and Missouri with the words added, "busted, by gosh." However, many stayed on and worked in the mines for the wealthy mine owners who had installed machinery for processing the quartz in which the gold was found. Large deposits of silver were soon discovered, and in 1876 Colorado, being sufficiently populous and the Republicans needing two more Senators and more Presidential electors, was admitted as a state. In 1862 large quantities of gold nuggets were discovered in the western part of New Mexico, and a boom immediately followed. The following year the territory of Arizona was created from the western portion of New Mexico.

*Gold strikes in the Northwest and the creation of more territories*

Almost at the same time the gold seekers moved into the Northwest and made rich strikes. In 1860 prospectors discovered gold near the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers in what is now Idaho, and the next year the fortune hunters swarming into that region created the town of Lewistown. Soon other strikes were made, not only in the Idaho region, but also in what is now the state of Montana. The lusty, tough, mining population, suddenly thrust into this far-off, Indian-infested region, demanded some kind of government, and Congress quickly responded by creating the territories of Idaho (1863), Montana (1864), and Wyoming (1868). The last important discovery of gold was in Dakota in 1871, during General George Custer's expedition into the Black Hills. The eastern part of Dakota had been settled in the late 1850's by agricultural immigrants from Minnesota and further east, and a territorial government had been organized in 1861.

The mountain territories were thus based entirely upon gold and silver mining—although copper and lead mining became profitable later. It is estimated that their production of silver from 1860 to 1900 amounted to more than a billion dollars, and gold to more than a billion and a quarter.

*The necessity for the removal of the Indians and buffaloes*

The miners set themselves down not only in the midst of a semi-arid expanse of mountain and plain but also of hostile Indians and millions of buffaloes. The Indians had to be confined in reservations before there could be much development in these western territories.

The buffaloes had to be exterminated, for they were the basis of Indian economy as well as the deadly enemy of the grain and truck which the mining communities soon began to cultivate. Even more aggressive than the miners and more incompatible with the Indian hunting economy were the agricultural migrants and herdsmen from the East and Southwest.

*Indian resistance broken by treachery and savagery of commanding generals of the United States army*

Caught between the miners of the mountains and the farmers and herdsmen of the plains, the Indians put up a battle to the death. This war between the white men and the Plains Indians lasted from 1862 to 1890, although the principal contests were over by 1878. This time it was not the private citizen and state militia as it had been on the older frontiers, but the regulars of the United States army under the command of such high-ranking generals as Sherman, Sheridan, Crook, Gibbon, and Custer, who were sent out to drive the Indians from the lands which the United States had allotted them. Nor would the United States army so soon have broken the resistance of the Indians had not its leaders resorted to treachery and savagery even beyond the limits set by the red man himself.

One reads with horror how Colonel J. M. Chivington, seemingly with the approval of superiors, massacred a large body of Arapaho and Cheyenne Indians composed of men, women, and children, who had assembled at Fort Lyon, Colorado, under his protection for the purpose of making a peace treaty. Although the Indians under their chief, Black Kettle, were flying a flag of truce and the Stars and Stripes, women were shot down while imploring mercy, their little children had their brains knocked out with clubbed rifles, and the men were tortured and scalped. In November, 1868, General George A. Custer, acting under General Sheridan's orders, surrounded the Arapahos and Cheyennes in their village of Wichita, attacked them while sleeping, and repeated the atrocities of the Chivington massacre of 1864. Other such massacres of the Indians were carried out under General Sheridan's orders. This does not imply that the Indians were not treacherous and brutal, but they were in their own homes and were not supposed to be civilized. Ultimately, General Custer fell a victim to Indian retaliation. In 1876 he attacked a band of Sioux and Cheyenne Indians under the leadership of the famous chieftain, Sitting Bull, on the Little Big Horn River, but the Indians outnumbered the whites, and surrounded and massacred them to the last man.

*Battle of the Little Big Horn River*

*Slaughter of the buffaloes*

While the army under the orders of Sherman and Sheridan was thus exterminating the Indians, the settlers, cattlemen, hunters, railroad builders, and soldiery were slaughtering the buffaloes and thus

destroying the foundation of Indian economy. There were between seven and ten million head in 1860, but by 1885 there were less than one thousand left.

*Sympathy for the Indians aroused*

The ruthless policy of the War Department in dealing with the Indians led to the selection by Congress of several committees of investigation. The reports of these committees together with those of newspaper writers created great sympathy for the Indians in the older settled communities, and strong demands were made that the United States conduct itself as a civilized nation in dealing with the unfortunate Indians.

*The deterioration of the Indians on reservations*

The resulting changes in policy were meant to be in the interest of both the white man and the Indian. For the benefit of the onrushing waves of white settlers, the Indians were deprived of most of their lands and were settled in undesirable remnants called reservations. But the government granted the Indians annuities and doles to compensate for loss of their land and the buffaloes. Crowded upon inhospitable and gameless reservations, the Indians rapidly deteriorated in character, and many a noble warrior in his old age was a common beggar and pilferer.

*The policy of making the Indian a citizen*

Seeing the unenviable plight of the Indian, the policy of the government tended toward the civilization and assimilation of the Indian rather than his extermination. Congress, looking to the breakup of tribal organizations, passed a law in 1871 putting an end to the practice of making treaties with the Indian tribes. In 1887 it passed the Dawes Act, which went further in this direction by providing for the distribution of tribal lands to individuals. Heads of families were to receive, if they desired and the government approved, one hundred and sixty acres of land; unmarried adults and orphans, eighty acres; and dependent children, forty. To prevent the sale of the land and the cheating of the Indians by speculators, it was to be held in trust for twenty-five years. Indians were made citizens when they received the title to their lands.

It was presently discovered that the Indian was not willing or ready to accept the white man's civilization, or if he did accept it he usually selected the most detrimental phases. For one thing, as a citizen he could buy liquor as long as his money lasted. This proved to be serious, for there was no effective way to prevent the Indian citizen from passing liquor on to Indians still maintaining their tribal connections. Then, too, the Indians were usually unwilling to wait twenty-five years for the title deed to their land, and many soon deserted their holdings and went back into the tribe. It was also discovered that the Indian vote was easily purchased.

It was hoped that the situation could be remedied by educating the

Indian, and a compulsory educational law was passed in 1891. Again in 1906, the Burke Act further attempted to do something to better the lot of the Indian. It gave the President the authority to lessen the period of trusteeship at his discretion. Indians were not to become citizens until after they received full title to their lands, and it was forbidden to sell liquor to Indians who were not citizens. None of these things seemed to put an end to the steady deterioration of the Indians, except in the case of the Oklahoma Indians, who, before they were moved out of the South during the Jackson administration, had become good farmers and had already begun to educate their leaders. In 1924 the government removed all restrictions upon the Indians' political status and made them all citizens of the United States. Then in 1934 the government reversed itself and under the Wheeler-Howard Act ended the distribution of tribal lands, encouraged the Indians to reorganize as tribes, and loaned them money for soil improvement, irrigation, and the purchase of tribal lands. Interestingly enough, some of the Western tribes have shown marked signs of regeneration under the return to a limited tribal government.

*The herdsmen succeed the Indian and buffalo*

With the withdrawal of the Indians to reservations, the release of great stretches of territory on the Great Plains, and the destruction of the buffalo, the herdsmen moved in. There now began an era of grazing, lasting about twenty years, which assumed proportions never before reached in this country.

*Texas, the cattle breeding grounds; further grazing and feeding in the North*

The most spectacular event in the cattle business after the Civil War was the driving of enormous herds of cattle from Texas through Indian Territory to railheads in Kansas and Nebraska. It was found that the wiry buffalo grass that grew on the semiarid plains of central and nothern Texas dried while standing and became excellent hay on which cattle could winter without shelter or feeding. This type of grass extended to Canada, and, as the cattle were driven northward during the latter part of the summer, they grazed and increased in weight as they went. It was immediately learned that cattle could winter as far north as Montana and Dakota without being fed or sheltered, and Texas cattle were purchased by Northern ranchers and carried into the Northwest to graze for another season. Although many cattlemen bred their own stock in the middle and upper Plains states, for a time there was a tendency to purchase the yearling steers from Texas, so that the latter region became the nursery for the cattle business, and the more northern regions became the growing grounds. Frequently there was a third stage to the cattle business: they were shipped by rail to the corn belt and fattened by cattle feeders.

The profits of the grazing business became enormous. The public

*Great profits in the beginning*

domain was grazed without cost; relatively few cowboys were required to tend the cattle on the open plains, compared with the wooded country east of the Mississippi; and the drive to market was, as observed, a grazing junket itself. Profits often ran as high as forty per cent when the business was at its peak.

*Open-range cattle business ended; reasons*

The open-range cattle business, however, was as short-lived as it was spectacular. There were several factors that brought it to an end. Eastern and even European capitalists, impressed by the quick millions that had been made in cattle grazing, purchased great herds of cattle, and ranges were overstocked by 1883. The more powerful cattlemen with their own private armies of reckless cowboys soon began to fence off the public land, thus seizing control of the few water holes and dependable streams and crowding out the smaller herdsmen or compelling them to sell out. By 1885 there were more cattle being grazed on the Great Plains than could be disposed of at a profit. At the very time when the size of the cattle business was being increased, the steady tide of homesteaders was pushing the herdsmen further back into the more arid regions and rapidly narrowing the open range. Then the British government cut into the American market by passing a law prohibiting the importation of American cattle on the ground that they were often diseased. In 1885 and 1886 Kansas and Colorado, respectively, passed a quarantine law prohibiting the further bringing of Texas cattle into these states, partly because of the Texas fever and other dangerous cattle diseases, but chiefly, it seems, to kill the competition with Texas cattle that multiplied like guinea pigs.

At the same time that these factors were at work to deplete the profits and threaten the life of the open-range cattle business, the packing houses became a virtual monopoly under Armour, Morris, Swift, and Hammond, and by mutual agreement were able to set the prices of cattle at an arbitrary figure—always low. Finally, the railroads charged both farmers and cattlemen all the traffic would bear and more. Only the great cattle kings with millions of dollars to back them could get favorable rates in the form of rebates.

These factors—the coming of the agricultural settlers, overstocking, quarantine laws that crippled the Texas cattle business, packing-house monopolies, and railroad exploitation—left no margin of safety; and when two severe winters, 1885-86, 1886-87, came on top of all these, and were then followed by a ten-year drought, the range cattle business was wrecked.

*Cattlemen, miners, and farmers have common grievances*

Coming as it did just as the Farmers' Alliance and Populist movements were getting under way (see pp. 589 ff.), the great drought brought the bankrupt rancher and cowboy and the Western farmer

together in their common grievances against railroads, banking houses, and monopolies, and in their demand for cheap money. Already the mountain states, dominated by the silver mining interests and imposed on by railroads, were harboring deep enmity toward the same things and were demanding free silver, which was a demand for cheap money.

*The farmer succeeds the cattleman; the railroads as colonizing agents*

The farmers were by far the largest group to move into the West. Even the cattlemen themselves after 1887 became farmer-ranchers, and many of the mineworkers did the same. Unlike the pioneer settlers east of the Mississippi and even those in the first tier of states to the west of the river, the agricultural population of the Great Plains did not come on horseback or in carts and wagons. The commonwealths of the Great Plains and mountains were the creatures of the railroads. The railroads brought the people in and carried their farm produce and livestock to the Eastern markets. It will be recalled that the Federal government had granted the transcontinental railroads an estimated 128,000,000 acres of land from 1862 to 1871 when the policy had been ended, and that it had granted the states many more millions of acres to be given to the railroads. Furthermore, by the use of dummy homesteaders and dummy squatters, and by outright claim jumping, other millions of acres were added to the railroad holdings. The railroad grants lay in alternate sections ten to twenty miles deep on each side of the right of way; and it was these lands and the government lands lying between them on which the farmers naturally settled at first.

The railroads had well-organized land departments that printed intelligent and widely circulated propaganda literature calculated to dispel the popular idea that the Great Plains was a desert. Average rainfall was shown to be quite sufficient for the growing of small grains far past the hundredth meridian. Nor was this incorrect, for over a period of many years rainfall sufficient for wheat and barley crops had occurred in the semiarid areas of western Kansas, Nebraska, and eastern Dakota. Emigrants from Scandinavia, Germany, and even Russia were brought in by the railroads and steamship companies allied with them; and, as always, the farmers from the contiguous regions to the East and in the same isothermal zones pushed on toward the frontier to obtain cheap lands either from the railroads or from the government. The railroad lands were usually sold on a ten-year credit, and at a reasonable price, ranging from twenty-five cents an acre to about five dollars, but averaging between three and four dollars an acre. Railroads sold tickets to land prospectors with the agreement that the price of the tickets could be counted as payment on the purchase of railroad land; and free transportation was

often given to the settler's family. The railroads were, of course, greatly interested in disposing of their lands at a good profit, but their long-time interest was in the settlement of the country, which alone would make the railroads prosper or even survive. Freight and passengers rather than land speculation were their chief desires.

*Federal land laws*

The oldest of the land laws still in use was the Pre-emption Act of 1841, which permitted a settler, after squatting on government land for six months, to purchase 160 acres at the minimum price of $1.25 an acre. The Homestead Act of 1862 granted, upon the condition of a five-year residence, 160 acres free to heads of families or persons over twenty-one years of age who were citizens or who had filed their papers declaring their intention to become citizens. The railroads and land companies pointed out that these two acts could be juggled so that land could be obtained under both. First the squatter could get his 160 acres under the Pre-emption Act, then he could homestead 160 acres. In this way he obtained 320 acres at the government minimum.

Under acts passed in the 1870's—the Timber Culture Act (1873), the Desert Land Act (1877), and the Timber and Stone Act (1878)—the farmer and rancher on the Great Plains by meeting certain conditions, such as the planting of trees and the irrigation of the soil, could acquire 1280 acres of land at a cost of $1.00 an acre.

*Barbed wire and the metal windmill make permanent settlement possible*

Under railroad management, then, the movement of the agricultural population into the Great Plains had assumed by the end of the 1870's the aspects of a human tidal wave. Despite the railroad, however, without the barbed wire and the small metal windmills to pump water from the deep bored wells, the Plains doubtless would have remained an open range for the cattlemen and the cowboys. Several crude specimens of barbed wire were patented in the late 1860's, but it was not until 1874 and 1875 that successful wire was produced. After that the farmer could protect his crop from the trampling herds as long as the cattlemen did not cut the fence—something that they frequently did and at the cost of bloodshed. The small, easily shipped metal windmill made it possible for the agricultural settler to push in to the open plains where there were no streams or springs, and to bore deep wells from which the windmill could pump an almost constant stream of water. The barbed wire fence and the windmill were more fundamental in the permanent settling of the Plains by agricultural folk than were the railroads.

The farmers of the Plains moved into the new country for a reason somewhat different from that of the pioneers east of the

Mississippi. With the exception of groups of cotton planters here and there upon the Southern frontier, most Eastern pioneers had probably moved upon the public domain, not merely to obtain better and cheaper and, therefore, more land, but to fall back upon a self-sufficient, non-money economy for an indefinite time, depending upon the range, the wild game, subsistence farming, and crude home manufactures. In short, they would mend their fortunes in part by lowering their standards of living. The pioneers of the Plains were capitalistic farmers, dependent upon a one money crop and highly mechanized and expensive farm equipment. For example, it was absolutely necessary for them to purchase reapers, and when the binders came into use after 1880 they were compelled to purchase them or lose out in the competitive business of raising grain. When the combine was developed in 1885, all wheat farmers felt the necessity of purchasing one or more of them. Improved drills, plows, and wagons, too, must also be purchased. Then they must have hogs, cows, and work stock, houses, barns, and fences.

*The highly mechanized farming of the West dependent on one money crop*

Such equipment and livestock were expensive, and it all had to be purchased on credit. But credit was exceedingly easy for the settlers in the new country, because Eastern capitalists with surplus money long regarded a mortgage on a Great Plains farm as a gilt-edge investment which would earn eight and ten per cent, and they readily accepted chattel mortgages at from ten to eighteen per cent. Then the people must have public buildings, courthouses, schools, churches, and, in the towns, power plants, streetcar systems, roads, bridges, and irrigation canals. It was a money economy with a vengeance, and someone else's money, too. By 1887 much of the West was mortgaged almost to a farm and down to the last plow horse and threshing machine, and municipal, county, and state governments were heavily burdened with bonded debts.

*All individual and public establishments equipped on credit from the East*

In 1887 the Western boom collapsed. The wheat and corn farmers for years had raised a surplus of grain, and the price had steadily declined; but by increasing the acreage they had been able to maintain a fairly steady income. The sharp decline in 1885 of cattle prices had affected the prices of small grain and corn seriously. Then, too, while the steady increase of acreage was going on in the West and overproduction was taking place in terms of the home market, Canada, Russia, Australia, Argentina, and India were pouring cheap grain into the world market and were contributing further to the rapidly declining price. In 1887 in the midst of a world bumper crop, the ten-year drought, which virtually completed the destruction of the range-cattle business, set in and ruined

*Collapse of the Western boom, foreclosure of mortgages*

many thousands of grain farmers on the Plains, doing great damage to them all. The population that had so eagerly streamed into the western portions of Kansas, Nebraska, Dakota, and even into eastern Colorado and Montana, began streaming back, bankrupt and desperate. The Eastern creditors and loan companies, financed by Eastern and even foreign capital, began foreclosing land and chattel mortgages en masse and thus brought financial ruin to the farm owners. It was under these circumstances that the Alliance and Populist movements, amounting almost to a revolution, swept the Northwest. However, these were preceded by the Granger, the Greenback, and the free-silver movements that followed the panic of 1873 and the succeeding depression. These phases of the farmers' protest will be reviewed in their proper place; but, first, it is necessary to look at the South, where conditions were worse than in the Great Plains.

### THE SOUTH

*The increasing destitution of Southern farmers; causes*

The economic, social, and political structure of the South had been shattered by the Civil War and Radical reconstruction. On top of the chaotic situation thus created came other forces to retard recovery. The panic and depression of 1873-77 and the depression beginning in 1886, which culminated in the panic and depression of 1893-97, would have, without Civil War and reconstruction, reduced Southern agriculture to desperate straits. The protective tariff, which compelled the farmer to sell his cotton and tobacco in the competitive world market and to purchase all industrial products such as farm implements and clothing in the protected, only slightly competitive, home market, was an important factor in the continued and increasing poverty of the rural South. But the most obvious and, perhaps, the most fundamental cause of this rapidly growing destitution was the Southern farmers' lack of credit, combined with a general lack of accumulated liquid capital throughout the whole section.

To some extent the prejudices of the war and reconstruction hindered the Southern bankers from taking advantage of the national banking system. But the lack of local capital itself prevented prospective bankers from purchasing United States bonds on which a national bank could be based and upon which bank notes could be issued; and when capital became more available in later years, bonds could be obtained with difficulty because the Federal government itself was purchasing its bonds as fast as possible to reduce the surplus (see p. 567). This situation may be understood better when it is recalled that out of about twenty-five

hundred national banks in the United States only about four hundred in 1895 were in the cotton states, and most of them had a small capitalization. Indeed, scarcely a rural county in the cotton belt and few in the upper South had any kind of banking institution. Any farmer or planter who desired to borrow from a bank was compelled to go to a city, frequently a long trip, and negotiate with a banker who had neither personal knowledge of him nor of the value and location of his farm, with the result that, except in the rarest cases, he could not obtain credit from a bank. A credit system was established, however, but at a fearful price—the virtual serfdom of the farm population, planter, small farmer, and tenant, black and white, and for a while even the merchant.

*The rural credit system of the South*

At first the credit system was based primarily on the furnishing merchant, who supplied the farmer and his tenants with groceries, livestock, clothing, shoes, cash money (in limited quantities), and who paid the doctor's bill, bought the coffins, and even hired hearses for the funerals. The merchant, usually living in a small neighboring town or not infrequently at a crossroads in the country, either borrowed money from Northern banks or purchased goods on credit from Northern wholesale establishments and factories. This business of furnishing impoverished farmers and planters together with their even more impoverished laborers and tenants was almost as risky as the pawnbroker's business and, primarily because of this fact, the merchant paid almost what amounted to pawnbroker's interest. Certainly this was true for many years after the Civil War. The furnishing merchant in turn passed the interest on to the farmers, planters, and tenants, and added an even higher interest on the goods sold to them than he was paying to the jobbers and factories. It is difficult to say with any exactness just what interest was charged; but an occasional case has come to light, which might or might not be typical, where the merchant first added a thirty per cent profit (which was probably not so far different from what the cash stores in the cities were doing) and then, on top of this mark-up, he charged a flat thirty per cent interest. However, it must not be overlooked that the manufacturer had been able to boost his products by an average of not less than forty per cent above what he would have been able to obtain had there been no protective tariff; and that the jobber or wholesaler had in turn added a handsome profit and a heavy interest to the manufacturer's price.

This was not the end of the credit line, however. The farmer and planter who owned the land and the livestock and the farm equipment were compelled to underwrite the tenants' debts. For this risk they charged a further interest on the goods that the tenants

purchased. In case a tenant could not pay, the landlord would have to assume the debt himself and eventually pay it or surrender the collateral. The collateral was usually the livestock, wagons, farm implements, and the growing crops of both himself and the tenants. When the landlord was unable to pay off the debt, the furnishing merchant, who in turn might not be able to pay the jobber, would take a mortgage on the land. In the days of reconstruction and in the years of panic and depression, when the price of cotton declined to five cents a pound, planters and farmers lost their lands by the wholesale, and the furnishing merchants, usually against their desires, found themselves large landholders, compelled either to supervise one or more plantations or to hire overseers to handle the tenants whom they must continue to furnish or lose. The former landlord would either move to the city and find employment or become a tenant on his own or some other person's land.

*The decreasing landownership of the Southern farmers*

It has been a very common error to picture the ex-slaves, poor whites, and small landholders as buying up the large landed estates of the Southern planters after the Civil War. As a matter of fact, relatively few freedmen were able to pay for a farm, and hundreds of thousands of white farmers and most planters lost all or large parts of their landholdings to the furnishing merchants, banks, loan companies, and the few planters and farmers who had been lucky or thrifty enough to accumulate some liquid capital. Consequently, probably a majority of white farmers and most of the Negroes became tenants before the end of the nineteenth century. As far as the whites are concerned, this is a different picture from land tenure of the ante-bellum days, when at least eighty per cent of the white agricultural population, slaveholders and nonslaveholders, owned the land that they cultivated. The history of land tenure in the South since the Civil War is one of ever-decreasing ownership.

*Origin of the share-cropping system*

The Negro usually began working after the Civil War, not as a tenant but as a wage earner under a contract drawn up by the Freedmen's Bureau. Wages, periods of work, holidays, and other duties and rights were all specified in elaborate contracts. The payment of the laborer's wages was secured by a lien or mortgage on the landlord's crop; and to secure the landlord from loss, the unpaid wages of the laborer were to be forfeited should the latter not fulfill the contract. The Negro was housed and fed at the expense of the landlord, who had obtained supplies for himself and his hands in the manner described above. Since the Southern farmer was without cash he had to postpone the payment of wages until the crop was sold and the supply merchant was paid for the food

and clothing which the laborers had received. The hired freedman was restless and uneasy over the long wait for the cash balance of his wages and frequently he would leave before the crops were harvested. Then, too, he did not like to have an overseer since it seemed too much like slavery times to be comfortable.

The wage system suited the landlord even less than it did the colored laborer; and with the aid and approval of the Freedmen's Bureau, there was substituted for it the share-cropping system, which to some extent had already been used by white families. Under this system the "cropper," colored and white, and his family furnished the labor and paid for their clothing and food and other personal necessities, while the landlord furnished a house, land, work stock, seed, farm implements, and half the fertilizer. The cropper signed or affixed his mark to a mortgage or lien to the supply merchant on his half or third of the crop and thus formed the mudsill of the credit system described above. It is probable, however—although not certain—that the bulk of white families who lost their land after the Civil War were renters and not share croppers until the end of the century. After that an increasing number became share croppers. Thus the war and reconstruction-ridden South picked itself up "by its boot straps."

*Poor credit system and the burden of debt cause the South to demand cheap money*

Many supply merchants made fortunes, a few real planters regained their wealth, and an occasional small farmer rose to affluence; but many of the supply merchants, and most of the planters and farmers suffered bankruptcy under the post-Civil War economic conditions that prevailed in agriculture generally and in the South particularly. It may be easily understood why farmers should demand cheap money when thus entangled in such a maze of indebtedness, with the price of cotton declining from an average of fifteen cents a pound in the three years preceding the panic of 1873 to five cents in the years after the panic of 1893, and the value of the dollar constantly rising and increasing their indebtedness. The greenback movement and the free-silver movement would find the Southern farmer as radical as the Westerner on the money question, merchants, and banks—although not on railroads.

## THE FARMERS REVOLT

*The long period of decline in the prices of farm commodities*

As has been said before, the period from 1865 to near the end of the century was one of inexorable decline in the prices of farm commodites. During the period from 1870 to 1896 the farmer in Kansas and Nebraska and the Northwest generally, after deducting elevator and transportation charges, seldom received for his corn, according to reliable estimates, much more than fifteen cents a

bushel, while it cost about twenty cents a bushel to raise it. Wheat sank as low on the local markets of the Northwest as forty-two cents a bushel, and the cost of raising wheat was not less than forty-five cents. Cotton was in a like situation, although the difference between the principal market and the local market was not so great as in grain. According to the best estimates, it cost forty dollars a bale (500 pounds of ginned cotton) to grow and market cotton. From 1890 to 1897 the farmer received scarcely thirty-five dollars a bale for his cotton and cotton seed, and at times a bale brought less than twenty dollars. Indeed, the Western and Southern farmers during much of the period 1865-1900 were marketing their crops for less than they cost to grow. Worse than dormant animals who live off their accumulated fat, they were living off their future fat and that of their children—borrowed money and goods purchased on credit.

*Exploitation by the railroads*

Although overproduction was an important factor in creating the depressed condition of agriculture, the farmer attributed his sad plight to other causes. One of these was his exploitation by the railroads. Usually there was, in the West at least, only one road passing through any large section of the country and no navigable stream; and, having no competition within the area, it could and did charge all that the traffic would bear. At the same time the road would charge less, or certainly no more, for a long haul where there was a competing line than for a short haul where there was no competition. There was also the scandalous system of rebates such as that arranged with the Standard Oil Company and the cattle kings.

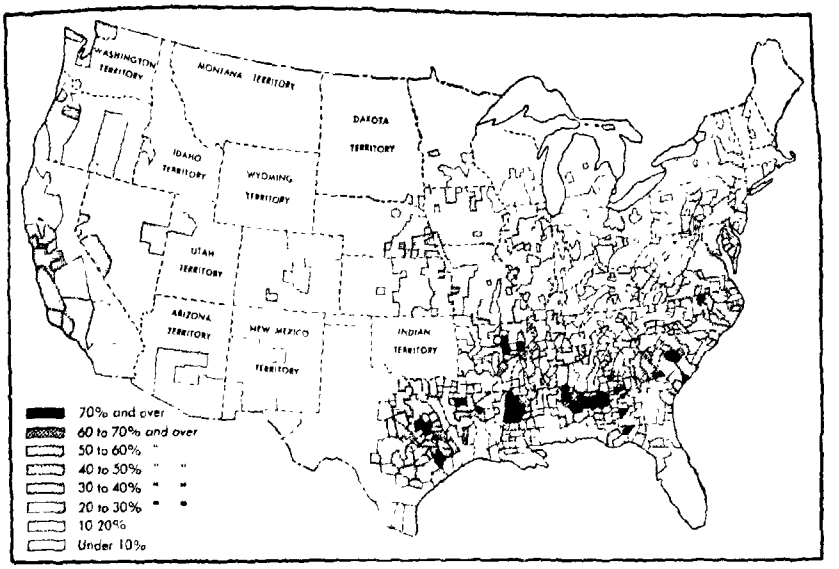
*Deflation*

The farmers believed, too, that deflation of the currency and the general contraction of the volume of money in circulation after 1865 in terms of population and industrial growth were an important cause of the low prices obtained for farm commodities. This belief had considerable foundation; the volume of money in circulation in the period from 1865 to 1890 increased from an estimated $1,000,000,000 to only $1,678,000,000, but the population increased from about 33,000,000 to 62,000,000. This was a decline from $30.30 per capita to $27.06 per capita during the period when the United States was undergoing such an enormous industrial and agricultural expansion.

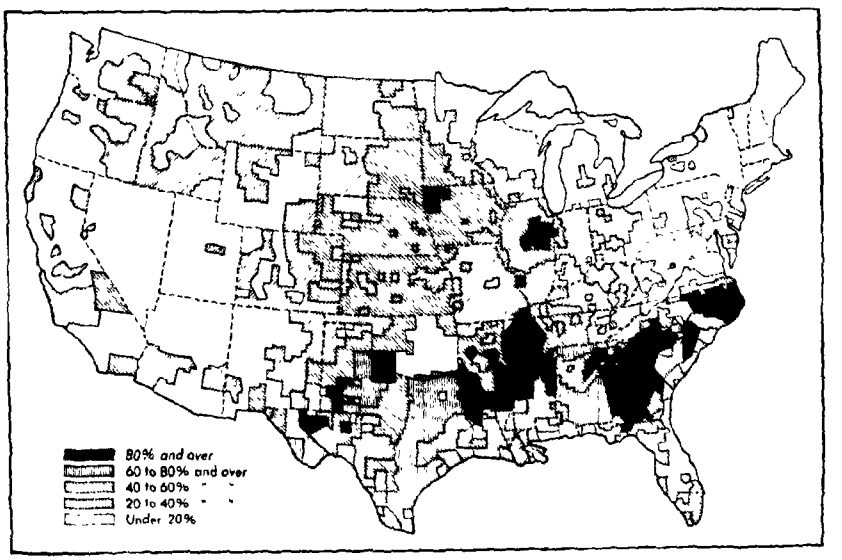
## THE GRANGER MOVEMENT

*The organization and purposes of the Grange*

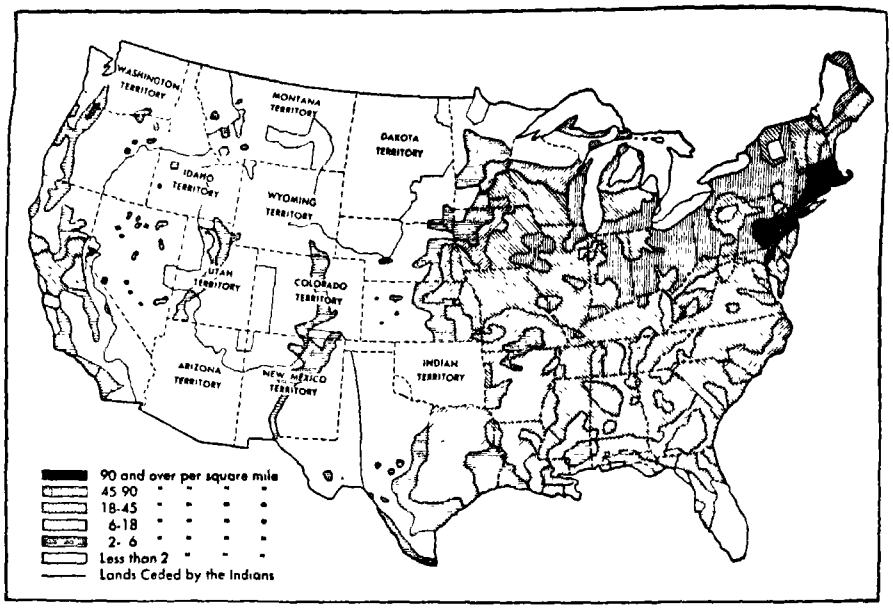
The farmers soon attempted to free themselves from the burden which, they felt, was laid upon them by the railroads, the banks, the makers of farm machinery, the supply merchants, and the state and national governments themselves, which appeared to them to be



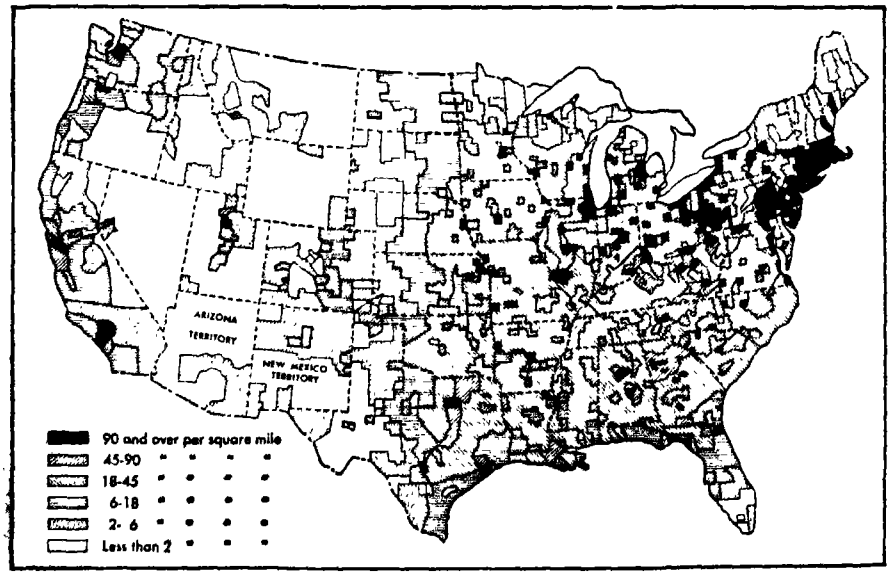

FARM TENANCY, BY COUNTIES, 1880.




FARM TENANCY, BY COUNTIES, 1930.




POPULATION DENSITY, LINE OF INDIAN CESSIONS, 1870.




POPULATION DENSITY, 1910.

mere tools in the hands of the financial and industrial interests. The first important step in this direction was the organization (1867) of the Patrons of Husbandry, usually called the Grange. The Grange was a secret order with passwords and other such fascinating mummery; its original purpose was social and scientific, educational and nonpolitical. The farmer families of a community met to hear lectures on scientific agriculture and to discuss the practical problems of the farm and household. It was not long, however, before the emphasis was shifted from the social and intellectual to co-operative action against the railroads, farm loan companies, warehouses, elevator companies, commission merchants, and supply merchants—in fact against all those who were believed to be exploiting the farmers. The growth of the organization was greatly stimulated by the panic of 1873, and by the end of 1874 it had attained its greatest size with a membership estimated from 700,000 to 1,500,000 and with local granges estimated from 15,000 to 20,000 in number.

*Co-operative buying and selling by the local Grange*

To protect the farmers against excessively high prices on articles he had to buy and unduly low prices on the products he had to sell, the Grange made an effort to eliminate the middleman. To do this the local organizations set up co-operative stores or employed purchasing agencies to send the orders of members in wholesale lots to the jobbers or manufacturers and thus obtain wholesale rates. The co-operative stores were as a rule short-lived affairs and failed because they were managed by men with little business experience; but group purchasing through an agent was quite successful, and mail-order houses such as Montgomery Ward made special arrangements with the Grangers. Agencies for selling farm produce were likewise fairly successful. Co-operative creameries, gristmills, warehouses, elevators, and even packing plants and insurance businesses were successfully operated by the locals.

*The Grange undertakes the manufacture of farm implements with disastrous results*

Finally, however, in just indignation against McCormick and other manufacturers of farm implements, who, protected by the tariff against foreign competition, were charging exorbitant prices for farm machinery, the National Grange took the fatal step of launching heavily into the business of manufacturing farm machinery itself. Immediately the private manufacturers of farm machinery involved the Grange in expensive patent lawsuits, cutthroat competition, and other well-known practices used against weaker rivals by the corporations during this period. The co-operative factories went out of business just as had the co-operative stores; and throughout the Northwest most of the local Granges disbanded to avoid being held responsible for the failure of these factories.

Thus, in co-operative buying, selling, and manufacturing, the

*Reasons for the failure of the co-operative enterprises*

Grange traversed the same path as that which many of the trade unions and the Knights of Labor were following at this period and often failed for the same reasons: inexperienced managers; inadequate capital; cutthroat rivalry by more powerful competitors; and lack of confidence on the part of local chapters in their national organization.

*The Granger laws*

The Grange had been launched as a nonpolitical order; but in 1874 individual members organized into political clubs, which combined with nonmembers to launch local third party movements in at least eleven of the Northwestern states. The Grange and its allied clubs contributed their share to the defeat of the Republican Party in the Congressional election of 1874. Their chief political influence, however, was exerted in bringing pressure to bear on state legislatures in favor of the regulation of railroad and elevator rates. In the 1870's the legislatures of Illinois and other Midwestern states enacted laws establishing maximum and minimum railroad and elevator rates and set up commissions to enforce these regulations. Some of these laws were unwisely framed, and the rates prescribed were unfair, but, as finally fixed, they were usually upheld by the state supreme courts.

*Repeal of most Granger laws brought about by railroads*

As soon as the state supreme courts upheld the constitutionality of the laws regulating the railroads and other public businesses, these corporations began a concentrated campaign of coercion and propaganda to bring about the repeal of the Granger laws. Since the Grange declined rapidly in influence and membership after 1874 and after its unfortunate venture in the manufacturing of farm machinery, the farmers were unable to act in concert as formerly, or were afraid to do so; and the railroads were successful in having most of the Granger laws repealed by 1878. Thus the Granger movement apparently failed to curb the outrageous practices of the railroads and elevators.

*Much good accomplished by the Granger movement; the railway commissions*

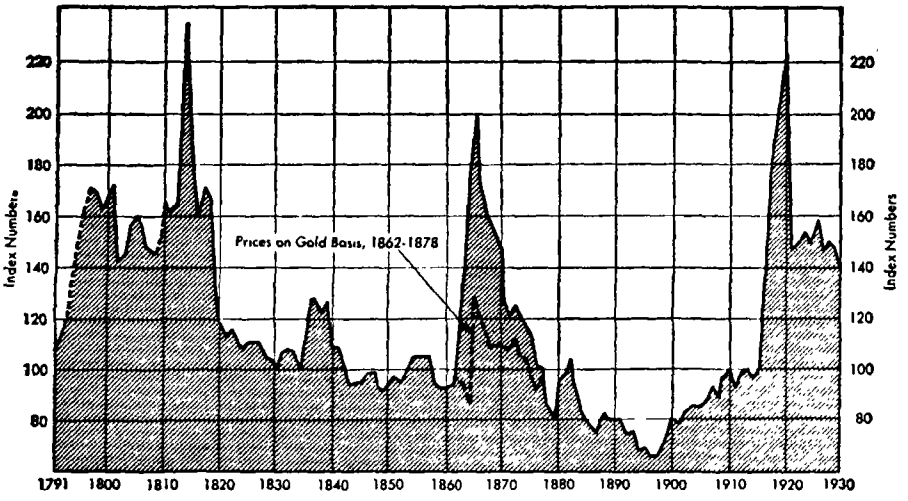
Yet the movement was by no means a failure. The railroad and warehouse commissions established by these laws remained in existence as fact-finding and advisory bodies, and commissions were established in states where none had existed before. These commissions performed a great service in educating the public on the railroad problem and in bringing about the enactment of better state laws during the next decade and, finally, the passage of the Federal Interstate Commerce Law of 1887. Above all, however, the Granger movement achieved a great victory in the United States Supreme Court in a series of decisions rendered by that body in October, 1876, which established the principle of government control. These decisions marked the beginning of the end of the one-

*Harper's Weekly October 19 1867*

A Drove of Texas Cattle Crossing a Stream
Sketched by A. R. Waud

*Harper's Weekly, February 28, 1874*

"Busted!"—A Deserted Railroad Town in Kansas




WHOLESALE PRICES, 1791-1930.

*World's Work, Vol. IX, November, 1904*

THE MARKET IN MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA.

sided principle of *laissez faire* as it had operated under the state and Federal governments, by which corporations had been protected by the tariff, the constitutional inviolability of contracts, and other barbed-wire entanglements of the Constitution, but by which the individual and public were left without defense.

*The Granger cases*

In the cases of *Munn* v. *Illinois*, *Peik* v. *the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad*, and the *Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railway Company* v. *Cutts*, the Court decided that a private business is subject to legislative regulation when it is affected with a public interest. The elevator and railroad businesses belong to this class; therefore laws passed by state legislatures fixing maximum elevator charges and maximum railroad rates for commerce within their respective states are constitutional. The Court also implied that in the absence of Federal law the legislatures in dealing with railroad rates within the states could indirectly regulate interstate commerce.

*Later reversal of some principles of the Granger decisions*

As was stated above, the Supreme Court of the United States later reversed certain principles of the Granger decisions. In 1886 in the case of the *Wabash, St. Louis and Pacific Railway Company* v. *Illinois* the Court decided that the state could not regulate railway rates on commerce beyond its borders but that interstate commerce was under exclusive Federal jurisdiction. In 1889, the Supreme Court in the case of the *Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul* v. *Minnesota* declared a Minnesota law unconstitutional because, by depriving the railroad of the right to have the courts pass on the reasonableness of rates established by legislative action, it deprived the railroad of property without due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. By this decision the courts and not the legislature were made the final judge in determining whether or not rates established by the legislature were so low as to amount to the deprivation of property without due process of law.

## THE GREENBACK MOVEMENT

*Organization and aims of the Greenback Party*

The failure of the Granger movement to eliminate the middle man and to reduce the cost of transportation caused the farmers to return to an older plan for creating prosperity—namely, the increase of the volume of paper money in circulation. This was to be accomplished by increasing the amount of greenback issues. As already noted, the farmers of the West had advocated since the end of the Civil War the payment of the national debt in greenbacks (see pp. 494, 498). In March, 1875, in answer to the demand for currency inflation, a national convention, representing greenback clubs and independent parties from the Midwest and labor unions from the East, met in Cleveland and organized a political party officially

named the Independent Party, but usually calling itself the Greenback Party. The platform of the party advocated many things which had been incorporated in the former National Labor Union demands as well as those of the Grange. But the chief purpose of the party, as was indicated in its name, was the inflation of the currency by the refunding of the national debt in bonds convertible into greenbacks. In order to accomplish this end, the Resumption Act of 1875 was first to be repealed.

*Its influence in the election of 1876*

In 1876 the Greenback Party nominated Peter Cooper of New York for the Presidency, who received only 80,000 votes. But the state and Congressional elections were greatly influenced by the party; and hundreds of thousands of voters in both Democratic and Republican Parties supported candidates who were in sympathy with its program but who retained their party allegiance.

*The Greenback Labor Party: demands for currency inflation, free silver, and labor reforms*

The increasingly desperate plight of the farmers of the South and West and the widespread labor disturbances and strikes of this period caused a rapid growth of the Greenback Party. In February, 1878, numerous independent farmer groups and representatives of labor organizations met with the Greenback Party in a convention at Toledo, Ohio, and organized the National Party, commonly called the Greenback Labor Party. The new party protested against the impending resumption of specie payment and the contraction of the volume of greenbacks provided for in the Resumption Act of 1875. It demanded that all national bank notes be withdrawn and that the government issue currency to be legal tender at its face value. The party now came out for another inflationary measure—the free coinage of silver. Although money and currency inflation was the chief object of the farmer element, other demands were made on behalf of the labor unions such as the reduction of the hours of labor, the abolition of the convict lease system, the suppression of Chinese immigration, and the establishment of a bureau of labor statistics.

*The gains in the election of 1878 not a true test of the inflationist movement*

In the election of 1878 the Greenback Labor Party cast more than a million votes and elected fifteen members of Congress and many state officers. The most outstanding person elected to Congress by this party was General James B. Weaver of Iowa, a former Republican, who continued as a leader of the agrarian revolt through the Alliance, Populist, and free-silver movements. But the strength of the inflationist movement cannot be judged by the number of Greenback Labor Party candidates elected to office, for many Representatives and Senators, both Democratic and Republican, from the South and West were in sympathy with the inflationary aim of the Greenback Labor Party but were unwilling to

break with their own parties or to accept other features of the third party program.

*The demand for cheap money subsides temporarily after 1878*

The demand for cheap money weakened considerably for a few years after the campaign of 1878. The temporary loss of interest among the farmers in inflation was probably due to the return of prosperity which lasted for a few years. Crops were good during this period, and because of crop failures in Europe prices were higher. As usual, the farmers in prosperity lost their cohesion.

## THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE MOVEMENT

*The organization of the Northern and Southern Alliances*

By 1884 hard times for the farmers had returned, and once again they resumed their organization to carry on the struggle which the Grange and other farmers' groups had waged during the previous decade against railroads, monopolies, banks, and land sharks. Several farmers' organizations were formed, the most important of which was the National Farmers' Alliance of the Northwest and the Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union of the South, with which was affiliated the Colored Alliance. The National Farmers' Alliance, or Northern Alliance, was founded in 1880, and by 1890 it had spread over the Northwest, having locals covering ten states. The Southern Alliance also grew rapidly, until it embraced not only the South but also several Western states. Because of its compact centralized organization, the Southern Alliance was an efficient instrument for pressing the demands of the farmers upon Congress and state legislatures and in dealing with the corporations. Tearing whole pages from the history of the Grange, both Alliances established co-operative buying and selling agencies.

*The unsuccessful attempt to unite the two Alliances*

The two Alliances, together with several other farm groups including the Colored Alliance, met in St. Louis in December, 1889, for the purpose of uniting, but because of conflicts in economic interests between the two sections and other differences, the union could not be effected. Nevertheless the two groups agreed substantially on a set of principles, which they incorporated in their platforms, and which were in a short while to become the platform of a new political party, the Populist or People's Party (see pp. 591 f.).

*Power of the Alliances shown in the election of 1890*

The power of the Alliance movement was demonstrated in the election of 1890. Under the guidance of James B. Weaver and other active leaders, the Northern Alliance and other farmers' organizations, under the name of the People's Party, elected two United States Senators and eight Representatives and gained control of the Kansas and Nebraska legislatures. In several other Western states the Alliance or Populists joined with the Democrats and won the election. In the South, where the one-party system had enabled the

whites to maintain political control since reconstruction, the Alliance refrained from forming a third party. Instead, it undertook to nominate only Democrats who were in sympathy with its program; indeed, whenever possible the Alliance proposed to capture the Democratic Party. The Southern Alliance had some able leaders at this time, prominent among whom were Thomas E. Watson of Georgia and Benjamin F. Tillman of South Carolina. The Southern Alliance elected governors in South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee and aided in the election of the governor of Texas. It won control of the legislatures in eight Southern states, sending an estimated forty-four members to the House of Representatives and claiming two United States Senators.

### THE FORMATION OF THE POPULIST PARTY

*The desire of the Northern Alliance to form a third party; the opposition of the Southern Alliance*

Now that the Alliances had shown such strength in the election of 1890, the Northern Alliance wished to form a nation-wide third party and extend its agrarian blessings to the whole country. This third party was the rock upon which the Alliance movement was wrecked; for the more powerful Southern Alliance, with the exception of a small fraction, was unwilling to divide the white vote between the People's Party and the Democratic Party and thus invite the return of Republican-Negro domination. The force bill which Senator Lodge at the very time was attempting to put through Congress was to the Southerners a preview of what to expect should the Southern Democrats openly break ranks.[1]

*Southern Alliance desires to capture the Democratic Party*

At this time the control of the Democratic Party in the South was in the hands of ardent railroad, business, and corporation advocates. Many of the political leaders of this group belonged to the old planter aristocracy and they were called "Bourbon" aristocrats by the upcountry people. These New South leaders were not, however, champions of the agricultural interests; they were not exactly wolves in sheep's clothing, but representatives of industrialists and merchants in planters' clothing. Under their rule the farmer and bona fide planter—the "wool hat boys"—were ignored and their interests received short shrift. One objective of the Southern Alliance was to overthrow the "Bourbon" rule and by mobilizing the farmer vote seize control of the Democratic Party. Unless the Northwestern Alliance did likewise and thus gained control of the Democratic Party in its section, the Alliance program, which depended primarily upon the action of the Federal government, could not be carried out.

1 The force bill was similar in most respects to the force acts of reconstruction, where Federal—and even state—elections were held under Federal supervision, and where the use of troops to prevent interference with voting was authorized. The force laws, it may be recalled, were declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

*The Western Alliance launches the Populist Party; it nominates Weaver and Field*

The Western Alliance, however, was composed largely of Union veterans of the Civil War and ex-Republicans who bore no love for the Democratic Party and were unwilling to join it. Only a third party would satisfy them. Accordingly in May, 1891, representatives of the Northwestern Alliance and the Knights of Labor, with a few Southern delegates, held a convention at Cincinnati and organized the People's Party—usually called the Populist Party. The new Populist Party held a national convention in Omaha in July, 1892, and nominated for the Presidency, General James B. Weaver, the old Greenback candidate, and for the Vice-Presidency, an ex-Confederate general, James G. Field of Virginia. Their platform embodied the common demands of all the farmer organizations and of several labor groups. It presented to the country most of the basic issues of the period from 1865 to the present.

*The platform*

The short platform was preceded by a long preamble and declaration of principles written by Ignatius Donnelly. It was in the same vein of oratory as that of 1776 and was adopted on July 4, 1892, in a somewhat similar spirit. Free government, personal liberty, and economic security were believed to be in peril.

> We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political, and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench. . . . The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. . . . The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind; and the possessors of these in turn despise the republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of governmental injustice we breed the two great classes—tramps and millionaires.

The platform demanded "a national currency, safe, sound, and flexible, issued by the general government only, a full legal tender for debts, public and private." This currency was to be loaned directly to the people at not more than two per cent on nonperishable farm commodities stored in warehouses—the Subtreasury plan of the Southern Alliance—or on some other collateral. The free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one was demanded. The circulating medium, gold, silver, and currency, should be speedily increased to not less than fifty dollars per person. Postal savings banks should be created. The platform also called for government ownership of railroads and the telegraph and telephone systems. In the preamble was this statement: "We believe that the

time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads."

*Other reforms suggested*

In addition to those set forth in the formal platform, the Populist convention favored other reforms, such as a graduated income tax, restriction of immigration, the initiative and referendum, the direct election of United States Senators, and a constitutional amendment limiting the tenure of office of President and Vice-President to one term.

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# CHAPTER XXXIII

# *The Triumph of Urban over Rural America*

## The Administration of Benjamin Harrison

*Harrison's personality*

THE public record of Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901), grandson of William Henry Harrison, had not been one of distinction. He had been colonel of an Indiana regiment of volunteers and had been breveted brigadier general. From the Civil War until his election as President he had been a successful lawyer and had served one term in the United States Senate. He was known as a conscientious and cultured gentleman, but a narrow partisan. He was, as already observed, a public speaker of exceptional charm, yet in his personal relations he was distant and aloof in his bearing. Indeed he was referred to as the "human icicle." Senator Hoar, contrasting him with Blaine, said that "Blaine would refuse a request in a way that would seem like doing a favor. Harrison would grant a request in a way which seemed as if he were denying it." Being politically obscure and lacking forcefulness, Harrison was not capable of assuming the leadership of the Republican Party. This responsibility was willingly assumed by Blaine and a few outstanding members of Congress.

*Cabinet and other major appointments*

Harrison had not only pledged his support of reform and extension of the civil service, but he had given assurances that even the department heads and their staffs should be selected on the basis of "fitness and not party service." Yet his Cabinet, with the exception of Blaine, was undistinguished and the bureaus within the departments were staffed with spoilsmen. The selection of Blaine as Secretary of State was unavoidable, for Blaine had caused the convention to nominate Harrison and he certainly had done much to elect him President. Still the appointment was unfortunate: Blaine, domineering and temperamental, was exceedingly difficult to work with, and he regarded himself as the real President. Harrison, being a stubborn, prideful man, found Blaine almost unbearable.

Harrison, like Grant, also placed numerous indigent relatives on

*Bad appointments; Corporal Tanner*

the Federal pay roll and he appointed prominent newspaper editors to important posts. The worst appointment that he made—and he soon came to rue it—was that of Corporal James Tanner as Commissioner of Pensions, who announced that he would increase the pension rates "though I may wring from the hearts of some the prayer, 'God help the surplus.'" Secretary of the Interior J. W. Noble soon removed the Corporal from office and greatly offended the G.A.R.

*Harrison's attitude toward civil service reform*

The Mugwumps, who had supported Harrison, within a short time began to flay him for his disregard of his pledges regarding civil service reform. Toward the end of his administration, however, Harrison did what Arthur and Cleveland had done—he extended the civil service to include several thousand more employees so as to protect many of his own appointees. Those government employees under the civil service were not touched, of course, and the appointment of Theodore Roosevelt, ardent young Liberal Republican, as Civil Service Commissioner resulted in a very vigorous enforcement of the rules governing appointments.

*Republican strength in Senate increased by admitting six new states into the Union*

For the first time in years the Republicans had a majority in both houses, but it was a very narrow majority. However, it was strengthened by the lame-duck Congress passing the Omnibus Bill, which Cleveland signed, admitting North and South Dakota, Montana, and Washington into the Union. These states had eight Senators and several Representatives ready to take their seats when Congress met in December, 1889, most of whom labeled themselves as Republicans. Within six months the Mountain states of Idaho and Wyoming were admitted, and more Senators and Representatives were added to the Republican group.

*Czar Reed's control of the House; his methods*

The Republicans now had a safe margin in the Senate, but their majority in the House was less than twenty—too narrow for comfort; and it would require strict party discipline to carry out the program. To keep the members in hand, the Republicans elected as Speaker Thomas B. Reed, who was a bold and resourceful leader and used his power as Speaker to ram the Republican program through Congress. First, he appointed as chairmen of all the important House committees men who shared his views and would work as a team. Reed's next step was regarded as nothing less than revolutionary by the Democrats. Heretofore a quorum in the House had been determined by the number of yeas and nays rather than by the number physically present. At this time it took 165 to make a quorum, and should six of the 170 Republicans be absent, the Democrats by not voting could prevent the transaction of business. Reed in the previous Congress had been the ringleader in such

dilatory, filibustering tactics and had remained in his seat day after day refusing to vote in order to prevent a quorum. Now, however, he ruled that in deciding as to a quorum all those actually present were to be counted, whether or not they voted. The Democrats naturally were furious and they denounced Reed as a tyrant and a bully, while the Republicans roared with derisive laughter.

*Reed's rules, adopted by the House, enable the Republicans to carry out their legislative program*

After many turbulent scenes in the House and despite widespread denunciation in the press, Reed's policy was adopted by the Rules Committee—of which he was chairman—and by the House. Henceforth actual attendance would determine a quorum, and no dilatory motion would be entertained by the Speaker. These two standing rules and many special ones brought in from time to time by the Rules Committee put debate in a strait jacket so that Reed, McKinley, and Joseph Cannon simply railroaded the Republican measures through Congress. Within less than a year Reed and his able and determined co-leaders would regret their arrogance, for the Congressional election of 1890 reversed the position of the political parties; but in the meantime they practically hung up a legislative record by getting the entire Republican program enacted into law and obtaining one law extra for which they had not bargained—the Sherman Silver Purchase Law.

The one great objective of the leaders of the Republican Party, now more openly the spokesmen of the great industrial interests, was, of course, the protective tariff. There were, however, debts to be paid the various pressure groups for their contributions to victory in the election of 1888, and an honorarium to be granted to the recently admitted Mountain states for their support. These debts would have to be paid at once in order to hold the dissident groups together in the Republican Party.

*The Dependent Pension Act*

The most pressing and vocal creditors were the Grand Army of the Republic and the pension lawyers and local demagogues who kept the veterans excited. Harrison was genuinely interested in aiding the Union veterans, and he had protested against Cleveland's vetoes of the private pension bills and of the Dependent Pension Bill as "weighing the claims of old soldiers with apothecary's scales." In his inaugural address and in his message to Congress Harrison had urged liberal pensions for the veterans. But Congress needed no such reminder. The Dependent Pension Bill was put through Congress during the late winter and spring of 1890 and became a law on June 27 of that year. It was similar to the Dependent Pension Bill that Cleveland had vetoed. All Union veterans of not less than ninety days' Civil War service who were handicapped by mental or physical disability and were therefore unable to earn a living

became eligible for a pension of six to twelve dollars a month according to the extent of their disability. Widows of such veterans, dependent upon their labor for a living, were to receive eight dollars a month, and minor children, two dollars. The effect of the law was soon apparent. In about three years the number on the pension list increased from less than 500,000 to almost 1,000,000, and expenditures increased proportionately. About $89,000,000 had been expended on pensions in 1889, while in 1893 nearly $160,000,000 was spent.

Another promise of the Republican platform was that of curbing the powerful trusts. Although those Republican leaders in Congress who were the spokesmen of big business were not in favor of such legislation, yet they thought that a concession in this direction would have to be made to public sentiment. Especially did they feel that the argument of the low-tariff advocates, that these giant trusts were the creatures of the protective tariff, must be turned aside. Anti-trust sentiment and low-tariff sentiment must not be permitted to come together. Such a result would endanger the tariff program. Consequently, Senate and House leaders pushed through a bill for the regulation of trusts, originally framed by Senator Sherman but re-worked by Senators Hoar and Edmunds.

*The Sherman Antitrust Act*

The Sherman Antitrust Bill became law on July 2, 1890, only a few days after the passage of the Dependent Pension Law. It was vigorous enough in language to suit a Populist or Greenbacker. It declared illegal "every contract, combination in the form of trust or otherwise, or conspiracy in restraint of trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations." Any person or persons combining to monopolize "any part of the trade or commerce among the several states, or with foreign nations" should, on being found guilty, "be punished by a fine not exceeding $5000, or by imprisonment, not exceeding one year, or by both said punishments, in the discretion of the court." Any person, injured by practices declared unlawful by the act, might recover by suit in the United States Circuit Court "threefold the damages by him sustained, and the costs of the suit, including a reasonable attorney's fee." While the declared intent of the law was to protect fair competition in interstate commerce, the real purpose of its sponsors was (as was declared by Carl Schurz) to erect "a lightning rod to prevent the popular feeling against the trusts from striking the tariff."

*The law inadequate*

At any rate the law proved entirely inadequate to cope with monopolies. Some technical trusts when forced by threat of prosecution dissolved and formed holding companies, which held a controlling interest in a business and shaped the policies of that busi-

ness; while others incorporated in some friendly state—as New Jersey or Kentucky—as a single company. Still others organized as a "mother company" that owned the controlling shares and directed the management of subsidiary companies.

*The failure of the courts to enforce the law; the Knight case*

The actual prosecutions under the Sherman Antitrust Act were sorry affairs, for it does not appear that the Department of Justice or the Federal courts were seriously concerned with the enforcement of the law. In 1895 the Supreme Court completely emasculated the Sherman Antitrust Law in the Knight case (*The United States* v. *E. R. Knight*). The already colossal American Sugar Refining Company purchased refineries at Philadelphia, which brought ninety-eight per cent of the refining business under its control. The Department of Justice brought suit against the company to compel cancellation of the purchase of the Philadelphia refineries, on the ground that acquisition created a combination in restraint of trade in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Law. The Court declared that the creation of a manufacturing monopoly by the purchase of the sugar refineries was not an act of interstate commerce, and that therefore such matters did not come within the jurisdiction of the Federal government. "Commerce," observed the Court, "succeeds to manufacture, and is not part of it." Manufacturing monopolies were strictly affairs for the states to handle. So dead did the law now seem that when Theodore Roosevelt began prosecutions under its terms, it was as if the dead had been brought back to life.

*The Sherman Silver Purchase Act*

To secure adequate support for their tariff policy, the Republican leaders in Congress deemed it necessary to make an important concession on the money question. Congressmen from the Mountain and Plains states were demanding that the United States purchase and coin all silver mined in the United States and maintain the value of the silver coin at the ratio of sixteen to one in terms of gold. They were supported in this position by Western and Southern Democrats. Although the Eastern leadership would not fully meet the requests of the West, it was forced to grant the minimum demands of the silver advocates. The result was the enactment of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, which became a law July 14, 1890. After its passage the free-silver Republicans were ready to support the McKinley tariff, which they had opposed as a matter of political strategy and not of principle.

*Provisions of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act*

The Sherman Silver Purchase Law, which repealed the Bland-Allison Act of 1878, provided that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase at market price, now twenty to one as compared with gold, 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion every month—the average silver production of the United States. Unlike the bullion

purchased under the Bland-Allison Act, the silver obtained under the Sherman Law was to be deposited in the storage vault of the Treasury uncoined, and Treasury notes payable in gold or silver issued to the full value of the bullion. The addition of treasury notes representing the 54,000,000 ounces of silver purchased annually would go far toward the expansion or inflation of the volume of money in circulation demanded by the farmers. The law stated that the United States would "maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio or such ratio as may be provided by law"; and the Secretary of the Treasury continued, as had all his predecessors, to maintain the gold standard by redeeming all silver coin or paper currency in gold.

*The McKinley Tariff Act*

The next important step to be taken by the Republican Congress dealt with the tariff. A bill framed by the House Ways and Means Committee was enacted on October 1, 1890. The bill bore the name of the chairman of the Committee, William McKinley, who gave it his sincere and ardent support. The law seemed to throw a protective blanket around every economic activity. The farmers, who were burning their corn and were unable to sell their wheat, potatoes, butter, and eggs because the world market was glutted, were "protected" from foreign competition by a tariff on these products. This sop to the farmer was in the main only an empty gesture; except in those areas that were contiguous to Canada an import duty could not raise the price of those farm products of which this country had a surplus for export. The rates were slightly raised on raw wool, and unrefined sugar was placed on the free list, but domestic sugar producers were given a subsidy of two cents a pound. The repeal of the duties on sugar promised to reduce the surplus at least $60,000,000 annually, whereas the subsidy would withdraw other millions. Manufacturers were, of course, the chief beneficiaries. The duties on higher grade woolens, linens, cottons, shoes, and other higher priced articles were virtually prohibitive.

*Reciprocity*

At the urgent request of Secretary Blaine a reciprocity provision was included in the bill as finally passed. In the tariff bill sugar, molasses, coffee, tea, and hides were on the free list; but under the reciprocity provision, if the President thought that the country producing these commodities and selling to the United States was charging unfair duties on American goods, he could impose certain duties on them. Blaine hoped that this policy of reciprocity would lead to a marked increase in the trade between the United States and Latin America; and he was able to obtain a reduction in duties on American products in a number of the Latin American states as well as some slight concession from Germany and France.

*Unfavorable reaction to the McKinley Tariff*

The McKinley Tariff proved a heavy liability for the Republicans. The increase in price of consumers' goods caused by the tariff added to the burdens of the farmers at a time when the prices of farm produce and livestock were sinking to new low levels (see pp. 576, 583 f.). The belief that the high prices were caused by the tariff was supported by the fact that merchants and manufacturers raised the prices of their goods before the tariff law went into effect.

*Republican defeat in 1890*

The Congressional election in the fall of 1890 was a Democratic landslide and a severe condemnation of the Republican record. As a result of this Democratic victory the Fifty-second Congress would have 235 Democrats in the House compared with 159 in the previous Congress, while the Republicans were reduced from more than 170 to 88. In the Senate the Republican majority was only eight, and more than this number were from the Mountain states and in sympathy with the Populist movement. By wresting control of Congress from the Republicans, the election of 1890 virtually ended the legislative work of the Harrison Administration.

## THE ELECTION OF 1892

*Democratic and Republican nominees*

Cleveland's well-known position in favor of lowering the tariff and in opposition to free silver had antagonized some influential groups in his party. The Southern and Western advocates of free silver did not endorse his stand on the money question, and the protectionist Democrats in the East, led by Senator A. P. Gorman of Maryland, joined with the anti-reform Democrats, represented by Tammany and Governor David B. Hill of New York, to prevent the nomination of Cleveland and obtain that of Hill. This effort failed and when the Democrats met in Chicago on June 21, Cleveland was nominated on the first ballot. Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

Blaine resigned as Secretary of State just before the opening of the Republican convention in a bid for the party nomination, but the Republican leaders were faced with the unpleasant necessity of renominating Harrison; to do otherwise would be to repudiate their own judgment of four years before. The Republicans were also compelled to defend the legislative record of the "billion dollar Congress," especially the McKinley tariff, so unpopular with the Western Republicans, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, even more unpopular with the Eastern wing of the Party.

The greatest force in the election was the Populist and Alliance movements. As has already been seen (see p. 591), the nominees of the Populist Party were General James B. Weaver, for Presi-

*The cheap-money Populist and Alliance groups help elect Cleveland, a gold Democrat*

dent, and ex-Confederate General James G. Field of Virginia, for Vice-President. In the West the Populists supported by the Democrats gained a number of Congressional seats and won the twenty electoral votes of Kansas, Colorado, Idaho, and Nevada, and one each from Oregon and North Dakota, and thus robbed Harrison of these votes. By combining with the Populists, the Democrats carried Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, and Missouri in the Midwest, California in the Far West, and ran close races with the Republicans in other Western states where numerous Congressmen with Alliance-Populist sympathies were elected. In the South, as already observed, the Southern Alliance, which embraced the bulk of the white farmers and genuine planters, refused to divide the white vote by joining the Populist Party. The result was that a small and embittered minority joined the third-party movement; and, just as had been feared by the Alliance men, they teamed up with the Republicans and made full use of the Negro vote in their desperate attempt to oust the old "Bourbon" leaders. This killed the Populist movement in the South. But the Alliance captured the Democratic Party and the state governments in many of the Southern states and, where they failed to do so, frightened the "Bourbon" leaders into adopting the Alliance platform. An imposing delegation of Representatives sympathetic with Alliance principles were elected to Congress from the South.

*Result and significance of the election*

When the election returns were in, Cleveland had received 5,554,414 popular votes to Harrison's 5,190,802, and Weaver had received 1,027,000. The electoral vote was: for Cleveland 227; for Harrison, 145; and for Weaver, 22. For the first time since before the Civil War the President and both houses of Congress were Democratic. This Democratic victory was a rebuke to the Republican Party for the McKinley Tariff, the force bill, the extravagance of the "billion dollar Congress," and Harrison's weak policy in the civil service.

### CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

*In forming his Cabinet Cleveland ignores both the protectionist and the Populist-Alliance wings of his party*

In forming his Cabinet Cleveland appointed Walter Q. Gresham, ex-Republican of Illinois, Secretary of State; John G. Carlisle of Kentucky, Democratic Speaker of the House and low-tariff and sound-money advocate, Secretary of the Treasury; and Richard Olney of Massachusetts, railroad and corporation lawyer, Attorney General. The Cabinet contained two other Southerners in addition to John G. Carlisle: Hilary A. Herbert of Alabama, Secretary of the Navy, and Hoke Smith of Georgia, Secretary of the Interior. It

did not include, however, a representative of the Eastern protectionist faction or of the Western and Southern soft-money groups.

*The panic of 1893; general causes*

Scarcely had Cleveland taken the oath of office when he was confronted by what was, perhaps, the worst panic and depression in the history of the United States up to that time. During the next four years hundreds of banks, tens of thousands of business firms, and more than a hundred railroads went into the hands of receivers, and vast numbers of laborers were thrown out of employment. The panic and depression were manifestations of the traditional business cycle. Expansion of industry, transportation, and agricultural production had been carried far beyond the capacity of society to use or purchase; capital goods, such as railroads, industrial plants, and land, had been evaluated beyond their earning capacity, and money had been borrowed on such property and reinvested in the same type of property. Such a top-heavy economic structure needs very little to bring it crashing down.

*The background of the panic in the West, South, and Europe*

Already before Cleveland's inauguration there were ominous beginnings of the approaching economic disaster. Since 1887 the farmers of the South and West had been, as already observed, in such straits that they were unable to meet the interest on their loans or to pay the annual installments on their reapers, binders, wagons, plows, and other farm machinery. Since fertilizer and other supplies could not be paid for, the farm-loan companies, rural banks, the railroads, manufacturers of farm implements, and the supply merchants, with their chain of creditors extending to the East, were all heavily involved in the farmers' misfortune. The depression in Europe, beginning in 1889 and increased by the Baring panic of 1890 in England, caused heavy liquidation of American securities and correspondingly large withdrawals of gold from this country. In the industrial East the period from 1890 to the end of Harrison's administration was one of rapidly accelerating business failures, running into the tens of thousands.

*The threat to the gold standard, a serious factor in the panic*

The usual economic causes of panic and depression, as mentioned above, were present in the panic of 1893, but there was one other cause not usually involved—namely, the fear on the part of the business and financial institutions of a change from the gold to the silver standard. This fear was based upon the increasing probability that the Treasury would not be able to maintain a sufficient gold reserve to continue to redeem the greenbacks, treasury notes, national bank notes, and silver certificates in circulation. It will be recalled that Sherman had accumulated a $133,000,000 gold reserve in the Treasury under the Resumption Act of 1875 with which to resume

specie payment—that is, to exchange gold for greenbacks whenever demanded. This gold reserve had continued to increase until in 1890 it had reached $190,000,000. After that the McKinley Tariff, the extravagance of the "billion dollar Congress," the Harrison policy of accepting currency instead of gold in payment of import duties, and foreign withdrawals all operated to reduce the reserve. But the $301,000,000 in silver certificates issued under the Bland-Allison Act, the $300,000,000 in treasury notes issued under the Sherman Silver Purchase Act on the silver bullion in the Treasury, the $346,681,016 in greenbacks, and the national bank notes estimated at about $67,000,000 in 1890, all redeemable in gold according to Treasury practice, posed a deadly threat to the gold reserve.

*Harrison's efforts to postpone the panic*

As long as there was confidence in financial and business circles that the government was able to maintain a sufficient gold reserve to redeem all currency in gold, there would be no excessive demand for such exchange. But, as observed, confidence in the government's ability to continue to redeem its paper was weakening long before Harrison's administration ended. Since 1890 the gold withdrawals had been so much greater than the accumulations that by the end of 1892 the reserve had been cut nearly in half and stood at $108,000,000. It was only by inducing the New York banks to exchange $60,000,000 in gold for currency that Harrison was able to present Cleveland with a reserve of $100,982,410. In a short time, however, these bankers and others, growing more and more uneasy as they eyed the shrunken gold reserve and observed the panic spreading like a great conflagration, brought huge amounts of currency to the Treasury to be exchanged for gold.

*The repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act*

Cleveland regarded the threat to the gold standard contained in the Sherman Silver Purchase Act as the prime cause of the panic and depression; nor can it be gainsaid that the prospect of having one's assets theoretically cut in half by the adoption of the silver standard—the silver dollar was worth about fifty cents in gold—would create panic. He had scarcely taken office when the reserve sank below $100,000,000. The President, therefore, called Congress into special session on August 7, and urged it to repeal the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and put a stop to the issuance of treasury notes, which were drawing gold out of the Treasury like an "endless chain." The Democratic farmers of the South and West, together with the Republicans and Populists of the Western states, stood almost solidly against the repeal; but an alliance of Eastern Democrats, Southern "Bourbons," Republicans, and representatives of the industrial areas of the old Midwest states was able to repeal the Silver Purchase Act.

*The purchase of gold by the sale of bonds fails to halt the withdrawal of gold*

The repeal did not stop the run on the Treasury for gold, and by January, 1894, the reserve had dropped to $68,000,000. Cleveland now decided to sell bonds for the purchase of gold to maintain the reserve. Acting on the instructions of the President, Secretary Carlisle sold bonds to the value of $50,000,000 in January (1894) and to the same amount in November. These accessions made only temporary increases in the reserve, which was rapidly depleted by the demand for gold in exchange for the currency presented for redemption. By January, 1895, the gold reserve was only $41,000,000, and the Southern and Western Democrats and Populists felt that at last the end of the gold standard was in sight.

*Cleveland's arrangement with Morgan and Belmont apparently saved the reserve*

At this point, however, Cleveland by a contract with J. P. Morgan and August Belmont seemed to turn the tide in the gold crisis. The President agreed to permit Morgan and Belmont to purchase a special $62,000,000 issue of four per cent bonds at 104½, when such bonds were selling in the market at 111. Cleveland was denounced bitterly, particularly by his own party, being accused of having sold out to Wall Street in the person of "Jupiter" (J. P.) Morgan. The President, however, had exacted two important concessions of the bankers in return for this sale of the bonds at bargain prices: $31,000,000 of the gold was to be procured from abroad; and Morgan and Belmont were to use their influence—which was very great—to prevent withdrawals of gold from the Treasury. By this arrangement, it was hoped, the increase in the reserve would be lasting. Morgan sold these bonds to the public at a considerable advance over the market price at the time and netted several millions in profit. In January, 1896, the government offered a $100,000,000 four per cent bond issue to the highest bidder, and it was subscribed several times over. The success of Morgan and then of the Treasury in selling bonds was indicative of the return of confidence in the ability of the government to maintain the gold standard. Cleveland gave Morgan credit far beyond his deserts in saving the gold reserve. The panic was actually at an end, and the business and industrial interests of the North, but not the farmers of the South and West, were nearly out of the depression.

*Cleveland's stand creates a division of the Democratic Party on sectional lines*

The South and West, however, were scarcely yet at the bottom of the depression. Their anger against the President for the repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act and the maintenance of the gold standard by collaborating with Wall Street was great and lasting. Cleveland, by his persistent and belligerent defense of the gold standard against the uncompromising and aggressive demands of the Southern and Western wing of his party for free silver and a plentiful volume of currency, had rent the party asunder on East-

one or the other major parties and thus obtain a majority, whereas in the South they fused with the Republican Party, which was a sure road to defeat. But the increase of the Populist vote, part of whose platform was free silver, and the straight-out adoption of the free-silver principle by the Republicans and Democrats of the Mountain states and by the Democrats in the states of the Great Plains and the South—all seemed to point to free silver as an issue on which Southern and Western Democrats, Populists, and Mountain state Republicans could unite. In this unity Democratic leaders were planning that their party should be the standard-bearer and that the free-silver Republicans and Populists should support them. Cleveland and the gold Democrats could hardly be expected to join them, but their open opposition was discounted. By the end of 1895 the Democratic Party in the South and West and the Populists and free-silver Republicans of the West had reached a working arrangement.

*The Republicans declare for a protective tariff and the gold standard*

When the Republican convention met in St. Louis on June 16, Marcus A. Hanna, industrialist of Cleveland and party boss of Ohio, was able by skillful strategy to commit the party to the gold standard and secure the nomination of his personal and political friend, William McKinley. The Republican platform was therefore clear-cut on its support of the gold standard and a protective tariff. The gold plank was as follows:

> We are unalterably opposed to every measure calculated to debase our currency or impair the credit of our country. We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver, except by international agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved.

*McKinley and Hobart nominated*

McKinley was nominated on the first ballot, and Garrett A. Hobart of New Jersey was named as Vice-Presidential candidate. McKinley had all along been an ardent advocate of protection and he could accept the tariff plank in the platform with enthusiasm. The gold plank, however, must have given him greater difficulty, for he had been veering strongly toward free silver prior to his election as governor of Ohio in 1891. He had voted for the free-silver Bland bill in 1877, the Bland-Allison Act in 1878, and the Sherman Silver Purchase Act of 1890. But party regularity was one of McKinley's outstanding traits, and he now made a comfortable adjustment to the platform—gold plank and all.

*The Silver Republicans endorse the Democratic ticket*

The victory of the Eastern gold advocates was won at the cost of alienating the Mountain states Republicans. Senator Henry M. Teller of Colorado had offered an amendment proposing the free coinage of silver as a substitute for the gold plank; and, when this amendment was defeated, Teller and thirty-three delegates from Idaho, Utah, South Dakota, Montana, and Nevada withdrew from the convention. Teller and his friends met in St. Louis in July as the National Silver Party and endorsed the Democratic ticket.

*The Democratic convention: Debate on the platform*

The Democratic convention meeting in Chicago on July 7 was dominated by the advocates of free silver. They controlled the platform committee, which in a majority report presented a platform in favor of free silver. The tone of the platform was hostile to Cleveland, and the content a virtual repudiation if not a denunciation of his administration. The minority of the platform committee, composed of Cleveland supporters, offered two amendments—one in support of the gold standard to be substituted for the free-silver plank, and one endorsing and praising Cleveland's administration. The debates on the platform and the two minority amendments were in the nature of a great sectional conflict as well as one of economic groups: the South and West against the East, agricultural against industrial capitalism.

*Bryan's great speech*

The large Southern-Western majority were drifting leaderless, querulously swapping epithets with the Eastern Democrats, when the thirty-six year old William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska was called upon to close the debate on the platform. When Bryan rose to speak, his appearance, his pleasant yet earnest demeanor, his resonant, far-reaching voice caught the attention of the irritated and restless audience. He had served two terms in the House of Representatives, 1891-95, and was already recognized as an orator of unusual ability, being known in Nebraska as the "Boy Orator of the Platte." In a speech which was the greatest oratorical achievement of his career he endorsed without quibble the entire platform of the majority.

*The peroration: the "cross of gold"*

Bryan had begun speaking with deliberation but had continued with ever-increasing force, until his voice, the like of which had probably not been heard since the days of Clay and Webster, filled the convention hall. His speech ended with the peroration which became famous:

> If they dare come out in the open and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost . . . ; we will answer their demands for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold.

When Bryan had finished speaking, with the exception of the gold Democrats, the audience of twenty thousand "went mad with an irresistible enthusiasm." "The leaderless Democracy of the West was leaderless no more."

*Main provisions of the platform*

The proposals offered by the majority of the platform committee were adopted by a large majority and were thus made the platform of the party. The platform thus adopted condemned the high protective tariff as a breeder of trusts, which enriched the few at the expense of the masses. It condemned the recent five-to-four decision of the Supreme Court, which declared the income tax unconstitutional, and spoke hopefully of a reconstitution of the Court and a reversal of the decision "so that the burdens of taxation may be equally and impartially laid, to the end that wealth may bear its due proportion of the expenses of government." Arbitration of labor disputes was urged, and interference in local affairs—such as Cleveland's use of troops in the Pullman strike—and government by injunction were condemned. But the chief plank, the answer to the challenge of the Republican Party's gold plank, was the free-silver plank.

> We demand [it said] the free and unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation. We demand that the silver dollar shall be a full legal tender, equally with gold, for debts, public and private, and we favor such legislation as will prevent for the future the demonetization of any kind of legal tender money by private contract.

*The Democrats nominate Bryan and Sewall; the gold Democrats nominate Palmer and Buckner*

Before Bryan made his speech to the convention, Richard P. Bland of Missouri, the veteran champion of free silver, was the most popular choice for the Presidential nomination. After the speech, however, it took only five ballots to give Bryan the nomination by the almost unanimous vote of the South and West. The convention quickly nominated for Vice-President, Arthur Sewall, wealthy shipbuilder and banker of Maine, who, oddly enough, advocated free silver. This was a gesture to the Eastern Democrats; but it was scarcely necessary to observe that this wing of the party was deeply offended and almost completely alienated by the Democratic platform and candidate. The offended gold-standard Democrats organized the National Democratic Party and nominated Senator John M. Palmer of Illinois for President and ex-Governor Simon Buckner of Kentucky for Vice-President.

The Populist remnant which had not joined the Democrats had postponed the meeting of its convention until after the two major

party conventions had met, believing that both Republicans and Democrats would either straddle on the money question—as usual—or declare in favor of the gold standard. But the wind was taken out of their sails by the Democratic platform, and after bitter wrangling they felt compelled to nominate Bryan. They would not accept Sewall, however, but nominated for Vice-President the Populist Thomas E. Watson of Georgia. By advocating free silver the Democrats had deprived the Populists of their main issue, and after 1896 they never played an important part in national politics.

*The Populists nominate Bryan and Watson*

Bryan, backed by the free-silver Republicans, the Populists, and the Democratic Party organization, was able to make the free coinage of silver the outstanding issue, and little or nothing was heard of the tariff. With tireless physical and nervous energy he undertook to carry the issue in person to the people. He traveled 18,000 miles, visited about 475 cities and towns in twenty-seven states, and made nearly 600 speeches. Populist and Democratic speakers combed the Southern and Western part of the country and invaded the East. Thousands of pamphlets and many books upholding the cause of free silver were printed and distributed. Perhaps the two most influential books circulated at this time were W. H. Harvey's *Coin's Financial School* and Ignatius Donnelly's *The American People's Money*, which stated in simple language what were thought by the free-silver and greenback advocates to be the simple principles of money.

*Bryan's personal campaign on the silver issue*

The campaign chest of the Democrats, now that the Eastern wing of the party was in open revolt, was too meager to enable them to compete with the Republicans in "educating" the public. On the other hand, Mark Hanna, the manager of the Republican campaign, was able to raise an immense fund without much effort. Bankers, manufacturers, merchants, coal operators, railway magnates, and men of large affairs generally, terrified at the possibility of Bryan's election, almost trampled one another in their eagerness to toss large checks into the Republican war chest. With the huge amount thus contributed, the Republican manager sent out armies of well-paid speakers, distributed carload lots of pamphlets, and exploited the press to the fullest in a "campaign of education." Although the Republicans tried to some extent to bring forth the tariff issue, the "campaign of education" was directed primarily against free silver and for the gold standard.

*Mark Hanna conducts an "educational campaign"*

The East and the urban areas of the Midwest were thus beaten into a froth of hysteria. Bryan was regarded as a revolutionist whose election would usher in a reign of terror like that of the French Revolution. In these regions scores of thousands of Democrats fol-

*Result of the election*

lowed Cleveland into the Palmer-Buckner National Democratic Party, and others voted the Republican ticket or stayed at home. The result was the election of McKinley, who received about seven million popular votes against Bryan's six and one-half million, and 271 electoral votes against Bryan's 176. The Republicans also had a majority in both houses of Congress. The predominantly industrial states of the Northeast and Great Lakes region, and the Pacific Coast states of California and Oregon supported McKinley. Two states below the Ohio-Potomac line—Kentucky and West Virginia—likewise went Republican, largely as a result of the influence of Cleveland and Buckner. Otherwise the political map shows the agricultural South and West supporting Bryan. It seemed to mark the final triumph of industrial over agricultural society. It was certainly the triumph in politics of organized corporate wealth over the individual. Big business always had powerfully influenced the Republican Party before by indirection, but in the election of McKinley it seemed to the defeated Democrats as if it had taken over the party.

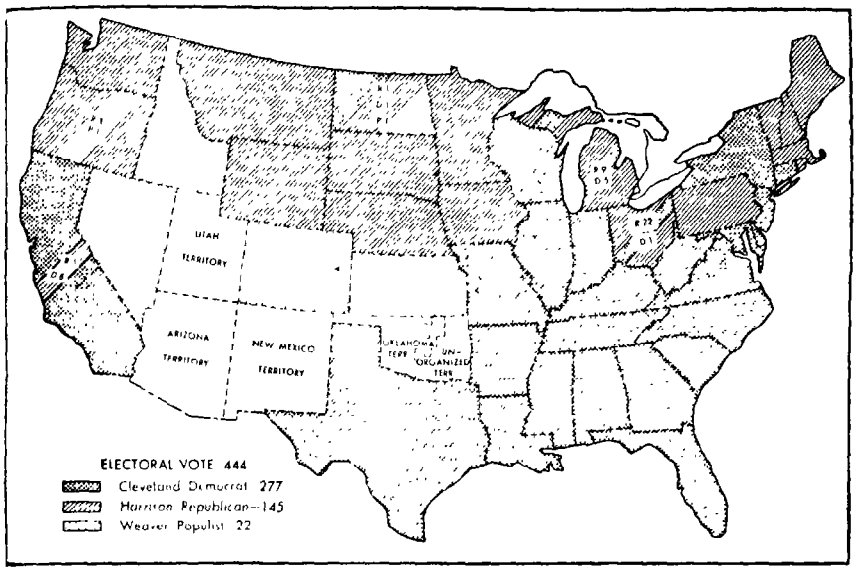
### THE DOMESTIC POLICIES OF THE MCKINLEY ADMINISTRATION

*William McKinley; personal traits*

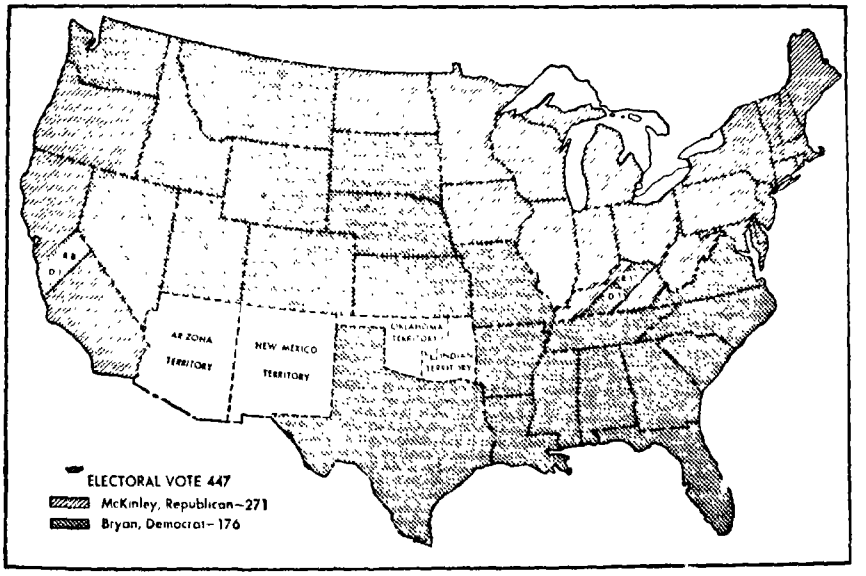
William McKinley (1843-1901) brought to his high office the experience gained in a successful career in public affairs. He had been a prominent leader of the lower house of Congress, having served as a member of that body for twelve years. He had also been governor of Ohio for four years. Attractive in personality and likable in disposition, he possessed in a marked degree the traits that win popularity. Seldom if ever did deep convictions seriously disturb the serenity of his equable temperament. As a rule he held conventional opinions on public questions and was inclined to follow rather than lead public opinion. One excellent qualification for the Presidency which he possessed was that he was an unusually good judge of men. Because of this quality he was able to surround himself with able advisers, such as Cabinet members and others.

*The Dingley Tariff*

Immediately after his inauguration McKinley called a special session of Congress to legislate on the tariff. On the assembling of Congress on March 15, 1897, the Republican majority promptly elected "Czar" Thomas B. Reed Speaker, and he appointed Nelson R. Dingley chairman of the Ways and Means Committee. Dingley introduced the tariff measure which was to supersede the Wilson-Gorman Act, and, with the dictatorial methods and parliamentary shortcuts of Reed, the bill was passed after two weeks of feeble resistance on the part of the Democrats. In the Senate 850 amendments were made in the House draft, and the measure as finally passed (July, 1897) provided in general for higher rates than those




THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1892.




THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1896.

*Courtesy of Harper's Weekly, August 15, 1896 Drawn by W A Rogers*

THE SILVER KINGS' MILLENNIUM

When your wages will buy just half what they buy now

of the House bill. The Dingley Tariff was the high-water mark of protectionism up to this time.

As in the McKinley Tariff of 1890, the Dingley Tariff provided for the negotiation of reciprocity treaties, by which the tariff might be lowered as much as twenty per cent. But all such treaties were rejected by the Senate. Then, too, the President was permitted to remove from the free list tea, coffee, and other tropical products, in case the countries exporting these products should impose what were considered unreasonable duties on American goods.

*The Gold Standard Act of 1900*

The Republicans were not so prompt in carrying out their pledge of establishing the gold standard. This law was not passed until 1900, after the election of 1898 had returned a strong conservative Republican majority in both houses. In the meantime, however, as a gesture to appease the silver interests of his party McKinley sent a commission of genuine bimetallists to Europe to discuss the possibility of an international agreement. This commission failed, as was hoped and expected, but it did serve to keep the silver mineowners quiet.

*Widespread prosperity; causes*

By the time that the Dingley Tariff went into effect business was beginning to prosper again, not only in America but in Europe as well. One of the most important factors in the developing prosperity was the large increase in the volume of gold and its decrease in value. As a result of the discovery of gold in the Klondike, Alaska, South Africa, and Australia, and the use of a new process in separating gold from its ore, the volume of gold produced annually for some years after 1896 was more than double the annual output from 1865 to 1890. Then the Spanish-American War, the conquest of the Philippines, and the Boer War stimulated industrial production, and poor crops in Europe increased the demand for American farm products.

The Dingley Tariff was destined to be the last important domestic legislation of the first three years of McKinley's administration. Foreign affairs, especially American interests in the Pacific and the Caribbean, and the War with Spain growing out of the Caribbean interest, put an end to further important domestic legislation.

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*Harper's Weekly, September 8, 1894*

GORMAN'S TRIUMPH—A HUMILIATING SPECTACLE

*Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society, New York City*

GEN JAMES B. WEAVER.

Noted leader of the Greenback and Populist movements.

*From Judge*

REED AS MASTER OF CONGRESS.

# CHAPTER XXXIV

# *Foreign Affairs 1877–1899*

*Industrial expansion and the demand for foreign markets*

FROM the beginning of the nineteenth century the United States had had considerable interest in the Pacific and the Caribbean and in world markets generally. This interest was enhanced by the great post-Civil War industrial and financial development which expanded production beyond the capacity of the domestic market to absorb. As a result of this expansion in industry, American export trade increased enormously from 1870 to 1900. In 1870 it amounted to $392,772,000, in 1890 it was $857,829,000, and in 1900 it was $1,394,483,000. The increase had been due primarily to the export of industrial goods; and manufacturers, whose capacity for production was increasing as if by magic, demanded larger foreign markets to take care of their surplus. The first aggressive diplomatic moves of the United States in behalf of its great business interests were in the Pacific area.

## The Pacific

### The Fur Seal Controversy with Great Britain

*The seizure of Canadian pelagic sealing ships in the Bering Sea; the "closed sea" argument*

By the purchase of Alaska, the United States had acquired the Pribilof Islands in the Bering Sea, where a herd of about four million seals gathered in the spring to breed and raise their pups. The great rise in the price of sealskins brought in many unlicensed sealers, principally Canadians, who stayed a few miles offshore or in the straits between the Aleutians and killed the seals in the water. This was known as pelagic sealing. This wholesale, wasteful killing was threatening the herd with rapid destruction. In an effort to prevent this the United States (in 1886-87) seized Canadian pelagic sealing ships lying outside the three-mile limit on the ground that the Bering Sea was a closed sea (*mare clausum*) under American jurisdiction. The British government protested vigorously against these seizures. It refused to regard the Bering Sea as *mare clausum* and contended that the seizures, being outside the three-mile limit, were upon the open sea and a violation of international law. When Blaine became Secretary of State in Harrison's Cabinet in 1889, he pounced upon

the seal controversy with the usual pleasure that he derived from a controversy with the British. He had, however, to abandon the American claim of a closed sea—a claim patently ridiculous—and base his argument in part on the ground that pelagic sealing was *contra bonos mores* (against good morals, criminal), and in part upon the assumption that the seals were American property because their breeding ground—their home—was American soil.

*Controversy settled by arbitration*

The British foreign minister would not accept these arguments as valid reasons for the seizures, and there was talk of war in both countries. But fortunately the two governments in 1892 had the good sense to agree to a treaty which provided for an international arbitration tribunal similar to that which settled the *Alabama* claims. The decisions of this tribunal were in each instance against the United States: the Bering Sea was an open sea and the jurisdiction of the United States ceased at the three-mile limit; therefore, the seals could not be protected outside this limit. The United States was ordered to pay damages for the seizure of the Canadian vessels. To prevent the extermination of the seals England, the United States, Russia, and Japan in 1911 signed an agreement to prohibit their citizens from pelagic sealing in the North Pacific and Bering Sea.

### THE HAWAIIAN ISLANDS

*Hawaii brought within American "sphere of influence"*

In the pursuit of trade the United States had long been interested in the Hawaiian Islands. American merchant vessels bound for the Orient began stopping over in Hawaii for supplies in the early part of the nineteenth century, and before mid-century five sixths of all the ships calling there were American. In 1820 missionaries came in, and soon the natives became converts to the Christian religion. Merchants followed in the wake of the missionaries. In 1875 a treaty was made between the United States and Hawaii which permitted the little island kingdom to export sugar to the United States free of duty. In payment for this favor, Hawaii pledged itself not to make any territorial concessions to any foreign powers, and later granted the United States the use of Pearl Harbor as a naval base. By this time the sugar interests and cane plantations had fallen to a great extent into the hands of the whites, chiefly American or of American origin.

*The overthrow of the native government*

The McKinley Tariff, by placing all imported sugar on the free list and at the same time granting a bounty of two cents a pound on American sugar, placed the Hawaiian sugar interests under a severe handicap. To avoid this handicap and to secure a stable and enlightened government, the wealthy, well-organized American element led a revolt against the Hawaiian queen, Liliuokalani, and succeeded in seeting up a republican form of government. The queen had fur-

nished the malcontents with a reason for revolt when she on January 14, 1893, replaced the liberal constitution granted by her brother in 1887 with one which gave her despotic powers. The insurgents were aided by the moral and apparently the active support of John L. Stevens, American minister at Honolulu, who promptly recognized the new republic as the legitimate government of Hawaii.

*Cleveland opposes annexation and vainly attempts to restore native government*

The new Hawaiian Republic at once sent a diplomatic mission to the United States to draw up a treaty of annexation. This was done quickly, for in the United States there was a strong demand for the annexation of Hawaii as a market, a way station to the Orient, and a permanent naval base. On February 15, 1893, the treaty of annexation was laid before the Senate. There was determined opposition to annexation, particularly from the Democrats, and the treaty was still before the Senate when Cleveland succeeded Harrison on March 4. Cleveland, a strong anti-imperialist, withdrew the treaty from the Senate and sent James H. Blount to the islands to investigate the circumstances of the revolution. Blount's report left little doubt that the revolution had been approved if not instigated by the American minister, Stevens, with the knowledge of the State Department. Cleveland sent S. A. Willis as American minister to Honolulu to attempt to restore the queen. It soon became evident, however, that the queen could not be restored without the use of armed force, and the President would not resort to such a measure.

*Annexation of Hawaii*

The delay had no effect on the final outcome; scarcely had the Spanish-American War broken out in 1898 when Congress annexed Hawaii by joint resolution just as it had done in the case of Texas in 1845. The United States empire was now reaching halfway across the Pacific, for already in 1867 Seward had picked up the Midway Islands, 1800 miles northwest of Hawaii.

### THE SAMOAN ISLANDS

*Rivalry between the United States, Great Britain, and Germany*

During the same time that the United States was drawing Hawaii into its orbit and gradually converting it into a protectorate, it was establishing itself in the Samoan Islands far to the southwest. In 1878 a treaty was made between the United States and Samoa by which the United States was granted a naval base at Pago Pago in return for a pledge of diplomatic assistance in controversies between the Samoan and any other government. The next year Germany and Britain negotiated treaties for naval stations and trading rights in these islands. Several years of bitter rivalry between the representatives of the three countries followed. Civil war broke out in Samoa, and Germany took advantage of this internal situation to advance her own interests. In 1888 the Germans declared war on the Samoans

and in modern style deposed their king and queen and set up a puppet ruler. The commander of the American fleet at Samoa showed a disposition to aid the Samoans if they should be attacked by the Germans, and there was danger that the two great powers might stumble into war over these tiny specks in the Pacific. Fortunately good sense prevailed, and the three powers, acting through representatives at a conference in Berlin, agreed to establish a tripartite protectorate over the islands (June 14, 1889).

*Division of the islands; United States gets Pago Pago*

This, however, was not a satisfactory arrangement, for the natives were soon stirred up against one another by their rival protectors. Cleveland, foe of imperialism and entangling alliances, advised Congress in his second term to terminate the tripartite protectorate and put an end to our commitments in Samoa. But the Spanish-American War, which brought about the annexation of Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, and Porto Rico, found the American public quite ready for the annexation of part or all of the Samoan Islands. In 1899 the tripartite protectorate was abandoned, and the islands were divided. The United States received Tutuila with the fine harbor of Pago Pago, and Germany the remainder. England, preoccupied with the Boer War, withdrew entirely, being compensated by receiving two islands in the south Pacific formerly owned by Germany.

## Latin America

### Blaine and Pan-Americanism

*Blaine an advocate of Pan-Americanism*

The Mexican War and the agitation during the Pierce Administration in favor of annexing Cuba had aroused in Latin America suspicions as to the intentions of the United States and had weakened the prospects of a Pan-American federation which Clay and Adams had visualized. Blaine, who greatly admired Clay, accepted his American system of home markets and protective tariff and his idea of a federation of the American nations. When he became Secretary of State in Garfield's Cabinet, he invited the Latin American countries to attend a conference on arbitration to meet in Washington in the fall of 1881. But Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, who succeeded Blaine after Garfield's death, promptly withdrew the invitation. Pan-Americanism continued to be agitated, however, and in 1888 Congress authorized Cleveland to issue invitations again to the Latin American countries to send delegates to a conference to be held in Washington in October, 1889. When the delegates met, Blaine, who was now Harrison's Secretary of State, was chosen as president of the conference. The most tangible accomplishments were agreements con-

*The first Pan-American conference*

cerning trade reciprocity (see p. 598) and the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics. The chief function of the Bureau was to serve as a clearinghouse of information concerning each country. The name of the organization was later changed to that of the Pan-American Union, which has played an important role in preserving peace in the Western Hemisphere and in securing co-operation in the First and Second World Wars.

### INTERVENTION IN THE VENEZUELAN BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The intervention of the United States in the dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela over the boundary between the latter country and British Guiana created a better feeling in Latin America toward its North American neighbor. The boundary dispute was of long standing, dating back to the period before the Dutch ceded the territory to the British. In 1840 the British had employed Robert Schomburgk to survey the boundary; but the Venezuelan government would not accept his line. Instead it laid claim to a vast region to the east of the line that would have reduced British Guiana by more than half. After a number of years the British withdrew their offer to accept the Schomburgk Line as the boundary and began to lay claim to territory west of this line. This was due to the discovery of gold in this area and the accompanying rush of prospectors. Venezuela, seeing the encroachment of British subjects in the disputed area, began urging arbitration. However, Great Britain was willing to arbitrate any Venezuelan claims west but not east of the Schomburgk Line, although President Cleveland through the State Department, had advised that the whole dispute be submitted to arbitration.

*The British refusal to arbitrate claims east of the Schomburgk Line*

By 1893, Cleveland, who was again President, had not lost interest in the Venezuelan boundary dispute, and he had Secretary of State W. Q. Gresham bring to the attention of the British government the desire of the United States to see the controversy settled by arbitration. Lord Salisbury, who was British prime minister and secretary for foreign affairs, refused to accept this suggestion, considering the matter Britain's private business and of no concern to the United States. In the meantime this attitude had raised a storm of indignation in the United States, and in 1895 Congress at Cleveland's suggestion adopted a resolution urging arbitration of the Venezuelan boundary dispute. Soon afterward Secretary of State Olney, who had succeeded Gresham, sent a blunt note to Lord Salisbury accusing Britain of violating the Monroe Doctrine by occupying disputed territory. He demanded a categorical answer whether that country would or would not arbitrate the boundary dispute. Olney then

*The United States demands that Great Britain arbitrate the boundary dispute*

belligerently informed the British minister that the United States was master of the new world. "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interposition." It was "master of the situation" against all other powers.

*The British refusal to arbitrate*

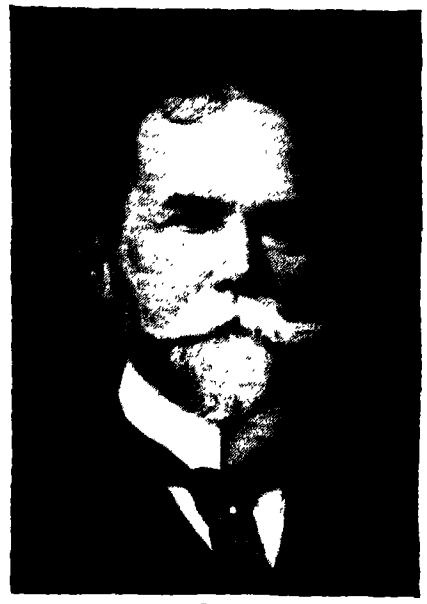
After a delay of four months, Lord Salisbury sent in a reply to Olney's note. His answer was a refusal to recognize the validity of the Monroe Doctrine in international law or its applicability to the adjustment of boundary lines. His note was couched in diplomatic language, but it was patronizing, and it had the air of finality: arbitration appeared to be dismissed.

*Cleveland's warlike message to Congress*

Cleveland was thoroughly angry at the substance and tone of the Salisbury note, and he sent a message to Congress on December 17, 1895, restating the position of the United States. This government, he observed, had not heretofore drawn any conclusions about the relative merits of the rival claims. It had only urged that the boundary line be determined by peaceful arbitration; but the time had now arrived when the United States must determine the true line between Venezuela and British Guiana. He recommended that Congress empower the President to appoint an investigating commission and to appropriate money to pay the commission's expense. When the commission made its report, said the President, "it would be the duty of the United States to resist" the appropriation by Great Britain of "territory which after investigation we have determined of right belongs to Venezuela." "In making these recommendations," said the President in the concluding paragraph of his message, "I am fully alive to the responsibility incurred, and keenly realize all the consequences that may follow." Cleveland was not bluffing. Unless Great Britain agreed to arbitration the United States would go to war. Public opinion supported the President, and war seemed near at hand. Congress unanimously voted $100,000 for the expense of the boundary commission, which the President appointed and sent to Venezuela.

*Britain, in need of American friendship, agrees to arbitrate*

Great Britain as usual was in no position—nor did she have any desire—to go to war with the United States; in such a war Canada would be jeopardized, and the British merchant marine would risk being destroyed. Furthermore, England was not at that time on very good terms with France and Russia, and the German kaiser was showing positive hostility to English policy in South Africa. Under these circumstances, war between the two kindred peoples would have been an unpardonable tragedy, and Lord Salisbury had no intention of risking such a calamity. He therefore suddenly changed his truculent and unbending attitude in his conversations with the United



*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*

JOHN HAY.

Secretary of State under McKinley and Roosevelt. He sponsored open-door policy in China.

*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*

WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

*Punch* November 2, 1895

A SIMPLE DEFINITION.

MASTER JOHNNY BULL "Monroe Doctrine? What is the Monroe Doctrine?"
MASTER JONATHAN "Wa al—guess it's that everything everywhere belongs to us."

States in relation to the Venezuelan question. He now offered to lend all the aid possible to the American boundary commission, and presently through the good offices of the United States agreed to a treaty of arbitration with Venezuela.

*The treaty of arbitration: the settlement*

The treaty provided for the submission of the dispute to a board of arbitration. The arbitration commission of 1899 drew the boundary approximately along the Schomburgk Line, except that Venezuela was given the mouth of the Orinoco River and considerable territory in the southwest. In the settlement the British obtained the larger share of the disputed area, but the friendly acceptance of American intervention indicated British recognition of the Monroe Doctrine and an acknowledgment that the United States was the final arbiter on this continent in matters of dispute between Latin America and European powers. England acquiesced, but other European powers, especially Germany, were resentful and showed their ill will during the Spanish-American War. In Latin America the weaker states were grateful for the protection of the United States; but the more powerful states like Argentina resented Olney's claims of hemispheric hegemony.

## THE CUBAN REVOLT

*Causes of revolt: Harsh Spanish rule, the American tariff, and the panic of 1893*

In the summer and fall of 1895 relations with Spain over the situation in Cuba were rapidly deteriorating. In February, 1895, the Cubans raised the standard of revolt after seventeen years of oppressive peace. Although the harsh and inefficient Spanish rule was the fundamental cause of the insurrection, it was doubtless hastened by the tariff legislation of the United States and the panic of 1893. The McKinley Tariff of 1890 had put raw sugar on the free list, and this had resulted in a great increase of acreage planted to sugar cane in Cuba and a large investment of American and foreign capital in that island. But the Wilson-Gorman Tariff (1894), which placed a duty on raw sugar, greatly reduced the American market and brought ruin on the expanded cane plantations and industries. The panic and depression in the United States contributed further to the shrinkage of the American market for Cuban tobacco. Great suffering among the mass of Cubans, most of whom were laborers on the cane plantations, added to the spirit of discontent.

*Cuban guerrilla warfare and the Spanish concentration camps*

The Cuban insurrectionists under the leadership of Máximo Gómez carried on a destructive guerrilla type of warfare. They not only slaughtered Spanish loyalists but resorted to the destruction of cane fields, syrup mills, and machinery used in the making of sugar. To put an end to this scorched earth policy of the insurrectionists, the Spanish government sent General Valeriano Weyler and a large

military force to Cuba with a free hand to deal with the rebels. Weyler ran a barbed-wire entanglement across the eastern part of the island in an effort to confine the insurrectionists to that area. In a manner that foreshadowed the German concentration camps of the Hitler era, Weyler penned off large areas in the sweltering jungle and herded the population—whether neutrals, Spanish sympathizers, or rebels—of much of the eastern provinces in concentration camps. Here untold numbers died from disease, starvation, and brutal treatment by the Spanish soldiers.

*The "yellow press" arouses American sympathy for the Cuban insurrectionists*

The "yellow press" led by William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal* and Joseph Pullitzer's *New York World* published exaggerated stories of Weyler's brutalities throughout the country, and the other papers were soon reprinting these accounts or obtaining others just as sensational. The American public, thus aroused, demanded that the United States recognize the independence of Cuba and, if necessary, intervene by force in Cuba's behalf. Cleveland, however, was unmoved by this pressure, and he announced that he would not mobilize the army even if Congress should declare war on Spain. By October, 1897, conditions had taken a turn for the better; at that time the more liberal ministry of P. M. Sagasta succeeded the conservative government in Spain, and steps were taken toward bettering the Cuban situation. Weyler was replaced by a more moderate governor, the concentration policy was modified, and legislative autonomy was granted to Cuba. The insurrectionists were not satisfied with these concessions since they wanted independence, not autonomy. All hopes for a peaceful settlement raised by this change in Spanish policy were dashed by two unfortunate events—the sinking of the battleship *Maine* and the publication of the de Lôme letter.

*The sinking of the* Maine

In January, 1898, the American battleship *Maine* was ordered to Havana ostensibly for a "friendly" visit but really to protect the lives and property of American citizens. On February 15, 1898, the *Maine* was sunk by an explosion while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, with the loss of more than two hundred and fifty officers and enlisted men and the wounding of sixty others. Although the more thoughtful element in the United States reserved judgment as to the cause of the explosion, the general opinion was that the *Maine* was the victim of Spanish treachery. This feeling was raised to a white heat by the agitation of the yellow press and bellicose politicians. To find out the cause of the explosion, one investigation was made by a Spanish board and one by an American board. The Americans reported that the *Maine* had been sunk by an external submarine mine which set off a second explosion in the ship's magazine. The Spanish board reported that the ship had been sunk

by an internal explosion. As to who planted the submarine mine that caused the external explosion, no one has been able to ascertain. That the Spanish government should do such a thing, when it was engaged in a frantic effort to keep peace, does not make sense. It was doubtless an accident or the work of irresponsible individuals.[1]

*The de Lôme letter confirms American belief as to Spanish treachery*

No doubt the belief that the sinking of the *Maine* was the result of Spanish treachery was greatly strengthened by the famous de Lôme letter, which had been published in Hearst's *Journal* on February 9, 1898, a few days before the sinking of the *Maine*. Dupuy de Lôme, the Spanish minister at Washington, had written a friend in Cuba a private letter, which was stolen from the Havana post office by a Cuban spy and given to Hearst. In this letter de Lôme suggested that, as a means to influence American opinion, it might be necessary for the Spanish government to appear to yield to the American demands for freeing Cuba without in fact making any concessions. In pointing out the necessity of appeasing the American public, de Lôme observed that McKinley was a weak and spineless politician, "a bidder for the admiration of the crowd." De Lôme, of course, became *persona non grata* and he resigned before the Spanish government could fulfill McKinley's request for his recall. But most important in its bearing on the *Maine* and the entire Spanish-American relations was the revelation of what appeared to be a design for official double-dealing.

*The President carried along by public opinion in favor of war*

Public sentiment in favor of war continued to rise in the United States like a tidal wave. McKinley, however, really desired peace, but he was faced by a revolt of young Republicans led by Henry Cabot Lodge and Theodore Roosevelt. The latter denounced the President for his hesitancy and accused him of "having no more backbone than a chocolate éclair." The President was being carried along by the mad popular outcry, by his genuine pity for the Cubans, and by his distrust of both the good faith of the Spanish in their promises of reform and their ability to fulfill their promises.

*McKinley's demands upon Spain*

McKinley, however, made an effort to reach an agreement with Spain without resort to war. On March 27, 1898, General Stewart L. Woodford, American minister at Madrid, was instructed to make certain demands on Spain. The Spanish government was asked to grant an armistice to the rebels until October, abolish the concentration policy, conduct peace negotiations through the medium of the United States, and permit relief to be sent to both the Cubans and the Americans in Cuba.

[1] In 1911 the Maine was raised and carefully examined. The evidence seemed conclusive that the ship had been sunk by the explosion of a submarine mine.

*Spain concedes virtually everything demanded by McKinley*

The Spanish ministry could not promptly comply with these demands but intimated that it would go as rapidly in this direction as public sentiment would permit. Woodford cabled McKinley that the government and people of Spain desired peace, and that "if you can still give me time and reasonable liberty of action I will get you the peace you desire so much and for which you have labored so hard." On April 5 the Spanish government ordered the termination of the "reconcentration" policy in Cuba, and four days later the Spanish foreign minister informed Woodford that an order had been issued to the commander of the army in Cuba "to grant immediately a suspension of hostilities for such a length of time as he may think prudent to prepare and facilitate the peace earnestly desired by all." Spain had thus conceded substantially everything that the United States had demanded.

*McKinley ignores Spanish concessions and proposes war*

Yet on the next day (April 11, 1898) after receiving these assurances McKinley sent his message to Congress asking for authority to employ the armed forces of the United States to bring an end to the war in Cuba. In this message there was only a bare reference to the Spanish concessions. McKinley did not feel that he could go against public opinion. The country wanted war, especially the young Republicans, and he would let the people have their wish. Furthermore, he may have felt that these last-minute promises of Spain could not be relied on.

*Congress declares war*

Amid wild tumult Congress passed a joint resolution (in four parts) on April 19, 1898, signed by the President on April 20, which Spain accepted as a declaration of war. The resolution declared Cuba free; authorized the President to demand the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Cuba; and, in the event of their refusal to withdraw, to use the armed forces of the United States to drive them out. The fourth part, known as the Teller Amendment, disclaimed any purpose of annexing Cuba. Significantly it was accepted as an amendment to the war resolution without opposition. By an act of April 25 Congress went beyond this joint resolution calling for intervention and declared that war had existed since April 21.

### THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

*The strength of the American fleet*

Fortunately the conflict with Spain was to be essentially a naval war; for, although the land forces of the United States were, as will be presently shown, ill prepared for war, the navy was new and well manned and equipped. The modernization of the American navy had begun under Arthur and had been pushed steadily forward under Cleveland, Harrison, and McKinley. John D. Long, McKinley's Secretary of the Navy, and his Assistant Secretary, the ever-

youthful and energetic Theodore Roosevelt, had completed and equipped several unfinished warships and added these to the fleet. When war was declared, the navy could assemble four battleships—two of them new—and lesser units for use against the Spanish in the Atlantic or the Caribbean. Furthermore, another new battleship, the *Oregon,* was making a voyage of 14,000 miles from San Francisco around South America to join the Atlantic fleet. As war approached, Commodore W. S. Schley was given a portion of the fleet as a flying squadron to be based at Hampton Roads to protect the east coast from possible attacks by the mythical Spanish fleet; and the remainder of the fleet under Captain (Acting Rear Admiral) William T. Sampson was based at Key West.

*Dewey's easy victory in Manila Bay*

At Hong Kong Commodore George Dewey was in command of a squadron consisting of four modern cruisers and other well-conditioned vessels. Having received orders to attack the Spanish fleet in the Philippines, he proceeded at once to Manila Bay. Here on May 1 he encountered and easily destroyed the weak Spanish "fleet," consisting of old war vessels. He also completely demolished the shore batteries. The American casualties were eight men slightly injured (none killed); those of the Spanish were one hundred and sixty-seven killed and two hundred and fourteen wounded. The news of the victory set the bellicose American public wild with delight; and, despite the well-known inferiority of the Spanish navy, it made a deep and unpleasant impression on the powers of continental Europe, all of which viewed the American attack on Spain with strong disapproval. Significantly Great Britain alone of the European nations regarded the easy American victory with satisfaction. The British, on unfriendly terms with Germany, Russia, and France, and soon to have the Boer War on their hands, desired American friendship and took this occasion to cultivate it.[1]

*Troops sent to the Philippines*

Although Dewey had demolished the Spanish naval power in the Philippines and controlled Manila Bay, he could not take without land forces the city of Manila or the territory held by the Spanish. He immediately urged the War Department to send him troops; and that slow-moving department assembled a considerable force at San Francisco under General Wesley Merritt and had it transported to

[1] The friendly attitude of the British was shown when a disagreement arose between Dewey and Vice-Admiral Otto von Diederichs, commander of the German squadron, over the latter's refusal to obey Dewey's blockade regulations. At one time the controversy became sharp and Dewey was reported to have sent the German vice-admiral word that "if he wants a fight he can have it right now." Captain Chichester, commander of the British squadron in Manila Bay, indicated a willingness to co-operate with Dewey, and his attitude may have been a factor in bringing about an understanding between Dewey and von Diederichs. It is more than likely, however, that the German government had no intention to interfere with the American blockade regulations and that the difficulty arose from the arrogant attitude of von Diederichs.

Manila Bay. General Merritt's forces having arrived and everything having been prepared, the naval and land forces moved in and captured Manila and 13,000 prisoners without serious difficulty (August 13-14).

*The American naval forces in search of the Spanish squadron*

On April 22, 1898, in accordance with the spirit of the joint Congressional resolution of the previous day, Admiral Sampson left Key West with the greater part of his fleet to establish a blockade on the northern side of Cuba and to police the waters between Cuba and Porto Rico, while Schley was presently ordered to proceed to the patrol of the southern shores of Cuba. Both were on the lookout for the Spanish naval force, which left the Cape Verde Islands on April 28 and was expected in the Caribbean within a week or ten days. It was known in all well-informed circles that the warships of the Spanish navy could get coal only in Cuban and Porto Rican harbors and would first have to stop in one of these ports before attempting to engage the American fleet. Despite this, the population on the east coast apprehended a monster Spanish navy that would swoop down upon them and destroy whole cities. Wealthy people were said to have moved into the interior under the spell of this Halloween fright. It was delightfully terrifying.

*Spanish squadron bottled up in the harbor of Santiago*

Before the Spaniards had been defeated in the Philippines, their rule in the Caribbean had been brought to an end, chiefly by naval warfare. Schley's tardiness in carrying out orders to patrol the coast of southern Cuba enabled Cervera to bring the Spanish warships safely into the land-locked harbor of Santiago de Cuba on May 19, and it was not until May 29 that Schley began a blockade of Santiago. As quickly as possible Admiral Sampson brought the major portion of his fleet to Schley's aid so that the Americans now had five battleships, two cruisers, and numerous smaller craft lying in a semicircle off the entrance to Santiago Bay, in which was anchored the Spanish "fleet" composed of four armored cruisers and a few smaller craft. Naturally Cervera would not of his own volition come out of his well-protected harbor to meet certain destruction, nor could the American fleet pass through the narrow channel lying between well-fortified elevations.

*The poor condition of the land forces*

Eventually, of course, the Spanish squadron and the city with its large garrison could be starved into surrender;[1] but the yellow journals and the impatient American public wanted action, and the land forces were called in to aid the navy by surrounding the city from

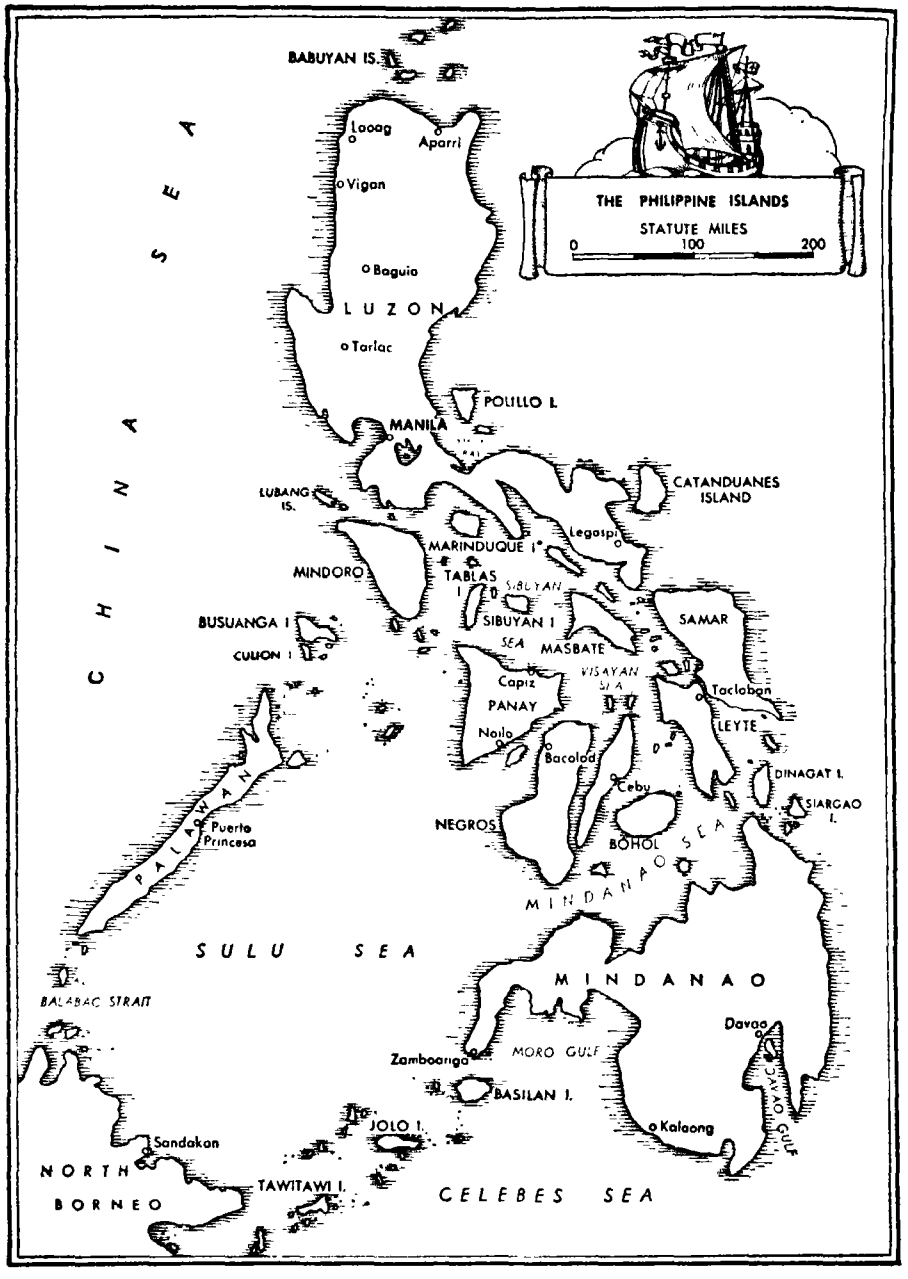
[1] While the American fleet was lying off the port of Santiago, a group of men led by Lieutenant Richmond P. Hobson sank the collier *Merrimac* in the channel in an attempt to bottle up the Spanish fleet. This heroic feat, which resulted in the capture of Hobson and his companions, failed to accomplish its purpose, but it did make Hobson a national hero.

THE WEST INDIES.

ANOTHER OLD WOMAN TRIES TO SWEEP BACK THE SEA

*From the New York Journal, 1898*

Public opinion in favor of war overwhelms McKinley.




THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

the land sides. As previously observed, the land forces of the United States were not prepared for war in 1898. The American people had seemingly not learned a single military lesson from the War of 1812, the Mexican War, or the titanic Civil War. They had so neglected their army that it was in a worse condition than it had been since the outbreak of the War of 1812. The regulars numbered about 26,000 enlisted men and 2143 officers scattered in small garrisons over the country. The higher officers and many of the majors and colonels were veterans of the Civil War, just as the chief officers at the beginning of the War of 1812 had been veterans of the Revolutionary War; and in each case, outside of skirmishes with the Indians, they had not seen military action for thirty years or more, nor had most of them so much as seen a regimental drill. Seniority had been the rule for promotion, and proved merit was conspicuous by its absence. As for a central planning board or general staff, no such body existed. General Nelson A. Miles, general-in-chief of the army, was sixty years old and his experience in large-scale fighting dated back to the Civil War, where muzzle-loading rifles and smoothbore cannon were the usual weapons of infantry and artillery. The National Guard, the second line of defense, had received almost no military training, and the arms with which it was equipped were unsuited to modern warfare. The ammunition used by both the National Guard and the regular army was charged with black powder (even the Spaniards were using smokeless powder), which would give the enemy a perfect outline of the American positions and by the dense pall of smoke obscure the aim of our infantrymen and artillerists.

*Mobilization of volunteers and regulars*

After war broke out, Congress began to prepare the land forces for war. An army to consist of sixty thousand regulars and two hundred thousand volunteers was authorized and quickly raised. A mad scramble to enlist followed, those offering their services ranging from teen-age boys to veterans of the Civil War. These volunteers assembled chiefly at Chickamauga Park and Tampa, Florida. There were not enough tents, uniforms, and modern rifles to supply more than a fraction of the volunteer army, nor was the food supply adequate.

*Expeditionary force assembled at Tampa; officers and troops poorly trained and equipped*

General Miles had wisely advised the War Department and the President—who had agreed with him—that no American soldiers should be sent to Cuba or Porto Rico before fall, at the end of the rainy season when danger from fever and exposure would be much decreased. Nevertheless Admiral Sampson, as soon as the blockade of Santiago was established, urged his government to send a military force immediately to invest Santiago and thus aid in the capture of that city and the destruction of the Spanish fleet. General William R.

Shafter, who was given command of the troops, weighed three hundred pounds and was totally unfitted for warfare in the jungles of Cuba. Hundreds of the men who helped to constitute the expeditionary force of about fifteen thousand had never drilled or had an army rifle in their hands. All the troops at Tampa, except the "Rough Riders," were dressed in woolen uniforms.

*General Shafter's army sent to Cuba*

In response to Sampson's request General Shafter and his army of nearly seventeen thousand men embarked from Tampa for Cuba, landing (June 22) at a point a few miles east of Santiago. This expeditionary force, which was in the main composed of regular troops, included a regiment of volunteers known as the "Rough Riders." This regiment was made up of cowboys, college athletes, and even a few desperadoes. The Rough Riders (with their horses left behind) were under the command of Colonel Leonard Wood, with whom was associated his friend, Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who had resigned his post as Assistant Secretary of the Navy to engage in active service.

*Americans capture the heights that guarded Santiago*

The approaches to Santiago were guarded by the fortified heights of El Caney, San Juan Hill, and Kettle Hill. The Americans attacked these positions and took them (July 1 and 2) but at a heavy cost in casualties. During these two days Shafter had lost in killed and wounded about 1500 men, and he seriously contemplated giving up San Juan Hill and falling back several miles to a better defensive position. In the attack on these strongholds Roosevelt and the Rough Riders had shown great gallantry in charging across Kettle Hill and up the slope of San Juan Hill in the face of a murderous fire.

*Destruction of the Spanish squadron*

Shafter was relieved from the danger of his position by the action of the Spanish garrison and fleet at Santiago. Their situation and that of the inhabitants of Santiago were far worse than Shafter's: virtually no food was left in the city, while the armed forces were short of both food and ammunition. The Spanish army and navy therefore felt that their fate was sealed. Accordingly, on the morning of July 3, Admiral Cervera—acting on orders from Spain—led his squadron out of Santiago Bay under full steam, in the face of the American fleet, and turned sharply westward in a daring effort to escape. The American ships pounced upon them and succeeded in destroying or beaching all the Spanish ships. The Spanish lost in this action 323 killed and 151 wounded. The Americans lost one killed and one wounded.[1]

[1] The laurels won by the American naval commanders were tarnished by a bitter controversy between Sampson and Schley as to which was entitled to the more credit for the victory. During most of the time of the fighting Sampson was on land holding a conference with General Shafter and did not arrive at the scene of action until the battle was nearly over. For this reason the pro-Schley advocates contend that Schley—

*The surrender of the Spanish garrison*

The destruction of the Spanish squadron was completely demoralizing to the beleaguered Spanish garrison. There was no chance of reinforcements or of supplies and food being brought in. Nothing was left but surrender; and after two weeks of negotiations—prolonged by the Spanish as a matter of pride—Shafter received the unconditional surrender of the enemy garrison on July 17, the agreement having been reached the day before.

*The American army, threatened with extermination by tropical disease, removed to Long Island*

It was well indeed that the surrender came when it did, for the American army was threatened with extermination by yellow fever, malaria, dysentery, and food poisoning. Ten days after the Spanish surrendered, more than 4000 of Shafter's men were reported sick, and within a few more days not ten per cent of the men were fit for active duty. On August 3 a group of volunteer officers, prominent among whom was Theodore Roosevelt, met and drafted a round robin dealing with the condition of the army and addressed it to General Shafter, who forwarded it to Washington. The pith of the round robin was: "This army must be moved at once or it will perish." The Secretary of War on receipt of the round robin promptly ordered the Cuban expeditionary force to Montauk Point, Long Island. About 23,000 left Cuba on August 8; and when they reached their destination more than 10,000 required hospitalization, and most of the others were so enfeebled that they resembled walking scarecrows. Eighty-seven men had died on shipboard and about two hundred more died after reaching camp.

*Conditions in the army camps in the United States*

Similar conditions prevailed in the army camps in the United States. Unsanitary conditions, spoiled food, especially canned meat and "embalmed beef"—beef treated with a preservative fluid which was widely believed to have been embalming fluid—gave rise to epidemics of typhoid fever and dysentery. Before the camps were disbanded, these diseases had killed more than four thousand soldiers, whereas the expeditionary force had lost only about nine hundred from both bullets and disease.

*Alger blamed*

The public blamed the Secretary of War, Russell L. Alger, for the dreadful conditions in the camps and for the generally bad management of the war. McKinley was compelled eventually to dismiss Alger; he appointed in his place Elihu Root, who proved to be one of the ablest men who have held that post. Alger was not responsible for the bad condition of the army and for its inefficient conduct. That

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who was the ranking officer during most of the fighting—and not Sampson, deserves the chief honor. The partisans of Sampson, on the other hand, point out that Schley was only carrying out the orders of Sampson—and making an unwise tactical move in doing so—and therefore the victory was the result of the strategy of Sampson. A more correct appraisal would be to attribute the success of the Americans to the acties of the captains of individual vessels rather than to the strategy of the higher rank commanders.

*condition, as we have suggested, was cumulative and was the result* of the long neglect of our political leaders and of the indifference of the American people. Alger, of course, was an ordinary politician, and a man of Root's capacity could have done a little, but not much, better.

*General Miles occupies Porto Rico*

General Miles had come to Cuba at the end of the Santiago campaign and shortly after the surrender he transported a small expeditionary force to Porto Rico. Here the people greeted him as a liberator rather than as a conqueror, and before he had engaged the enemy to any extent he was brought to a halt by the sudden termination of the war.

*Preliminary peace terms agreed upon*

The loss of her fleet in the Philippines and her naval and land forces in the West Indies within a few weeks without inflicting more than surface scratches upon those of the United States, left Spain completely impotent to carry on the war. Soon, therefore, after the surrender of Santiago, the Spanish government acting through Jules Cambon, French ambassador to the United States, asked for peace terms. On July 30 the President replied that an armistice would be granted on condition that Spain relinquish title to Cuba, cede Porto Rico and one of the Ladrone Islands to the United States, and permit the United States to occupy the city, bay, and harbor of Manila pending peace negotiations which were to determine the final disposition and government of the Philippine Islands. Spain accepted these terms, and on August 12 a preliminary agreement was signed, which embodied the provisions laid down by the United States and provided for a peace conference to be held in Paris.

*Peace negotiations and provisions of the treaty*

Commissioners from Spain and the United States met at Paris on October 1, 1898, to arrange the final terms of peace. The American commission consisted of William R. Day, who had resigned the Secretaryship of State to serve as head of the commission; three United States Senators, one of them a Democrat; and a noted editor of a Republican metropolitan newspaper. There were two questions on which Spain and the United States were in marked disagreement. These were concerned with the disposal of Cuba and the Philippines.

*Cuba*

The Spanish negotiators proposed to cede Cuba to the United States, which should assume the debt of about $400,000,000 incurred by Spain in maintaining its government and army in Cuba. The American commissioners rejected this proposal. Later the Spanish commissioners agreed to relinquish sovereignty over Cuba and assume responsibility for the Cuban debt, whereas the Americans agreed that the United States would occupy the island until the Cubans could establish a stable government.

On November 1 the Philippine question came up for final deter-

*The Philippines*

mination. By this time President McKinley, in keeping with the latest development in public sentiment in the United States, was demanding all of the Philippine archipelago. If we liberated the islands, he contended, the natives who had no political experience would not long be able to maintain any kind of national government but would break up into a multitude of warring tribes. This would furnish the opportunity that Japan, England, France, and Germany—especially Germany—were at the moment hoping for—the opportunity to seize the Philippines. If the islands were given back to Spain, the inefficient and brutal misrule of that country with the recurring revolt of the natives would be perpetuated. Hence McKinley decided to take all the islands "and to educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them, as our fellow men. . . ." The President could have added the stronger but less pious justification put forward by naval men and business interests—namely, that the Philippines gave us a naval base and a commercial footing near our markets in China. The American commissioners in obedience to the President's instructions, therefore, insisted that the United States must have all the Philippine Islands. The Spanish commissioners tried desperately to save the islands; and they were certainly correct in their contention that the United States had not conquered the Philippines but was in possession of only Manila Bay when the protocol was signed August 12. In view of this fact, the American government brought up the idea of purchase, and the Spanish commissioners agreed to cede the islands to the United States for $20,000,000.

*Other provisions*

As for the other cessions agreed to in the protocol, there was little argument: Spain ceded Porto Rico and the Island of Guam in the Ladrones to the United States as indemnity.

*The anti-imperialist argument against the Spanish treaty*

In January, 1899, the treaty was submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. It set off a storm of protest in and out of Congress. Most of the Democrats and many prominent Republicans, including the Speaker of the House, Thomas B. Reed, opposed the ratification of the treaty because of the annexation of Porto Rico and the Philippines. These noncontiguous territories inhabited by alien races, it was contended, could never be Americanized; and the possession of such, especially the Philippines, would inevitably involve the United States with the great European powers who had interests in the East. This would be an abandonment of the American policy of isolation with its counterpart, the Monroe Doctrine; and it would compel the United States to build and maintain a powerful navy and a strong army, which would place a heavy burden of taxation on the people and saddle them with militarism. But the

most powerful argument against the treaty was ideological: the annexation of a people without their consent, indeed against their will, as was soon demonstrated in the long Philippine revolt, was a violation of the principle on which the American nation had been founded—the right of a people to choose their own government.

*The argument of the imperialists*

The imperialists urged upon the American people the necessity of possessing naval bases in the Caribbean for the defense of our home shores and in the Far East for the protection of our growing trade in China. They also contended that the choice lay not between the independence of the Philippines and American imperialism, but rather between the possession of these islands by the humanitarian American nation and their possession by a ruthless European power like Germany.

*The treaty ratified*

This and other imperialistic arguments caught the imagination and soothed the conscience of millions of Americans, and the treaty was ratified on February 6, 1899, but by the narrow margin of 57 to 27.

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# CHAPTER XXXV

# *The American Empire and World Politics*

## The Presidential Election of 1900

*Republicans claim credit for return of prosperity*

THE Republicans were in an enviable position for the Presidential election in 1900. The prosperity that had begun with the accession of McKinley to the Presidency in 1897 had by 1900 reached boom proportions. The party leaders—as politicians are wont to do—ignored the natural causes of this prosperity (see p. 611) and gave their party full credit for the good times. The Dingley Tariff and "honest money" were the chief factors, they asserted, and many good Democrats and nearly all, if not all, of the Republicans were convinced that Republican control meant prosperity for the country.

*Nomination of McKinley and Roosevelt*

McKinley, "the advance agent of prosperity," was renominated without a dissenting vote at the Republican national convention that met in Philadelphia on June 19, 1900. Of more importance, as it transpired, however, Theodore Roosevelt, then governor of New York, was nominated for Vice-President, although both Hanna and McKinley had opposed his selection. Since the Vice-Presidency often proves a political graveyard, Roosevelt at first vociferously denied that he was a candidate. However, Thomas C. Platt, boss of the New York Republican machine, wished to consign to oblivion the obstreperous young governor of New York, who paid too little deference to the boss's interests in appointments to office and in governmental policies. The best way, thought Platt, to eliminate the trouble-maker was to bury him in the inconspicuous office of the Vice-Presidency. But the candidacy of the Rough Rider aroused strong popular support, and his reception at the Republican convention was a thundering ovation. Faced with such frenzied support of the New York governor, Hanna and McKinley, with strong misgivings, withdrew their opposition, and Roosevelt was thus drafted by his party for second place on the ticket. The platform strongly endorsed both the domestic and foreign policy of the McKinley Administration, repre-

senting the former as the main cause of the prosperity that the country was then enjoying.

*Nomination of Bryan; the platform presents imperialism as the chief issue*

The Democratic convention, which met July 4 in Kansas City, nominated Bryan against the wishes of the Eastern wing of the party; and on the insistence of Bryan there was inserted a plank demanding free silver. The most important plank of the platform, however, was the one declaring opposition to imperialism. In the campaign the Democratic leaders insisted that imperialism, not prosperity, tariff, or money, was the paramount issue. The very foundation principles of the American nation were in danger. It was impossible (so the platform declared) to make the Filipinos citizens without endangering American civilization and "they cannot be subjects without imperiling our form of government." The platform therefore demanded that the United States immediately declare its purpose of freeing the Philippines after establishing a stable government.

*Arguments of Democrats and Republicans; results of the election*

In the campaign the Democratic orators, led by the tireless Bryan, constantly held up to public view the indisputable fact that the annexation and subjugation of an unwilling people were a violation of the underlying principle of the Declaration of Independence—the right of a people to choose their own government. In reply to this argument the Republican speakers emphasized the humanitarian possibilities of educating and civilizing the "little brown brother," and pointed out the inability of the Filipinos to govern themselves or maintain their independence in the face of German or Japanese ambitions. Their strongest argument, however, was the fact that the country had been prosperous under Republican rule. The Republican ticket won by a vote of 7,219,525 compared with 6,358,737 for the Democratic ticket. McKinley's electoral vote was 292 to Bryan's 155. Bryan's popular support had been greatly weakened in the West since 1896 because of the rise in the price of farm products and livestock. The regular Populists supported Bryan as in 1896, but a group calling themselves the "Middle of the Road Populists" put out an independent ticket. Two socialist groups and a prohibition ticket drew other discontented voters away from the two major parties.

*McKinley's death and the succession of Theodore Roosevelt*

McKinley entered his second administration not only without a break in policy but with almost perfect continuity in administrative machinery. Certainly there was no change in his excellent Cabinet, whose most outstanding members were John Hay, Secretary of State, and Elihu Root, Secretary of War. But the President's second term proved to be a short one. On September 5, 1901, six months and one day after his second inauguration, he was shot by an anarchist—

whose only motive was a fanatical objection to all government—and died on September 14. Roosevelt now became President.

*Theodore Roosevelt, personal traits*

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), acceding to the Presidency at the age of forty-three, became the youngest man to hold that high office in this country. As has already been seen, he had had considerable experience in governmental affairs before assuming this serious responsibility. Behind his experience as a statesman was a colorful and aggressive personality that easily attracted the notice of the public. A formal education acquired at Harvard had been supplemented by wide reading; and, with the possible exception of Jefferson, he was the most versatile in his interests and accomplishments of all our Presidents. He had a catchy style—was a great phrase-maker—and had already won a reputation as a writer in the field of history and biography. Although he was reared in a family of wealth and aristocratic traditions, he had an excellent understanding of the common man. Indeed, he embodied in his character most of the likes and dislikes, the loyalties and prejudices, of the common man. He was thus typically American. It was doubtless due to this characteristic more than to any other that he owed his immense popularity. A boyish impulsiveness and a flair for dramatizing and publicizing his activities also helped to keep the public spotlight on him.

*Roosevelt promises to continue McKinley's policies; he retains his predecessor's Cabinet*

The old-line Republicans, however, did not take a favorable view of this difficult young liberal. Mark Hanna and other conservative Republicans in speaking of him had used such expressions as "this mad man," "this bull in the china shop," and many less complimentary terms. Roosevelt, quite aware that he was regarded as a wild man by the conservatives of his party, showed himself to be an astute politician by promptly announcing that he would continue unbroken the policy of McKinley and would retain his predecessor's Cabinet. The new President did continue the foreign and the imperialistic policies of his predecessor, but he finally extended these policies much further. His domestic policy, however, was to be a sharp reversal of the *laissez faire* policy of McKinley and the Republican Party.

## THE GOVERNMENT OF THE ISLAND COLONIES

*A civil government for Porto Rico; the Foraker Act*

A system of government for Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines was in the process of being formulated when McKinley died; and this work went on during Roosevelt's administration. The Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico were at first under military government, with the Secretary of War exercising control. Within a

year after the treaty of cession, military government was no longer necessary in Porto Rico, whose inhabitants had never opposed American occupation; and on April 12, 1900, Congress by the Foraker Act provided for the establishment of a civil government in that island. The President was to appoint a governor and council, and the latter was to act as upper house of the legislature, while the people were permitted a voice in the government through the popularly elected lower house of the legislature. Both the governor and the American Congress had a veto power over legislation. The Porto Ricans were made citizens of Porto Rico but not of the United States. A duty of fifteen per cent was levied on all Porto Rican products imported into the United States—although after July 25, 1901, free trade was to exist.

*Hawaii given a regular territorial form of government*

Hawaii, the annexation of which had been hastened by the war with Spain and particularly the victory of Dewey at Manila, was at first accorded a treatment different from the islands acquired from Spain. It was granted a regular territorial form of government on April 30, 1900, and its inhabitants were made citizens of the United States. This special treatment was no doubt due to the fact that the island was annexed by the consent of the Hawaiian government, and to the more important fact that the government was in the hands of Americans.

*Aguinaldo brought back to the Philippines to lead the guerillas*

Commodore Dewey had brought Emilio Aguinaldo, the Filipino guerrilla chieftain, back to the Philippines from China to lead in the revolt already in progress against the Spanish. Aguinaldo received the impression that the Philippines were to be freed and given their independence just as had been promised Cuba. When he saw that the American government had no such intention, he raised the standard of revolt against the Americans in the Philippines (February 4, 1899). For a while Aguinaldo carried on regular warfare, but later his forces were scattered over the innumerable islands, and his men were conducting a guerrilla warfare that was even more deadly and far more terrifying than campaigns fought in the open. At night small bands of Filipinos would infiltrate the lines or come by stealth into the garrisons and cut down unsuspecting soldiers. Stung to madness by the Filipino system of warfare, the Americans retaliated in kind and wrung information from their captives by methods of torture which their Spanish predecessors had employed. Finally Aguinaldo himself was captured in March, 1901, by General Frederick Funston, who lured the Filipino into a trap by the use of native enemies of Aguinaldo and forged documents. Once in American hands Aguinaldo took the oath of allegiance to the United States and issued a proclamation urging his followers to lay down their

arms. It was, however, not until the summer of 1902 that the guerrilla warfare was ended.

*Taft organizes civil government in the Philippines*

To organize a government for the Philippines McKinley appointed a commission and placed at its head William Howard Taft, a Federal judge of Ohio. In this government the natives were to be allowed to manage their own affairs as far as they were capable and were to enjoy the personal rights that were in the Bill of Rights of the American Constitution—except trial by jury and the right to bear arms. In September, 1900, the commission took over all legislative and administrative authority from the military commander. Taft then proceeded to organize local and provincial governments, frequently permitting the Philippine communities to select their own officials. On July 4, 1901, Taft became civil governor, and the commission, to which Filipinos were added, continued as a legislative body.

*The gradual establishment of self-government*

The Philippine Government Act of July 1, 1902, continued the commission as the upper house of the legislature and added an elective assembly which was to become the lower house of the legislature. It was not until 1907, however, that the first assembly was elected; and even after that, the portions of the islands inhabited by the Mohammedan Moros and other non-Christian tribes were continued under the control of the governor-general and the commission. In 1916 during the first administration of Woodrow Wilson, while the anti-imperialists were in power, an elective Senate was established for the Philippines by the Jones Act; and Governor General Francis B. Harrison virtually turned over the control of the government to the Filipinos. Under Harrison's successor, General Leonard Wood, the trend toward self-government for the Filipinos was checked for six years, but was resumed in 1928 under Henry L. Stimson as governor-general. The movement in the United States and among the Filipinos for independence now made rapid advances. This movement was supported not only by bona fide anti-imperialists in the United States, but by those special interests that desired Philippine independence for the purpose of levying a protective tariff against Philippine products. In 1934, the Tydings-McDuffie Act, which offered independence after ten years, was accepted and on July 4, 1946, President Harry Truman declared the islands an independent republic.[1]

*American rule proves a boon to the Filipinos: Education*

American rule proved unprofitable to the Americans, but a boon to the Filipinos. In 1898 when Spanish rule came to an end only about 5000 children in a population of about 8,000,000 were in

[1] The war with Japan, during which the Japanese armed forces occupied the Philippines, postponed the granting of independence two years.

school. Outside of the small, well-to-do classes there was almost universal illiteracy. The Taft commission, however, began at once to establish a system of public education modeled after that in the United States. By 1935 there were 7000 public schools staffed by 27,000 teachers—most of whom were Filipinos—and hundreds of church schools. Enrolled in these schools were 1,300,000 pupils, and illiteracy was rapidly vanishing. Under American administration sanitary conditions were revolutionized. Smallpox, cholera, and yellow fever were practically eliminated; leprosy was checked by establishing colonies for lepers, and hundreds of cases were arrested or cured. The economic life of the people was greatly improved by the lowering and the virtual abolition of the tariff barriers in the United States, so that the American market was opened to the chief Philippine products such as hemp, tobacco, cocoanut oil, sugar, and lumber.

*Sanitary and economic conditions improved*

When the Spanish surrendered Cuba in July, 1898, social, economic, and physical conditions in the island were desperate. Many of the sugar plantations were in ruins from the ravages of war, or were in a condition of abandonment, and the remainder were in a low state of cultivation. The laborers and farmers were frequently homeless and without employment. The cities and towns were filthy, and the people near starvation. Malaria, typhoid, yellow fever, and dysentery ravaged the centers of population. There was scarcely a vestige of effective local government, and rival and impotent factions were falling upon each other from ambush in an effort to obtain control of the national government. The island had to be cleaned up, the hungry and ragged fed and clothed, the thousands of displaced persons settled in their homes, and the guerrilla factions quieted. The United States was pledged by the Teller Amendment (attached to the first Congressional war resolutions of April 19, 1898) not to annex Cuba as a colony (see p. 622), but since Cuba was not prepared to govern itself, the United States exercised control of the island through the general commanding the army of occupation. This function was performed by General John R. Brooke until late in 1899, when he was succeeded by General Leonard Wood.

*Conditions in Cuba make American military occupation of the island a necessity*

One important undertaking of the American administration was that of ridding the island of yellow fever. Major William C. Gorgas, in charge of public health at Havana, had the zealous aid of General Wood, himself a doctor, in the attempt to stamp out this dread disease. Little headway was made, however, until it was discovered that the stegomyia mosquito transmitted the yellow-fever germ. This discovery resulted from experiments made by a commission headed

*Yellow fever found to be transmitted by mosquito; the disease brought under control*

by Major Walter Reed. Two of the commission died as a result of being infected by the germ during the experiment—Dr. Jesse W. Lazear and Dr. James Carroll. By 1901 Havana was clear of the scourge, and it was being brought under control all over the island.

*Constitutional government established in Cuba*

During the Presidential campaign of 1900, McKinley instructed General Wood to hold municipal elections in Cuba and to call a constitutional convention to form a national government for the island. The convention assembled in November and within a few months adopted a constitution resembling that of the United States. Despite General Wood's earnest insistence, however, the convention made no provision for any continuation of the tutelage of the United States. Secretary of War Root had General Wood inform the convention that such provisions must be incorporated in the constitution before American control would be relinquished.

*The Platt Amendment*

To back up the executive position in Cuba, Congress passed a measure prescribing the conditions which would have to be met before the American army would be withdrawn from Cuba. These conditions were in the form of an amendment offered by Senator Platt to the Army Appropriation Bill. The reluctant and disappointed Cuban convention was induced to append the Platt Amendment to the Cuban constitution, and later (1903) the Amendment was embodied in a treaty between the United States and Cuba. The main provisions of the Platt Amendment were: Cuba should never enter into an agreement with a foreign power that would impair or jeopardize her independence; should contract no debt that could not be paid out of the ordinary revenues; should authorize the United States government to intervene to protect Cuban independence and preserve order in the island; should continue the sanitary reforms already in effect; and should sell or lease to the United States sites for coaling stations and naval bases.

*Cuba a quasi-protectorate under the Platt Amendment*

On May 20, 1902, Roosevelt, to the regret of some American die-hard imperialists and to the astonishment of the European nations, withdrew control over Cuba and turned the affairs of the island over to the Cubans. Internal disturbances have several times led to intervention in Cuba, but in each case the American troops have been withdrawn after order has been restored. Finally in 1934 the treaty embodying the Platt Amendment was abrogated by mutual consent, and, although Cuba has become economically more and more dependent upon the United States, it has become politically an independent and peaceful country. The United States has, however, maintained a naval base on the island to safeguard its interests in the Caribbean. The greatest of these was to be the Panama Canal.

### THE PANAMA CANAL

*A canal under control of the United States necessary*

As has already been seen (see p. 379), the United States had in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850) agreed with Great Britain that neither country would ever fortify or exercise exclusive control over any Isthmian canal. After the Civil War, with the growth of population on the Pacific coast and the development of the Oriental trade, opinion in the United States more and more favored the construction of a canal under the exclusive control of the United States government. The long voyage of the battleship *Oregon* from California around South America to Santiago dramatized the necessity of linking the oceans by canal, thus making it feasible to concentrate naval power rapidly in either ocean; and the acquisition of Porto Rico in the Caribbean and the Philippines and Hawaii in the Pacific made such a canal imperative, particularly in view of the unfriendly attitude of both Germany and Japan.

*The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty concedes American demands*

The United States, however, could not own and control an Isthmian canal until the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was annulled or modified. Britain at this time was desirous of cultivating the friendship of the United States and was therefore willing to accept such changes in the treaty of 1850 as the latter country might demand. Accordingly, a treaty was signed (1901) by John Hay, American Secretary of State, and Sir Julian Pauncefote, British minister at Washington. The Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, as finally agreed upon (a treaty drafted in 1900 failed of ratification by the Senate), abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty and permitted the United States to build and operate the canal and, by implication, to fortify it.

*The Panama route is chosen rather than that across Nicaragua*

With the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty at last relegated to the scrap heap, the choice of routes was the next matter to be settled. For a long time two routes had been under discussion—one across the Isthmus of Panama and the other across Nicaragua. A French company, operating under a charter from Colombia, which would expire in 1904, had begun excavations on a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. It had wasted an immense amount of money on the venture and was now anxious to withdraw from the undertaking. It was willing to sell its charter, equipment, and excavation for $10,000,000. This price brought the estimated cost of the Panama project below that of the Nicaraguan route; and Congress now passed an act (June, 1902) authorizing the President to secure a right of way across the Isthmus of Panama. The law also provided that, unless the President could obtain the Panama right of way "within a reasonable time and upon reasonable terms," he was to purchase a canal route from Nicaragua.

*The Hay-Herrán Treaty; its rejection by Colombia*

With the threat embodied in the bill to turn to Nicaragua should Panama delay action or demand an unreasonable price for the canal zone, Secretary Hay was able to drive a hard bargain with the Colombian chargé d' affaires, Tomás Herrán. In the Hay-Herrán Treaty, which Herrán on January 22, 1903, most reluctantly signed, the United States was granted a ninety-nine year lease for a canal zone six miles wide between Colón and Panama but not including these cities. For this right of way the United States was to pay $10,000,000 cash and an annual rent of $250,000. The United States Senate promptly ratified the treaty, but the Colombian Senate rejected it on August 12, 1903, by a large majority. The Colombians objected to the treaty because it granted to the United States sovereign rights over Colombian territory, and because the sum of money to be received for such valuable property was so petty. Moreover, Colombia saw that by waiting until the charter of the New Panama Canal Company expired in September, 1904, she would be entitled to the $40,000,000 which the United States had agreed to pay that company.

*Roosevelt's reaction to Colombia's rejection of the treaty*

Colombia's rejection of the treaty and the obvious plan of that country to await the expiration of the company's charter threw President Roosevelt into a rage. He applied to the Colombians such choice epithets as had not been heard in the United States since Andrew Jackson's day. These "blackmailers of Bogota" must not, he said, be permitted "to bar one of the future highways of civilization." The press of the country shared Roosevelt's displeasure, and some influential papers advocated seizure.

*A revolution is staged in Panama*

As it turned out, it was not necessary for the United States to seize the Panama canal zone. The revolution in Panama, which Roosevelt preferred to outright seizure, gave the United States what it wanted. The rejection of the Hay-Herrán Treaty, from which the people of Panama had anticipated great benefits, caused bitter resentment against Colombia and led to a revolt in the little state. This revolution began at Panama City in 1903 under the leadership of Dr. Manuel Amador and it had the blessing of the United States government. With funds obtained from the French company or through a loan made by J. P. Morgan,[1] Amador bribed 500 Colombian troops at Panama City to take sides with the revolutionists and hired several hundred members of the local fire department to join the patriot army.

At this juncture President Roosevelt played the decisive role in the revolution. He sent American warships to Panama to prevent

[1] See Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People* (F. S. Crofts, New York, 1940), 540, note 19, who cites Francis B. Loomis, Roosevelt's Assistant Secretary of State, as authority for the loan.

*Roosevelt encourages the revolt in Panama*

Colombia from landing troops to quell the uprising. The justification given by Roosevelt for this aid to the insurgents was that the United States by the treaty of 1846 with New Granada (the old name for Colombia) was bound to protect free transit across the Isthmus. The obligation under the treaty to protect Colombia's ownership of the Isthmus was, he contended, binding only in the case of external aggression. The success of the revolt being assured by American aid, on November 4 the Panamanian leaders organized a government and issued a declaration of independence. On November 6, in less than an hour after receiving official word that the revolution had taken place, the President authorized Secretary of State Hay to extend recognition to Panama.

*Panama grants the canal zone to the United States in perpetuity*

The chief business for which the revolution had been undertaken was now quickly settled. On November 18, fifteen days after the revolution, Hay and Bunau-Varilla, who had been appointed minister to represent Panama at Washington, signed a treaty which granted to the United States a canal right of way ten miles wide for the price of $10,000,000 cash and an annual payment of $250,000 to begin after a period of nine years. The United States was given the sovereign right to fortify and to govern the canal zone.

*Reaction to Roosevelt's "Big Stick" policy*

Once, in connection with the political situation in New York, Roosevelt had quoted with approval the old saying: "Speak softly and carry a big stick, and you will go far." In dealing with the Panama situation he had not spoken softly, but he had wielded a big stick vigorously. The reaction to the "Big Stick" policy was unfavorable at home among the Democrats and Liberal Republicans. To them it was "piracy" even more flagrant than that of the "buccaneers who sailed the Spanish main." Of course Colombia was outraged; and all Latin America was deeply resentful and uneasy at what was, in essence if not in form, Roosevelt's seizure from Colombia of the canal strip.

*Efforts to appease Colombia*

Colombia proposed several times that her differences with the United States be submitted to an arbitration commission; but Roosevelt would not take the certain risk of having such a commission convict him of wrongdoing and fix a heavy indemnity charge against the United States. When the Democrats came into power in 1913 the old anti-imperialist, Secretary of State Bryan, found no little satisfaction in drawing up a treaty that offered Colombia both indemnity and apology for the wrongs done that country by the imperialistic Theodore Roosevelt. In the treaty (signed in 1914) the United States expressed its "sincere regrets" for its conduct in the Colombia-Panama embroglio and agreed to pay $25,000,000 compensation for the damage done to Colombia. But Theodore Roose-

velt's good friends in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, prevented the treaty from being ratified.

*Colombian oil and the final settlement*

In 1921, however, when Roosevelt was dead, the Senate, still under the influence of Lodge, framed a treaty so as to omit the direct apology, but which retained the $25,000,000 compensation to Colombia. The change in the Republican point of view was doubtless influenced by the discovery in Colombia of vast oil reserves. A friendly attitude in Colombia toward the United States would be necessary if the great American oil interests were to receive the same favors and concessions as their European rivals. The Republicans therefore joined with the Democrats in piling up a vote of 69 to 19 in favor of the treaty.

*Construction of the canal*

After the ratification of the Panama Treaty, Congress created (May 9, 1904) the Isthmian Canal Commission with authority to construct the canal and govern the Panama Canal Zone. In 1907 Roosevelt appointed Major George W. Goethals, an army engineer, to take charge of the construction. As a result of the efficient management of Major Goethals, it took only about seven years—instead of ten as was estimated—to construct the canal, and the first ocean-going vessel was able to pass through on August 15, 1914. The estimated cost had been $200,000,000, but the work finally amounted to more than $375,000,000.

The English diplomat and writer, Lord James Bryce, on viewing the canal, considered it the greatest engineering feat in history: "Never before on our planet has so much labor, so much scientific knowledge, and so much executive skill been concentrated on a work designed to bring the nations nearer to one another and serve the interest of all mankind." Malaria, yellow fever, and other tropical diseases had in all probability been the main cause of the failure of the French company; but under the administration of Colonel W. C. Gorgas, who had had sanitation experience in Cuba, these diseases were almost eliminated. He and his medical staff, said Lord Bryce, "made one of the pest houses of the world . . . as healthy as Boston or London, . . . an achievement of which the American medical staff and their country for them, may well be proud."

### THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPEAN INTERVENTION IN VENEZUELA

*Great Britain and Germany decide to collect their Venezuelan debts by force*

At the beginning of the century Venezuela for the second time became a problem for our state department. A dispute arose between Venezuela on the one hand and Great Britain, Germany, and several other European countries on the other. The Venezuelan government under the control of the dictator, Cipriano Castro, had contracted large debts in Europe and in the United States which

Castro was making no effort to pay. On the contrary he showed a disposition to repudiate them. Great Britain then proposed that Germany act jointly with her in collecting the debts by force. Before such action was undertaken, however, both European Powers assured the American government that they had no intention of acquiring or occupying permanently Venezuelan territory. In turn both Roosevelt and John Hay stated that the United States did not propose under the Monroe Doctrine to protect any Latin American nation from being duly punished for its misdeeds, so long as such punishment did not take the form of the annexation of territory.

*The blockade of Venezuela and the agreement to arbitrate*

Great Britain and Germany supported by Italy established a blockade of Venezuelan ports in December, 1902. Several Venezuelan gunboats were captured, and two were sunk. Realizing now that the United States would not protect him, Castro let it be known that he was willing to submit the dispute over the debts to arbitration. The offer was accepted, and the blockade came to an end by an agreement to submit the controversy to The Hague Tribunal for settlement (February, 1903). While waiting for Castro to sign the agreement, the Germans fired on Fort San Carlos and wrecked the neighboring village. American public opinion was greatly aroused by this vindictive act, and Roosevelt and the American people suspected strongly at the time that Germany was planning to seize and fortify a Venezuelan port.

## INTERVENTION UNDER THE ROOSEVELT COROLLARY OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

*The Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine*

One important lesson Roosevelt learned from the Venezuelan case was that the weak, unstable, and debt-burdened Caribbean nations were in constant danger of European intervention which might easily develop into permanent control. A realization of this danger caused him to formulate a corollary of the Monroe Doctrine, which was that, in order to prevent European nations from intervening in Latin America to collect debts and protect their subjects, the United States must intervene to do these things. This was the application of the principle of the Platt Amendment to the other Latin American republics of the Caribbean. Roosevelt had stated the principle of the corollary before, but his message to Congress on December 6, 1904, was his first official pronouncement.

> Chronic wrong-doing [said the President in this message], or an impotence which results in a general loosening of ties of civilized society may in America, as elsewhere, ultimately require

intervention by some civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the adherence of the United States to the Monroe Doctrine may force the United States, however, reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrong-doing or impotence, to the exercise of an international police power.

*The Roosevelt Corollary applied to the Dominican Republic*

Roosevelt first applied (in 1905) this new Monroe Doctrine to the Dominican Republic on the island of Haiti. This little state was burdened by heavy indebtedness and threatened by European intervention. Disorders were also rife in the little republic, and life and property were insecure. The President suggested that the Dominican government give the United States control of its customs in order that the public revenue might be collected efficiently and applied to the national debt. The presence of American warships off the coast of the island "persuaded" the Dominican government to accept the Roosevelt proposal of the customs' receivership. The customs were collected and disbursed by an official whom the President of the United States designated. The Dominican government was given forty-five per cent of the customs receipts, and fifty-five per cent was applied to the payment of the national debt. This arrangement was later covered by a treaty which was ratified by the United States Senate in 1907 between Santo Domingo and the United States.

Financial control soon led to political control, and in 1916, when Wilson was President, marines were landed to uphold the political authority of the United States. For the next eight years the Dominican Republic was under naval officials who established a dictatorship. As a partial compensation for this high-handed policy, marked improvements were made in the economic and social life of the people. Roads were built, schools established, and health conditions bettered. These improvements brought prosperity and better living standards to the people. The Dominicans were strongly opposed to this external control and were unanimous in demanding an end to American rule. Finally, in 1924, when the marines were withdrawn, the government of the republic was restored to the natives, but American supervision of the finances continued.

The method used in dealing with the Dominicans was the one generally employed in controlling the Caribbean protectorates. Peace and good order were maintained, financial conditions were stabilized, and much-needed educational and sanitary reforms were carried out; but for these benefits the natives had to pay a high cost in the form of economic exploitation and the sacrifice of personal liberty at the hands of American capitalists.

Haiti, the other republic on the island of the same name, had an

*Intervention in Haiti*

experience similar to that of the Dominican Republic. In 1915 there occurred an outbreak in Haiti in which the president was murdered and one hundred and sixty people massacred. Fearing that Germany or some other power would take advantage of this disrupted state of affairs to get a base against the Panama Canal, President Wilson intervened to restore order. Marines were sent in, and Haiti was forced to sign a treaty (1915) by which it became virtually a protectorate of the Washington government. In 1931 President Hoover withdrew most of the marines, but all of them were not brought home until 1934. At that time the protectorate had come to an end, but American supervision of finances continued.

*American intervention in Nicaragua*

The policy of American intervention was also extended to Central America. Revolutionary disturbances in Nicaragua and Honduras were used by President Taft as reasons for negotiating conventions with these two Central American states whereby their finances would be put in order through loans made by American banks. To secure these loans the disbursement of the customs would be entrusted to an American receiver of customs appointed for each country. The Senate declined to ratify these agreements. Later on (1912) political disorders in Nicaragua gave Taft the opportunity to intervene, and, acting on the invitation of the president, he sent marines into the troubled country to safeguard the property of American citizens. Except for a short interval in 1925 there was a contingent of American marines in Nicaragua until 1933. Shielded by this military protection, United States financiers have been able to make loans in Nicaragua on very favorable terms. Through loans and investments these financiers have acquired a strong grip on the revenues, National Bank, and railroads of the country.

*Treaty between the United States and Nicaragua*

After Wilson's accession to the Presidency, Secretary of State Bryan negotiated a treaty with the Nicaraguan government granting naval bases to the United States and the exclusive right to construct a canal across Nicaragua. For these concessions the United States was to pay $3,000,000, most of which would fall into the coffers of American capitalists to whom the Nicaraguan government was indebted. The Senate rejected the intervention provisions but ratified the other clauses of the treaty (1916). Since American bankers would profit by the agreement, it was considered by many as another example of dollar diplomacy. *The New York Times* stated that this treaty made the dollar diplomacy of Taft look like ten cent diplomacy. But inasmuch as it secured the Panama Canal against the competition of a Nicaragua canal owned by a foreign power, the advantages of the agreement, in Wilson's opinion, outweighed the objections that might be raised on the score of dollar diplomacy.

*Purchase of the Virgin Islands*

It was in line with this general Caribbean policy that the Virgin Islands were purchased from Denmark (1917).

## THE UNITED STATES AND THE OPEN-DOOR POLICY IN CHINA

*Integrity of China threatened by the great Powers*

When the United States annexed the Philippine Islands, it had unintentionally abandoned its position of isolation, and had become an Asiatic power, just at the moment when East Asia was the focal point of world politics. After China had revealed her impotence in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia, and Japan, particularly the latter two, moved in, intent upon carving up the old empire. Not only had the great Powers annexed a number of China's ports and a considerable portion of her territory, but they had also divided much of China into "spheres of influence," where the despoilers enjoyed special concessions. Thus thirteen of China's eighteen provinces, which included the chief harbors, waterways, and mineral resources, were within the spheres of influence of foreign powers.

*The United States, backed by Britain, champions the open-door policy*

The American government, whose mercantile interests had long enjoyed a prosperous trade with China on terms of equality with the merchants of other nations, was alarmed over this division of the country. It rightly feared that American commerce and investments would either be discriminated against or excluded by tariffs, harbor dues, transportation rates, and other restrictions. In an effort to prevent this, John Hay, United States Secretary of State, on September 6, 1899, sent identical notes to Great Britain, Germany, France, Russia, Japan, and Italy asking them to accept the principle of the open door in China, or equal commercial opportunities for all. He asked specifically for agreements providing that the goods of all nations brought into the spheres of influence of the various European Powers be subject to the same tariff dues, harbor charges, and railroad rates.

The British, of course, gave a satisfactory reply; but each of the other nations—except Russia who gave an equivocal answer—while agreeing with the principle of the open door, stated that its acceptance of this policy was dependent upon similar action by the other interested powers. Hay then, with considerable guile, informed the Powers on March 20, 1900, that all of them had agreed with his proposal and that their assent would be considered "final and definitive." Japan protested against such a conclusion being drawn from its reply, while Russia remained quiet and continued to tighten its grip on Manchuria.

*The Boxer revolt*

The Chinese had looked on in impotent rage at the despoiling of their country during the closing years of the nineteenth century; but

In the spring of 1900 a fanatical group of Chinese patriots called Boxers undertook by force of arms to purge the country of all "foreign devils." By early June, 1900, the Boxers held the country between Peking, the capital, and the sea, and were laying siege to the capital itself with the purpose of murdering all the whites, including the members of the foreign legations. The foreigners in Peking assembled at the British embassy, where they erected fortifications and stood siege for nearly two months. The Chinese government was both unable and unwilling to protect even the diplomatic officers of foreign governments. But the great Powers had agreed to rescue their ministers and nationals. A joint expedition of 20,000 troops—including 2500 American soldiers—entered Peking on August 14 after many foreigners had been killed or wounded, and when all were near starvation.

*The United States champions territorial integrity of China*

*The Boxer indemnity*

Secretary Hay, supported by the governments of Britain and Germany, advocated such terms for China as would preserve her independence and territorial integrity and safeguard the open-door policy. Fortunately, this suggestion was followed to the extent that the great Powers agreed to accept a money payment as indemnity from China in lieu of territorial concessions. The amount of this indemnity was $333,000,000, about $25,000,000 of which was awarded to the United States. In 1908 the United States scaled this debt down about $12,000,000 and in 1924 it canceled the unpaid balance of $6,000,000. The Chinese government set aside about $12,000,000 of the indemnity which the United States had remitted, as a fund for educating the Chinese students in this country; and over the years these students, after completing their courses in American colleges and universities, have returned to their country as ambassadors of good will for the United States. The stand of the United States government for the integrity of China, along with the remission of a great part of the Boxer indemnity, aided in the development of a strong friendship between the United States and China.

*Russian occupation of Manchuria; the Anglo-Japanese alliance*

Certainly China was in need of a friend, for, in violation of an agreement of the Powers to withdraw their troops from Chinese soil in 1901, Russia continued to retain a strong force in Manchuria and dominated Korea. The United States and other nations remonstrated with Russia in several diplomatic exchanges; but the Russian government was always evasive. Seeing that Russia had unlimited ambitions in China, Great Britain had at first attempted, as already observed, to gain the close co-operation of the United States in that region; but since the United States insisted on no entanglements, Britain formed an alliance with Japan (January 30, 1902), which was even more concerned over Russian expansion than was Great

Britain. This treaty recognized the open-door policy and the territorial integrity of China and Korea. The treaty guaranteed that should either ally be attacked by more than one nation the other ally would come to its aid.

## AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH JAPAN AFTER 1904

*The Russo-Japanese War*

Feeling thus secure from attack by other great Powers, Japan demanded that Russia withdraw from Manchuria. This Russia refused to do, and the result was war, which broke out on February 8, 1904. Japan had the sympathy of the American people because of Russia's arrogant disregard of her agreement to withdraw from Manchuria. Roosevelt observed enthusiastically that "Japan is playing our game." The Japanese within a year had defeated the Russian armies in Manchuria and had sunk the better part of the Russian navy. But they had exhausted their resources, and, when Roosevelt offered to mediate, both belligerents accepted. On August 9, 1905, delegates from Russia and Japan met with Roosevelt at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to conduct peace negotiations. By the terms of the treaty Japan received the Russian concessions in Manchuria and the southern half of the island of Sakhalin. Japan asked for all of Sakhalin and a large money indemnity, but Roosevelt would not sustain these demands and they were not granted.[1]

*Growing friction between the United States and Japan*

The people of Japan were furious with the American President and people when they learned that Roosevelt had not supported all of Japan's demands at Portsmouth. This ill feeling was the beginning of a sentiment that continued to grow. The large Japanese immigration to California was also a cause of the continued Japanese-American friction. The immigration had just begun in 1900, yet within six years there were at least seventy thousand Japanese in California. These thrifty market gardeners and fruit-growing experts were soon in keen competition with the whites in the city markets and in the purchase of lands. Feeling became so tense between the groups that in 1906 separate schools were established for the Japanese children in San Francisco, and this aroused deep resentment in the homeland. Roosevelt persuaded the San Francisco school board to permit Japanese children to attend the white schools; and in an effort to get at the roots of the trouble he arranged a "gentleman's agreement" with Japan by which that country would put an end to Japanese emigration to the United States. This arrangement was not

[1] While the Portsmouth conference was in progress, William Howard Taft, as Roosevelt's personal representative, entered into a secret understanding with the Japanese prime minister (June 29, 1905) expressing approval of Japanese suzerainty over Korea as a price for Japanese approval of United States possession of the Philippines. This bargain was kept secret until after the death of President Roosevelt.

carried out very well, however, and discrimination against the Japanese continued, and the Japanese resentment grew apace.

*The Root-Takahira Agreement*

An effort to lessen the tension was made, however, when in 1908 Elihu Root, American Secretary of State, entered into an executive agreement with Takahira, Japanese ambassador at Washington. By the Root-Takahira Agreement the two nations entered into a mutual pledge to respect one another's territorial possessions in the Pacific; to abide by the open-door principle in China; and to uphold the integrity of China. The agreement, however, was only an empty gesture since the United States was not yet willing to defend by arms the open door and the integrity of China while Japan had no intention of respecting either.

### THE FIRST AND SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCES

Despite the warlike outbursts that gave rise to the war with Spain the American people were fundamentally peace-loving; and they preferred to settle their differences with other nations by some form of arbitration, such as that used in the *Alabama* claims. It was, therefore, quite in accord with public sentiment that the United States took an active part in The Hague Peace Conferences in 1899 and 1907.

*First Hague Conference: Certain weapons of war banned; methods of arbitration established*

In January, 1899, Czar Nicholas II of Russia issued the invitations for the First Hague Conference, which was attended by representatives from twenty-four European and Asiatic nations and by the United States and Mexico. The chief subject for discussion suggested by the Czar was the limitation of armaments. The next subject of importance to be discussed was the lessening of the cruelties of war by prohibiting the use of certain modern weapons. The last item was the proposal that a plan for the arbitration of international disputes be devised. The United States delegation took an important part in the Conference. The Conference utterly failed to reach any agreement on disarmament, partly because of the opposition of the German delegation, but chiefly because of the mutual distrust of the great Powers. On the matter of rendering warfare less barbarous, several nations agreed not to use poisonous gases and poisoned and flat-nosed ("dum-dum") bullets and not to launch projectiles and explosives from balloons.

The Conference was far more successful in agreeing on peaceful means of composing international differences. The three proposed methods for adjusting disagreements without resorting to war were: (1) the mediation or offer of good offices by a friendly power to the parties of a dispute or conflict; (2) international commissions

such as those that had settled the *Alabama* claims; and (3) the establishment of an international tribunal at The Hague to which each nation agreeing to the convention was to appoint four judges for a term of six years. The countries desiring to arbitrate their disputes by resorting to this tribunal would select the judges whom they desired from this panel. In submitting their cases, the disputants were to define the powers of the tribunal, after which they were to be bound by the decision. The nations, agreeing to submit their differences to arbitration, were careful always to provide that no question should be submitted that involved national honor or integrity. It was under the provisions of The Hague Convention that Roosevelt mediated in the Russo-Japanese war and took the initiative in the Moroccan crisis, and that the Venezuelan controversy with England and Germany was submitted to The Hague tribunal.

*Second Hague Conference: Further agreement on the laws of war; acceptance of the Drago Doctrine*

In 1907 at the special suggestion of President Roosevelt, the Czar of Russia called the Second Hague Conference, which was attended by representatives of forty-six nations. At this Conference the laws of war were better defined and further limitations were placed upon the use of the destructive weapons of war. Although the United States accepted without reservation the principles of international law and the restrictions of the use of weapons agreed on at the Conference, some of the great Powers made important reservations that paved the way for the ruthlessness of the First and Second World Wars. Of great importance to the United States was the adoption by the Conference of the principle advocated by the United States and the Latin American countries that force must not be used to collect national debts. This principle (the Drago Doctrine) had first been announced by Louis M. Drago of Argentina; and it will be recalled that the Platt Amendment and the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine were aimed at preventing the intervention of a European nation for this purpose.

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# CHAPTER XXXVI

# *The Square Deal*

I stand for the square deal. . . . I mean not merely that I stand for fair play under the present rules of the game, but that I stand for having those rules changed so as to work for a more substantial equality of opportunity and reward.

*Theodore Roosevelt*

## Theodore Roosevelt's First Term

*Roosevelt a liberal in a conservative party*

PRESIDENT Roosevelt was an imperialist abroad, but he was a liberal at home. Indeed, this was to be the tragedy of his later career: to belong to a party with whose social and economic philosophy he came more and more to disagree, but on whose support he depended for political preferment. His liberalism had not, however, swerved him from party regularity, and he had vehemently denounced the Mugwumps and Independents who, in the campaign of 1884, had bolted the Republican ticket. Among the influences that furthered Roosevelt's development in the direction of liberalism, the most important were the revelations by the "Muckrakers" of the practices and sinister workings of the trusts, monopolies, and the political machines. Without the exposures of the misdeeds of the corporations and their threat to democratic government it is hardly probable that Roosevelt and the public that supported him would have been sufficiently aroused to undertake any effective measure to restrain or regulate the trusts.

*The "Muckrakers"*

The "Muckrakers" were a group of writers who, at the beginning of the century, wrote magazine articles and published books uncovering the misdeeds of railroads, trusts, banks, and insurance companies and revealing the relationship between these powerful organizations and corruption in local and national government. The name "Muckrakers" was given to this group of writers by Roosevelt himself. The severe indictments against these public malefactors were generally true, and no verdicts for libel were rendered by the courts in favor of the persons and corporations thus attacked. Some instances, however, were exaggerated, and it looked as if some of these writers took a keen delight in thus raking up filth. It was to this latter group

that Roosevelt applied the term "Muckrakers," likening them to a character in Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* "who was offered the celestial crown for his muck-rake, but would neither look up nor regard the crown he was offered, but continued to rake the filth of the floor." This designation, which might properly belong to a few of these agitators, was applied to the whole group. Although he thought the Muckrakers were exaggerating or were creating their stories from their own imaginations, Roosevelt nearly always found himself convinced by them in the end.

*The forerunners of the Muckrakers*

The Muckrakers had their forerunners in the era of the Greenback Labor Party and of the Alliances and Populists. In 1879 Henry George brought out his great book, *Progress and Poverty,* in which he diagnosed with profound insight the causes of poverty and economic inequality. His remedy for this poverty was, however, of more doubtful value: he proposed the "ground" or "single tax" by which he would have the state appropriate by taxation all unearned increment—that is, all increase in values of real estate due to the growth of population, public improvements, and location. The owner would thus profit by the increase in the value of his real estate only to the extent of the improvements he had put upon it. In 1890 Jacob Riis published his startling survey of the New York slums in a book entitled *How the Other Half Lives.* The work of Riis is especially significant because of its influence upon Roosevelt when the latter was president of the police commission of New York. The most prolific literature of criticism during the last few years of the nineteenth century was that of the Utopian novel. Of the numerous works of this type, the most famous was Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward 2000-1887.* In this novel, an ideal society is portrayed as existing in the year two thousand under a regime of socialism. Social conditions in this Utopia are compared with those in the United States in 1887 so as to show up the latter in a most unfavorable light.

*The work of the Muckrakers*

The era of the real Muckrakers opened in 1902 when Lincoln Steffens began publishing his series of articles in *McClure's* on the "Shame of the Cities," later published as a book. With accuracy and great journalistic talent Steffens portrayed the corrupt alliance between business and municipal government. By a remarkable coincidence Ida M. Tarbell and Ray Stannard Baker were at the same time publishing in *McClure's* their respective studies on the Standard Oil Company and the exploitation of the Negro. Other popular magazines were soon carrying articles and stories of the same tenor.

Many books were also written which attacked the social, political, and economic maladies of the time, particularly the abuses and political power of the corporations. Besides Tarbell's *History of the*

*Standard Oil Company*, several other books dealing primarily with corporate practices and the relation of government and big business should be mentioned: Thomas Lawson's *Frenzied Finance*, giving the story of Amalgamated Copper; Gustavus Myer's *History of the Great American Fortunes*—most or all of which, he concluded, were based upon rotten nest eggs—; Charles Edward Russell, *The Greatest Trust in the World*, an exposé of the inside workings of the beef trust; Upton Sinclair, the *Jungle*, a novel dealing with conditions in the stockyards and slaughterhouses, where filth, disease, and carelessness were so unbelievable that those who read its pages—including Roosevelt—were scarcely able to eat meat afterward; and David Graham Phillips, *The Treason of the Senate*, in which he pictures some prominent leaders in the Senate as hired agents of the corporations and not representatives of the people who elected them. Such writings as these aroused the public conscience and contributed greatly to Roosevelt's attitude and policy.

*The monopolistic trend of the corporations; the Northern Securities Company*

In the face of such exposures the great corporations continued their arrogance and their monopolistic trends. Of particular significance was the consolidation of railroad systems. In the fall of 1901 the Northern Securities Company, capitalized at $100,000,000, was organized as a holding company to take over the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific, and the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy. For the organization of this giant corporation J. P. Morgan, E. H. Harriman, and James J. Hill were mainly responsible. It was an actual monopoly of transportation in the Northwest and a potential monopoly in the entire West. But this was not all, because Harriman was rapidly acquiring control of trunk lines to the Atlantic seaboard and would attempt to dominate the transportation system of the entire country.

*Prosecution of the Northern Securities Company*

President Roosevelt had been observing the recent operations of these great railroad and financial magnates with anxiety and resentment; and he had Attorney General P. C. Knox enter suit under the Sherman Antitrust Act for the dissolution of the Northern Securities Company. Having been taken up by appeal to the United States Supreme Court, a final decision on the case was handed down on March 4, 1904. The Court held, in a five-to-four decision, that the railroad merger was accomplished by the Northern Securities Company in violation of the Sherman Antitrust Act, and it ordered the dissolution of the Company. This decision reversed the doctrine of the Knight case and resuscitated the long inanimate carcass of the Sherman Antitrust Law.

Throughout his two administrations Roosevelt continued to prosecute the monopolies, large corporations, and railroads for violation

*The "trust-busting" President prefers trust regulation*

of the Sherman Antitrust Act and of the interstate commerce laws to be discussed later. Twenty-five important suits were entered against corporations, several of which eventually ended in favor of the government: the beef trust, the sugar trust, the fertilizer trust, the tobacco trust, and a number of others were dissolved; but in each case these vast interlocking interests managed to get back together in a different form. Roosevelt was proud to be called the "trust buster" because of the political value of such a title; but he soon reached the conclusion that "trust busting" was a futile gesture, and that trust regulation was the only effective way by which great corporations could be held within the limits of civilized ethics.

*The Department of Commerce and Labor with a Bureau of Corporations created*

While he continued to bring suit under the Sherman Antitrust Act against interstate corporations, Roosevelt's chief efforts were now directed toward the regulation of trusts. At his suggestion, Congress passed an act establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor—with Cabinet rank. In this department there was a Bureau of Corporations charged with the duty of investigating the operations and conduct of interstate corporations and making a report on its findings. The Bureau of Corporations was to prove one of his deadliest and most effective weapons in dealing with interstate corporations.

*The anthracite coal strike*

Doubtless one of the causes for Roosevelt's sudden urgency in pressing for the establishment of the new department with its Bureau of Corporations was the harrowing experience through which he and the American public had gone in the summer and fall of 1902 with the strike in the anthracite coal mines of eastern Pennsylvania.

*The demands of the miners refused*

In the winter of 1902 the anthracite miners began to present demands for a reduction of the hours of labor from ten to nine hours, for a twenty per cent increase in wages, and for payment on the basis of the gross weight of coal mined rather than the net amount weighed after the impurities were removed. The operators refused to consider the miners' demands; and John Mitchell, president of the United Mine Workers, ordered a strike on May 12, 1902, which was obeyed by at least 140,000 miners. Mitchell exercised a restraining influence on the polyglot mass of strikers, and there was little violence and sabotage during the four months of the strike. His conduct and that of the miners won the sympathy of the public despite the deprivations which, in the fall of the year, threatened widespread suffering and inconvenience. On the other hand, the attitude of the operators brought only public disapproval.

*The White House conference*

Roosevelt, too, was completely out of sympathy with the operators from the very beginning; and as the summer wore on into fall and as many industries and institutions, particularly schools, closed down, he began to plan drastic action. Having failed in an attempt to bring

the operators and strikers together in a compromise settlement, in desperation the President held a meeting of the operators and the leaders of the United Mine Workers at the White House on October 3, 1902. But the operators would yield nothing. On the contrary, according to Roosevelt, they displayed "extraordinary stupidity and bad temper." The President became so outraged at the arrogance and discourtesy of one of the operators that he later remarked: "If it wasn't for the high office I hold, I would have taken him by the seat of the breeches and the nape of the neck and chucked him out of that window." The conference broke down without a settlement and then Roosevelt began to prepare plans to seize the mines and attempt the impossible expediency of having the army mine the coal. While preparing to seize the mines, Secretary of War Root was in consultation with J. P. Morgan who passed on to the operators the threat of seizure. The operators finally gave way before such pressure, and on October 13 they agreed to the appointment of an arbitration commission to settle the strike.

*Terms of the settlement*

At last the commission was appointed, and on March 20, 1903, after several months of negotiations with the strikers and the operators, it awarded the miners a ten per cent increase in wages, the eight- and nine-hour day, and the right to have a union checkweighman at the coal scales. But the union was not given official recognition as a bargaining agent.

## THE ELECTION OF 1904

*The Republicans nominate Roosevelt and Fairbanks*

Roosevelt's policy during his first term had won the strong support of the rank and file of voters, but the party bosses and the agents of the corporate interests preferred a more conservative President. The conservatives could not, however, stem the tide of his popularity; furthermore, they were pleased because he had not included tariff reduction in his list of proposed reforms. Therefore no tangible opposition to Roosevelt developed, and he was nominated by acclamation by the Republican national convention meeting in June, 1904. As a concession to the conservatives, known as "standpatters," Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

*Parker and Davis the Democratic candidates*

The Democratic Party, having suffered defeat twice under the leadership of Bryan and the Western and Southern wings of the party, swung back to the control of the East and nominated the conservatives, Judge Alton B. Parker of New York and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia, for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. Parker repudiated free silver, and it was hoped by the Democratic leaders that his conservatism would appeal favorably to those busi-

ness interests that might consider Roosevelt too dangerous for them to support. Parker's nomination resulted in a large portion of the old Alliance-Populist elements of the Democratic Party in the West either staying at home or voting for Roosevelt. The corporations disappointed the Democrats and threw their support to Roosevelt by contributing the greater part of the $2,195,000 Republican campaign fund.

*The result of the election*

The result of the election was an overwhelming victory for Roosevelt, who received 336 electoral votes to Parker's 140. Roosevelt carried all the states outside the South and even there he carried West Virginia. This overwhelming victory was due in the main to Roosevelt's great popularity, won by his personal traits as well as by his policies as President.

## ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

*Roosevelt's program: Regulation of interstate corporations*

"Tomorrow I shall come into my office in my own right. Then watch out for me!" Roosevelt is reported to have said this to some friends on the day of his inauguration. Actually, he had not waited for this great event; in his message to Congress in December, 1904, the President recommended Federal regulation of interstate industrial, financial, and railway corporations. As has already been noted (see p. 565), the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 had proved ineffective as an agency for regulating railroad rates. The railroads had the right to appeal all rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Federal courts, and the rulings of the Commission could not go into effect until a final decision on them had been rendered by the courts. This practice proved fatal, for an average of four years was required to carry such cases through the courts, and in a few instances twelve were required. The law of 1887, then, was virtually a dead letter when Roosevelt came to office.

*The Elkins Act of 1903*

The law had, however, been strengthened to some extent by the Elkins Act passed in 1903. This act increased the penalty on railroads and shippers for giving and receiving rebates, and granted to the Federal courts the power to issue cease and desist injunctions against the parties to a rebate agreement.

*The Hepburn Act*

In his message to Congress in December, 1905, the President urged the immediate passage of a law to give the Interstate Commerce Commission or some other Federal body the right to fix the maximum rates (subject to judicial appeal). Although the railroads mobilized all their forces of resistance to prevent any such action as the President was proposing, Congress passed the Hepburn Act on June 29, 1906. The law gave the Interstate Commerce Commission the power to fix maximum rates; and the carrier had to abide by the decision

of the Commission until a Federal court had reversed it. The law also granted the Commission jurisdiction over other common carriers, such as express and Pullman cars, bridges, ferries, pipe lines, and refrigerator cars. Although the Hepburn Act had defects that were to be remedied from time to time, still it proved to be a most important step in establishing fair dealing on the part of carriers.

*Unsanitary conditions in the packing houses*

The passage of the Hepburn Bill was followed by the enactment of two laws for the protection of the health of the public. These measures were the Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act. This activity of Congress in the field of public health was due to a series of revelations concerning the meat-packing business and that of patent medicines and prepared foods. Upton Sinclair, in his novel the *Jungle* (published early in 1906), revealed unsanitary conditions in the meat-packing industry that caused a wave of nausea to sweep the country. A careful investigation by the Department of Agriculture confirmed the charges made by Sinclair. This investigation showed that meat was shoveled from filthy wooden floors, along with splinters, dirt, "floor filth and the expectoration of tuberculous and other diseased workers," and hauled from room to room in "rotten box cars." Chunks of dirty, spoiled meat, pieces of hide, and strands of rope were found to have been ground up together in making potted ham.

*The Meat Inspection Act*

Aroused by these revelations, Roosevelt gave his vigorous support to an effort made by Congress to put an end to these nefarious practices. In line with the President's wishes, the Meat Inspection Act was passed on July 1, 1906. This act required that all meat intended for interstate commerce be inspected by the Federal government and that packing houses must observe certain sanitary regulations.

*The Pure Food and Drug Act*

The battle for meat inspection was closely related to the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act. Dr. H. W. Wiley, chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture, had been for some years analyzing patent medicines and canned and other types of prepared food, and he had revealed the fact that the patent medicines, many of which usually held out promises to cure all known diseases, were either harmless and worthless concoctions of herbs or were dangerous combinations of habit-forming drugs such as cocaine and opium. The wind was taken out of the sails of the patent medicine and prepared-food manufacturers by the revelations of conditions in the packing houses and by disclosures made by Dr. Wiley and his "poison squad." The Pure Food and Drug Act, passed on June 23, 1906, prohibited the manufacture, sale, or transportation of foods and drugs falsely labeled or containing poisonous or harmful ingredients. The Meat Inspection Act and the Pure Food and Drug Act were amended from

time to time to remedy weaknesses that time and the ingenuity of unprincipled men uncovered.

*The panic of 1907: Signs of an approaching economic crisis; Roosevelt blamed*

In the spring and summer of 1907 there were ominous signs that the era of prosperity which had contributed so much to Roosevelt's popularity might be approaching its end. Stock-market breaks, followed by a steady decline and rapidly tightening credit and occasional failures of large business houses, were as the large scattered rain drops before the storm. The world of high finance and big business blamed the President for what seemed an approaching disaster. Many of them rushed to Washington to urge him to cease his prosecutions, regulations, and investigations of the corporations —in other words, according to their view, to cease the "persecution" of business, which had undermined public confidence. Roosevelt's reply to such appeals and upbraiding was: "If trouble comes from having the light turned on . . . it is not really due to the light but to the misconduct which is exposed."

*The panic; Roosevelt's aid in ending the panic*

In October (1907) the financial storm struck Wall Street, the financial nerve center of the country. Stocks crashed, brokers were ruined, there were runs on virtually every bank in New York, and the Knickerbocker Trust Company—the third largest bank in New York—and a dozen or so smaller banks had to close. Panic swept out from New York over the country and for a while money could not be obtained and business was almost at a standstill. The President laid the blame on the speculators, the "malefactors of great wealth," as he called them. Nevertheless, he did take a decisive part toward ending the panic. He had Secretary of the Treasury George B. Cortelyou place $25,000,000 of government funds in the New York banks, apparently at the disposal of J. P. Morgan, presumably to meet runs on the larger New York banks and supply funds to the stock-exchange houses. Within a few weeks recovery set in; and, although there was no such boom as that which existed before the panic, the country enjoyed moderate prosperity, and Roosevelt retained the popularity that he had been so fearful of losing.

*Causes of the panic*

The panic of 1907 was world-wide in extent, although its severest phase was felt in America. The causes are not difficult to discover. From 1900 to 1904 the total capitalization of million dollar corporations had increased from five billion to twenty billion dollars, and there were hundreds of smaller corporations whose capitalizations added more billions. These corporations placed their stocks and bonds on the market, and by 1907 the stock market was gorged and was suffering from "indigestible securities." During this period of expansion the speculative fever had been high, and business had been capitalized far beyond its earning capacity. It may be, too,

that Roosevelt's policy of "trust busting" and regulation and the exposure of the misdeeds of the corporations did contribute something to the panic; but this contribution was in the nature of a precipitant and had nothing to do with the fundamental causes.

*Need of an elastic currency*

It is possible that the panic might have been lessened had there been a more elastic currency. Somewhat impressed by this idea, in 1908 Congress passed the Aldrich-Vreeland Act, which authorized the national banks, for a limited period, to issue emergency currency based on commercial paper and state and municipal bonds. In passing this act Congress incorporated a section providing for the creation of a National Monetary Commission to study the banking and currency systems of the world. The report of this commission in 1912 was to provide the basis for the establishment of the Federal Reserve System.

*Conservation: The general problem of conservation*

In his first message to Congress in December, 1901, Roosevelt expressed the conviction that "the forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal problems of the United States," and he urged that a comprehensive program for the preservation and reclamation of the natural resources of the country be adopted. From the long-time viewpoint the President was stating the truth. All the farm lands in the area of plentiful rainfall were being eroded; and in the South, where rainfall was excessive and there was little snow or ice to check erosion in the winter, the soil was being washed off at a terrifying rate. Of the original stand of timber estimated at about 800,000,000 acres, only about one fourth remained in 1900, and three fourths of this was in private hands. As a result of denuding the forests and the erosion that followed, the once beautiful, navigable streams were so badly silted and filled with sandbars that they were unable in times of excessive rains to carry off the water, with the result that floods were ever on the increase. Of course, navigation was becoming more and more difficult and uncertain.

Water-power sites were being rapidly taken up under franchises for which the power companies paid little, but which, under the inviolability of contracts so carefully guarded by the United States Supreme Court, ran in perpetuity. Much of the natural mineral resources, such as coal, iron, copper, lead, oil, gas, and sulphur, had fallen into the hands of the great industrial organizations and railroads and were being ruinously exploited with an eye on the profits of today and no thought of the needs of tomorrow.

The President, who became a crusader for conservation, was not a pioneer in the field. Gifford Pinchot of the Division of Forestry in the Department of the Interior, Francis G. Newlands, Congress-

*Roosevelt assumes the leadership in the conservation movement*

man from Nevada, and Robert La Follette of Wisconsin were three outstanding and powerful advocates of conservation before Roosevelt took the lead in the fight. But conservation would not have made any appreciable advance had Roosevelt not taken up the cause with his accustomed enthusiasm and ability to popularize and dramatize.

*Roosevelt's withdrawal of public lands from sale*

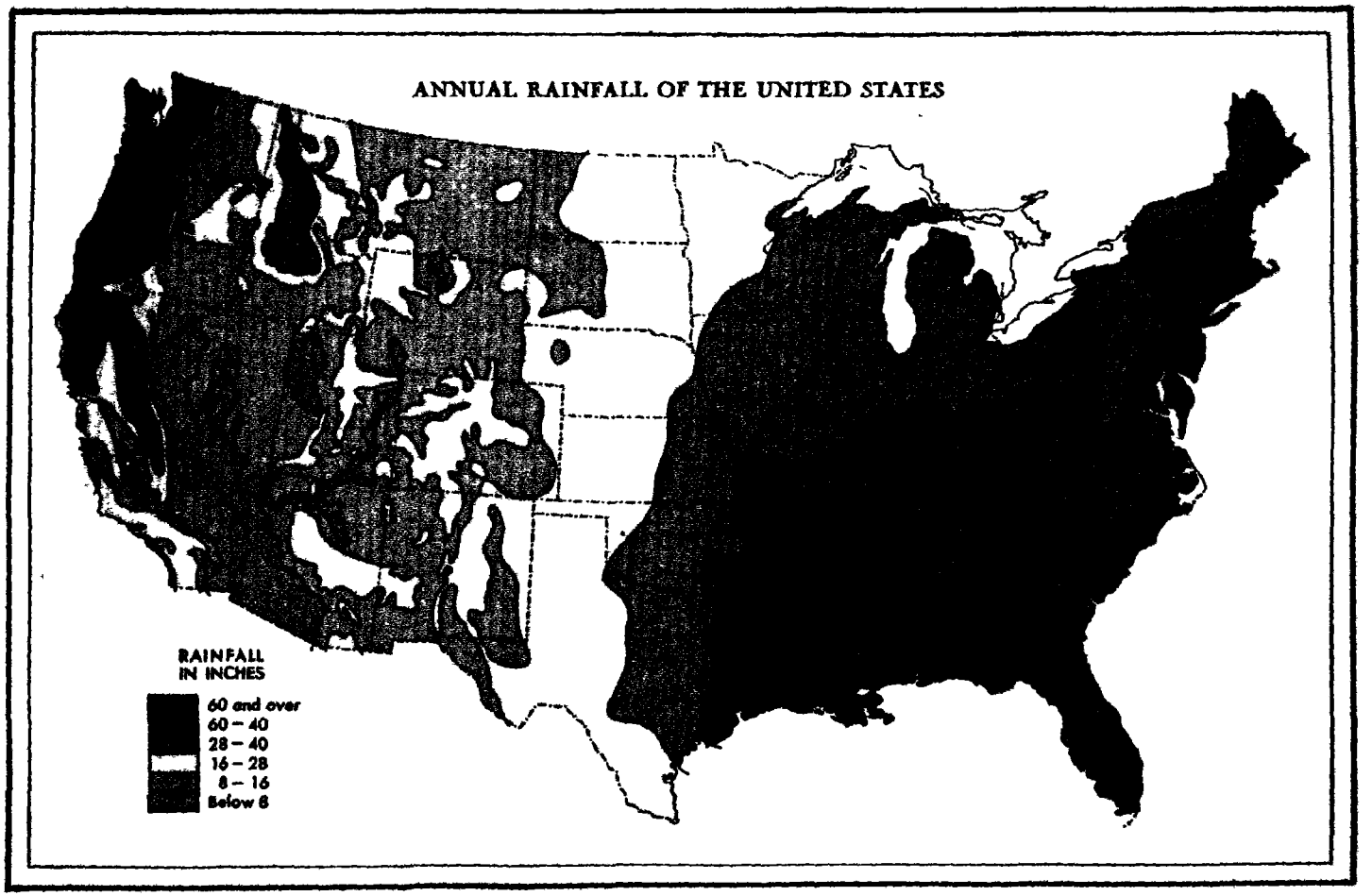
Roosevelt made full use of (and, according to some strict legalists, stretched) his executive authority in putting into operation whatever conservation laws already existed and in pushing others that were needed through Congress. He promptly began the withdrawal of timber lands from sale under the Forest Reserve Act of 1891; and, before the end of his second administration, he had set aside in national forests nearly 150,000,000 acres. In addition to this he withdrew by executive order about 85,000,000 acres of coal and phosphate lands and 1,500,000 acres for power and irrigation dams.

*Irrigation; the Reclamation Act of 1902*

The President very early turned his attention to the reclamation measures which had been consistently urged upon Congress by members from the semiarid states of the West, especially by Francis G. Newlands of Nevada. With Roosevelt's strong backing, the Reclamation Act, usually called the Newlands Act, was passed by Congress in 1902. Newlands estimated that between 50,000,000 and 100,000,000 acres of fertile desert lands could be eventually irrigated and brought under cultivation by the construction of dams on the upper reaches of the streams, which would impound the water coming from the melting of the winter's snow and the spring rains. The law as enacted set aside all money from the sale of public land in sixteen Western states for the purpose of constructing dams, canals, tunnels, and ditches for conveying the impounded water to the fields. The cost per acre—estimated at about thirty dollars—of constructing the irrigation ditches would be assessed against the purchaser. All funds paid in this fashion by the settler and all that were collected from the sale of public lands in the West were placed in a revolving fund for the construction of more dams and irrigation facilities.

*Conservation a nation-wide problem to be dealt with as a unit*

Conservation is a nation-wide problem and cannot be solved without the co-operation of the state governments. To secure such co-operation President Roosevelt called a conference in Washington in May, 1908, to which the governors of all the states, the justices of the Supreme Court, members of Congress, and eminent scientists were invited. This distinguished gathering served the purpose both of advertising the importance of conservation and of obtaining the co-operation of the state governments. The governors in forty states immediately appointed state commissions to study the problem of conservation in each particular state, and President Roosevelt ap-


ANNUAL RAINFALL OF THE UNITED STATES
RAINFALL IN INCHES
60 and over
60 – 40
28 – 40
16 – 28
8 – 16
Below 8

pointed a National Conservation Commission to continue the work already initiated by the Bureau of Corporations, the Inland Waterways Commission, and the Forestry Bureau. In this way Roosevelt further educated the American people in the necessity of conserving their natural resources. Indeed, his work for conservation was perhaps the finest service he ever performed for his country.

*The local progressive movement*

During Roosevelt's two administrations a progressive movement made considerable headway in the states and cities. This movement was of great importance because of its immediate bearing on the policies of the national government under Roosevelt and his two successors. There were progressives of both parties in all states and localities, but the Republican Party supplied the most effective leaders in state politics, such as Robert La Follette of Wisconsin, Hiram Johnson of California, and Charles Evans Hughes of New York. In addition to cleaning up local graft, many fundamental reforms in state and municipal governments were effected during the Roosevelt era and that of his two successors. The most important of these political reforms were the initiative, referendum, and recall, the direct primary, and the direct election of United States Senators.

*The initiative, referendum, and recall*

The initiative is a device by which the voters can initiate laws by petition and compel the legislatures to consider them. The referendum is a procedure by which bills passed by the legislatures are referred to the people for final decision. The recall is a plan by which a certain percentage of the voters, by petition, can compel a state official to resign or stand for re-election. The initiative and referendum were adopted first in South Dakota in 1898, and within a little more than ten years a score of states, chiefly in the West, had adopted these twin measures. Some of the states have also made use of the recall.

*The direct primary*

The direct primary, which is a system of nominating by popular ballot rather than by the convention system, was aimed directly at ridding the states and cities of boss rule, but it has fallen short of its aim. The delegates to the party nominating conventions were, before the adoption of the direct primary, elected by caucuses composed of only a fraction of the voters, usually the state and local officeholders and members of the party machine. The direct primary gave all members of the party a right to vote on the selection of a nominee and thus made it possible to overthrow boss rule by a sufficient number of interested citizens voting. Under the leadership of Governor Robert M. La Follette, Wisconsin passed a direct primary law in 1903 requiring political parties to nominate their candidates by ballot, and within a few years most of the states had adopted the system.

*The direct election of Senators*

The direct election of United States Senators was effected by some of the states long before the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution. This was done by holding primaries in which the voters expressed their preferences for United States Senators. Of course the state legislatures had no obligation under the Federal Constitution to support the person designated by the preferential primary; but the political fortunes of the members might act as a restraining influence for those who should oppose the popular mandate. This method of choosing Senators was cumbersome and not at all dependable where the political parties were evenly divided; and there began a strong agitation for a constitutional amendment requiring direct election. This demand was met when the Seventeenth Amendment was added to the Constitution. This Amendment was proposed by Congress in 1909 but was not finally ratified by the states until 1913.

*Social legislation by the states*

These political reforms, designed in the interest of democracy, soon resulted in extensive social legislation which had been so long demanded but which had been defeated by the vested interests acting through the political machines. Of first importance was the labor legislation enacted eventually in most of the states, which was similar in character to the factory and mine laws passed in Great Britain fifty to seventy years before. The employment of children under fourteen years of age in factories was forbidden, and school attendance was made compulsory on children thus banned from factory work. The maximum number of work hours for women and children was prescribed; and employers were made liable for injuries received by employees while at work.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1908

*Taft selected by Roosevelt as his successor*

Roosevelt could easily have won the nomination of his party in 1908 if he had been willing to accept it; but his decision against a third term, announced immediately after the election of 1904, had not been changed. He was eager, however, to secure the nomination of a candidate who, if elected, would carry out his policies. In the liberal or progressive group there were several outstanding possibilities. Of these, Roosevelt's preference was his Secretary of War, William Howard Taft. Taft had ardently supported Roosevelt's reform program and was on cordial relations with the President. Moreover, as Federal judge he had given opinions that were acceptable to the conservative wing of the party. Taft was also genial and likable and was blessed with exceptional good nature, which was nourished by a healthy body weighing three hundred and fifty pounds.

*Republican nominees and platform*

Having decided in favor of Taft and to leave no stone unturned to bring about his nomination, Roosevelt made effective use of his power over the patronage in the interest of his protégé. Accordingly, when the Republican convention met in Chicago in June, 1908, Taft was nominated on the first ballot, although seven other candidates received votes. As a sop to the conservatives, James S. Sherman of New York was selected for the Vice-Presidency. The Republican platform gave unstinted praise to Roosevelt's "great achievements" and declared in favor of a continuation of his program for the conservation of natural resources and the reclamation of arid lands. It also advocated tariff revision. Such duties were to be imposed as would "equal the difference between the cost of production at home and abroad together with a reasonable profit to American industries." There was also a promise of a more strict regulation of monopolies and a more rigid supervision of railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission.

*Democratic nominees and platform*

The Democratic Party under conservative leadership had been badly defeated in the campaign of 1904. It was natural, therefore, that in the next campaign there should be a swing toward the left. Since Bryan all along had been the outstanding leader of the liberal element in the party, he was now hailed as the logical standard-bearer. He was therefore nominated (July, 1908) on the first ballot by an overwhelming majority. John W. Kern of Indiana was chosen for second place. The Democrats declared in their platform that the paramount issue was "Shall the people rule?" They contended that popular government had been jeopardized by Roosevelt's selection of his successor, by Speaker Cannon's control of the House of Representatives, and by the hold of big business on the government under Republican rule. There was also a clear commitment in favor of a reduction of the tariff rates, of an effective restraint on injunctions issued by the Federal courts, and of the destruction of monopolies.

*Character of the campaign*

The campaign was less exciting than is usual with Presidential elections, although both Bryan and Taft made extensive speaking tours. The progressive Republicans were not enthusiastic about Taft because they did not feel sure that he would give wholehearted support to the Roosevelt program. However, Roosevelt's approval had stamped him as a liberal, and the conservative trend of his decisions as judge furnished a guaranty against radicalism. He thus had two strings to his bow, and his friends were able to present him as a progressive in the West and a conservative in the East. By persistent hammering on the tariff issue Bryan was able to maneuver Taft into a promise of downward revision of the tariff. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, endorsed Bryan because

of the stand of the Democrats in opposition to the use of injunctions in labor disputes.

*Results of the election*

Despite an earnest effort on the part of himself and his supporters, Bryan again went down in defeat. Taft received 321 electoral votes to 162 for Bryan. The latter carried the "solid South," including Tennessee, the border state of Kentucky, and three Western states (Nebraska, Colorado, and Nevada). His popular vote, although smaller than in 1896, was nearly a million and a third in excess of that received by Parker in 1904. There were several minor parties in the field, but none of them except the Socialist showed any considerable strength. The Socialist candidate, Eugene Debs, received 420,890 votes. This campaign proved to be the death knell of the Populist Party, for their candidate, Thomas E. Watson of Georgia, polled less than thirty thousand votes. This poor showing was due to the fact that in building their platforms, the Democrats and Republicans had used most of the planks of the original Populist platform. The Populists therefore had few distinctive principles of importance on which to stand.

## THE ADMINISTRATION OF WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

*The accession of Taft*

When William Howard Taft (1857-1930) took up the mantle dropped by Roosevelt it was generally expected that the policy of the latter would be continued by his successor. Yet the differences in temperament and the divergencies of views of the two men warranted considerable skepticism as to the realization of this hope. Taft's high regard for the law and his reverence for the rights of property, together with his dislike of controversy, were not the kind of qualities most needed in carrying out the reforms inaugurated by the pugnacious Rough Rider. Furthermore, to leave him unhampered, Roosevelt soon left for the wilds of Africa, where he hunted big game for a year. Being thus deprived of the inspiration that had come to him from the crusading zeal of his mentor, Taft to some extent lapsed unconsciously into his natural conservatism. It may be too that he felt that the country needed a vacation after seven strenuous years of agitation. Even so, the new President sponsored a number of reforms—more than he was given credit for by his critics.

*The Cabinet*

In forming his Cabinet Taft gave six positions to lawyers, whose legal advice, he hoped, would be of great service in completing and perfecting the machinery of reform. For Secretary of State he chose Philander C. Knox, a Senator from Pennsylvania, who had at one time been Attorney General under Roosevelt. For the post of Attorney General he selected George W. Wickersham, an able lawyer of New York. This was a wise choice, because the President would need

a capable corporation lawyer to execute his program for the prosecution of the trusts.

*Conservatives and progressives*

At Taft's accession the Republican Party was divided into two groups, the progressives and the conservatives. (The latter were often called "standpatters" or the "Old Guard.") By avoiding the tariff question and other controversial issues, Roosevelt had been reasonably successful in inducing the two groups to pull together as a single team. But even Roosevelt, with all his skill as a political leader, was unable to keep the Old Guard in line with his policies at the end of his term. From the outset, therefore, Taft was confronted with a difficult problem. To win support from both groups sufficient to insure the success of his proposals would require a type of leadership not possessed by the new President. His stubborn honesty and other noble traits of character did not atone for his ineptitude as a politician, which caused him more than once to muff a situation of important political significance. He was inclined to make a strong bid for the support of the conservatives, being convinced that their support would be necessary for the success of his measures. Such a stand, however, would alienate the progressives, who were earnest advocates of the Roosevelt policies that Taft also was anxious to put into effect.

*The Payne-Aldrich Act*

The first important problem with which the new incumbent had to grapple was the tariff. In recent years a good deal of dissatisfaction had arisen over the steep rates of the tariff of 1897 (the Dingley Act), which was held partially responsible for the high cost of living and the rapid growth of trusts. Opposition was especially strong in the agricultural Middle West. This section felt that the high tariff was not only forcing high prices on consumers but, by restricting trade with foreign nations, was hampering the export of farm products and thereby reducing their prices. Acting promptly on the pledge of his party to revise the tariff, Taft called Congress in extra session (March, 1909) and the tariff question was taken up immediately. A tariff bill sponsored by Sereno E. Payne of New York, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, passed the House on April 9. Although it had been framed on data received only from interested manufacturers, it provided for an important, although not a drastic, reduction in rates.

In the Senate the bill, under the leadership of Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, an ardent protectionist, was revised so as to raise most of the rates above those fixed by the House. The increases were strongly opposed by a group of progressive Republican Senators from the Middle West, including Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana,

and Jonathan B. Dolliver of Iowa. They carried on a vigorous but ineffective speaking campaign against the Senate revisions and seven of them voted against the Payne-Aldrich Bill in its final passage. According to a high authority on the tariff, the "act as finally passed brought no real breach in the tariff wall, and no downward revision of any serious consequence." Most of the reductions were on articles that needed no protection or would not be affected by the tariff. The most objectionable feature of the bill was the retention, with only slight changes, of the high duty on raw wool and woolen cloth. The woolen manufacturers were making profits as high as fifty per cent and there was no reason for continuing the high rates for their benefit.

*Attitude of Taft toward the measure*

Although Taft was in favor of revision downward (in accordance with his campaign pledge), he made no serious effort except in private to influence the action of Congress while the measure was being debated. If he had used his power over the patronage as a club he might have coerced recalcitrant Congressmen into support of downward revision. However, while the bill was in conference he made a last-minute fight for a lowering of rates. As a result he secured a few concessions in favor of downward revision. The President signed the bill (August 9, 1909), although he was not satisfied with it. However, he regarded the act as a sincere effort at revision, and feared that a veto of the measure would divide the Republican Party. The progressive Republicans were disappointed at his attitude, and this dissatisfaction was aggravated by a speech made by Taft at Winona, Minnesota, in which he defended the Payne-Aldrich Act as the best tariff law ever passed by the Republican Party. The disagreement over the tariff more clearly defined the line of separation between progressives and conservatives. This breach was now widened to the point at which the progressives had become insurgents and were so known.

*The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy*

Another serious cause of the breach between Taft and the progressives was the Ballinger-Pinchot controversy. Richard A. Ballinger of Washington was appointed by Taft to succeed James R. Garfield, who had served as Secretary of the Interior under Roosevelt. Garfield had withdrawn from public entry some lands in Wyoming and Montana on or near which were possible water-power sites. Believing that this action was not legal, Ballinger had restored this land to public entry, thereby making it possible for the land to pass into private ownership. Pinchot, head of the Forestry Division in the Department of Agriculture (his division had been transferred to the Department of Agriculture), was strongly opposed to this policy, feeling that conservation was so important that the law should be

stretched to cover it. Ballinger also aroused the opposition of Louis Glavis, one of his subordinates, by turning over to a private corporation some coal lands in Alaska. Glavis contended that this was an unwarranted transfer and was based in part on claims that were invalid. Pinchot became deeply involved in the controversy by writing to Senator Dolliver against Ballinger and in support of Glavis.

Ballinger made an elaborate defense of his action. After a careful study of the documents, Taft came to the conclusion that there was nothing in the charges upon which Ballinger "could be found guilty of either incompetency, inefficiency, disloyalty to the interests of the government, or dishonesty." Accordingly, he dismissed Glavis and afterward removed Pinchot. By so doing Taft widened the breach between himself and the progressive Republicans, who generally sided with Pinchot and felt that the President was not a friend of conservation. To relieve his chief of embarrassment Ballinger later resigned from the Cabinet (March 6, 1911). The case was investigated by a committee of Congress but with unsatisfactory results. The majority of the committee, including the regular Republican members, exonerated Ballinger; a minority, made up of Insurgent Republicans and Democrats, declared against him.

*The Speakership contest: Power of the Speaker*

In their contest with the conservative wing of their party the Insurgent Republicans soon learned that by co-operating with the Democrats the two groups could control Congress. They made full use of their power in their effort to deprive the Speaker of the House of the quasi-dictatorial power that he had been wielding over that body for some time. The Speaker appointed a majority of the members of all committees, including that of the important Rules Committee. This latter committee, with a membership of only five, was dominated by the Speaker. Since it interpreted the rules, it had virtual control over procedure, and the Speaker could determine whether a measure could or could not come to a vote. No member of the House could speak on the floor unless the Speaker chose to recognize him. Nor did the Speaker fail to take advantage of this autocratic power.

*"Uncle Joe" Cannon*

At this time the Speaker of the House was Joseph G. Cannon of Illinois ("Uncle Joe," as he was generally called). An exceptionally shrewd politician and a cynical realist, he was conservative to the point of being reactionary, and he used his great power in promoting conservative policies and in strengthening the hold of the Republican Party on the country. Feeling that "Uncle Joe" was wielding his influence in support of the interests, the Insurgents and Democrats made a vigorous fight to pare down his authority. They were able to

*Change in the rules of the House*

put through the House a resolution offered by George W. Norris of Nebraska to have the Rules Committee selected by the whole House instead of by the Speaker (March, 1910). The next House, being under the control of the Democrats, went still further in the revision of the rules. Under the practice now adopted, the Speaker was deprived of the right to select the other committees, the members of which were to be chosen by the Ways and Means Committee with the approval of the whole House. After these changes were made the House ceased to be under the domination of its presiding officer.

*The election of 1910*

In the election of 1910 the people had their first opportunity to pass upon the record so far made by Taft and the Republican Party, and the verdict was against both. The Democrats won a decisive victory over the Republicans, electing 223 members of the House of Representatives to 168 Republicans. One Socialist, Victor L. Berger of Wisconsin, was elected. The Democrats also gained eight seats in the Senate. The Republicans still held a majority in this house, the proportion being 51 Republicans to 41 Democrats. Of those who bore the Republican label, however, a dozen or more were Insurgents. These, together with the Democrats, constituted a majority and by voting together they could control the Senate. This victory enabled the Democrats to organize the House of Representatives in the next Congress with Champ Clark of Missouri as Speaker and Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama as Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

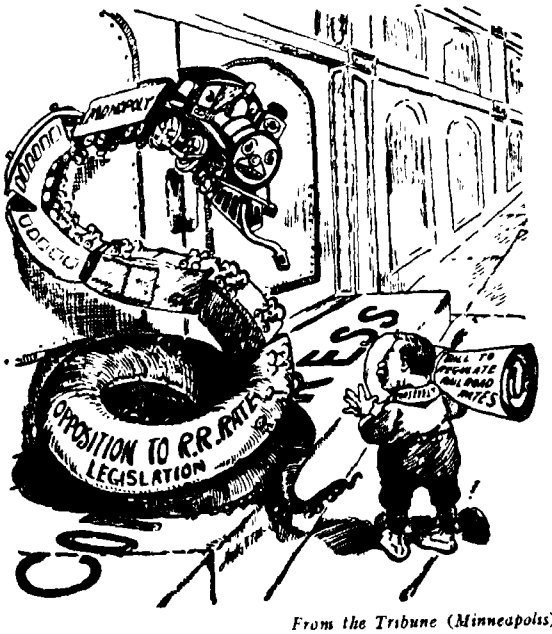
*Canadian reciprocity*

As a concession to the demand for a downward revision of the tariff, Taft negotiated a treaty of reciprocity with Canada. By this treaty (signed January 7, 1911) the tariff was lowered on more than four hundred articles coming in from Canada and was entirely removed on about one hundred others. Lumber, wood pulp, wheat and some other agricultural products, and a few raw materials were admitted into both countries free of duty. Since the treaty involved taxation it had to be ratified by both the House and the Senate. The agreement was in line with the demand of the Democrats for a reduction of the tariff, and therefore the Democratic House gave the treaty its endorsement. There was considerable opposition to it in the Senate, but Taft finally secured its acceptance (July, 1911).

The treaty still had a difficult hurdle to surmount—that of winning the acceptance of the Canadian government. There was opposition to it in Canada by the manufacturing interests, who saw in the agreement a lowering of the protectionist bars. But the chief objection came from the people, who feared that reciprocity would be the first step toward annexation. Ground for this apprehension was given by an unwise utterance of Speaker Clark in the House of

Uncle Sam and "Teddy" Roosevelt trying to ride an untamed bronco.

*The Bettmann Archive*




*From the Tribune (Minneapolis)*

TRYING TO BLOCK HIS WAY.

*From the Herald (Syracuse)*

PASSING ON THE TORCH

"Let at least the satisfaction be ours that we have carried onward the lighted torch in our own day and generation. If we do this, then as our eyes close, and we go into the darkness, and other hands grasp the torch, at least we can say that our part has been borne well and valiantly."—From Roosevelt's Lecture at Oxford.

"NEW WINE IN OLD BOTTLES."—Darling in the Des Moines Register and Leader.

Representatives. Clark said that he favored reciprocity because he hoped to see the day when Canada would be added to the United States. The Canadian government, now in the hands of the Liberal party, with the aged Sir Wilfrid Laurier as premier, was favorable to the treaty; but the opposition was so strong that Sir Wilfrid dissolved Parliament and submitted the question to a vote of the people. In the election (held September 21, 1911) the vote was overwhelmingly against the treaty; so reciprocity with Canada was finally lost.

*Taft's achievements: Conservation promoted*

The role that Taft was called on to play—that of carrying forward reforms that had been started by another—did not make a dramatic appeal to the public. Furthermore, he did not know how to publicize his achievements and present them in the most favorable light. Then, too, although his fine qualities won the esteem and affection of the people, they did not command that aggressive admiration and loyalty which the colorful personality of Roosevelt inspired. Taft therefore did not get full credit for the reforms that he secured. Especially unfair was the general appraisal of his attitude toward conservation; for he was not only a firm advocate of the conservation of our natural resources and the reclamation of arid lands, but he was able to secure important legislation in furtherance of these aims. At his request Congress set aside as a part of the public domain large areas of coal lands in Alaska, thus removing all doubt as to the legality of withdrawing them from private entry. For the first time, oil lands were also set aside for public use. Congress authorized a loan of $20,000,000 to be used in promoting irrigation projects. The President appointed as Pinchot's successor Henry S. Graves of the Yale School of Forestry, who was earnest and energetic in carrying out the policy of conservation. Under his direction the area of national forests was greatly increased by the purchase of wooded lands in the Appalachian region.

*The Mann-Elkins Act*

One of the reforms favored by Taft was a more effective regulation of railroad rates. Acting on the President's suggestion—although going beyond the President's proposals—Congress passed the Mann-Elkins Act, which remedied certain defects in the Hepburn Act (passed 1906). The Mann-Elkins Act (signed June, 1910) authorized the Interstate Commerce Commission to act on its own initiative in investigating rates. Any increase in rates made by the carriers could be suspended by the Commission until the courts had decided as to its reasonableness. The regulation of telephone, telegraph, and radio transmission was also placed under the Interstate Commerce Commission.

*Postal savings banks and parcel post*

Also on the President's recommendation, Congress passed a law establishing postal savings banks (June, 1910). Taft considered

this an important piece of forward legislation. Later a parcel post system was inaugurated (January 1, 1913).

*Civil service*

Taft was in favor of, and recommended to Congress, an extension of the civil service. Although Congress did not carry out his suggestion, he put all assistant postmasters under civil service.

*Arizona and New Mexico admitted as states*

Another measure for which the President claimed credit was the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as states (1912). The constitution of Arizona had a provision for the recall of judges by popular vote. Congress, acting on the recommendation of the President, held up the admission of Arizona until this objectionable clause should be removed. Arizona thereupon canceled this clause of her constitution, but restored it after having attained statehood.

*Prosecution of the trusts*

At Taft's suggestion Attorney General Wickersham waged a vigorous fight on the trusts for alleged violations of the Sherman Antitrust Act. Taft was more aggressive than Roosevelt, the "trust buster," or any of his other predecessors in enforcing the law against monopoly. Of the decisions won by Taft and Wickersham the most noted were those dissolving the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey and the American Tobacco Company, action on which had been started under Roosevelt. These were empty victories, however, for these corporations continued to dominate the business in their respective fields as fully after as before dissolution.

By taking this stand against these two big corporations the Administration had aroused the antagonism of Wall Street. But it was the prosecution of the United States Steel Corporation that was fraught with the most serious consequences to Taft's political fortunes, for it figured as an important cause of the breach in friendship between Taft and Roosevelt (see pp. 672 f.).

*Dollar diplomacy*

President Taft and Secretary of State Knox believed that diplomacy should be employed for opening up markets for American products and creating opportunities for the investment of American capital. The fields for the operation of this "dollar diplomacy," as it was called, were China and the Caribbean states. In pursuit of this aim Taft gave support to a plan by which American bankers would have a share in a loan to the Chinese government; but the arrangement had not been consummated by the end of Taft's term and was dropped soon after Wilson came into office (March 18, 1913).

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# CHAPTER XXXVII

# Woodrow Wilson and Reform

## The Campaign of 1912

*Origin of the Progressive Party*

THE Insurgent Republicans were so dissatisfied with Taft's policies that they were determined if possible to defeat him for a renomination and name one of their group as the Republican standard-bearer. The first step in this direction was the organization of the National Republican Progressive League (January 23, 1911) by Insurgent Republican leaders. The guiding spirit of the movement was Senator Robert M. La Follette, who had been a successful reform governor of Wisconsin and an aggressive leader of the Insurgents in Congress. Sentiment in his favor grew, and by the end of the year he was generally accepted by the Progressives as their candidate for the Republican nomination. Early in the next year, however, La Follette's star began to wane, and his prospects were eclipsed by the decision of Roosevelt to enter the race for the nomination.

*Break between Taft and Roosevelt*

In the meantime there had been an unfortunate breach in the friendship that formerly existed between the ex-President and his protégé, the President. After his return from Africa (June, 1910), Roosevelt held frequent conferences with Insurgent Republican leaders and gradually became more and more identified with the Progressive movement. He thus became aligned with the critics of the Administration. The breach started off as an embarrassing coolness but gradually widened into a serious quarrel. Probably the main single cause of the breach was Taft's prosecution (through his Attorney General) of the United States Steel Corporation.

A suit was brought (October 27, 1911) to dissolve this trust on the ground that it was a monopoly. One of the counts in the allegation was that the Steel Corporation had four years before absorbed the Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company, a factor in forming the monopoly. This merger had been agreed to by Roosevelt, who was persuaded that the transaction, by holding up the value of the stock of the Tennessee Company, would aid in preventing an aggravation of the panic of 1907 and a general business crisis. The bill of complaints of the prosecution stated that the Steel Corpora-

tion had secured the President's consent to the merger by misrepresentation and deception. Roosevelt bitterly resented this statement, which proved a mortal wound to the friendship between him and Taft. The breach between them had already started but had not become irreparable. Now there was no chance of reconciliation. In an editorial in the *Outlook* Roosevelt denied that any misrepresentation had been used by the Steel Corporation and emphatically declared: "I affirm everything."

*Roosevelt announces his candidacy*

The break between the two former friends was both a cause and a result of Roosevelt's candidacy. By the beginning of 1912 the Colonel had decided that he would accept the Republican nomination for the Presidency if it were offered to him. The Progressives felt that in the fight for the nomination and for the final election he would be a more effective leader than La Follette. They therefore decided to desert the latter's standard and get behind the candidacy of the Rough Rider. Their plans were furthered by Roosevelt's public announcement (February 24) of his intention to run for the Republican nomination. La Follette felt very bitter toward Roosevelt, declaring that the latter had ridden on a wave created by him and had cheated him out of the nomination.

*The contest for delegates*

In the preconvention fight the states in which preferential primaries were held gave Roosevelt a decided majority over the President. Roosevelt contended that these states represented a cross section of the country, and therefore a majority of the Republicans of the nation favored his nomination. Taft ran ahead of his rival in those states which chose delegates by party conventions.

*Taft nominated*

When the national convention met in Chicago (June, 1912) the Taft forces were in control. Thereupon the Progressives filed a large number of contests contending that about two hundred and fifty of Taft's delegates had not been properly chosen. There was a basis for some of these claims, but many of them were made for "moral effect." Most of these contests were decided in Taft's favor, first by the National Committee and afterward by the convention. By these decisions the Progressives were reduced to a minority in the convention and Roosevelt (who had gone to Chicago to look after his interests) termed the action a "naked theft." The convention, however, had followed the usual methods and had employed the same practice that was used in 1908, with Roosevelt's approval, when Taft was first nominated. With the conservatives in control, Taft was renominated on the first ballot and James Sherman was renominated for the Vice-Presidency. Roosevelt received only 107 votes, but 344 of his adherents sat in silent protest and refused to vote.

On the evening of the adjournment of the Republican convention

*Organization of the Progressive Party*

most of the Progressive delegates met in a convention and nominated Theodore Roosevelt for President and Hiram M. Johnson for Vice-President. Roosevelt appeared before the group and made an enthusiastic speech. He advised his hearers to go home and sound out public opinion as to the advisability of his heading a third party. They were to return to Chicago as a mass convention and, if they still wished him to lead in the fight, he would do so even if he should carry only one state. In accordance with this plan another convention assembled in Chicago (August 5), this time to confirm the nominations already made and launch the new Progressive, or "Bull Moose,"[1] Party. The large and enthusiastic gathering was more like a religious than a political meeting. The delegates frequently quoted a statement previously made by their leader, "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord." They also sang together "Onward Christian Soldiers," with a fervor that was worthy of a religious revival. Roosevelt made an able speech outlining the principles of the new party. A platform called "A Contract with the People" was then adopted and Roosevelt and Governor Johnson were again named as standard-bearers.

*The Democratic convention*

The division of the Republican Party gave the Democrats great encouragement. A few days after the adjournment of the Republican convention the Democratic hosts assembled in Baltimore (June 25) to choose standard-bearers and formulate a platform. Although the party was able to present a united front against the opposition, it was made up of both liberals and conservatives. In the list of conservative aspirants for the nomination for President, Governor Judson Harmon of Ohio and Representative Oscar W. Underwood of Alabama were the most prominent. Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey stood at the head of the liberals. Beauchamp ("Champ") Clark of Missouri, Speaker of the House, was also classed as a liberal although there were some who feared that his liberalism would be limited by opportunism—the willingness to compromise and play politics. Bryan, spokesman for the Nebraska delegation, was the outstanding leader of the liberal forces.

It soon became evident that a conservative had little or no chance for the nomination. The race was thus in effect narrowed down to a contest between Clark and Wilson. Clark ran ahead and at one time received a majority vote of the convention, although he could never get the two-thirds majority which was necessary for a nomination.

[1] Soon after his arrival at Chicago, Roosevelt, in response to an inquiry by a newspaper reporter as to his health, replied that he was feeling like a bull moose. The newspapers gave this commonplace incident wide publicity and the name "Bull Moose" was applied to the new party. In this way the bull moose took his place along with the elephant and the donkey as a political emblem.

On the tenth ballot New York, under the leadership of Murphy, the Tammany boss, gave her 90 votes to Clark. Up to this time Bryan, although doubtless with reluctance, had voted for Clark in obedience to instructions. This action of Tammany, however, gave him an excuse to break his instructions, since, as he alleged, Clark would be under obligations to the financial interests of New York. On the fourteenth ballot he went over to Wilson. The deadlock continued, however, until the forty-sixth ballot, when Underwood's and Clark's names were withdrawn and Wilson was nominated. Governor Thomas R. Marshall of Indiana was named for the Vice-Presidency.

*The platforms*

All three parties advocated certain progressive measures, such as the conservation of natural resources, flood control for the Mississippi River, and the maintenance and extension of the civil service policy. The Republicans and the Progressives favored a protective tariff but with some revision. The Democrats declared for a tariff for revenue only. In each of the three platforms there was a recognition of the necessity of curbing the evils of trusts. Both the Republicans and the Democrats advocated the enactment of laws which would prevent the formation of trusts. The Progressives, while favoring legislation to prevent the evil practices of trusts, also advocated and emphasized Federal regulation of them. The Progressives favored woman suffrage and advocated the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Even more objectionable to the conservatives was their advocacy of the recall of judicial decisions. By this was meant that any decision rendered by a state court declaring an act of a state legislature unconstitutional could be reversed by a vote of the people. To most liberals there was little difference between the program offered by Roosevelt and that advocated by Wilson. Roosevelt's program called for an extension of the power of the Federal government and he properly designated his doctrine the "New Nationalism." Wilson looked largely, although not entirely, to the states for remedial action and felt that Federal legislation should supplement, not supersede, state legislation. Wilson called his plan the "New Freedom."

*A bitter fight*

In this campaign American politics assumed its ugliest mood. The preconvention quarrel between Taft and Roosevelt developed into a bitter fight and the country had to witness the sad spectacle of a President and an ex-President, former friends, abusing each other in a manner that was beneath the dignity of ward politicians. All three candidates made speeches. Wilson conducted his campaign on the plane of principle and refrained from personal attacks on his opponents. He proved to be a good campaigner. With his brilliant and straightforward style and his sincere belief in democracy

he made a fine impression on the voters. Roosevelt's opponents tried to use against him his former statement against a third term. To this he replied that the third-term tradition applied only to a third consecutive term.

*Results of the election*

The division of the Republican Party insured the success of the Democrats. "The only question now," said Chauncey M. Depew, "is which corpse gets the most flowers."[1] Wilson did not, however, receive a majority of the popular vote of the country, although his majority in the Electoral College was overwhelming. He carried forty states and received an electoral vote of 435. Taft carried two states (Vermont and Utah) and received 8 electoral votes. Roosevelt carried five states and a part of another, with a total electoral vote of 88. Eugene Debs, the Socialist candidate, seems to have received considerable support from the independents, since his vote was more than double that received by him in 1908.

## THE NEW FREEDOM

*Woodrow Wilson: Early life and education*

Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924) was born at Staunton, Virginia, and his childhood and youth were spent in the South. His father and both of his grandfathers were Presbyterian ministers of Scottish or Scotch-Irish descent. He had fine opportunities for education. After graduating from Princeton University in 1879 he studied law at the University of Virginia and later pursued graduate work in history, economics, and political science at Johns Hopkins University. His thesis on which the Ph. D. degree was granted (1886) was a brilliantly written treatise entitled *Congressional Government*.

*His academic career*

After leaving Johns Hopkins he entered upon a successful teaching career, holding professorships at Bryn Mawr, Wesleyan University, and Princeton. From 1890 to 1902 he taught political science and jurisprudence at Princeton; and he served as president of Princeton for eight years (1902-1910). He was then elected governor of New Jersey. As governor he was able to secure the enactment of a number of measures which put New Jersey in the forefront of progressive states and added greatly to his reputation as a liberal leader. These reforms included acts providing for employers' liability, electoral reform, and the regulation of public utilities.

*Personal traits*

With the accession of Wilson to the Presidency the Democrats had come into control of the Federal government for the first time since Cleveland's second term. The new incumbent was also the first Southerner who had sat in the Presidential chair since the Reconstruction era. Wilson was the best trained in the theory of government of all our Presidents, with the possible exceptions of Jefferson and

[1] Mark Sullivan. *Our Times* (Charles Scribner's Sons), IV, 809.

Madison. He had devoted years to the study and writing of history and political science and could therefore draw on the experience of other nations as well as that of our own. To his high office he also brought a brilliant intellect, with which were associated deep religious convictions, a serious view of life, and a stern sense of duty, which were worthy of his Scotch-Irish heritage and Presbyterian training. He was an earnest, eloquent, and able advocate of the rights of the masses and showed rare ability in sensing their needs and formulating their demands. His speeches therefore were hailed by the people as the sincere utterances of an ardent champion. Yet the common man never warmed toward him personally as he did toward Lincoln and the two Roosevelts. Wilson's intellectual coldness, his dignity, touched as it was with a strain of timidity, and his inability to affect an easy camaraderie put a barrier between him and the people. In his rigid adherence to principle he was reluctant to accept compromise, even when such yielding would have furthered his aims. At times he was over-impatient with opposition, and more than once he allowed righteous indignation to grow into a personal hatred which warped his judgment.

*Wilson's Inaugural Address*

The new President made a very favorable impression on the country on the occasion of his first public appearance, the reading of his Inaugural Address. There breathed forth from this speech the high idealism that could be expected of a philosopher-statesman. The address was both a confession of faith and an announcement of a program. In it were enumerated many serious evils that called for corrective measures on the part of the government. He indicated that his purpose would be to remedy these evils and at the same time safeguard property and individual rights. "Our work is a work of restoration." He ended the address with this eloquent peroration:

> This is not a day of triumph, it is a day of dedication. Here muster, not the forces of party, but the forces of humanity. Men's hearts wait upon us; men's lives hang in the balance; men's hopes call upon us to say what we will do. Who shall live up to the great trust? Who dares fail to try? I summon all honest men, all patriotic, all forward-looking men, to my side. God helping me, I will not fail them, if they will but counsel and sustain me!"

*The Cabinet*

In his campaign speeches and in his Inaugural Address, Wilson had taken a stand with the progressive wing of the party. If, however, there was still any doubt as to his position, it was entirely removed when his Cabinet was announced, for Bryan, the dean of the liberal Democrats, had been given the post of Secretary of State. It is true that the President was under obligation to give the kingmaker the

highest honor at his disposal; nonetheless, this appointment was a virtual commitment of Wilson to a policy of liberalism. It made assurance doubly sure. For Secretary of the Treasury, Wilson chose William G. McAdoo of New York, a successful businessman versed in financial matters. For the Navy Department, he selected Josephus Daniels, a newspaper editor of North Carolina who was a close friend of Bryan. Daniels had had no experience in naval affairs, but he was given as Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, a young man who was well informed as to the condition of the navy and deeply interested in building it up. The other members of the Cabinet had not figured prominently in public life, but they proved efficient administrators and were able to work together in reasonable harmony. In addition to advice given by the Cabinet, the President received counsel from two astute politicians—his intimate friend, Colonel Edward M. House, and his private secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, who were a sort of "Kitchen Cabinet."

*The Underwood-Simmons Tariff Act*

The Democrats were prompt in taking up the measures promised by their platform. In response to a call by the President, Congress met in special session (April, 1913) to act upon his recommendations. Instead of sending a written message to each house, as had been the custom since the accession of Jefferson in 1801, Wilson appeared in person before the joint session of the two houses and read his message. This reversion to the example set by Washington created a great deal of interest both inside and outside of the capital. The President's address was listened to by crowded galleries and was published in newspapers throughout the country. In this address the President confined his recommendation to a reduction of the tariff. He contended that our tariff policy had developed into a system by which monopolies could easily be formed. Under it American industry had been receiving not merely protection but patronage from the government. Although he urged Congress to "abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage," he warned against headlong and reckless haste.

Congress began at once to act on this suggestion. The House Ways and Means Committee, under the leadership of Representative Oscar W. Underwood, was soon ready with a bill. Having passed the lower house, the Underwood Bill was steered through the upper house under the leadership of Senator F. M. Simmons of North Carolina. After long consideration, the bill passed both houses of Congress and received the signature of the President (October, 1913). The measure, as finally passed, provided for a considerable reduction in rates. Indeed, it was the lowest tariff since the Civil War and went back approximately to the level of the Walker Tariff of 1846. Reduc-

tions were made on 958 articles and about 300 items were put or retained on the free list. Increases on 86 articles, mostly luxuries, were made for revenue purposes.

It was expected that the tariff reductions would lead to a decline in revenue. To compensate for this loss a graduated income tax was passed. The Sixteenth Amendment permitting the levy of such a tax had recently been ratified. Since tariff duties fall on the people generally, and an income tax affects mainly the well-to-do, the Underwood-Simmons Act lowered the tax burdens of the masses and increased those of the wealthier class. The tariff commission appointed by Taft had already come to an end (1912), because Congress had refused to appropriate money for its continuance, and the new tariff act had no provision for its renewal. There was, however, considerable agitation in favor of a tariff board, and in 1916 a bipartisan tariff commission was created. What would have been the effect of the Underwood-Simmons Act under ordinary conditions can only be conjectured, for the war in Europe soon upset all normal trade relations.

*The Federal Reserve System: Defects in the old currency system*

While the tariff bill was still under discussion in the Senate, President Wilson appeared before Congress a second time, this time to urge financial legislation. There were certain shortcomings in the banking system, and these had been brought into clearer light by the panic of 1907. Under the decentralized national banking system as first established, national bank notes could be issued only on the security of government bonds. By this system the volume of notes in circulation could not be expanded or contracted to meet the rise and fall in the demand for currency. The other types of money were either fixed or susceptible to only slight changes in amount. This lack of elasticity was a serious shortcoming in our currency system. Another weakness in the banking practice was the inability of the banks in times of crisis to pool their reserves and thus present a united front against a run by panic-stricken depositors. Most serious of all the defects, however, was, in the opinion of some students of finance, the trend toward monopoly in the banking business. A committee of the House of Representatives headed by A. P. Pujo of Louisiana reported that a few financiers controlled such a large portion of the banking resources of the country as to give them too great a power over money and credit.

*Report of the Pujo Committee*

*The Aldrich-Vreeland Act*

As has already been noted (see p. 659), an effort was made to ease the money situation by the Aldrich-Vreeland Act (1908), which authorized the national banks to issue additional notes in times of money stringency. But this emergency measure had not solved the difficulty. Also a committee appointed under this act had made a

very careful investigation of banking conditions in the United States and other countries and turned in a report of about forty volumes (January, 1912). Senator Aldrich also offered a bill for establishing a large privately-owned central bank with fifteen branches. The plan of centralized control as here outlined was contrary to Democratic tradition and was therefore shelved by the Democratic House.

*The Glass-Owen Federal Reserve Act*

Another plan was worked out by Representative Carter Glass of Virginia, Chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee. In preparing his bill Glass and his co-workers made use of the mine of information contained in the Aldrich Report. The Glass bill with the active support of the President and the endorsement of the Democratic caucus, passed the House by an overwhelming majority. It was carried through the Senate, with some changes, under the leadership of Senator Robert L. Owen of Oklahoma. The measure received the President's signature in December, 1913, but the new plan did not go into effect until November, 1914.

*Federal Reserve Banks*

The act provided for a banking system which was centralized as to districts but decentralized as to the country as a whole. The United States (not including Alaska) was divided into twelve districts. In each of these districts at an important financial center was established a Federal Reserve Bank. The stock of these banks was all to be owned by other banks. Every national bank was required to buy stock in the Federal Reserve Bank of its district, and state banks and trust companies could enter the system if they so desired. The member banks had to keep the major portion of their reserves in the Federal Reserve Banks. The Federal Reserve Banks did not engage in ordinary banking business but were bankers' banks. They could buy and sell exchange and make loans to member banks and rediscount their paper. The Federal Reserve Banks were also to be repositories for the funds of the Federal government. This provision did away with the subtreasury system under which the government had kept its moneys since the eighteen forties.

*The Federal Reserve Board*

At the head of the system was the Federal Reserve Board, consisting of seven (later eight) members. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency were ex-officio members. The others were appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. The Federal Reserve Board can examine the books and accounts of Federal Reserve Banks at its discretion and can exercise general supervision over these banks. This governmental supervision, together with the decentralized character of the system, makes it impossible for the banks to fall under the power of a few private individuals or corporations. Furthermore, by having its commercial paper rediscounted by a Federal Reserve Bank any member bank

can replenish its reserve funds whenever it is threatened with a run. By raising or lowering the rate of discount the Federal Reserve Banks can control credit to a great extent. If money becomes tight the Board can loosen up credit by lowering the rate of discount and thereby encourage member banks to rediscount their paper and increase their supply of currency. On the other hand, in boom times, when credit is too easy, the Board can reduce the volume of money in circulation by discouraging the rediscount of commercial paper with high discount rates.

*Federal reserve notes*

The act also provided for a new type of currency, Federal reserve notes. These notes are issued by the Federal Reserve Banks and are secured, not by government bonds, but by approved commercial paper. The Federal reserve notes are government obligations and were redeemable in gold at the Treasury Department in Washington, or in gold or any lawful money at any Federal Reserve Bank. There were also certain provisions in the law which, it was hoped, would cause the amount of money in circulation to rise and fall with the commercial demands of the country. Federal Reserve Banks can also issue notes based on government bonds.

The new banking plan was a decided improvement on the old, and it proved an effective agency in dealing with the difficult problems raised by the First World War. It has not, however, met the expectations of its enthusiastic supporters in proving a panic-proof financial scheme.

*The Trust Problem*

Next in the list of major reforms on Wilson's agenda was that of preventing the evils of trusts. The Sherman Act of 1890, which had declared illegal all combinations in restraint of trade, was intended to destroy monopoly and restore freedom of competition. However, the law as interpreted had not put any effective curb on the trusts, because the courts had been conservative in their attitude toward big business. Despite the vigorous attempts of Roosevelt and Taft, little or nothing had been done to solve the problem of monopoly. At the accession of Wilson there were more trusts than there had been twenty years earlier, and the general feeling was that the government was waging a losing fight against them. This feeling led to a good deal of agitation, which prepared public opinion for changes in trust legislation. Almost immediately after disposing of the banking question Wilson appeared before Congress (January 20, 1914) to ask for legislation dealing with the trust problem. His address was conciliatory in tone and rather conservative as to proposals. Although he recommended that a program be adopted founded on the principle that "private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," he insisted that the laws to be passed should not hamper or interfere

*Wilson recommends antitrust legislation*

with business but should be "the bulwarks and safeguards of industry against the forces that now disturb them [it]." "The antagonism between business and Government is over."

*The Federal Trade Commission Act*

To carry out the President's proposals Congress passed two acts for the regulation of trusts, the Federal Trade Commission Act (September, 1914) and the Clayton Antitrust Act (October, 1914). The Federal Trade Commission Act created, as a substitute for the Bureau of Corporations, a bipartisan commission of five members (the Federal Trade Commission), to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. This commission was authorized to prevent persons and corporations, except banks and common carriers (the regulation of which was provided for by other acts), "from using unfair methods of competition in commerce." If the commission should at any time find, after investigation, that any person or corporation had engaged in practices prohibited by this act, the commission should publish a report as to its findings and order the offending party "to cease and desist from using such method of competition." If this order is not obeyed the commission can apply to the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals of the circuit affected for the enforcement of its order. The judgment of the Circuit Court of Appeals shall be final except that it shall be subject to review by the United States Supreme Court.

*The Clayton Antitrust Act*

The Clayton Antitrust Act, so-called because it was sponsored by Henry D. Clayton, Chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, applied not only to the trust problem but also to railroads and labor. *The act declared illegal certain practices, such as the following: price discrimination, if such discrimination should tend toward* monopoly; the sale of commodities on condition that the purchasers could not procure goods from a competitor of the seller (this was called "tying"); the appointment of interlocking directorates by competing banking and industrial corporations of large size; and the purchase by any corporation of the stock of a competing business, provided such a purchase should have the effect of lessening competition. Directors and officers of offending firms were individually liable for violations of trust acts.

*Labor provisions*

There were several important provisions in favor of labor. The act declared that "the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce." Labor unions and farm organizations were exempt from prosecution under the Sherman Act, and peaceful picketing and boycotting were legalized. Injunctions in labor disputes were not to be granted "unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property." In all cases of contempt, except when committed in the presence of the court, trial by jury was to be allowed. These

provisions were very acceptable to organized labor, and Samuel Gompers considered them the Magna Charta of labor. In actual practice, however, they did not prove as favorable to labor as was anticipated. The interpretations rendered by the courts in the nineteen-twenties considerably reduced the benefits provided by this law.

*Prosecution of the trusts*

Wilson also continued the policy of Roosevelt and Taft in prosecuting the trusts for violations of the Sherman Antitrust Act. These prosecutions were, however, not so numerous as they had been under his two immediate predecessors. The hope of winning dissolution suits was to some extent discouraged by the practice of the courts in following the "rule of reason," by which only trusts guilty of unreasonable restraint of trade were to be punished. The let-up in prosecution was also due in part to the disposition of the trusts to obey the cease and desist orders, but mainly to the abnormal conditions induced first by the European War and later by our participation in the conflict. Both the government and public opinion were preoccupied with war problems and feared that an overactive prosecution of the trusts might retard production.

*The Congressional election of 1914*

In the mid-term election of 1914 the American people had their first opportunity to express officially their attitude toward the Wilson reforms. In this election the Progressives received less than half the vote polled two years before. This is explained by the fact that some of the Progressives had returned to the Republican ranks and others had gone over to the Democratic Party. Owing to this distribution of votes there was an increase in the number of Republican Congressmen, but the Democrats still remained in control of both houses. Since the Democrats had won in what was virtually a two-party contest, the election indicated an endorsement of the Wilson policies by the country. It also showed that the Progressives could not hope to figure prominently in the future as a separate national party.

*Federal Land Banks*

Under the banking system that had been in effect since the Civil War the farmer was at a disadvantage in securing credits. Loans by the national banks were made only for short periods and were secured by commercial paper. The farmer needed a credit system characterized by long-period loans secured by farm mortgages. As more and more machinery was used in farming, agriculture became a capitalistic industry and the need for credit grew steadily greater. The Federal Reserve Act (1913) afforded some slight relief since loans could be made for six-month periods on the security of farm mortgages. This slight concession was not enough, however, and the farmers continued to agitate for easier agricultural credits. The outcome of this demand was an act passed in July, 1916, by which

twelve Federal Land Banks were established. The Federal Land Banks were patterned after the Federal Reserve Banks and, like the latter, were under Federal supervision. By organizing associations, farmers can borrow money from the Federal Land Banks on the security of farm mortgages for long periods at reasonable interest rates. The Land Banks secure funds for these loans by selling bonds based on farm mortgages.

*The Adamson Act*

In the midst of the campaign of 1916, Wilson was confronted with a dangerous labor crisis. The four Brotherhoods of American Engineers, Firemen, Conductors, and Trainmen demanded an eight-hour day with ten-hour pay, with time-and-a-half pay for overtime. They threatened to strike if their demands were not met. A strike at that time would not only have been ruinous to business but would have put a stop to the belated defense efforts the government was making. Wilson called into joint conference representatives of the railroads and the employees' unions but was unable to bring them to an agreement. Nor would the brotherhoods agree to submit the dispute to the Federal Board of Mediation and Conciliation, a body which had been called into being by the Newlands Act of 1913. Owing to this refusal to accept mediation there was considerable opposition to the demands of the brotherhoods and a strong feeling that they were holding up the government. Despite this feeling, Wilson appeared before Congress and asked for legislation in line with the demands of the brotherhoods. In response to this request Congress quickly (in less than five days) passed the Adamson Act (September, 1916), which provided for an eight-hour day for all employees on trains engaged in interstate commerce, with extra pay for overtime. The act gave the Republicans a good talking point in the campaign, and they branded the measure as a surrender of the Democrats to a holdup. When Hughes was asked if he would advocate a repeal of the act if elected, he replied, "You can't repeal a surrender."

### FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Although Wilson was in theory opposed to any interference by the United States government with the internal affairs of the Latin American states, he was led by circumstances into a Caribbean policy in line with that of Roosevelt and Taft (see pp. 643 ff.). Closely associated with Wilson's Caribbean policy was the question of tolls to be collected from ships using the Panama Canal. According to an announcement by Colonel Goethals, the Canal would be open to traffic in 1914. In anticipation of that event Congress had passed a bill, and President Taft had signed it (August, 1912), exempting

*The tolls controversy*

American ships engaged in coastwise trade from the payment of tolls when going through the Canal. The British foreign office contended that this was a violation of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty (signed between Great Britain and the United States in 1901). In support of this contention it cited the following clause in the treaty: "The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of commerce and of war of all nations . . . , on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation or its citizens or subjects, in respect of the conditions or charges of traffic or otherwise."

The act exempting American vessels from the payment of tolls had been endorsed in the campaign of 1912 by the platform of the Democratic Party, and in a public speech Wilson had favored the act. At that time, however, he had not given due thought to the international aspects of the question and had advocated exemption on the ground that it would enable water carriage to compete with land carriage and thereby reduce railroad rates to Western farmers. Before his inauguration he had become convinced that the act was wrong both economically and diplomatically—that it would only benefit a private monopoly and was a violation of the treaty with England. He therefore made a strong fight in favor of repealing the act of 1912. Finally, in June, 1914, Congress complied with his request and repealed the act exempting tolls on American vessels. In urging repeal, the President intimated that it would aid him in carrying on some important diplomatic negotiations of a delicate nature. It was later discovered that the act of repeal had been of great service to Wilson in winning British support of American policy in the knotty Mexican question.

*Relations with Mexico: The rule of Diaz in Mexico*

At Wilson's accession Mexico was in the throes of a revolution which kept the country in a state of turbulence for a decade (1910-1920). Prior to this time for a third of a century (1877-1910, except for a period of four years), it had been continuously under the control of Porfirio Diaz, who had ruled nominally as president but really as dictator. During this time the southern republic was blessed with internal and external peace, and the credit of the government was good. To attract foreign capital for the development of Mexico's rich natural resources Diaz had made extravagant concessions to outsiders in the form of land grants and oil and other mineral rights. These liberal concessions brought in an immense amount of foreign capital, especially from the United States. By 1912, according to an estimate made by President Taft, American capitalists had investments in Mexico totaling at least a billion dollars. However, under the rule of Diaz the masses were exploited and deprived of political freedom.

*Beginning of the revolution*

Gradually there grew up a demand for economic reform and the restoration of political freedom. For a long time, however, Diaz was so firmly seated in the saddle that discontent dared not express itself except in low murmurings. By 1910 old age had begun to palsy the iron hand that had held Mexico in such a firm grip, and the time of her deliverance had come. In that year a revolt broke out under the leadership of Francis I. Madero to secure a return to constitutional principles. So widespread was the outbreak that Diaz surrendered his authority (May 25, 1911) and fled from the country.

*Madero overthrown by counter-revolution*

Madero was unable to carry out the land reforms that he had promised or to hold in check the forces of disorder that had been released by the revolution. Under these unsettled conditions counter-revolution soon began to make headway. General Victoriano Huerta deserted the cause of Madero and led a revolt against him. Madero was defeated and murdered, doubtless at the instigation of Huerta (February 23, 1913). Huerta now assumed control of the government with the purpose of establishing a dictatorship and restoring "Porfirianism." He was recognized by Japan, as well as England and other European powers; but President Wilson refused to recognize the "unspeakable Huerta," whom he regarded as a murderer, saying, "We can have no sympathy with those who seek to seize the power of government to advance their own personal interests or ambitions."

*Wilson refuses to recognize Huerta*

*"Watchful waiting"*

The other Latin American powers followed the example of the United States in refusing to recognize Huerta. His authority was also challenged in Mexico by revolutionary leaders, such as Venustiano Carranza, Francisco Villa, and Emiliano Zapata, and Huerta could not restore peace and quiet. In an effort to aid in putting down the disturbances and restoring law and order Wilson tried to induce Huerta to resign, to agree to a provisional government, and to call an election for the choice of a president according to constitutional methods. Huerta, however, refused to resign, and Wilson had to await the results of other peaceful methods to force Huerta out. This policy he termed "watchful waiting." Wilson's plan was to cut off Huerta "from foreign sympathy and from domestic credit, whether moral or material, and to force him out." Great Britain was won over to the support of this policy, as has been seen, by a reversal of the American position on the tolls controversy. The other powers followed the lead of Britain in urging Huerta to yield to Wilson's demands; but Huerta was still obdurate and refused to surrender his authority.

In the meantime American naval vessels were stationed in the waters off Vera Cruz to prevent Huerta from getting supplies from

*Vera Cruz occupied by American forces*

Europe. Some American sailors were arrested at Tampico by a Mexican officer, and Huerta refused to meet fully the demands of the Washington government as to atonement for the indignity to the American flag. Thereupon, at Wilson's orders, the American naval commander took Vera Cruz (April, 1914). Diplomatic relations between the two governments were broken off at once, and the American army and navy began to make preparations for war.

*Downfall of Huerta*

At this juncture the A B C Powers (the Argentine Republic, Brazil, and Chile) offered mediation, which Wilson readily accepted. A mediation conference held at Niagara Falls in Ontario proposed that Huerta be eliminated and that a provisional government be established which would accept the agrarian and political reforms demanded by the revolutionists. When these proposals were announced Huerta's authority collapsed and he left for Europe. The American forces were withdrawn from Vera Cruz (November 23, 1914).

*Recognition of Carranza as president*

The downfall of Huerta did not result in peace for Mexico. Revolutionary bands under Zapata and Villa kept the country in strife and confusion. Carranza professed adherence to constitutional principles, and Wilson considered him as the best hope for restoring order to the strife-ridden country. Accordingly, he, in co-operation with six Latin American nations, recognized Carranza as *de facto* president. But even with the advantage of recognition Carranza was unable to restrain the revolutionary leaders and restore order. One of the most stubborn of his opponents was the bandit-revolutionary, Francisco Villa, a former adherent of his cause. Partly in spite, and partly with the hope of provoking American intervention so that he could turn the anti-American feeling to his account, Villa crossed the border and, without any provocation, shot seventeen American citizens in the town of Columbus, New Mexico (March, 1916).

*Pershing's expedition into Mexico*

Wilson, with the support of Congress, at once sent a force under General John J. Pershing into Mexico to seize Villa. The effort was not successful, but Villa's activities were curbed and many lawless bands were dispersed. Wilson made it clear that Pershing was to conduct the expedition "with scrupulous respect for the sovereignty and independence of Mexico." The Mexicans, however, looked upon the expedition as an invasion of their territory, and Carranza not only refused to co-operate—although he had given a reluctant consent to the expedition—but he tried in every way to hamper its success. There were clashes between the American and Mexican forces, and finally the Mexican commander threatened to attack Pershing if he advanced in any direction except toward the border.

*American forces withdrawn from Mexico*

The attitude of the Carranza government and the Mexican people was arousing a strong sentiment in the United States in favor of intervention. The outcry for vigorous action was led by Theodore Roosevelt and other prominent politicians. Wilson, however, withstood the clamor, being opposed in principle to any outside interference with the real wishes of the Mexican people. Furthermore, he felt that all the forces he could muster would be needed in the war with Germany which he saw approaching. Consequently, he withdrew the American forces from Mexico (by February 5, 1917).

Soon after the final withdrawal of the troops from Mexican soil, regular diplomatic relations were resumed with the Carranza government, but feeling against the United States was still strong in Mexico. Carranza proved unequal to the responsibilities of his position, and finally (May, 1920) he was overthrown and murdered. A few months later (September, 1920) General Alvaro Obregón, who had led the revolt against Carranza, was elected president.

*The new constitution of Mexico*

The relations between the United States and her southern neighbor were further complicated by the adoption in 1917 of a new constitution for Mexico. This constitution provided for the restoration of self-government to the people, the return of communal lands to the Indian villages, the division of large landed estates, and the expropriation by the state of all mineral deposits, including those of petroleum. Church and state were separated and the Roman Catholic Church was deprived of its lands and some of the privileges it had enjoyed under Diaz. American citizens, who owned large landed estates or mineral rights in Mexico, feared that their property would be taken over for public use, and probably without adequate compensation. The Catholics of the United States also felt that the Catholic Church had not been dealt with fairly. This feeling caused President Harding to delay recognition of the Obregón regime. However, the Mexican government did not for a time adopt any vigorous measures to carry out these clauses of the constitution, and so the door to an understanding was left open. Obregón was gradually gaining a stronger hold on his country and bringing about a condition of law and order. Finally (1923) an agreement was reached adjusting American claims for land confiscations and promising that the provisions of the constitution would not apply to mineral lands acquired and improved by Americans before 1917. President Harding thereupon recognized the Obregón government.

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# CHAPTER XXXVIII

# *World War I: America as a Neutral*

## Background of the War

*The "cooling off" treaties*

As has already been noted (see pp. 648 f.), at the beginning of the twentieth century there were many influences favorable to universal peace. High on the list of peace advocates stood the Secretary of State, W. J. Bryan. Not only did he make eloquent public addresses in favor of world peace, but he also negotiated conciliation agreements between the United States and thirty other nations. In these treaties it was stipulated that all disputes which could not be settled by diplomacy should be referred to an international commission for investigation. The contracting parties were pledged not to resort to hostilities until the investigations and a report on them had been made, which report must be rendered within one year. It was thought that this delay would result in a cooling off of the war fever. The agreements were, therefore, known as "cooling-off" treaties. Bryan was able to secure the assent of thirty powers to this plan for world peace.

*Causes of friction between the European powers*

Unfortunately, the efforts that Bryan and others were making to usher in an era of world peace were counteracted by dangerous trends in the opposite direction. National spirit in Europe was running high and was characterized by a narrow selfish patriotism that caused each power to look after its own interests with little or no regard for the rights of other countries. The rapid advance of industrialism, accompanied as it was by a great demand for raw materials and a race for markets for manufactured products, had brought on strong economic and political rivalries. Out of these rivalries there gradually grew up a feeling of mutual distrust and fear among the European powers. This led to a race in building up armies and navies and in the production of war supplies. With military affairs engaging so much public attention, it was only natural that there should grow up a warlike attitude on the part of the people. Militarism was thus an important factor in preparing the psychosis of war.

*The Triple Alliance*

If a spirit of give and take had characterized European relations, all of these difficulties could have been surmounted and war averted.

There was, however, no general clearinghouse for the settlement of international differences. By 1914 the leading European powers were divided into two rival groups—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. The Triple Alliance was a defensive agreement that had been entered into by Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. Germany and Austria-Hungary each pledged its support in case the other should be attacked by Russia or some power supported by Russia, and Italy was to receive help from both Austria and Germany if attacked by France.

*The Triple Entente*

In 1892 Russia and France formed an alliance pledging mutual assistance in case of attack by Germany or some power supported by Germany. These two alliances left England out in the cold, threatened with dangerous isolation. In 1904, however, an agreement between England and France as to their conflicting claims in Africa removed the last barrier to a friendly understanding between these two countries. In like manner Russia and England came to terms over their clashing interests in Persia (1907) and thereafter Russia and England were drawn together in friendly relations. The friendship between these three powers, which grew strong in the face of fear of Germany's aggression and military power, is known as the Triple Entente. England's commitments were not those of a formal alliance, but the friendly understanding was about as effective as an alliance. At first both the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance were defensive in their aims, but each gradually grew more aggressive in character. In 1907 (to use a figure borrowed from Winston Churchill) the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente stood side by side; in 1914 they stood face to face.

*Austro-Russian rivalry over the Balkans*

The Balkan peninsula was the danger spot of Europe. Austria-Hungary, in keeping with the Austro-German policy of advancing toward the Middle East, was trying to strengthen her position in the peninsula. Russia's long-time desire of gaining access to the Mediterranean prompted her to extend her influence over these states. This crossing of the lines of their prospective expansion caused a serious rivalry between Austria and Russia over the Balkans. In pursuit of her aims there, Austria-Hungary in recent years had performed acts of aggression that aroused the jealousy of Russia and the bitter hostility of Serbia.

*The assassination of Francis Ferdinand*

The year 1914 thus found Austria-Hungary and Serbia living on terms that are unsafe for neighbors. Public sentiment was inflamed in both countries and an untoward event might cause an outburst of feeling and bring on war. Such an event was the assassination of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir-apparent to the throne of Austria-Hungary. The crown prince and his wife were killed on June 28,

1914, at Sarajevo, the capital of the Austro-Hungarian province of Bosnia, by pistol shots fired by two Serbian subjects of Austria-Hungary.

*The Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia*

Austria-Hungary charged the Serbian government with responsibility for the assassination, but the evidence submitted at the time did not prove the accusation. It afforded the stronger power, however, a good excuse for punishing her small neighbor, and the Dual Monarchy decided to take advantage of it. After securing the approval of Germany (which was obtained on July 5) Austria-Hungary sent an ultimatum to Serbia making strong and unreasonable demands. Serbia met most, but not all, of the demands of the ultimatum. The reply was not satisfactory to the Dual Monarchy, which at once broke diplomatic relations with Serbia and two days later declared war on her (July 28, 1914).

*Germany declares war on Russia*

Russia considered this action on the part of Austria-Hungary as a step toward bringing Serbia under the latter's control. Since Russia was determined not to allow her rival thus to strengthen Austro-Hungarian influence in the Balkan peninsula, the Russian government, considering conflict now inevitable, sent out an order for the general mobilization of its forces (July 30). The German Chancellor regarded Russian mobilization as the first step in hostilities toward his country and, therefore, sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding the cessation of her mobilization within twelve hours. Russia made no answer to this demand, and Germany declared war on Russia on August 1. Five days later Austria-Hungary followed her ally in a declaration of war against Russia.

*Germany declares war on France*

Since France was bound by the Dual Alliance to come to the aid of Russia if the latter were attacked by the Central Powers, Germany sent an inquiry (virtually an ultimatum) as to what would be France's attitude in case of war between Germany and Russia (July 30). The French foreign office replied that "France would do that which her interests dictated." This reply was, of course, unsatisfactory, and Germany declared war on France (August 3).

*Belgium invaded by the German army*

The German military plan called for a rapid invasion of France with the view to forcing her to surrender before the slow Russian military machine could get into running order. To do this it would be necessary to march through Belgium and attack France's exposed flank. A direct attack was not to be considered, because the French had strongly fortified the line that separated them from the Germans. The German army, therefore, despite the opposition of Belgium, invaded that country (August 4).

The invasion of Belgium brought Great Britain into the war against Germany. Britain, as well as Germany and other European

powers, was bound by treaty commitments to guarantee the neutrality of Belgium. Furthermore, Belgium could easily serve as a base of attack on England, and for a long time it had been the policy of Britain to oppose every effort of a strong aggressive power to get a footing in Belgium. Accordingly, she declared war on Germany and thus brought the British commonwealth of nations in on the side of the Allies. The Balkan war had now developed into a European war and was soon to widen into a world conflict.[1]

*England declares war on Germany*

## EFFECT OF THE WAR ON AMERICA

*Wilson proclaims neutrality*

The United States was facing a situation similar to the one with which it was confronted during the Napoleonic wars of more than a century before. Now as then Europe was devoting its main energies to war and was largely dependent upon outside countries for shipping, food, and other supplies. In both cases the United States, as the leading neutral, played an important part in meeting this demand. After a few months of panic and depression the expansion of the market for American products in both instances brought on a period of prosperity in this country. England now, as in the Napoleonic era, had naval superiority and was determined to make the best possible use of it against the enemy. President Wilson was therefore confronted with a problem not unlike that with which Madison and Jefferson had to deal a century earlier. The first step taken by him was to announce on August 4, 1914, that the attitude of this country would be that of strict neutrality toward the belligerents. In committing the government to an official neutrality the President was acting in entire harmony with public sentiment in this country. There was a general feeling that the war was of no direct concern to us and that our part in it would only be to sit comfortably on the sidelines and watch the gory contest. It soon became evident, however, that the American people were not viewing the game as indifferent spectators but as enthusiastic "fans." In a public address (August 19), the President urged the American people to be "impartial in thought as well as in action."

[1] Italy did not join the Central Powers in the war, contending that she was not bound by her obligations under the Triple Alliance to aid her allies since this was not a defensive, but an aggressive, war. She therefore remained neutral until May, 1915, when she declared war on Austria-Hungary. Fifteen months later (August 27, 1916) she declared war on Germany. Japan soon entered the war on the side of the Allies (August, 1914), and after a short period of dubious neutrality Turkey entered the war on the side of the Teutonic Allies (October 31, 1914). Serbia and Montenegro continued as allies of the Entente Powers, and Rumania and Greece later came in on the same side. Bulgaria, however, fought with the Teutonic Allies. Others of the lesser powers were nominally belligerent on the side of the Allies, although they made only a minor contribution to the war effort.

*Sentiment in United States favorable to the Allies*

This injunction as to neutrality of thought and sentiment fell on deaf ears. Public opinion from the beginning was strongly in favor of the Entente Powers, the "Allies," as they were called. This was due to a number of causes. Germany was regarded as the outstanding champion of militarism and a zealous advocate of autocracy in government. Therefore the success of the Central Powers would mean a victory for absolutism and militarism and a defeat for democracy and the cause of world peace. It was generally believed that Austria and Germany had started the war and were prosecuting it with undue ruthlessness. Germany's invasion of Belgium without provocation and in violation of a treaty—which the German Chancellor had termed a "scrap of paper"—was considered an inexcusable breach of national honor and a highhanded infringement of the rights of a weak power.

Sentiment in favor of France, which traced back to the aid given to America in her struggle for independence, was intensified by the trying experiences which the German invasion was bringing to the country of Lafayette. The American people also now became conscious of the bond that held them to their English-speaking kinsmen. The culture of the two groups was based to a great extent on the same religious, political, and social ideals and had drawn inspiration from the same literary masterpieces, the works of such writers as Shakespeare, Milton, Scott, and Dickens. It is true that the biased school histories had done much to keep alive the hostile feeling generated by the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 and had therefore covered over this fundamental solidarity with a layer of ill will. But there had been a strong trend in the opposite direction growing out of the efforts made by the British government during the two previous decades to cultivate cordial relations with the United States.[1] Therefore, in this time of danger to the old homeland, Americans of English descent began to realize that "blood is thicker than water."

*Pro-German sentiment*

Sentiment in favor of the Allies was far from unanimous, however. Americans of German ancestry as a rule sympathized with the Fatherland and felt that the Teutonic Powers were fighting a defensive war in an effort to break the iron ring with which the Entente Powers had encircled them. Irish Americans were usually anti-British and sometimes their opposition to the British went to the limit of pro-Germanism. Some representatives of the old stock, still nursing historic grievances against the mother country, were also unfriendly to the Allies.

[1] For instances of British action in support of American foreign policy, see pp. 623, 623 n., 686.

## THE ANGLO-AMERICAN DISPUTE OVER NEUTRAL RIGHTS

*Causes of friction between England and the United States*

Sympathy in this country for the Allied cause did not, however, prevent friction from arising between the British and American governments. The Allies were resolved to use their naval superiority to prevent the Central Powers from receiving outside supplies. In so doing they adopted policies that the American government considered a violation of international law and an infringement of neutral rights. One such practice was the extension of the list of contrabrand articles beyond what, in American opinion, was allowed by international law.

*Extension of contraband*

*The blockade of neutral ports*

The seizure of contraband goods did not, however, stop the indirect trade with Germany through the adjacent neutral countries. There was an enormous increase in American exports to Denmark, Holland, Norway, and Sweden, and the excess over normal times was, of course, going to Germany. To put a stop to this trade the Allied governments announced (March, 1915) that thereafter they would search all ships bound for countries contiguous to Germany and seize all cargoes which, in the opinion of the inspectors, would ultimately reach Germany, even though they were to be landed first at neutral ports. The countries adjacent to Germany were allowed a quota of imports equal to the amount received by them before the war. All amounts in excess of this quota were considered as going to Germany and were diverted to the Allies. This plan of rationing the northern neutrals was giving the doctrine of continuous voyage an unprecedented extension.[1] The Allies attempted to justify their restraints on neutral commerce partly on the ground that they were in keeping with the spirit, if not the letter, of international law and partly on the ground that they were measures in reprisal for Germany's violations of international law. These explanations were not accepted as satisfactory reasons by the United States and other neutrals.

*The United States refrains from economic pressure; reasons*

In its objections to these violations of neutral rights the American State Department did not go beyond protests, which were filed only to serve as legal claims for damages at the end of the war. If it had resorted to economic pressure it could have forced England to yield to its demands; but, if Wilson, following the precedent set by Jefferson more than a century before, had made use of an embargo on American goods, he would have crippled the war effort of the Allies and helped the Central Powers toward a possible victory. To Wilson, Lansing, and the other leading officials at Washington such a victory

1 During the Civil War the United States had practiced the doctrine of continuous voyage but had not carried it as far as was now proposed by the Allied Powers.

would have been a calamity for the United States as well as a disaster to Europe; for in their opinion the future prosperity and security of this country were bound up with the success of the Allied cause. Furthermore, an embargo would have worked a greater injury to American commerce than that caused by the Allied restrictions. The British authorities carried out the objectionable policy in such a way as to cause as little loss to individuals as possible. American shipowners also soon learned how to adjust their plans to the Allied regulations without any great inconvenience. Then, too, the loss of the German market was more than compensated for by the increased demand of the Allies for American products. The ready sale of American goods at high prices in Allied markets was sustaining a marvelous prosperity in America.

*Tense relations between England and the United States*

Despite the patient forbearance shown by the State Department, at times relations became tense between the United States and the Allies. The ill feeling growing out of this friction was cumulative; and, by the fall of 1916, public sentiment in the United States was veering away from the Allies. Even Wilson's patience was wearing thin. He had been sorely disappointed over the refusal of the Allies to give favorable consideration to his peace offer, made in February of that year (see p. 700). It had caused him to question whether the Allies were not as selfish as the Central Powers in their war aims. This feeling of disappointment was accentuated by the Allied announcement in July, 1916, of a blacklist which included eighty-five American establishments. All firms on this blacklist were denied the privilege of trade with firms in Allied countries. These tensions, however, never led to drastic action—whenever they were at their height Germany made a move in her submarine policy which diverted American resentment from the Allies to the Central Powers.

### THE FIRST SUBMARINE CONTROVERSY

*Germany's war-zone proclamation*

During the first six months of the war no serious issue arose between the United States and the Central Powers. The American controversy with Germany began on February 4, 1915, at which time the German government issued a proclamation declaring the waters around the British Isles a war zone. All enemy ships found in this zone on and after February 18, 1915, were to be "destroyed without its being always possible to avert the dangers threatening the crews and passengers on that account." The proclamation went on to recite that even neutral ships would be exposed to danger in the war zone in view of the misuse of neutral flags by the British government. German submarine commanders could not always distinguish between neutral ships and enemy ships. Neutral powers

were accordingly warned to keep their ships, goods, and passengers out of the war zone; if neutrals should venture into the war zone they would run a serious risk of losing their lives and ships. The excuse given for this disregard of international law was that it was a retaliatory measure necessitated by Britain's restrictions on German trade in violation of international usage.

*The "strict accountability" note*

The United States government therefore protested vigorously against the proposed policy in a note dated February 10, 1915. It took the position that a belligerent's rights as to neutral ships on the high seas are confined to "visit and search unless a blockade is proclaimed and effectively maintained." Inasmuch as the Central Powers were not maintaining an effective blockade of the British Isles, Germany had no warrant under international law to sink an American ship. The note therefore sounded a clear note of warning to the German government, stating that in case American ships or lives were destroyed (either inside or outside the war zone) the "Government of the United States would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property. . . ."

*The sinking of the* Lusitania

The submarine controversy entered upon the acute stage when Germany proceeded to act upon the policy outlined in her note of February 4. The American government soon made complaint against Germany because of the destruction of two American ships and the loss of four American lives. These minor grievances were soon reduced to comparative unimportance by the greater issue created by the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915. The *Lusitania*, an unarmed British merchantman, was sunk off the coast of Ireland by a German submarine and nearly twelve hundred lives were lost, one hundred and twenty-eight of them being Americans. No warning had been given,[1] and no effort was made to save the lives of the passengers and crew. Although the *Lusitania* had munitions of war on board, the sinking of the vessel was a plain violation of international law and the kind of act for which Wilson had threatened to hold Germany to a strict accountability.

The sinking of the *Lusitania* aroused an intense feeling of indignation against Germany throughout the entire United States. The press, except that part of it which had strong pro-German leanings,

[1] It is true that on the morning of the day the *Lusitania* left New York there was published as an advertisement in the New York papers a notice, signed by the German embassy at Washington, which warned American citizens against taking passage on any enemy ship going through the war zone. This, however, was not a warning in the international sense of the term and little or no heed was paid to it by prospective passengers.

*Indignation of the American people aroused*

was virtually unanimous in its condemnation of the tragedy. Influential newspapers called it an "outrage," "deliberate murder," and a "massacre." The Louisville *Courier-Journal* declared that "nothing in the annals of piracy can in wanton and cruel ferocity equal the destruction of the *Lusitania*." There was also a strong feeling, especially in the East, that the United States should declare war at once. Wilson could probably have led the country into war at that time just as Jefferson could have done a century earlier, when the *Chesapeake* was attacked by the *Leopard*.

*Wilson's action*

Wilson, however, decided that he would not be stampeded into war. Although not a pacifist, he was resolved to spare his people the horrors of war if possible. Furthermore, the country was not prepared for war either militarily or psychologically. In certain sections, especially in the Midwest, the prevailing sentiment at that time was not in favor of war. Wilson, therefore, resolved to try negotiation as a means of upholding American rights. He took a firm position in demanding that the German government disavow the act and apologize for it; make provision for a just indemnity for the loss of American lives; and give guarantees for the future safety of American citizens on the high seas.

*Bryan's position and action*

In the course of negotiations over the *Lusitania* three vigorous notes of protest and warning were sent from the American State Department to the German foreign office. The first of these, prepared by Wilson with the aid of Robert Lansing, Counselor of the State Department, was reluctantly signed by Secretary Bryan. The latter felt that the President's policy was too aggressive and might lead to war. The second *Lusitania* note was so strong that Bryan could not conscientiously sign it. Therefore he resigned his post and was succeeded by Lansing. President Wilson, however, continued a vigorous policy toward Germany. His position as stated in a communication to Congress was that, if the American government should accept a single abatement of right, "many other humiliations would certainly follow, and the whole fine fabric of international law might crumble under our hands piece by piece."

*The Arabic pledge*

While the *Lusitania* case was still under discussion another serious cause of dispute arose between Germany and the United States. On August 19, 1915, the British steamer *Arabic* was torpedoed by a German submarine near the place of the destruction of the *Lusitania*. It was bound for New York, was unarmed, carried no contraband, and was sunk without warning. A considerable number of the crew and passengers, including two Americans, lost their lives. The German foreign office seemed to appreciate the seriousness of the situa-

tion and to fear that the American government would take a determined stand against this untoward act. Consequently, Count Bernstorff, the German ambassador at Washington, declared (September 1) that he had been instructed to make for his government the pledge that German submarines would not in the future sink liners, unless they should resist attack or try to escape, until adequate provision had been made for the safety of noncombatants. This pledge, although not a full settlement of the *Lusitania* case, was an acceptance of the main point contended for by Wilson. Later (October 5) the German government declared its willingness to disavow the sinking of the *Arabic* and pay indemnities for the American lives lost.

*The controversy over the sale of munitions*

Another cause of disagreement between the United States and Germany was the sale of munitions of war to the Allies in immense quantities by American corporations. Great Britain's control of the sea prevented Germany from purchasing munitions of war from this country. The Teutonic Allies protested against this one-sided trade, contending that our government should lay an embargo on arms if it were to maintain a really neutral attitude toward the belligerents. In his replies to these protests Secretary Lansing presented strong, if not unanswerable, arguments to show that under international law the United States had no obligation or even right to place an embargo on munitions of war.

*Sabotage*

Having failed to stop by diplomacy the flow of munitions from the United States to the Allies, the Central Powers resorted to intrigue and sabotage as a means of striking at the American source of Allied military supplies. By the use of German spies and pro-German American agents, plots were formed for the purpose (according to Secretary Lansing) of hampering the British along the Canadian border, sinking ships destined for Allied ports, purchasing or forging American passports for the use of German and Austrian reservists in the United States, preventing the manufacture and transportation of war supplies to the Entente Powers, and stirring up strife in Latin America against the government of the United States. The naval and military attachés of the German embassy had had a hand in these intrigues and both were recalled at the demand of Secretary Lansing (December, 1915).[1] Dr. Constantin Dumba, Austro-Hungarian ambassador at Washington, had also been enmeshed in the web of intrigue, and at President Wilson's request was recalled (October, 1915). These underhand practices aggra-

[1] The dismissed military attaché, Captain Franz von Papen, lived to play an important, although inglorious, part in the Second World War as one of Hitler's henchmen.

vated the ill feeling in this country against Germany and Austria-Hungary and went far toward arousing a warlike attitude among the people.

*Wilson's peace offer*

Although the *Arabic* pledge had eased the tension between the United States and Germany, President Wilson felt that, if the war was prolonged to a great length, America would probably be drawn in. His desire to act as peacemaker was now inspired not only by the humanitarian wish to stop the bloodshed in Europe but also by the longing to spare his own country the horrors of war. Accordingly, in February, 1916, he proposed to the British foreign office through Colonel House that a conference be held to agree upon terms of peace. If Britain should agree to the proposal and Germany would not, the "United States," he said, "would probably leave the conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies." While the terms of peace would have to be agreed upon between the belligerents at the conference, Colonel House indicated that his government would support a settlement favorable to the Allies.

Unfortunately, however, neither side was willing to accept peace without victory. When James W. Gerard, American ambassador at Berlin, sounded out the German emperor and foreign minister, he learned that they would not consider any terms which did not provide for indemnities. Britain also declined the proposal and did not even submit it to her ally, France. Sir Edward Grey, the British minister of foreign affairs, seemed afraid to approach the French foreign office on the subject lest France would think that England was weakening. The English government may also have doubted the ability of Wilson to take the United States into the war on the Allied side even if the Allies had accepted the offer and Germany refused it. This doubt was probably accentuated by Wilson's insertion of the word "probably" in his statement. This rebuff led to a cooling-off of Wilson's sympathy with the Allies, for in refusing to accept his offer of intervention they had caused him to distrust their motives. To him it seemed that they were not willing to agree to a peace of justice.

*The sinking of the* Sussex

For six months the German navy observed the pledge given in the *Arabic* case, and during this time there was no serious trouble between the two governments. The first dangerous menace to this peaceful relation was the unwarned sinking of the *Sussex*, an unarmed French steamer, in the British Channel on March 24, 1916. About eighty noncombatant passengers "of all ages and sexes, including citizens of the United States, were killed or injured." Since this high-handed act was a plain violation of the *Arabic* pledge, Secretary

Lansing, with the President's approval, sent a stiff note to the German foreign office which declared that unless Germany would at once abandon her policy of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the United States would sever diplomatic relations with the German government.

*The United States threatens to break diplomatic relations*

This serious threat caused the German government to accede to Wilson's demands. Accordingly, Von Jagow, the German foreign minister, replied in a note making the following acceptable announcement:

*Pledge made by the German government*

> The German Government . . . notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by International law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

The *Sussex* pledge was clinched by another note (May 8) which acknowledged that the submarine commander had disobeyed instructions in sinking the *Sussex* and had "been appropriately punished." The German government also disavowed the act and offered reparation. The submarine controversy was now laid to rest for the time being, and the firmness of President Wilson was rewarded with a diplomatic victory. The government, however, was committed to a policy that might lead to war; if Germany should renew unrestricted submarine warfare the President would have to break diplomatic relations with the Central Powers or eat his own words and thus subject his government to the taunt of pusillanimity both at home and abroad.

*A diplomatic victory for Wilson*

## THE ELECTION OF 1916

The Republican and Progressive Parties held their conventions in Chicago at the same time (June, 1916). It was hoped that both parties would name the same candidate and adopt the same platform. Roosevelt's name was presented to the Republican convention and was received with applause that lasted forty-two minutes. The balloting soon showed, however, that he could not win the nomination. On the third ballot the nomination for President went to Charles E. Hughes, a justice of the United States Supreme Court. Hughes had made no active campaign for the nomination, stating

*Hughes nominated by the Republicans*

that he was not a candidate. He felt that it was not proper for him to be a party to a political fight while holding his seat on the bench of the Supreme Court. This sense of propriety had greatly enhanced his availability. It had held him back from public utterances on the controversial questions of the day, and therefore he had not antagonized the various groups that were opposed to Wilson. Furthermore, as a lawyer prosecuting the insurance companies and as governor of New York he had shown liberal tendencies which helped him with the Progressives. Then, too, as a member of the Supreme Court he had made a record not unacceptable to the conservative wing of the party. Hughes at once resigned from the Supreme Court and accepted the nomination. He now threw away the restraints by which he had hitherto been fettered and declared himself a "hundred-per-cent candidate."

*Roosevelt withdraws and supports Hughes*

The Progressives went ahead and nominated Roosevelt for President and John M. Parker of Louisiana for Vice-President. Roosevelt was by no means enthusiastic over this honor, for he felt that the election of 1914 had shown that the Progressive movement as a third party was a lost cause. Besides, he realized that Hughes, whom he personally disliked, was nevertheless a real liberal. Accordingly, he soon withdrew from the race and threw his influence to Hughes. Parker, however, gave his support to Wilson. The Progressives, being thus deserted by their leaders, had no alternative but to join one of the old parties. Many of them (probably a majority) went back to the Republican Party, although a considerable number supported Wilson.

*Wilson renominated by the Democrats*

The Democrats, meeting in convention at St. Louis on June 13, renominated Wilson and Marshall by acclamation. In the campaign Wilson had two disgruntled elements against him—many of those who were ardently pro-Ally, because they felt that he had been too patient with Germany, and the pro-Germans, who considered his policy unduly anti-German. Hughes was able to win the support of these violently antagonistic groups. But to ensure their support he had to maintain a somewhat negative position on the foreign question, and this noncommittal attitude was unacceptable to many voters who strongly preferred the straightforward positive attitude of Wilson. The Democrats made much of the slogan, "He kept us out of war," and Wilson's policy of neutrality was endorsed by the great majority of the voters. The Democrats also had in their favor the important reform measures already passed. They pointed to the policy of neutrality as the only alternative to war and at the same time advocated preparedness.

*Result of the election*

The outcome of the election was close, the electoral vote being 277 for Wilson to 254 for Hughes. Wilson's popular majority was greater, however, than this narrrow margin in the electoral vote would indicate (9,129,606 for Wilson to 8,538,221 for Hughes). The Democrats also had a majority in both houses of Congress. At first it looked as if Hughes were elected, because he had carried New York, New Jersey, and all but two of the Eastern states north of the Potomac River. It was several days before the result was definitely known. Wilson had carried not only the "solid South" but every state west of the Mississippi but four. For several days the returns from California were awaited to determine the final outcome. This state went for Wilson by a narrow majority (only 3773), and her thirteen votes turned the scales in favor of the Democrats.

## PEACE MOVES

*Wilson plans a peace move*

Although no serious controversy arose between the American government and that of Germany for about eight months after the *Sussex* pledge was made, Wilson realized that there was serious danger of the United States being drawn into the war. It looked as if the only way to keep America out of war was to induce the belligerents to agree upon terms of peace. As soon as he was assured of his re-election Wilson determined to make a move for peace. But unfortunately he waited a little too long before sending out his proposal. Owing to this delay the German foreign office ran ahead of him and made a peace move of its own.

*Germany's peace proposal*

On December 12, 1916, the Central Powers sent notes to neutrals announcing their willingness to negotiate for peace and asked these neutral powers to notify the Allied belligerents of this attitude. Wilson's plans were considerably upset by this offer. He could not afford to disregard it, and yet he could not forward it to the Allied governments without seeming to favor this move of the Teutonic Allies. Secretary Lansing relayed this proposal (December 16) but declined to identify his government with it by making any recommendation regarding it. He also stated that President Wilson would soon make of his own accord an overture of peace to the belligerents, which would, however, in no sense be connected with the Teutonic offer to negotiate.

*Wilson's peace overture*

This overture came two days later (December 18) when President Wilson sent notes to all the belligerent nations asking them to state the terms on which they would be willing to conclude the war. This note came at an inopportune time. Following as it did on the heels of the German announcement, it looked as if there was some con-

nection between the two proposals. Furthermore, neither the Allies nor Germany were in a mood to make reasonable concessions in the interest of peace. The Central Powers felt that their military situation justified the demands on their part of a victor's peace. The Allies, after their success at Verdun, also had hopes of victory. In England Lloyd George had been called to the premiership to give the enemy a "knock-out blow." The prospects of getting a favorable response to the President's plan were, therefore, far from assuring.

*Replies of the belligerents*

The reply of the Central Powers to Wilson's note came on December 26, 1916. It did not give the terms that would be acceptable to them but only reiterated their willingness to negotiate and suggested a peace congress on neutral territory. The Entente Powers replied to both the Teutonic proposal and President Wilson's note, stating in a general way the conditions on which they would stop fighting. These were based on the demand from the Central Powers of restitution, reparation, and guarantees for the future. Although the Teutonic Allies had not put down their demands in a formal note, in a conversation with Ambassador Gerard the German Chancellor had indicated (January, 1917) the concessions that would be expected. These were the terms of a complete victor and were out of all reason. So the belligerents were still poles apart as to peace terms.

*"Peace without victory"*

After the failure of these peace efforts President Wilson made a speech before the United States Senate (January 22, 1917) giving in a general way his idea as to the principles on which a just settlement should be based. A peace founded on such principles would, he thought, be lasting, and only such a peace would the United States be willing to assist in guaranteeing. The terms indicated were to be such that no nation would feel crushed and humiliated by defeat. Such a feeling of having been humiliated would be a sure breeding place for future wars. There should be, therefore, "a peace without victory." This speech pointed the way to a just and lasting peace. A well-known English publicist spoke of it as "perhaps the most important document of all history." Yet it had no effect whatever on the international situation. The Allies accepted it with outward cordiality but with inner resentment. The Germans paid little or no attention to the President's address, for their decision in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare had already been made.

## THE UNITED STATES ENTERS THE WAR

The peace moves had now failed, and the advocates of ruthless submarine warfare were in control in Germany. Apparently the

German government, overestimating the peace sentiment in this country, believed that America would not go to war even if unrestricted submarine activity were resumed. It was also thought that, even if America were drawn in, unhampered submarine activity would win victory for the Central Powers before the United States could effectually mobilize its resources in aid of the Allies.

*Germany resumes unrestricted submarine warfare*

Before President Wilson had made his peace address, the German foreign office had decided to cancel all its previous pledges and to enter upon a policy of unrestricted submarine warfare. Accordingly, on January 31 the State Department was notified by Count Bernstorff, German ambassador at Washington, that on the next day Germany would declare as war zones the sea areas around Great Britain, France, and Italy and in the eastern Mediterranean and would sink all vessels, neutral as well as belligerent, that should venture into these prohibited areas. "All sea traffic," the memorandum continued, "will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice." An exception to this general policy would be made in favor of American passenger vessels if they would adhere to the following regulation: they must go to Falmouth only and in a certain lane designated in the memorandum; only one trip each way was to be made each week; the ships were to be marked with broad vertical stripes; and their cargoes must include no articles that Germany had defined as contraband.

*The United States breaks diplomatic relations with Germany*

The situation was now worse than it had ever been before. President Wilson was faced with two alternatives. He had either to back down from the position taken in the *Sussex* note or break relations with Germany. He chose the latter alternative, and relations between the two governments were broken off on February 3, 1917. On that same day President Wilson made a speech before Congress announcing the break with Germany and giving his reason for such important action. In this address he said that he refused "to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. . . . Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now." If American lives or American ships should be sacrificed he would appear again before Congress and ask for authority to uphold American rights.

*Wilson reluctant to break relations*

It was with unfeigned reluctance that Wilson took this important step. In the last few weeks he had been more objective in his attitude toward the belligerents and more determined than ever to preserve American neutrality. His sympathy with the Allies had cooled considerably, for their refusal to consider his offer of intervention had caused him to distrust their motives. He felt too that his re-election,

for which his peace policy was largely responsible, indicated that the American people favored a continuance of his efforts to keep them out of war. As late as January 4, 1917, he said to Colonel House: "There will be no war. This country does not intend to become involved in this war. We are the only one of the great white nations that is free from war today, and it would be a crime against civilization for us to go in."

*The Zimmermann Note*

Sentiment in favor of war was strengthened in both Congress and throughout the country by an important document which had just come into possession of the State Department. This was a telegram addressed to Von Eckhard, German minister to Mexico, by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, who had succeeded Von Jagow as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. In this telegram Dr. Zimmermann stated that Germany would soon resume ruthless submarine warfare and that the United States might in consequence be drawn into the war. In case the United States should enter the war against Germany, Von Eckhard was to try to form an alliance between Germany and Mexico. Financial support could be promised Mexico, and she would be encouraged by Germany "to reconquer the lost territory in New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona." The German minister was also to advise that the President of Mexico communicate with Japan and suggest adherence at once to this plan. This message had been intercepted by the British Naval Intelligence (January 16) and forwarded to the American government.

In the meantime Germany had been putting into practice her policy of ruthless submarine warfare and many overt acts were committed. Wilson, however, waited for more than a month before calling Congress in session, because he was still indulging a faint hope that war might be averted. Finally his patience came to an end, and he called Congress together on April 2, "to receive a communication by the Executive on grave questions of national policy, which should be immediately taken under consideration."

*Wilson asks Congress to declare war on Germany*

On the opening day of this special session Wilson appeared before Congress in joint session and, on being presented to the body, received such an ovation as had never before been accorded a President by Congress. Led by members of the Supreme Court, the immense audience seated in the crowded chamber and the packed galleries rose to its feet to greet him with prolonged applause. Then came his address advising a declaration of war. In a spirit of sorrow rather than of anger he pointed out the wrongs that the American people, as well as the nationals of other neutral countries, had suffered at the hands of Germany. He made it plain that his country

was not going to fight to avenge the loss of property, but only to protect "the lives of non-combatants, men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate." The President declared that the entrance of his country into the war was not prompted by enmity toward the German people. "We have no quarrel," he said, "with the German people. We have no feelings toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering the war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval." In giving reasons for taking up the sword he did not confine himself to the obligation of his government to defend the rights of its citizens, but he spoke of a higher motive—the desire to promote universal peace and to "make the world safe for democracy."

*War declared*

Congress was prompt to act on the recommendation of the President and declared on April 6, 1917, that a state of war existed between Germany and the United States by act of the German Imperial Government. The President had not asked for a declaration of war on the allies of Germany because they had "not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor." It was not, therefore, until December 17, 1917, that a declaration of war was made against Austria-Hungary. The real reason for this delay regarding the Dual Monarchy was the hope that this power might be induced to make a separate peace and thus drop out of the war. The entrance of the United States into the conflict was followed by a declaration of war against the Central Powers or a break in relations with them by nearly all of the Latin American states.[1]

*Reasons for America's entrance into the war*

The idealism behind the motives mentioned by the President was doubtless one of the reasons for our joining the Allies. The American people, like Wilson, believed that the war was not only a war to make the world safe for democracy but also "a war to end war." The general opinion in this country was that the Entente Allies were championing in Europe the principles held dear in America—those of peace and democracy. This view was confirmed by the recent revolution in Russia, which had displaced the autocratic rule of the Czars with a new democratic regime. A defeat for the Allies would, therefore, mean a defeat for democracy and world peace and a victory for autocracy and militarism, for the Central Powers were regarded as the champions of autocracy and militarism.

[1] By July, 1918, Cuba, Panama, Honduras, Nicaragua, Haiti, Guatemala, and Brazil had declared war on Germany and all the others but four (Argentina, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico) had broken diplomatic relations with her.

*It looked too as if the Allies might be defeated if the United States did not come to their aid. With victory for the Central Powers would go control of the Atlantic Ocean by a hostile naval power. Besides, the German government was opposed to our Monroe Doctrine, and the British navy had been its most effective support. The American people, therefore, considered the British navy as a sort of* first-line defense. If Germany should gain naval supremacy in the Atlantic it would not be difficult for her to get a foothold in one of the weaker Latin American states and then use it as a base of attack on other Latin American countries or the United States. There was thus a feeling in this country that a far-sighted policy of self-defense demanded our participation in the conflict.

The high aspirations of Wilson and other idealists and the fears for our security on the part of patriotic realists were only minor and secondary causes of America's entrance into the war. The main reason was the resumption by Germany of unrestricted submarine warfare. It was this policy that put an end to Wilson's efforts at peacemaking and destroyed his hope of keeping his country neutral.[1]

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4. Relations between England and the United States.—J. S. Bassett, *Our War with Germany*, ch. 2; Charles Seymour, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, ch. 2.
5. The First Submarine Controversy.—Seymour, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, ch. 3.
6. The Lusitania Incident.—Pease and Roberts, pp. 690-693 (text of the first Lusitania note); Count Bernstorff, *My Three Years in America*, ch. 11 (an account by the German ambassador).
7. The Sussex Case.—Robert Lansing, *War Memoirs of Robert Lansing*, ch. 11; Bernstorff, *op. cit.*, ch. 9.

[1] It has been charged that the United States was pushed into the war by the business interests of the country. This is an unjust accusation. It is true that in 1914 a depression seemed to be in the making, and this depression was changed into a business boom by the trade with the Allies, which was based on loans made to them by American citizens. If the Allies should lose the war not only would this trade cease, but the loans already advanced to them might never be paid. There was, therefore, a small group of Americans whose financial interests would be promoted by American participation in the war. It is also true that they doubtless slightly influenced public opinion in favor of war; but there is absolutely no evidence that they exerted any influence on Wilson and what evidence we have is against such a supposition. We know that during the weeks of March, 1917, when he was arriving at a decision in favor of war, no representative of the business interests had access to the President. The accusation is, therefore, a libel not only on the Administration but also on the American people.

8. The United States Breaks Diplomatic Relations with Germany.—J. B. McMaster, *The United States in the World War*, ch. 12 (quotes liberally from the sources); Bernstorff, *op. cit.*, ch. 11.
9. The Presidential Campaign of 1916.—Lansing, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-164.
10. Wilson's Efforts to Negotiate Peace.—Seymour, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, ch. 4.
11. The United States Drawn into the Great War.—Bassett, *op. cit.*, ch. 5; McMaster, *op. cit.*, ch. 13 (excerpts from documents); Seymour, *American Diplomacy During the World War*, ch. 5.
12. The Zimmermann Note.—Commager, *Documents*, II, p. 308.
13. Wilson's War Speech.—Brown, pp. 302-310; Commager, *Documents*, II, pp. 308-312.

# CHAPTER XXXIX

# *World War I: America as a Belligerent*

## THE HOME FRONT

### MILITARY AND NAVAL PREPARATIONS

*Wilson a convert to preparedness*

SOON after the war had started in Europe an agitation arose in this country for preparedness, the propaganda in favor of which was carried on by the older patriotic societies and by some new organizations, notably the National Security League. Largely through the sponsorship of this latter organization, in the summer of 1916 many demonstrations in the form of street parades and mass meetings were made in favor of national defense. The most noted of all the processions was the one on Flag Day (June 14, 1916) which the President himself led in Washington. In the early part of the war President Wilson had been opposed to a policy of preparedness because he feared that war preparations would interfere with his peace moves, but by the summer of 1915 he had changed his mind. The negotiations regarding the *Lusitania* had convinced him that the threats of diplomacy are of no avail unless backed by force. German sabotage in this country had also aided in his conversion.

*The National Defense Act*

In his annual message to Congress, December, 1915, Wilson presented plans for increasing the military and naval strength of the country. Congress was slow in acting upon the President's suggestions, and it was not until June, 1916, that it passed the National Defense Act. This, the first important defense measure, provided for a gradual increase in the army to a strength of 175,000 men and called into the national service at the President's order units of the National Guard, or state militia. The National Guard was also to be enlarged and better trained. The act, by adequate appropriations, encouraged the colleges and training camps to give military training to a larger number of prospective officers. In this way the increased demand for officers would be partially met.

*The Allied missions to the United States*

With the declaration of war, the United States did not expect to take an important part in the military campaigns in Europe. America's contribution would, therefore, consist in boosting the morale of the Allies, lending them the use of her navy and merchant

marine, and furnishing them with supplies and money. The expectations of the Allies, however, went far beyond these contributions and looked to important military aid. In less than a month after war was declared, there appeared in Washington to present the wants of their respective countries: Arthur J. Balfour, foreign minister of England, and General Joffre and René Viviani, Minister of Foreign Affairs, both of France. They showed that the Allies were nearly at the end of their tether and that they could not hold out much longer without American aid. They pointed out the need not only for ships, money, and supplies, but also for fresh troops.

*The Selective Service Act*

The information furnished by the Allied missions confirmed Wilson in the decision already made to create a large army by a selective draft. At first he had opposed conscription, but before war was declared he had been converted to this policy by General Hugh L. Scott, the Chief of Staff. At Wilson's insistence, Congress passed (by overwhelming majorities in both houses), the Selective Service Act, which became law on May 18, 1917. It provided for the registration of all men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty. In August, 1918, the limits were extended to include those between eighteen and forty-five. The men called into actual service were to be selected by lot. Exemptions were allowed to clergymen, public officials, defectives, members of churches opposed to war, and employees in essential war industries including agriculture. No exemptions could be obtained, as had been in the Civil War, by hiring substitutes or by making money payments to the government. Registrants were carefully examined for physical or mental defects before being inducted into the service. The law also carried a provision prohibiting the sale of liquor at army camps or to soldiers in uniform.

*Registration and selection*

The first registration (conducted by civilian authorities) was carried out on June 5, 1917. By the first registration 9,586,508 men were enrolled. Two other registrations in 1918 pushed up the total to 24,234,021. The first selection was made on July 20, 1917, when Secretary Baker, blindfolded, drew out capsules containing the numbers of those called. This method of choosing was repeated from time to time until 2,810,296 were drafted into the service. The draftees were taken almost entirely from the class of registrants composed of single men or married men without dependents. The regular army, the navy, the marine corps, and the National Guards were all enlarged by voluntary enlistment. The number of men called into all branches of the service by the end of the war added up to a total of about four million.

Thirty-two camps and contonments were established for the

*Training camps*

training of these new recruits, one half being located in the North and one half in the South. According to the original plan, the new recruits were to receive six months of training in the American camps and were then to be sent overseas for two months of intensive specialized training before going into combat, but this rule could not be adhered to rigidly because of the need for troops to reinforce the Allies at critical points. To assist the American officers in this wholesale training, the Allies sent over about eight hundred skilled officers.

*The S. A. T. C.*

Colleges were used in training the rank and file of soldiers. After the draft age was lowered to eighteen, student attendance at the colleges greatly declined. Partly to compensate the colleges for this loss and partly to take advantage of the housing facilities offered, draftees were stationed at nearly all the colleges for training. They were known as the Student Army Training Corps (S.A.T.C.). Their time was divided between attendance at classes and military exercises. In this way it was hoped that the young soldiers would combine a rudimentary general education with their knowledge of military tactics. But so much time and effort were devoted to military training that little was left for study. Consequently, as an educational experiment the plan was not a success.

*Men in the service well cared for*

All persons in the service were well cared for. Every effort was made to give them suitable food and clothing, proper medical care, and sanitary living conditions. They were better paid than had been any other servicemen known to history. Additional payments were given to dependents along with a part of the regular pay for service. Draftees and enlisted men were allowed to take out government insurance at low rates with the vain hope that there would be no great demand for pensions after the war. As an aid to morale, recreational and other facilities were provided by organizations such as the Red Cross, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army, and the Jewish Welfare Board. These societies and others of like character, all of which were supported by voluntary contributions, performed a fine service in supplying the soldiers with opportunities for recreation and comforts and semiluxuries and in keeping up their morale.

*Naval preparedness: The United States Shipping Board*

In response to a request of the President made in his message of December 15, 1915, Congress passed a bill (August, 1916) carrying an appropriation of $313,000,000 for the navy. The act provided for the immediate construction of four battle cruisers and four dreadnoughts. Shortly afterward (September, 1916) Congress passed another act creating the United States Shipping Board. This measure

was to provide American shipping sufficient to transport American products overseas and more particularly to serve as an aid to the army and navy. A Shipping Board of five salaried members had authority to procure and operate a fleet of merchant ships. The Board could act through a government-owned corporation. Such a corporation was formed seven months later under the name of the Emergency Fleet Corporation.

*The "bridge of ships"*

During 1917 the German submarine took a heavy toll of Allied shipping. After unrestricted submarine warfare began, the Allied tonnage sunk each month was greatly in excess of that replaced by new construction, and for the twelve-month period the total tonnage bagged by the Teutonic belligerents was more than twice that constructed by all the rest of the world. While the ships of the Allies were decreasing in number the need for them was increasing. America's entrance into the war had imposed upon them the additional burden of transporting American troops overseas and furnishing them with food and military supplies. If this proportion between the sinking and the building of Allied shipping should continue, England would in time be faced with starvation, the Allied and American armies would be cut off from necessary supplies, and the war would be won by Germany. The crying need of the Allies was, therefore, "ships, ships, and more ships." The chief responsibility for meeting this need was now placed upon the United States, because England and France, already straining to the limit of their strength in the war harness, could not increase their rate of ship construction. Urged on by the slogan, "ships will win the war," the American people were resolved to make every effort to build a "bridge of ships" to France.

*Rapid expansion of the merchant marine*

At the outbreak of the war the United States did not have a large merchant marine or the facilities for creating one rapidly. The Emergency Fleet Corporation was well supplied with funds by the government and was given authority to construct, purchase, or requisition ships. Privately-owned American ships were requisitioned, neutral vessels in American ports were leased or commandeered, ships were purchased in neutral countries, German vessels interned at American ports were taken over and reconditioned, and new vessels—wooden, steel, and concrete—were constructed. Four extensive shipyards were built, the largest on Hog Island near Philadelphia. A new type of vessel now constructed was the "fabricated ship," which was built by assembling at one place parts that had been manufactured at a number of different plants. By the end of the war the Shipping Board had brought under its control in various ways about ten million tons of shipping at a cost of $3,000,000,000.

### CREATING AND REGULATING PUBLIC SENTIMENT

*Opposition to the war*

This war had the support of public opinion with a nearer approach to unanimity than had any of the other wars in which the country had engaged. There was, however, a feeling of indifference on the part of certain classes and outright opposition by a small minority. Conspicuous in this latter group was the Socialist Party, which denounced our participation in the war as a move urged on by, and in favor of, the capitalist system. In a meeting held at St. Louis on April 7, 1917, it declared that it would conduct a "continuous, active and public opposition to the war through demonstrations . . . and all other means within our [its] power." However, certain prominent Socialists—among them Upton Sinclair and Allan Benson, the last nominee of the party for President—were so opposed to this stand that they withdrew from the party. Senator La Follette of Wisconsin was also strongly opposed to American participation in the war. When he cast his vote against the war declaration he made this statement: "I say Germany has been patient with us."

*Organized propaganda*

The general feeling was that men in the fighting front deserved the united and effective support of the home front. To secure this, indifference must be converted into enthusiasm, and opposition must be silenced; so a system of propaganda was organized. On April 14, 1917, President Wilson created a Committee of Public Information and named as its chairman George Creel, an energetic and enthusiastic journalist. Drafting the assistance of historians, artists, actors, and public speakers, Creel at once launched upon a campaign of publicity to acquaint the people in this country and in other countries of the war aims of the Allies. War news was given out to the newspapers, and the only censorship of the press was the withholding by the military authorities of such information as might aid the enemy. Creel also published in a daily paper, the *Official Bulletin*, an account of each day's happenings. Editorials were prepared and sent out for the use of country editors. Millions of pamphlets were circulated which proclaimed the high ideals for which the Allies were fighting and the alleged wickedness of the Teutonic Powers. Creel organized a band of seventy-five thousand speakers who appeared at theaters, motion-picture shows, and industrial plants at lunch hours to make four-minute speeches. Data for these "Four-minute Men" and others who made longer addresses were furnished by the Committee.

*George Creel*

*"Four-minute Men"*

Propaganda was not the only means employed by the government in mobilizing public sentiment. Active disloyalty was put down by

*The Espionage and Sedition Acts*

the strong arm of the law. In June, 1917, Congress passed the Espionage Act, which imposed severe penalties for attempts to interfere with the war effort. The act also excluded from the mails all matter of a seditious or treasonable nature. A year later (May, 1918) a more drastic measure, the Sedition Act, was passed. By this act heavy fines and long terms of imprisonment were to be imposed on all who should obstruct the sale of government bonds, discourage recruiting, or "wilfully utter, print, write or publish, any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution . . . or the flag . . . or the uniform of the Army or Navy . . . or bring the form of government . . . or the Constitution . . . into contempt. . . ."

*Legal convictions; intolerance*

These measures were strictly enforced, for their constitutionality was upheld by the courts. Two noted Socialists—Eugene V. Debs, four times candidate for President on the Socialist ticket, and Victor L. Berger, a Congressman from Wisconsin—because of their outspoken and active opposition to the war effort, were convicted under this law and given long prison sentences. Public sentiment was even more intolerant than the law. There was a strong prejudice against everything German. In some states the German language was dropped from the curricula of the public schools, and in the colleges few students continued its study. German musicians were compelled to cancel engagements for concerts.

*Appraisal of the policy of restriction*

The opponents of this policy contended that these restraints on civil liberty were as bad as the Alien and Sedition Laws passed under John Adams and so strongly opposed by Jefferson and Madison. These new restrictions, it was held, were an unwarranted limitation of freedom of speech and the press and were therefore a violation of the First Amendment. On the other hand, they were regarded by those in authority as a necessary support to the armed forces. In time of war individual liberty of civilians should be temporarily limited, especially when by the draft there was such a great curtailment of the liberty of those who were in the service. When Hannibal is at the gates, it is no time to insist too strongly on rights. The courts seemed to be of this opinion.

## WAR FINANCE

*War costs run into astronomical figures*

The entrance of the United States into the war placed upon the government the burden of raising money not only for supplying the needs of its own soldiers, but also for replenishing the empty coffers of the Allies. By the spring of 1917 England, who had been furnishing credit to the other Allies, had about exhausted her own stock of liquid assets in America. If further purchases were to be

made in this country by the Allies our government would have to extend credit to them. This obligation, combined with that of meeting the demands of our own war effort, called for the raising of colossal sums of money. The total amount spent in the immediate war effort, including loans to the Allies, was more than thirty-six and a half billion dollars. More than one fourth of this amount went to the Allies in the form of loans.

*Taxation*

About one third of this huge amount was raised by taxation, the income tax being the main source of revenue. Rates on personal incomes were greatly increased and exemptions were lowered. The tax on the incomes of corporations was progressively raised and that on profits in excess of those earned before the war were increased in such proportions that in some cases a rate of eighty per cent was reached. Taxes on tobacco and liquor were increased to a high rate, and excise taxes were also imposed on railroad and Pullman car tickets, theater tickets, telegraph and telephone messages, and a great number of other so-called luxuries. The postal rates were also raised, letter postage now being three instead of two cents.

*War bonds*

It was not possible, however, to defray the entire cost of the war by taxation, and the government began at once to raise money by the sale of bonds. Besides issuing treasury notes, or short-time bonds, five efforts or "drives" were made for the sale of bonds. Four of the issues were known as Liberty Bonds and the fifth and last as Victory Bonds. The bonds were issued in denominations as low as fifty dollars in order that they might be within the reach of everyone. An effort was made to secure a subscriber in every family so that everyone would have a financial stake in the success of the war. For the benefit of small investors five-dollar War Savings Certificates and twenty-five-cent war stamps were sold.

With each loan drive patriotic fervor was aroused by an organized propaganda movement. Speeches were made in churches, theaters, and other public gatherings urging the purchase of bonds and pointing out the high idealism behind the war aims of the Allies. In this way a wave of public sentiment was created which swept practically everybody into the ranks of buyers of war bonds. The total amount realized from the five loans was nearly $21,500,000,000, and the number of subscribers was sixty-five million. The bonds could not be cashed before the date of maturity, and therefore many holders had to sell them on the market to get money for their pressing needs. This caused the bonds to fall below par and speculators were able to buy them up at low prices. It was to prevent a recurrence of this abuse that, in the Second World War, war bonds were made redeemable at any time.

*Voluntary contributions*

The financial obligations of the American people did not end with the payment of taxes and the purchase of war bonds. They made liberal contributions for the support of the various organizations engaged in ministering to the needs of the soldiers (see p. 712). Of these organizations the Red Cross received the most generous support, and it made good use of the large sums entrusted to it. For the benefit of the soldiers it organized hospitals, trained nurses, and furnished ambulance service. On the home front it looked after the needs of soldiers' families and saw to it that sanitary regulations were observed in the civilian districts adjoining training camps. Women, working in groups, devoted a great deal of time to preparing bandages, knitting socks, and making other articles of wearing apparel.

*Belgian relief*

Another heavy demand on private benevolence was Belgian relief. After Belgium had been overrun by the Germans, millions of the people of this little country were threatened with starvation. They were saved from this fate by private benevolence—mainly that of the American people. As head of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, Herbert Hoover administered this relief and he performed this difficult task in a most acceptable manner.

## ECONOMIC MOBILIZATION

*The Council of National Defense*

The Army Appropriation Bill (August, 1916) carried as a rider a provision creating a planning board known as the Council of National Defense. This Council, which consisted of six Cabinet members, planned effective civilian activity. It proceeded to mobilize the economic resources of the country and harness them to the war effort. The Council of National Defense was given expert advice by the Advisory Commission, a body of several prominent civilians headed by Daniel Willard, president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Since the members of the Council were very busy men, it had to lean heavily on the Advisory Commission, and so the latter became more important than the former. The Commission was assisted by numerous local agencies operating in the states, counties, and smaller communities throughout the country.

*The Advisory Commission*

*War boards*

Due to the advice of this Commission, governmental changes were made by which industry, commerce, agriculture, and labor could most effectively aid in the war plans. Congress conferred upon the President exceptional powers, which he delegated to efficient administrative boards. Of these administrative agencies, six were of outstanding importance: Shipping (already discussed), War Industries, War Trade, Railroads, Food, and Fuel. The President kept in close

touch with the work of these boards by weekly meetings with their heads.

*The War Industries Board*

In the First World War, as in the Second, the success of the war effort was dependent upon the efficiency of American industry and its ability and willingness to team up with the military administration. Therefore, next—if not equal—in importance to the Shipping Board was the War Industries Board, which was entrusted with the control of industry. The War Industries Board, of which Bernard Baruch was chairman, was given authority to convert existing manufacturing plants to war uses; create new facilities and open up new sources of supplies; determine whenever necessary as to priorities of production and of delivery; make purchases for the Allies as well as for the United States; and fix prices of certain necessary commodities. Baruch had as his colleagues on the Board some of the leading business managers of the country, who served without pay.

*The War Trade Board*

To prevent any leakage of American products to the enemy, President Wilson created the War Trade Board (October, 1917) and gave it control over all trade that might be of direct or indirect benefit to any enemy country.

*The Railroad Administration*

The success of the military program was dependent upon efficient internal, as well as external, transportation. Upon the railroads was placed the chief responsibility for transporting draftees to training camps, trained soldiers to ports of embarkation, raw materials to munitions plants, and finished products from the factories to seaports. At first the railroads did not prove equal to these extra demands. At some terminals there were empty cars and at others piles of freight waiting to be moved. "There were trains of empties rolling past freight crying for a carrier." The President felt, therefore, that government administration was necessary if the railroads were to take their proper place in the war machinery. Accordingly, he made Secretary McAdoo Director General of railroads (December 26, 1917) and gave him entire control of all railroads. Traffic was handled primarily as a means to speed up the war effort with little or no anxiety as to dividends. Engines, cars, tracks, and terminal facilities were used without regard to ownership, and the entire railroad system was run as a unit.

This experiment in government control was a success in that it enabled the railroads to contribute more to the war effort than would have been possible under private management. From the point of view of profits, however, it might be regarded as a failure, because a deficit of about $714,000,000 had to be covered by government funds. In July, 1918, the telephone and telegraph were put under the control of the Postmaster General, and later the leading

express companies were united to form the American Railway Express Company, which was placed under Federal management.

*The Allies look to America for food supplies*

In peace times France and England had to import a considerable portion of their food supply. With increased war demands there was a still greater dependence upon outside food products. Added to this demand was that caused by the presence of American soldiers. The burden of supplying the Allies and the American troops with food was placed upon North America. Unfortunately, at the time of our entrance into the war the American surplus of grain and meats was lower than usual. Something would have to be done to increase this surplus. By the Lever Act (passed on August 10, 1917) Congress gave the President power to control the production and distribution of food and fuel. It also forbade the use of grain in the manufacture of distilled spirits and authorized the President to prohibit its use in the manufacture of malt or vinous liquors. The government guaranteed to farmers a price of $2.00 a bushel for all the wheat raised in 1918, and the President was empowered to fix minimum prices for subsequent years.

*The Food Administration*

Herbert Hoover, because of his success in administering Belgian relief, was now made Food Administrator and assigned the task of stimulating the production and conservation of food. Partly by the use of his authority but mainly by a campaign of education, Hoover was able to increase the production of food and greatly lower its consumption. The slogan, "Food will win the war," aroused an effort on the part of everyone to co-operate with Hoover's plans. Food was not rationed, but there was a general observance of Hoover's injunctions to economize on food, use substitutes for wheat, meat, and sugar, and practice a mild form of partial fasting on "wheatless" and "meatless" days. Thanks to this co-operation and governmental stimulation, we were able to feed our soldiers, supply the Allies with food necessities during the war, and save a good part of central and southeastern Europe from starvation after the war.

*The Fuel Administration*

Under the Lever Act the Fuel Administration was also organized with Harry M. Garfield, President of Williams College, as Fuel Administrator (August, 1917). The supervision of the oil supply was later (January, 1918) put under a division of the Fuel Administration headed by Mark L. Requa.

*Wartime prosperity*

The prosperity of the period of neutrality did not cease but was rather increased when the United States became a belligerent. American products were in great demand to meet the needs of the Allied and American armed forces. This meant high prices. Production was greatly stimulated by these high prices and the easy credit which the banks were supplying. Although all classes of people

shared in this prosperity, the profits were especially high in industry. Exports were greatly in excess of imports, and the United States suddenly changed from a debtor to a creditor nation. The workingman came in for a generous share of this prosperity. Inasmuch as the ranks of labor had been thinned by the draft and by the stoppage of immigration, the demand for labor in proportion to supply was greatly increased. Wages therefore rose more rapidly than prices, and workers were better paid than they had ever been in the entire history of the country. This improvement in labor conditions led to a rapid growth in the organization of labor. In one year (June, 1917-June, 1918) the American Federation of Labor increased in membership by half a million.

*Labor boards*

Despite the favorable position held by labor, strikes continued. In the fall of 1917 they were particularly numerous. It was felt therefore that something should be done to prevent strikes, since they interfered seriously with production. As a move in this direction, President Wilson created the National War Labor Board (April, 1918), composed of representatives in equal number of labor and management. This Board acted as a final court of appeal in disputes between employers and employees. During the fourteen months of its existence more than one thousand disputes came before it for hearings. With the view to preventing disputes from arising between labor and capital, the President appointed the War Labor Policies Board (May, 1918) with Felix Frankfurter as chairman.

## The Fighting Front

### Part Played by the American Navy

*Rapid development of the American navy*

For some years prior to the entrance of the United States into the war the government had been promoting the growth of the navy, and for several months Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, had been making strenuous efforts to put it into a state of highest efficiency. This development was greatly accelerated by the war. During the period between the declaration of war and the armistice the personnel of the navy was increased from 65,000 to 497,000. Soon after war was declared eighteen destroyers were sent to Queenstown, Ireland, to aid the British navy in its hunt for submarines. These were followed by battleships and cruisers, as well as other destroyers. Admiral William S. Sims was put in command of the American overseas naval forces.

In addition to helping the British navy pen up the German fleet in home waters the American navy performed other important services. By the use of listening devices, airplanes, and depth bombs it greatly aided in the location and destruction of submarines. In

*National Archives*

GENERAL PERSHING.

the hunt for the undersea craft the submarine chaser was especially valuable because its speed was greater than that of the U-boat. The United States navy also did eighty per cent of the work in laying a mine barrage from the Orkney Islands to Norway. This barrage, 20 miles wide and 245 miles long, proved a dangerous barrier to German submarines trying to get out into the high seas. Because of these various means and methods, by the spring of 1918 the undersea menace seemed to have been pretty well overcome.

*Services performed by the American navy*

Another valuable contribution of the American navy to the war effort was the protection it afforded the transports by which more than 2,000,000 American troops were carried overseas. About half of these soldiers were conveyed in British vessels; 112,000 in French and Italian ships; and the remainder in American vessels. Of the warships that escorted these transports eighty-two per cent were American destroyers and cruisers. The United States sent across the Atlantic eighty-eight fleets convoying an average of twelve transports each. So well was this service performed that only one ship was destroyed on the voyage over.

## THE AMERICAN ARMY IN EUROPE

*American troops in France*

According to President Wilson's original plan, no American troops would be sent overseas until March, 1918. However, owing to the insistence of General Joffre, in the summer of 1917 a token force was landed in France under the command of General John J. Pershing, leader of the American Expeditionary Force (the A.E.F.). When the American troops marched through the streets of Paris on the Fourth of July they were given a joyous welcome. By the end of 1917 there were about 195,000 American soldiers in France, and by the end of the war the total number transported to Europe was more than two million.

*The Military Board of Allied Supply*

For a while the Allied countries were in competition with each other in their efforts to procure materials furnished by the United States. General Charles G. Dawes, Purchasing Agent for the A.E.F., suggested that all materials needed by the armed forces, including ships, munitions, and other commodities, be put into a common pool and distributed according to need. This proposal led to the organization of the Military Board of Allied Supply (June, 1918). In this way a unified system for the distribution of supplies was effected. This arrangement was second in importance only to the creation of a unified military command.

*The Russian Revolution*

The gain to the Allies resulting from America's entrance into the war was partially offset by Russia's abandonment of the Allied cause. In March, 1917, a revolution broke out in Russia which put an end

to the rule of the Czars and set up a government based on liberal principles. The United States was in sympathy with the new regime and sent Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, and General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff of the army, to Petrograd to help in the establishment of the new government and to influence it to continue as an active participant in the war. The revolution, however, did not stop with liberal reforms, but moved farther and farther toward the left. The final outcome was the organization of a communist regime by the Bolshevist Party under the leadership of Nikolay Lenin and Leon Trotsky.

*The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk*

On December 3, 1917, the new Russian government signed an armistice with Germany, which was followed by the peace of Brest-Litovsk (March 3, 1918). The terms of this treaty were virtually those of unconditional surrender, since they were dictated by Germany. The Bolshevists had not only taken Russia out of the war but had also repudiated all debts to foreign creditors. The White Russians, a conservative party, were aided by the Allies in their struggle with the Bolshevists; if the White Russians got control of the government they would, it was hoped, resume the war and recognize Russia's responsibility for her debts. For this reason American troops were sent to Russia in an Allied effort to overthrow the Bolshevist government.

*The German offensive*

The Germans began an offensive in March, 1918, with the hope of winning the war before American aid could become effective. They had made peace with Russia, defeated Italy at Caporetto, and forced Rumania out of the war. They were thus able to transfer troops to the western front in sufficient numbers to give them superiority over the Allies. They made an attack on the English in the Somme region and pushed a deep salient into their line. Then came successful attacks on the Allied line in Flanders and in the region of the Aisne and the Marne rivers. As the Allies were driven back at three places they were seriously threatened with defeat. General Pershing had planned to organize the American troops into a separate army. However, since the situation of the Allies was so critical he yielded for the time being his opposition to the incorporation of American troops in the Allied armies and allowed his men to fight alongside the Allied forces.

*Marshal Foch made commander in chief of Allied forces*

Their dangerous situation caused the Allies to agree upon a plan for unified action by making Marshal Ferdinand Foch commander in chief of all the Allied forces (April, 1918). Such a plan had been favored by Pershing and Wilson, and it was due in part to their influence that this belated but much needed action was taken.

On May 28, 1918, American soldiers, covered by French artillery,

took the village of Cantigny. At the beginning of June two American divisions gave the French valuable aid in checking the German offensive near Chateau-Thierry. This was important, because the Germans were on the way to Paris and at one point were only thirty-nine miles from the French capital. Soon afterward the American forces drove the Germans out of Belleau Wood. On July 18, American units were used as the spearhead of the attack on the Germans holding a salient which dipped down south of the Marne River between Chateau-Thierry and Reims. The attempt was successful, and by August 4 the Germans had withdrawn from the pocket.

*Successful engagements by the French and American forces*

After this victory Foch complied with Pershing's wish and allowed him to organize the greater part of the American troops into a separate army. The Americans took position in the eastern sector, and their line of occupation was extended until it finally held nearly a quarter of the entire western front. Pershing was not able to get from the United States all the military supplies his forces needed, but had to rely to a considerable extent on the Allies for cannon, tanks, and airplanes.

*American troops organized into a separate army*

The new army won its spurs when, on September 12, Pershing attacked the German salient at St. Mihiel. At the end of two days he had defeated the Germans and flattened out the salient. Sixteen thousand prisoners were taken, but the victory was won at a cost of seven thousand American and French lives.

*St. Mihiel*

After their success at St. Mihiel the American soldiers were taken away from this front and distributed along another sector of the Allied line. This line, extending from Verdun to the Channel, was two hundred miles long. The sector assigned to Pershing was ninety-four miles long, but only twenty-four miles of it were to move forward in the attack. The active sector was between the Meuse River and the Argonne Forest. This was a very difficult part of the line, because it was near the railroads that were supplying the German forces. For this reason the enemy was firmly entrenched and determined to put up a strong defense. The terrain was also difficult for the advancing army, which had to cross rivers, hills, forests, and ravines. Pershing had in all 600,000 troops including some French divisions and corps. Despite the difficulties encountered, the American armies pushed their way through the Argonne Forest and down the Meuse, continuing their advance until they were stopped by the armistice. They had, as Pershing later reported, "cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster." This success, however, cost heavily in lives.

*The American advance in the Meuse-Argonne area*

The American advance in the Argonne-Meuse area was only a

*Other Allied victories*

part of a general offensive that Foch was conducting against the entire German front from Ypres to Verdun. West of the American sector the English and French forces, with the aid of some American divisions, were advancing against the Hindenburg Line (the western fortified position of the Germans), and by November 5 the German front had collapsed. The Allies had also been successful in their drives against the Bulgarians, the Turks in Palestine, and the Austrians in Italy.

*The American forces in Russia*

The part played by American soldiers in the war was not confined to these major operations. Some of our soldiers fought in Belgium, and a division took part in the campaign in Italy. American soldiers were also sent to aid the Allies in their fight against the Bolshevists of Russia. Five thousand American troops fought with the Allies in the Archangel-Murmansk area from September, 1918, to May, 1919, and ten thousand participated in the Allied expedition to Vladivostok and eastern Siberia. They were detained in this region until January, 1920.

*The American war casualties*

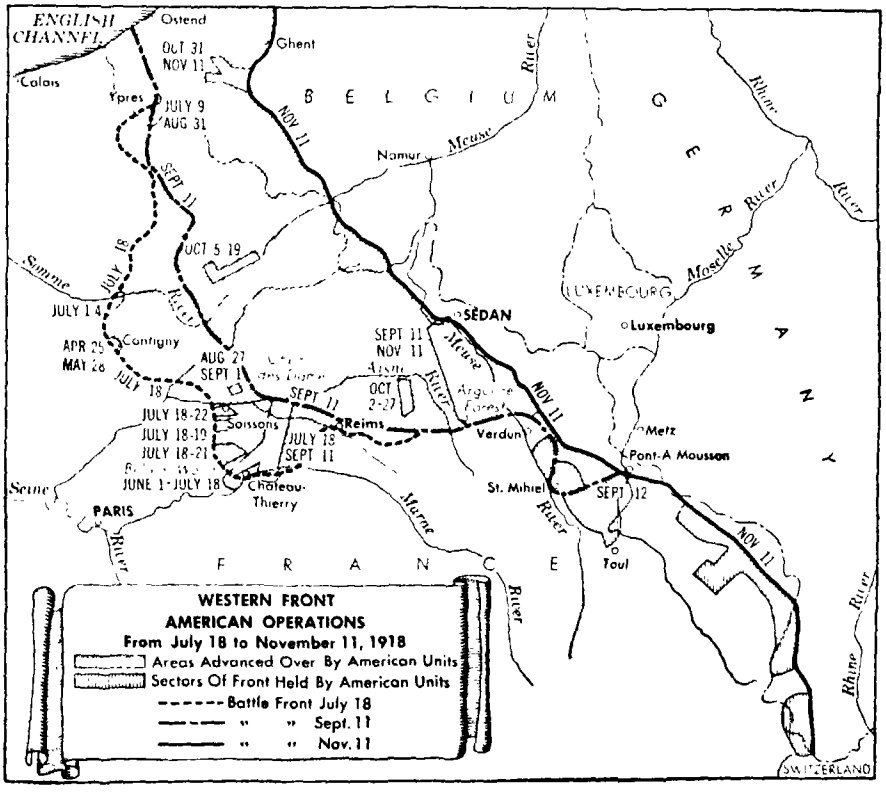
The total number of men enrolled in all the American armed forces was approximately 4,800,000. Of these, 4,000,000 were in the army. Those who went overseas numbered 2,086,000, and of these, 1,400,000 saw active service. The death toll of Americans was small compared with that of the other belligerents, because the period of actual fighting for them was short—about two hundred days. The total number of American deaths was 126,000, more than half of which were due to disease. The influenza-pneumonia epidemic, which raged during the fall and winter of 1918, accounted for two thirds of all the deaths by disease. Except for this epidemic the health of the soldiers was good, and five sixths of all the wounded recovered. This was due to fine hospital facilities, a well-organized medical corps, and the great advance which had been made in the field of medicine and surgery. Sanitary regulations, vaccination, and the use of other preventive measures reduced to a minimum such diseases as typhoid fever, dysentery, and cholera. More than 31,000 physicians were drawn from civilian life.

*Wilson's Fourteen Points*

America's entrance into the war did not cause President Wilson to give up his hope that the war might be used to clear away the impediments to a lasting peace. He looked to a new world order based on international good will. Such an order must rest on the foundation of "a peace of justice." He therefore continued to advocate a peace the terms of which would be fair to all nations—to the defeated as well as to the victors. These war aims were proclaimed in the addresses that he made from time to time. In a speech before

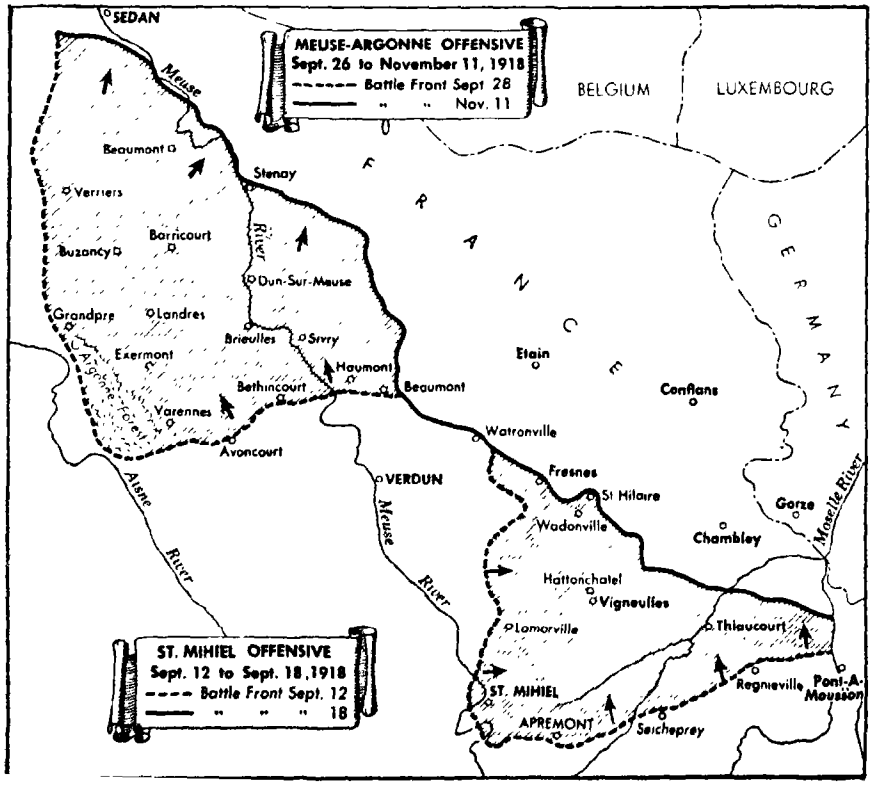
COL. E. M. HOUSE.

*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*



WOODROW WILSON.

*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*



Congress on January 18, 1918, these ideas were formulated in Fourteen Points. The program for world peace as outlined in the Fourteen Points was as follows:

1. "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at. . . ."
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the high seas, "alike in peace and in war."
3. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers.
4. The reduction of national armaments.
5. The adjustment of colonial claims on the principle that "the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined."
6. The "evacuation of all Russian territory."
7. The evacuation and restoration of Belgium.
8. The evacuation and restoration of occupied areas in France and the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.
9. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy "along clearly recognizable lines of nationality."
10. A grant to the peoples of Austria-Hungary "the freest opportunity of autonomous development."
11. The evacuation and restoration of Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro, with the provision that Serbia be granted free access to the sea.
12. A guaranty of sovereignty to the Turkish portions of the Ottoman Empire, with autonomy to the other nationalities under Turkish rule; and the opening of the Dardanelles to the ships and commerce of all nations.
13. The creation of an independent Polish state which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea.
14. The organization of a general association of nations with "guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

*The armistice. Negotiations*

The high idealism expressed by Wilson in the Fourteen Points and in his other public utterances gave him, for the time being, the moral leadership of the world. When they were announced, however, the Fourteen Points made little or no impression on the German military leaders, who were still hopeful of victory. With the halting of the German offensive in July and Foch's offensive being well under way, the German High Command realized that the military decision had gone against them. The two most outstanding army leaders, Erich von Ludendorff and Paul von Hindenburg, notified the German Kaiser in September that the war was lost and urged him to make peace. With the Hindenburg Line

broken and disaster staring them in the face, both Germany and Austria asked for a truce to be followed by a peace based on the Fourteen Points. These requests were sent through the Swiss government early in October, 1918. In the meantime the liberal forces had won control of the government in Germany, with Prince Max of Baden as Chancellor. After President Wilson became convinced that the new government represented the German people, he transmitted the requests to the Allied governments and advised that an armistice be signed.

The Allied leaders were loath to make the concessions promised by the Fourteen Points and showed signs of balking at them. The principles of the Fourteen Points were inconsistent with the territorial aspirations of the Allies and their commitments under secret treaties. Through the representations of Colonel House, however, they were made to see that the United States might withdraw from the war if a peace in accordance with these terms were not accepted. This threat had the desired effect, and they were induced to accept the Fourteen Points, although not without some modification. It was agreed by the Supreme War Council that in offering armistice terms to the Teutonic Powers the Fourteen Points would be the basis of the peace, with the omission of the clause regarding the freedom of the seas and the addition of the provision "that compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air." With this understanding the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. The armistice did not come in time, however, to save Germany and Austria from revolution. A mutiny broke out in the navy at Kiel on October 28. A few days later a republic was proclaimed in Berlin, and on November 9 Friedrich Ebert was placed at the head of the government. On the same day the Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland. Austria became a republic on November 12 and Hungary four days later.

*Terms of the armistice*

The terms of the armistice were such that Germany could not renew the war with any hope of success. She was forced to surrender her submarines to the Allies, but other warships, battleships, and cruisers were to be interned at some neutral port.[1] The Germans had to withdraw to the left bank of the Rhine and surrender the three important bridgeheads of Cologne, Coblenz, and Mainz; turn over to the Allies an immense amount of military stores and rail-

[1] These ships were later (June, 1919) scuttled by the Germans at Scapa Flow, where they had been interned.

road equipment; and return all prisoners of war as well as all civilians deported from occupied areas. The unfair treaties imposed on Russia at Brest-Litovsk and on Rumania at Bucharest were to be canceled.[1]

*The election of 1918*

Just prior to the signing of the armistice the United States had to go through the throes of a Congressional election. The Democrats suffered a defeat with the Republicans winning the Senate by the narrow margin of two and the House of Representatives by a majority of twenty-one. Since this was a repudiation of Wilson by the country, it weakened the position of the United States in the coming peace negotiations. Wilson had realized the importance of securing an endorsement by the people and had appealed to the voters to elect a Democratic Congress. Failure to do so, he contended, would prevent the United States from presenting a solid front at the peace conference. The Republicans had, he said, given loyal support to the war but were not sustaining him in his peace efforts.

In thus asking for a return of his own party to power he was following a precedent set by the Republicans in 1898. At that time Theodore Roosevelt and President McKinley urged the country to elect a Republican Congress to support the war and the efforts of the peace commission. Wilson's appeal, however, injured the prospects of his party; for the Republicans took advantage of it to charge the President with attempting to use the war for partisan advantage and with accusing them of disloyalty. The Democrats also had other handicaps to overcome. Each of the measures carried out during their six years of power had aroused some opposition, and the sum total of this opposition made a dangerous aggregate. One group opposed Wilson's domestic reforms, another his handling of the Mexican situation, and others his war policy. In this campaign, therefore, the Democrats would probably have lost even if the President had not committed an error in tactics by asking for a Democratic Congress.

[1] Some of the German leaders later contended that Wilson had deceived the German authorities into signing the armistice by holding out the false promise of the Fourteen Points. Out of this misrepresentation of the actual facts there grew up in Germany a legend to the effect that Germany had not been defeated in war but had been tricked into laying down her arms by false pretenses. Count von Bernstorff, German ambassador at Washington at the time the United States entered the war, denies this accusation as follows: "This legend is a flat falsification of history, as everyone knows who then took any part in the negotiations. We had to lay down our arms because the Supreme Command insisted that we should do so in order to avoid a catastrophe, and then we invoked Wilson's help with an appeal to the Fourteen Points." (See *Memoirs of Count Bernstorff* [1936], p. 136.)

This legend was made good use of by Hitler in gaining dictatorial power in Germany. To prevent a repetition of this mistake the Allies at the end of World War II demanded unconditional surrender of the Axis powers.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

*American peace commissioners*

President Wilson headed the American commission that went to Paris to take part in the peace negotiations. Each of the Allied powers would be represented by the head of its government, and Wilson felt that only by a fight in person could he induce the Allied premiers to accept his plan of a just peace. The idealism of the Fourteen Points was gladly welcomed by the people of the Allied countries but not by the leaders who would frame the peace. The other four members of the commission were Secretary Lansing, Colonel E. M. House, General Tasker H. Bliss, and Henry White, a former ambassador to Rome and Paris. White was the only Republican member of the commission and he had not been active in politics in recent years. Wilson was censured for not putting one or more Senators on the commission and for failing to give the Republican Party stronger representation. If he had named two such prominent Republicans as Elihu Root and ex-President Taft or one Republican and one Democratic Senator, the treaty as finally agreed to might have been accepted by the Senate. Wilson was also criticized for going to Paris, his enemies ascribing to him the motive of vanity for thus departing from precedent. He won concessions at Paris in line with his aims which his appointees might not have obtained, but in so doing he weakened his position in the United States.

*Wilson's enthusiastic welcome in Europe*

Sailing on the *George Washington*, Wilson arrived in France on December 13, 1918, and was received in Paris with an ovation which betokened marvelous enthusiasm on the part of the people. He also traveled in England and Italy, and throughout these countries he was received with an almost worshipful enthusiasm. Everywhere he was welcomed by liberals as the embodiment of their ideals and the protagonist of justice.

*The Peace Conference: Organization and procedure*

The Peace Conference opened in Paris on January 18, 1919. All countries were represented that had fought on the side of the Allies, including some like Brazil and China that had not actively participated in the war. The enemy countries had no representatives. This rather large body was organized with Georges Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France, as president. Actual negotiations were not carried on by the Conference as a whole. Measures were worked out by small groups meeting in secret session and were then ratified by the Conference meeting in plenary session. This small committee was at first the Council of Ten, consisting of the two leading representatives of each of the five great powers—The United States, England, France, Italy, and Japan. Later the real work of the con-

ference was performed by the Council of Four (usually called the "Big Four"), consisting of President Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England, and Vittorio Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy. Each of these four leaders was advised by a group of experts who had made a careful study of every situation with which the Conference had to deal.

*The "Big Four"*

*Expert advisers*

The most serious obstacle to a peace in conformity with the Fourteen Points was the secret treaties by which the Allied powers were bound. Wilson contended that the acceptance in modified form of the Fourteen Points annulled all previous commitments that were inconsistent with them, but the Allies did not agree with this view. One point on which he differed with Clemenceau and Lloyd George was the question of reparations. Wilson asked that the amount of reparations be reasonable and definitely fixed, so that conditions would become settled in Germany and the people would be encouraged to work. This request was not granted, but he was able to win one concession in the direction of a just settlement, the appointment of a Reparations Commission, on which the United States was to be represented, with large powers in determining and collecting reparations. The Commission set the figure at about $33,000,000,000. Later, by the Young Plan this amount was cut to about $8,000,000,000, and only a part of this was ever paid.

*Reparations*

France made demands which Wilson was unwilling to accept. It was unanimously agreed that Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to France. Clemenceau, however, asked in addition that the rich coal-bearing region, the Saar basin, be given to France, partially to compensate her for the coal mines that the German forces had destroyed on French soil. He also wanted all the German territory west of the Rhine cut off from Germany and formed into a demilitarized buffer state. Wilson maintained that such a plan would be in violation of the implied pledge to Germany in the armistice terms to the effect that she would not be dismembered, and he was supported by Lloyd George in this position. The situation became so tense that Wilson ordered the *George Washington* to come to Brest (April 7), thus threatening to leave the Conference. A compromise was now reached by which France was given property rights in the Saar coal mines, but the region was to be governed by the League of Nations for fifteen years. At the end of that time the people were to decide by a plebiscite whether they wished to belong to France or Germany.[1] Germany was to retain her territory west of

*The Saar basin and the west bank of the Rhine*

[1] When this plebiscite was held the people voted to go under the authority of Germany.

the Rhine, but this area, as well as a strip fifty kilometers wide on the right bank, was to be demilitarized. To insure the execution of the treaty the Allies were to occupy the part of Germany west of the Rhine and the bridgeheads on the east bank of the Rhine for a period of from five to fifteen years. Germany also lost some territory to Poland, including a strip along the Vistula River which would give Poland an outlet to the sea. Small slices of land were also cut off from Germany to enable Belgium and Denmark to rectify their boundaries.

*The tripartite agreement*

Clemenceau felt that these concessions deprived his country of a means of defense to which she was entitled and exposed France to future attack. To allay his fears on this score, Wilson and Lloyd George signed with him a tripartite agreement by which England and the United States would come to the aid of France if she should be attacked without provocation by Germany. This "undertaking," as Wilson termed it, did not amount to anything, for it was never seriously considered by the United States Senate.[1]

*Fiume and Shantung*

Wilson's sense of fairness also clashed with the demands of Italy and Japan. He strongly opposed the Italian claim to Fiume, and the Italian delegates at one time withdrew from the Conference in a spirit of protest. Later (May 7) they returned to take part in the proceedings, but no final settlement as to Fiume was reached by the Peace Conference. It was also against the earnest opposition of Wilson that Japan was given Germany's economic concessions in Shantung, China. Japan had, however, been promised this concession in a secret agreement with the Allied powers, and the Japanese representatives had threatened to leave the Conference if this request were not granted. Wilson, fearing that the League would fail if both Italy and Japan refused to sign the Treaty, yielded, although not without great reluctance. To aid him in arriving at a favorable decision the Japanese delegation gave a verbal promise that Japan would restore to China her political authority over the Shantung Peninsula[2] and Japan would retain only her economic interests and a settlement at Tsingtau.

*Drafting the Covenant of the League of Nations*

Wilson was enthusiastically in favor of organizing all the nations of the world into a League of Nations. He believed that such an organization would serve as an agency to prevent war. Clemenceau, a realist of the old school, had little or no faith in such a plan and preferred the old system of alliances by which France had been saved in

[1] The plan was never reported to the Senate by the Foreign Affairs Committee.

[2] This promise was kept when in 1922 Japan arranged to turn Shantung back to Chinese rule.

For a defense of Wilson's action with reference to the Shantung problem, see T. A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Lost Peace* (The Macmillan Co., 1944), 276-285.

the past. He did not, however, put up a fight against it, and the principle of a League of Nations was able to secure a unanimous endorsement by the Conference in its second plenary session (January 25, 1919). At the same time it was decided that the constitution of the League would be made a part of the Treaty. A commission of which Wilson was chairman worked faithfully on a constitution for the League and on February 14 reported to the Conference the draft of a constitution, which was known as the Covenant. Since the report had been endorsed by fourteen nations this was a virtual acceptance of the League.

Wilson left at once for the United States taking with him the Covenant for discussion with prominent American statesmen. While over here he consulted such outstanding Republicans as Taft, Charles E. Hughes, and Elihu Root. He accepted several amendments proposed by Taft with the hope that in so doing he could win the support of the moderate Republicans. One of these amendments provided that any member of the League could withdraw after two years' notice. Another revision recognized the Monroe Doctrine in these words: "Nothing in this Covenant shall be deemed to affect the validity of international engagements, such as treaties of arbitration or regional understandings like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing the maintenance of peace." Wilson was able to secure the acceptance by his colleagues at Paris of the Taft amendments to the Covenant, and on April 28 the Conference in plenary session adopted the revised Covenant without a dissenting voice.

*The signing of the Treaty of Versailles*

The terms of the Treaty were submitted to the German delegates on May 7, 1919. Although President Wilson and General Smuts favored oral discussion with these delegates, such discussion was not permitted. The German representatives gave their answer in writing pointing out terms which to them seemed unreasonable if not impossible. Clemenceau was opposed to any concessions, but despite his ardent opposition some revisions of importance were made. Even with these modifications the treaty was unacceptable to the German delegates, and it was only with great reluctance that they added their signatures to it. The Treaty of Versailles was signed on June 28, 1919, by Germany and all the Allies except China. The terms imposed on the Germans were severe but not nearly so harsh as those that the Germans had forced upon the Russians at Brest-Litovsk. Furthermore, the provisions that were actually carried out were milder than those of the formal treaty.

Later, treaties were also signed by the Allies and other enemy countries.

Wilson had made a persistent and consistent effort for a clean

*Wilson's fight for a just peace*

peace. The fact that his high idealism was not embodied in the treaties was not due to any lack of effort on his part. The forces in favor of the old realism were too strong for him. There were only two alternatives open to him. One was to accept compromises; the other was to leave the Conference. If he had chosen the latter alternative the result would have been worse for Europe than the decisions finally adopted. Furthermore, he hoped that the League of Nations would eventually right the wrongs that were perpetrated by the Conference. One serious weakness in his position was that he had not prepared beforehand a detailed plan by which his idealism could be implemented.

## THE UNITED STATES SENATE AND THE TREATY

*The Covenant of the League of Nations: Machinery of the League*

The Covenant, or constitution, which provided for the organization of the League of Nations constituted the first part of the Treaty of Versailles. The seat of the League was to be Geneva, Switzerland. The machinery of the organization was to consist of the following: (1) the Assembly; (2) the Council; (3) the Secretariat; and (4) a Permanent Court of International Justice (usually known as the World Court).

The Assembly was to be made up of representatives of every member nation, with one vote for each member. The Council, consisting of nine members (later enlarged), one from each of the five leading powers and others to be chosen by the Assembly from the smaller nations, was to play a more important part than the Assembly in the performance of the duties of the League. Action by both the Assembly and the Council was seriously hampered by the requirement in each of a unanimous vote of those present in nearly all decisions of importance. The World Court (which was not organized until 1921) was "to hear and determine any dispute of an international character which the parties thereto submit to it. The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly."

*Agreements for preventing war*

With the view to preventing war, the members of the League agreed to certain general principles and assumed certain clearly defined obligations. The Council was to formulate plans for a limitation of armaments, and the members were to keep each other fully informed as to the scale of their armaments. It was agreed that members would submit disputes arising between them either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and in no case would "resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council." If any member should resort to war in violation of its covenants, "it shall *ipso facto* be deemed to have

committed an act of war against all other members of the League," and all members of the League were to sever all trade and financial relations with the offending state and prevent it from having any commercial or financial relations with any other state.

*Colonial policy*

The colonies not ready for independence which were taken from the enemy powers were to be put under the tutelage as mandates of other powers under the general supervision of the League.

*Attitude of the American people toward the League*

On July 10, 1919, the text of the Treaty, with the Covenant of the League sewed in, was presented to the Senate by President Wilson. It soon became evident that there was considerable opposition to the Treaty. Many German-Americans were against it because of the severity of the terms imposed on the Fatherland. Irish-Americans were also loud in their criticism of the Treaty because they considered it unfavorable to Irish independence. By his stand on the Fiume question Wilson had antagonized the Italian-Americans, and they too lined up in opposition to the terms of the settlement. Many liberals were also disappointed because the principles of the Fourteen Points had not been fully adhered to in the Paris negotiations. To these various causes of dissatisfaction was added the feeling still prevalent in certain quarters that a break with the historic tradition in favor of isolation would be fraught with danger. This dread of entangling alliances was fostered by the reaction against the idealism of the war period. Despite all these causes of opposition public sentiment throughout the country was at first, however, predominantly in favor of the League and the acceptance of the Treaty. Prompt action on the part of the Senate would doubtless have resulted in a confirmation of the Treaty and the acceptance of the League.

*Public sentiment for the League*

*The League and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee*

The Republicans had a majority, although a narrow one (of only two), in the Senate and were therefore able to control the committees. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Henry Cabot Lodge, was an intense partisan and a bitter personal enemy of the President. Since Wilson had taken the lead in the championship of the League, Lodge had led the opposition to it, although prior to that time he had been an ardent advocate of a league to enforce peace. He realized that the ratification of the Treaty and the acceptance of the League by the Senate would prove a winning point for the Democrat Party and a personal victory for Wilson. If ratification were delayed, opposition to the Treaty might be aroused and organized and its defeat encompassed. It was for this purpose, according to Lodge's critics, that he kept the Treaty in committee for about two months before reporting it to the Senate.

The President feared that ratification would fail if public senti-

*Wilson's collapse*

ment were not brought to bear upon the Senate. With the view to stirring up sentiment in favor of ratification, he decided on a speaking tour in the Middle West and the Far West. His private physician advised strongly against the plan, for Wilson was in no condition for so arduous an undertaking. His health, which had never been robust, had been impaired by the strain to which he had been subjected by the war and the peace fight. His vitality had been still further depleted by an attack of influenza while in Paris. Leaving Washington on September 3, he began a long tour in the course of which he made more than thirty speeches. The heavy strain proved too much for him; on the return trip he collapsed as his train neared Wichita, Kansas (September 25), and he was forced to hurry back to Washington. A stroke of partial paralysis, which came a few days after the return to the White House, was followed by a period of serious illness during which he had no political conferences. In a few months his health began to improve, but it was seven and a half months before he held a Cabinet meeting.

*Attitude of Senators toward the League*

In the meantime the Senate had gone ahead with its consideration of the Treaty. The Senators were divided into four groups as to their attitude toward the Treaty and the League, as follows:

1. The "irreconcilables." These were opposed to ratification of the Treaty with or without changes and were led by Senators Borah of Idaho, James Reed of Missouri (a Democrat), and Hiram Johnson of California.

2. The "reservationists." This group, made up almost entirely of Republicans and led by Lodge, were opposed to the Treaty as it was and favored amendments (termed "reservations" by them) that would have materially changed the character of the League and made it unacceptable to most of its supporters.

3. The mild "reservationists," mostly Republicans, who were for ratification but sincerely wanted some minor changes in the League Covenant.

4. The advocates of ratification without change. This group included nearly all the Democrats.

*The Lodge Reservations*

Early in November (1919) the Senate adopted as conditions for ratification fifteen reservations sponsored by Lodge. Most of these reservations were concerned with changes in the Covenant of the League of Nations. The one regarding Article X was the most objectionable to Wilson and the pro-League Senators. Article X had the following provision: "The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the

League." In case of aggression or any threat of aggression "the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled." The second of the Lodge Reservations was as follows: "The United States assumes no obligation to preserve the territorial integrity or political independence of any other country by the employment of its military or naval forces, its resources, or any form of economic discrimination . . . unless in any particular case the Congress . . . shall . . . by act or joint resolution so provide." Wilson objected to the Lodge Reservations and advised the Democratic Senators to vote against them. He was especially opposed to the reservation regarding Article X, which he denounced as a "knife-thrust at the heart of the Covenant."

*The Senate fails to ratify the Treaty*

By November 19, 1919, the Senate was ready to take action on the Treaty. On that day a vote was taken on the Treaty with the Lodge Reservations, and ratification was defeated by a vote of 39 for to 55 against. On that same day a vote was taken on unconditional ratification. The motion was defeated by a vote of 53 for to 38 against. (The ratification of a treaty requires a two-thirds majority vote.) Five weeks later the Treaty was voted on for the third and last time (March 19, 1920). It was defeated by a vote of 49 for and 35 against.

*The war ended by a joint resolution of Congress*

After the failure of the last of the efforts at ratification the Republican Congress passed a resolution offered by Senator Philander C. Knox declaring the war at an end (May, 1920). The resolution was killed by the President's veto. In his message explaining his veto of the Knox Resolution, President Wilson said: ". . . I cannot bring myself to become party to an action which would place an ineffaceable stain upon the gallantry and honor of the United States." In July, 1921, Congress passed a similar resolution offered by Senator Knox, which was signed by President Harding. This act put an end legally to our war with Germany—twenty months after actual hostilities had ceased. Later, treaties of peace were signed with Germany, Austria, and Hungary, all of which were promptly ratified by the Senate. By the terms of this resolution the United States reserved for itself "all rights, privileges, indemnities, reparations or advantages" accruing under the terms of the armistice, the Treaty of Versailles, or acts of Congress, or by reason of American participation in the war as a principal power. In the matter of former enemy territories mandated under the supervision of the League of Nations, Secretary Hughes claimed—as the Wilson Administration had done—the right as one of the victors to share in mandate privileges.

By thus repudiating the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations the United States had returned to its old policy of isolation

*Consequences of American repudiation of the League*

and had refused to assume its responsibility in world affairs. Being thus without the support of the leading world power, the League started out under auspices which were far from encouraging. It was, however, the only organization through which the powers of the world could act in unified efforts to prevent future wars. If it should fail, the only barrier to international anarchy would be removed. President Wilson was among those who felt that the failure of the League would lead to world strife. On one occasion he made this ominous prophesy: "I can predict with absolute certainty that within another generation there will be another World War if the nations do not concert the method by which to prevent it." There was a widespread feeling both in this country and abroad that our government had been recreant to a serious responsibility and had thereby missed a great opportunity.

If the United States had joined the League and helped to make it a success the Second World War might have been averted. For this unfortunate outcome both the supporters and the opponents of the League have come in for a measure of censure.

*Responsibility for repudiating the League*

Wilson's critics tried to place the chief responsibility upon him. If he had been (as they charged) less obstinate he would have accepted the Lodge Reservations. By yielding on this point he would probably have won acceptance by the Senate. Furthermore, it was argued, the other signatories to the Versailles Treaty would doubtless have agreed to these amendments since they were anxious to secure the adherence of the United States to the League. Granted that Senator Lodge had acted from spite and other Republicans from partisan feeling, still (it was contended) Wilson should have swallowed his dislike of Lodge and overlooked the partisanship of his opponents. Even though the Lodge Amendments would have weakened the League, it could, declared these critics, as a going concern, gradually have regained its lost power.

Wilson's apologists did not, of course, accept the validity of these arguments. On the contrary, they were inclined to place the blame at the door of Senator Lodge and the other Republican opponents of the League. They contended that Wilson was not obstinate but was conciliatory toward the opposition and inclined to meet it half way. He was willing to accept explanatory reservations—those that would not change the character of the League. The Lodge Reservations would not only have emasculated the League but would have so changed it as to require the assent of all the signatories to the Treaty, including Germany and her former allies. To have asked for these changes, especially the one regarding Article X, which article Wilson had insisted upon at Paris, would have put Wilson and the

country in an awkward position before the world. Furthermore, Wilson felt that the Lodge Reservations were not offered in good faith but only for the purpose of defeating ratification. If they had been accepted, others more drastic would have followed. Then, too, Wilson was of the opinion that the American people would not stand for an act that was so clearly motivated by personal spite and partisan feeling. He verily believed that public sentiment would be so outspoken against it that the Senate would be forced to yield.[1]

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15. The Round Robin against the League of Nations.—Roger Burlingame and Alden Stevens, *Victory Without Peace*, pp. 213-218.
16. Responsibility for the Defeat of the League of Nations.—D. F. Fleming, *The United States and the League of Nations*, ch. 19 (unfavorable to Lodge); T. A. Bailey, *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (adverse criticism of Wilson's stand); and Alan Cranston, *The Killing of the Peace* (an able defense of Wilson's attitude).


[1] Of the adverse critics of Wilson's policy with reference to the Senate and the Treaty, one of the severest and ablest is T. A. Bailey, who in *Woodrow Wilson and the Great Betrayal* (The Macmillan Co., 1945) blames him for not accepting the Lodge Reservations. High in the list of the able protagonists of Wilson stands Alan Cranston, who in *The Killing of the Peace* (The Viking Press, 1945) presents in masterly fashion arguments (many of which are supported by excerpts from the documents) in defense of Wilson and in condemnation of the opponents of the Treaty.

# CHAPTER XI

Con
of

# Normalcy and Depression

## The Problem of Reconstruction

*Depression postponed; the shortage of civilian goods*

IMMEDIATELY after the armistice the United States had begun demobilizing its armed forces, and by the fall of 1919 most of the four and one-half million servicemen had become civilians with the necessity of finding employment. Furthermore, the sudden cancellation of war contracts and the ending of large government purchases of supplies caused the prompt discharge of hundreds of thousands of employees in war industries and government service. This sudden change in industry did not bring on an immediate panic as was expected. On the contrary, the wartime prosperity was prolonged, and for a time both agriculture and industry boomed. The main factor in this prosperity was the great shortage of civilian goods in both Europe and America coupled with an unusual demand for, and the ability to purchase, supplies. The restraints on consumption imposed on the American people by the war were now removed, and there was a great demand at home for goods. Europe, by heavy borrowings, first from the United States government and later from private agencies in the United States, was also able to supply the needs of its people, which were far greater than those of the Americans.

*Labor troubles*

With the return of peace the contest between labor and management again became acute. Generally speaking, the advance in wages during the war had been greater than the rise in prices, but this was not the case in all types of industry. Among certain groups of workers, notably miners and the employees in the textile and steel mills, the distress occasioned by high prices was not relieved by a corresponding increase in wages, and there was considerable discontent as to the labor situation. Industry, on the other hand, was bent on getting back to its prewar position. This conflict in aims led to a number of strikes in 1919 directed primarily at obtaining higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. Some of these—known as "outlaw strikes"—were unauthorized or forbidden by the national organizations.

*The steel strike; the presence of radical agitators creates public hostility*

e of the most serious of the authorized strikes was that of the l workers. At the end of the First World War there was virtually no organization of the employees of the United States Steel Corporation or of any of the smaller steel concerns. In the plants of this corporation nearly half the men worked twelve hours a day and seven days a week, and the entire working force averaged about ten hours a day, seven days a week. Wages were not in keeping with the work performed, the earnings of the corporation, and the inflated cost of living. Soon after the war the American Federation of Labor undertook to organize the steel workers, using William Z. Foster as organizer. The United States Steel Corporation convinced the public that Foster, who had been a leader of the I.W.W., was acting as the agent of the Russian government. Consequently, when more than 340,000 employees of the steel mills in the Chicago-Gary area went out on strike in September, 1919, followed by others in Pennsylvania, public opinion as voiced by the press was hostile to the strikers. Needless to say, under such circumstances the steel industry was able to crush the strike without difficulty, and the unionization of steel workers was postponed for many years.

*The coal strike; the use of the injunction to break the strike*

A few weeks after the steel strike started, the United Mine Workers called a coal strike, and 425,000 miners left the pits. The union had demanded a six-hour day, a five-day week, and a sixty per cent increase in wages. President Wilson declared the strike illegal on the ground that the country was still at war. Attorney General Palmer secured injunctions against the union which forbade the United Mine workers and "all persons whomsoever" from engaging in the strike. Later the union leaders accepted a proposal offered by President Wilson, and a settlement was reached by which the miners eventually gained an increase of twenty-seven per cent in wages but did not secure any improvement in working conditions.

## THE TREND TOWARD CONSERVATISM

*The I. W. W.*

Labor unions of the old, regular type had no desire to destroy capitalism but only asked that employees get what they considered their rightful share of the benefits of the system. There had now come into being, however, a new type of labor organization which was the avowed enemy of the capitalist system—the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.). This new movement was started in 1905 with William D. ("Big Bill") Haywood as the leading spirit. It proposed to bring all laborers, both skilled and unskilled, into one big union. The aim of the "Wobblies" (a term ofter applied to the members of the I.W.W.) was the destruction of capitalism and the

ultimate control of industry by the laboring class. As a means of breaking down the capitalistic system and thereby paving the way for a socialistic regime, they advocated direct action, the strike, sabotage, and other illegal practices. In the decade and a half of their greatest activity they carried on about one hundred and fifty strikes, most of which were accompanied by acts of violence. On account of their opposition to the war, in 1918 the Federal government had one hundred and eighteen I.W.W. leaders arrested on the charge of conspiracy. Ninety-three of the accused, including W. D. Haywood, were convicted and given prison sentences. Haywood escaped, however, and fled to Russia. By this move the backbone of the movement was broken and the I.W.W. soon ceased to be a cause of disturbance.

*The "Red hunt"*

*The Federal government also severely frowned upon other forms of radicalism. It was especially hostile to Communism, or Bolshevism. The Communists, now in control of Russia, were conducting an active propaganda in other countries, and many people feared that this doctrine might gain a dangerous foothold in this* country. The propagandist activity of the Communists produced a state of mind in conservative quarters that bordered on hysteria. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer shared in this anxiety and carried on an active campaign to stamp out the heresy. Since peace had not been declared and the United States was technically at war, he used his war powers in prosecuting a vigorous "Red hunt." Hundreds of Russian aliens and natives of other European countries were deported to their native lands; and American citizens, both native and naturalized, were frequently jailed without warrant and held for varying periods without being permitted legal counsel. Although there was an element in some of these radical groups—particularly the members of the Industrial Workers of the World and the anarchists—that was ready and eager to resort to murderous violence to further its cause or to wreak vengeance, the general feeling today is that the Red menace at that time was greatly exaggerated and that an unwarranted attack was made on civil liberty.

*The Ku Klux Klan*

The reaction toward isolationism and a narrow nationalism was accompanied by a revival of the spirit of racial prejudice and hostility to foreigners. Prejudice against the Jews was revived, largely on account of the activity of some members of this race in the radical movement. The Negroes, alleging discrimination and unfair treatment as soldiers, were disgruntled and inclined to be aggressive. The self-assertion on the part of some of the Negroes had aroused a racial feeling, which found expression in riots and

lynchings. Then, too, in the rural interior of the country, where conservative Protestantism was strong, there was revived the age-long fear of Popery. Out of these untoward circumstances there arose a movement which took the form of an organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.

The Klan was organized in Georgia in 1915 but did not become nation-wide until 1920. By 1925 it had a membership of more than five million. It opposed the League of Nations, pacifism, birth control, and the repeal of prohibition. It was hostile to Jews, Negroes, and Catholics, as well as foreign immigrants. In its methods it imitated the post-Civil-War organization of the same name. Like its prototype, its members dressed in long white robes and wore masks. Since the membership was kept secret and the members could conceal their identity, they could escape individual responsibility for their acts. They made use of this advantage in punishing conduct that they did not approve, especially that of Negroes, by tar and feathers and by other methods of mob violence, in some cases going as far as murder. Threats were issued in the form of anonymous telegrams and cryptic written notices. The Klan went into politics in 1922, and for a time politicians were careful not to incur its displeasure. Its last outstanding political effort was its opposition to Alfred E. Smith in the campaign of 1928. It failed in the attempt to defeat him for the Democratic nomination, but aided in his defeat in the election.

*The anti-liquor crusade*

The war gave an impetus to two movements which resulted in the addition of two amendments to the Constitution—one conferring the right of suffrage on women, and the other prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. The agitation in favor of temperance goes back almost to the birth of the nation. During the three decades immediately preceding the Civil War it was especially active. The movement, interrupted and discouraged by the Civil War, was renewed in the later decades of the nineteenth century, and before the turn of the century the war on liquor had assumed an aggressive form. The Anti-Saloon League (organized in 1893) now took the lead in the fight. It was assisted by other temperance societies, such as the National Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The liquor business at that time was not only stimulating excessive drinking but also encouraging vice, for the barrooms were often anterooms of gambling dens and houses of prostitution. The liquor interests had also been exerting an unwholesome influence on state legislation and municipal administration. Owing to these conditions and

the energetic efforts of the temperance leaders a wave of prohibition sentiment had swept over the country.

*Effect of the war on prohibition*

So successful was the antiliquor crusade that by the end of 1914 eleven states had adopted state-wide prohibition, and in other states there were areas that had been made dry by local regulation ("local option"). The war gave an added impetus to the temperance cause. Strong sentiment arose against the use of grain for making liquor when every effort was being made to conserve food. Furthermore, since many of the breweries were owned by German-Americans the beer business was viewed with disfavor by the public. In response to this feeling Congress passed an act (August, 1917) forbidding the use of grain in the manufacture of hard liquors and authorizing the President at his discretion to extend the prohibition to beer. Acting under this authority, the President later put beer under the ban.

*The Eighteenth Amendment*

The final victory of the prohibition forces was the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibited the manufacture, transporation, and sale of alcoholic beverages. This amendment, which was ultimately ratified by every state in the Union except Rhode Island and Connecticut, went into effect in January, 1919. To enforce the provisions of the Amendment, Congress passed the Volstead Act (January, 1920), which defined as intoxicating all liquors containing more than one half of one per cent of alcohol.

*The Nineteenth Amendment*

The war also gave added momentum to the trend in favor of woman suffrage. In a number of states, the right to vote had been conferred upon women, but now there was a strong feeling in favor of granting them this franchise throughout the entire country. This could be done only by an amendment to the Federal Constitution. The cause of woman suffrage was greatly promoted by the fine service rendered by the women in aiding the war effort. As housewives they had cheerfully co-operated with Hoover in the conservation of food and had devoted time and effort to knitting socks and making bandages for soldiers and performing the other useful tasks assigned them. Nor were their efforts confined to their work at home. Many of them went to the front to serve as Red Cross nurses, ambulance drivers, or Y.W.C.A. workers. With public sentiment so favorable, the success of the movement was assured. The Nineteenth Amendment, conferring on women the right to vote, was proposed by Congress in 1919 and was ratified the next year.

## THE CAMPAIGN OF 1920

*Harding and Coolidge nominated*

When the Republicans assembled in national convention in Chicago on June 8, 1920, they were looking forward with assurance to victory in the fall election. Among the several aspirants for the

nomination the most outstanding at first were General Leonard Wood and Governor Frank O. Lowden of Illinois. During the early ballots Lowden and Wood were in the lead with little difference in their strength. As the balloting proceeded, it looked as if Wood and Lowden were going to bring the convention to a stalemate and thereby menace the unity of the Republican Party. To prevent this a group of leaders held a conference in a "smoke-filled room," lasting nearly all night, and there decided to support Senator Harding of Ohio. Because of this move, Harding received the nomination on the tenth ballot. Governor Calvin Coolidge of Massachusetts was nominated for the Vice-Presidency by an overwhelming majority. Harding proved a good campaigner. Seated comfortably on his front porch in Marion, he delivered to admiring visiting groups speeches which were published by the press throughout the country. He spoke in pleasing platitudes and steered clear of all commitments that might antagonize any group of Republicans.

*Attitude of Republicans toward the League*

Since the Republicans were divided as to their attitude toward the Treaty and League, the convention decided that a straddle would be the only position which would be acceptable to all. Accordingly, they repudiated the Covenant of the League of Nations but declared in favor of an "agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world." Harding, in keeping with this spirit of vagueness, held in his campaign a skillful balance on the fence. By the use of confused phraseology and by a frequent change of position he was able to appear both for and against a league of nations. So successful was he in this attempt to face both ways that he won in the main the earnest support of the Republicans who were opposed to the League and those who were in favor of it. Borah and Johnson and other irreconcilables advocated the election of Harding on the ground that it would mean the death of the League. On the other hand, a group of thirty-one leading Republicans, including Hughes, Taft, and Hoover, issued a statement to the effect that the election of Harding offered the only prospect of American participation in a league of nations.

*The Democratic platform and nominees*

The Democrats met in national convention in San Francisco on June 28, 1920. Following Wilson's suggestion that the campaign would be a "solemn referendum" on the Treaty and the League, the platform contained a straightforward endorsement of the Treaty and League with no reservations other than those that would be explanatory. It also declared in favor of independence for the Philippine Islands. There were several candidates that figured prominently in the balloting, and it was not until the forty-fourth

ballot that James M. Cox, governor of Ohio, was nominated. For second place the convention named Franklin D. Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy. Cox had not had a conspicuous public record, but the reforms carried out during his term as governor put him in the ranks of the progressives. Roosevelt had also made a fine record in building up the navy.

*Cox as a campaigner*

Cox took a definite stand in favor of the Treaty and the League and on extensive speaking tours earnestly urged our acceptance of the League and the immediate ratification of the Treaty. He was unable, however, to arouse enthusiasm for his cause. Apparently, the country had slipped back from idealism to a cynical realism, and wanted Harding and the Republican Party to lead them back to the comforts of former days. Harding, normally a standpatter with isolationist tendencies, was well suited to act this role, for his equable temperament was seldom, if ever, seriously disturbed by idealism and the crusading spirit. His conservative attitude was clearly and brilliantly expressed in one of his front-porch speeches when he said that what the country needed was "not heroism but healing, not nostrums but normalcy, . . . not surgery but serenity, . . . not submergence in internationality but sustainment in triumphant nationality."

*Debs as Socialist nominee*

Of the several minor parties that put up candidates, the Socialist was the only one which showed any considerable strength at the polls. This party again nominated Eugene V. Debs for the Presidency. He was at the time serving a sentence in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary for his opposition to the draft. Despite this handicap, however, he polled more than 900,000 votes.

*Result of the election; reasons*

The Republicans made the most of the circumstances in their favor. They were aided in their fight by the high cost of living and the increase in unemployment. But most important of all was their ability to capitalize on the feeling of disillusion regarding the war; the reaction against idealism; the revival of isolationism; the dissatisfaction with Wilson's policy and methods; and the longing for change. The outcome of the election was a landslide in favor of the Republicans. The electoral vote was 404 for Harding and 127 for Cox. The popular vote for Harding was about seven million more than that for Cox.

*Significance of the election*

President Wilson's hope that the election would be "a great and solemn referendum" on the Treaty and the League was not realized, for the decision was on other issues. Harding, however, regarded his election as a mandate from the people to repudiate the League, and after the election he declared that the League was dead. Later, after his inauguration, he announced that he had "definitely and

decisively" rejected the League. He did not propose, he said, to enter "by the side door, back door, or cellar door."

*Depression; curtailment of U. S. loans and protective tariff important factors*

As has already been seen, a depression did not come immediately after the war, as had been expected. In a year or two the European countries began to get on their feet and to produce more and more of the goods they needed. Therefore, the foreign demand for American manufactures and farm products declined and prices dropped. The foreign market was also curtailed by the discontinuance of loans by the United States and the operation of the tariff. The result was a business recession which lasted for about a year (1920-1921) in industry and much longer in agriculture, with the usual symptoms of depression—unemployment and business failures. The depression was still in effect when Harding succeeded to the Presidency.

*A period of spectacular expansion and conservative politics*

The decade of the 'twenties opened and closed in economic depression but contained seven years of unprecedented expansion of private enterprise, with conservative politics reigning triumphant and business speculation finally running riot. It was the period when radio broadcasting was launched, nonstop flights were first made across the Atlantic, and "silent" motion pictures began to yield to "talking" movies. Automobiles came into common use, reaching a total number surpassing twenty-three million, or enough cars for the total American population to take a ride at one time. This called for an extensive construction and improvement of highways. Production and consumption of electricity expanded rapidly, largely due to the establishment of power plants at river dams; and this development brought on new business in numerous kinds of electrical appliances for home and shop. Rayon seriously invaded the cotton market, and respectable women found the lipstick a necessity.

## HARDING AS PRESIDENT

*Harding, personal traits and previous career*

Warren Gamaliel Harding (1865-1923) had had some helpful experience in the art of government, for he had served nearly a full term in the United States Senate. As Senator he had not made an outstanding record, but had been popular personally and regular politically. Possessing conventional opinions and being unhampered by profound convictions, he had always remained within the party traces. He was tolerant, amiable, and kindly in disposition. He had been successful as editor and proprietor of the Marion (Ohio) *Daily Star*, and toward social and international problems he had the attitude of conservatism which is so often induced by financial success. Moreover, he was handsome, even distinguished in appearance. His greatest handicap as President was his commitments to

unworthy associates, too many of whom were put in places of responsibility for which they were woefully unfit.

*His Cabinet*

Probably because he realized his limitations, he indicated that he would lean heavily on the advice of a group of the "best minds." His Cabinet therefore included such able leaders as Charles E. Hughes, Secretary of State; Andrew W. Mellon, Secretary of the Treasury; and Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce. There were other Cabinet selections, however, that were most unfortunate, notably those of Albert B. Fall, as Secretary of the Interior, and Harry M. Daugherty as Attorney General. Daugherty was one of a group of Harding's political friends which was known as the "Ohio Gang." He owed his appointment to the fact that he was largely responsible for Harding's nomination.

*The Teapot Dome and Elk Hill oil scandals*

The postwar let-down, the reaction from Wilsonian idealism, and the worship of acquisitive enterprise were accompanied by a series of scandals which threatened to wreck the Harding Administration. These scandals created popular sensations, caused congressional investigations and official resignations, and resulted in numerous court trials. The Teapot Dome affair was the most conspicuous. Under previous administrations public lands at Elk Hills in California and Teapot Dome in Wyoming had been set aside as naval petroleum reserves. Harding, influenced by the corrupt and wily Secretary of the Interior Fall, transferred custody of these lands from the Navy Department to the Interior. In 1922 Fall leased oil land in the California area to Edward L. Doheny, who secretly loaned him $100,000 and, to make the transaction appear legitimate, openly agreed to erect storage tanks at Pearl Harbor for the navy. Secretary Fall leased Wyoming lands to Harry F. Sinclair, an oil magnate from whom both Fall and the Republican campaign fund had benefited. Annulment of the leases on the ground of fraud was eventually upheld by the Supreme Court, and Fall was sentenced to Federal prison for several months. Federal prosecutors failed to win conviction on these charges of either Sinclair or Doheny, and Senator Norris suggested that for the sake of consistency there should be a law "that no man worth $100,000,000 should be tried for crime."

*Other convictions for fraud*

There were other instances of serious misfeasance in office. Charles R. Forbes, director of the Veterans' Bureau, was indicted in 1924 for conspiracy and fraud and was later sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Under his administration public funds amounting to a quarter of a billion dollars had been stolen or wasted. Thomas W. Miller, Alien Property Custodian, after having been dismissed from office was sent to jail on the charge of having accepted

a bribe. Attorney General Daugherty was dismissed by Coolidge after a Senate committee had declared him guilty of fraud in handling liquor permits and pardons. He was later indicted on a criminal charge but escaped conviction by a hung jury.

*The death of Harding; Coolidge becomes President*

In the shadow of rumors and pending revelations of unprecedented graft, Harding was stricken while returning from Alaska in 1923 and died at San Francisco on August 2 of a combination of ailments. He was thus spared the humiliation of seeing intimate friends and appointees brought to the bar of justice, and his party was relieved of having to answer for scandals in the election campaign of 1924.

## CALVIN COOLIDGE AS PRESIDENT

*Calvin Coolidge; previous career and personality*

Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933) was born and reared in Vermont, but his adult years were spent in Massachusetts. After graduating from Amherst College he began to climb the political ladder. Starting on a lower rung—that of city councilman of Northampton—he gradually ascended until he became governor of Massachusetts (1919). His policy toward a police strike in Boston while governor, which was condemned by his critics, was responsible for his nomination for the Vice-Presidency. In connection with this strike he had made this catchy statement in a telegram to Samuel Gompers: "There is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, any time." The wide circulation of this pithy apothegm by the press had given him much favorable publicity. Coolidge had the virtues and some of the limitations of a personality that was the product of Puritan heredity and Vermont environment. He was sincere, frugal, and sparing in the use of words. The lack of color and charm in his personality was partially redeemed by a dry humor that was appealing. He displayed good judgment in dealing with minor affairs but was lacking in vision as to long-range policies. By overestimating the importance of financial success he was inclined to undervalue the human factor in public policy. His virtues were of the type that the common man highly prized, and he was able to restore to the Presidency the respectability it had lost under his predecessor.

## THE ELECTION OF 1924

*Democratic and Republican nominees*

The Republicans were able to nominate the incumbent for President in 1924, to emphasize his personal honesty, and to utilize the slogan, "Keep cool with Coolidge." For his running mate they chose Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes, a Chicago banker, who had been serving as Director of the Budget and during the war was

purchasing agent in Europe for the American Expeditionary Force. The Democrats, meeting in national convention in New York from June 24 to July 10, engaged in a long and bitter fight that caused a serious breach in the party. The leading candidates for the nomination when the convention opened were William G. McAdoo, son-in-law of Woodrow Wilson and wartime Secretary of the Treasury, and Governor Alfred E. Smith of New York. The rival forces battled through over a hundred ballots, and finally the convention selected a compromise nominee, John W. Davis, a leading New York lawyer with Morgan connections, a former Congressman and a former ambassador to Great Britain. To balance the ticket the convention chose for Vice-President Charles W. Bryan, governor of Nebraska and younger brother of the distinguished "Commoner." The platform was lifeless, and the candidate was as conservative and as much a representative of big business as was Coolidge.

*The Progressive Party*

Since both of the major parties were now under conservative leadership, there was an opening for a new liberal party. Among farmers there was a strong demand for liberal reforms; although there was feverish industrial and financial prosperity, agriculture had never recovered from the depression of 1920-21. On the contrary, the farmers who paid high prices for their equipment and supplies and received low prices for their products were rapidly sinking to the condition their fathers were in during the latter part of the last century. They were in a fighting mood and, aided by organized labor, they launched the Progressive Party with Robert M. La Follette as its nominee for President, and Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Montana Democrat, as its candidate for Vice-President. This third party advocated tariff reduction, banking reform, liberal labor legislation, public ownership of water power and railroads, and the limitation of the power of the Supreme Court to hold acts of Congress unconstitutional. The Progressive Party polled nearly five million votes, running ahead of the Democratic ticket in several states of the West and Middle West.

*A decisive victory for the Republicans*

The electorate was apathetic, with less than fifty-two per cent of the eligible voters going to the polls. Coolidge's vote exceeded fifteen million, a popular majority of the total. His electoral vote of 382 left only Wisconsin's 13 for La Follette, with Davis carrying only the solid South and Oklahoma for a total of 136.

## RECOVERY AND PROSPERITY

*The Harding-Coolidge program for prosperity*

In the Harding-Coolidge program for recovery and prosperity there were four outstanding objectives: the application of business methods in the management of government; the withdrawal of gov-

ernment from business; government aid to business; and the limitation of the power of organized labor. Other factors, having little to do with government policy, were to help create the prosperity of the 'twenties.

### THE APPLICATION OF BUSINESS METHODS IN GOVERNMENT

*Establishment of the budget system*

One of the most outstanding needs for the conduct of government in a business-like fashion was a national budget system, and this need had been increased by wartime expenditures. A bill providing for a budget system passed by Congress was accepted by Harding and went into effect in June, 1921. Charles G. Dawes was the first Director of the Bureau of the Budget, which was to become a rigid clearinghouse for handling and consolidating all requests by administrative agencies for funds to be appropriated by Congress.

*The "Mellon Plan" of public finance*

Of even greater importance in putting "more business in government" was the "Mellon Plan" of public finance, so popular in this decade, particularly among financiers and industrialists. This plan consisted in retrenchment in government expenditures, the lowering of taxes, especially on incomes, and the reduction of the national debt, all primarily with the view to encouraging investment in private enterprise. Mellon maintained that high tax rates "tend to destroy individual initiative and seriously impede the development of productive business." Congress, approving this philosophy, reduced or removed wartime levies, lowered the estate tax, and cut income tax rates drastically. In 1926 the tax burden on an individual million-dollar income was less than one third of what it had been in 1921. The Federal debt was reduced from $24,000,000,000 to a sum below $17,000,000,000 by 1930. The Mellon policy seemed like a green light for the financial expansion of business, and critics subsequently pointed to it as a factor contributing to the wave of business speculation at the end of the 'twenties. Reduction in Federal expenditures, however, did not meet expectations, and expenditures and indebtedness of state and municipal governments moved upward with an expansion of schools and highways and with the practice, on the part of the states, of matching grants-in-aid from the United States government.

*Veterans demand extra compensation for war service; the "adjusted compensation" act of 1924*

One serious interference with the plan of reducing government expenditures was the demand of the veterans for extra compensation for war services. The millions of World War veterans outnumbered those of all other wars combined, and immediately there were problems of hospitalization and rehabilitation of the disabled, of vocational readjustment and training, and of continuation of war risk insurance. The claims upon the government did not end, however,

with the sick and the disabled. Most of the World War veterans felt that they had a grievance against the American public and claims on the government. Often they were unable to find employment for a considerable time after their discharge; or, if they found it, the jobs might be inferior to the ones which they had before the war. It seemed, too, that nearly everyone at home had made money while the soldiers were getting only a dollar a day in the trenches and on the drill fields. Feeling that they had been cheated while in service and ignored when the war ended, the veterans soon began demanding extra compensation for the time that they had spent in the army. The American Legion, which was organized in 1919 and was composed of veterans, strongly supported the ex-servicemen's demands for "adjusted compensation"; and in 1922 a bill granting each World War veteran fifty dollars a month for the time spent in the armed forces passed Congress only to receive the Presidential veto. In the meantime several states granted bonuses to their veterans, which ranged from ten to thirty dollars a month for the period with the colors.

State aid did not, however, relieve the pressure on Congress, and in May, 1924, that body passed a World War Adjusted Compensation Act over President Coolidge's veto. This provided for twenty-year paid-up insurance policies, computed on the basis of a dollar a day for the period of service in the United States and one dollar and a quarter a day for service overseas. The veterans were permitted to borrow twenty-two and a half per cent on these policies. Both Hoover and Roosevelt were to be overridden by Congress in further liberalizing bonus payments until finally the policies could be exchanged for bonds which could be cashed.

### THE WITHDRAWAL OF GOVERNMENT FROM BUSINESS

*The return of the railroads to their owners; the Esch-Cummins Act*

Taking the national government out of business after the war seemed as important as applying business principles in the management of government. The relinquishment of Federal management of the railroads was the first important step in that direction. This step had already been taken by Congress, before Harding became President, in the Esch-Cummins Transportation Act of 1920. This act provided for the immediate return of the railroads to their owners and authorized and encouraged railway consolidation under the supervision of the Interstate Commerce Commission. The operation of the railroads as a unit, while under government management, had revealed certain advantages over a multiplicity of systems, and it was believed that such advantages should be retained by consolidation. The powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission

were greatly increased, and a Railway Labor Board was established by the act for the purpose of mediating labor disputes.

*The disposal of the government merchant marine*

Many difficulties, mistakes, and failures were experienced in taking the government out of the shipping business. To put into private hands the huge fleet that it had built during the war, the government sold (under the Merchant Marine Acts of 1920 and 1928) its vessels to private interests at ridiculously low prices. To encourage the development of the merchant marine under private ownership, large funds were established by the act of 1928 from which loans were made to American shipowners. Favorable mail contracts were also granted, trade with our possessions was restricted to American shipping, as was coastwise traffic, and other concessions were provided. Nevertheless, American shipping declined, while gains were made by Great Britain, Germany, Japan, and other countries.

There were several causes for the decline of the American merchant marine. Better wages and working conditions at home than aboard American ships made it difficult to man the fleet. At the same time, however, unemployment and poor working conditions in rival countries made it easy to obtain whatever seamen were needed at wages far below those paid American seamen, which meant low operating costs. The greater cost of shipbuilding in the United States than in other maritime countries also added to the expense of operating American ships; and the result was that even American shippers often found it much cheaper to have their freight carried on foreign ships. In the 'thirties, however, because of the growing threat of war in Europe, the United States checked the decline of the merchant marine and even strengthened it by subsidy and other means. Doubtless, too, the depression and unemployment made it easier and more economical to man and operate American ships.

*Inability of the government to dispose of its power plant at Muscle Shoals*

The government was unable to dispose of its large power plant and other facilities at Muscle Shoals on the Tennessee River in Alabama except on unsatisfactory terms, with Henry Ford as the conspicuous bidder. Efforts by Senator George Norris of Nebraska and others to continue and expand the wartime policy of government development of hydroelectric power there and elsewhere on the Tennessee River were of no avail until the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) was established in the next decade.

During the Harding-Coolidge regime vacancies in the Federal courts and on the regulatory commissions were filled by appointees who upheld the principle of keeping the government out of business and of placing few restrictions upon the operation of business.

In keeping with this principle the Supreme Court upheld monopo-

*Supreme Court upholds monopolistic practices and denies legality of social legislaton*

listic practices in its decisions, despite the prohibitions of the antitrust acts. The Court also showed a strong and effective disapproval of government entry into the field of social legislation. In 1922, for example, it declared unconstitutional a Federal law designed to place restrictions on child labor by means of a tax levied on interstate shipments of goods produced in industries employing children under a specified age. Again in 1923 the Court held a District of Columbia minimum wage law for women unconstitutional on the ground that it impaired the freedom of contract.

*Relaxation of government regulation by the regulatory commissions*

The several commissions, as was to be expected, interpreted the regulatory statutes as freely as the Supreme Court interpreted the antitrust laws; and most of the old practices which these statutes were intended to prohibit were allowed to continue. The Federal Trade Commission, while interested in breaking up unfair trade practices, showed no disapproval of interlocking directorates or the labyrinthian holding companies such as were springing up in the growing field of the utilities. On the contrary, the Commission co-operated with the Department of Commerce under Herbert Hoover in its promotion of the great trade associations, which were monopolistic in essence.

*Prohibition and "racketeering"*

Despite the trend away from governmental regulation of industry, there was one business that the government was trying to prohibit—that of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor. It was unfortunate that this "noble experiment" had to be made at the time of the moral slump that followed the war, for the carrying out of this experiment required more of the virtue or self-denial than the American people possessed at that time. Along with the general reaction against idealism, public sentiment—adversely influenced by an insiduous propaganda carried on by motion pictures and other like agencies—gradually weakened in its support of prohibition. The Federal government had the main responsibility of enforcing the law and often it did not receive the support and the active co-operation of the state and local authorities which they were legally obligated to give. Consequently, there soon arose shrewdly managed speak-easies, highly organized syndicates of bootleggers, and speedy rumrunners bringing in liquor from Canada and other foreign ports. The widespread business in making, transporting, and selling liquor became closely linked with bribery, gambling, underworld vice, and organized racketeering, which successfully exacted tribute from labor groups, contractors, restaurants, laundry establishments, and other types of legitimate business, especially in New York and Chicago. Liquor cases clogged Federal court dockets, and it was difficult to obtain convictions for violating the Volstead Act.

### GOVERNMENT AID TO BUSINESS

*The protective tariffs secure for American industry a monopoly of the home market*

The doctrine of *laissez faire* as construed in the United States, and especially by the conservative leaders of the Republican Party, was only half *laissez faire:* there should be no government competition with private business, and there should be no government interference with business—in essence, no government regulation. This is where the *laissez faire* doctrine ended, however, and a more positive one began—the doctrine of government aid to business and industry. In pursuance of this principle the Harding Administration placed the American market at the disposal of American business and industry by the establishment of the highest protective tariffs in the history of the United States. Congress, called into special session in 1921, passed an emergency tariff act placing high duties on wheat, corn, meat, wool, sugar, and other agricultural commodities—products so cheap and plentiful that they could not be protected—increasing duties on textile products, providing protection for chemicals and dyes from European competition, and authorizing a special "dumping duty" against countries seeking to unload surplus products in the United States.

*The Fordney-McCumber Act*

The Fordney-McCumber Act of 1922, which superseded the emergency law of 1921, continued tariffs for depressed agriculture and provided more protection for American manufacturers than did the Payne-Aldrich Act of 1909. Negligible use was made of its flexible provision authorizing the President to alter rates as much as fifty per cent upon recommendation of the Tariff Commission. This law was replaced in the depression year of 1930 by the Hawley-Smoot Act, which raised the tariff level still higher (see pp. 760 f.). Both the Harding and the Coolidge administrations encouraged the making of foreign loans and investments—finally estimated at about $16,000,000,000—which enabled the European and South American countries to purchase American products.

*The Hawley-Smoot Act*

### CURBING ORGANIZED LABOR

*Supreme Court restricts legal rights of labor unions*

The final item in the Republican program for business recovery and prosperity was the placing of a curb on organized labor, which had increased in numerical strength and prestige during the Wilson Administration, and especially during the war when the demand for labor was so great. The Federal judiciary supported this program by rendering decisions unfavorable to organized labor. Despite the clause in the Clayton Act prohibiting the use of injunctions in labor disputes except under the most rigid restrictions, the Court issued such writs freely; it declared illegal a secondary boycott, which had

apparently been allowed under the Clayton law; and it sanctioned the prosecution of a labor union under the antitrust laws as a combination in restraint of trade, in direct violation of a clause in the Clayton Act specifically exempting labor unions from such suits.

### OTHER FACTORS OF PROSPERITY

*Effect of Republican policy*

Doubtless the Republican policy of promoting and protecting business in almost every conceivable way contributed greatly to the recovery under Harding and the boom under Coolidge. There were certainly two items in this policy whose effects on the revitalization of industry and business were immediate and tangible. One was the protective tariff, which caused a monopoly of the American market for American products; and the other was the approximately $16,000,000,000 which firms and individuals in the United States, with the encouragement of Harding and Coolidge, invested or lent abroad and with part of which American goods were purchased. In the long run, however, the high tariffs caused other countries to pass retaliatory tariffs and discriminatory trade measures, which reduced foreign markets for American goods. The foreign loans were eventually exhausted, the investments ceased to pay dividends, and to that extent the export of American products was further diminished.

*The development of new industries:*

*The automobile and its auxiliary industries*

The expansion of older industries and the rapid development of new ones were of more importance than any other causes in contributing to the prosperity of the 'twenties. Of these, the automobile industry was the most important. Although it had become a major industry by the end of the war, its development during the next ten years was phenomenal. It became the greatest industry of the country or the world. The number of automobiles manufactured in 1920 was 2,227,000; in 1929, 5,622,000. Before the end of the decade about 4,000,000 men were employed in connection with the manufacture, operation, and repair of automobiles. The impact of the automobile upon other industries was momentous. During the decade of the 'twenties nearly 90,000 miles of hard-surface roads were built at an expense of about $1,500,000,000, divided about equally between state and Federal governments. The automobile industry also greatly stimulated the production of rubber, cut glass, and leather upholstery. Besides, it brought into being a vast number of filling stations and garages for the servicing and repair of cars. The automobile was not, however, an unmixed blessing. It aided rumrunners in their violation of the prohibition law and made it easier for other

criminals to escape arrest and punishment. Besides, it was a facile instrument in the practice of immorality.

*The radio; from a toy to a necessity*

The radio was hardly more than a toy in 1920, but at the end of the decade there were 13,000,000 receiving sets, and it was estimated that one family in three owned a set. In 1920 the first two broadcasting stations were established—KDKA in Pittsburgh and WWJ in Detroit. Within less than ten years, however, there were more than six hundred such stations. The amount received from the annual sale of radios and their accessories rose from $5,000,000 in 1922 to about $600,000,000 in 1929.

*The motion picture business*

In 1914 the motion picture business consisted of a few amateurish concerns scattered here and there; by 1930 it had become a $2,000,000,000 business controlled by a few corporations centered in Hollywood. In 1930 there were probably 25,000 picture theaters with a weekly attendance of 100,000,000 and an annual gross income from admissions of more than $1,500,000,000. At the end of this period (1929-1930) the talking movie was introduced. The manufacture of electrical appliances, refrigerators, and machinery developed as rapidly as the motion picture business.

*The installment system; purchasing beyond the means of payment*

People were convinced by advertisement and high-pressure salesmanship that they must have all these new products; and the way was made smooth and easy to the customer by the universal adoption by businessmen and manufacturers of the installment system of sale and purchase. Practically every industrial product could be purchased on long-term credit with small payments. The result was that all too often families with small incomes went in debt for the purchase of furniture and other articles that they could not afford. In this fashion a huge aggregate of private debts was being created during the 'twenties, which would eventually have to be paid or industry would have to curtail production.

*Concentration of wealth in corporations; diffused ownership, centralized control*

Under the encouragement of government and in response to economic and social forces that stimulated combinations and monopolies, the large corporations were in a dominant position by 1929. During the 'twenties thousands of firms and companies disappeared through mergers, whereas giant networks of operating utilities were brought under the control of holding companies. By 1929 about two hundred corporations owned about half of all corporate wealth and more than one fifth of the total national wealth. With few exceptions, the ownership of the great corporations was widely diffused, the United States Steel Corporation, for example, having more than 174,000 holders of common stock in 1931. But the actual management of these corporations was highly concentrated in a small group of directors and executives, not in the mass of legal

owners. This tendency toward centralized control was extended to many corporate enterprises, such as chain stores, newspapers, the radio, and motion pictures.

### THE EMBATTLED FARMERS AGAIN

*Loss of European markets; reasons*

Agriculture had little or no part in the feverish prosperity of the 'twenties. Indeed, during most of the period the farmers sank deeper into debt and frequently lost their holdings. True, there was a partial recovery of agricultural prices between 1925 and 1929 from the low state into which they had fallen in 1920-21; but such gains were more than offset by the increased prices of farm equipment and supplies that the farmers had to purchase. The farmers had lost much of their European markets within two years after the war, partly as a result of the recovery of European agriculture and partly because the United States government ceased lending money with which to purchase American products; but there was a more important and a more permanent cause for the loss of this market—the protective tariff. The tariff, which almost prohibited the importation of foreign goods into the United States, caused England, France, and other European nations to purchase their foodstuffs from those countries that bought the industrial products of Europe. Canada, Australia, and Argentina quickly supplanted the United States as sources of grain and meat supply for Europe; and Brazil, India, and Egypt were soon exchanging a much larger quantity of cotton than formerly for the manufactured products of Europe.

*Decline of the home market*

Even the home market failed to absorb as great a quantity of farm products as before the war. A change in dietary habits reduced the consumption of meats and cereals. Prohibition and the decline of horse and mule breeding, resulting from the use of the automobile and mechanized farming, further reduced the use of corn, oats, barley, and rye. The decline of the horse and mule industry in itself entailed a major loss of income to the farmers. As a result of all these factors of distress, the farm population of the United States went through the fabulous 'twenties in a semi-bankrupt condition. The heavy debt burden caused a marked decrease of farm ownership and an increase of tenancy.

*Farmers attempt to relieve their distress by private organization and political action*

The reaction of the farmers to the blight that fell upon agriculture during the postwar years was like that of the past when they had been confronted with ruin. They attempted to relieve their distress by private organization and by seeking the aid of the state and Federal governments. Most farmer organizations were nonpolitical associations for co-operative marketing. Such co-operatives were organized among producers of wheat, tobacco, cotton, live-

stock, fruits, vegetables, and other farm crops. The most successful of these organizations were the dairy co-operatives and the fruit-growers' associations. Taken as a whole, however, their influence in raising prices was slight.

*The non-partisan farm bloc*

As in the past the farmers also turned to the government for aid. Their most effective move in this direction was the formation of the farm bloc in Congress, which co-operated with the new but powerful American Farm Bureau Federation and other farm organizations. The farm bloc consisted of a group of Western and Southern Senators and Representatives of both major parties who were pledged to co-operate in obtaining legislation for the relief of agriculture. The farm bloc held the balance of power in both houses and was able to secure a substantial amount of special farm legislation. In 1922 it obtained the enactment of the Capper-Volstead Act which exempted all farm co-operative associations from restrictions and penalties under the antitrust laws. The co-operative marketing acts of 1924 and 1926 provided other concessions and aids to these farmer associations.

*The McNary-Haugen Bill, an attempt to solve the problem of the agricultural surplus*

Although these measures liberalized the Federal rural credit system and strengthened the marketing associations, they failed to affect appreciably the trend of agricultural prices. They did not touch the fundamental cause of low or declining prices—the annual surplus of farm products, which remained after the home market had been supplied. This surplus—amounting at times to hundreds of millions of bushels of wheat and corn, from one to three million bales of cotton, untold numbers of hogs, and great quantities of tobacco and other staples—had to be sold abroad in competition with the products of other countries. The prices that these farm products brought in the world market determined their prices in the United States. As long as this surplus continued, the protective tariff on farm products was useless. As a means of disposing of this surplus the farm bloc secured the passage by Congress of the McNary-Haugen Bill (1927). This bill provided for the establishment of a government corporation to purchase surpluses at a price considerably above world prices and dispose of them abroad for whatever price they would bring. With the government bidding above current prices and the prospect of the surplus crops being eliminated, it was believed that prices would advance considerably. Whatever losses were incurred in the sale abroad of the surplus were to be remitted by the collection of an equalization fee, prorated among the farmers according to the losses upon their particular surplus products.

However, President Coolidge vetoed the bill. In the following year (1928) the bill in a modified form was passed again and was

*President Coolidge's vetoes of the measure; his reasons*

again vetoed by the President. President Coolidge's fundamental objection to the measure was that it put the government in business. Indeed, he considered the bill unconstitutional and socialistic. There were certain practical objections, too, that he offered. He believed that by the purchase of surplus crops, the government would further stimulate overproduction. He also feared that the method of disposing of the surplus abroad would be considered dumping by other countries and would cause retaliation. Most of Coolidge's objections to the McNary-Haugen Bill had been offered against the protective tariff; and the advocates of the bill could not understand why they should be used by a champion of the tariff against a bill intended to give the farmers the same protection that the tariff gave the manufacturers.

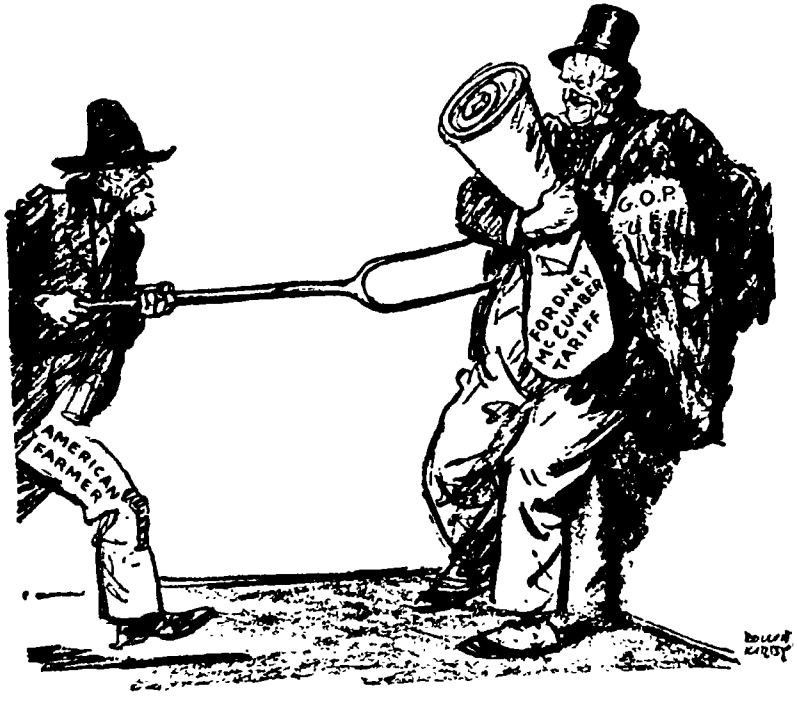
## THE ELECTION OF 1928

*Nominees and platform of the Republican Party*

Coolidge would have had no difficulty in securing a renomination if he had wanted it, but in 1927 he had given out the laconic statement, "I do not choose to run for President in 1928." Since he adhered to this decision, the Republicans had to find another candidate. Herbert Hoover was very popular with the rank and file of his party, and when the Republican National Convention met in Kansas City, June 12, 1928, he was nominated on the first ballot. The Republican platform enumerated with pride the accomplishments of the party during the seven years of its incumbency and gave promise of a continuation of the Coolidge policies. It was also emphatic in promising future aid to agriculture, for the Western farmers had made serious threats to bolt the party and support the Democrats, who were known to advocate measures similar to the McNary-Haugen Bill. It endorsed collective bargaining and conceded that the use of the injunction had been abused and that further legislation was needed on the subject. An unequivocal promise was made to enforce the prohibition laws and uphold the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment.

*Nominee and platform of the Democrats*

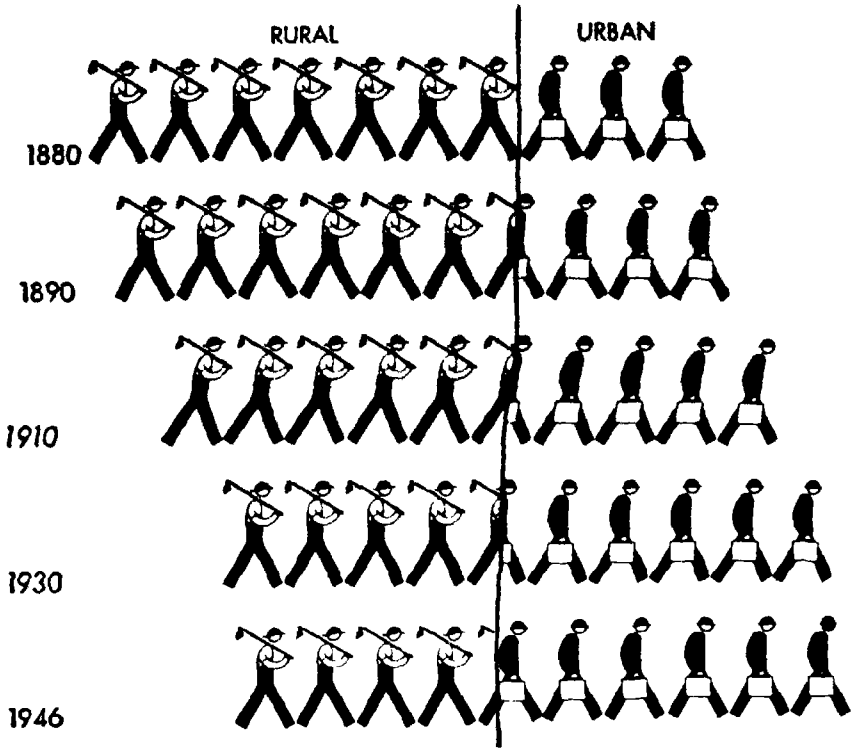
The Democrats showed more outward signs of unity than in the previous Presidential campaign. Alfred E. Smith, although a Tammany politician, had made a fine record as a progressive governor of New York, and his prestige outshone that of any of his rivals for the nomination. Therefore, when the Democrats met in national convention in Houston, Texas (June, 1928), he was nominated for the Presidency on the first ballot. The platform was more friendly to labor and promised more to the farmers than did that of the Republicans. The Democrats hedged on their traditional tariff attitude, insisting on rates to equalize "actual differences




"Consarn Ye."—Kirby in the New York World.

*Courtesy of Dallas News*

On the Same Platform.




Each man represents 10 per cent of all people gainfully employed

AGRICULTURE SURPASSED BY INDUSTRY.

between the cost of production at home and abroad." The platform called for enforcement of prohibition, but Smith, while promising to enforce the law, advocated repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and thereby stirred up a hornet's nest.

*The campaign*

Hoover, in his campaign speeches, referred to prohibition as "a great social and economic experiment, noble in motive and far-reaching in purpose," and thus won the approval of most religious organizations. He praised unhampered individual enterprise and foresaw "the day when poverty will be banished from this nation." There would be two chickens in every pot and two cars in every garage. Smith carried on an active speaking campaign across the country, and was more colorful and interesting as a speaker than his opponent. He also had a good radio voice, but the effectiveness of his radio speeches with meticulous listeners was marred by an occasional mispronunciation or slip in grammar which betrayed his lack of formal education.

*Results of the election*

Hoover received all the electoral votes except the 87 that went to Smith, and his popular majority was over six million. Smith failed to carry his own state of New York and in a significant shift lost the Southern states of Texas, Tennessee, Florida, North Carolina, and Virginia. The minor parties did not figure prominently in this campaign. La Follette had died not many months after the election of 1924 and his Progressive Party had disintegrated. The Socialists, led by Norman Thomas, were less important than formerly. The Southern states went against Smith because of his Catholic religion, his Tammany connections, and his opposition to prohibition. These factors also figured prominently in other sections of the country, especially in rural areas; but the fundamental cause of Hoover's election was "Republican prosperity."

## HOOVER AS PRESIDENT

*Hoover's Cabinet, chosen for administrative rather than political experience*

Herbert Clark Hoover (1874- ), a Quaker and an engineering graduate of Stanford University, was essentially an administrator rather than a politician. His experience in developing mines in China, directing relief in war-torn Europe, and managing a business-boosting agency of government at Washington (the Department of Commerce) was inadequate preparation for a commander in chief of American politics in times of trouble soon to come. In selecting his Cabinet, Hoover showed a strong tendency to appoint men with administrative experience rather than those of high political standing and wide political experience. Only in the case of Andrew Mellon and James J. Davis, whom he retained from Coolidge's Cabinet in their respective positions as Secretary of the Treasury and Sec-

retary of Labor, did he appoint men well versed in national politics. His Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, had made an excellent governor general of the Philippines, but he was not widely known. None of the other members had been prominent in public life.

*The establishment of the Federal Farm Board*

Hoover convened Congress in special session on April 15, 1929, primarily for the purpose of carrying out his own campaign pledges and that of the Republican platform to provide government aid for agriculture. The President proposed the Farm Board plan as the basic measure of relief; but he suggested a limited revision of the tariff to increase import duties on farm products. After a delay of two months Congress finally passed the Agricultural Marketing Act, which provided for the establishment of the Federal Farm Board with a revolving fund of $500,000,000. The Board was authorized to make loans to agricultural co-operative marketing associations and to any stabilization corporations that it might create for the purpose of buying, storing, and selling surpluses.

*The operation of the Federal Farm Board; the purchase of farm surpluses*

The Federal Farm Board aided in the establishment of numerous co-operative marketing associations to which it made loans of $165,000,000. No doubt the Board contributed substantially to the orderly marketing of grain, cattle, livestock, and other farm products, but by 1930 it had become apparent, even to the most optimistic, that co-operative marketing associations could not deal adequately with the cotton and wheat surpluses. The Board then established the Grain Stabilization Corporation and the Cotton Stabilization Corporation for the purpose of buying in the open market and supporting the prices of these commodities. After operating about a year, the stabilization corporations had come into possession of more than a quarter of a billion bushels of wheat and more than three million bales of cotton. In 1931, with funds about exhausted and unable to dispose of these surpluses without wrecking the market, the Farm Board put an end to further purchases. The prices of wheat and cotton immediately began to decline, not only because the government had ceased buying, but also because the large accumulation of government cotton and wheat might be thrown upon the market at any time with disastrous effects. In 1933 the existence of the Farm Board was ended with total losses surpassing $180,000,000. Whatever chances it might have had of disposing of the agricultural surpluses were ended by the depression.

*The Hawley-Smoot Tariff; its effects on foreign trade*

Hoover's suggestion that the special session of Congress make "limited changes in the tariff," primarily in the interest of agriculture, led to a general revision of the entire system of import duties. A tariff bill was introduced in the House of Representatives by Willis C. Hawley, Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee.

The Senate Finance Committee, under the chairmanship of Reed Smoot of Utah, reported the bill out without vital change; and the Hawley-Smoot measure, as finally enacted in 1930, raised import duties considerably higher than had the Fordney-McCumber Tariff of 1922—which was the highest tariff in American history up to that time. The American Bankers Association and groups of exporters urged the President not to sign the bill; and more than one thousand economists, including practically all the outstanding men in that field, petitioned him to veto this measure. They pointed out that the tariff would reduce exports by limiting imports, that it would not protect agriculture because the prices of farm products were determined by what such products would bring on the world markets, and that it would invite retaliatory tariffs and trade regulations from foreign countries. The President signed the bill, however; and, although it was not what he had wanted, he defended it—like Taft had done in the case of the Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act. The predictions of the economists were soon realized, and more than a score of countries, including Great Britain and the dominions, adopted retaliatory tariffs. Critics of the Hawley-Smoot Tariff were convinced that this law was a major factor in the decline in American exports from $5,241,000,000 in 1929 to $1,611,000,000 in 1933, and imports from $4,309,000,000 to $1,323,000,000. In other words, it added to the severity of the depression which had an ominous beginning in October, 1929, with the collapse of the stock market.

## PANIC AND DEPRESSION

*Widespread stock market speculation 1927-29*

Although speculation in stocks and bonds was characteristic of the era of prosperity during the 'twenties, it developed to great extremes during the period 1927-29. Whereas hundreds of thousands of people invested their savings in the stocks and bonds of corporations—most of which had been watered in the expectation of increased earnings or from less worthy motives—millions purchased or sold stocks on margins. Such purchasers put up a sufficient sum to cover normal fluctuations and, when the price had risen or fallen as far as they cared or dared to risk it, they would sell and realize a profit—or loss. Great and small borrowed money from banks on inflated collateral for the purpose of speculating in the stock market.

*Dangerous extension of credit for speculative purposes*

By October, 1929, $8,500,000,000 in loans for speculative purposes were outstanding as compared with $3,500,000,000 two years before. The rise in the price level of stocks from 1927 to 1929 frequently had little or no relation to real value as judged by the earning

power of the stock. Indeed some shares which had never paid any dividends at all climbed to dizzy heights.

*A few voices raised in warning*

This insane betting on the continued rise of the prices that had insufficient foundations—and sometimes none—of real value could not continue. A few voices here and there (notably that of Roger Babson) were raised in warning. President Hoover and Secretary Mellon, although they did not anticipate the cataclysmic panic and depression that were soon to come, nevertheless were both uneasy at the excessive loans being made for speculative purposes. Hoover had the Federal Reserve Board raise the Federal rediscount rate in order to curtail speculative loans, and Mellon warned that "bonds are low in price compared to stocks."

*The stock market crash; aftermath*

The failure of important investment companies occurred here and there in Europe, Latin America, and the United States, during September, and caused a decline in numerous stocks. British interest rates were raised to six and one-half per cent to obtain needed capital that had been sucked into the American stock market mad house. To meet the growing financial stringency at home, European governments and private investors rapidly unloaded their investments, and the stock market began to drop. When loans became more difficult to obtain, American speculators began selling their holdings. On October 29, 1929, the financial storm struck with all its fury: sixteen million shares changed hands. More declines were to follow in the next few months and years, and by the summer of 1932 the average value of stocks was little more than one fifth of their peak value. It was a detonation heard round the world; and it had a chain reaction on every country. The crash brought a severe slackening in the flow of American investments abroad; and this, in turn, cut down foreign purchasing power for American exports, whether farm products or manufactured goods. It started a clogging of the main credit pump in the world's financial circulatory process, affecting German reparation settlements, installments on the Allied war debts to the United States government, and payments under various foreign obligations to American private investors.

*Background of the depression: Overproduction in agriculture*

A number of unhealthy conditions in the nation's economic life brought about a collapse of the feverish prosperity. The fundamental weakness was the lack of balance between productive capacity and production on the one hand, and purchasing power on the other. This lack of balance was especially marked in industry and agriculture. The overexpansion of agricultural and livestock production in the United States and in Canada, Argentina, and Australia, the impoverished condition of Europe resulting from war, and the system of protective and retaliatory tariffs (as already noted) were

the chief factors in curtailing the purchase abroad of American agricultural products. The reduced net agricultural income resulting from low prices curtailed the farmers' purchase of industrial products.

*Lack of balance between production and purchasing power greater in industry than was apparent*

The productive capacity and production of American industry and purchasing power of its customers at home and abroad were as much out of balance, perhaps, as was the case of American agriculture. Industrial plants had expanded, and the installation of labor saving machines had increased the output per man-hour fifty per cent between 1920 and 1929. As a matter of fact, the lack of balance between production and buying capacity was much greater than was apparent. In the foreign markets this lack of balance had been obscured for a time first by the United States government and then by private concerns supplying billions of dollars in loans, with which impoverished Europeans and South Americans were able to buy the products of American industry. The curtailment of foreign loans, because of default on previous obligations, brought the inevitable decline in foreign purchases of American goods. This meant the further piling up of unsold inventories, which had already begun for other reasons and which would compel industries to slow down production.

*Industrial overproduction obscured at home by installment buying*

The difference between purchasing power and the production of industry was blanketed in the domestic market by the long-term and easy-payment installment plan. By this method industry sold more houses, automobiles, refrigerators, radios, electric appliances, and other such goods than could be paid for at the prices charged. In the long run things had to be repossessed and, if possible, resold; and this in turn had the effect of reducing production. Long before the panic of 1929 the building industry had built far more houses than it could rent or sell, and building in many places had virtually ceased. The decline in building seriously damaged the lumber industry and the production of other building materials. The textile industry, equipped to manufacture more goods than it could dispose of, had piled up unsold inventories in stores and warehouses and had greatly reduced production even during the era of prosperity. The automobile industry, too, had about saturated the market and could not hope to continue full-scale production.

*Technological unemployment cuts down buying power*

The unemployment resulting from the curtailment of production was heavy all through the prosperous 'twenties; but the largest number without work in 1929 were those who had been displaced by labor-saving machines. The unemployment thus created was called "technological unemployment." The two to three million who were thus unemployed during the prosperous years were important fac-

tors, of course, in reducing the purchasing power of the consumer and thereby in reducing production.

*The uneven distribution of the national income, an important factor*

The distribution of the national income—when related to the artificially high level of prices for most industrial products—furnishes the explanation of much of the lack of balance between production capacity, production, and purchasing power. Due to the concentration of wealth, the larger part of the national income went to a relatively small fraction of the population. A few examples will illustrate this inequable distribution. About 305,000 persons out of a population of more than 122,000,000 in 1930 were receiving fourteen and eight-tenths per cent of the total national income; and 36,000 families in the higher income brackets were receiving as much as 11,000,000 families at the lowest income level. The small portion of the total population receiving the bulk of the national income were, of course, physically unable to consume or use more than a small fraction of the products of farm and industry, and they used only a correspondingly small part of their income to buy consumer goods. As a result they invested their incomes in stocks and bonds, deposited them on savings accounts, used them to expand the overexpanded industrial plants, or speculated on the stock exchange. Most of the agricultural and industrial products, if they were to be disposed of at all, would have to be placed in the hands of the great consuming public, composed of professional men, owners of small businesses and farms, and those on salaries and wages. But the total income of the bulk of consumers was inadequate to purchase the output of industry at the high, rigid level of prices of industrial products.

*The great depression, a rapid disintegration of the American economic structure*

The panic was followed by a general depression, with a gradual acceptance of the facts of hard times. Many factories closed while others cut down production, dismissed workers, and reduced wages. Bank failures ran into the thousands by the time of the national election in 1932, and about a fifth of the railway mileage of the country came under receiverships. Agricultural prices moved downward to an average of about fifty per cent of their value in 1929, whereas surplus farm products accumulated in warehouses. Farmers were unable to pay their debts or even meet interest payments, and wholesale foreclosures resulted. The national income in terms of dollars fell from $82,885,000,000 in 1929 to $40,074,000,000 in 1932, with the physical production of goods declining more than one third from the peak. Unemployed workers were estimated at 3,000,000 in 1930 and 12,000,000 two years later. The number was to increase. Bread lines and soup kitchens were set up in the cities

to prevent starvation. Thousands of young men rode freight trains over the nation in vain search of work.

*The "Bonus Army"; its expulsion from the capital*

A "Bonus Army" of eleven thousand men, accompanied in some cases by their wives and children, assembled in Washington, D.C., in the summer of 1932 and demanded additional government payments to ex-servicemen. Some established themselves in shacks outside of Washington and others camped in the old vacant buildings on Pennsylvania Avenue. After Congress failed to pass the bonus bill and prepared to adjourn in July, it appropriated $100,000 at Hoover's request to pay the men's fare back to their homes. Six thousand accepted transportation expenses and left; but the others refused to leave. Finally in a moment of exasperation the President had them evicted from the old buildings and escorted out of Washington by military force. Two veterans were killed and two wounded in the process. It was an unfortunate incident, and it was not good publicity in the Presidential campaign of 1932.

*Hoover considers relief a state and local obligation*

To meet the problem of unemployment relief the President at first insisted doggedly that the states and local governments, assisted by private philanthropy, should carry the burden of relief. This was in the accepted tradition. The state governments and local communities, not the national government, had always been the chief source of direct, individual relief.

*Resources of states and cities near exhaustion by the end of 1930*

By the end of 1930, however, the financial resources of even the wealthiest cities and states were nearing exhaustion, and it had become obvious to mayors and governors that only the great resources of the Federal government itself could prevent mass starvation and save the national economy from disintegration. Not until another year had passed, however, did the President give evidence of being convinced that the depression was too far-reaching and deep-seated for local governments to handle without aid from the Federal government. In the meantime the principal Federal aid that he advocated was an extensive public works program.

*The election of 1930*

Perhaps the election of 1930 was an important factor in convincing the President that the Federal government would eventually have to assume the major role in coping with the rapidly deteriorating economic situation. The Democratic leaders were able, with the aid of increasing misery and hopelessness of the people, to argue convincingly that the Republican Party was responsible for the disaster. Hoover's opposition to a program of direct Federal relief was offered as proof of his callous indifference to human suffering; and his apparent preoccupation with corporations and banks strengthened the argument that the Republican Party, and especially the

President, were responsible for the country's disaster. When the election was over, the Democrats had reduced an unwieldy Republican majority in the House to an impotent minority. The Senate was about evenly divided, but the Democrats controlled that body, as a rule, through an alliance with insurgent Republicans. John Nance Garner of Texas was chosen Speaker of the House.

*The establishment of the RFC, a great lending agency*

In the last year of his term, Hoover began to advocate a more positive role for the national government in the relief program, and in doing so anticipated important features of the Roosevelt New Deal. He had become convinced that further deflation and bankruptcies must be checked by government intervention in the form of ample loans, or the entire economic structure of the nation might collapse. He urged Congress in December, 1931, to establish a Federal lending agency well supplied with funds. In response to his request, Congress created the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) in January, 1932, with a capitalization of $500,000,000 and permission to incur a much greater indebtedness. It was authorized to extend government loans to life insurance companies, banks, railroads, agricultural marketing and exporting associations, and to other business and commercial enterprises. Later, Congress, acting on the recommendation of the President, authorized the RFC to extend loans of $300,000,000 to states unable to finance relief and $1,500,000,000 to state and local governmental agencies for the construction of self-liquidating projects. The RFC lent many millions to hard-pressed banks, agricultural credit corporations, railroads, insurance companies, and state governments. Its advances of loans approached $2,000,000,000 by the end of the Hoover Administration. These loans were largely instrumental in cutting down bank failures from 2294 in 1931 to 1456 in 1932, and it aided in stabilizing many other corporate and business enterprises in which the public interest was gravely involved. In doing this, however, the RFC also bolstered up many unsound institutions which eventually went down carrying millions of hard-earned savings with them.

*Home Loan Banks*

In July, 1932, Congress established a system of Home Loan Banks to discount home mortgages and minimize foreclosures. This system of banks was continued under Roosevelt, and by the end of the latter's second term it had made loans of more than a billion dollars.

*Public works speeded up to aid unemployment*

Hoover instructed the various departments to speed up Federal construction, and on September 9 he gave out a statement that Federal "expenditures on all classes of construction since the depression began and up to next July will total about $2,300,000,000," a sum representing more than double the normal amount

thus expended. The expanded expenditures, combined with reduced receipts, especially from income taxes, unbalanced the budget with a substantial deficit, a feature which was also to characterize the New Deal to a significant degree.

## INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS

*Science and technology*

The intellectual trends of postwar America were an index of the reaction from idealism to disillusionment and gross materialism. Science and technology furnished a dominant note to the thought streams of the times. New and specialized courses in this field came into the college curriculum. Impetus to scientific research was given by institutions of learning, endowed foundations, agencies of government, and industrial corporations. Taking a cue from business, the study and practice of government developed a technical science of administration. Psychology expanded as a laboratory science and furnished techniques for testing pupils in schools and employees in industry. In philosophy, John Dewey expounded a scientific cultural emphasis to a wide following.

*Scientific trends in psychology and philosophy*

*Science and religion*

The spreading of the ideas of materialistic psychology, biological evolution, and relativity in physics renewed the challenge to absolutist assumptions in the sphere of religion that Darwinism had offered in the nineteenth century. A formidable conflict again developed between Modernism and Fundamentalism, with many disillusioned souls rejecting the old without accepting the new interpretation of spiritual values. In a few rural states, laws or school regulations were adopted to prevent the teaching at public expense of the theory of the evolution of man from lower forms of animal life.

*Revolt of the "highbrows"*

There was a miscellaneous "highbrow" revolt against religious Fundamentalism, prohibition, Victorian social conventions, contemporary politics, and the cultural tastes of prosperous businessmen. Certain scholars and writers set up a disillusioning revision of the story of the coming of the First World War, meting out a large share of guilt to the Allies. It also became the fashion for writers of history to hunt up all the filth they could find and hurl it at the reputations of our national leaders, not even excepting Washington. This popular pastime was known as the "debunking" of history.

*Revolt against old-time ethical traditions*

An even more serious reaction against the high idealism of the war period was the disposition among some groups to reject and even deride the ethical traditions on which the structure of the American social system was based. In too many novels and movie plays stern moralists and religious leaders played ridiculous roles while uninhibited Don Juans appeared as glamorous heroes. Some of the con-

ventions that for generations had guarded feminine virtue were now toned down or completely discarded. The greater freedom allowed to men and women in their social relations led to the widespread practice of methods of endearment known as "necking" and "petting." Furthermore, breaches in chastity by women did not incur as great a loss in social standing as formerly.

*Art and literature*

During the postwar decade architecture made considerable advance. Private homes and commercial buildings frequently conformed to the requirements of good taste, and in the case of the latter sometimes reached a high standard of beauty. In the 'twenties the skyscraper, America's one outstanding contribution to architecture, reached a high degree of beauty and perfection. It is debatable as to whether painting made any substantial advance during this decade; indeed, in the opinion of some critics it actually lost ground. Much of the "modernistic" painting of this decade and the next had no meaning to the average man.[1] In literature the trend toward realism and naturalism which had begun by the end of the nineteenth century had by this time reached an advanced stage in its reaction against the romanticism of the previous generation. As in the preceding and following decades the fiction of this period was deeply imbued with the spirit of pessimism. The writers of this fiction made a vigorous attempt at realism, but their works were often far from realistic. By exaggerating shortcomings and disregarding real values they frequently rendered their pictures of American life caricatures rather than authentic portrayals. Many of the novels gave detailed accounts of sex incidents and thus made a low sensual appeal. It ought to be added, however, that in this era (including the preceding decade as well as that of the 'thirties) there were some clean novels of high literary value.[2]

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CHAPTER XLI

# *The New Deal*

## The Election of 1932

*Republican and Democratic nominees and platforms*

THE Republicans had little choice but to renominate Hoover in 1932, although the economic crisis, now three years old, had frequently taken on the label of "Hoover depression." Curtis was renominated for Vice-President. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the popular governor of New York, was nominated for the Presidency on the fourth ballot by the Democrats meeting in national convention in Chicago. John Nance Garner, Speaker of the House, was named for the Vice-Presidency. The Democratic platform was concise, proposing, along with other reforms, to reduce government expenses, reform the banking system, regulate stock and commodity exchanges and the sale of securities, maintain a "sound" currency, and establish a "competitive" tariff system with reciprocal trade agreements. Other planks favored labor, Philippine independence, and adherence to the World Court. Both platforms promised the submission to the states of an amendment repealing the Eighteenth (prohibition) Amendment. The Democratic platform was, however, more decisive in its opposition to prohibition than was that of the Republicans. Governor Roosevelt flew from Albany to Chicago to accept the nomination in an unprecedented appearance, in which he made a ringing call for a "New Deal."

*Roosevelt; personal traits and previous career*

Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1882-1945), now fifty years old, was a candidate with political ability, experience, and great personal magnetism. Like the other President of that name—whom he greatly admired and whose niece he had married—he came from a wealthy patrician family of social prominence and had received his formal education at Groton and Harvard. Although such a background is usually associated with aristocratic traditions, each of the Roosevelts essayed the role of tribune of the people. Franklin Delano had passed several important rungs in scaling the political ladder; he had been a member of the New York legislature, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Democratic nominee for Vice-President in 1920, and finally a successful governor of New York. Having been stricken

with infantile paralysis in 1921, he made a heroic fight against the disease and won a victory over it except for a lameness in both legs.

*Results of the election*

Roosevelt possessed as good a radio voice as has ever been used in American politics. He also made full use of this valuable asset in a speaking campaign that covered 25,000 miles. Many leaders of independent or progressive leanings turned to Roosevelt, among them George W. Norris of Nebraska, Hiram Johnson of California, Robert M. ("Young Bob") La Follette of Wisconsin, Harold L. Ickes of Illinois, and Henry A. Wallace of Iowa. With few exceptions, isolationist sentiment was strong in this group, and it was made clear in the campaign that Roosevelt was no longer crusading for the League of Nations in America as the Democrats had in 1920. The Democrats swept a solid West as well as a solid South, with Hoover carrying only the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. The Electoral College vote was 472 to 59. The popular vote was 22,809,638 for Roosevelt to 15,758,901 for Hoover; whereas Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, received a popular vote of slightly less than 900,000, and William Z. Foster, the Communist, polled over 100,000. The Democrats had not only won a heavy majority in each house of Congress but had also piled up big majorities in state and local contests.

## THE CRITICAL INTERIM

*Four months without effective government*

The four months between the November election and the beginning of the Roosevelt Administration constituted a trying period of marking time in crisis. This crisis strikingly illustrated the need for the Twentieth Amendment moving the end of the Presidential term up from March 4 to January 20 and that of Congress to January 3. But that "lame-duck" Amendment did not take effect until February 6, 1933.

*Roosevelt's refusal to commit himself to any policy in advance of his inauguration*

The convening of the World Economic Conference in London had to be postponed several weeks because of the change in the American administration. World and national economic conditions were deteriorating fast, with increasing distress and unemployment. After failing to get co-operation from Governor Roosevelt in advancing plans for American participation in the London Conference, Hoover later sought the President-elect's aid in checking rumors of currency changes and of widespread inflation. The latter, however, would make no commitments of any sort in advance of his inauguration.

The inability of the Hoover Administration, after its defeat, to assure the country of any line of action on its own authority or that

*Panic and a feeling of impending doom seizes the people in the spring of 1933*

of the President-elect paralyzed the government as an agent of recovery. The President thus came to the end of his administration with a deep sense of frustration; and panic again seized the people in the midst of depression. Frantic runs on banks soon closed the doors of many of them and a feeling of impending doom hung over the country. This general apprehension was accentuated by the widespread belief that the new Administration would abandon the gold standard.

### ROOSEVELT'S FIRST TERM: ROOSEVELT TAKES CHARGE

*Roosevelt's Inaugural Address*

The depression was thus reaching its nadir when Franklin Delano Roosevelt was inaugurated on March 4, 1933, as the thirty-second President. His Inaugural Address was characterized by a tone of absolute assurance as to the future of the country, which revived a feeling of hope in many anxious men and women. ". . . this great nation," he said, "will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper." It was his "firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself—nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed efforts to convert retreat into advance." True the economic life of the country had reached a low ebb, but the means of recovery were at hand. "Our distress comes from no failure of substance, from no plague of locusts." "Plenty is at our doorsteps, but a generous use of it languishes in the very sight of the supply." The program which the President outlined in his Inaugural Address was a preview of the early New Deal. It also indicated his intention of having the executive act the dominant role in carrying out this program and later policies.

*The Cabinet*

Roosevelt moved swiftly from decisive words to decisive action. He had members of his Cabinet sworn in at the White House a few hours after his inauguration and instructed them to take over their duties at once. For the State Department he named Cordell Hull, a Tennessean who had served in both houses of Congress and mastered the arguments for a policy of low tariffs and encouragement of world trade. William H. Woodin, a New York banker, became Secretary of the Treasury, but soon resigned because of ill health, to be replaced by Henry Morgenthau, Jr., of the same state. The Cabinet, on the whole, was somewhat conspicuous for the absence of Democratic leaders of national importance. Significantly, it included Henry A. Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture and Harold L. Ickes as Secretary of the Interior, who were New Deal converts to the party, and Frances Perkins (Mrs. Paul Wilson), who served as Secretary of Labor and became the first woman Cabinet officer. James A. Farley, who had managed the election campaign as chair-

man of the Democratic National Committee, became Postmaster General. Closer to the President than most Cabinet members were a few informal advisers popularly designated as the "brain trust."

*Emergency steps concerning the reopening of banks and the withdrawal of gold*

The banking situation was the most critical problem with which the new President had to deal. In a number of states the banks had been temporarily closed by action of the state authorities and those that were still open were having dangerous runs on them made by their depositors. Haste was demanded and within twenty-four hours after the inauguration Roosevelt issued an executive order closing all banks in the nation for four days and prohibiting the withdrawal or transfer of gold either for domestic use or for export. At the end of the four-day period (March 9), Congress was in special session and it promptly passed on that day the Emergency Banking Bill. This law permitted sound banks in the Federal Reserve system to reopen under license from the Treasury Department, provided for "conservators" to handle the restricted operation or liquidation of insolvent banks, and authorized expanded Federal Reserve Bank loans of currency based on government bonds. The act also empowered the Treasury to call in all gold and gold certificates. By March 15, establishments controlling nine tenths of the banking resources of the country were again in operation, and the money panic was over, although many closed banks were never to reopen. Gold came out of hoarding, and currency found its way back into banks to the credit of depositors.

*The Economy Act and the Beer Act*

Two other bills, the Economy Act and the Beer Act, were speedily passed in March, 1933. The Economy Act authorized the President to cut the salaries of administrative officers as much as fifteen per cent, reduce payments to veterans, especially for nonservice disability, and to reorganize governmental agencies for purposes of economy. If the provisions of this act were carried out it would mean a saving of nearly half a billion dollars; but it caused a vast amount of criticism, so that the reductions for ex-soldiers did not remain permanent. The Beer Act, heralded as a revenue measure, legalized beer of three and two-tenths per cent alcoholic content as being within the scope and meaning of the Eighteenth Amendment, which was destined to an early repeal. Congress had in February, 1933, voted to submit the Twenty-first Amendment, repealing the Eighteenth Amendment, to the state conventions for approval. The new amendment had been ratified by the required number of states by December 6, 1933, and so prohibition came to an end at that time.

*Repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment*

The President and his advisers made wide use of an emergency strategy of drafting legislation in broad terms with provision for dis-

*The emergency strategy of the President in drafting and obtaining the enactment of laws*

cretionary amplification by the President and other officers in the process of administration. Later, when the emergency was not so great, the continuation of this procedure gave rise to much unfavorable criticism and supplied some of the argument used by those who charged that the President was aiming at dictatorship.

### RELIEF, RECOVERY, AND REFORM

*Roosevelt's program (the Three R's)*

Congress, called into special session by the President, met on March 9, 1933, and for a hundred days was busy enacting Roosevelt's proposals into legislation. The President had a carefully prepared plan for relief, recovery, and reform (the Three R's). The policies adopted for reaching these objectives were so interrelated that they cannot be differentiated by sharp lines of demarcation. For example, relief grants by increasing the purchasing power of the people were an aid to recovery. On the other hand, some of the reform measures were an aid both to relief and recovery. Congress showed a remarkable willingness to carry out this program, and in so doing expanded the Federal government to an unprecedented extent. The most urgent part of this program was relief. There were two ways in which relief was dispensed—one by giving direct aid, or the dole, and the other by furnishing employment on work projects.

*The CCC; its valuable work and aid to young men*

The first step toward work relief was the establishment of the Civilian Conservation Corp (CCC) under an act of Congress passed March 31, 1933. Its object was to provide employment and vocational training to that vast army of young men and boys wandering over the country on foot, in broken down cars, and on freight trains in search of jobs and, all too often, committing crimes and misdemeanors in their idleness and desperation. The CCC employees lived in organized camps under army supervision and performed valuable services in the conservation and development of public natural resources. Aside from food, clothing, and care, they were paid thirty dollars per month, part of which they were permitted to retain and the remainder they were required to send to their parents or dependents. These young men, chiefly from towns and cities and at first ignorant of practically everything related to forest and field, set out millions of trees, built dams for lakes and fish ponds, constructed roads, built terraces in eroded areas, and improved national and state parks by cleaning out underbrush and installing cabins and picnic shelters. They did innumerable other tasks, most of which were useful; but the greatest value of the CCC was the wholesome effect that this hard work and systematic training did for them, and the financial relief afforded to them and their needy parents and families.

*Direct relief for the mass of unemployed; the FERA*

The CCC was only the beginning of direct Federal relief under the New Deal, for it dealt with a relatively small fraction of the unemployed. To meet the urgent needs of the remainder of the vast army of jobless and destitute people, Congress in early May passed the Federal Emergency Relief Act providing for direct and substantial Federal aid. To administer the provisions of the relief act the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) was immediately established, under the direction of Harry Hopkins, a former social worker of New York and friend and adviser of the President. Under the terms of the act a portion of the grants-in-aid were to be made to state and local governments on condition that the latter appropriate three dollars for every dollar given by the Federal government. The remainder of the grants-in-aid were to be made to those states unable to finance any part of the relief load and were to be given directly to individuals in need. The FERA was to operate through state and local agencies, which were to devise work-relief projects.

*The CWA established as a work-relief agency; the era of "leaf-raking"*

In October, 1933, Congress, at the request of the President, authorized the establishment of the Civil Works Administration (CWA) under the FERA in the expectation of providing work relief to replace the dole. Within a short time CWA had three million on its rolls, working at whatever jobs local authorities could conjure up. Roadsides were landscaped, holes were filled up in country roads, jails and courthouses were cleaned (of dirt) and painted, and leaves were raked in parks, private grounds—and, some thought, in the woods. Indeed this was the famous era of "leaf-raking" and "boondoggling." CWA spent about $900,000,000 before it was terminated at the end of six months, with little in the way of worthwhile accomplishments to its credit. It was probably more demoralizing than the straight-out dole, for the type of work usually carried on was obviously of little or no value and was looked upon as a pretense and a fraud by the workers. It tended to make men careless and indifferent when employed later on better planned and more valuable projects of the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works (PWA) and the Works Progress Administration (WPA).

*The WPA, a great improvement; some of its accomplishments*

There was no marked improvement in the plan of work relief until April, 1935, when the WPA was organized. The WPA, established under the Emergency Relief Act of April, 1935, and under the direction of Harry Hopkins, was a considerable improvement in these two respects: the unemployables were eliminated and were given direct Federal aid through the local agencies, and more expert and common-sense plans were worked out. The WPA was continued as the chief work relief agency until the Second World

War removed the problem of unemployment. Before its termination this agency had employed nearly nine million persons and had expended about $13,000,000,000. It built 650,000 miles of hard-surface roads, nearly 80,000 new bridges, 35,000 public buildings, repaired and remodeled another 90,000, and completed many thousands of other lesser projects of value.

*WPA projects for stranded intellectuals*

In addition to providing relief for unemployed manual laborers, WPA developed special features to provide work for stranded intellectuals. These activities included projects for writers, artists, actors, and the like, as well as arrangements by the National Youth Administration (a WPA organization) for part-time "white-collar" employment for needy high school and college students to supplement their living expenses. Aside from the matter of relief, much of this work was of questionable value. But the projects in many instances resulted in substantial contributions to art and learning in a popular sense. Useful and extensive work, for instance, was performed in copying, classifying, and preserving historical records, as well as in preparing volumes for publication, particularly a series of state "guides."

*Social security legislation*

While wrestling with the problems of emergency relief, the President and Congress also focused attention upon ways and means for maintaining a measure of permanent social security for workers. Aside from the merits of a system of social security, political strategy seemed to call for steps in this direction in view of the wide following being achieved by Dr. Francis E. Townsend, who advocated rather extravagant old-age pensions, and Senator Huey P. Long, who was making a strong appeal with the "Share-Our-Wealth" Plan.[1] Congress passed the Social Security Act of August, 1935. This provided for: (1) unemployment insurance for workers to be administered through state systems but with the financial support of Federal taxes on business or industrial pay rolls; (2) old age and survivors' insurance to be administered by the Federal government and supported by taxes on wages and pay rolls; and (3) grants-in-aid to the states for public welfare services, such as assistance for needy and blind children, maternal and child welfare service, and aid to the needy aged not covered by old-age insurance. The first and third of these features depended upon state action, and all states responded with legislation for administrative compliance, although with variations in rates and periods of benefits. Farm workers and domestic servants were two large groups of workers that were not covered by the insurance benefits. Teachers and government em-

[1] Long advocated a redistribution of the country's wealth so that each family would get at least $5000.

ployees also were omitted, although many of these groups were already under other retirement plans. Separate legislation set up a retirement system for railway workers. The act was upheld by the Supreme Court, and it became the basis of what seems to be an accepted fixture in American industrial society. As opposition to the program waned, advocates increased demands for bringing uncovered workers into the system.

*Insurance of bank deposits*

In banking, as well as in the other elements of the capitalistic system, Roosevelt appeared to aim, not at revolution, but at reform, with emphasis on regulation of business and intervention at strategic points to aid private enterprise. The policies laid down in the Emergency Banking Act of March, 1933, were strengthened and expanded by other significant legislative and administrative measures. A Federal Deposit and Insurance Corporation was created for insuring bank deposits up to $5000 for each depositor in each bank. The RFC was continued with expansions, particularly in the realm of industry.

*The regulation of the issue and sale of securities*

The Securities Act of May, 1933, and the Securities and Exchange Act of June, 1934, provided for the regulation of the sale of stocks and other securities on the basis of the principle "let the seller beware." Some banks and investment houses had, during the era of "prosperity," sold what they knew to be worthless securities to an unsuspecting public. Frequently, too, they had manipulated security prices for the purpose of reaping profits from those not on the "inside." These acts of 1933 and 1934 attempted to prevent certain kinds of stock manipulation, and established stricter rules for buying stock on margin. They required that full information should be given out concerning the issue of new securities. Violation of this requirement carried heavy penalties. The enforcement of these regulations was placed in the hands of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) created by the Securities and Exchange Act of 1934.

*The "death sentence" for utility holding companies*

This act also gave the SEC the power and duty to reduce the excessive pyramids of utility holding companies with relation to operating systems, even to the extent of administering what was popularly termed the "death sentence" to such companies. These superholding companies were pyramided on other holding companies and appeared to have no relationship to the business of generating and distributing electric power. They seemed to be of a parasitical nature, making no contributions but receiving large tributes. It was found during an investigation that the owners of $600,000,000 in shares of a certain holding company had control of corporations worth $13,000,000,000. Roosevelt characterized this

situation as a four-inch tail wagging a ninety-six-inch dog. After a bitter fight the SEC and the power companies finally worked out a plan for abolishing those holding companies that had no real function in the field of public utilities.

*The establishment and consolidation of other lending agencies*

Credit to farmers was extended through old and new agencies—such as the Farm Loan Bank, the Intermediate Credit Banks, and the Federal Farm Board—which were brought together under the Farm Credit Administration (FCA) in 1933. The FCA was soon lending the distressed farm population $5,000,000 a day, chiefly to refinance mortgages on a long-term and low-interest basis or to repurchase farms which had been lost by mortgage foreclosure. Another lending agency, the Farm Security Administration, was established under an act of Congress in 1935 to finance low-income farmers, chiefly tenants generally lacking other sources of credit. The Home Owners' Loan Corporation was created in June, 1933, as an emergency agency to make loans to save nonfarm homes from foreclosure. After effecting directly and indirectly the refinancing of hundreds of thousands of mortgages, its regular activities ceased after three years. Another agency, the Federal Housing Administration, was set up (1934) to insure private lending institutions against losses from housing loans. This was one of the most successful of the New Deal agencies. It proved a great stimulus to the building of private homes at low interest rates and on long-term payments.

*Provision for controlled inflation; abrogation of the "gold clause"*

The President and Congress sought to boost prices and to ease debt burdens through methods of controlled monetary inflation. The emergency measures, including the executive order of March 6 and the act of Congress on March 9, 1933, for preventing the withdrawing and hoarding of gold, were followed by a joint resolution of Congress in June, 1933, abrogating all contractual requirements for payment of debts in gold, whether public or private. Private ownership of gold coin, gold certificates, or gold bullion was made a criminal offense. The notes of national banks and of Federal Reserve Banks were made legal tender for all purposes, and the latter, with a managed elasticity, became the predominant national currency. The Supreme Court upheld the Administration in "gold clause" cases. Although declaring the abrogation unconstitutional as applying to the gold clause in government bonds, it denied damage or loss of buying power to the plaintiff for having to take paper money instead of gold.

*The devaluation of the dollar and the impounding of the gold reserve*

Congress (by acts of May, 1933, and January, 1934) authorized the President to reduce the gold content of the gold dollar, to impound all gold held by the Federal Reserve, and to set up a stabilization fund for the purchase of gold. Accordingly, Roosevelt

reduced the gold content of the dollar to approximately fifty-nine per cent of the former weight. The gold supply of the Federal Reserve Banks was placed in the United States Treasury, with a profit to the government of three and a half billion dollars from the devaluation. The Reserve Banks received gold certificates for reserve uses. The theory behind these steps was that commodity prices would be raised, but the achievement was only negligible. The inflationists' hopes and the gold standard adherents' fears both failed to materialize. The United States became the world's chief purchaser and owner of gold, with accumulated billions in the precious metal stored at Fort Knox, Kentucky. Gold, imported at high prices, constituted a substantial item in foreign business and international payments in the middle 'thirties.

*Another silver purchase act*

Under pressure from the "silver bloc," Congress, with the support of the President, passed the Silver Purchase Act of June, 1934. The Roosevelt Administration then launched a silver purchasing program at home and abroad at prices ranging considerably above the competitive market value. Most of the silver was stored in Treasury vaults, especially at West Point. Although more than half a billion dollars in silver certificates went into circulation, this gesture was not effective in any inflationary sense. The Administration was criticized for the silver program as a special favor to the silver mining interests.

The President exercised certain salutary restraints on the policy of inflation. The Treasury never purchased the full amount of silver allowed by the act and did not issue circulating notes, although Congress had authorized the issue of such notes up to $3,000,000,000. Roosevelt scotched another inflationary move when he successfully vetoed a soldier bonus bill on May, 1935, for the issue of $2,200,000,000 in treasury notes to pay off veterans' certificates immediately. A somewhat more moderate bill for converting the certificates into nine-year three per cent bonds instead of treasury notes was passed over his veto in January, 1936.

*Adoption of the A.A.A program; limitation of crop production and subsidy payments*

The greatest and most difficult problem that the Roosevelt Administration had to face was that of restoring American agriculture to a healthful and prosperous condition. The depressed state of the American farmer during the 'twenties (see pp. 756 ff.) could not be relieved by the favorable credit terms which the government was producing. Crop reduction, which would create an artificial scarcity, seemed the most feasible way of eliminating the surplus. Farmers could not of their own accord restrict production to check declining prices as could major industrial groups. This had been tried under both Coolidge and Hoover—without success. The chief

answer to their demand was the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA), which was established in the Department of Agriculture under the provisions of the Agricultural Adjustment Act of May 12, 1933. This complex measure was designed mainly to limit production, thereby eliminating the surplus, and restore prices for major agricultural commodities.

*Payment for crop reduction*

The central feature of the AAA plan consisted of payments to farmers who agreed under contract to reduce the size of acreage or crops devoted to production for sale. The funds for government payments came from a tax on the processing of the particular farm products as they passed through mill or plant. Since much of the 1933 planting was completed before the plan could be put into operation, compliance meant plowing up portions of crops. In the case of swine, small pigs were destroyed. This aspect of the program was widely criticized by the opposition; both Socialists and conservatives complained about it.

*Reduction of cotton acreage in 1933; adoption of the quota system*

Acreage reduction of wheat and corn was not attempted in 1933, but about one fourth of the cotton was plowed up and cash payments were made on cotton fields thus destroyed that ranged from seven to twenty dollars an acre. Government commodity loans on the basis of highly pegged prices also aided the program, and cotton soon rose to nine and one-half cents a pound. Acreage reduction proved inadequate in the case of cotton since the farmers made good use of fertilizer, improved their methods of cultivation, and concentrated upon their best lands for the reduced cash crops. As a result, a system of marketing quotas for cotton was established by the Cotton Control Act of April 21, 1934, with penalties amounting to five cents a pound on farmers' sales in excess of their allotted amounts. This had the desired effect; and in 1935 the quota system was applied to other crops, notably tobacco.

On the whole, the policy of control and acreage reduction was effective in substantially raising farm income; but it tended to weaken the general export position of cotton and other farm products, because prices in the American market were bolstered above world market levels.

*The AAA declared unconstitutional*

Although the AAA was usually very popular with the bulk of farmers, the processors who paid the tax to finance the benefit payments were bitterly opposed to it from the start. As a result suits were brought to test the constitutionality of the law. In 1936 the main features of the Agricultural Adjustment Act were held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in the Hoosac Mills case (*United States* v. *Butler*) on the grounds that there was nothing in the constitution which justified Federal control of agriculture and that

the act violated the reserved rights of the states. The processing tax was declared unconstitutional because it was a means of attaining an illegal end.

*Conservation and voluntary allotment plans substituted*

To overcome these objections and retain agricultural production control, Congress enacted the Soil Conservation and Allotment Act of 1936, laying down a general policy which was continued through subsequent legislation. Control was made incidental to soil conservation, with payments out of appropriated funds to farmers for voluntarily planting portions of their lands in soil improvement crops, such as clover or peas, and for applying other soil-improvement practices. This indirectly withdrew acreage from the production of basic cash crops, and it brought about much needed attention to the problem of conserving and replenishing the soil. The upbuilding of the soil was to constitute an important factor in the urgent increase of farm production for war purposes after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. Arrangements were set up by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 for making continuance of the control program dependent upon a two-thirds favorable vote by the participating farmers, the vote referendum being by crops.

*Establishment of NRA for regulation of industrial production and labor relations*

While Congress was passing the Agricultural Adjustment Act in May, 1933, it was working on a measure calculated to aid industry and labor in a similar fashion. This was the National Industrial Recovery Act which was passed in June. It provided for planned and controlled production in industry, just as the AAA did in agriculture, to prevent overproduction in terms of purchasing power and end destructive competition both in wage and price cutting. In order to stimulate the heavy industries and to aid unemployment, the law provided for an ambitious public works program with an initial appropriation of more than $3,000,000,000. Both labor and industry were to be aided by the provision for the establishment of shorter work days and minimum wages. It was believed that this would result in a wider spread of employment and at the same time would increase the purchasing power of the workers. Finally, a section (7a) guaranteed the employees the right of collective bargaining through representatives of their own choosing and prohibited the "yellow dog" contract by which an employee agreed either to join a company union or to join no union. Business practices involving wages, hours, prices, and other conditions were to be agreed on by industries, and the agreements were to be embodied in codes.

*The administration of NRA*

In executing the code provisions, President Roosevelt created the National Recovery Administration (NRA), with Hugh S. Johnson as administrator. A blue eagle was proclaimed the symbol

of industrial recovery, and all concerns complying with the administrative regulations set up under the law were permitted to display the blue eagle poster. More than five hundred national codes were put into effect, numerous supplements were added, and about 22,000,000 workers were affected.

*The Supreme Court declares principal section of NRA unconstitutional*

In a short time, however, there were complaints from every source against the operation of the NRA. The growing disfavor made the problem of NRA enforcement difficult. Indeed before the end of 1934 the law had proved a failure in its major purposes. Industry was in revolt against the labor section, especially as interpreted by the newly created National Labor Relations Board; labor was dissatisfied with the undeniable tendency of industry to reduce the pay of skilled workers to the minimum required by the code for unskilled employees and to replace workmen with labor saving machines. Small industries and business firms doing a local business on a narrow margin of profit were unable to abide by the minimum-wage and maximum-hour requirements of the codes and survive. The public was angry at the monopolistic practices of industry and the resulting rise in the prices and was out of sympathy with the policy of the NRA of bringing small intrastate businesses under the operation of codes. In the spring of 1935 the Supreme Court in the Schecter Case held the NRA features of the law unconstitutional as a Federal invasion of intrastate commerce and as a wide and improper delegation of lawmaking power to the President. Roosevelt, unwilling to concede the failure of one of his basic relief measures, felt that the Supreme Court had dealt his recovery program a serious blow and that it had done so in the face of public opinion. His decision to reconstitute the Supreme judiciary probably dates from this time.

*The PWA as an aid to industry and labor*

The adverse decision, however, did not affect the public works provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act. This program consisted partly of grants and loans to state and local governments for approved projects. Under the plan President Roosevelt set up the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, which became popularly known as the PWA. This agency, headed by Secretary Ickes of the Department of the Interior, directly and indirectly undertook the construction of public highways, buildings, parkways, conservation projects, low-cost housing, subsistence homesteads, and other types of community improvements and facilities. The Grand Coulee Dam and power plant on the Columbia River constituted a PWA undertaking. In all, the PWA spent more than $4,250,000,000 on 34,000 different projects. With the passing of the

worst of the depression, emphasis came to be placed upon self-liquidating undertakings, and some of the PWA activities were transferred to other New Deal agencies.

*Establishment of TVA; an experiment in regional planning*

The Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), a government corporation created by an act of Congress in May, 1933, was the realization of certain ideas for the development of the Tennessee Valley—and perhaps other river systems—which Senator George W. Norris and President Roosevelt shared. The statute provided for the development of the Tennessee and its tributaries in the interest of navigation, flood control, and the generation and disposition of electricity. TVA moved swiftly into the task of changing a great river system into a chain of lakes, a task with work and cost far surpassing that involved in constructing the Panama Canal. Its fluctuating employment had a peak of more than forty thousand on the pay roll. As a result of this activity between 1933 and 1944, the waters of the Tennessee between Knoxville, Tennessee, and Paducah, Kentucky, are controlled by nine dams, while a greater number hold tributary streams in check. This development was to make it possible to build ocean-going vessels at Decatur, Alabama, in wartime and to move them downstream to the sea. The electricity produced at the dams and coal-consuming plants found service through purchase by municipalities, rural co-operatives, and private corporations, with war plants and projects using three fourths of the output in war years. The improved navigation and the supply of cheap electricity attracted various large and small industries to a valley which had been a large exporter of workers to industrial districts beyond the region.

*A "yardstick"*

One purpose of the project was to determine the cost of producing electricity—to find a norm by which the charges of private utilities could be gauged. In this way the government would furnish the country with a "yardstick" by which it could measure the practices of private industries of the same character. The latter, however, contended that, because TVA enjoyed certain governmental favors, the cost-standards set by it were unfair to private corporations which had to market their electricity without such assistance. The experts disagreed as to the validity of this argument; but as a practical result of TVA many private utilities did reduce their rates.

*The TVA meets challenge and criticism*

The TVA, however, had to meet challenge and criticism. Private power companies for a time resorted to litigation and other means to obstruct it in its program of production and disposition of electricity. The expansion of production by TVA was matched, however, by an expansion of consumption, and the private utilities did not meet with the reverses which many had expected.

*Organized labor expands and splits*

There were other gains for labor under the New Deal besides social security and emergency relief. The NRA guarantee of collective bargaining in industry stimulated a wide movement for unionization, not only of craftsmen, but also of general industrial workers and common laborers. A sharp controversy developed in the American Federation of Labor (AFL) over the issue of organizing industrial unions across craft lines. John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers of America, headed a Committee for Industrial Organization, which was expelled from the AFL in 1936 and later became a system of unions under the label of Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). By 1940 the CIO claimed some four million members for its constituent unions. Lewis was later to break with the CIO and its President, Philip Murray, and, after a period of waiting, he was to lead his miners' union back to the AFL. The Roosevelt Administration, with the President personally concerned, was unable to find a remedy for the serious cleavage in organized labor.

*New protection of bargaining rights for labor*

The unions found protection and helpful legislation other than the invalidated provisions of the National Industrial Recovery Act. A little NRA for the coal industry was established by a second Guffey Coal Act of 1937, after the first such act was held unconstitutional. The Supreme Court upheld the National Labor Relations Act, or Wagner Law, of 1935, which guaranteed rights of collective bargaining, outlawed company unions, and prohibited employer pressure in union matters. It created a new National Labor Relations Board of three members to administer the law through investigations, hearings, and the supervision of employee elections for choosing bargaining units. It surpassed all previous legislation in providing effective protection for the organizational activities of workers. It was severely criticized for giving little attention to employers' rights, and later there was to be a public reaction in favor of remedial legislation.

*Wage and hour legislation*

The movement for new labor legislation did not stop with guarantees as to collective bargaining. Of particular importance to unorganized workers in industry was the Fair Labor Standards Act, which was passed in 1938 in the face of opposition from many quarters, particularly from the South. It, too, was based on the commerce clause of the Constitution. Besides providing for the regulation of child labor in nonfarm and nonlocal occupations, it established a division in the Department of Labor to administer standards of wages and hours for adult workers. It stipulated an initial minimum wage of twenty-five cents an hour and a work week of forty-four

hours, requiring overtime pay for additional time. It provided for an eventual moving up of the wage minimum to forty cents per hour and a scaling down of the work week to forty hours.

## A RECORD-BREAKING ELECTION

*The Democratic and Republican nominees*

The Democrats were overwhelmingly successful in the off-year election of 1934, winning a substantial increase in their membership in both houses of Congress. They therefore entered the campaign of 1936 with high hopes. The New Deal was still moving in high gear, with millions of industrial workers and farmers receiving aid from a bountiful government. They had little to do but to renominate Roosevelt and Garner at their Philadelphia convention, stand on the record, and look to a continuance of the New Deal. The Republicans meeting in national convention in Cleveland, pointed a critical finger at the Administration's extensive deficit financing by placing at the head of their ticket the name of Alfred M. Landon, the Kansas governor, who had gained a reputation for economy. The nominee for Vice-President was Colonel Frank Knox, publisher of the Chicago *Daily News*.

*A lively campaign*

There was little difference between the two platforms and apparently they played only a minor part in the election. The campaign was, however, lively and even bitter. Landon traveled west to California and east to Maine, denouncing the Roosevelt program and record but coming out for strong aid to agriculture as well as for the essential features of collective bargaining through labor unions. He also advocated other measures that were not very unlike the New Deal policies which he so severely criticized in a general way. Roosevelt denounced the "economic royalists," who sought to "hide behind the flag and the Constitution." He was unsparing in his attack on the forces of "business and financial monopoly," "organized money," and he welcomed their hatred. To these he served notice that, for the principles and projects of the New Deal, "we have only just begun to fight." Landon did not have as fine a radio voice as Roosevelt and in other ways he was unequal to his opponent in making a dramatic appeal to the popular imagination.

*Results and significance of the election*

Again the election was a landslide for the Democrats. The Republicans carried only two states, Maine and Vermont, with only eight electoral votes. Roosevelt carried all the other states and received 523 electoral votes. The popular vote was 27,750,000 to 16,680,000. The Democrats won three fourths of the House seats and pushed their Senate majority to the same proportion. Never since the second election of Monroe (who received all the electoral votes but one)

had a victory been so overwhelming. Roosevelt, like Monroe, was to face the problem of holding his forces and followers together. It would certainly be difficult to interpret and execute the mandate of the election of 1936.

## THE SECOND TERM BEGINS

*Shift in the inauguration date*

Roosevelt's second inauguration was the first under the Twentieth Amendment, which provided that the President should be inaugurated on January 20 instead of March 4 and that the terms of Representatives and Senators should begin on January 3 instead of the following December. Due to that Amendment, "lame-duck" lawmakers passed out of the picture, and the Seventy-fifth Congress was now in session with its overwhelming Democratic majorities. Roosevelt's political skies seemed much brighter than the weather when he took the oath on a day marked by heavy rain clouds over the banks of the Potomac. In his Inaugural Address he painted a black picture of "one third of a nation ill housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." He thus indicated that much had yet to be done in the way of reform.

*Additional New Deal laws*

The Administration and the Seventy-fifth Congress got together on several measures which might be called New Deal gains or consolidations. One of the first was the second Guffey Coal Act to stabilize the sick bituminous coal industry, particularly in its labor relations. Another was the United States Housing Act of September, 1937, to assist states and communities in slum-clearance projects. The makeshift agricultural legislation which had followed the invalidation of the first Agricultural Adjustment Act was overhauled and expanded through the Sugar Act (1937), farm tenant legislation (1937), and a comprehensive Agricultural Adjustment Act (1938). The last-named act (the "Second AAA") continued the provisions of crop limitation with benefit payments to farmers and added the features of crop insurance and the "ever normal granary." Loans were made to farmers on the security of farm products with the view to storing up farm surpluses in fat years to tide over shortages in lean years. By the Seventy-fifth Congress was also enacted the Fair Labor Standards Act (1938), which fixed a minimum per hour for wages and a maximum per week for hours of work—a floor for wages and a ceiling for hours.

*Halt in the President's program of reform*

Roosevelt's program of social reform came to a halt with the end of the Seventy-fifth Congress. While some reforms in government were voted by the next Congress, no additional New Deal measures of importance were carried out in the sphere of economics. This

interruption was caused by the business recession of 1937-38 and a decline in co-operative relations between the President and the unwieldy team of Democrats in Congress. We had hardly recovered from the recession when dark war clouds began to arise in Europe, and therefore interest in reform in this country gave way to concern over foreign problems.

*Roosevelt's proposal for reorganizing the Federal judiciary*

Roosevelt's hold on his party was weakened by two proposals made by him to Congress—one to reorganize the judiciary and one to modernize the administrative system. There was little advance intimation that the President was going to ask for legislation affecting the Supreme Court. No Roosevelt appointee at that time sat on the supreme bench and several New Deal laws had received the deadly stamp of unconstitutionality. It was generally known that he was highly displeased with some of the recent decisions of the Court; but the nature and suddenness of his proposal for reorganizing the Federal judiciary took Congress and the country by surprise. On February 5, 1937, Roosevelt sent to Congress a message, accompanied by a letter from the Attorney General (Homer S. Cummings) and a proposed bill prepared at the Department of Justice. The bill would permit the appointment of a new Federal judge if a judge, upon reaching the age of seventy, failed to retire. The number of extra judges was limited to fifty for all courts, and, of these, only six could be on the Supreme Court. It further provided for certain changes in the procedure of the lower Federal courts.

*Advocates and opponents of "court-packing"*

The "court-packing" bill provoked a bitter discussion during the next few months in Congress and throughout the country. Several state legislatures took up the issue, the Kansas House condemning it and the Delaware House endorsing it. Some political scientists supported it and others opposed it. Opposition in Congress was by no means limited to Republicans, whose leaders strategically made the most of the issue.

*Defeat and compromise*

The Senate Judiciary Committee after considering the bill voted ten to eight against it, seven of the ten being Democrats. The Committee in its majority report scathingly denounced the bill as a needless and dangerous abandonment of constitutional principles and as tending to expand political control over the judiciary. The Senate debate became the sharpest in years, and on July 14 the House was the scene of revolt. The bill was doomed, but a few weeks later a compromise measure was passed by Congress and approved by the President, with the observation that it was inadequate. It omitted the court-packing and other controversial features but reorganized lower court procedure, in the main, as Roosevelt had recommended. By an overwhelming vote both House and Senate had

already passed an act to permit members of the Supreme Court to retire with full pay at the age of seventy.

*The Court upholds social legislation*

While Roosevelt was meeting defeat in Congress, his program was faring well before the Supreme Court. During the months of debate over the court issue in Congress, several decisions were rendered by the Supreme Court upholding New Deal legislation, including a Railway Labor Act, the Wagner Labor Relations Act, and different portions of the Social Security Act. In the same period of 1937 Chief Justice Hughes delivered a decision upholding a Washington state minimum wage law for women. As in other cases, this was a five-to-four decision, although less than a year earlier the same justices had held a similar statute from New York unconstitutional by a five-to-four decision. Justice Owen J. Roberts was for unconstitutionality in the first case, for constitutionality in the second. These decisions were handed down before there was a Roosevelt appointee on the supreme bench. Like others to follow, they were disturbing to reactionaries and comforting to advocates of social legislation. Whatever might be the professional explanations, laymen sensed widely that a change had come over the Court, and observers said that it was catching up with the popular mandate.

*Roosevelt's appointments to the Supreme Court*

The law providing for voluntary retirement of judges on full pay caused a number of vacancies in the Federal judiciary. Owing to vacancies caused by death and retirement, Roosevelt was able in the end to make eight appointments for the Supreme Court—more than had any of his predecessors.[1] Upon the retirement of Chief Justice Charles E. Hughes in 1941 Harlan F. Stone, a former law dean, was advanced to the Chief Justiceship. For five years Stone presided over this high tribunal with wide intellectual tolerance. Most of the new appointees had not had prior judicial experience, although they had been closely connected with the New Deal in an administrative, legislative, or advisory capacity. With wide variations of views among themselves, they reflected much less adherence to precedent and tradition than had been associated with the high Court since the Civil War. They seemed to meet Roosevelt's wish for "new blood." Under these justices the Court held a trend toward a broad interpretation of the Constitution in harmony with modern needs which is sometimes described as "sociological jurisprudence." The pioneering influence in this trend was Justice Brandeis. Since the Court was

[1] These appointments were as follows: Senator Hugo L. Black of Alabama (1937), Stanley F. Reed (1938), Felix Frankfurter (1939), William O. Douglas (1939), Frank Murphy (1940), James F. Byrnes (1941, resigned 1942), Robert H. Jackson (1941), and Wiley B. Rutledge (1943). With the exception of Byrnes, all these men were under sixty at the time of appointment, Douglas being only forty. There was strong opposition to Black's appointment, largely because he had at one time been a member of the Ku Klux Klan.

now composed of "new blood," it looked as if Roosevelt (as was said) "had lost a battle but won the war."

*The contest over administrative reorganization*

In 1936 President Roosevelt created a Committee on Administrative Management composed of three distinguished political scientists who were acquainted with government by study and participation. With the aid of other experts they prepared a voluminous report embodying the results of careful study and research. This report was transmitted by the President with his endorsement to Congress on January 12, 1937. It was so sweeping that a journalist said that it knocked the breath out of Congress. It proposed a number of changes to simplify the machinery of administration and make it more efficient. The departments in the Cabinet were to be increased to twelve and the merit system was to be applied to all administrative workers except the top-ranking officials concerned with government policy. The plan seemed to strike at the power of Congress, just as the "court-packing" plan seemed to strike at the power of the Supreme Court. The two plans, coming to Congress less than four weeks apart, furnished abundant material for opponents to use in accusing Roosevelt of aiming to be a "dictator." There was more sober criticism on the score of size, opportunity for abuse, and interference with the independence of the bipartisan regulatory commissions. The plan, with important modifications, passed the Senate in 1938 and failed in the House. Then in 1939 the President was given power over a two-year period to reorganize minor agencies and offices, subject to the disapproval of Congress.

*The Hatch Political Activity Act*

Another step toward governmental reform was the passage of the Hatch Political Activity Act. The relief agencies and other organizations brought into being by the New Deal greatly increased the number of government employees and thereby gave added importance to the Federal patronage. This situation afforded unscrupulous politicians the opportunity to use undue influence in elections by bringing pressure to bear on minor officials and the beneficiaries of relief. Indeed the charge was made that such practices had been engaged in during the election of 1938. To guard against this evil both parties joined in passing the Hatch Political Activity Act (1939). This act made it illegal for Federal employees (below the policy-making rank) to take an active part in politics or influence elections by granting or refusing government benefits. It also forbade the collection of campaign funds from persons receiving a salary or any kind of compensation from the Federal government.

*The recession of 1937-38: Character of*

While Congress was battling over court changes and administrative reorganization, the country experienced an economic recession. There had been a substantial recovery since 1933, with a marked

improvement in railroad traffic and with industrial production and employment about doubling. But traffic decline was again setting in and steel production was dropping to one fourth of capacity. Railroad employment reached a forty-year low. Railway companies were having difficulty meeting competition in important ways from automobile transportation. The agricultural program was burdened with heavy surpluses, which were being stored and largely financed under government sponsorship. At the same time many farmers were releasing workers to add to the unsolved problems of unemployment. On the labor front, there was friction between industrial management and organized labor over the application of the Wagner Act. "Sit-down" strikes[1] in Detroit and other centers stirred cries and fears of Communist infiltration of American labor, while a Senate subcommittee, headed by young Robert M. La Follette, exposed ugly practices by employers. Cleavage between CIO and AFL unions intensified jurisdictional strikes.

*Why the recession?*

There were various facts and claims for explaining the reversal in the recovery trend. New Dealers said that capital was on strike and that monopolistic practices were holding up progress. Others said the cause was excessive regimentation of business along with drastic taxation, such as the excess profits tax. Probably the main reason for the slump was the policy of the government in reducing in 1937 the funds for relief and "pump-priming"[2] by a billion dollars or more below the annual outlay in the previous years of the New Deal.

*Measures to combat the recession*

As a result of the recession, the government resumed a large program of spending and lending, with an expansion of the WPA rolls. The enlarged farm legislation, which has already been noted, opened the way for carrying out Secretary Wallace's idea of an ever-normal granary. With state and local co-operation, community housing projects stimulated business and employment. The Federal Reserve Banks loosened restrictive policies thereby making credit easier, and the RFC widened its industrial loans. Federal taxation was modified to meet certain strong objections in business circles. The Interstate Commerce Commission permitted a freight rate increase for many items. Signs of economic improvement became visible by the autumn of 1938. Within a year business and employment were distinctly on the upgrade.

The recession was not terminated in time to prevent a divided

[1] A "sit-down" strike is one in which the laborers not only stop work but also refuse to leave the plant so that other workers can take their places.

[2] By "pump priming" is meant the giving of government aid to business by extending easy credit to producers and by increasing the purchasing power of consumers through direct or work relief. Such aids, it was hoped, would give a start to industry just as pouring water on the dry piston of a suction pump enables it to begin its work.

Democratic party from taking losses in the off-year election of 1938. The Democrats retained their majority in House and Senate, although by much smaller margins.

*Republican gains in 1938*

With the New Deal program thus interrupted, according to some, or completed, according to others, some observations at this point seem logical. The New Deal has been the most controversial subject in American history since the abolition of slavery. It has been called a revolution by its most ardent supporters and by its bitterest opponents. Roosevelt himself has been called the greatest democrat of all time by his admirers, and a dictator by those who disapproved of his methods and his program. Hence any full-scale appraisal of the New Deal would be subject to the shortcomings imposed by its controversial nature and the conflicting evidence upon which it must be based. Therefore, only a very limited evaluation based upon facts and trends that are common knowledge, will be attempted here.

*A tentative appraisal of the New Deal*

No attempt will be made to judge between the arguments of the New Dealers and their opponents. Perhaps time will do that. At any rate this may be said: few persons not bound by political partisanship would have denied at the time that Roosevelt, by his strong leadership and complete self-confidence, met the crisis of 1933 and prevented a collapse of the economic system of the United States. In doing this the President had virtually rammed through a frightened Congress a legislative program which made the Federal government a positive instrument for the welfare of the people. Important social changes were effected that have been accepted in principle by the whole country as lasting reforms. However, despite all the money expended on relief and pump priming, and on aids to industry, agriculture, and labor, little fundamental recovery had taken place by 1939 when the European War put men to work making instruments of destruction. In short, although the New Deal prevented the collapse of the American economic system, kept millions from want, and instituted some much-needed permanent reforms, it was not able, even with considerable government action and control, to cope successfully with an underlying difficulty in industry and agriculture—the giant surpluses or wide gap between production capacity and actual consumption. The cotton and wheat surpluses became far greater than under Hoover. The foreign markets for these commodities almost completely disappeared as subsidies raised prices and at the same time encouraged more production despite the controls of acreage and markets. There was improvement in the distribution of the national income. But, until the Second World War expanded the demand for American products, the United States still faced the basic economic unbalance which the nation had faced under Hoover.

*The President met the crisis of 1933 but failed to solve basic economic problems*

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# CHAPTER XLII

# *Interwar Diplomacy and Foreign Policy*

## Postwar Foreign Policy

*Friction between the United States and Japan*

AMONG the foreign problems that had to be faced by Wilson's successors was the growing friction between Japan and the United States. The rapid development of the Japanese navy together with the aggressive policy of the Japanese government toward China aroused apprehensions in the United States. On the other hand, the discrimination against Japanese immigrants in this country continued throughout the years to be a constant irritant to the proud orientals. Furthermore, the Anglo-Japanese alliance was a cause of uneasiness for the American people and government. The United States was therefore anxious to enter into an international agreement that would put an end to the naval race between the three great maritime powers, terminate the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and induce the other Pacific powers to share in the support of Chinese independence. Fortunately, the British dominions, especially Canada, were strongly opposed to the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and England herself preferred American friendship to that of the Japanese and was willing to withdraw from the alliance if it could be done without too much offense to Japan.

*The Washington Conference on naval disarmament and problems of the Pacific*

With the unofficial support of the governments of Great Britain and the British dominions, President Harding called a conference of the nine Pacific powers—the United States, Japan, Great Britain, France, China, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Portugal—to meet at Washington on November 11, 1921, to seek an agreement on the limitation of naval armaments and the problems of the Pacific. At the first full meeting on November 12, Secretary of State Hughes offered a disarmament program that was breath-taking in its conception and scope. He proposed a ten-year holiday in the construction of capital ships, and the scrapping of a sufficient tonnage of capital ships built or in the process of being built to give the navies of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan the ratio of 5:5:3, respectively. His plan meant the scrapping of thirty American capital ships—many of which were still under construction—

*and the destruction of thirty-six British and Japanese capital ships. The three great naval powers eventually agreed on the ratio, and it was remarked at the time that Hughes had destroyed sixty-six ships with a tonnage of 1,878,043 in less than fifteen minutes—which* made it, according to this whimsical observer, the greatest naval battle in history. As finally completed, the Five-Power Naval Treaty established the ratio in capital ships of 5:5:3:1.7:1.7 for the United States, the British Empire, Japan, France, and Italy, respectively.

*The Four-Power Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty*

The Anglo-Japanese alliance was abrogated and was superseded by a Four-Power Treaty. By this treaty the United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan pledged mutual respect for their island possessions and rights in the Pacific and agreed to consult one another for the purpose of adjusting any dispute or of meeting any outside threat concerning these rights. A treaty signed by the nine Pacific powers, called the Nine-Power Treaty, guaranteed the "open door" in China, dealt with other economic questions in that country, and pledged the signatory powers to respect China's independence and territorial integrity. China and Japan adjusted pending controversies as to Shantung and related issues. Both American and League of Nations authorities were later to complain of Japanese violation of treaty obligations with respect to China. But the Senate ratified all the Washington treaties in a spirit of high hopes for peace and naval economy.

*The Geneva and London naval limitation conferences*

The failure of the Five-Power Treaty to limit the building of ships of the smaller categories such as cruisers, destroyers, and submarines precipitated a naval race in these smaller craft. This rivalry, especially on the part of Great Britain and Japan, caused President Hoover to summon a naval disarmament conference to meet in London in 1930.[1] A naval limitation treaty was finally agreed upon which set an upper limit in all categories of vessels and accorded parity in every type of craft to the United States and England. The ratio in capital ships established by the Five-Power Treaty in 1921 was retained and extended to the heavy cruiser type. But Japan was given parity in submarines and a 10:10:7 ratio in light cruisers and other auxiliary craft.

*The immigration problem*

Immigration was an urgent problem for Congress during the Harding-Coolidge Administration, with the number of foreigners coming to our shores threatening to reach a million a year. A large proportion of this immigration was coming from southern and eastern Europe, just as had been the case prior to the war. Economic upheaval, with revolution and counter revolution, had swept that

[1] A conference called by President Coolidge had met at Geneva in 1927, but it accomplished nothing.

part of Europe and it seemed as if the whole population might immigrate to the United States. It was feared that the movement not only might undermine the American wage scale but might also jeopardize the cultural, political, and racial integrity of the country. It encountered the rising tide of Americanism and nationalism; and many groups, including the Ku Klux Klan, organized labor, and popular magazines like the *Saturday Evening Post,* waged a campaign in behalf of legislation to limit immigration.

*Adoption of a quota system based upon national origins*

Congress, responding to the agitation, passed a temporary emergency law in 1921, and by an act in 1924 adopted a thoroughgoing immigration policy. By this latter act each nation was assigned an immigrant quota of not more than two per cent of the number of its nationals residing in the United States in 1890, with the further provision that after July 1, 1927, the total number of immigrants would be 150,000 and that this total would be apportioned among the quota countries according to their representation in the "national origins" of the American population as determined from the census of 1920.[1] The new system clearly favors the north European countries—the British Isles and adjacent portions of Europe—as supply regions for American immigration. This, of course, was the intention of the law, because the basic American racial stock was of north European origin. The law of 1924 added the Japanese to the excluded classes, thus superseding the long-standing "Gentlemen's Agreement" with Japan and offending that country's pride. Coolidge, with Hughes, opposed this provision, which was ardently supported in California, but nevertheless signed the bill.

*The problem of war debts*

As has already been seen, the United States had made large loans to its war associates and other countries during and immediately after the war. By 1930 plans were arranged with Great Britain and sixteen other debtor nations for funding the debts of $11,500,000,000 due the United States. Repayment was to be spread over sixty-two years, with annual interest rates ranging from three and three-tenths per cent for Great Britain to four-tenths per cent for Italy. Since Europe found it difficult, if not impossible, to get its goods in any considerable amount over the high tariff wall in the United States, the debtor nations could not make any substantial payments on their debts out of current income. They therefore expected to pay their war debt from the reparations which Germany was required to furnish. The United States government, however, insisted that

[1] Because of administrative complications the latter provision was not put into effect until July 1, 1929.

These restrictions do not apply to other American nations, but Mexican laborers have been kept out by administrative action on the ground that they were likely to become public charges.

the payment of debts was not conditioned on the receipt of reparations.

*The Dawes and Young reparation plans*

Germany did not, and apparently could not, meet the reparation payments in full and, of course, the obligations of the debtor nations could not be met. The dilemma resulted in the Dawes Plan of 1924, which was prepared by an international group of experts under the chairmanship of General Charles G. Dawes and which the German Reichstag accepted. This provided for a one-year moratorium for Germany, reduced annual payments, and arranged for a loan of some $200,000,000 to aid German recovery. When insolvency threatened Germany again in 1929, a second international commission, headed by Owen D. Young, another American, worked out a plan for the further scaling of reparation payments and for additional reductions if the United States should cut down the war debts.

*The depression brings payments on war debts and reparations to an end*

The war debts and reparation claims went the way of many other paper assets with the coming of world depression and the rise of Hitler. The United States granted a temporary moratorium, and then the token payments which the debtor nations had been paying ceased except in the case of Finland, a postwar state which continued full payments according to schedule on a relatively small debt incurred after the end of hostilities. In consequence of these defaults on the war debts Congress passed the Johnson Act in 1934 which prohibited Americans from purchasing the securities of any nation in default to the United States.

*The Senate isolationists defeat American adherence to the World Court*

The Republican Party was favorably disposed toward the World Court, which had been established under the auspices of the League of Nations. The adherence to the World Court by the United States was supported by a majority in each house of Congress and by all four of the Presidents of this period. Despite these favorable circumstances, however, the agreement to join the Court was never confirmed by the Senate. Finally, in 1935 Franklin D. Roosevelt urged the matter upon the Senate; but isolationist feeling was so powerful that the proposal to join the World Court was defeated by a vote of 52 in favor of, and 36 against, membership. This majority fell below the two thirds required by the Constitution for the ratification of treaties.

*The Kellogg-Briand Pact—the outlawry of war by fiat*

Although the failure of the United States to join either the League or the World Court was due primarily to the isolationists, the latter were as much interested in peace as any group in the United States. Many of them, as well as many other peace lovers, seemed to believe that if the great powers issued a declaration saying "Let there be no war," there would be no war. Senator William E. Borah, the most ardent and effective isolationist, was a

strong advocate of the "outlawry of war" by an international declaration. The ground was thus prepared for a favorable reception by our government of a proposal by Aristide Briand, the French premier. On April 6, 1927, Briand made an address in which he urged that the United States and France enter into a treaty outlawing war. The advocates of outlawry of war by declaration urged the acceptance of Briand's proposal and the extension of it so as to include all nations. Borah and his colleagues were able to arouse so much enthusiasm that Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg finally agreed to their plan.

On December 28, 1927, he suggested in a note to Briand that the proposed bilateral treaty outlawing war between France and the United States be made a multilateral pact in which all the principal world powers would renounce war "as an instrument of national policy." On August 27, 1928, the Kellogg-Briand Treaty, or Pact of Paris, was signed by the representatives of fifteen nations including the United States. Eventually sixty-two powers, including Russia, adhered to the Pact. The treaty condemned war "for the solution of international controversies," and the contracting parties renounced war "as an instrument of national policy." But the Pact proved defective in two respects. Several governments insisted on reservations or interpretations, such as would cover prior obligations, special interests, or wars of self-defense. And there was no provision or machinery for implementing or enforcing the Pact.

*Roosevelt and the World Economic Conference at London*

Although Franklin D. Roosevelt started his first administration with primary concern for relief and recovery at home, he and Secretary of State Hull manifested an active interest in developing a more co-operative role in international relations. In this they achieved striking success, although accepting limitations and meeting with cases of failure. One of the failures was the collapse of the World Economic Conference held in London in the summer of 1933. Roosevelt sent a full delegation to London with Secretary Hull at its head. In spite of the President's initial blessing and Mr. Hull's earnest efforts to counteract economic nationalism at home and abroad, the Conference ended without tangible results in the sphere of international stabilization of trade and currencies. Roosevelt was still primarily concerned with domestic monetary changes and efforts to raise commodity prices, and he wanted the Conference to concentrate on an international price-raising program. With such a program making little headway, he frankly lost interest in world currency stabilization and sidetracked the major hopes of the Conference. Roosevelt receivd at the hands of his critics considerable censure for the failure of this Conference.

*Recognition of Soviet Russia*

Roosevelt's action in recognizing Russia was a reversal of long-standing policy. Nationalistic Americans of the 'twenties insisted upon keeping out alien doctrines as well as alien peoples. Nonrecognition of Bolshevik Russia was continued until after Roosevelt's accession, years after full diplomatic relations were resumed between Russia and all other major nations. America objected officially or unofficially to relations with Russia on the grounds that the Soviet Union had confiscated American private property in that country, that it had repudiated its war debts, and that it was fostering the international spread of revolutionary propaganda. With hopes of stimulating more trade with Russia, of ending Russian propaganda in the United States, and, maybe, of strengthening Russia against Japan in the Far East, Roosevelt in November, 1933, established formal diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, these expectations as to trade and the cessation of propaganda were not fully realized.

*The United States cultivates the friendship of Latin America*

If Secretary Hull was disappointed with the outcome of the World Economic Conference, he had cause for satisfaction over the results of his and the President's efforts to carry out the "good-neighbor" policy toward Latin America. Before Roosevelt's accession an important step had been taken toward improving our relations with the Latin American states. President Coolidge's representative, Dwight W. Morrow, was able to create in Mexico a friendly attitude toward the United States. President Hoover also made a good start toward winning the friendship of our southern neighbors. He recalled the American marines from Nicaragua and made plans for withdrawing the marines from Haiti. To cultivate a spirit of good will toward the United States in all the countries of the New World and to secure their co-operation in a policy of hemispheric defense were prime objectives of Roosevelt's diplomacy. In his first Inaugural Address he declared that he "would dedicate this Nation to the policy of the good neighbor" (the phrase "good neighbor" was first used in the international sense by him), the neighbor who respects the rights of others and the sanctity of his own obligations and agreements. Nor did these pledges end in high-sounding talk; they were followed up by acts of good neighborliness. The marines and financial agents were brought home from Haiti; all restrictions on the sovereignty of Panama were withdrawn; and a new treaty was made with Cuba which set aside the intervention provisions of the Platt Amendment. Even the trouble with Mexico caused by the expropriation by the Mexican government of oil lands belonging to American citizens was settled by accepting compensation for the owners of the expropriated oil fields and agricultural lands.

*Hemispheric co-operation*

In order to further hemispheric co-operation both Secretary Hull and Roosevelt made effective use of the Pan-American conferences. Secretary Hull attended the Seventh International Conference of American States, held at Montevideo in 1933, as the head of the United States delegation. At that meeting he clearly disavowed any intention of economic imperialism and cordially supported a pact declaring that "No state has the right to intervene in the internal or external affairs of another." The agreement containing this declaration was unanimously adopted by the Conference, and the emphasis on nonintervention was supported by President Roosevelt in a public statement. Early in 1936, Roosevelt made a visit to Buenos Aires to address a special Inter-American Conference for Peace held in that city. He opened the meeting with a strong appeal for the solidarity of the Western Hemisphere against any non-American acts of aggression. This Conference adopted a consultative pact and reaffirmed the idea of nonintervention. After the war started in Europe the American nations meeting in conference at Panama (October, 1939) issued a joint declaration forbidding the belligerents from engaging in war activities in the waters near the coast of either North or South America. Since there was no way of enforcing this prohibition the belligerents paid little or no heed to it. After France was occupied by Germany and there was danger of the French American colonies passing under German control the United States notified Germany that our government, under the Monroe Doctrine, would not recognize the transfer of an American colony from one European country to another. This principle was accepted (October, 1940) by the twenty-one American nations at a Pan-American Conference at Havana. The Conference decided that joint action would be taken by all of the twenty-one American states to prevent the transfer of any of the European possessions to another non-American power.

*The Monroe Doctrine Pan-Americanized*

By the agreements formulated at these conferences the Monroe Doctrine was Pan-Americanized; that is, the duty of enforcing it, which had hitherto been assumed by the United States alone, now became the joint responsibility of twenty-one nations of the New World. The new Latin American policy came in time to secure hemispheric solidarity in World War II; it also led to an improvement in trade relations between the United States and her American neighbors.

*The Trade Agreements Act*

President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull were anxious to improve trade relations with other countries as well as with those of the Western Hemisphere. To this end they induced Congress to pass the Trade Agreements Act (June, 1934) which authorized the

President to lower tariff rates as much as fifty per cent for nations willing to make reciprocal concessions to the United States. Secretary Hull, a low-tariff champion, pushed the trade agreement program with zeal, and subsequent legislation authorized continuance of the policy through and after the Second World War. By April, 1939, twenty-one countries had signed trade agreements, including England, France, Canada, and a number of the Latin American republics.

*Operation and limitations of trade agreements*

The Hull trade agreements were put into effect entirely by the executive branch of the government under statutory authority and thus did not have to run the gauntlet of Senate ratification. They constituted a sort of gradual or flank attack upon the high tariff walls which had been set up in the preceding decade, the only attack upon this wall by the Roosevelt Administration. The whole program affected about three fifths of the nation's foreign trade. It was bitterly opposed by high-tariff Republicans and others interested in keeping foreign products from reaching the American market. Middle West farm groups were critical, whereas cotton merchants and automobile manufacturers supported the policy with eyes on foreign markets. It is difficult to determine how much effect the agreements had in the improvement in foreign trade, but the program was clearly a factor in developing good will abroad, especially with Latin American countries.

*The provision for Philippine independence*

A somewhat offsetting gesture, in tune with the protective tariff argument, was the Tydings-McDuffie Act for complete independence of the Philippines after a ten-year intermediate period. This act of March, 1934, which was accepted by the Philippine legislature, was ardently supported by various groups of American producers, including the sugar interests, who wished to put an end to duty-free imports from the islands. In addition to these selfish motives, there was, of course,—and had been since the annexation of the islands—strong sentiment in favor of independence on the part of those who opposed any form of imperialism.

## DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND THE EAST

American foreign policy during the Roosevelt era was conditioned in the main by developments outside the Western Hemisphere. To understand the problems with which Congress and the Administration had to deal, it is necessary to take a glance at contemporary events in Europe and the Far East.

*The rise of Fascism in Italy*

In the 'twenties and 'thirties there was a good deal of discontent in Italy and Germany, brought on by the aftermath of war and by the depression; and conditions were thus favorable for the rise of

dictatorships in both countries. Taking advantage of this situation, Benito Mussolini, with the aid of armed henchmen, forced himself into a position of power in Italy. His followers, known as Fasci, were organized in 1921 into the National Fascist Party. In October, 1922, he led a band of Fascists on Rome, and the king put him at the head of the government as Prime Minister. He gradually consolidated his power until by 1926 he was master of Italy. The political, economic, and social life was now regimented into a totalitarian state. Mussolini also had visions of extending the Italian kingdom into an empire and making it a worthy successor of the ancient Roman Empire. In pursuit of this ambition and in defiance of the League of Nations, he conquered Ethiopia and incorporated it into the Italian empire (1936).

*Hitler in control of Germany*

Like Mussolini in Italy, Adolf Hitler wormed himself into supreme authority in Germany as the leader of a political party—the National Socialist Party (usually abbreviated into Nazis). By August, 1934, he had gained control of the government and thereafter was dictator of Germany. The republic was destroyed and the government was purged of all elements of democracy. The Fuehrer (the title by which Hitler was known) persecuted Jews and Catholics and removed outstanding political opponents by having them killed or sent out of the country.

*Civil War in Spain*

In October, 1936, a revolt broke out in Spain under the leadership of General Francisco Franco. This led to a long civil war between the Loyalists, supporting the government, and the Nationalists, as the insurgents were called. The Nationalists received substantial aid in both men and supplies from Germany and Italy, while the Loyalists received to a much lesser extent men and material from Russia. With this great advantage, Franco defeated the Loyalists and entered Madrid the capital in triumph (March 28, 1939).

*Japan takes over Manchuria*

The political and military leaders of Japan also had dreams of empire and were planning to extend the power of their country over the Far East. As a step in that direction they sent a military expedition into Manchuria (September, 1931) and later (February, 1932) changed this Chinese province into the puppet Japanese state of Manchukuo. This was a plain violation of the Nine-Power Pact and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Japan had also acted in defiance of the League of Nations, and when the latter censured her for this action, she withdrew from the League. President Hoover protested against the seizure of Manchuria, and Secretary of State Stimson announced that his government would not recognize any "situation, treaty, or covenant" in violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact. Nothing, however, was done by the great powers to implement this, the "Stimson Doc-

*The "Stimson Doctrine"*

*trine," and Japan not only retained Manchuria but later invaded* China proper. The failure of the League of Nations and the Western powers to check Japanese aggression at this time gave encouragement to the imperialistic ambitions of Hitler and Mussolini.

### NEUTRALITY LEGISLATION

*Isolationist sentiment in the United States*

Roosevelt was to some extent hampered in his foreign policy by the isolationist sentiment which was still strong in this country. This feeling was fostered by some "revisionist" historians who tried to show that Germany was less and the Allies were more responsible for the First World War than had hitherto been considered. Doubt as to the wisdom of our going into the war was intensified by the report of a Senatorial committee (1934-36), headed by Gerald P. Nye, which showed that certain munition manufacturers and bankers had gained immense profits during the war. Improper inferences from this report which were broadly publicized by pro-German writers led to the wide belief that the United States had been drawn into the war by the bankers and munition makers. Many Americans (seventy-one per cent of them according to a poll conducted in April, 1937) believed that the United States had made a mistake in going into this war. Laws should therefore be passed which would prevent a repetition of this mistake. Ardent isolationists saw no danger to the security of their own country in the muttering war clouds of Europe; we could shut out the storm by closing our doors and windows.

*Neutrality laws*

With the hope of thus shutting out the storm, Congress passed a series of neutrality laws in 1935, 1936, and 1937. These laws as finally formulated in 1937 put an embargo on arms and munitions of war to all belligerents; prohibited American citizens from making loans to belligerents; denied American ships the right to carry arms and munitions of war; and forbade American citizens to travel on the ships of warring nations. The embargo on war supplies was specifically applied to the civil war in Spain. One of the acts of 1937 permitted the sale in the United States of war materials to belligerents provided they would acquire title to such material before it left American ports and provided the purchasers would transport such supplies in their own ships. This was known as the "cash and carry" plan. Senator Borah very properly stated the purpose of these neutrality laws to be this: "We seek to avoid all risks, all danger, but we make certain to get all the profits."

To hopeful isolationists it seemed that by these laws Congress had closed for us the road to war. Now munition manufacturers and money-lenders could have no motive for cooking up war senti-

ment. The main reason for America's entrance into the First World War was the determination to uphold the traditional rights of neutrals on the high seas. We had now waived these rights. The barriers thus erected would—it was confidently expected by the isolationists—hold back the waves of war from our shores, but they proved to be only dikes of sand. Particularly unfortunate was the failure to make the distinction between belligerents who were acting on the offensive and those who were defending their rights. Roosevelt wanted the embargo on arms limited to aggressor belligerents. The refusal of Congress to accept this proposal tied the hands of the President and deprived him of the opportunity of wielding a strong influence in favor of peace.

*False hopes of peace raised by neutrality acts*

The Administration went along with this policy, perhaps correctly assuming that complaint would be useless. Partly because of a traditional sympathy for China, however, neither Congress nor the President undertook to apply the neutrality restrictions to the undeclared warfare between that country and Japan, which assumed increasing importance in the decade of the 'thirties. The President felt that the enforcement of the neutrality restrictions would hurt China more than Japan, for China was more dependent upon American supplies than was Japan. There was, however, some difference of opinion as to the correctness of this view, for the Japanese war effort was furthered by the scrap iron and octane gasoline received from the United States. Roosevelt put the neutrality laws into effect in the war between Ethiopia and Italy and thereby aided Ethiopia, for this inaccessible country could not have received American supplies in any considerable amount even if there had been no restrictions on trade. Most questionable of all was the application of this policy to Spain, for it in effect aided the cause of Fascism in that strife-ridden country. In the opinion of many liberals and radicals the withholding of American munitions of war from both factions in Spain was a blow to the Spanish Loyalists, whose government had American recognition; and it was pointed out that the Franco party (the rebels) in Spain had substantial support from the Hitler government of Germany and the Mussolini regime of Italy. On the other hand, American Catholics and non-Catholic conservatives, to a large extent, supported official aloofness on the ground that the Loyalists were in league with Communistic elements.

*Effect of American neutrality policy on the belligerents*

## THE PASSING OF NEUTRALITY

The structure of American neutrality erected in 1935-37 proved a house of cards when a war conflagration for a second time swept

*Hitler's aggressions*

*over Europe. This war was brought on by the aggression of Hitler. In 1935 he took the Saar Basin; in 1936 he sent German troops to occupy the Rhineland; and two years later he forced the annexation of Austria to Germany. He next demanded that Czechoslovakia cede to Germany the western slice of her territory, known as Sudetenland, which bordered on Germany and was occupied mainly by*

*The Munich conference*

Germans. Before acting on this demand he met in a conference at Munich (September, 1938) Edouard Daladier, Premier of France, and Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of Great Britain. Thinking that Hitler would be satisfied with the Sudetenland, Daladier and Chamberlain agreed to induce Czechoslovakia to yield this territory to him. This concession did not appease Hitler's desire for expansion; for he continued to annex territory and violate treaties after "Munich" as before. He not only seized the Sudetenland but a few months later (March, 1939) occupied all of Czechoslovakia.

*The Second World War begins*

On September 1, 1939, Nazi troops marched into Poland without a declaration of war, the excuse being that there were border incidents and that Poland had refused territorial adjustments.[1] This marked the actual beginning of the Second World War. In two days Great Britain and France, at last refusing to yield further to Hitler, declared war on Germany in aid of Poland. However, Poland, with England and France far away, fell before a German blitzkrieg. The Polish territory was divided between Germany and Russia for occupational purposes. Russia also took over Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, and in December, 1939, Russian troops attacked Finland. The Finns put up a brave fight for their independence but of course had to yield to the superior might of Russia (March, 1940).

*"Phony war" and blitzkrieg*

Except in Finland there was very little fighting for more than six months after war was declared. This comparative inactivity created the impression in America that the contest was a "phony war." A sudden change in the situation came in April, 1940, when Hitler, without any provocation, applied the blitz warfare and quickly overran Denmark and Norway. Belgium and Holland were then attacked, and by the end of June these countries and France also had been forced to surrender. With the fall of France the British army on the Continent, much smaller than that of the enemy, would have been forced to surrender had it not made its

[1] Poland's outlet to the sea was a strip of land, known as the Corridor, connecting it with Danzig on the Baltic Sea. Danzig was a free city under the protection of the League of Nations, but since it was the seaport of Poland, it was closely connected economically with that country. Hitler demanded that Germany be allowed to annex Danzig and be granted control over a strip of land across the Corridor for a railroad and a motor road.

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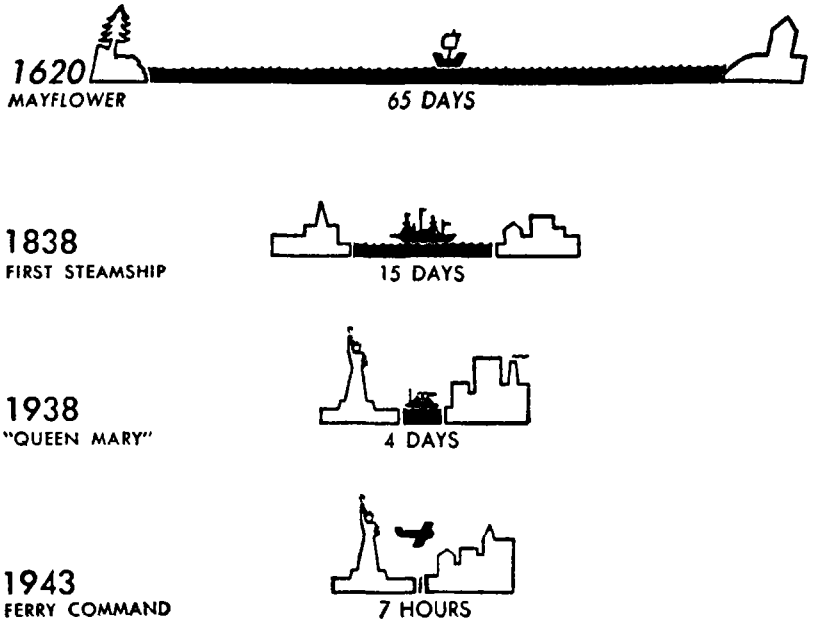
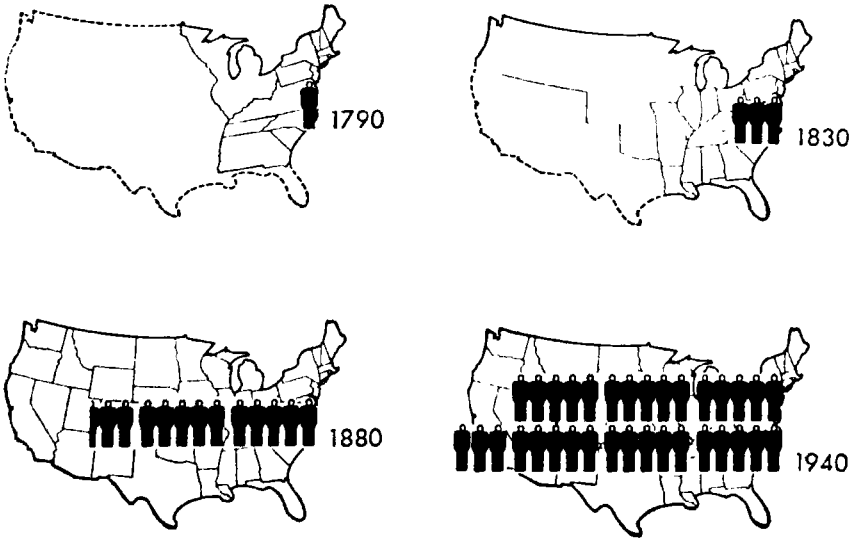
SOMETHING TO WORRY ABOUT.—Hanny in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*.




THE SHRINKAGE OF THE OCEAN.




Each man represents 4 million people

GROWTH OF THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES.

escape at Dunkirk under circumstances that almost seemed miraculous. Italy entered the war with the fall of France in the early summer of 1940.[1] After the heroic evacuation of the British from Dunkirk, there came the Battle of Britain, with London and other cities taking a terrific bombing from the air. The Atlantic Ocean seemed an inadequate barrier between America and Hitler's Fortress of Europe.

*War in Europe jolts American neutrality*

Many Americans breathed a sigh of relief when Hitler was appeased at the conference of Munich in September, 1938, by having been given a free hand in taking over the Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia, and Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, returned home, saying that they had made "peace for our time." Roosevelt's concern over the possible outbreak of war was indicated by his cables to Hitler and Mussolini urging a peaceful settlement of the dispute. These efforts were either disregarded or received with ridicule by the two dictators. The aggressions of Hitler caused a change in attitude on the part of the American people and by the end of 1938 public sentiment in this country was veering strongly away from isolationism. Shortly after Munich, President Roosevelt in a public statement criticized the treatment of Jews in Germany, and Secretary of the Interior Ickes in an address denounced Hitler as a "brutal dictator." Senator Key Pittman, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, issued a statement in which he said, "The people of the United States do not like the Government of Germany."

*The United States supports the enemies of the Axis*

The surprising success of the German armies emphasized America's lack of preparedness for war, and serious but belated measures were taken for national defense. Official and unofficial support was extended to Britain, the British Dominions, and governments in exile in the struggle against the Axis. Two months after war started Congress modified the neutrality legislation in favor of Great Britain by the act of 1939 which omitted any embargo on shipping arms, munitions, or other commodities, but still prohibited any American vessel from carrying war supplies. It also prohibited American ships from moving to belligerent ports of Europe or Africa, and it forbade the arming of American merchant ships. Foreign purchases were kept on a "cash-and-carry" basis and Americans were still prohibited from traveling on belligerent vessels. The British and French governments now had a wide opportunity to

[1] In October, 1936, Hitler and Mussolini had entered into an agreement which Mussolini called the "Rome-Berlin Axis." In May, 1939, this understanding was transformed into a ten-year military alliance, with each ally pledging aid to the other in time of war. Italy's attack on France at the time of her defeat was characterized by Roosevelt as "a stab in the back."

acquire American supplies by use of their own funds and shipping.

*The American government "freezes" credits of conquered countries*

The government by executive order "froze" the credits in the United States belonging to countries conquered by the Axis powers, starting with those of Denmark and Norway in April, 1940. This was to prevent these funds from being used by the enemies of democracy. German funds during this period, however, were not frozen, and this condition left the way open for the spread of German propaganda in America, with possible political ramifications and encouragement of isolationist sentiment.

*The exchange of destroyers for bases*

A more concrete and conspicuous participation in the non-shooting phases of the war was the executive agreement with Great Britain for the exchange of destroyers for bases. This arrangement, which the President announced on September 3, 1940, provided for the outright transfer of fifty obsolete but serviceable destroyers in exchange for a ninety-nine year lease of eight bases, extending from Newfoundland to British Guiana. Roosevelt executed this agreement in his capacity as commander in chief, without giving the opposition in Congress the chance to debate and delay a legislative or treaty action for achieving it. The chief criticism was largely directed at the method rather than at the fact of the deal. The announcement did not damage the Democratic chances in the pending election, for opinion polls were showing that a substantial majority of the American people were in favor of an Allied victory.

### BREAKING THE TWO-TERM TRADITION

*The Republican nominee and platform*

Because of the Constitution and the calendar, the United States had to go through a national election in the critical year of 1940. The election was unique in that it broke the traditional two-term limit for tenure of the Presidency. With world events moving with so much speed and alarm, the candidates were much more important than the formal platforms. Among several aspirants for the Republican nomination, the most prominent were Thomas E. Dewey, who had won wide recognition as a prosecutor of criminals in New York city and was his party's unsuccessful nominee for governor of New York in 1938; and Wendell L. Willkie, a former Democrat who had voted for Roosevelt in 1932. Dewey seemed to have the lead according to preconvention indications and the results of a few preferential primaries. But Willkie, politically unknown until a few weeks before the convention opened in Philadelphia the last week in June, had caught popular attention on a wave of publicity. He was president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, and had been an outstanding opponent of the TVA experiment. He showed a surprising vote on the first ballot and got the nomination

on the sixth. The platform called for a constitutional amendment to limit Presidential tenure to two terms. It condemned the New Deal, with more emphasis on the methods and financial cost than on the program.

*The Democrats renominate Roosevelt*

The Democrats met in July at Chicago. The atmosphere was disturbing because Roosevelt had not definitely committed himself for or against a third term. A few knew in advance that he would be willing to accept a third term if it could be handled properly, and there was no concentrated movement for any other candidate. In the strained confusion, Roosevelt was nominated as the only available choice. Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, was nominated for Vice-President in accordance with a definite suggestion from Roosevelt. Although the people were showing a growing opinion in favor of aiding Britain and her Allies, both sides had to reckon with the isolationist vote, lest that minority vote become the balance of power in determining the winner. Hence, both Republican and Democratic platforms opposed involvement in a "foreign war" but promised material aid to peace-loving nations in their defense against aggression.

*The campaign*

In a vigorous and forthright campaign Willkie stressed the danger of electing a "third-term candidate." He refused to play politics against the one-year selective service bill, which Congress passed during the campaign. He did not disapprove the destroyer deal with Great Britain, although he criticized the way it was being carried out independently of Congress. He had the support of a group of anti-third-term Democrats, including Lewis Douglas, who had been Roosevelt's first Director of Budget. John L. Lewis, President of the CIO, came out for Willkie; and William Green, President of the AFL, supported Roosevelt. The greater part of the press of the nation was for Willkie, although the organized labor press was heavily in favor of the Democratic ticket. Roosevelt became active in the latter part of the campaign, and he moved far in seeking to counteract the charge that he was a "warmonger." He said at Boston in the closing days of the campaign, "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

*Results of the election*

In the end Roosevelt proved superior to Willkie as a campaigner. It was widely felt that Roosevelt had the problems and ramifications of the world crisis in his grasp in a way that would be impossible for a new man to gain for many months. He made a gesture toward emphasizing national unity early in the campaign by appointing two Republicans to fill vacancies in his Cabinet. For Secretary of the Navy, he chose Frank Knox, Republican nominee for Vice-President in 1936. For Secretary of War, he named Henry L. Stimson,

who had served as Secretary of War under Taft and as Secretary of State under Hoover. Willkie aided in narrowing the fundamental differences between himself and the President by expounding a liberal attitude on such issues as labor and social security. Roosevelt received a popular vote of 26,800,000 to 22,301,000 for Willkie, the electoral vote being 449 to 82. Roosevelt's margin of victory over his opponent was, however, far less in 1940 than it had been in 1932 and 1936; and if the shadow of war had not already been cast over America the margin would, without much doubt, have been further reduced. The Democrats retained control of both branches of Congress, but their majority was reduced also. The next few years were to be dominated by a life and death struggle in the Second World War; and, in consequence of this and, perhaps, of the political reaction against Roosevelt as shown in the election, there was little further New Deal legislation. Under the war crisis, however, the President continued his emergency strategy of leadership.

### STEPS FOR STRENGTHENING NATIONAL DEFENSE

*The Vichy regime in France*

On June 25, 1940, France accepted the terms of surrender imposed upon her by Hitler. The Germans occupied two thirds of the country and allowed the French to establish a government for the remainder of France with headquarters at Vichy. This new government, with the aged Marshal Pétain at its head, was dominated by Hitler, although its authority was accepted by most of the French possessions as well as by unoccupied France. Many of the French who would not accept the new order escaped to England. Under the leadership of General Charles de Gaulle this group established at London a provisional government of the "Free French." Also for most of the other countries that had been overrun by Hitler, governments in exile were established in London.

*Significance of the fall of France*

The fall of France brought the United States much nearer to a war role than was indicated by the reassuring utterances of the election campaign of 1940. Hitler's mechanized forces were dominating western and central Europe, and traditional lines and methods of defense were powerless against the swift movements of German armies. With Italy a German partner, the aggressors might seize the French fleet and add it to their own navies, along with co-ordinated air power, to wrest control of the sea from Britain. They might even seize or destroy the English navy. The British were taking a terrific pounding from the air and were fearful of a direct invasion. The people were holding up under their trials with an endurance worthy of the most glorious period of their history. They were encouraged by Winston Churchill, who since May, 1940, had

been Prime Minister. They were not discouraged but heartened by the heroic, determined spirit he showed when in a speech in a dark hour, he said: "I have nothing to offer but blood, tears, toil, and sweat." The British government was therefore in no mood for surrender. If the British Isles were overcome, said Churchill, the British government would move to Canada, already at war, and "carry on the struggle until, in God's good time, the New World, with all its power and might, steps forth to the rescue and liberation of the Old." Such a turn would bring war to the borders of the United States.

*Roosevelt's plan for meeting the Axis threat to American life*

The American government under Roosevelt's leadership undertook to meet the Axis challenge to the American way of life with (1) a giant task of military and naval preparation, (2) all possible material aid to the countries opposing aggressors, (3) and the conduct of foreign policy so as to help the Allies, hinder the Axis, and avoid breaking with the Axis, particularly during the important period of American preparedness. Continual adjustments had to be made in carrying out simultaneously these three overlapping purposes. Difficult indeed was the task of giving diplomatic and economic aid to China and at the same time getting along with Japan, while the Navy and War Departments needed time to get ready for war. It was a delicate matter to maintain friendly diplomatic relations with the French government at Vichy, minimize that government's collaboration with a dominant Germany, keep an eye on the French fleet, and, finally, feed aid and propaganda to the French underground. The nation faced the approach of an expanding war, which was to surpass the First World War several times in magnitude, with a broad range of activities.

*Billions for defense*

Soon after the collapse of France in 1940 Congress became active with legislation for national defense. President Roosevelt sketched a graphic picture of modern air warfare and suggested a seemingly impossible production goal of fifty thousand planes a year. In short order $1,000,000,000 were appropriated for a two-ocean navy, with more than twice that amount for other preparedness purposes. The Export-Import Bank was given half a billion for expanding its lending operations, especially to China and Latin America for the purchase of supplies. It was essential that the billions of dollars appropriated by Congress be translated into the material sinews of war. The export of materials used in manufacturing munitions was restricted and regulated under the Licensing Act of July, 1940.

*Selective service adopted*

On September 16, 1940, President Roosevelt signed the Selective Training and Service Act, the first military conscription law ever enacted when the country was not directly engaged in actual war-

fare. It called for the registration of men between the ages of 21 and 36 for possible military service, and it provided for the annual selection of as many as 900,000 for one year of training, with compulsory service limited to the Western Hemisphere and the possessions of the United States. In August, 1941, the restriction to 900,000 was removed, and the period of service was extended to thirty months. The later demands of war were to extend the liability for service to all men between 18 and 45, with other restrictions removed and with all branches of the armed forces drawing upon this great reservoir of manpower.

*The Lend-Lease Act*

Official encouragement was given to the private production of war supplies and equipment for purchase by the enemies of the Axis on the avowed assumption that such contributions would constitute a defense for America and American institutions. Besides furnishing a check to Axis conquest, this production effort would put home industries and establishments in readiness for direct participation if the United States should become involved in the fighting. The Allies depended increasingly upon American producers for this type of aid. They placed orders in this country during the last seven months of 1940 to the amount of two billion dollars. With the fall of France, Great Britain took over the French contracts, supplies, and facilities in the United States. As in 1917, however, the Allied governments were finding it difficult to finance purchases from American manufacturers.

To meet this problem, President Roosevelt proposed that the United States government finance the sending of supplies under "lend-lease" arrangements. After extensive discussion among Cabinet members and Congressional leaders, such a bill was passed by Congress in March, 1941. Its stated purpose was "to promote the defense of the United States." It was immediately concerned with furnishing a life line to England lest that country's fall bring war to American shores. It granted the President broad discretionary power "to sell, transfer title to, exchange, lease, lend, or otherwise dispose of" defense "articles" to the government of any country whose defense he "deems vital to the defense of the United States." The "articles" might be the product of private or government manufacture. They might include commodities, munitions, machinery, aircraft, boats, tools, equipment, etc. The terms and conditions were to be such as the President "deems satisfactory." This unprecedented step toward influencing the course of the war was strongly opposed by some prominent political leaders and ardently supported by others. Herbert Hoover and Alfred Landon opposed it, while Alfred E. Smith and Wendell Willkie supported it.

*The United States becomes the "arsenal of democracy"*

On the day of the passage of the Lend-Lease Act the President took official steps to send aid to Great Britain and Greece. The first help to England consisted of naval equipment and supplies, including twenty-eight motor torpedo boats. The War Department sent guns and shells to Greece. Important prior appropriations were available, and Congress soon added $7,000,000,000 more for the general purpose. The policy was continued and expanded, with aid going to more than forty countries, whose defense was declared vital to the defense of the United States. Before it was terminated after the end of hostilities, more than $50,000,000,000 constituted the total amount of the aid while about one seventh of that amount came to the United States in the form of "reverse lend-lease" of supplies from the Allies. More than half of the aid went to Great Britain and other parts of the British empire. More than $11,000,000,000 represented shipments to Russia, including a whole rubber plant and several oil refineries. (Russia was drawn into the war against Germany in June, 1941, when Hitler had invaded that country in violation of a nonaggression pact.) The production for this purpose was co-ordinated with the turning out of supplies for America's own land, sea, and air forces. America's "arsenal of democracy" thus served many millions of fighting men in addition to our own millions.

At the end of the war all unused nonmilitary supplies were to be returned to the United States or be paid for. It was also understood that some though not a full return should be made by the beneficiary countries for the generous outlay furnished by the United States. In July, 1948, the British government made a settlement whereby it is to pay approximately ten cents on the dollar for the lend lease supplies received by it. In March, 1949, France and Canada also came to a final agreement with our government. However, by this time no settlement had been reached by Russia, China, and some of the smaller beneficiary countries—including some of the Latin American nations; but at long last Russia had made a start toward a settlement by declaring her willingness (December, 1948) to return thirty-one war vessels that had been furnished by the United States.

### APPROXIMATING WAR IN THE ATLANTIC

Lend-lease furnished no immediate check to the sweep of the Axis war machine in Europe, with Greece and most of the whole Balkan region falling by choice or conquest into Hitler's power, with German troops fighting on Russian soil, and with England finding it increasingly difficult to maintain air and sea power. Large quantities of American supplies were going to the bottom of the ocean instead

*Anti-Axis measures of the American government*

of to the enemies of the Axis. The United States government in 1941 adopted a series of momentous decisions to aid the Allies with action. On May 27, the President issued a proclamation of unlimited national emergency in view of the Axis threat to the democratic order throughout the world. Three weeks after the start of lend lease, the United States seized sixty-five Axis or Axis-controlled ships in American ports and imprisoned nearly a thousand seamen for attempted sabotage. A few weeks later Congress passed a law for taking over and using foreign merchant ships immobilized in this country. In June the President froze all German and Italian assets in the United States, and the State Department asked Germany and Italy to close their consulates in this country, since these offices were channels of propaganda. These actions were followed by the closing of American consulates in those countries. In July, the government at Washington anounced a black list of Axis or pro-Axis firms in Latin America with which citizens of the United States were not to do business.

*The United States gets a foothold in Greenland, Iceland, and Dutch Guiana*

In April, 1941, the State Department negotiated and signed an agreement with the Danish minister in Washington for American occupation of Greenland for defensive purposes until the emergency was over. The Danish government, under Nazi domination, disavowed the agreement and recalled the minister, who had acted without instructions. But Secretary Hull, in a statement without precedent in American history, refused to recognize the recall and applied the agreement as valid. It was important to prevent a rumored German lodgement in Greenland, which would threaten the American life line to Britain, and the niceties of international law or diplomacy were not allowed to stand in the way. President Roosevelt on July 7, 1941, announced an arrangement with the government of Iceland for United States forces to take over the defense of that island from the British for the duration of the emergency. In November, 1941, United States troops took over Dutch Guiana under agreement with the Netherlands government in exile and with the formal consent of Brazil.

*The Atlantic Charter*

The President in August, 1940, had met with Prime Minister Mackenzie King of Canada at Ogdensburg, New York, where the two agreed on a plan for a joint board to study defense problems of their two countries. This unusual agreement between a technical neutral and a belligerent was followed in August of 1941 by a joint statement, the "Atlantic Charter," by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill. The American President and the British Prime Minister met on the British battleship *Prince of Wales* "somewhere on the Atlantic," accompanied by high ranking civilian,

military, and naval officers. They held conferences on the problem of supplies for armies fighting aggression and on steps to be taken in the face of "Hitlerite" dangers. The joint statement issued by them contained eight points, reflecting bits of kinship to Wilson's Fourteen Points and Roosevelt's Four Freedoms.[1] It disavowed any Anglo-American intentions of "aggrandizement, territorial or other," and expressed the desire that no territorial changes be made except by wishes of the people concerned. It urged a restoration of self-government to people who had been forcibly deprived of it. It favored "the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity." It expressed the hope that the "destruction of the Nazi tyranny" would be followed by a peaceful world, with reduction of armaments, social security, and freedom from fear and want. The United States was now clearly a co-belligerent without a declaration of war.

*Sinkings and naval orders to shoot*

There were several sinkings of United States merchant ships by German submarines in the middle and latter parts of 1941. On May 21, the *Robin Moor*, carrying automobiles and steel rails to Capetown, was sunk in the South Atlantic. No provision was made by the submarine officers for the survivors, who drifted for days in open boats. This incident outraged a large section of the American public and prepared it to accept the closing of the Axis consulates and propaganda channels. The announcement of the Atlantic meeting of Roosevelt and Churchill was followed by several other attacks upon American shipping by submarines. On September 11, President Roosevelt went on the air and announced that American patrols would defend the freedom of the seas by shooting at sight the Axis "rattlesnakes of the Atlantic" operating within our defensive areas. On October 30, the destroyer *Reuben James* was sunk by a torpedo off western Iceland, with a heavy loss of lives. President Roosevelt, in his Navy Day speech, October 27, said that "the shooting has started." Secretary Hull said frankly that the United States was abandoning international law as to neutrality in favor of "the law of self-defense."

*Repeal of neutrality restrictions*

With the destruction of the *Reuben James* in mind, Congress, in November, 1941, complied with the President's request for repeal of the most restrictive sections of the Neutrality Act of 1939. This new legislation permitted the arming of American merchant vessels and permitted our ships to enter the ports of belligerent nations. It brought the nation nearer to war.

[1] Roosevelt's address to Congress, January 6, 1941, expressed the hope for a world founded upon "four essential human freedoms," these being freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

## THE ROAD TO WAR IN THE PACIFIC

*Friction with Japan over China*

There was friction with Japan over the Roosevelt-Hull support of the "open door" for China. The American government, which never recognized the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo, was distinctly sympathetic toward China when Japan, without declaring war, invaded that country in July, 1937, first at Peiping in the north and later at Shanghai. This brutal warfare against the Chinese was not to end until after the dropping of atomic bombs on Japanese cities. China was indirectly aided by Roosevelt's nonadherence to the restrictions of the Neutrality Act, and United States government loans were extended to that country long before America was brought into the war. Individuals and groups attempted a voluntary boycotting of Japanese merchandise and criticized the Administration for not immediately stopping the shipping of large amounts of scrap iron to Japan.

*Roosevelt's "quarantine" speech*

In October, 1937, Roosevelt made a speech at Chicago which was pointed at Italy and Japan. On this occasion he compared the world lawlessness of the day (meaning the wars that Italy and Japan were prosecuting) to an epidemic of physical disease which should be held in check by the peace-loving powers. "When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread," he said, "the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease." On December 12, 1937, Japanese aviators bombed and sank an American river gunboat, the *Panay*, killing two and seriously wounding ten of the crew. American protest brought an apology, but other disturbing incidents followed. Hopes that Japanese liberal elements might check the dominance of militarists and war lords in their Empire were to prove vain. In response to an American protest over shutting the "open door" in China, Japan replied in November, 1938, that a "new situation, fast developing in East Asia," rendered ideas and principles of the past "inapplicable."

*Japan temporarily sobered*

Secretary Hull and Ambassador Joseph C. Grew in Tokyo repeatedly made it clear to Japan that the United States would not recognize any Japanese unilateral establishment of a "new order" in China. As these warnings had no effect, the Department of State, on July 26, 1939, gave the Japanese government the formal six-months notice of termination of the commercial treaty of 1911. For some time this had a sobering effect on the Japanese war lords. However, after the war in Europe was under way Japan entered into an economic, political, and military alliance with Italy and Germany (September, 1940) and thus became the third member of the Axis.

*The Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis*

Japan took advantage of this new connection and became more aggressive. She was not only continuing the war against China but was also eyeing French and Dutch possessions to the southward to round out her "New Order in East Asia." She was racing ahead with naval expansion and changing the Cabinet from time to time in favor of a more aggressive policy. The chief restraining hand was the United States, which continued to support China and warned against upsetting the *status quo* in the South Pacific. In 1940 the American government drastically restricted the export of supplies to Japan by prohibiting the export of aviation gasoline, scrap iron, and steel to countries outside the Western Hemisphere.

*Japan occupies Indo-China*

By the summer of 1941 the Japanese government had formulated a plan for getting control of the Far East and the South Seas. They called this ambitious policy a "Japanese Monroe Doctrine." It meant that the French and Dutch possessions in the Far East would be taken over by Japan. Having signed a nonaggression pact with Russia, she felt safe in entering upon this bold scheme. The first step in this direction was to take over Indo-China. The Vichy-French government, acting under pressure from Hitler, gave its consent, and in the summer of 1941 Japanese troops moved into and occupied Indo-China. President Roosevelt, in turn, froze Japanese assets in the United States and issued an order absorbing the Philippine army into that of the United States. Japan reciprocated the "freeze," and economic intercourse between the two countries was virtually paralyzed. There were fears that Japan might invade Thailand, cut the Burma Road to check American supplies to China, and also push southward to the Dutch East Indies.

*"Last proposals"*

The crisis was intensified when the Japanese Cabinet fell on October 16, 1941, and General Hideki Tojo took over the government as leader of the militarists. Early in November the government sent Saburo Kurusu to Washington as a special envoy to assist Ambassador Nomura in "last proposals" for peace. He arrived in Washington after sinkings and shooting had occurred in the Atlantic. The tension was further emphasized by Churchill's warning on November 10 that Great Britain would declare war on Japan "within the hour," should the United States become involved in war with that country. The Japanese diplomats and the American officials opened negotiations under rather darkening shadows.

*An impasse in Japanese American relations*

The negotiations came to a climax in November, 1941. The Japanese made a proposal whereby the United States would promise to stop all aid to China, furnish Japan with all the oil she needed, and free the Japanese assets then frozen in this country. If our State Department had agreed to these terms Japan would have been free

to continue the war with China and with American economic support. Of course, Secretary Hull could not accept such unreasonable provisions, and he submitted counter proposals in the form of a comprehensive note. By the terms of this note Japan was to withdraw her forces from China and Indo-China, lend support to the Chinese Nationalist government in Chungking, and accept a non-aggression pact for the stabilization of East Asia. In return, the United States would remove the "freeze" from Japanese funds, enter into a trade agreement with Japan, co-operate in stabilizing the dollar-yen rate of exchange, and work to terminate extra-territoriality in China. The Japanese foreign minister in Tokyo publicly rejected the American proposals as fantastic, although privately his government asked that the discussions continue.

*Japanese war movements*

In the midst of the futile conversations at Washington, it was learned that Japan was preparing to invade Thailand from Indo-China. President Roosevelt ended a vacation at Warm Springs, Georgia, and hurried back to Washington. On December 2, the Tokyo government was asked for an explanation and, when nothing came of this request, Roosevelt sent a personal message to Emperor Hirohito on December 6, appealing for peace through a withdrawal of Japanese troops from Indo-China. Warnings of possible war and of a surprise attack had been sent to American commanders in the Pacific, including those at Honolulu. It was feared that Japan, in accord with former practice, might start war before declaring it. The American government had intelligence of a Japanese naval movement in the Pacific, but there was no certainty as to its purpose or destination. The range of Japanese striking power and plans was underestimated, and there was little expectation that it would extend as far as the Hawaiian Islands. Apparently no great importance was attached to a report by Ambassador Joseph C. Grew from Tokyo, back in January, of town talk that Japan would strike at Pearl Harbor (near Honolulu) in case of war with the United States.

*The surprise attack on Pearl Harbor*

The Japanese government made the maximum use of the elements of surprise and initiative against a country which is not war-minded and which maintains constitutional limitation on executive power to undertake war. On Sunday morning, December 7, 1911, just prior to a final conference of Japan's envoys with Secretary Hull, planes from carriers at sea made a swift and sudden raid on the United States base at Pearl Harbor. Submarines also participated in the "sneak attack," which caught the American government and armed forces completely off guard and inflicted the greatest single disaster in the history of American arms. The assault was a crippling blow to the United States navy, for it destroyed the battleship *Arizona* and three destroyers and caused heavy damage to seven other battleships

and several smaller ships. One hundred and seventy-seven American navy and army planes were destroyed, while the Japanese lost forty-eight planes and three small submarines. Slightly more than three thousand lives were lost by the American forces. The Pearl Harbor raid was followed immediately by an attack on the Philippines and by Japan's declaration of war against the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa.

*The nation accepts the challenge*

"Remember Pearl Harbor" became a rallying cry for the nation. Congress, on December 8, heard a short war address by the President and speedily declared war on Japan, with no dissenting vote in the Senate and only one in the House, that of Representative Jeannette Rankin of Montana. Such bitter critics of the Roosevelt foreign policy as Wheeler in the Senate and Hamilton Fish in the House spoke ardently for war. This was the first time in history that Congress had to legislate for action in the face of a prior declaration of war on the United States by a foreign power. Japan in time was to learn how effectively the Pearl Harbor attack served to unify the American nation for a mighty military effort.[1]

*A world network of war declarations*

Germany and Italy declared war on the United States on December 11 and on the same day Congress responded with separate declarations against those countries. Later the United States went to war officially with Germany's Balkan satellites. In the spirit of the "good-neighbor" policy, the Caribbean and Central American republics joined the United States in the war. Sooner or later all the nations of South America followed suit or severed relations with the Axis, Argentina being the latest and most reluctant to co-operate in this hemispheric solidarity. China declared war on Germany. The world network of war acts was finally rounded out with Turkey's entering the anti-Axis camp a month before the German surrender and with Russia's moving against Japan a few weeks later.

[1] America's official and popular saddling of blame on Japan for secretly launching war before ending negotiations at Washington did not prevent the Pearl Harbor tragedy from stirring up a long controversy. There remained the question of why American forces and officers were not on guard against a surprise attack on that Sunday morning. The army and navy officers in command at Pearl Harbor at the time, Lieutenant General W. C. Short and Admiral H. E. Kimmel, were immediately relieved of command. A train of investigations followed, one by a Presidential commission, one by the War Department, one by the Navy Department, and a long inquiry by a joint Congressional committee with majority and minority reports. There was clearly a lack of close co-operation or co-ordination between army and navy on the spot and inadequate utilization of available warning facilities. Certain parts of the testimony indicated or implied a lack of full understanding between the State, War, and Navy Departments at Washington. Critics of the Administration interpreted portions of the evidence as proof of an executive lapse on the part of President Roosevelt as commander in chief of the army and navy. There was also the observation in high places that the apathy at Pearl Harbor reflected an apathy on the part of the American people.

SELECTED READINGS[1]

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3. The Kellogg Peace Pact.—*Ibid.*, pp. 401-402.
4. Crisis in Manchuria.—F. R. Dulles, *China and America*, ch. 14.
5. The China Incident.—*Ibid.*, ch. 15.
6. "The Four Freedoms."—Brown, pp. 362-370.
7. Fascism in Italy.—C. G. Haines and R. J. S. Hoffman, *The Origins and Background of the Second World War*, pp. 222-237.
8. Italy on the March.—*Ibid.*, pp. 371-390.
9. Rise of German National Socialism and the Nazi Revolution.—Haines and Hoffman, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-246.
10. The Second World War in Europe.—Rosenblum, *op. cit.*, chs. 1 and 2.
11. The Axis Offensive: Munich to Warsaw.—Haines and Hoffman, *op. cit.*, ch. 13.
12. Japan's War on China.—*Ibid.*, 434-451.
13. The Stimson Doctrine.—Commager, *Documents*, II, pp. 405-406
14. Isolationism and Neutrality Legislation.—Ruhl J. Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy*, ch. 32 (documents); S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (1946), ch. 42.
15. The Retreat from Isolation.—Bartlett, *op. cit.*, ch. 33; Bemis, *op. cit.*, ch. 43.
16. The Atlantic Charter.—Brown, pp. 371-372.
17. Roosevelt's Speech on "Quarantining War."—*Ibid.*, pp. 357-361.

[1] Much of the historical literature covering Chapters XLII-XLIV (and to some extent Chapter XLI) is as yet (1949) ephemeral in character or too lengthy to suit the needs of students. The Selected Readings for these chapters are therefore offered only as a tentative list, and in a few years most of the items should probably be supplemented or superseded by better assignments made by the instructor.

# CHAPTER XLIII

# *Participating in Global War*

## Critical Months

THE year following the Pearl Harbor attack was a gloomy period for the United States and the other Allies. It was critical, whether the war be viewed from land, sea, or air, whether from Europe or the Pacific. Japan took immediate advantage of the American naval setback to strike throughout the vast reaches of the Pacific. Besides hitting the American fleet at Hawaii, the Nipponese crippled British naval power in the Orient. Three days after "Pearl Harbor" the British lost the battleship *Prince of Wales* and a cruiser, the *Repulse*, off the coast of Malaya. A fortnight later Hong Kong was surrendered to the Japanese. Britain's great base and fortress of Singapore fell to the new enemy on February 15, 1942, and three weeks later the Japanese cut the Burma Road to check the movement of American aid to China. Japan's land, sea, and air forces moved swiftly through the Malay Peninsula and from island to island in the South Pacific. They got a foothold in New Guinea, offering a direct threat to Australia. They took over the East Indies' possessions from the Dutch and British, thus coming into the control of important war supplies and potentials. In particular, they tapped the world's chief source of natural rubber, which was automatically shut off from the United States and the Allies.

*Japanese forces move swiftly*

American forces in the Pacific regions were no match for the Japanese in the early stages of the war. Although the enemy made no effort to invade the Hawaiian Islands, America's slim forces were able to hold out only a matter of days in the distant islands of Wake and Guam. The heroic defenders of these islands could not be reinforced. However, the Japanese assault on the Philippines, which was begun on December 7, 1941, was slow and difficult, offering a striking contrast to results at the same time to the southward. Not only did General Douglas MacArthur's troops contest every inch of the advance toward Bataan and then Corregidor, but they made counterattacks. They were cut off from American supplies, and their inadequate aircraft had been wrecked by Japan's surprise attack on De-

*Japanese conquest of Guam, Wake, and the Philippines*

cember 7. They looked in vain for aid from the United States as enemy superiority in men and weapons increased. General MacArthur was evacuated under Washington orders and by stealth to Australia for larger duties. On May 6, 1912, long after the capture of Manila, the Americans' last stand on Corregidor was ended with surrender by General Jonathan Wainwright, who had succeeded to General MacArthur's command in the Philippines.

*Japanese treatment of prisoners of war*

The loss of the Philippines meant captivity for the defeated forces. Nearly 16,000 Americans were taken as prisoners by Japan in the course of the war. Unfortunately they were at the mercy of an alien race and of a nation that was not a signer of the Geneva Convention for the humane treatment of prisoners of war. In spite of pious words, Japan did not live up to the terms of that international agreement. Americans were subjected to "death marches," starvation diets, and inadequate medical care. There were cases of using prisoners as guinea pigs for medical and military tests, even with fatal results. Red Cross aid and mail service were made meager or difficult, and Japan would not exchange sick and wounded prisoners of war. Captured Americans were recovered only through successful military operations.

*Japanese dominance at its widest extent*

In May, 1912, the Japanese made a temporary or diversionary movement toward Alaska. They occupied America's treeless islets of Kiska and Attu in the Aleutians for a few months. Their submarines had penetrated far enough to molest the coast of California, although offering no menace to compare with the destruction by German submarines off the east and Gulf coasts. General Joseph W. Stillwell and his small band of Americans and Chinese were forced to retreat through the rough Burma country to India, with "Vinegar Joe" admitting a severe beating and undertaking reorganization for a return. By the middle of 1912 Japan exercised dominance over wide ocean and island areas from Aleutian spots southward to the Solomons and westward around the Indies, as well as over most of the land regions of East Asia. The Japanese now dominated a territory of more than 1,300,000 square miles, from which could be obtained abundant supplies of oil, rubber, and other much-needed products. This was the geographical extent of their power at its maximum.

*Checking Japan's advance in the Pacific*

The enemy's threats to Australia, India, Hawaii, and Alaska failed to materialize. The southward sweep of aggression was checked in May, 1942, when the American naval forces in a series of battles of five days duration administered a severe defeat to the Japanese fleet in the Coral Sea northeast of Australia. This was the first great naval engagement in which the opposing surface ships never came within sight or firing range of each other, for all the fighting was by air-

planes. In the early days of the following month blows from planes and submarines turned back a large Japanese naval force from Midway, an American island station eighteen hundred miles northwest of Honolulu. The Japanese fleet fled under heavy fire and with heavy losses, including the sinking of four aircraft carriers. This battle signalized the end of American retreat in the Pacific. A foreshadowing of offensive action had been given in April by a surprise raid over Tokyo and three other Japanese cities by a squadron of planes from a distant carrier. The real offensive, however, was to be launched from Australia, and preparation for this great movement had to be co-ordinated with the development of a "second front" in Europe. The grand strategy called for defeat of the Axis in Europe first. This plan was based upon the assumptions that Russia could and would stay in the fight against Hitler and that Japan could not carry on the fight alone after defeat of the Axis in Europe.

*Close co-ordination with Britain and the dominions*

The United States and the British empire governments closely co-ordinated their war efforts. Roosevelt and Churchill got together in Washington during the Christmas season following the Pearl Harbor attack, and they were to meet in conference several times later. The two leaders announced a unified command in the Pacific of all British, American, and other forces. The announcement took on a concrete meaning a little later with the landing of American troops in Australia and the arrival next day of General MacArthur to command all the Allied troops in the South Pacific. The first large contingent of American forces to move toward the European theater reached northern Ireland on January 26, 1942, for advance training. To maintain the co-ordination of British and American war activities a streamlined organization was created in February, 1942, under the designation of Combined Chiefs of Staff—United States and Great Britain.

*Declaration of the United Nations*

The Roosevelt-Churchill consultations in Washington were also marked by the Declaration of the United Nations, signed January 1, 1942, by twenty-six governments at war with one or more of the Axis powers. Each signatory government subscribed to the principles of the Atlantic Charter and pledged itself to co-operate in war and not to make a separate armistice or peace with the enemy. "United Nations" became a popular term for the Allied belligerents and later the official designation of the world organization of nations.

*Hitler's successes in the west*

When the United States entered the war the prospects of the Allies in the western fighting areas were far from promising. German submarines in the Atlantic and the Caribbean Sea were sinking ships faster than the Allies could build them. Hitler could also point to remarkable military achievements. He was now in control of about

one million square miles of conquered territory and his armies were still advancing on every front. Nor did his fortunes change immediately after America cast her lot with the Allies. During the year 1942 the sinkings by the U-boats averaged as many as a million gross tons a month. For a time it looked as if the submarine would win in the contest to keep American supplies from reaching the Allies. Fortunately for the United Nations, Hitler in June, 1941, made the great blunder of attacking Russia, which he did in utter disregard of his pledges under the nonaggression pact. Although the ultimate outcome of the invasion of Russia was fatal to Germany, the immediate results were most promising. The German forces had advanced rapidly toward the east taking from the Soviets the Ukraine, their most valuable industrial and agricultural area. In the summer of 1942 they seized the oil lands in the Caucasus region and laid siege to Stalingrad. It looked as if Stalin's resistance would soon come to an end.

## THE NATION MOBILIZES

*The United States becomes the "arsenal of democracy"*

When the United States threw its full weight into the scales it tipped them decidedly in favor of the United Nations. But Uncle Sam had to sharpen his sword before he could flourish it to advantage. Much had been done in the way of preparedness during the breathing spell which, because of the heroic and stubborn resistance of the British, had been granted to us. Now war preparations were speeded up and the United States more than ever became the "arsenal of democracy."

*Adoption of wide wartime measures*

During the first ten months of participation, the primary job for the United States was military and industrial mobilization for total war, with battle activity rather limited to minor defensive or protective operations. Congress was called upon to enact more sweeping legislation than was necessary for the First World War. Aside from appropriations of unprecedented proportions, there was a wide range of legislation for expanding the armed forces, facilitating production, acquiring and conserving critical materials, and insuring that civilian consumption would not interfere with the needs of war. The First War Powers Act (December 18, 1941) gave the President emergency authority to create and reorganize executive agencies, to make defense contracts, and to control trade. The Second War Powers Act (March 27, 1942) clothed the President with power to seize property, enforce priorities, and ration merchandise. The Emergency Price Control Act of January 30, 1942, provided for administrative authority to establish "generally fair and equitable" maximum prices on most commodities and on residential rents. It

included no wage controls, and farmers were given certain safeguards in connection with ceilings on their products. In June, 1942, Congress created the Smaller War Plants Corporation, with a capital stock of $150,000,000, to aid and encourage small business concerns in the production of articles for war uses and essential civilian consumption. The larger corporations got encouragement through an arrangement by the War, Navy, and Justice Departments for a suspension of certain applications of antitrust legislation during the war emergency. The RFC received wider powers and more funds for financing war production. In general, these wide executive and administrative powers were continued and even expanded to meet the demands of war.

*Wartime administration*

With all this statutory support, the President and administrative officers no longer had to rely upon "jawbone control" through persuasion, agreement, and publicity to gear the national economy to war service. Advice gave way to rules, executive orders, and directives. Several important agencies supplanted the different branches of the National Defence Advisory Commission or its immediate successors. These were generally located in the Executive Office of the President. Among them were the War Production Board (WPB), the Office of Price Administration (OPA), and the National War Labor Board.

*WPB*

The War Production Board, directed through most of the war period by Donald Nelson, performed duties similar to those of the War Industries Board, which was headed by Bernard Baruch during the First World War. The powers and functions of WPB, however, were far greater in co-ordinating production and procurement of materials for the war effort, in allocating scarce or critical items as between war uses and civilian needs, and in enforcing a system of priorities for all these uses, with the result that, during the early period of the war, there was a halt or drastic reduction, for strictly civilian consumption, in the production of automobiles, radios, mechanical refrigerators, washing machines, vacuum cleaners, and various types of electrical appliances. Practically all home construction, except as approved for defense workers, ceased.

*OPA*

Complementary to the work of WPB in civilian consumer relations was that of the Office of Price Administration, which developed and enforced a system of rationing and of price ceilings. The list of rationed commodities in time included sugar, meats, butter, other fats, canned goods, coffee, shoes, gasoline, and fuel oil. The agency imposed wholesale and retail maximum prices on almost all commodities. It is needless to say that a large staff of workers, regular and voluntary, was required to issue "ration" stamps, coupons, or

"points," and to check against violations. The penalties might be prosecution before Federal courts or denial for a period of ration points. Despite numerous violations of these regulations by those who engaged in "black market" operations, prices were kept down to a reasonable level and there was a fair distribution of scarce commodities.

*Other administrative agencies*

The National War Labor Board (NWLB) handled labor disputes falling outside the jurisdiction or capacity of other labor agencies. There was a special setup for rubber production, since extensive and speedy action had to be taken to produce synthetic rubber in place of supplies from areas occupied by Japan. Secretary Harold Ickes headed administrations for solid fuels and for petroleum. The Department of Agriculture had a role in stimulating an intensive production of "food for freedom." The Office of Defense Transportation was created to "assure maximum utilization of the domestic transportation facilities of the Nation for the successful prosecution of the war." Because of this work and the improved system of transportation, the government did not take over the operation of the railroads as in the First World War. An Office of Scientific Research and Development was established to co-ordinate research in government and institutional laboratories in the study of scientific problems related to the war. Among its problems were those of medical care and the making of atomic bombs. An Office of War Information was created to give out information, while an Office of Censorship was to hold it back when necessary.

*Maximum production for war*

American production and employment reached an all-time high before the end of the war. Women, boys, girls, and elderly men joined the ranks of labor and more than offset the number of men in the armed forces. Many men were deferred from military service for expert and important work in essential production. Expenditures for war rose to more than half the national income. With normal civilian purchase rigidly limited, the forces of the United States were speedily supplied with the equipment and necessities for battle, now that American industry was thoroughly converted to the task. The once fantastic goal of fifty thousand airplanes per annum was approximately reached, while tanks, guns, and ships moved from plants and yards in unexpected abundance. Farmers managed to grow and harvest large crops in spite of reduced labor power. Agricultural and industrial production was stimulated in various ways by government purchase or subsidy, which prevented marginal producers from falling by the wayside. The War and Navy Departments operated extensive establishments with the employment of more

than a million civilian industrial workers. Government enterprise and private enterprise were dovetailed for maximum results.

*Grand-scale training and organization of armed forces*

The men who were inducted into the armed service were conditioned and trained for all types of warfare, for fighting in desert, jungle, air, and sea, and on landing beaches. They received instruction in camp and college, equipping themselves for scientific warfare, psychological warfare, and "underground" warfare. To facilitate the co-ordination of army and navy planning at the top, Admiral William D. Leahy was named to a new post of Chief of Staff to the President. Women were enrolled in uniform for various types of noncombatant service. Extensive provisions were made by governmental agencies and unofficial organizations for the recreation of soldiers and sailors.

*Work of the Red Cross*

The Red Cross work in the Second World War was similar to that in the First World War, with the significant addition of maintaining a blood-donation service as a result of new techniques in this field. "Blood banks" were opened in the principal cities for collecting, processing, and classifying blood to be sent to the battlefields in the different parts of the world. This was a great transfusion service which cut down the mortality from wounds. Another important activity of the Red Cross was that of supplying recreational facilities for the servicemen in the camps at home and on the fighting front.

## WINNING VICTORY IN EUROPE

*The submarine menace curbed*

By the end of summer, 1942, American aid had reached such proportions as to cause a turn in the tide. Soon the Allies changed from the defensive to the offensive on all fronts. By the end of 1942, there were 1,700,000 American servicemen overseas, and a year later the number had reached 3,800,000. One important gain for the Allies was the curb which they put on submarine activity. By the use of airplanes, destroyers, and other vessels the English and American navies were able greatly to reduce the sinkings in Atlantic and Gulf waters and to protect cargo vessels and transports. So successful were these efforts that the number of Allied and neutral vessels sunk in 1943 was less than one fifth of those destroyed in the previous year. In the last months of 1943 the number of German submarines destroyed was greater than the number of merchant vessels lost by the Allies. Furthermore, shipbuilding in the United States was advancing at a rapid pace, and therefore the gain over losses in the American merchant and war vessels was constantly increasing.

*"Second front" plans*

While checking Japan in the Far East, America used armed might, in co-operation with other United Nations troops to attack the

European enemy powers. American forces attacked the Axis in North Africa in 1942, in Italy in 1943, in France in 1944, and, finally, in the depths of Germany as well as Austria in 1945. General George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, favored a much earlier drive into France without the delay of diversionary activity and before the Germans could expand defense forces and fortifications. This step would have suited the Russians, who were calling urgently for a "second front" in the west. But Churchill, for the British, vigorously opposed this, partly because a possible failure would be disastrous to British morale and power. He preferred to make an attack on the Mediterranean front through the "soft underbelly of Europe," move through the Balkans and into Poland, and defeat Germany from that side. Marshall was opposed to going all out for the Churchill strategy, which did not seem feasible or "soft."

*The war picture on eve of the African landing*

As a sort of compromise between the Marshall and Churchill plans for a "second front," it was decided that the Allies should start a new campaign in North Africa. Here the Germans, under the leadership of Marshal Erwin Rommel, had captured Tobruk and driven the British eastward from Italian Libya inflicting upon them heavy losses in men and supplies. Rommel's army was stationed at El Alamein, only about seventy miles from the important seaport of Alexandria. With a powerful and victorious enemy so close, the Suez Canal was in danger of attack. There were fearful speculations that a consolidated German drive on to the East might connect with a westward sweep of the Japanese, who were in Burma and threatening the borders of India. Allied victory would be postponed indefinitely unless the course of war could be changed.

*The landing in North Africa*

As plans for the African operation took shape, the American General Dwight D. Eisenhower, not General Marshall, was chosen to be commander in chief of the Allied forces, with the hearty approval of Winston Churchill. During the night of November 7-8, 1942, the United States Army, Navy, and Air Forces started landing operations at numerous points on the shores of North Africa. The expedition consisted primarily of American and British forces, with contingents from other countries. It executed an amphibious operation of unprecedented magnitude, utilizing five hundred transports and three hundred and fifty warships of various sizes. The Germans had knowledge of the movement of this armada but did not guess the destination until the landings were carried out in calm weather and in the darkness of the night. Good luck offset mistakes of execution, and there was help from anti-Axis groups and leaders in that portion of French Africa. In four days fifteen hundred miles of coast-

line were occupied, and all of French North Africa except Tunisia was brought under the control of the United Nations. The American Army and Navy lost about two thousand in killed, wounded, and missing, some of the losses resulting from drowning in the dark. Five American transports were sunk, although most of the men were saved. As more acceptable to the French, Americans were the first to land, and they took over the cities of Oran, Algiers, and Casablanca.

*First effects of the invasion of Africa*

The immediate effect of the African invasion was to stir the Germans to a double action. They poured troops into Tunisia, and they moved into "unoccupied" southeastern France. Just before they took over Toulon, where the bulk of the French fleet lay idle, the French scuttled the fleet, forty-four warships being sunk or partially submerged. This was done to keep the ships from falling into the hands of the Germans. A few of the smaller craft escaped to the Allies. In January, 1943, Roosevelt and Churchill held a ten-day conference in Casablanca, French Morocco, and worked out plans for bringing about the "unconditional surrender" of the Axis.

*The campaign for Tunisia*

The Americans met a baptism of fire in Tunisia, where stubborn forces opposed them. Months were required to defeat the Germans and Italians. But the Axis got caught in pincers, with the British Eighth Army under General Sir Bernard Law Montgomery driving the Germans back across North Africa from the Egyptian borders. Montgomery's forces, moving westward, finally closed in as the British, French, and Americans drove against the enemy from the west. The struggle came to an end in May, 1943, with the whole of Tunisia being occupied by the Allies, who took more than 200,000 prisoners. General Rommel escaped to Europe. In this campaign the Allied armies were greatly aided by the air and navy arms of the service. The airplanes and warships of the Allies were able to shut off supplies and reinforcements for Rommel's army and prevent its escape when it was finally defeated. The successes in North Africa were paralleled by the Russians' lifting the siege of Stalingrad and launching an offensive from the Volga. These combined blows, according to subsequent analysis by General Marshall, "proved to be the turning points at which the Axis was forced on the strategic defensive."

*The short campaign for Sicily*

Sicily was the next objective as a step toward the invasion of Italy. The advance technical advice to General Eisenhower read: "The Combined Chiefs of Staff have resolved that an attack against Sicily will be launched in 1943 with the target date at the period of the favorable July moon." After weeks of air bombardment of the island, the amphibious assault was launched on July 10. Partly because of

stormy weather, the defending Italian forces were completely surprised. General Montgomery led a British force, while Generals Omar N. Bradley, George C. Patton, Jr., and others led Americans in the undertaking which brought Sicily into Allied control just nine months after the landings in North Africa.

*Downfall of Mussolini*

The invasion of Sicily was to aid in the fall of Mussolini from power in Italy. On July 25 the king announced the resignation of the Duce. The new premier, Marshal Badoglio, made contact with General Eisenhower in an effort to negotiate a surrender without the knowledge of the Germans, who dominated Italy virtually as conquerors. On September 8, 1943, the day before American troops invaded the Italian mainland, the surrender was announced. The Italian fleet units came over to the Allies on the ninth and succeeding days. Mussolini, being put into captivity, was to be boldly rescued by a band of Germans, retaken upon the collapse of Germany, and finally, dispatched, along with his mistress, by self-appointed executioners without dignity or ceremony. The Allied invaders had to give immediate aid to the Italian government and people to meet a critical food shortage.

*Battling the Germans in Italy*

The fall of Mussolini, with change of sides by Italy, was no signal for overrunning the country by the Allies. The German forces offered strong opposition to the invasion, which was frequently slowed down by the conditions of terrain and weather. Americans under General Mark Clark, as well as British and Canadians, engaged in stubborn fighting in the landing areas south of Naples. There was a slugging battle for Rome, which was not taken until June 4, 1944, and additional months were required to reach the Po. The Americans attained a superiority in air power, sending planes from Italy to bomb oil fields and other targets in Austria and southern Germany. But the Germans carried on the struggle in northern Italy almost to the end, capitulating on May 2, 1945.

*Plans to invade France*

The last half of the campaign in Italy became secondary to fighting in France and Germany. France should be invaded in 1944, it was decided, to shorten the war by facilitating the westward advance of Soviet forces and also to deny Germany time for dangerous technological advances in methods of destruction. Final preparations for this strategic undertaking were made after conferences in November and December, 1943, in which Roosevelt and Churchill conferred with Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese leader, at Cairo in Egypt, and with Marshal Stalin, of Russia, at Teheran in Iran. Soon after returning from these war conferences, the President announced the official designation of General Eisenhower as Supreme Commander of the

Allied Expeditionary Force. The decision for the invasion had been made, and the approximate date had been set.

*The "softening up" of the fortress of Europe*

Before attempting a landing in Europe, American and British airplanes had "softened up" the fortress of Europe with a continuous campaign of bombing. The objects of their attacks were not only the big industrial plants of the Rhineland and Ruhr areas, but also oil refineries, synthetic fuel plants, air fields, and lines of communication. In this way the production of the implements of war by the Germans was reduced to a small percentage of its former capacity. The toll of destruction for one month alone (May, 1944) included around sixteen thousand freight cars and nine hundred locomotives. During the three months immediately preceding the landing, Allied airplanes sought out as special targets bridges and railroad centers in the territory to be invaded. In this way the enemy's transportation system was so crippled that when the invasion came reserves could not be rapidly sent to the points where they were most needed.

*Enormous task of preparation*

The preparations for the cross-Channel landings in Normandy were enormous. An important part of this work consisted of a record-breaking production of landing craft in American and British shipyards, for the craft left over from Africa and Italy were far from adequate. Installations for artificial harbors were provided. Precision bombing of the enemy was stepped up, with emphasis on damage to transportation lines and facilities. With the approach of D-Day (as the date of the landings is called) the strength of the United States Army in the British Isles reached the number of 1,553,000. This number included many who had been tested in battle in Africa and Italy. Rugged rehearsals were at the same time being conducted in Britain for the D-Day action.

*Establishing a beachhead in Normandy*

The D-Day armada included a total of some four thousand ships of all kinds and about half a million men, counting those who manned the ships. Ahead of it went two American airborne divisions and British airborne troops to seize vital areas in the rear of German coastal defenses. The assault troops hit the beaches between Cherbourg and Caen shortly after midnight on June 6, 1944. They met formidable resistance, but several divisions were landed the first day, and by the second morning the beachhead was secure. Cherbourg was captured on June 27.

*Breaking out of the beachhead*

The landing of more troops and supplies made it possible to break out of the beachhead in the last days of July and first part of August. General Patton broke through with the American Third Army, made a speedy and sweeping movement around the southern wing of the Germans, cut off the enemy forces in Brit[illegible]ny, and then

turned northward, almost joining other Allied forces and sealing the German forces in Normandy from escape. Enemy troops to the number of one hundred thousand were captured while trying to escape through this corridor. American forces also landed on the southern coast of France (August 15), and with the aid of French patriots of the "underground" advanced rapidly up the Rhone valley. On August 25, a French division of the United States First Army entered Paris, which, in the words of Ernie Pyle, responded to its liberation with a "fantastic eruption of mass joy." It seemed that victory over Germany could not be put off long.

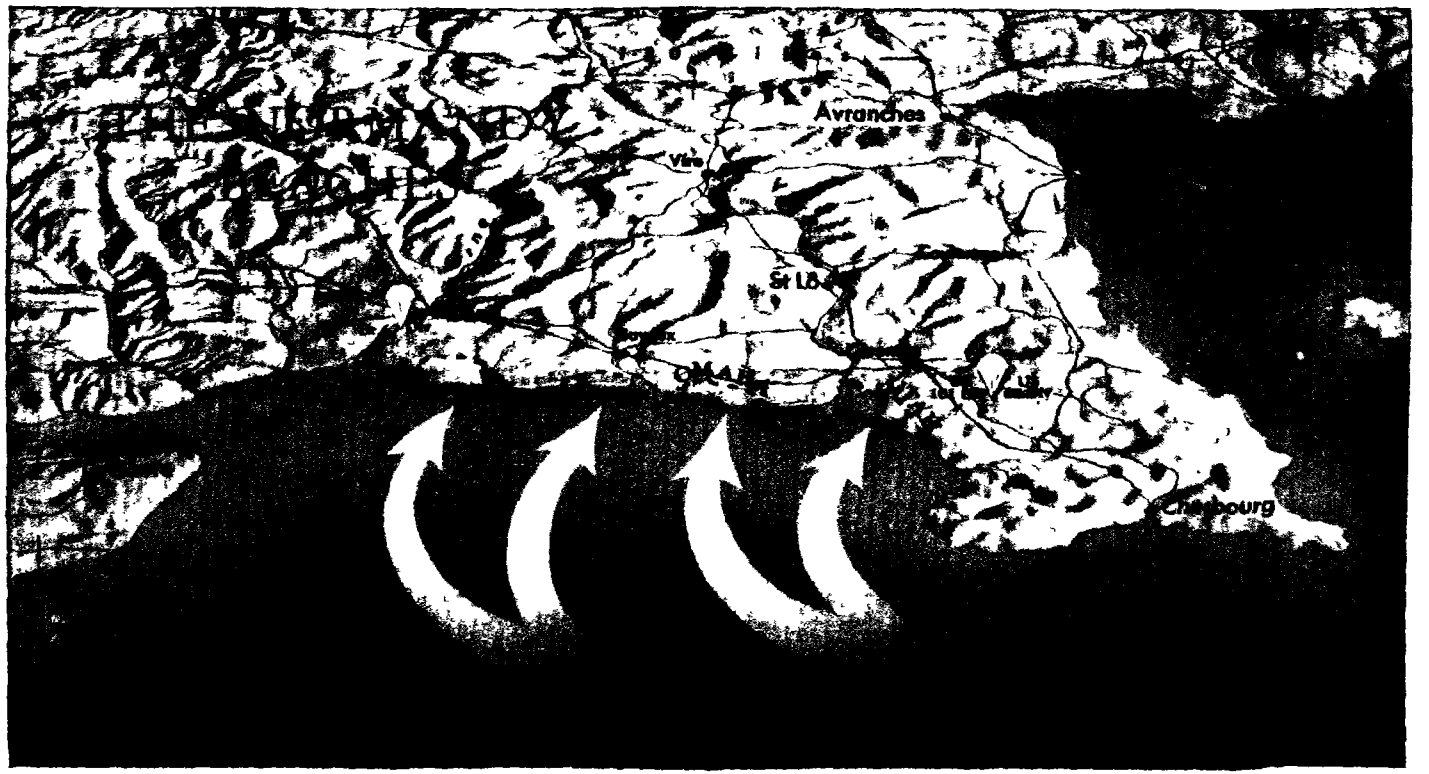
*Russia on the offensive*

The optimism over the western front was reinforced by good news of the Russian offensive in the east as well as of progress in the Pacific. Russia's war power had been increased by the equipment and supplies obtained through American lend-lease. Germany also had to relax to some extent her firm grip on Russia to meet the Allied campaigns in North Africa and Italy. Under these favorable circumstances, "the superb fighting qualities of the Russian soldiers and the skill and resourcefulness of their leaders"[1] began to get results. First they relieved the siege of Stalingrad (see p. 822), with heavy losses to the besiegers. They then carried on a winter offensive (1942-43) by which they regained a large portion of the territory which the Germans had occupied. By another great offensive begun in July, 1943, the Russians gradually pushed the Germans westward until they had freed their homeland of the enemy forces.

*The Battle of "the Bulge"*

The enemy was feeling the effects of the co-ordinated superiority of the United Nations on land and sea and in the air. There were expectations, even in high circles, that the European phase of the war would come to an end in 1944. This optimism, however, was to be sobered. The German resistance slowed up the Allied offensive as the battle line was pushed nearer the borders of the Reich. Moreover, the Germans were able to break through with a counterattack on a relatively quiet sector, where the Allies had taken a "calculated risk" and assigned only four divisions to a seventy-five mile front. This was in the Ardennes region between Monchau and Trier. On direct orders from Hitler, Field Marshal Karl von Rundstedt launched an attack, December 16, with twenty-four divisions. Catching the Allies by surprise, eight panzer divisions broke through with a devastating striking power. The port of Antwerp, which had been put into important use by the Allies, was now threatened. Decisive action by the Allies stopped the counterattack in a few days. General Montgomery threw forces against the northern side of the German penetration, while General Omar N. Bradley, for the

[1] This quotation is from a statement made by Secretary of War Stimson.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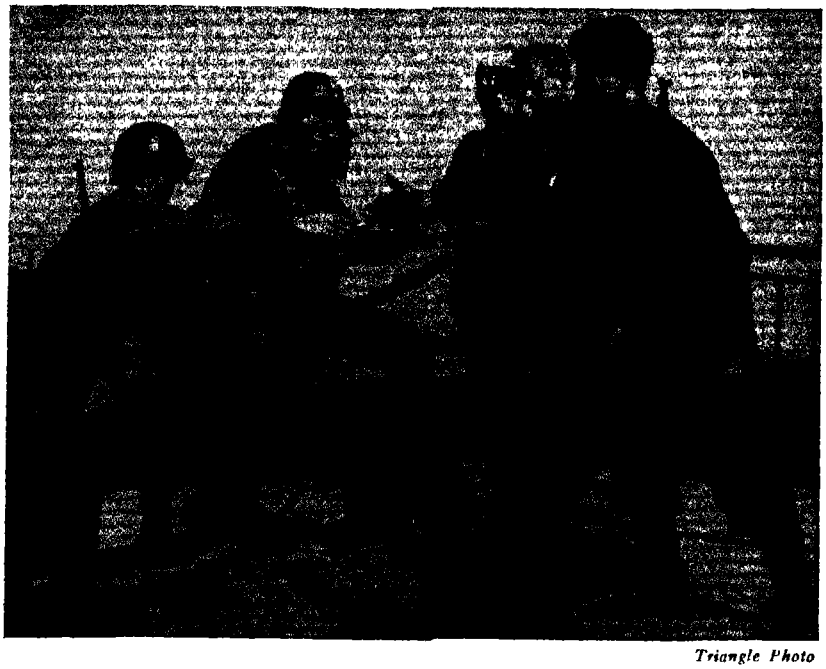
*Courtesy of Brown Brothers*

TEHERAN CONFERENCE. Left to right: Stalin, Roosevelt, and Churchill.



*Triangle Photo*

"HELLO, TOVARICH."

American and Russian soldiers meet on the wrecked bridge over the Elbe River.

Americans, co-operated by moving against the southern flank of the Germans. Americans held the important transportation center of Bastogne, and General Patton's Third Army raced in from the south to save the day. Airborne troops came up from reserve areas to retard the enemy. In about five weeks the bulge was eliminated, and one hundred and ten thousand Germans were captured. This slowing up of the Allied offensive was the last blow of the German army in the west.

*Victory in Europe*

American, British, Canadian, and French troops moved against German forces in different parts of the Rhine River region, with plans for a co-ordinated drive to the heart of Germany. This was in accord with a general plan approved at the Yalta Conference,[1] attended by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. Cologne was captured on March 7, and on the same day elements of the United States Ninth Armored Division found the Ludendorff Bridge at Remagen intact. On orders of General Eisenhower, Americans crossed this bridge over the Rhine and established a bridgehead. A few days later Patton's forces crossed the Rhine further south, and eventually Patton's Third Army reached the Danube, while other Allied forces were battling trapped Germans in the Ruhr. The armies of the United Nations were now spreading over enemy country from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. General Courtney H. Hodges' American First Army made juncture with Russian forces at Torgau, south of Berlin, on April 25. As the Russians moved into what was left of Berlin, Hitler and his mistress, according to the evidence, went through a marriage ceremony and then committed suicide, avoiding in a way the humiliation visited upon Mussolini and his mistress. On May 6, all German forces in Austria surrendered unconditionally. With Admiral Karl Doenitz taking over the mantle of Hitler, the German emissaries surrendered all land, sea, and air forces to the Allies on May 7, at General Eisenhower's headquarters in a schoolhouse in Reims, France. To meet Russian wishes, a virtually identical surrender was signed at Berlin the next day. The tasks of war in Europe yielded to the tasks of occupation.

*Hitler commits suicide; the surrender*

*Death of Roosevelt*

Death denied President Roosevelt a share in the fruits and problems of victory. On April 12, 1945, about three weeks before the German surrender, he died, of a cerebral hemorrhage, in the "Little White House" at Warm Springs, Georgia. His sudden passing on the

[1] In February, 1945, a conference was held near Yalta, in the Crimea, between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. At this meeting plans were formulated for bringing to a successful conclusion the war against Germany and Japan and for the organization of the United Nations. They issued a call for a meeting of representatives of the United Nations at San Francisco, April 25, 1945, to frame a constitution for the prospective world organization.

eve of victory brought wider mourning than had ever before been felt by the world on the death of a great leader. Because of the overwhelming strains of office, he was pronounced a war casualty. His successor, Vice-President Harry S. Truman, former Senator from Missouri, was to lead the nation through victory over Japan and into the critical postwar period.

## VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC

*Stepping up the offensive against Japan*

The German surrender cleared the way for intensifying the warfare in the Pacific and concentrating all Allied efforts on the offensive against one enemy. A strong offensive against Japan was already under way in the Great Ocean and had been going on with accumulating effectiveness since the summer of 1942, in spite of strategic priority for the war in Europe. It was made possible, in large part, by American production of supplies, planes, and ships, both merchant and naval. In fact, the United States produced the equivalent of a new modern navy in 1943. The problems of sea power and shipping to distant Australia were solved. The air cargo over the Himalayan Hump to support forces in China was stepped up to forty-six thousand tons a month. Surface transportation to China had been restored in Burma, where Japan suffered three hundred thousand casualties. A wide range of military and naval operations drove Japan inward from her peak of expansion in the Pacific bringing MacArthur back to the Philippines and then on to Tokyo. Only a brief account can be given here of that three-year contest, which embraced all types of fighting from minute to epic proportions.

*Starting the offensive on Guadalcanal*

It is necessary to resume the story from the time of checking the Japanese in the Coral Sea in May and repulsing them from Midway in June of 1942 (see p. 821). Land, sea, and air forces were co-ordinated by General MacArthur and Admiral Chester W. Nimitz for the offensive, while American submarines were taking a terrific toll of Japanese ships. The occupation of Guadalcanal was an important initial step on the "road to Tokyo." American marines made amphibious landings on this island of the Solomon group on August 7, 1942, surprising the Japanese and taking the Henderson Airfield. To make the occupation secure required months of jungle fighting. The Japanese ground troops were reinforced and were aided by sea and air assaults in vain efforts to oust the Americans. The campaign was accompanied by numerous naval engagements, with Admiral William F. Halsey in American naval command in the area. The battle of Guadalcanal, November 13, 14, and 15, 1942, was the greatest naval action since that of Jutland in the First World

War. Japan suffered the greater and more costly share of the heavy losses at sea. The ships sunk included several transports loaded with Nipponese troops.

*Leapfrog advance among the islands*

Americans and Australians launched a counterattack on the Japanese in New Guinea in September, 1942, driving the invaders back across the Owen Stanley Mountains and fighting them one-by-one in the jungles. Airborne Americans descended in swamps with jeeps and artillery to overwhelm the enemy, and General MacArthur announced his victory on January 23, 1943. MacArthur's men were on their way with a leapfrog game in the Pacific, fighting for the occupation of islands and island areas of strategic importance but by-passing various places, where mounting thousands of Japanese were left stranded to perish like fruit severed from the vine.

*Approaching the Philippines*

In 1943 MacArthur's forces established themselves on additional points of the Solomons, on New Britain, and at new places on and off the eastern tip of New Guinea. In the same year the Gilbert Islands to the eastward were occupied against stiff opposition, and the Japanese had to abandon Attu and Kiska in the Aleutian fogs. With strong air and naval support, MacArthur, in the first half of 1944, moved several hundred miles westward along and off the northern shore of New Guinea, occupying island points and establishing bases along the way. This brought him closer to the Philippines. At the same time several island specks were occupied between the Gilberts and the Mariannas, including Guam, to provide nearer bases for striking Japan.

*MacArthur lands on Leyte*

The signal for a direct invasion of the Philippines was given at the Quebec conference in September, 1944, with Roosevelt, Churchill, and their Chiefs of Staff in attendance. It was here decided that the central island of Leyte be attacked at once. This plan was carried out on schedule. On October 19 two naval assault forces approached the east coast. Planes from eighteen escort carriers provided air protection for landing operations, while Admiral Halsey's carrier task force stood watch out at sea for Japanese naval approach. Two corps went ashore on the twentieth, and three days later General MacArthur landed on Philippine soil, providing personal color and direction to the re-conquest.

*The naval battle for Leyte Gulf*

Admiral Halsey's task force was discovered by a Japanese search plane, and this brought the larger part of Japan's major naval units into action in a desperate gamble against the American Third and Seventh Fleets. As the Japanese master plan of battle provided, three great task forces moved into action, and the engagements took place in three bodies of water, adjacent to Leyte. Four actual battles were fought between daylight of October 24 and dusk of

October 25. The operation was both the largest and the most varied in naval history. It was conducted with airplanes and submarines and all types of surface craft from motor torpedo boats to the largest battleships afloat. The Japanese made use for the first time in a systematic way of Kamikaze action, or the suicidal crashing of planes against naval vessels, sometimes with deadly effect. There were elements of confusion on both sides, and there were moments when the Japanese seemed close to victory. In the end, Halsey was able to announce that the Japanese Navy had been "beaten, routed, and broken." The Imperial Navy lost three battleships, including the *Musashi*, one of the two which were the largest in the world. It lost one large carrier, three light carriers, ten cruisers, and nine destroyers. The American losses were one light cruiser, two escort carriers, two destroyers, and one destroyer escort. The Allies had mastery of the Pacific all the way to Japan, whose naval power was henceforth only of auxiliary service in the conduct of war.

*Re-conquest of the Philippines*

The Japanese sent reinforcements to Leyte at a heavy sacrifice, including the destruction of one whole troop convoy. By Christmas MacArthur's forces had control of Leyte, and early in January, 1945, they edged into the southern coast of Luzon, on which Manila is located. They had the aid of island guerrillas and of superior air power. General Tomoyoki Yamashita, the conqueror of Singapore and Bataan, could not shift the two hundred and sixty thousand Japanese in the Philippines to meet the American thrusts. After landing in force on the beaches of Luzon, the Americans met with little opposition until they were well on the way to Manila. Organized resistance in Manila ceased on February 23. In the tunnels of Corregidor, 1215 Japanese were killed and an unknown number blown up in suicidal action. There was a task ahead for months in reoccupying the whole of the Philippines, sometimes against fanatical resistance. In the meantime Philippine-based aircraft were striking at Formosa and Japanese strongholds on the coast of China.

*Iwo Jima*

Before the Philippines were reoccupied steps were taken to establish bases much nearer Japan and also to deny the enemy the use of such bases for his own purposes of defense and interception. On February 19, 1945, American marines landed along the southern coast of Iwo Jima, 775 miles from the main Japanese island of Honshu. Heavy resistance was overcome within a month, and air assaults were now hitting Japan from short range.

*Okinawa*

The last stop on the "road to Tokyo" was Okinawa, an island much nearer than Iwo Jima to the Japanese mainland. On April 1, 1945, a marine corps and a corps of General Simon Buckner's Tenth Army landed on this island and started some of the fiercest fighting

of the war. The going was especially rough as the Americans moved into the southern tip of Okinawa, where there were 65,000 to 70,000 Japanese concentrated and equipped with the most powerful artillery and rocket aircraft. The Japanese made terrific attacks from the air with a much more effective Kamikaze assault on naval boats than had been experienced in the Philippines. The toll of American losses in men, ships, and planes was tremendous, although far surpassed by the Japanese. Our casualties mounted to 39,000 by the end of June, and significantly these included more than 10,000 for the navy. But practically all suitable space on Okinawa was utilized in a short time for United States airfields, and in July superbombers were making systematic attacks on the Japanese homeland.

*Plans to invade Japan*

The forces of MacArthur had killed and captured nearly half a million Japanese since the beginning of the liberation of the Philippines. With the net drawn more closely around Japan, plans were made for a direct invasion of that country. General MacArthur, now in command of all United States Army forces in the Pacific, and Admiral Nimitz were preparing to carry out the plans for invasion. Part of this preparation consisted of expanding and reorganizing strategic air forces, with a release of power and personnel from the European front after V-E Day[1] and with General Carl Spaatz in command of this service. Japan was being "softened up" by air raids for the final operation. But two atomic bombs hastened the surrender and made the invasion unnecessary.

*Creating the atomic bomb*

The atomic bomb was the climax of a wartime expansion and technological application of what American and European scientists had learned about nuclear energy. The Axis was concerned with the problem, but the United States took the lead in the actual development. For speeding up this development, the government, with the co-operation of Great Britain and Canada, set up and organized an undertaking under the designation of the "Manhattan Project," which was surrounded with the maximum of security and secrecy. Major General Leslie R. Groves was made military chief of the "Project," and his advisers included President J. B. Conant, of Harvard, and Dr. Vannevar Bush. Hundreds of scientists were brought into service. The work embraced experimental research at leading universities and technical activity at special engineering establishments, notably at Oak Ridge, Tennessee. On December 2, 1942, a self-maintaining nuclear chain reaction was for the first time initiated in a uranium graphite pile at the University of Chicago. On July 16, 1945, the first atomic explosion created and

[1] By V-E Day is meant the date of the surrender in Europe; V-J Day was the date of the surrender of the Japanese.

[redacted] by man-blasted the desert near Los Alamos, New Mexico. The resulting destruction surpassed military expectations. Secretary of War Stimson recommended that atomic bombing be applied to Japan in order to shorten the war. Some of the American atomic scientists opposed the idea of dropping bombs on populous centers, suggesting that a demonstration on a waste or forest area of Japan would be adequate. President Truman approved the Stimson recommendation. The news of the successful test in New Mexico reached the President while he was in Berlin for the Potsdam conference with British and Russian leaders.[1] General Spaatz received instructions from Potsdam to drop an atomic bomb on the industrial installations of any one of four designated cities. This led to the destruction on August 6 of about half of Hiroshima, a city of 318,000 population. As a result of the one bomb, it was estimated that more than seventy thousand persons were killed or missing, not to mention the injured. On August 9, Spaatz's air forces dropped a second atomic bomb, this time on Nagasaki, with even greater destruction than at Hiroshima. To add to Japan's troubles, the Soviet Union declared war on that nation, August 8, and drove rapidly into Manchuria, in accord with previous understandings with the other major Allies. Japan was ready to quit.

*V-J Day*

The Japanese government on August 10 offered to surrender under the terms announced by the Allies at Potsdam, provided that Emperor Hirohito be left on the throne. President Truman replied that the emperor might remain on the throne temporarily, but with authority subject to the command of Allied occupation forces. Japan surrendered on August 14, and the formal document of surrender was signed on September 1 (September 2, Tokyo time) on the United States battleship *Missouri* in Tokyo Bay, with General MacArthur representing the United States and taking over the command of occupation. Although victory celebrations were over, the President officially designated September 2, 1945, as V J Day. Hostilities had yielded to postwar problems at home and abroad.

## THE COST OF VICTORY

*Magnitude of American participation*

More than thirteen million Americans entered the armed services for the Second World War. Their deaths in battle were in excess of two hundred thousand, or about four times the similar figures for the First World War and somewhat more than the total for both sides in the Civil War. These losses were light in comparison with the number enrolled and in comparison with the losses of other

1 After Roosevelt's death President Truman had a conference at Potsdam (just outside Berlin) with Churchill and Stalin (July, 1945).

Courtesy of Richard Ecds Harrison

VICTORY IN THE PACIFIC.

PACIFIC

*Courtesy of Richard Eads Harrison*

major belligerents. The application of advanced methods of medical care held America's non-battle deaths to a much lower proportion than in former wars. The direct cost of the war ran to $341,000,000,000, including about $2,000,000,000 for developing atomic bombs. Many additional billions were to flow into veterans' services and into postwar administration, relief, and reconstruction abroad.

*How the war was financed*

This enormous amount was raised partly by taxation and partly by the sale of bonds. Although the highest taxes ever known in this country were imposed, more than half of the cost of the war was met by borrowing. The scheme of taxation employed was much the same as that used for the First World War (see pp. 716 f.), except that it was broader as to scope and higher as to rates. The income tax was enlarged and exemptions lowered, with both normal and surtax rates going beyond those of the other war. The tax on excess profits of corporations reached ninety per cent. As before, there were luxury and "nuisance" taxes and a wide extension of the list and an increase in the rates of the excise tax. Drives for the sale of war bonds were effectively publicized, and the government was able to make its borrowings at lower rates of interest than had been done in any previous war.

## SOCIAL CHANGES AND PROBLEMS

*The impact of the Second World War on American life*

The United States participated far more extensively in the Second World War than in the First World War. In turn, the second war made a much greater impact upon American life and outlook. It brought about great shifts in population, with changes and tests in such institutions as the family, marriage, church, and school. It forced new problems and responsibilities upon all levels and branches of government. It also affected the nation's world relations in various ways, as will be explained in the next chapter.

*From surpluses to shortages*

American all-out production for war put an end to important New Deal agencies which had been set up to ease problems of relief and unemployment. Among these were the WPA (Works Projects Administration), CCC (Civilian Conservation Corps), and NYA (National Youth Administration). Congress, by the simple process of denial of funds, terminated the National Resources Planning Board. The national government was no longer concerned with planning or finding jobs for a surplus of workers but with the task of finding workers to man the new essential jobs. For the first time in many years the problem of unemployment was ended or suspended. Similarly the problem of finding markets for merchandise gave way to the problem of meeting shortages, with civilian rationing of meats, fats, sugar, gasoline, and several other items,

surpassing the restrictions of the First World War. Sellers looking for buyers gave way to buyers looking for merchandise. Under these conditions, it was a constant task to "hold the line" against inflation *and to distribute* the available products fairly and beneficially. The *system of regulation and stabilization* was popularly accepted, but not without a steady flow of complaints from consumers and several shifts in the administration of prices, priorities, and wages.

*More tolerance than in 1917-18*

With few exceptions, there was less departure from the traditional regard for civil rights than in 1917 and 1918. From the beginning of America's taking up arms, public support of the war was practically unanimous, and there was no immediate necessity for concern about any extreme radical obstructionist tactics, with America and Russia fighting a common enemy and all Communists whooping it up for victory. Moreover, memory of former instances of semi-hysteria served as a restraint. The President set up a Fair Employment Practice Committee (FEPC) to prevent discrimination against employees on racial and other grounds. Negroes acquired gains in status in the armed forces, especially in the navy, while Liberty ships in the Merchant Marine were named for Booker T. Washington, Paul Laurence Dunbar, and other distinguished members of the race. One Negro, Benjamin O. Davis, served in the Army in the rank of brigadier general. Protection and recognition of labor union rights continued throughout the war. Laborites came into important civilian positions in government service, although business leaders from large corporations were conspicuous in key positions. The government from top to bottom, in wartime, was a cross section of American society.

*Relocation of Pacific coast residents of Japanese ancestry*

The emotional balance or confidence as to internal security was accompanied and supported by effective safeguards against overt acts of sedition, espionage, and sabotage. Particularly efficient and active was the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), a civilian agency that had developed in the Department of Justice under the headship of J. Edgar Hoover. There was, however, one striking exception to reliance upon the normal methods of protection. Drastic preventive measures were taken with respect to aliens and citizens of Japanese ancestry on the Pacific coast, and precautions were taken to prevent any disloyal elements among them from secretly giving aid to Japan. Consequently, all were temporarily relocated, regardless of their wishes, in inland camps. This treatment of innocent native-born citizens was challenged as violative of constitutional rights, but the government's action was sustained as a war measure by the Supreme Court. Whether the step was necessary or not, uneasiness after the "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor made

it seem so. It was the most conspicuous wartime interference with civil liberties.

*Problems of misbehavior: "Black markets," profiteering, and juvenile delinquency*

The war brought new problems and an expansion of old problems in the sphere of human or social misbehavior. Among these were "black markets," profiteering and juvenile delinquency. The "black market" was a term used to denote transactions in violation of price, rent, ration, and priority regulations. This illicit business was carried on for high profits and supported by customers with money in search of the products. Sometimes it was seemingly conducted legally through the manipulation of records and the forging of ration points. There was also some profiteering in government contracts, both within and outside the law, with indictments touching contractors, a few army officers, and even a member of Congress (Andrew J. May of Kentucky). The extensive and lucrative employment of many mothers, boys, and girls was followed by a sweeping rise in juvenile crimes. This was aggravated by a shortage of regular school teachers and social workers, with many from these two professions going into more remunerative war work. Alarming warnings were sounded by various community leaders and by national spokesmen, including the director of the FBI.

## POLITICS IN WARTIME

*The Republicans name Dewey and Bricker*

The Republicans, having gained in the off-year elections of 1942, later had to face the problem of asking for a change at the very time brilliant progress was being made toward victory. Among their early prospective nominees in 1944 were Wendell L. Willkie, Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, and Governor John W. Bricker of Ohio. There were signs of a convention contest between Dewey and Willkie, the latter having recently written *One World*, a popular book based on an airplane trip around the globe. But Willkie, although much in the public eye, had not won or retained a wide support among party leaders and henchmen. He was decisively beaten in a Wisconsin primary and immediately withdrew from the preconvention campaign. When the Republicans met in national convention at the end of June in Chicago, Dewey was nominated on the first ballot, which was unanimous except for one Wisconsin delegate's vote for General Douglas MacArthur. To balance the ticket, the more conservative Bricker was chosen as candidate for Vice-President.

*The Democrats choose Truman as Roosevelt's running mate*

The direct opposition to Roosevelt's nomination was small but stiff when the Democrats met in July at the Chicago Stadium, where he had been nominated in 1932 and in 1940. He was chosen on the first ballot. There was a strong movement, especially by Southern-

ers, to prevent the renomination of Vice-President Wallace, who had firm CIO support and was acceptable to Roosevelt. Wallace had spoken out freely on current issues in ways that offended conservatives. Robert Hannegan, the party's national chairman, and other Democratic bosses effected a compromise between the Wallace and anti-Wallace forces by picking Senator Harry S. Truman of Missouri, a party regular who had achieved a measure of prominence as head of a Senate investigation of the defense program. His Senate voting record was about as satisfactory to liberal groups as were Wallace's speeches but less disturbing to the opposition than the Wallace phrases. Roosevelt accepted Truman, who proved a satisfactory candidate in spite of being somewhat vulnerable for his connection with the discredited Pendergast machine of Kansas City. Wallace entered actively into the campaign for the Roosevelt-Truman ticket.

*Party similarities and differences*

The two platforms were somewhat more interchangeable as to positive issues than was formerly the case. Besides ardently supporting the war, both urged participation in international co-operation and organization, Pan-American good will or solidarity, fair treatment of minority groups, continued protection for labor, benefits for veterans, aid for farmers, and other social legislation. The chief differences were in the Republican denunciation and the Democratic praise of the Roosevelt Administration. Roosevelt made a few campaign trips and speeches, incidentally displaying a physical vigor in answer to rumors that his health was failing fast. He repudiated Communism in reply to opposition criticism. The Democrats pointed to the success of the war effort under Roosevelt's leadership.

*Election results*

Roosevelt again won a decisive victory in the Electoral College, carrying thirty-six states with a total of 432 electoral votes. Dewey's twelve states included only one populous state, Ohio. The President's popular majority was slightly over three million, his smallest in four campaigns. The Democrats retained majorities in both branches of Congress and among the state governors. A healthy sign from the standpoint of international co-operation was the defeat for nomination or election of several lawmakers who had been anti-Roosevelt isolationists, such as Representative Hamilton Fish of New York and Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota. Isolationism of the type or degree that plagued President Wilson seemed to be shunted aside.

*Truman's background; a contrast to Roosevelt's*

Death limited Roosevelt's fourth-term tenure to less than three months. Roosevelt, the Harvard-trained aristocrat, was succeeded by Harry S. Truman, who as a boy could "plow the straightest furrow" in Missouri and who was the first President since Grover Cleveland with no exposure to a college education. Truman's schooling was

limited to the public schools of Independence, Missouri, and to attendance at a Kansas City law school. After trying his hand as a business clerk, he operated the family farm several years prior to the First World War, in which he saw active service in France as an artillery officer. He entered politics through the Pendergast machine, and in 1934 he became a United States Senator, with the machine's support, defeating a field of Democrats for the primary nomination. As a Senator he exemplified personal integrity and immunity from spoils by a thorough and independent performance as chairman of the defense investigation committee. His nomination for Vice-President was without his solicitation. His sudden elevation to the Presidency stirred a sense of prayerful humility within him. In spite of his New Deal leanings and record, his entering the White House brought significant changes in the top management of administration. In foreign affairs he was to leave more initiative and discretion to the Secretary of State and exercise less mastery on his own part than did Roosevelt. There was at first a cordial feeling between the members of Congress and their former colleague, the new President.

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8. The Fighting Front.—Dulles, *op. cit.*, ch. 28.
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# CHAPTER XLIV

# *America and the Crisis of Peace*

## Postwar Developments

*Postwar problems are numerous and complex*

THE postwar problems of the nation were numerous and complex. They cut across the tasks of government and people, and many of them affected both domestic and foreign policy. More immediately in the domestic sphere there were such matters as the following:

Demobilization of the armed forces to a new peacetime proportion, with adequate provision for the returning veterans;

Reconversion of industry from war to peace, with an extensive and orderly disposal of the government's surplus properties, plants, and equipment;

Removal or readjustment of various controls of business, prices, rationing, and priorities;

Reorganization of the national government in its legislative and executive branches, with a reduction in force of more than a million in the civil service, a downward revision of the general cost of administration, and a review of the tax burdens;

Revision of labor policy and settlement of serious labor disputes;

New questions concerning trusts, cartels, and monopolies, with large corporations made larger through wartime operations, and the acquisition of government plants;

Acute shortages of major items, including automobiles, railway cars and equipment, houses, and construction materials;

New scientific problems, especially that of atomic energy, its development, and its control.

*Postwar dissatisfaction*

There could be no return to prewar conditions with respect to any of these problems. Two years after the end of hostilities, for instance, the Federal government had to face budget requirements in excess of $30,000,000,000, two thirds for the three primary purposes of national defense, veterans' programs, and interest on the public debt. The amount for each of these classes of expenditures ran to several times the corresponding cost in 1940, and this rise for times of peace put a damper on tax reduction, particularly after

adjustments or removal of excess profits taxes, with significant "cutbacks" allowed. On the labor front, there were serious and often prolonged strikes, involving several million workers and affecting such strategic industries as coal mining, steel production, automobile manufacturing, and harvesting machinery. There was a two-day national stoppage of railway transportation in 1946, and the telephone service was impaired or limited throughout the country by a strike lasting for weeks in 1947. Organized labor hoped to retain its gains in status of the past dozen years and to hold the wartime wage levels or improve them as an offset to rising prices. Many business leaders and also farmers, on the other hand, wished to put labor "in its place." There were wide differences in Washington and throughout the country over labor policy and over the issues of economic controls.

*Republican victories in 1946*

The Republicans in 1946 were able to capitalize on a postwar accumulation of general complaints, including reaction against strikes. With Roosevelt removed from the scene, they called for a repudiation of the New Deal and of all New Dealers. Organized labor was less solidly Democratic than in Roosevelt's time, and many Democratic candidates were handicapped by a reaction against their pro-labor record. Farmers, outside the South, turned heavily against Administration spokesmen. The opposition had its usual support from business interests with demands for less government by centralized executive authority. The new President's inexperience and initial mistakes were utilized, and it was observed that "to err is Truman." For the first time since 1928, the Republicans won majorities in both houses of Congress, as well as most of the governorships of the North and West. They chose Arthur H. Vandenberg to preside over the Senate and named Joseph W. Martin of Massachusetts as Speaker of the House.

*Reorganizing and modernizing the United States government*

Congress and the President worked together on several constructive measures, both before and after the election of 1946. The Chief Executive was given statutory power to reorganize administrative agencies from time to time, exclusive of the abolition or transfer of Cabinet departments and a few other top establishments. Such reorganization by executive order was made subject to the disapproval of Congress and to purposes of economy. The administrative procedure of quasi-judicial bodies of the executive branch was regularized. The La Follette-Monroney Act of 1946 provided for the reorganization and modernization of Congress, partly in accord with suggestions from leading political scientists of the country. The committee system of both houses was overhauled, with a drastic reduction of the number and a streamlining of functions. More staff

assistance was provided for committees and for individual members, and the handling of budget recommendations was made more systematic. After extensive consideration and revision of plans, Congress in July, 1947, adopted a measure for co-ordinating the armed forces under a general Secretary of Defense, with separate Secretaries for the Army, Navy, and Air Force.

*Veterans' benefits*

Steps were taken before and after the war for aid and rewards to veterans, with little opposition from any quarter. By the autumn of 1946 the Veterans' Administration was operating the world's largest insurance business, the greatest chain of hospitals, the largest pension and claims service, and the most extensive educational and vocational training program, in addition to various other activities, including the underwriting of business and real estate loans for veterans. As the result of various kinds of preference in their behalf, veterans by 1947 constituted a little more than half the male employees in the executive civil service of the national government. Private employers were required by law to recognize certain prior claims of veterans to jobs which they vacated to enter the service. With the government providing for tuition and subsistence, veterans added several hundred thousand to the total enrollment of the institutions of higher learning, with many colleges showing lists of students double the former rolls.

*Friction develops early between Truman and Congress*

The "honeymoon" did not last long between Congress and the ex-Senator in the White House. Friction soon became conspicuous, except in dealing with critical international issues. The Democratic sessions of 1945 and 1946 rejected, neglected, or watered down numerous Administration proposals in the fields of labor policy, social security, medical care, housing, price controls, economic stabilization, and national defense. The President on January 3, 1946, appealed in a radio broadcast to the people to put pressure on Congress to accelerate its "distressingly slow" progress with reconversion legislation. The appeal was not highly effective toward overcoming a divided opinion on the social issues. Congress passed a bill continuing price control, which otherwise would end on June 30, 1946. However, its provisions were so objectionable to the President that he defeated the measure by veto. Therefore, from June 30 to July 25, 1946, there was a lapse in price control. A second bill passed in July was accepted by the President and for a few months thereafter there was limited and intermittent regulation of prices. Finally (November, 1946) the President withdrew all price ceilings except for sugar, rice, and rent. Later the ceilings for rice and sugar were removed, and only an emasculated rent regulation was left. In establishing a Council of Economic Advisers to keep a

weather eye on unfavorable features in the national economy and in employment trends, Congress stopped far short of the President's suggestions for planning against the ills of unemployment. Many anti-New Deal Democrats were combining with Republicans to block the Administration without waiting for a party turnover in Congress to materialize.

*The Republican majorities intensify the battle with the Administration*

The Republicans organized Congress in 1947 with a strong idea for legislative supremacy. It was said that they would start with "a prayer and a probe," and, indeed, their wide range of sub-committee investigations partly nullified the purpose of the La Follette-Monroney Act for simplifying the committee system. They looked into the conduct of the recent war and sought to cut billions off of Truman's budget recommendations. Congress, in June, 1947, overrode the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act, a voluminous measure affecting the Department of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, and union policy. It modified the application of the Wagner Act by providing certain protections for employers as well as for employees. It limited the use of the closed shop, more rigidly restricted political contributions from union treasuries, and provided in various ways for union responsibility under negotiated contracts. Its passage was supported by a majority of Southern Democrats in Congress. It was denounced by labor leaders as widely as the Wagner Act had been denounced in business circles; and, like the earlier law, it was challenged as to its constitutionality. Congress and the President differed on many other issues, among them the important matter of financially sponsoring general scientific research. A bill for creating a government scientific foundation was passed in the closing days of the regular session of 1947, but Truman let it die by a "pocket veto," refusing to sign it, chiefly because it provided for a group of foundation members, not the President, to appoint the directing executive.

*Taft-Hartley Act*

*Reduction in taxes*

The disagreement between the President and Congress on domestic issues was brought into clear focus by the effort of Congress to lower taxes. A bill to reduce personal income taxes was passed by Congress on March 24, 1948. Within the last ten months the President had vetoed two such bills, and in each case the veto was sustained. As might be expected, he also vetoed this third measure. He contended that the bill favored the rich at the expense of the poor, would increase the indebtedness of the government, and would lead to a further rise in the cost of living. Overriding the President's veto, Congress promptly repassed the bill by overwhelming majorities. The bill raised the personal exemption for income taxes from $500 to $600; reduced rates on a sliding scale varying from twelve

and six-tenths per cent on lower incomes to five per cent on those in the higher brackets. It is estimated that under this act the annual Federal revenue will be reduced by $4,800,000,000.

*High levels of production and employment*

The general reaction against organized labor was checked by an unexpected and unprecedented demand for workers. The employment figures for the middle of 1947 ran somewhat above sixty million, a peacetime peak and a far cry from former predictions of eight million unemployed for the postwar period. This high rate of employment confounded the New Deal prophets, who had insisted that the government must make special plans to balance employment at sixty million to insure prosperity, as well as opposing economists, who had said, in effect, that the government could not do that. The gloomy predictions, however, had contributed to the checking of speculation, while American production was catching up with the shortages caused by war.

*World implications of American prosperity*

After the lifting of controls, the price of many products moved upward faster than wages, with such foods as meats, butter, and eggs reaching levels in 1947 of two and three times the retail prices of these items in 1939. This brought complaints from consumers and talk of market investigations. A boosting factor in the demand for American products was a world underproduction, with an urgent need for relief and rehabilitation of war-torn regions abroad. The United States government financed heavy shipments for this purpose, with the granting of loans, gifts, and credit adjustments to other countries and organizations running to a total of some $20,000,000,000 by the end of a two-year postwar period. Indirectly, but truly, there was still a war basis for national prosperity. More than ever, national and international problems were intimately linked, as the United States faced the greatest task of world leadership that ever confronted any country.

## AMERICA'S NEW INTERNATIONAL STATUS

*The end of the Second World War brings critical world problems to a head*

The end of hostilities in 1945 brought to a head a group of world problems of vital concern to the United States. There was the seemingly normal task of making peace treaties and adjustments with the former enemies of the United Nations. Closely connected with this work were the tasks of military occupation and government of the defeated countries, the trial and punishment of war criminals, the assessment and collection of reparations from the former Axis nations, and the establishment of satisfactory civilian governments in Germany and other regions where new constitutional systems were necessary. Then there was the pressing undertaking of developing effective international machinery for maintaining peace and

security to avert a third world war and scientific destruction. The immediate problem had to be faced of financing and providing relief for millions upon millions of persons in various regions, whether of former enemy, allied, or neutral countries. A phase of this problem was that of finding homes and even countries for multitudes of displaced persons, notably Jews. Coupled with this complex problem was the task of restoring production, trade, transportation, and other economic processes in disrupted areas and countries of a world beset with dissension and unrest. The war, in a short-range sense, produced more troubles than it settled.

*America one of the five Great Powers; the one great creditor country*

The Second World War ended with five victorious major countries quite different from the five such nations after the First World War. The five Great Powers that ran the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 were the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Soviet Russia was not admitted to this Conference, and the United States later rejected the Conference settlements. The five nations having most to say about world affairs after V-E Day and V-J Day were the United States, Russia, Great Britain, France, and China. America emerged from the two wars far out in front as an industrial nation with a system of production intact and expanded. This country in 1915 and the following years was the only one able to export billions of dollars in food and other merchandise to the rest of the world on the basis of credit or gift. Moreover, the United States had become the greatest naval and air power and had the atomic bomb. Although ideas of isolation were far from dead, American leaders and people were much more conscious of a world responsibility than had been true in the days of Woodrow Wilson.

*Great Britain becomes secondary to the United States*

Great Britain, still one of the Big Five, had become secondary to the United States as a force for economic stabilization in the world. No longer a great creditor country, Britain became dependent upon the United States and Canada for financial aid to put her national economic system in order. Certain controls of empire were passing away, and a British Labor government was soon to relinquish rule of India in favor of two Dominions, one for the Hindus and another for the Moslems, with friction between them. Postwar Britain was short of both men and money to meet imperial and occupational burdens in various regions and had to ask the United States to take over in Greece and other places.

*America and Russia the Big Two*

China came out of the war weakened by years of Japanese invasion, wild inflation, corruption, and intermittent civil war between the Communists and the forces of Chiang Kai-shek. On the continent of Europe, France was not the dominant power as after the First World War, but had become distinctly second to Russia. Like

the France of Foch and Clemenceau, Russia wanted reparations for severe war damage and an adequate system of national security with emphasis on a cordon of satellites. In fact, Russia and the United States had clearly become the Big Two in the world family of nations. All other nations emerged from war individually less powerful than either of these two, one of them avowedly communistic in its social system and the other avowedly capitalistic. On the whole, all other countries seemed to be ranged between Russia and the United States in this respect, being less communistic than Russia and less capitalistic than the United States in their political trends and practices. This ramification inevitably meant clashes of national and social ideologies, with America and Russia sharing the major status of power for determining whether there would be world unity or world division after the Second World War.

*America's world role widely recognized at home and abroad*

Roosevelt, and later Truman, received and utilized a large measure of both Republican and Democratic support for a positive policy of international leadership and co-operation. It was encouraging to them, for instance, that Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, a leading Republican, reversed former isolationist leanings, spoke out for co-operation, and served on the American delegation to several international meetings, especially in connection with launching the permanent United Nations organization. By the end of the war it was estimated that some four hundred unofficial organizations of Americans were urging that the United States participate actively in organizing the world for peace and security. Significantly, the Charter of the United Nations was drafted and adopted in the United States, and the headquarters office of that organization was permanently located in New York City, not in a city of Switzerland or of some other European country. America took the lead in establishing and supporting the postwar International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, for which preliminary steps were taken at a Bretton Woods Conference in the hills of New Hampshire in the summer of 1944. The American government continued the sponsorship of Pan-American understandings and declarations, particularly in the sphere of hemispheric defense arrangements. President Truman made a popular journey to a conference on this subject in Brazil in the summer of 1947. Nations and peoples throughout the world looked to America for postwar aid.

### LAUNCHING THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

*Plans for the UN organization*

Steps were taken before V-E Day to transform the loose group of United Nations into a formal and permanent organization with a

wider membership, scope, and power than marked the League of Nations which followed the First World War and faded away with the coming of the Second World War. To draw up proposals for such an organization, representatives of America, Great Britain, China, and Russia met in October, 1944, at the Dumbarton Oaks estate in Washington, D. C. They sought to formulate a charter for a League of Nations "with a pistol." Their outline draft was offered for consideration and modification at a larger conference the following year at San Francisco. The general idea received a further boost at the Yalta Conference in the Crimea, January, 1945, which was the last meeting of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. Stalin pledged Russian support to the policy of thus working together in peace, but with the insistence and understanding that not only the Soviet Union, but also two of the Union's "republics" should have membership in the new organization soon to be formed. This compromise was accepted by Roosevelt, who stood against the Russian request for membership for all the sixteen Soviet "republics." This concession was to be carried out, even though it provoked criticism. A tentative counterclaim for three UN memberships for the United States was relinquished.

*The San Francisco Conference*

According to plans made before President Roosevelt's death, more than fourteen hundred delegates from fifty nations attended the San Francisco Conference between April 25 and June 26, 1945. They formulated and adopted the Charter of the United Nations. In spite of the earlier agreement at Dumbarton Oaks, serious issues and conflicts had to be settled. A controversy arose over the admission of Argentina to the Conference, a step successfully urged by the United States and opposed by Russia, and also over the acceptance of Poland, a country which was admitted with Russian support. There was difficulty in satisfying the small nations as to the role and status demanded by the great Powers, particularly the insistence by Russia and, to a less degree, by the United States, that each major power have the right of veto in the Security Council. Adjustments had to be made to harmonize the UN with regional arrangements, such as the United States was sponsoring in the Western Hemisphere. These matters and various others were settled by compromise in writing the UN document of 140 articles, constituting more than twice the length of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The United States was the first major power to accept the Charter, as the Senate ratified it in the form of a treaty on July 28, 1945, by a vote of eighty-nine to two.

*UN agencies*

The UN Charter provided for six principal agencies under the titles of General Assembly, Security Council, International Court of

Justice, Trusteeship Council, Economic and Social Council, and Secretariat. Various other agencies and commissions have been created or brought under UN jurisdiction or affiliation for considering such international problems as food, labor, education, atomic energy, armaments, and conditions in areas of trouble. The UN structural pattern has thus shaped up very much like that of the former League. As in the League, all member nations have representatives in a large deliberative body (General Assembly), whereas the representatives of a few member nations constitute an important central organ (Security Council).

*The Security Council*

The key agency of the UN is the Security Council, which was set up to function continuously, while normally the General Assembly meets annually. The Council is the chief organ of decision and action. It was given wide powers, on paper, to formulate plans for the regulation of armaments, to investigate disputes, and to use force to preserve peace. It was to have the aid of a Military Staff Committee, with representation from all the "Big Five" powers. Eleven nations are voting members of the Security Council. America, the United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia have permanent seats on the Council, whereas the other six seats are held by members elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms with rotation. Substantive affirmative decisions must be made by a minimum of seven of the eleven votes, with all the permanent "Big Five" included in the seven. This Charter provision allows each of the major powers an effective veto, and it preserves the priority of national sovereignty for the large nations. Such a limitation on decisive action makes the UN role less than that of a world government. It was hoped and asserted at San Francisco that the large nations would not abuse their privilege of veto, but this hope has been dispelled by the frequent use that Russia has made of her veto power.

*Implementing the Charter*

The UN as an organization got off to a good start before postwar apathy could set in. On January 10, 1946, the first session of the General Assembly was held in London. Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium was made first President of the Assembly. The six rotating seats on the Security Council were allotted to Brazil, Mexico, the Netherlands, Poland, Australia, and Egypt. Trygvie Lie of Norway became head of the UN Secretariat. The assembly set up a committee under Council co-operation to explore and recommend methods for the international control of the use of atomic energy.

*UN handicapped by delay in making peace treaties*

The UN organization, with its different branches, immediately became a forum for airing the hopes and ills of the world. It became a clearinghouse for a wide range of information and investigation. But, in spite of its global membership of more than fifty nations,

it met serious obstacles to progress in dealing with real problems in the sphere of peace, security, and international order. In the first place, the peace it was to preserve was not yet made. Three years after victory, treaties had been made only with minor Axis powers,[1] not with or for Germany, Austria, and Japan. Various related matters concerning Axis lands and peoples remained to be settled, outside UN auspices, among victorious powers with conflicting national interests. These conflicting interests, in fact, constituted the main reason for the delay in treaty-making. By the end of 1948 Germany, Austria, Japan, and Korea were still occupied by the forces of the Allies.

*Russian obstruction in UN*

The UN achievements were further checked by a growing cleavage and mutual distrust between Russia and the United States, with the Soviet representative exercising the veto power in the Security Council twenty-nine times before the end of 1948. Russian obstructive tactics were also used, with less effect, in the General Assembly and in several UN committees or subordinate agencies. Russia and the United States clashed over admitting new members to the UN, choosing new rotating members for the Security Council, proposals to investigate conditions in the Balkans, ways and means of regulating the development of atomic energy, and other subjects. The Russian delegate frequently spearheaded a vocal minority.

*The problem of atomic weapons*

Particularly unfortunate was the UN deadlock between Russia and the United States over the problem of dealing internationally with atomic weapons, secrets, and developments. With strong support from atomic scientists, political scientists, and informed opinion, the American delegation on the atomic energy committee proposed a plan of world control and inspection by a permanent UN authority, which would not be blocked by any major power veto in the Security Council. It was further proposed that America would conform by surrendering its atomic weapons, secrets, and monopolies after such an international system of control had been accepted and established. The American proposal was accepted (1947) by the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission but was rejected by the Soviet government. Russia opposed waiving the veto and also insisted that the United States surrender its advantageous position by destroying its bombs before, not after, the establishment of UN controls. The United States felt that it would be suicidal to surrender its chief advantage over a possible enemy without the assurance that international control of this dangerous weapon could not be nega-

[1] By the middle of September, 1947, treaties with Italy, Rumania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Finland had been made and ratified.

tived by the Russian veto. The apprehensions of our government on this point arose from the fact that Russia had so far defeated by her veto nearly every important proposal that had come before the United Nations Security Council. The position of the Russian delegates on this issue and others, coupled with their militant, and at times insulting, tone, stimulated anti-Communist feeling in the United States, a postwar sentiment which many conservatives were already utilizing.

On November 4, 1948, a resolution approving the American plan of controlling atomic energy was presented to the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris. The Assembly passed the resolution by a vote of 40 to 6, with five abstentions and seven absentees. The six negative votes were cast by Russia and her satellite states (Jugloslavia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Byelorussia, and the Ukraine). The adoption of this resolution did not, however, settle the controversy, for the Assembly has no authority to pass finally on such measures. It showed, however, that world opinion was overwhelmingly in favor of the American position and against that of Russia.

## AMERICA'S ROLE IN POSTWAR JAPAN AND GERMANY

*The occupation of Japan*

The problems of postwar Germany and Japan could not wait for the making of peace treaties or for the development of the United Nations organization. Japan provided a less complex problem, with America the sole occupying power for the mainland, with General MacArthur in full charge of the occupation, and with the Japanese government not in the state of disintegration from top to bottom as was largely the situation in Germany. Effective steps were taken for punishing war criminals, revamping the government, and reconstructing the Japanese economy. General MacArthur indicated that the country was making rapid progress toward democracy and stability. Russia, under an arrangement made at Yalta in 1945, took over the Kurile Islands. The United States retained control over various Japanese islands and mandates in the Pacific, partly under a "trusteeship" understanding. In Korea, liberated from Japanese control, a cleavage developed between the United States forces in the southern section and the Russians occupying the north. In war-torn China, the American government recognized a dilemma as to how to work out a wise policy in support of a corrupt central government against the organized Chinese Communists, with Russia a more keenly interested outsider after the defeat of Japan.

*Complications in postwar Germany: Four occupying powers*

At the Yalta and Potsdam Conferences of 1945 provision was made for dividing Germany into four zones and Berlin into four sectors. Each of the Big Four powers was to occupy one zone of

Germany and one sector of Berlin. Quite naturally, Soviet forces held the agricultural eastern part of Germany, and the other three powers occupied the industrial and tourist zones to the west. America's postwar role in Germany was difficult and costly from the beginning, as in Japan, and, in addition, it involved co-operative problems and controversies affecting three other occupying powers—Great Britain, France, and Soviet Russia. By the Yalta and Potsdam agreements there was to be a common economic program for all Germany, and later one of political unity. But there was little prospect that this program would be carried out, as General Dwight D. Eisenhower and his successor, General Lucius Clay, realized in the task of administering the American zone without Russian co-operation.

*The treatment of war criminals*

The administration of the four zones varied. The programs to eradicate the Nazi influences were different in the four zones, and each occupying power tried local war criminals in its own way. However, the top Nazi leaders, such as Hermann Goering and Rudolph Hess, were tried before a special international tribunal at Nuremberg, Bavaria, under general charges of premeditated mass murder and the fomenting of aggressive war. Associate Justice Robert H. Jackson, of the United States Supreme Court, served as prosecutor at Nuremberg. There were many convictions, some of them for capital punishment, in this somewhat unprecedented application of international jurisprudence to individuals for organizing war and visiting destruction upon innocent peoples.

*Growing friction with Russia*

A sharp postwar cleavage between America and Russia developed in the meetings of the Council of Foreign Ministers, which was formally created at Potsdam in July, 1945. Secretaries of State, James F. Byrnes and George C. Marshall, were unable, with abundant patience and firmness, to make headway in moving the Russians toward compromise and adequate speed in urgent settlements. Besides serious divergence over the issues of peace treaties, there were disputes over reparations, administering the German economy, and co-ordinating the four-zone occupation of Germany. Complaints arose that Russia violated or misinterpreted Yalta-Potsdam agreements in carting off industrial equipment and plants as reparation in kind. Russia balked at proposals to unify German trade and production with more exchange between the Russian zone and the industrial areas of the west. Britain and America undertook to co-ordinate their zones for an increased production in order to cut off part of the cost of sustaining life in western Germany. France at first followed a sort of middle course between this policy and that of Russia, but later joined with Britain and the United States in a unified economic and political policy for Western Germany.

## THE "TRUMAN DOCTRINE" AND THE "MARSHALL PLAN"

*Anglo-American co-operation: Shifting of burdens*

The growing friction with Russia strengthened the American government's bipartisan foreign policy of close co-operation with nations more friendly to the United States. Close relations with Great Britain continued as during the war, while President Truman and Joseph Stalin, the Russian leader, failed to meet again after the Potsdam Conference in the summer of 1945. Truman sat on the platform at Fulton, Missouri, in February, 1946, as Winston Churchill unofficially made a stirring appeal for Anglo-American solidarity and pointedly criticized Russia for dividing Europe by working behind an "iron curtain" drawn through the middle of that continent. The United States government extended to the British Labor government additional loans and credit adjustments of more than $3,000,000,000 after the termination of "lend-lease" and the decline of the wartime United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. As this aid in time proved inadequate, arrangements were considered and initiated for America to assume a portion of Britain's task of military occupation in Germany and elsewhere. It was an inevitable shifting of world burdens to newer shoulders.

*The "Truman Doctrine" applied to Greece and Turkey*

Great Britain at the end of the war was maintaining troops and checking Russian influence in Greece, where, however, the government was royalist and reactionary. Before the end of 1946, the American government knew that Britain's economic difficulties would not permit the continuance of British troops and the British policy of aid in Greece. With Russian troops and agents in Bulgaria, Soviet power strong in other Balkan regions, and Great Britain on the verge of leaving Greece, President Truman spoke to Congress on March 12, 1947, and bluntly set forth what became known as the "Truman Doctrine." He asked for $400,000,000 to provide economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey on the definite ground of combatting the spread of Communism, of supporting peoples who "are resisting attempted subjugation by armed minorities or by outside pressures." The people in Greece were in dire economic straits, and the government was engaged in an uphill fight with insurgent Communists who were receiving aid from Jugoslavia, Albania, and Bulgaria. For reasons of urgency, the aid was to be direct, not under the regulations or auspices of the United Nations, where delay would surely result from debate and Russian opposition. In spite of by-passing the United Nations, the proposal made a popular and patriotic appeal, although it met with direct opposition or flank attacks from isolationist, internationalist, and pro-Russian groups.

Among the critics were Senator Claude Pepper of Florida and Henry Wallace, who had been forced from the Cabinet for a public criticism of the policy of getting "tough" with Russia. With much debate and some delay, Congress authorized the program and provided the funds in the amount named by the President. Within a year an additional appropriation of $275,000,000 had been made for the continuation of the program in Greece and Turkey. America took up the task with hopes of improving the Greek government and with Russian spokesmen calling the step "imperialistic." The United States incidentally offered to co-operate with UN agencies in carrying out the program, and Russia failed in efforts for UN intervention against military phases of the undertaking.

*From the "Truman Doctrine" to the "Marshall Plan"*

The "Truman Doctrine" was accepted frankly as only a check to the twin forces of hunger and Communism in Europe. It, however, provoked a discussion that brought the gloomy picture of postwar Europe plainly before the eyes of the American public. Secretary of State Marshall saw clearly that piecemeal relief and patchwork policy would not suffice. He developed a more positive approach on the basis of an over-all program, and he expounded it in a Harvard commencement address on June 5, 1947. Without specifying opposition to Communism or to Russia, he calmly called upon the European countries to undertake joint tasks of economic salvation with the assurance that "any government willing to assist in the task of recovery will find full co-operation on the part of the United States." Russia was not excluded, but Marshall warned that America would not aid any government seeking to block recovery and to "perpetuate human misery" for political or other reasons. He asked for a program to be "agreed to by a number, if not all, European nations."

*Europe and the Marshall Plan*

The Marshall Plan was more favorably received than the Truman Doctrine by liberal groups in Europe and America. The British and French governments ardently welcomed it, and a conference of representatives of European powers was held in Paris in July to work out a program of recovery in conformity with it. The governments of western Europe seriously and quickly got down to work after a fruitless session with the Russians, who pulled out and carried satellite governments with them. In the end sixteen nations of Europe supported the outline of a joint program for combining self-help and enlarged European production with America's "friendly aid."

*America and the Marshall Plan*

Most of the American funds to implement the Marshall Plan could come only from new appropriations by Congress, although the Export-Import Bank financed initial steps for aid. Congress was pledged to government economy as a result of the election of 1946.

Russia's controlled press and international propaganda bureau denounced the plan as a scheme to enslave Europe under American "dollar imperialism." With antagonism to Russia mounting in the United States, it became clear that Congress would provide at least partial support for the program. Reports of economic distress in Europe furnished a strong reason for a wide public endorsement of the Marshall Plan. Henry L. Stimson, who had served in the Cabinet of four Presidents, said on this challenging issue of immediate aid to Europe, "Communism or no Communism . . . it is our simple duty as neighbors to take a generous part in helping these great peoples to help themselves." The issue towered above partisan politics. Europe was bankrupt, and economic recovery alone could prevent a collapse of democracy in western Europe.

*The Marshall Plan as presented by President Truman*

It took some time for the general principles enunciated by Marshall at Harvard to crystallize into a program of action, and it was not until December, 1947, that President Truman presented a definite plan to Congress. The plan envisaged a total appropriation of $17,000,000,000 over the period from April, 1948, to June, 1952. Six hundred million of this amount would go to Germany and the rest to sixteen countries of western Europe. Some of the money would go in the form of loans through the Export-Import Bank, but most of it would be outright gifts; $6,800,000,000 were to be available for the first fifteen months. As a partial offset to the great financial burden it was assuming the United States would receive some much-needed raw materials of value in industry and for defense.

A bill in line with a revision of Truman's original proposal was passed by Congress and signed by the President (April 3, 1948). It approved in principle the four-year plan but declared in favor of an appropriation for only one year. The appropriation, however, was not voted until June 19, 1948, when approximately $5,000,000,000 were made available for the first twelve months.

*How ERP is administered*

The European Recovery Plan (ERP) is administered by the Economic Co-operation Administration (ECA) with the assistance of a roving ambassador in Europe and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC) with headquarters in Paris. For director of ECA the President selected Paul G. Hoffman, president of the Studebaker Corporation. W. Averell Harriman is roving ambassador and Paul-Henri Spaak of Belgium is at the head of OEEC.

By July 3, 1948, the deadline for acceptance, the fourteen[1] recip-

1 The sixteen countries that are to share in the Marshall Plan are: Australia, Belgium, Denmark, France, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Turkey, Switzerland, and Britain, plus western Germany. Portugal and Switzerland do not receive aid the first year and therefore they did not sign agreements.

ient nations had signed agreements with the United States providing for self-help and mutual co-operation. They promised to balance their budgets, stimulate production, lower trade barriers, and furnish the United States with certain strategic materials that can be used for stockpiling. However, American supplies did not wait for the signing of this convention, but started to flow to Europe as early as the middle of April, 1948.

### THE WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION

The intransigent attitude of Russia aroused the fears of the nations of western Europe, especially Britain, France, and the Benelux countries (Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg). These five countries felt that only by economic and military co-operation could they defend their independence against outside attack. Steps were therefore taken to form a union that would enable them to make the most effective use of their joint strength. The United States was *sympathetic with this movement and President Truman pledged* the assistance of his country. These efforts resulted in an economic and military alliance between Britain, France, and the Benelux countries, formed at Brussels in March, 1948. A fifty-year treaty was signed which provided for mutual defense in case anyone of the signatories was attacked; co-ordination of trade and currencies looking toward an eventual customs union; and a unification of the social services and a strengthening of the cultural ties. In April, 1948, the defense ministers of these five nations established a joint general staff.

### WESTERN GERMANY UNITED

*Attempts to unify Germany blocked by Russia*

As a means to speeding up recovery in Germany, it was important that the country be united politically and economically. There could be little hope of success for the Marshall Plan without political and economic stability in Germany. The western allies therefore made repeated efforts to bring about such unity, all of which were thwarted by Russian opposition. The most serious of the attempts to unify Germany were made at the Foreign Ministers' Council held in London from November 25 to December 15, 1947. Representatives of the Big Four held seventeen sessions but could come to no agreement. The chief stumbling block was Russia's position on reparations.

*Western Germany united economically and politically*

Despairing of union for all Germany, the Big Three decided to unify the part held by them. In the spring of 1947 the British and the Americans agreed upon a plan of economic co-operation for their two zones. Then after three months of conferences in London the western governments agreed (early in June, 1948) to unite the three western zones under a federal government with the capital at

Frankfort. There was to be international control of the industrial area, the Ruhr, and the continued occupation of Germany by Allied forces until international relations could be stabilized.[1] The Benelux countries were also to unite with western Germany in an economic union. The door was left open for Russia to bring her zone in and thus form a government for all Germany; but the Soviet government had no intention of adhering to the arrangement. The plan was promptly accepted by the British foreign minister and Secretary Marshall and later by the French government.

*Currency reform for western Germany*

Shortly after political unity was agreed upon for western Germany the Big Three powers, over the protest of Russia, issued (June 18) a new and sound currency for the western zones of Germany and extended its use to the western sectors of Berlin. This reform was badly needed, for the old currency had declined until it was almost worthless. Now that economic and political unity had been established for western Germany and the monetary system stabilized on a firm basis, this part of Germany entered upon a period of economic recovery. Economic advance was also stimulated by the aid that came from the Marshall Plan.

### THE BERLIN BLOCKADE

*Russia forbids trade with the western sectors of Berlin*

The Soviet government was strongly opposed to the political and financial measures which the Western Powers had adopted for Germany and was determined to make every effort to prevent their success. At the end of March, 1948, the Russian administration in Berlin announced a policy for restricting transportation and communication between the western sectors of the city and the German zones occupied by the Western Powers. Finally on June 24, 1948, the Soviet Military Administration announced that all rail traffic between the western sectors of Berlin and the western zones of Germany would be stopped. There was also an order cutting off the western sectors of Berlin from the electricity that had hitherto been supplied from the Russian sectors. Next came an order stopping all food shipments into the western sectors from the Soviet zone. In this way the blockade of Berlin was made complete, and the traffic with the outside world would have to be carried on only by airplane. By thus cutting off supplies the Russian authorities hoped to force the Western Allies out of the city. They expected to make the blockade effective, since surface traffic could not reach Berlin without passing through the Russian zone, in which the city was located.

On July 6, 1948, the United States, Britain, and France sent notes

[1] Later (November, 1948), Britain and the United States, against the protest of France, announced that the Ruhr would finally be restored to German control.

THE POOL IS GROWING SMALLER

*New York Times*

*New York Times*

ONE WORLD OR TWO?

—Fitzpatrick in the *St Louis Post Dispatch* March 12 1946

to the Russian government protesting against the blockade of Berlin as a clear violation of existing agreements between the four occupying powers. The Soviet government in a reply dated July 14, 1948, indicated that the blockade was in retaliation for the separate action of the Western Powers in making provision for the unification of Germany. Inasmuch as this action had been taken without the consent of Russia, it was (it declared) a violation of the agreement for four-power administration of Germany. Since France, England, and the United States had violated the agreement for joint administration in the west, they had forfeited their right to joint administration in Berlin. The reply made no mention of the fact that the Western Allies had made every effort to arrive at an understanding with Russia for stabilizing the economic and political life of all of Germany, and the Soviet government would come to no agreement except such as would give it undue control.

*Russia's excuse for the blockade*

The only means of getting supplies to the Germans in these three sectors, with a population of 2,100,000, was by airplane. But, greatly to the surprise of the Russians, the airlift, under the direction of General Lucius Clay, was able to meet the needs of the blockaded sections, although, of course, at a great cost to the United States and England and to the great inconvenience of the people of Berlin. The success of the western allies in meeting this responsibility went far beyond what had been expected. By February 18, 1949 (less than eight months after the airlift was started) a million tons of supplies had been landed in Berlin.

*The airlift*

With the hope of breaking the log jam, the Big Four again resorted to negotiation. Between July 31 and August 30 the envoys of the three Western Powers—France, England, and the United States—met nine times in Moscow with Russian representatives. At two of these meetings Stalin was present, and all of them were attended by Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The conferees came to an agreement in principle that the western mark would be withdrawn from Berlin and its place taken by the Russian-sponsored mark, under the control of a four-power commission. With the settlement of the currency question the blockade would be lifted. The details of the agreement were to be worked out by the Big Four military governors. At seven meetings held in Berlin between August 31 and September 7, these governors failed to reach an agreement. The western envoys contended that the final failure of the negotiations was due to the unreasonable stand taken by the Russian military governor in Berlin.

*The Kremlin conferences*

On September 26, 1948, the three Western Powers submitted to the United Nations their dispute with Russia over the Berlin

*The Berlin dispute before the United Nations*

blockade. The Security Council was asked to censure Russia for her threat to international peace and security and order her to put an end to the blockade. Andrei X. Vishinsky, Russian representative, denied that the Security Council had jurisdiction in the case, contending that it was a matter to be decided by the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Big Four. The six small nations represented on the Council were in a dilemma, for they did not want to incur the ill will of either side. The spokesman of these so-called "neutral" nations was Dr. Juan A. Bramuglia of Argentina, acting chairman of the Security Council. He was anxious to find a compromise formula that would be acceptable to both Russia and the Big Three and thus relieve the Security Council of the embarrassment of having to take sides. It was to this end that he presented to the Security Council, meeting in Paris on October 22, the following resolution as a compromise:

1. That the blockade of Berlin be lifted at once.

2. That the Big Four military governors of Germany meet at once to devise by or before November 20 a plan for the use of the Soviet currency in Berlin.

3. That the Council of Foreign Ministers hold a conference on November 30 or later to consider the entire German question.

The three western representatives expressed their willingness to accept this proposal. Vishinsky, however, objected to it on the ground that it would provide for the immediate lifting of the blockade but only for future talks on the currency problem. When a vote was taken (October 25, 1948) all the delegates voted "yes" except Vishinsky and the delegate from the Ukraine, a satellite of Russia.

Russia finally yielded, however, and in an understanding with the Western powers agreed on May 4, 1949, to give up the blockade of Berlin (effective May 12). By the terms of the agreement the Western powers were to remove all the counter-restrictions which they had imposed upon the trade between the eastern and western zones of occupation, and the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Big Four was to meet in Paris on May 23 for a discussion of the German question, including the currency for Berlin.

### SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RIFT WITH RUSSIA

*The rift with Russia has vital affect on American foreign policy*

The rift with Communistic Russia vitally affected American policy and politics abroad and at home. Concern over Soviet influence, infiltration, or intervention stimulated American interest in supporting anti-Communist or non-Communist governments and peoples throughout the world. This interest became manifest, not only in the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan, but in the espousal of free

elections in the Balkans, in bolstering the struggling empire of Britain, in cultivating greater Pan-American solidarity against aggression, and in various other ways. America clearly took the lead in opposing the expansion of Communism and Soviet power. This policy immediately entailed friendly and financial co-operation with certain socialistic governments, as the French, which could not fully follow America's clear-cut attitude on Russia. It also involved United States support for corrupt anti-Communist governments, as in China and Greece. For a nation seeking to veer from New Deal ideas toward conservatism and retrenchment, this inevitable international policy seemed to compel a choice of imperfections in an imperfect world.

*The "cold war" at home*

The "cold war" between the American way and the Russian way in the world stirred repercussions in public opinion, discussion, and politics within the United States. In the realm of alien ideas and ideological effects, it provoked the greatest battle of words since contemporary Americans debated the issues and influences of the French Revolution. As a result, Communists and neo-Communists were purged from the Federal pay rolls, particularly in the Department of State. Caught between adverse legislation and adverse opinion, Communist leadership was removed or reduced wherever it had acquired a foothold in organized labor. There were arrests and trials of members of the Communist party, and the House Committee on Un-American Activities carried on at great length an investigation of alleged spying activities of Communists.

*The Selective Service Act of 1948*

The fears aroused in this country by the intransigent attitude of Russian spokesmen led to an agitation in favor of rearmament. President Truman shared in this sentiment and in line with it recommended in March, 1948, that Congress enact legislation providing for universal military training and a temporary renewal of the draft. The Eightieth Congress did not comply with the President's request for universal military training, but on June 19, 1948, did pass a Selective Service Act. This measure provided for the drafting for twenty-one months of service of all able-bodied men (with some exceptions) between the ages of nineteen and twenty-five. In the list of exemptions were included all veterans who had had more than one year of active service or ninety days of service between Pearl Harbor (December 7, 1941) and V-J Day (September 2, 1945).

## THE ELECTION OF 1948

*The Republican convention*

The Republicans held their national convention in Philadelphia, beginning on Monday, June 21, 1948. The temporary chairman and keynoter was Governor Dwight H. Green of Illinois, and Joseph W. Martin, Jr., of Massachusetts, Speaker of the House, was made perma-

nent chairman. The platform was unanimously adopted on Wednesday, before the nominees for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency were chosen. The candidates voted on for the Presidency were Thomas E. Dewey of New York; Robert A. Taft of Ohio; Harold E. Stassen of Minnesota; Arthur H. Vandenberg of Michigan; Earl Warren of California; and Douglas MacArthur of Wisconsin. On the first ballot the three highest candidates, in the order of the vote received, were Dewey, Taft, and Stassen. On the second ballot these three names were still in the lead; but Dewey's lead over Taft, his nearest competitor, had increased from 210 to 241. At the end of the second ballot a recess of two and a half hours was taken. When the convention reassembled at eight in the evening, Dewey's rivals acknowledged their defeat and on the third ballot Dewey received all but a handful of the votes. Next day, Friday, Governor Warren was nominated for the Vice-Presidency and the convention adjourned.

*The Democratic convention*

The Democratic convention met in Philadelphia on Monday, July 12, 1948. The body was organized with Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky as temporary chairman. The main fight in the convention was the one on civil rights. President Truman had asked the Eightieth Congress to pass laws against lynching, racial segregation and discrimination in employment, and the use of the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting. The South was strongly opposed to such legislation contending that it would be in violation of the rights of the states to solve their local problems. The duty of punishing the criminal offense of lynching is, according to their contention, the sole responsibility of the state legislatures and state courts since the Federal courts do not have jurisdiction in common law criminal cases. Furthermore, under the Constitution the states have the sole authority to prescribe qualifications for voting except in so far as this authority is restricted by the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Nineteenth Amendments. The opposition had been so strong that Congress had taken no action on these proposals of the President.

The Southern delegates were demanding that the convention either soft-pedal the civil rights question or make no reference to it. To strengthen their position the Southern delegates made an unsuccessful effort to revive the two-thirds rule, hoping that with this rule they could veto any action by the convention to which they were violently opposed. The platform committee, however, showed a willingness to meet their request on civil rights by reporting a weak plank on that explosive issue. But the convention refused to accept the recommendation of the platform committee and instead adopted a resolution highly commending President Truman "for his coura-

geous stand" on civil rights and urging the enactment of his program. When this plank was adopted all of the Mississippi delegates and half of those from Alabama—thirty-five in all—withdrew from the convention.

President Truman won the nomination on the first ballot, although the states' rights delegates from the South cast 263 votes for Senator Richard B. Russell of Georgia. Senator Barkley was unanimously chosen for the Vice-Presidency. President Truman had at first been opposed to his nomination, preferring a younger man (Barkley was nearly 71) and one from the East or West. But Barkley in his brilliant keynote address made such a fine impression that his selection was assured. President Truman appeared before the convention and made a speech accepting the nomination which is considered one of the most effective ever delivered by him. In this speech he declared that the Republicans had promised in their platform to do a lot of things that he had asked them to do. "I'm going to call that Congress back and I'm going to ask them to pass laws . . . they say they are for in their platform."[1]

*Republican and Democratic platforms*

Except on a few points, the Republican and Democratic platforms were similar in principle. This was especially the case with reference to foreign policy. Both advocated support of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan and the recognition of the new state of Israel with the boundaries marked out by the United Nations. Both favored a policy of reciprocal trade, although the Democratic position was more outspoken in that it specifically advocated the reciprocal trade agreements drafted under the Roosevelt Administration in 1934. There was also considerable agreement in domestic affairs. Both promised a halt to the rise in prices; advocated housing and slum-clearance legislation, the extension of social security, and the promotion of soil conservation, reclamation, and flood control; and promised to aid agriculture with flexible price supports. On the labor question the Republican plank was in the nature of a general statement without any very definite commitment on specific issues. The Democrats, on the other hand, were definite

[1] Nor was this an idle threat. He promptly called Congress to meet in extra session. When the special session convened, it received (July 27) from the President recommendations covering most of the measures advocated in the Republican platform. He proposed a program of legislation providing for a check to inflation, price and rent control, improvement in the housing situation, civil rights, Federal aid to education, extension of the coverage and benefits of social security, and an increase in minimum wages. Congress in this extra session passed bills providing for better housing, credit control, and a loan of $65,000,000 to the United Nations for building its headquarters in New York City. However, none of these bills, except the last-named, met the requirements laid down by the President in his address. The refusal of the Republican-controlled Congress in this short session to act on proposals endorsed in the Republican platform left the party open to the charge of inconsistency and insincerity and gave Truman a good fighting point.

in advocating the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act and the increase of the minimum wage rate from forty to seventy-five cents an hour. They also favored a liberal appropriation by the Federal government in support of education.

*Minor parties*

There were also two new splinter parties to enter the fray. They were recruited mainly from the left and right wings of the Democratic Party. They were, respectively, the Progressive Party and the States' Rights Party. The Communists supported the Progressive ticket, and the Socialists as usual nominated Norman Thomas for the Presidency.

*The Progressive Party*

In December, 1947, Henry A. Wallace, former Vice-President and Cabinet member, announced his candidacy for the Presidency. It was not, however, until July 23, 1948, that his party meeting in convention in Philadelphia was formally launched as a national organization. This new left-wing group was at first called the "New Party," but after the Philadelphia convention it assumed the name of the Progressive Party. It nominated Wallace for President and Senator Glen Hearst Taylor of Idaho for Vice-President. The platform (released before the convention met) declared in favor of civil rights and against the Marshall Plan, aid to Greece and Turkey, and the draft in time of peace.

*The States' Rights Party*

In May, 1948, a group of States' Rights Democrats in the South met in conference at Jackson, Mississippi, and there decided that they would hold a separate convention if the Democratic National Convention should endorse the President and his civil rights program. After the Democrats had put the civil rights plank in their platform some of the Southern leaders proceeded to carry out their threat. They held a convention at Birmingham, Alabama (July 17), at which they nominated for President James Strom Thurmond, governor of South Carolina, and for Vice-President, Governor Fielding L. Wright of Mississippi. The platform declared that Congress has no authority under the Constitution "to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several states" (this is a quotation from the Democratic platform of 1940). "We oppose," the platform continued, "all efforts to invade or destroy the rights vouchsafed by it [the Constitution] to every citizen of this republic."

*Campaign methods*

The campaign waged by President Truman was one of the most aggressive known to American history. He started in with all the signs pointing toward his defeat. The States' Rights Democrats—usually called "Dixiecrats"—were expected to pull away electoral votes in the "solid South" that the Democratic candidate normally received. It was held that Wallace would get more support from the Democrats than the Republicans and that his popular vote might

be decisive in a few close states in the North. During the entire campaign the polls conducted by magazines and public opinion agencies, as well as the prophecies of political experts, indicated an overwhelming victory for the Republicans. Despite these gloomy prospects, Truman declared his firm belief that he would win, and he carried on the fight almost single-handed, since he received little encouragement from the disheartened leaders of his own party. In six separate campaigns he traveled 25,000 miles and delivered 250 speeches. In the early part of the campaign he leveled his biggest guns against the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress, which he termed "the second worst" in the history of this country. He lashed out at its labor legislation, its failure to enact a law for price-control, and its attitude toward conservation and reclamation. Later in the campaign he took a firm stand in favor of civil rights. He also advocated a strong Jewish state in Palestine and condemned the Republicans for their alleged discrimination against Jews and Catholics in their Displaced Persons Act.

Dewey carried on an active but not an aggressive campaign. He too toured the country, traveling 17,000 miles and making 175 speeches. In these speeches he dealt in general terms, and sometimes even in platitudes, emphasizing the need of unity for prosperity and peace. He praised the foreign policy of the Republicans, strongly endorsed the position of his party platform in favor of the Jewish state in Palestine, and defended the Eightieth Congress as "one of the best." This praise for this Congress in general did not carry with it an endorsement of all its specific acts, although approval of the Taft-Hartley Act was expressed. The methods used by Dewey were unlike those employed by him in the previous Presidential election and were similar to those of Roosevelt in the campaign of 1944. He never descended to personal abuse but kept the discussion on the high level of public policy. Like political leaders in general, Dewey apparently felt that his election was assured and that a rough-and-tumble fight was not needed. Victory seemed so certain that he summoned John Foster Dulles (supposed to be slated for Secretary of State) from Paris to inform him as to the foreign situation.

*Results of the election*

Despite the numerous speeches delivered by the two leading candidates, the campaign was an unusually quiet one and the voters seemed apathetic. The total popular vote was over forty-eight million, and Truman's plurality over Dewey was more than two million, although his popular vote was only forty nine and one-half per cent of the total.[1] Wallace received a popular vote of more than

1 Norman Thomas, the Socialist candidate, received a popular vote of 132,138. The total vote polled for the other lesser candidates was 147,530.

a million but won no electoral votes. Thurmond, with a popular vote also of above a million, carried four states (Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and South Carolina) and won 39 electoral votes. Dewey carried sixteen states with an electoral vote of 189. The other twenty-eight states went to Truman, who gained an electoral vote of 303.[1]

*The second inauguration of President Truman*

On January 20, 1949, President Truman entered upon his second term. He took the oath of office and delivered his inaugural address in the presence of about one hundred thousand listeners. These and the others throughout the country who witnessed the event by television made a total estimated at ten million. The president devoted the major portion of his address to foreign affairs. He pointed out the evils of Communism, as he saw them, in strong contrast to the benefits of democracy. He presented the following four-point program as a guide to our foreign policy in coming years:

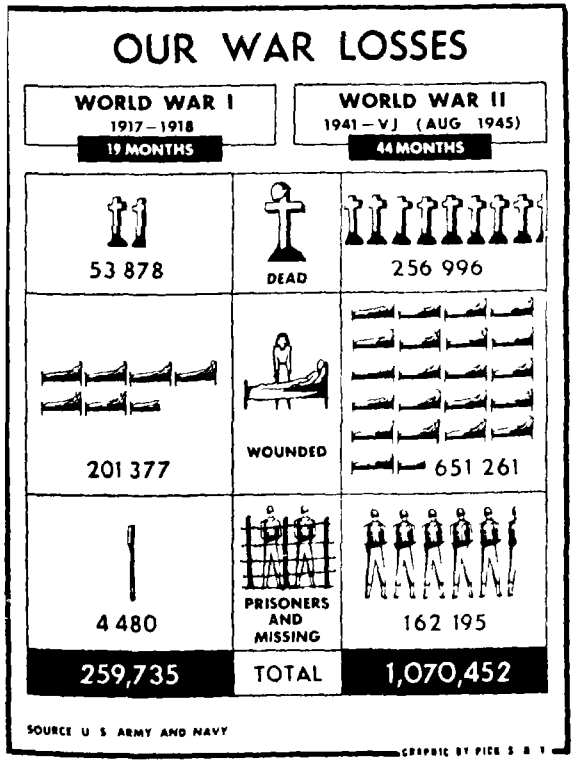
> First, we will continue to give unfaltering support to the United Nations and related agencies, and we will continue to search for ways to strengthen their authority and increase their effectiveness. . . .
>
> Second, we will continue our programs for world economic recovery.
>
> This means, first of all that we must keep our full weight behind the European Recovery Program. We are confident of the success of this major venture in world recovery. We believe that our partners in this effort will achieve the status of self-supporting nations once again.
>
> Third, we will strengthen freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression.
>
> Fourth, we must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of under-developed areas.

*Marshall resigns as Secretary of State*

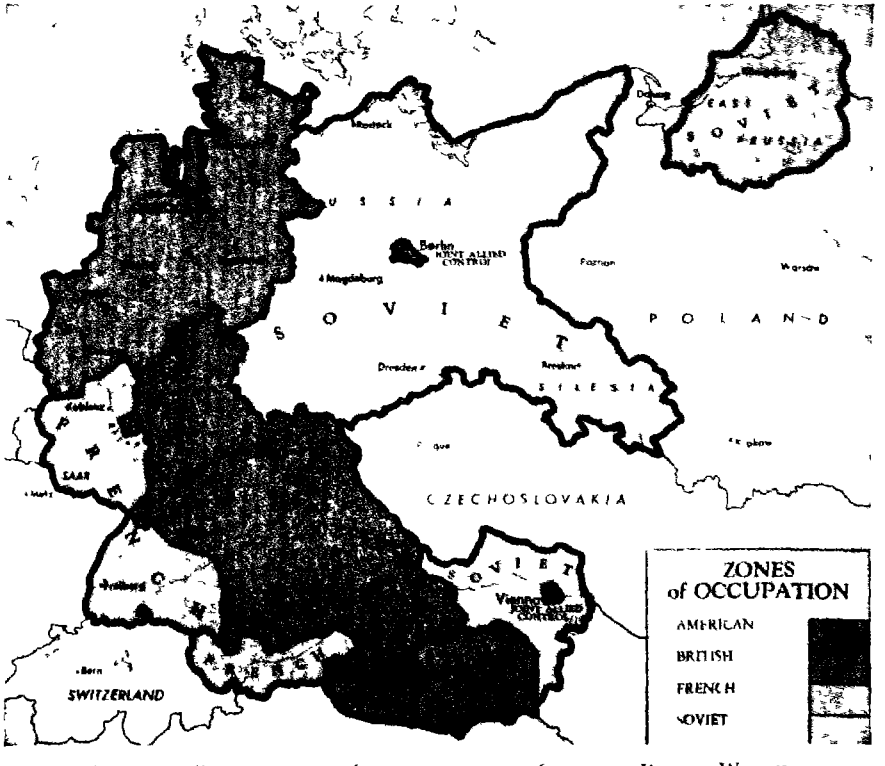
The new Administration started off with one important change in the Cabinet. Because of ill health Secretary Marshall had resigned as head of the State Department, and Dean Acheson had been appointed as his successor. Acheson, who had served as Under-Secretary of State from August, 1945, to July, 1947, announced that he was in favor of a firm policy toward Russia; his appointment, together with the determined attitude shown by the President in his inaugural address, indicated a continuance of the opposition to Russian aggression.

President Truman entered upon his second term with foreign

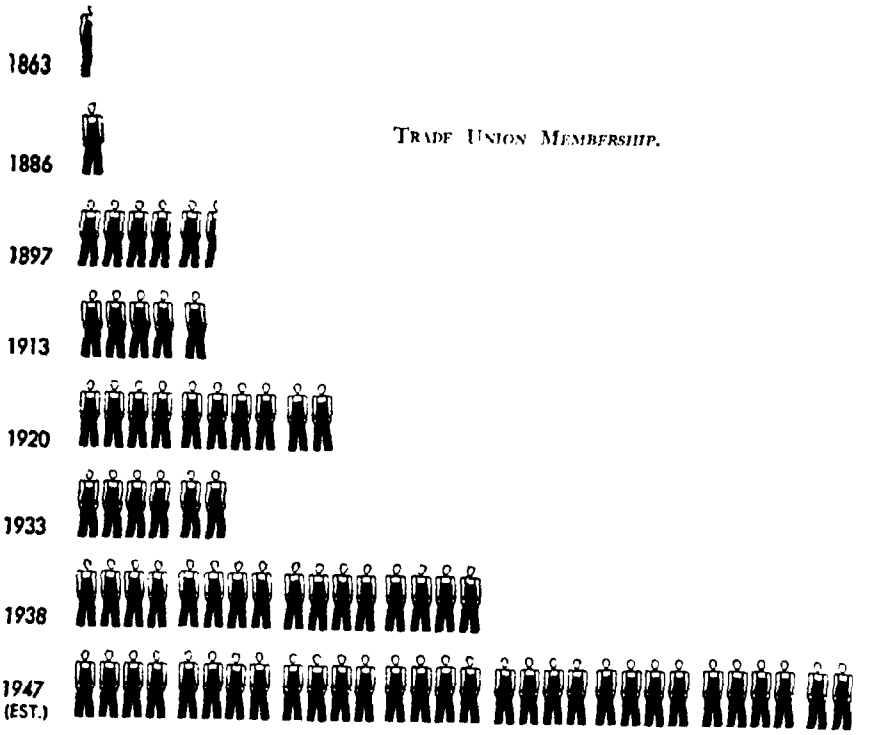
[1] Two of the Tennessee electors were on both the Democratic and States Rights' tickets. One of these voted for Truman and the other for Thurmond.



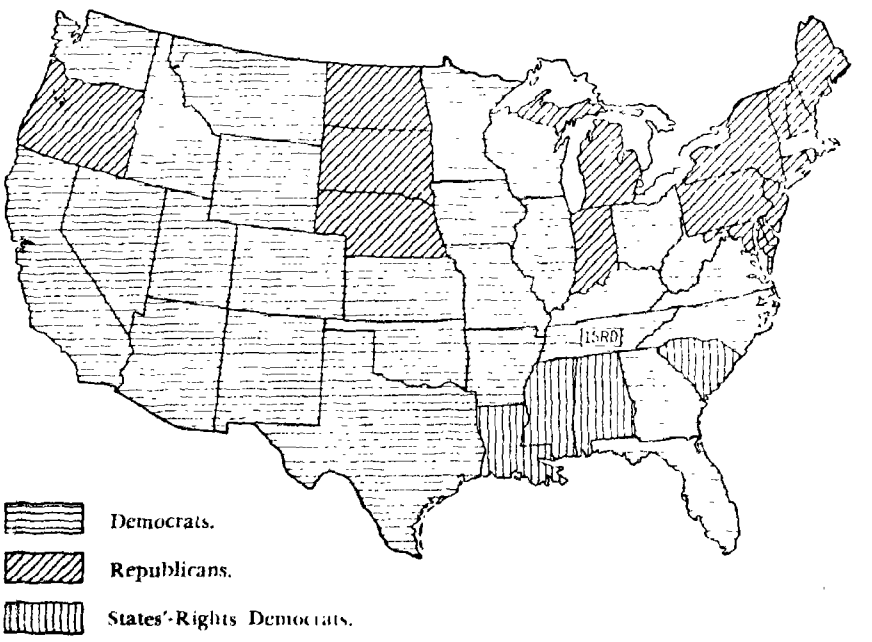

War Losses




Zones of Occupation in Germany at the Close of World War II




TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP.




THE ELECTORAL VOTE OF 1948.

affairs still in a difficult situation, although the Western European Union, formed by the Brussels Pact in March, 1948, gave promise of a measure of security to the countries of western Europe. The formation of this union was followed by months of negotiation, carried on mainly by Canada, the United States, and the Western European Union countries, with the view of extending and strengthening the Brussels Pact. The outcome of these efforts was the formulation of the long-expected North Atlantic Treaty, the text of which was announced March 18, 1949. Under the terms of this treaty—the North Atlantic Pact—each member of the alliance promises to come to the aid of any other signatory power that may be the victim of outside attack. The article in which this commitment is embodied is as follows:

*The North Atlantic Pact*

> The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defense recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

The Pact is a purely defensive understanding, according to the contention of the western governments, and will greatly further the cause of peace. The Soviet press, however, considered it an aggressive alliance and a dangerous step toward war. On April 4, 1949, the treaty was signed in Washington not only by the governments of the negotiating powers but also by Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal, and Italy. If and when the United States Senate ratifies the treaty—and it is confidently expected that it will receive an overwhelming endorsement—our government will have reached the farthest point ever attained in its departure from the policy of isolation.

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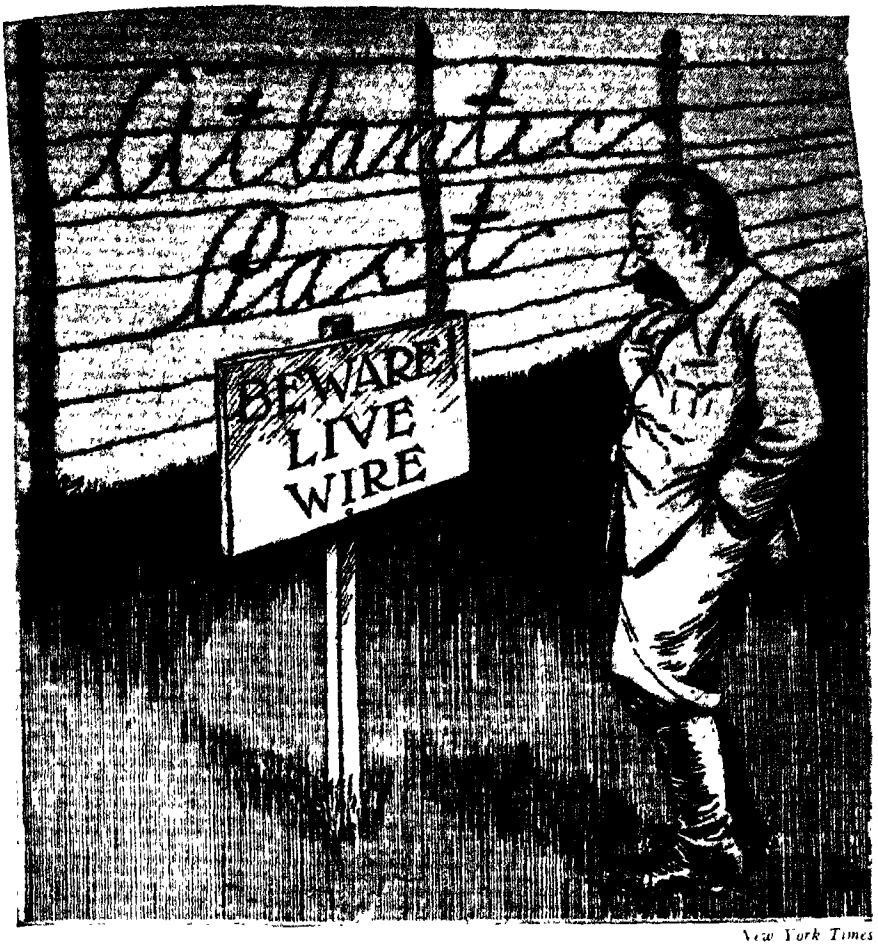
2. The United Nations.—Ruhl J. Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy*, ch. 35 (documents); F. L. Owsley, O. P. Chitwood, and H. C. Nixon, *A Short History of the American People*, II, pp. 757-771 (text of the Charter of the United Nations).
3. The Truman Doctrine (given in a message to Congress, March 12, 1947).—Brown, pp. 384-390.
4. Other Recent Developments.—Good brief accounts of current events can be found in *The News of the Week in Review* section of the Sunday *New York Times*.

*Wide World Photos, Inc.*

THE BERLIN BLOCKADE.




*New York Times*

# APPENDIX A

## *Declaration of Independence*

WHEN, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station, to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evidence a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct

object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right, inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places, unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies, without the Consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation: For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us: For protecting them by a mock Trial from punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States: For cutting off our Trade with all

parts of the world: For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent: For depriving us in many cases of the benefits of Trial by Jury: For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offenses: For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies: For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government: For suspending our own Legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravished our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions. In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them to the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind. Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

WE THEREFORE, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions do, in the Name, and by authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

# APPENDIX B

# *The Constitution of the United States of America*

WE THE People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessing of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

## ARTICLE I

*Section 1.* All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

*Section 2.* The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty-five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.][1] The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not

[1] This provision has been modified by the Sixteenth Amendment.

exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

*Section* 3. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one-third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; And no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any

Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

*Section 4.* The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of Chusing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

*Section 5.* Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behavior, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

*Section 6.* The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony, and Breach of the peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been encreased during such time; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

*Section 7.* All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States; If he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by Yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the Same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

*Section 8.* The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the Credit of the United States;

To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes;

To establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures;

To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States;

To establish Post Offices and post Roads;

To promote the Progress of Science and useful arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries;

To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court;

To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offenses against the Law of Nations;

To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water;

To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years;

To provide and maintain a Navy;

To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces;

To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings;—And

To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

*Section 9.* The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.

The privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

No capitation, or other direct Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.

*Section 10.* No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.

## Article II

*Section 1.* The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant

of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an Equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two-thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice-President.[1]

The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Vote; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty-five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[1] This paragraph has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

*Section 2.* The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the Untied States; he may require the Opinion in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to Grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offenses against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law: but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

*Section 3.* He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

*Section 4.* The President, Vice-President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

## Article III

*Section 1.* The judicial Power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may

from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services a Compensation which shall not be diminished during their Continuance in Office.

*Section 2.* The judicial Power shall extend to all Cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority;—to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls;—to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction;—to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party;—to Controversies between two or more States;—between a State and Citizens of another State;—between Citizens of different States;—between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such Regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury, and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed, but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

*Section 3.* Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

## Article IV

*Section 1.* Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

*Section 2. The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.*

A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.

*Section 3.* New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so constructed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

*Section 4.* The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

## Article V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article; and that no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of its equal Suffrage in the Senate.

### Article VI

All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any *Office or public Trust under the United States.*

### Article VII

The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

Done in Convention by the Unanimous Consent of the States present the Seventeenth Day of September in the Year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the Independence of the United States of America the Twelfth. In Witness whereof We have hereunto subscribed our Names,

Go. WASHINGTON

Presid't and deputy from Virginia

Delaware

Geo: Read
John Dickinson
Jaco: Broom
Gunning Bedford jun
Richard Bassett

Maryland

James McHenry
Danl Carroll
Dan: of St Thos Jenifer

Virginia

John Blair—
James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina

Wm Blount
Hu Williamson
Richd Dobbs Spaight

South Carolina

J. Rutledge
Charles Pinckney
Charles Cotesworth Pinckney
Pierce Butler

Georgia

William Few
Abr Baldwin

New Hampshire

John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

Massachusetts

Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King

Connecticut

Wm Saml Johnson
Roger Sherman

New York

Alexander Hamilton

New Jersey

Wil: Livingston
David Brearley
Wm Paterson
Jona: Dayton

Pennsylvania

B. Franklin
Robt. Morris
Thos. Fitzsimons
James Wilson
Thomas Mifflin
Geo. Clymer
Jared Ingersoll
Gouv Morris

Attest:

WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

## AMENDMENTS[1]

### AMENDMENT I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

### AMENDMENT II

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

[1] The first 10 Amendments, known as the "Bill of Rights," were adopted in 1791.

AMENDMENT III

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

AMENDMENT IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

AMENDMENT V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb, nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

AMENDMENT VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have the compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

AMENDMENT VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury, shall be otherwise reexamined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

AMENDMENT VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

AMENDMENT IX

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

AMENDMENT X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

AMENDMENT XI[1]

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

AMENDMENT XII[2]

The Electors shall meet in their respective states and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate;—The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;—The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth

1 Adopted in 1798.
2 Adopted in 1804.

day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.—The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

### AMENDMENT XIII[1]

*Section 1.* Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

*Section 2.* Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### AMENDMENT XIV[2]

*Section 1.* All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without the due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

*Section 2.* Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial Officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

1 Adopted in 1865.
2 Adopted in 1868.

*Section 3.* No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

*Section 4.* The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

*Section 5.* The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

### AMENDMENT XV[1]

*Section 1.* The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

*Section 2.* The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### AMENDMENT XVI[2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

### AMENDMENT XVII[2]

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years, and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the

1 Adopted in 1870.
2 Adopted in 1913.

Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

### AMENDMENT XVIII[1]

*Section 1.* After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

*Section 2.* The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

*Section 3.* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

### AMENDMENT XIX[2]

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

### AMENDMENT XX[3]

*Section 1.* The term of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3d day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

*Section 2.* The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

*Section 3.* If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President elect shall have died, the Vice President elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President

[1] Adopted in 1919.
[2] Adopted in 1920.
[3] Adopted in 1933.

elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President elect nor a Vice President elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

*Section 4.* The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them.

*Section 5.* Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

*Section 6.* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

### AMENDMENT XXI[1]

*Section 1.* The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

*Section 2.* The transportation or importation into any state, territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

*Section 3.* This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by convention in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

[1] Adopted in 1933.

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