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# A SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES 

BY
NATHANIEL WRIGHT STTEPHENSON
AND

MARTHA TUCKER STEPHENSON


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## PREFACE

This book is intended for use in the upper grammar grades and in the junior high school. Its authors have borne in mind the double fact that while American schools still retain-it is to be hoped will always retain-a wholesome variety in their detail of instruction, they are nevertheless approaching a national conformity in main features. Especially is this true in history. The time for a school course in American history truly nationalized, broadly speaking, both in matter and method has arrived. The recent discussions of the subject in the National Education Association, in the American Historical Association, and by a host of individual critics have cleared the atmosphere as never before. The World War has worked as a powerful solvent to precipitate a new consensus of opinion.

History, first of all, is a study in cause and effect. This is true of its simplest forms no less than of its most complex. Always they are concerned with movement, with the establishment of sequences. School history has a further limitation. The sequences which it aims to make intelligible are chiefly those that point toward present conditions, that help us to solve present problems. But it is of first importance to remember that there is more than one sort of problem in modern life to which history affords a clue. At least two great groups should be recognized. Obviously one of these groups-the one which has been so widely discussed that it may now be taken for granted-is chiefly economic. It includes all the complicated attempts of the modern state to put its house in order. All its problems at bottom are questions of efficiency. Who doubts the importance of this
group of problems or the obligation upon us all to equip our children to meet them? But another group of modern problems is just as insistent and quite as difficult to solve. These are psychological. Granted that the modern citizen has acquired knowledge of what ought to be done to save and perfect our civilization, can he always be relied upon to use that knowledge, or if he uses it to do so unselfishly? In our complex modern life the state has to compete with innumerable counter attractions that are forever luring the citizen away from public duty. Therefore it is not enough to give our children a knowledge of how the state may be served in the best way: we have failed absolutely if we do not also create in them a desire to discharge that service. The former purpose may be accomplished by resolving the life around us into its elements and discussing them one by one; the latter, only by building up a sense of the state as a living, human unit and conceiving it as an object of affection. No history-teaching is truly sound that does not give to young students this vivid sense of a great, continuing, single thing-OUR COUNTRY-which is entitled to their love and devotion.

The only sure way to do this is to make them feel the persistence through sunshine and shadow, through peace and war, through failure and through success, of that enfolding national life which has gone on and will continue to go on yesterday, today, tomorrow. It is impossible to overstate the obligation to establish in the young mind this sense of national life as a psychological unity. And one may feel this to the full without in the least reducing that other obligation requiring us to struggle with the difficulties of the hour-social and economic-in all their grimness. Through the former effort may be generated the energy to sustain the latter. The conjunction of these two basal purposes should determine the selection of subject matter. Merely local or accidental matter should be
minimized and, so far as used, should serve the one great purpose of making real the nation as a whole, of assembling all its features in one diversified image. And all the matter of any sort should be so related to the present that every boy and girl-East, West, North, South-may be helped to feel, with regard to all that lives out of our past, "This is mine."

What could serve better as a touchstone for all textbooks of history than these fine sentences from Professor Allen Johnson of Yale University :

We have heard much in the years gone by of the practical value of mathematics and of their use in developing the reasoning faculties. And yet the statesman who should reckon with men as the mathematician with his units and factors would soon go under. Say what one will of the exact sciences, how can one find in them any hint of the motives that sway men in the active world? But it is just this that the study of history should do for our future citizens. In the story of the rise and fall of men and nations they may read, if they be taught to read aright, a prophecy for the time to come. Not that history ever repeats itself,-the old adage I believe fallacious,-but human nature remains essentially the same throughout the ages ; and no boy or girl can read histories in whose pages men and women seem to appear in the flesh without deepening his knowledge of the human soul and of the conditions influencing the ebb and flow of human destiny. And if in this process of training for power ${ }^{1}$ the really essential knowledge of the past and a wiser, soberer, finer patriotism is not distilled the fault lies in him who teaches.

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## A SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

PART ONE: THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A FREE COUNTRY

COLUMBUS APPEALING TO ISABELLA
After a painting by Brozik in the Metropolitan Museum of Art

# FIRST DIVISION. HOW EUROPEANS CAME TO AMERICA 

## CHAPTER I

## THE THREE GREAT MIGRATIONS

1. The Strange Thing in American History. In two respects the history of our country is unlike the history of many other countries: first, every white person now living in the United States is descended from Europeans; second, we know when and how the Europeans crossed the Atlantic and settled America.

Our knowledge of their coming does not rest on tradition; their coming took place since we began to keep accurate record of what people do. In some countries the ancestors of the present inhabitants have occupied the land during thousands of years - so long that all record of whence they came originally has been lost. The famous Chinese nation was living in China before the earliest book was written, on

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the same land where the Chinese live today. You can understand the history of China without looking outside its own boundaries. It is different with the United States. When our forefathers came across the sea and founded a new nation they brought with them habits and ideas which had


STATUE OF ATHENA, THE PROTECTING GODDESS OF ANCIENT ATHENS belonged to them and their fathers for a great length of time. Many of these habits and ideas are as strong in us today as in our remote ancestors who lived in far-off countries long, long ago. Therefore, in order to understand our history we should know of many things that occurred before this republic was dreamed of. We should even look back into the far past and see where and how lived our earliest ancestors of whom we have definite knowledge.
2. Where American History Began. The place where our forefathers lived was the grassy plain of western Asia north of the Caspian Sea. During the time when their home was in Asia they were mainly herdsmen. They had no cities, and very few of them had begun to dig and sow and raise crops. They got their food chiefly from their flocks and herds. Four or five thousand years ago they had become so numerous that the pasture land of their old Asiatic home could not feed all their cattle and supply them all with food. Thereupon some of these Aryan, or Indo-European, people-they are
called by both names - left their earliest home and wandered away in search of new homes. A great number went to the southeast and in time reached northern India, where their descendants still live; others went southward and became ancestors of the great nation of the Persians. Both the Hindus of India and the Persians are our distant kinsmen-but very distant. Much nearer relatives of ours are all those people whose ancestors formed part of a third body of early Aryan wanderers. This third body turned toward the west, made their way into Europe, and became known as Europeans.
3. How our Forefathers became Civilized. When the wanderers came into Europe they broke up into several groups and continued their wanderings in various directions. All of them were barbarians. None knew how to read or write. Some who settled among the great forests of northern Europe remained barbarians for centuries afterwards; others, more fortunate, took a southerly course, across the Danube River to the Mediterranean. There they found cities and wealthy people, with beautiful houses, stately temples, and ships upon the sea. By these people in the cities


STATUE REPRESENTING THE AMERICAN REPUBLIC, BY DANIEL CHESTER FRENCH, AFTER HE HAD STUDIED THE FAMOUS Statues of greece along the Mediterranean the southerly wanderers were civilized. When this took place what we know as the first great migration of the Aryans had reached its end.
4. The Greatness and the Fall of the Ancient World. The first group of European Aryans that became great and
powerful were called Greeks. Around the Ægean Sea they became so powerful that those older peoples who had taught them to live in cities submitted to their rule and in time were glad to learn their language, to accept their customs, and to be known by their name. The ideas of these famous Greeks and the scientific discoveries which they made, to-


A ROMAN THEATER gether with the arts and crafts which began among the older peoples who were their teachers, formed the beginning of what we call our "civilization"; that is, all those ideas and customs which we have developed since the time when we ceased to be barbarians.

For a long time the Greeks were the greatest people in the world. Then their power declined and another group of Aryans became the leaders of the nations. These were the Romans, whose ancestors, speaking the Latin language, had long inhabited central Italy. The Romans gradually conquered and made into one great empire all the countries surrounding the Mediterranean and also the northwest of Europe - what is now Switzerland, France, and Belgium, together with the greater part of the island of Great Britain. The northern boundary of their empire ran along the two great rivers, the Rhine and the Danube. The Greeks, who were included in this vast dominion, were the school-teachers, so to speak, of all the other peoples, while the Romans were the rulers.

During many generations the civilization of the Roman Empire was undisturbed, but at last a change came. Those wanderers who had settled in the North-distant kinsmen of the ones who had turned southward-were still uncivilized. They were living in the Northern forests much as their ancestors had lived in Asia. They had become numerous. The forests were filled with fierce, hardy barbarians, and the old problem of finding food for them all had


THE FORUM, OR PUBLIC SQUARE, OF ANCIENT ROME
again to be met. And then what happened long before in Asia was repeated-some of the barbarians began to move away from their forests, seeking new homes elsewhere. ${ }^{1}$

The barbarians had heard many tales of the wealth and splendor of the Roman Empire. Shouting their war songs
${ }^{1}$ These were Teutonic peoples. Those Teutons who made their way into the empire mixed with their southerly and westerly kinsmen, who civilized them. There is more or less Teutonic blood in the people of Italy, France, Spain, and the British Isles. To the Teutons who stayed at home in the Netherlands and Germany civilization was carried by traders and missionaries when peace returned to Europe after the second migration (section 5).
they poured out of the forests and sought to fight their way across the Rhine and the Danube. Many times they were beaten back, but they returned, and returned again, and yet again, each time more furiously than before. A time came when the imperial armies could hold them back no longer. They burst through the fortifications that protected the Roman boundary. It was like the bursting of a gigantic dam. Into the civilized world they poured-a torrent of pitiless warriors, spreading death and destruction wherever they went.
5. The Second Migration. This overflow of the northern barbarians spread from one end of the Roman world to the other. The invaders settled in the regions they had desolated,-where the cities had been burned, where many of the people had been killed,-and thus new nations were formed. Fortunately the barbarians were not able to destroy everything, nor numerous enough to kill everybody, in the ancient world. Probably they repeated very nearly the experience of those earlier wanderers who had come into southern Europe so many centuries before; that is, when the fury of the fighting was gone by they began to take lessons from the educated and refined people they had conquered. They quickly saw that these people knew thousands of things of which they were ignorant. Soon the invaders were taking lessons of their beaten enemies. Before long the ideas, the customs, the religion, the arts and crafts, of the ruined old world were being learned by the newcomers, and civilization took a fresh start.
6. The Third Migration. Again centuries went by while Europe lived a fairly settled life without any great shifting of the European peoples ; and then a third great movement began. In this third migration European peoples crossed the Atlantic and planted a group of new nations on its western shores. They transplanted to new soil the civilization of Europe. The third migration resembled the first and
second, because, like them, it was the attempt of people dissatisfied with their way of living to find new homes in which they would be happier than in their old homes. It differed from both the others in two respects: first, it was a movement of people who were already civilized and who, therefore, took with them habits and ideas which were not likely to change; second, it was a movement into wild countries where there was no civilized population with habits and ideas superior to those of the invaders.

The third migration did not occur all at once. The earliest attempt of a European people to cross the Atlantic took place nearly a thousand years ago (section 7), and though it led to the first discovery of America no permanent colony was established on the western continent. The migration can hardly be said to have started until long afterwards, when America was discovered a second time by Christopher Columbus at the close of the fifteenth century. The next two centuries witnessed the greater part of the third migration. European nations colonized the New World. By the middle of the eighteenth century European civilization was well established all along the American shores of the Atlantic.
7. The Earliest American Exploration. The very beginning of the movement across the Atlantic grew out of a civil war in Norway. The Norwegians-also called the Norsemen - were descendants of Aryans who had settled in the Far North and had not shared in the second migration. They were among the freest people in the world. When their king, Harold the Fair-haired, attempted to curtail their freedom many of the boldest of them rebelled. These bold men, whom we call the Vikings, went aboard their ships and sailed away to Iceland. There, on the edge of the Arctic Ocean, they founded a famous little nation, a new Norway, which exists at this day. A hundred years later a daring Icelander, Eric the Red, led his countrymen still

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farther across the unknown sea and founded a settlement in Greenland. Eric's son, Leif the Lucky, determined to know where the ocean ended. He sailed to the southwest and was the first European who saw the coast of North America. About the year 1000 Leif and his sailors made a landing


LEIF THE LUCKY NEARING LAND
on the shore of a great bay, probably where now stands the city of Boston. They found so many wild grapes that they named the new country Vinland, or Vineland.
8. Christopher Columbus ; Exploration in the Fifteenth Century. But Leif, unlike his father, did not found a colony. Eric's own colony in Greenland did not prosper, and after a while it was broken up. Nearly five hundred years went by before another and much more famous explorer crossed the Atlantic. This later discoverer of America was born in the old city republic of Genoa about the year 1450 and was named Christopher Columbus,

During the lifetime of Columbus great changes were taking place all over Europe. It was a time when old ideas
were passing away and new ideas were forming. Especially was it a time when great changes occurred in commerce. Nothing was more valuable in those days than the trade between Europe and eastern Asia, especially India. It was controlled chiefly by the republics of Genoa and Venice, whose ships carried European products to the eastern Mediterranean ports-to Alexandria and to Constantinople. There the Venetians and the Genoese exchanged their goods for silks and spices that had been brought from China and India either by way of the Red Sea and Egypt or overland on camels, in long slow-moving caravans. These four Mediterranean seaports - Venice, Genoa, Alexandria, Constanti-nople-formed the four corners, so to speak, of the business


A VENETIAN GALLEY world in those days. The Mediterranean traders dominated the commerce of Europe. They took oriental products to the Far North ; they were so rich that they lent money as a business and thus were the beginners of modern banking.
In the fifteenth century the Mediterranean cities lost their control of European business, which passed into the hands of countries bordering on the Atlantic. No more momentous change has taken place in European history. It opened early in the century, when the energetic little Portuguese nation began exploring the Atlantic Ocean. A son of the king of Portugal, Prince Henry the Navigator, established the first school of scientific seamanship and persuaded many sailors to undertake perilous voyages upon unknown waters. It
was not easy to overcome their fears. Strange tales were believed about the Atlantic. Toward the south it was supposed to be boiling hot. Many a sailor was firm in the notion that at times monsters arose out of its depths and destroyed ships in the twinkle of an eye. Nevertheless Prince Henry persevered. The Azores and the Canary Islands were


ROUTES OF TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND CITIES OF SOUTHERN EUUROPE
discovered. The Tropic of Cancer was passed (I434), and the story of a boiling tropical sea was disproved. At last Bartholomew Diaz sailed past the Cape of Good Hope (1487) and thus opened a new route for trade between Europe and Asia. Another great sailor, Vasco da Gama, carried the Portuguese flag to India (1498). From that day the Atlantic nations, trading by sea with India and China, had a great advantage over the Mediterranean nations. The latter gradually declined in wealth and importance. The Atlantic nations took their places as the chief commercial powers. ${ }^{1}$

[^1]While these great events were taking place Christopher Columbus was growing up. His father was poor, and when still a little boy Columbus went to sea to become a sailor.


THE KNOWN WORLD IN 1490
At that time, though ignorant people still believed that the earth was flat, educated people were beginning to think that
were true there would have been a period between 1453 and 1498 when new Indian products would not have reached Europe and those on hand would have risen in price; but such was not the case. Furthermore, the Turks, instead of closing the Eastern trade routes, made a commercial treaty with Venice. The ruin of Venetian and Genoese trade was not the cause but the result of the Portuguese discovery of the sea routes to India. Portugal agreed to divide all the new cornmerce and all the new countries with Spain. Acting under the direction of Pope Alexander VI the two countries fixed upon a line on the map three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands (I494). Portugal was to have everything to the east of that line, Spain everything to the west. The line of demarcation ran through Brazil (see map, p. 17).
it was round. An astronomer of Florence, Toscanelli, made a tolerably correct calculation of the earth's size. Columbus, when he had become an experienced sailor, accepted Toscanelli's views and concluded that the most sensible way to reach India by sea was to sail west. Of course he had no suspicion that an unknown country lay upon the far side of the Atlantic midway between Europe and Asia. He made up his mind he would sail westward until he came to India.

But where was Columbus to find the men and the ships for such a voyage? Sailors were still afraid to venture forth straight west in order to find the far side of the "shoreless" sea. Only the sovereigns of Europe had the power to compel sailors to risk the voyage ; only sovereigns had the money to provide the ships. And for a long while the sovereigns would not listen to Columbus. The king of Portugal was satisfied with what his own men were doing; others were too busy with great wars. But at length the queen of Spain, Isabella of Castile, consented to provide Columbus with three small ships, the Niña, the Pinta, and the Santa Maria. With these he sailed from Palos in Spain, August 3, 1492.
9. The Voyage of Columbus. Columbus headed for the Canary Islands. Thus far the ocean was familiar to his sailors, but when Columbus passed the Canaries and steered straight into the sunset, when the islands faded below the eastern horizon, the fears of the sailors began to master them. Their tiny ships seemed to be mere specks in a vast circle of unknown sea. A great east wind caught them and drove them furiously over thundering waves. The fear in their hearts gave place to rage, and they plotted to seize Columbus and throw him into the sea. Suddenly, overhead, they saw a flock of birds; then, floating in the water, a branch with berries on it ; then a piece of wood that looked as if it had been carved with a knife. What could this mean but that there was land ahead? The ocean was not shoreless after all. Like the lifting of a cloud their fears vanished.

That night they thought they saw a light moving on the horizon. Early the next morning (October 12, 1492), as the day brightened across the sea, they saw a low green shore only a few miles to the west. It was one of the islands which we know today as the Bahamas. Columbus landed on it, set up the flag of Spain, and named the island San Salvador. Thinking his long voyage had brought him near the coast of India he called the natives of the island Indians.


MAP OF COLUMBUS'S ROUTE ON HIS FIRST VOYAGE
10. Later Life of Columbus. Columbus returned to Spain, was given more ships and men, and made three other voyages across the Atlantic. On one of these he discovered the mainland of South America. Each time he came home people were eager to know whether he had reached the wealthy cities of India. Each time he had to admit that he had seen only wild land inhabited by naked savages. The Spaniards were bitterly disappointed by his reports of the New World. They kept asking, "Where are the silks, the gold, the precious stones, he was to bring back ?" He became unpopular, and in his last years was cruelly neglected. He died lonely and almost forgotten ( 1506 ).
11. How America got its Name. In the days when the fame of Columbus was under a cloud the New World was given a name. It was not formed, as one might have supposed, from the name of Columbus, but from that of a much
less important man-Americus Vespucius of Florence. This man crossed the Atlantic not long after Columbus and wrote a book on his experiences. The book is very entertaining, for Vespucius was a clever writer. He belittled Columbus and made much of himself. It is thought today that he gave wrong dates for his voyage in order to appear to have seen the mainland of America before Columbus did. He tells thrilling stories of adventures with cannibals, one of whom boasted he had eaten three hundred human bodies, and he writes charming descriptions of the tropical forests,- the birds, brilliant as flying rainbows, the wonderful flowers, the magnificent trees.

This book made a great impression on a learned man, Martin Waldseemüller, who lived in St. Dié, which is now a part of France. He made the suggestion that the new world be called America, in honor of Americus ( 1507 ). The suggestion was taken up by the map-makers. Before long a map was published on which the name "America" was used. Gradually the new word was accepted by everyone.
12. America found to be separate from Asia; Balboa; Magellan. But still Europeans had a mistaken idea of what had been discovered. When the name "America" was invented, the land to which it was given was supposed to be a great island close to Asia. The first step toward clearing up this mistake was made by a Spanish explorer, Balboa. He crossed the Isthmus of Panama and looked out upon the Pacific Ocean ( $\mathrm{I}_{5} 13$ ). Soon afterwards a very great sailor, Magellan, set out (1519) on a voyage that is almost as famous as the voyage of Columbus and which gave to the world its first correct idea of the globe. Magellan rounded South America and crossed the Pacific to the Philippine Islands. There the great sailor was killed in a fight with the natives, but some of his men continued the voyage and at length got back to Spain-the first men who ever sailed clear round the world.

MAP SHOWING ROUTES OF EIGHT IMPORTANT VOYAGES

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## SUMMARY

American history begins with the experiences of our remote barbarian ancestors in southwestern Asia. From their original home these Aryans, or Indo-Europeans, moved away in three great migrations. In the first migration a portion of them took possession of the continent of Europe. Those who settled along the Mediterranean were quickly civilized and in course of time were all united in the vast Roman Empire. Meanwhile their northerly kinsmen remained barbarians. In the second migration these northern barbarians overran and destroyed the Roman Empire. Centuries afterward, when the northern barbarians in turn had been civilized, the European peoples again became restless. Then followed the third migration, in which our ancestors crossed the Atlantic, discovered a new country, and took possession of it. The name of the new country does not commemorate its discoverer, Christopher Columbus, but the first man who wrote about it, Americus Vespucius. At first it was supposed to be part of Asia. Not until Balboa discovered the Pacific, and the sailors of Magellan had sailed round the globe, was it understood that a new world had been discovered.

## AIDS TO STUDY

Note. Books especially recommended are starred.
For the Teacher: *Breasted, Ancient Times; Robinson, Medieval and Modern Times; Emerton, Beginnings of Modern Europe; Freeman, The English People in its Three Homes; *Fiske, The Discovery of America, chaps. ii-vii, x; Major, Select Letters of Columbus; *Richman, The Spanish Conquerors (Chronicles of America); Bassett, History of the United States, 23-34.

For the Pupil: Andrews, Ten Boys who lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now, chaps. i-vii ; Atkinson, An Introduction to American History, chaps. i-xvi ; Kingsley, The Heroes; Tappan, The Story of the Greek People; Arnold, Stories of Ancient Peoples; Hall, Men of Old Greece and Viking Tales; Harding, The City of the Seven Hills and The Story of the Middle Ages; Lanier, The Boys' Froissart; Lansing, Mediaeval Builders of the Modem World; Atherton, The Adventures of Marco Polo; Higginson, Young Folk's Book of American Explorers; McMurry, Pioneers of Land and Sea; Ober, Heroes of American

History (volumes on Columbus, Balboa, Magellan); Lawler, The Story of Columbus and Magellan; Haaren and Poland, Famous Men of Modern Times.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

Nore. The topics that require special preparation are bracketed. When answers to questions necessitate the combination of several sections of the text, the section numbers are given. In all map drawings both teacher and pupil will be greatly assisted by *Atwood, Allen, and Robinson's Practical Map Exercises in Geography and History: Western Hemishhere.
r. Where did our forefathers live originally? [2. Describe their mode of life. (See Breasted, Ancient Times, 171-175; Andrews, Ten Boys, I-2I.)] 3. Over what parts of the world, so far as you know, have the Aryans, or Indo-Europeans, spread (sections 2, 3, 5, 6)? 4. When we say that our civilization began in Greece, what do we mean? What do we owe to the Greeks and Romans? [5. Describe the life of an ancient Greek and compare it with your own. (See Breasted, 22 I250 ; Andrews, 45-78; Kingsley, The Heroes.)]
[6. Describe the life of a citizen of the Roman Empire and compare it with your own. (See Breasted, 652-658; Andrews, 70-114.)] 7. In what way does the second migration resemble the first? 8. What was accomplished by the third migration? 9 . In what respect did it differ from the other two ?
[ro. Make plain this difference by showing how an immigrant in the United States today is changed by his new surroundings as our forefathers were in the first and second migrations, but not in the third. (The teacher should indicate some of the simpler ways in which the society the immigrant enters at once begins to work a transformation.)] ri. How did Europe trade with Asia at the opening of the fifteenth century?
[12. Describe a commercial journey to China or India long ago. (See Fiske, The Discovery of America (chap. iii), Archer, Stories of Exploration and Discovery (chap. iii), or Atherton, The Adventures of Marco Polo.)] 13. What great changes in trade relations took place in the fifteenth century? 14 . How was it made possible for Columbus to cross the Atlantic?
[ 15 . Give an account (a) of the early life of Columbus, or (b) of what he knew when he sailed, or (c) of his ships. (See Fiske, The Discovery of America (chaps. v-vi), Channing, United States (chap. ii), Lawler, Columbus, or Ober, Columbus.)] r6. How was America named? 17. How was it proved that America was not a part of Asia?


RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION LANDING AT ROANOKE

## CHAPTER II

## THE BEGINNING OF THE STRUGGLE OVER THE NEW WORLD

13. Effects of the Discovery of America; Spain enriched. We have seen that the first effect of the discovery of America was a great disappointment (section 10), but before long this gave place to joy. The change was caused by the discoveries of two celebrated Spaniards: Cortes, who found and conquered Mexico ( 152 I ) ; and Pizarro, who conquered Peru and built the city of Lima ( 1535 ). In these countries they found enormous treasure of gold and silver. In Peru, for example, there was a temple plated all over with sheets of gold. All this the Spaniards carried off. They also took possession of the mines from which the Peruvians and Mexicans had dug the treasure. Gold and silver were now sent in shiploads to Spain. As a result Spain, which had hitherto been a poor country, became the richest in Europe. Spaniards rushed to America to find more treasure.
14. Later Spanish Explorers. Among these later Spanish explorers was Ponce de Leon, who was the first European to visit Florida-so named because De Leon landed on

Easter Sunday ( 1513 ), which the Spaniards called by the beautiful name Pascua Florida, "the Feast of Flowers."

From Florida a party of gold seekers led by Hernando de Soto set out to explore the great forests where are now the Gulf states of our Union. For nearly two years they went on and on, always hoping to find gold. They never found it, but probably they were the first white men who beheld


DE SOTO'S EXPEDITION IN THE EAST AND CORONADO'S IN THE WEST
the Mississippi ( I 54 I ). ${ }^{1}$ They suffered untold hardships and their leader died. His men buried his body by sinking it from the side of a canoe into the depths of the great river.

Still another Spaniard who sought for gold in our present territory was Coronado. He started from Mexico ( 1540 ) and made his way as far north as Kansas, where he looked with amazement upon herds of buffalo. He also discovered the wonders of the Grand Cañon of the Colorado River. But what he had come for-gold - he did not find.

[^2]The oldest city inside the present limits of the United States - the city of St: Augustine, Florida - was built by the Spaniards ( 1565 ). It was a walled city, and there, to this day, may be seen the old Spanish gates and fortifications.
15. The French begin to compete with the Spaniards. In the same year as the founding of St. Augustine the European nations began a long and terrible struggle over America


A SPANISH SETtLEMENT IN FLORIDA (St. AUGUSTINE)
From an old engraving
-each trying to get as much as possible of the New World for itself. The struggle was opened by a battle between the Spaniards and the French. Frenchmen had attempted to form a settlement on St. John's River in Florida. The góvernor of Florida, Pedro Menendez, marched against the French, took them by surprise, and put most of them to death. A very few of the French escaped to the woods and at last got back to France.
16. The English become Rivals of Spain. Strange to say, France did not at once retaliate upon Spain. The fact is explained in part by a terrible civil war that broke out in France about that time. It was England that now came forward as the competitor of Spain.

The English had been the first to rival Spain in exploration after Columbus had shown the way to the New World. As


CABOT MEMORIAL STAMP early as 1497 John Cabot, an Italian in the service of King Henry VII of England, explored the coast of North America. The next year he made a second voyage. Apparently he discovered the St. Lawrence River, visited Newfoundland, and sailed southward along our present coast as far as Chesapeake Bay, possibly as far as South Carolina. In those days every king felt privileged to annex to his kingdom any new lands discovered by his sailors. On the strength of Cabot's discoveries England laid claim to practically all the territory now included in the United States, but for nearly a hundred years she did not attempt to take possession of it.
17. Queen Elizabeth and her Seamen. Spain had forbidden all other nations to trade with her American ports. Nevertheless daring Englishmen who were half traders, half pirates, defied the Spanish laws, fought their way into those ports, and sold their cargoes to whosoever would buy. The great Queen Elizabeth encouraged these adventurers


DRAKE IN CALIFORNIA because she wished to build up a strong naval power in opposition to the power of Spain.

Perhaps the greatest of Elizabeth's seamen was Sir Francis Drake, whose most brilliant achievement was his voyage
around the world. Hitherto the Spaniards had thought that no Englishman would dare to enter the Pacific. Drake coasted South America and sailed up the east shore of the Pacific, plundering Spanish ships wherever he met them. In his report of what he took we read of "four score pound weight of gold, and six and twenty tunne of silver." He anchored and repaired his ship somewhere on the coast of California, possibly in the harbor of San Francisco.
 He named the country New Albion because Albion is an old name for England, and Drake hoped to see Englishmen form a colony on the Pacific. He explored the coast as far north as Oregon. Thence he sailed westward and came home round the Cape of Good Hope.
18. Raleigh's Settlement at Roanoke. The first English settlement inside the present limits of the United States was due to Sir Walter Raleigh. Queen Elizabeth gave him leave to take possession of a large part of the eastern coast of our country and named the whole region Virginia, after herself, the "Virgin Queen." Raleigh wanted to associate his own name with the new country by founding, as he said, a "Citie of Raleigh." He made two unsuccessful attempts to start a colony. In a third attempt he sent over a hundred and fifty colonists, who formed a settlement on Roanoke Island, which is now a part of North Carolina. They came to Roanoke at the opening of the summer ( 1587 ), and in August their leader, John White, sailed for England to get further assistance. He left behind at Roanoke his daughter, her husband, who was named Ananias Dare, and a girl baby who had been born since the arrival of the colonists at Roanoke. This was the first child of English-speaking parents born on the soil of our country. She was christened Virginia.


QUEEN ELIZABETH KNIGHTING SIR WALTER RALEIGH
From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher
of 1588 this fleet drew near the coast of England. It was sailing in the form of a half moon, seven miles from tip to tip. But the English were ready to meet it. They too had gathered a great fleet, in which were many famed sea rovers,-Drake, Raleigh, and many more,-all commanded by the Lord High Admiral of England, Lord Howard. The English admiral boldly allowed the Spaniards to pass him on their way up the English Channel toward London. He then attacked from the rear. During several days there was sharp fighting as the two fleets sailed eastward. Though the English ships were smaller than the Spanish they were better handled and had heavier guns, and the English seamen, indifferent to their own deaths, fought with splendid enthusiasm. In the Strait of Dover the Spaniards turned at bay and in the great battle that followed were terribly defeated. Only a remnant of the Invincible Armada retreated northward, made its way round Scotland, and fled home to Spain.

## SUMMARY

The Spanish possessions in America were enlarged by successive discoveries and conquests until they extended from Florida to Peru. By seizing the great wealth of Mexico and Peru the Spanish king became the richest sovereign in Europe. Intending to keep all America for themselves the Spaniards promptly broke up an attempt of Frenchmen to plant an American colony. Meanwhile England had laid claim to upper North America on the strength of the discoveries of John Cabot. The English were becoming the rivals of Spain commercially and were determined to share in the benefits of the New World. Queen Elizabeth began the settlement of English America by authorizing Raleigh to colonize Virginia. The beginning of the United States was Raleigh's settlement on Roanoke Island. Elizabeth's sea rovers plundered Spanish commerce while preparing for the inevitable war. At last Spain sent against England the Invincible Armada, which the English destroyed in one of the greatest of naval combats.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bancroft, United States, I, chaps. ii-v; Bassett, United States,35-44; Bourne, Spain in America, chaps. x-xv; Channing, History of the United States; Corbett, Sir Francis Drake; Creighton, Sir-Walter Raleigh; Cross, History of England; Fiske, The Discovery of America; *Hakluyt, Principal Navigations; Parkman, The Pioneers of France in the New World; *Prescott, The Conquest of Peru and The Conquest of Mexico; * Richman, The Spanish Conquerors (Chronicles of America); *Wood, Elizabethan Sea Dogs (Chronicles of America).

For the Pupil: Andrews, Ten Boys who lived on the Road from Long Ago to Now; Atkinson, An Introduction to American History, chaps. xvii-xxi ; Gordy, American Explorers; McMurry, Pioneers on Land and Sea; Ober, The Storied West Indies, and Cortes, Pizarro, De Soto, De Leon, Cabot, Raleigh, in the Series of Heroes of American History; Pratt, Exploration and Discovery.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. How did Spain become rich? [2. Tell the story of Cortes, Ponce de Leon, or De Soto. (See Fiske, The Discovery of America (chap. viii), Bourne, Spain in America (IO8-III, I33-I36, I62-I68, I69-174, 179-189), or Richman, The Spanish Conquerors; Gordy, American Explorers (chapters on Cortes, De Leon, De Soto), or W. H. Johnson, Pioneer Spaniards in America.)] 3. Who discovered Florida? 4. How was the Mississippi discovered?
5. Who first visited Kansas ? 6. Where did Frenchmen attempt to form a colony? 7. What became of their settlement? 8. How did England acquire a claim to upper North America? [9. Tell the story of John Cabot. (See Wood, Elizabethan Sea Dogs; Ober, Cabot.)] [io. As Elizabeth may be considered the first ruler of our country, narrate some incident of her reign. (See Cross, History of England (369-425), Andrews, Ten Boys (171-192), or Scott, Kenilworth.)] II. How did the Englishmen defy the Spaniards? 12. What did Raleigh attempt to do? I3. What happened to the Invincible Armada? [14. Give a brief account of one of Queen Elizabeth's seamen. (See Wood, Elizabethan Sea Dogs, Gordy (chapters on Drake and Raleigh), and Louise Creighton, Stories from English History (chapter on "The Fight of the Revenge") ; also Tennyson's poem "The Revenge.")]


COLONISTS TRADING FIREARMS FOR FURS

## SECOND DIVISION. HOW THE ENGLISH FOUNDED A NATION

## CHAPTER III

## THE THIRTEEN COLONIES

## PART ONE: THE LANDS OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY

20. The North American Indians. Almost everywhere in America the Europeans, soon or late, had to fight with the native inhabitants to possess the land. In Mexico and in South America, where the natives were numerous and semicivilized, the Spaniards were involved almost at once in desperate wars (section 13). They triumphed only because they had superior weapons and understood the use of gunpowder. In northern America the English had somewhat the same experience. But the Indians of the North differed from those of the South in two respects: they were few in number and they had not learned how to build cities as had their kinsmen in Mexico. They spent most of their time roving in bands through the great forests of the North, hunting,
fishing, or fighting with rival bands. They were tall, wellbuilt men with copper-colored skins, straight black hair, and flashing black eyes. They were generous and faithful to their friends, though merciless to their enemies. After centuries of roving life they had become the most skillful forest fighters of whom we know. But when the Europeans came all the weapons of the Northern Indians were of the rudest sort. Their kinsmen of the South had learned how to work metal


AN INDIAN STONE HATCHET and had weapons made of copper. The Indians of the North did not understand the use of metal. Stone, chipped so as to give it a sharp edge, formed the heads of their battle-axes, or tomahawks, and of the long, swift arrows which they shot from powerful bows.
21. How the Whites Armed the Indians. The Indians were destined to play a great part, and often a horrible one, in the life of the settlers for more than two hundred years. We shall hear of them again and again attacking the newcomers with terrific fury. But the whites had only themselves to thank when in these wars the Indians frequently destroyed their towns and massacred their families. They ill-treated the Indians and at the same time taught them the use of firearms. Their purpose was to get in exchange for these superior weapons the valuable furs of which the Indians always had a supply and which brought high prices in Europe. At first, in trading with the whites, the Indian would accept for his furs mere trifles that happened to catch his eye,-beads, or bright-red handkerchiefs, or looking-glasses,-but the traders were shrewd enough to see that if they wanted to keep his trade they must give him things that he would permanently value. What else did they have that would prove as useful to the Indian as their fine European weapons-knives, guns, and powder? Of
course he did not know how to use them. Therefore the traders taught him. When you set to work to teach people to want something you have in order to persuade them to give you something of theirs in exchange we say you are "creating a market" for the thing you offer. The early traders, seeking to make profit out of the Indians, created a market for firearms in America by teaching the Indians how to use them. As a result, in time, many traders grew rich. For one gun, when they had learned how to use it, the Indians would exchange furs that sold in Europe for many times what the gun cost.
22. How the Indians Helped the Whites. However, the Indians and the whites were not always at war. Sometimes the Indians welcomed the whites. They had a few inventions of their own which the colonists found extremely usefulespecially the light birch-bark canoe. This form of boat, which weighs so little that a man can carry it on his shoulders, is nevertheless so strong that a driving storm will not damage it. By means of the canoe the early colonists were able to make their way inland to the heads of the rivers where no other boats could go.

The Indians also provided the colonists with a system of roads. These, to be sure, were only paths or trails through the forests, made by Indian bands passing in single file, but long experience had taught the Indians just where, in certain regions, it was best to lay out such a trail. Probably some of these trails were very ancient. We cannot guess how many generations of Indian warriors had trodden smooth those well-marked footpaths through the primeval woods, but so well chosen was the course of many a trail that it has never ceased to be in use. A very noted trail was the one through the Mohawk Valley, which was the main path of the Northern Indians in long journeys back and forth eastward or westward. When in time settlers made their way through the Mohawk Valley, they widened the trail into a

road. Long afterwards, when a railway was needed to link the Hudson with the West, the engineers decided that the best course they could follow was the line of the ancient Indian trail. It is traveled to this day by the trains of the New York Central Railroad. In many parts of our country,


ONE TYPE OF INDIAN HOME - THE LONG HOUSE OF THE IROQUOIS
whether traveling in wagon or automobile or railway car, we follow, time and again, the footsteps of Indian warriors of centuries ago.

Although the Indians loved to rove through the forests they had villages in which part of their time was passed, and they had made a beginning in agriculture. Their wigwams, or huts, were surrounded in many cases by fields of tobacco and maize, called also Indian corn. The cultivation of corn was perhaps the most important thing learned from the natives by the foreigners. Had not the colonists acquired this knowledge, many of them would have died of starvation. Friendly Indians not only showed them how to care for the corn but how to kill the forest trees by "girdling" - that is, by cutting off a ring of bark round the trunk-without taking time to cut them down.

## Virginia

23. Causes of English Colonization. The English movement into America was due not only to the bold spirit of the English people but also to certain changes that had recently taken place in their way of living. For one thing, there was a new demand for wool, and the tending of sheep required fewer laborers than did agriculture. Powerful landowners drove their tenants off their farms and turned the fields into pastures. When Queen Elizabeth died and James I became king, many English laborers were homeless and unemployed and. eager for a change.


ENGLISH EXPLORATION Furthermore, many Englishmen thought the rule of the new king harsh and stubborn. Others differed from the king in their religious beliefs and, because he wished to interfere with their religion, were ready to go to the ends of the earth if there they might worship God in their own way. Still others were envious of the Spaniards and dreamed of imitating their success in discovering gold mines.
24. The Virginia Company. In 1606 a group of capitalists obtained from King James the privilege of establishing a colony in Virginia. The tract of land which the king gave them was a hundred miles square. Later he increased the grant so as to include all the coast two hundred miles north and two hundred miles south of Point Comfort and all the land westward and northwestward to the Pacific. The

Virginia Company, ${ }^{1}$ as the capitalists were called, was empowered both to develop this land and to govern its inhabitants. The Company had three purposes: (I) to secure for itself all the profit that could be made out of the land; (2) to control trade, both with the colonists and with the Indians; (3) to seek for gold mines and to work them.


THE SETTLEMENT OF JAMESTOWN
25. First Settlement in Virginia. In the spring of 1607 three little ships, the Susan Constant, the Goodspeed, and the Discovery, anchored in the James River and put ashore over a hundred colonists, all men. On the low, marshy land, some thirty miles from the mouth of the river, these men set about building Jamestown (May 24, $1607^{2}$ ).

[^3]The experience of the early Virginians forms a sad chapter in American history. It had been agreed that for several years none of them were to receive any land of their own, but all were to work as servants of the Company. Some were sent into the wilderness to seek gold mines; others were put to work in the new fields. The gold seekers came home empty handed, after many sufferings, to join the men in the fields. All were treated harshly. At first soldiers of the Company kept guard over them while they worked, as if they were military prisoners. The climate was so unlike that of England, the work was so hard, and there was so little food in the settlement that many fell sick and died.


POCAHONTAS DRESSED AS AN
ENGLISH NOBLEWOMAN

## 26. JohnSmith; Pocahon-

 tas. Only the genius of several strong men saved the colony from destruction. One of these was Captain John Smith. He afterwards wrote an account of his life in Virginia in which is narrated the famous incident of the Indian girl Pocahontas. Smith tells us that while exploring the forests he was seized by unfriendly Indians and taken as a prisoner to the wigwam of their chief, Powhatan, by whom he was condemned to death. He was thrown upon the ground, and an Indian warrior raised a club to beat out his brains. At this instant Powhatan's little daughter Pocahontas threw her arms around Smith's neck and refused to stir unless her father promised to spare his life. Powhatan yielded to the girl's entreaties. In his book Smith makes it appear that this event was of immense importance to thecolony, which was then almost at the point of starvation. Powhatan permitted his daughter and others to carry food to Jamestown. Later Pocahontas gave Smith information of an Indian plot to kill him. Long afterwards this gentle Indian girl married an Englishman, John Rolfe, and went with him to England, where she was treated with honor and called the Princess Pocahontas. There she died, leaving a son from whom several distinguished Americans have descended. ${ }^{1}$
27. Smith leaves the Colony. Smith was a bold, jolly man, a great story-teller, afraid of nothing, who bore the cruelest hardship with a smile. With such a leader, even the most unhappy people will be able to bear up. But after a while Smith was injured by an explosion of gunpowder (1609) and had to go back to England for treatment. The colonists, left to themselves without his heroic courage and wonderful good humor, very nearly gave up in despair. The winter following Smith's return is called "the starving time." Out of five hundred colonists all but sixty died. The remainder were rescued by the arrival of fresh supplies from England.
28. The Virginia Company ceases to be purely Commercial. It is not strange that the rich men who cared only to make money out of Virginia grew tired of their experiment. They offered to sell their shares in the Company for a low price to anybody who would take Virginia off their hands. One of the fortunate things in our history is the fact that there were men in England of a very different sort who had both the money and the desire to buy up the stock of the capitalists in the Virginia Company. A bargain was made, and these others took control of the Company and of the colony. The most noted were Henry, Earl of Southampton, famous as a friend of Shakespeare; and a great political leader, Sir Edwin Sandys (pronounced "sands"). Their motives

[^4]were widely different from those of the men they had bought out. They had other ends in view besides money. They wanted to do two things: to plant a new English nation in Virginia and to give to its citizens more freedom than was yet possible in England.
29. Virginia becomes a Free Country. The military despotism of the former rulers of Virginia was brought to an end ; so was that bad plan of keeping all the land in the hands of the Company. ${ }^{1}$ Land was offered for sale-virtually given away-as an inducement to people of character and energy to become settlers. Many Englishmen of good family, now that Virginia was to be a free and hospitable country, consented to cross the sea and become landowners there. With a rapidity that could hardly have been imagined the colony became populous and wealthy.
30. Tobacco-Growing; a Virginia Plantation. The main foundation of Virginia's prosperity was tobacco. The English had learned the use of tobacco from the Indians as far back as the time of Raleigh, when "fire-breathing" men who smoked the "new weed" were regarded as wonders. The perfecting of tobacco culture is due to John Rolfe, the husband of Pocahontas. Very often the occupations of people compel them to live in a certain way. Such was the case in Virginia. Profitable tobacco-growing requires fresh soil, and consequently a tobacco-grower must have a great deal of land so that he can frequently abandon old fields and develop new ones. For this reason Virginia became a country of large estates called plantations. It did not become a country of towns. The planters had little need of towns except as market places for their tobacco, and for that purpose how could a little new town serve them as

[^5]well as would the rich old city of London? Direct trade between each plantation and London was made possible by the deep Virginia rivers. Often when a man bought land and laid out a plantation he located it on one of these rivers. There he built a wharf to which a ship could come laden with English merchandise and from which it could sail home to London with his tobacco. Back from the wharf the

(C) Harper \& Brothers

BERKELEY, NEAR HARRISON'S LANDING, A TYPICAL TOBACCO PLANTATION From "Old Times in the Colonies"
planter built his home. Around it-sometimes stretching far inland-were the fields whence he drew his wealth. Before long there were many men in Virginia owning plantations of great size.
31. Indentured Servants; Slaves. As the plantations grew larger the need for laborers increased. Thereupon "indentured servants" were sent over from England. These were unfortunate men and women-even children-who in one way or another were forced to leave England and become servants in the colony. Some of these unfortunates had sold their services to pay their debts. Some were respectable people whom unscrupulous sea captains with bands of sailors had waylaid, carried on board ship, and brought over against their will. Some had agreed to work for a term of
years because they lacked money to pay their passage across the ocean. In any case they were rented out, so to speak, to some colonial employer who could use them almost like so many slaves. The agreement under which these distressed servants were rented out was called an indenture.

But even with these servants there were not enough laborers to cultivate properly the great tobacco fields, and so slavery was introduced. In 16I9 a ship came to Jamestown with a cargo of Africans, ${ }^{1}$ who became laborers in the tobacco fields. Subsequently many shiploads of African slaves were brought to America and sold to the colonists. In course of time slavery was established in all the thirteen colonies.
32. The Establishment of Representative Government. While these social and business changes were taking place, another change was made in the condition of Virginia that was still more important. The new owners of the Company instructed the colonists to choose two men from each of the eleven divisions of the colony. These men were to meet at Jamestown to make laws. This change was made not for the profit of the owners of the Company but because the owners believed in "representative" government, which gives the people through their representatives a voice in making laws. Thus was organized our first state legislature. Its first meeting was held in the church at Jamestown, August io, 1619. It was named the House of Burgesses.
33. King James destroys the Virginia Company. The new owners of the Virginia Company, by their love of free government, had aroused the anger of King James. He was the last man to appreciate their lofty motives. After quarreling a long while with the men who were managing Virginia he made a base use of his great power and abolished

[^6]the Company, taking back all the land he had once given it. However, the free government of Virginia was not destroyed. To be sure, the king sent over a royal governor appointed by himself and later kings did the same, but the House of Burgesses continued to meet and to make laws for the management of the colony's affairs.

34. Significance of the Virginia Company. We cannot be too grateful to the wise and noble men who laid the foundation for the American Republic by establishing representative government in Virginia, nor should we forget that only Englishmen would have done so. The Spanish colonies were ruled by governors who were absolute despots, holding power in the king's name, over whom the people had no control. The French colonies, of which we are to hear much, were also despotic governments, in which the business of the people was to obey.

## Maryland

35. Two Kinds of Colony: the Royal Province and the Proprietary Colony. With the appointment of the first governor who represented the king, Virginia became a "royal province." We shall see in time that the kings sought in every way to increase the number of royal provinces; that is, of colonies over which there were governors appointed by the king and acting as his representatives. At the same time, here and there the king allowed some wealthy Englishman to take possession of some great tract of land in America and rule over it as if he were himself a sort of under-king. This under-king had all the powers of the great king in London and was usually required to pay as tribute one fifth of all the gold and silver mined in the colony each year. He was usually called a Lord Proprietor,
36. The Grant of Maryland to Lord Baltimore. A piece of the royal province of Virginia was cut off and made into a proprietary province. It consisted, roughly speaking, of all Virginia lying north and east of the Potomac excepting a small part. ${ }^{1}$ It was given by the king-Charles $I$, son of James I-to a great noble, Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore. It is known today as the state of Maryland. Lord Baltimore gave it that name in honor of the queen of England, Henrietta Maria.

Lord Baltimore was a Roman Catholic. The laws of England at that time bore hard upon Catholics, and though rich nobles like Baltimore who were friends of the king might not be molested, poorer Catholics suffered many restrictions in the practice of their religion. It occurred to Balti-


CECILIUS CALVERT, SECOND LORD BALTIMORE more that if he opened his colony to all Christians, both Catholics and Protestants, many men who were dissatisfied with conditions in England would go to Maryland ; the colony would become a prosperous state, and the Lord Proprietor a great and wealthy prince. Upon this plan Maryland was founded. Of course many Catholics came over, glad to escape the harsh laws against them in England. But Protestants also came. For making laws the settlers were allowed to elect an assembly very much like the House of

[^7]Burgesses in Virginia. These laws were sent over to the Lord Proprietor and received his approval-or disapproval, as the case might be. There was also a governor appointed -not by the king, however, but by the Lord Proprietor.
37. The First Governor of Maryland. The first governor of Maryland was Leonard Calvert, a brother of Lord Baltimore. He brought with him to Maryland both Catholics and Protestants. Among the Catholics were two priests. Calvert landed on the shore of the Potomac, where he set up a cross, an Indian wigwam was converted into a church, mass was celebrated, and the governor took possession of the country. There he built the town of St. Mary's, which was long the capital of Maryland.

Leonard Calvert made friends with the Indians and purchased one of their villages, which he used as a temporary shelter for the first settlers. He also employed the Indians to teach the whites how to use the Indian corn and to make bread of it. The friendship of whites and Indians was so well established that Maryland never suffered from an Indian war.
38. Margaret Brent. Though Governor Calvert was an able man he could not always find the money necessary to carry on his government. When he died, in office, his soldiers complained that they had not been properly paid for their services. And now comes before us a noble figure, a kinswoman of the dead governor, who acted as his executrix, Mistress Margaret Brent. She was a great landholder, managed her estates herself, and also had the faculty of influencing people and inspiring them with confidence in the justice of what she did. She succeeded in completely satisfying the discontented soldiers, and the Assembly sent word to Lord Baltimore that if Mistress Brent had not been there, serious trouble would have occurred, as the angry soldiers would listen to no one else. This bold lady was probably the first woman in America who demanded the right to vote.

As executrix of the late governor she claimed a seat in the Colonial Assembly. It was refused her. Thereupon, say the records of the Assembly, "the said Mrs. Brent protested against all the proceedings of this Assembly unless she may be present and have a vote as aforesaid."
39. The Act of Toleration. The disagreements over religion which had led to the founding of Maryland grew worse

# A L A W M A R Y L A N D R E LI ${ }^{\text {Cosamisg }}$ I O O . 

[^8]and worse. In Virginia, where most people belonged to the Church of England, a law was passed (1643) forbidding clergymen of other denominations to hold public services. When Lord Baltimore heard of this he invited those Virginians who were opposed to the Established Church to come to Maryland. Many of these Puritans, as they were called (see section 50), accepted his invitation.

In order to protect all the colonists in their various beliefs, Lord Baltimore had the Assembly pass an act which he formally approved, the now famous Act of Toleration ( 1649 ). It gave to all persons who believed in the divinity of Christ the legal right to live in Maryland and practice their religion. In only one other colony, Rhode Island (see section 59), was similar freedom allowed.

## The Colonies and English Politics

40. The War between King and Parliament. In England about this time King Charles I attempted to tax people without the consent of their elected legislature, the Parliament. This caused the great English Civil War. The same year


THE MARYLAND COLONY in which the Toleration Act waspassed, Parliament, having completely defeated the king, puthim todeath (1649). It then sent over commissioners to compel Virginia and Maryland to acknowledge its authority. One of these was a bold Virginian, William Claiborne, who had long been an enemy of the Calvertspartly because of a personal quarrel, partly because of his indignation when Maryland was carved out of Virginia. Most of the Maryland Protestants rallied around Claiborne. Some Protestants and many Catholics supported Governor Stone, who, though a Protestant, had been appointed by Lord Baltimore. It is best to think of the two parties as the Parliamentary party and the king's party. In the Battle of the Severn (1655) the Parliamentary party were victorious.
41. Cromwell and America. Meanwhile, one of the greatest of Englishmen, the Puritan leader, Oliver Cromwell, had
become master of the situation. He had won fame in the Parliamentary army as commander of a cavalry regiment called, because of their inflexible courage, the Ironsides. In many famous battles the scale had been turned by a charge of the Ironsides - Cromwell at their head, their bright swords flashing in the sunlight, while the voices of the men singing a psalm rang clear above the thunder of their horsehoofs. The commander of the Ironsides was now proclaimed Lord Protector of England. Virtually, Cromwell became king, though he was not so called.

Cromwell believed in toleration. He was troubled by the violent course of his party in Maryland, where they had declared the rule of Baltimore at an end and had deprived Catholics of the right to vote. Cromwell knew he could trust Baltimore, who, though he at first inclined toward the king, had virtually joined the Parliamentary party. Through Cromwell's influence the rule of Baltimore was restored in Maryland, the Act of Toleration was again put in force, and again there was full religious liberty for all Christians.
42. Virginia becomes the "Cavalier Colony." The great majority of the Virginians had sided with the king. This was due largely to their attachment to the Church of England, which they feared the Parliament would destroy. When Parliament overthrew the king it seemed likely that Virginia would be harshly dealt with. The wisdom and generosity of Cromwell saved Virginia Royalists from persecution. Furthermore, he made no objection when many gallant gentlemen who had spent their fortunes in support of the king proposed to emigrate to Virginia. So numerous were these "cavaliers" who crossed the sea that Virginia came to be known as the Cavalier Colony. Among the cavalier emigrants was John Washington, a cousin of Sir Henry Washington, one of the king's generals. A great grandson of John Washington became the first president of the United States.

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HOMES OF THE WASHINGTON FAMILY
Upper left, Sulgrave Manor, in England ; upper right, pioneer home of the Washingtons, in Virginia; below, Mount Vernon

## SUMMARY

The North American Indians both obstructed and aided colonization. These Indians were able warriors with whom the newcomers fought bitter wars. In their eagerness for trade the colonists taught the Indians how to use the European weapons and thus increased their own danger. On the other hand, they learned from the Indians various things very useful in their new surroundings; most important of these was the cultivation of corn.

Permanent English settlement began at Jamestown under the direction of a powerful trading company which expected to make money in Virginia. At first the colonists suffered great hardships. The company found Virginia unprofitable and sold the control of it to a group of politicians who wished to establish representative government in America. The earliest event in the history of American liberty is the first meeting of the Virginia legislature, the House of Burgesses. King James I abolished the Virginia Company and made the colony a royal province, but he did not destroy its free institutions.

King Charles I cut off a portion of Virginia and granted it to Lord Baltimore as a proprietary colony, to which Baltimore gave the name "Maryland." In order to assist persecuted Catholics Baltimore opened his colony to settlers of all Christian denominations.

Meanwhile in England the king and the Parliament had begun their great Civil War. Both parties had friends in the colonies. In Maryland there was a little civil war in which the Parliamentary party overthrew the government of Baltimore and began persecuting their enemies. They were checked by the rise to power in England of Oliver Cromwell, who succeeded in making peace in Maryland and restoring the tolerant rule of Baltimore.

Cromwell permitted followers of the king to emigrate to the colonies. As Virginia had always favored the royal cause, numbers of king's men, or "Cavaliers," settled in the "Cavalier Colony."

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, Colonial Self-Government; Bassett, United States, II-21, 42-58; Becker, Beginnings of the American People, 54-80; *Brown, First Republic in America; Browne, History of Maryland; *Channing, United States, I, chaps. vii-ix; Cross, History of England; Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbors; Hart, American History told by Contemporaries, I, chaps. x, xi ; Huntington, The Red Man's Continent; Johnson, Mary, Pioneers of the Old South; Merenes, Maryland; Tyler, England in America, chaps. iii-vii.

For the Pupil: Ashton (Ed.), Adventures and Discourses of Captain John Smith; Chandler, Makers of Virginia History; Cooke, Stories of the Old Dominion; Drake, The Making of Virginia and The Middle

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Colonies, I-89; Gambrill, Leading Events of Maryland History; Gordy, Colonial Days and Stories of Early American History; Higginson, Book of American Explorers, chap. xi ; Macdonald, St. George and St. Michael (a charming romance of Puritans and Cavaliers); Magruder, Maryland: Stories of her People and of her History.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What three reasons had Englishmen for emigrating? 2. In what way did the Indians obstruct colonization? [3. Describe the life of the North American Indians. (See Bassett, II-2I; Huntington, The Red Man's Continent (Chronicles of America); Judd, Wigwam Stories; Snedden, Docas, the Indian Boy of Santa Clara; Starr, American Indians.)] [4. Explain the term "creating a market." Can you imagine any way in which you might have an opportunity to create a market? (If this problem is used the teacher should bring it within the scope of the pupil's comprehension of advertising. It is worth remembering that Tom Sawyer created a market by persuading the other boys that they wanted to paint the fence.)]
2. How did the Indians aid the whites? (Three answers) 6. Describe the life of an early settler in Virginia. How do you think such a life would affect people? Would it make them bold and resolute? Would it teach them to rely upon themselves? (The teacher will observe that here is the beginning of that "influence of the frontier" that has helped to make Americans independent and resourceful. See Turner, The Frontier in American History, or Becker, The United States, chap. vi.) 7. How did it happen that the early Virginians built few towns?
3. How did Virginia become a royal province? 9. Why was part of Virginia made into a separate colony? 10 . How did this new colony differ from a royal province? II. Three ways of governing a colony have. now been described. How would your state be governed if it resembled exactly (a) Virginia under the Company, or (b) Virginia after it became a royal province, or (c) the proprietary province of Maryland (sections 24, 32, 33, 35, 36)?
4. How did Maryland differ from England in the laws that affected religion (sections 36, 39)? 13 . How did Maryland differ from Virginia (sections 36, 39)? 14. What do you know about Mrs. Margaret Brent? 15. What great political parties had formed in England? 16. How did Virginia become the Cavalier Colony?

## PART TWO: THE COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

43. The Northern Group of English Colonies. While the English were making settlements on the James and Potomac Rivers and on Chesapeake Bay other settlements were made far away in the north. Even then what is now known as New England had received its name. In the latter part of his life Captain John Smith made a voyage along the northerly coast and drew up a map on which, for the first time, appeared the name "New England."

The settlement of this northern country, with its rockbound coast, its dark forests, its long, snowy winters, was a result of the contentions going on in England. The movement began long before the outbreak of the English Civil War (section 40). In the days of James I, and later when Charles I was king, New England became a refuge for many of their opponents.

## Plymouth

44. The Pilgrim Migration. To understand the very beginning of the first migration to New England we must imagine ourselves in the little town of Scrooby in old England, where, when James I was king, lived a number of pious people known as Separatists. They were men and women who wished to separate from the Church of England and to form a new church of their own. When the government forbade them to hold public services, William Brewster, a man of importance in Scrooby, made his house their meeting place. The government tried to break up these meetings by throwing the Separatists into prison; therefore they resolved to leave the country. In small parties they made their way to Holland, where everyone was free to practice what religion he chose. They reassembled in the lovely old town of Leyden. There they lived for several years. But they were not happy, because they were patriotic Englishmen and did not,
want their children to become Dutchmen. Feeling that they had no real home, they called themselves Pilgrims.

When the Pilgrims heard that Englishmen were settling in America it occurred to them that over there, so far from London, the king would probably leave them alone; that in America they might practice their religion in peace and yet bring up their children as Englishmen. Therefore they returned to England and paid the captain of a ship, the Mayflower, to take them across the sea. There were one hundred and two of these brave Pilgrims, including twelve children. On December 21, 1620, they landed where is now the town of Plymouth, Massachusetts. The landing was made by means of a rock which is known today as Plymouth Rock.
45. The Kindly Temper of the Pilgrims. There has seldom been a gentler and kinder group of people than the Pilgrims. They appear to have had good will toward all men, even toward the cruel king from whom they had fled and toward the savages of the forests. They valued so highly the freedom to worship God in their own way that they would not refuse the same freedom to others. Their little republic for so we may describe their settlement-was a land of peace and good will.
46. The Mayflower Compact; Plymouth Town Meetings. Before they landed, the Pilgrims, in the cabin of the Mayflower, drew up and signed a paper known ever since as the Mayflower Compact. In it they bound themselves to settle all disputes by vote, to decide what was best for them all in the same way, and in every case to carry out what the majority voted to do. They agreed to elect a governor, and chose John Carver.

After coming ashore and building their little town they perfected their government by organizing town meetings. In these meetings all the men of the colony, except a few who for one reason or another were not considered worthy
to take part, assembled for the purpose of making laws and electing officers. Furthermore, all the citizens met whenever there was business to transact - whether it was to make a road into the forest, or to buy land from the Indians, or whatever it was-and decided the matter by vote. Some of the little cities of ancient Greece were governed very much as Plymouth was. The Plymouth town meetings remind us of the common assemblies of those ancient times.

Similar meetings were held by the ancestors of the Pilgrims, in England, hundreds of years before, but had long gone out of use. The Pilgrims revived them. From Plymouth they were adopted by all that group of New England ${ }^{1}$ colonies of which we are soon to hear. They have had a great deal to do with making all our part of America a free and democratic country.
47. The Pilgrims and the Indians. Soon after the arrival of the Pilgrims an Indian walked into Plymouth and called out, "Welcome, Englishmen!" His name was Samoset, and he had learned a few words from English sailors. He introduced to the Pilgrims his chief, Massasoit, who is one of the few kindly figures in Indian history. Massasoit made a treaty of friendship with the Pilgrims, and he and his followers taught them many things, giving the strangers the same useful knowledge which the kinsmen of Pocahontas had given the English in Virginia (section 22) -how to plant and cultivate Indian corn ; how to shoot fish with the bow and arrow; how to dig clams and catch eels. This knowledge kept the Pilgrims from starvation.

Massasoit told the Pilgrims that some Indians farther north were hostile to the English and would probably attack them. Thereupon Captain Miles Standish, the chief military

[^9]man at Plymouth, gathered a small force and marched against the Indians. This famous soldier was so small in stature that the Indians laughed at him. None the less he brought home the head of their leader, and the Indians laughed no more.
48. The Pilgrims' Festival : Thanksgiving Day. When the first autumn in America came, danger of starvation had gone


SAMOSET WELCOMES THE ENGLISH
by. The streams, the woods, the newly cleared fields, had yielded a rich harvest-fish, game, wild turkeys, and Indian corn. In their gratitude to God for their deliverance the Pilgrims appointed a day of thanksgiving, when they and their Indian allies sat down together to a great feast. They were reviving an ancient forgotten custom of their ancestors, who, thousands of years before, had an annual festival when they gave thanks for the harvest and dedicated to man's use the fruits of the earth. That ancient custom revived at Plymouth is continued every Thanksgiving Day in our autumnal festival which the whole country now celebrates year after year.
49. The End of Plymouth Colony. The Pilgrims had no charter from the king. They had bought their land from the Council of New England, an association of wealthy men to whom James had granted a vast area, but their little republic had never received any royal sanction; in the eyes of the English courts it did not exist. During seventy years the tiny republic was not molested by royal power.


THE FIRST THANKSGIVING
Meanwhile there grew up alongside it the great colony of Massachusetts. Eventually, Plymouth was joined by royal decree to Massachusetts (see section I ro).

## Massachusetts

50. The Puritans. The great number of the opponents of King James in England were known as Puritans, because most of them said at first that their aim was to "purify" the Church of England, not to separate from it. They desired much simpler services than were customary in the Church, and they wished to change its form of government so as to give the king less power to interfere in its affairs.

Shortly after Charles I became king a group of influential Puritans secured a royal charter under which was organized the great colonizing Company of Massachusetts Bay. Like the Virginia Company (section 24), they were to own a great tract of land and also to rule over its inhabitants.


EARLY NEW ENGLAND
When King Charles granted their charter he did not dream what a surprise was in store for him. He thought the owners of the Massachusetts Company would remain in England, where he could keep them under his thumb as his father had kept the Virginia Company ; but the new Company had other views. The owners removed to Massachusetts, taking with them, as we should say, the offices of the Company: They had now decided to leave the Church of England, and their purpose was to found a Puritan community to which they would hand over all the privileges granted by the king
to the Company. Later they decided that each settler who met certain requirements might be enrolled as a "freeman" and should be considered a citizen of the colony of Massachusetts with a voice in making laws. To become a freeman the settler had (I) to prove himself a prosperous man of good character ; (2) to join a new church which the Puritans decided to establish,--the church we know today as the Congregational; (3) to take an oath that he was a loyal Englishman.

Early settlers who founded the town of Salem ( 1625 ) were quickly joined by others led by John Endicott. These were followed soon after by a much larger party, numbering no less than nine hundred, in eleven ships, under the lead of John Winthrop, who was elected governor of the colony. The Massachusetts colonists decided that the best place for the capital of their new state was on the shore of a noble harbor to the south of Salem. As many of them had come from Boston, in England, they gave that name to their new city ( 1630 ).
51. The Puritan Commonwealth. The migration of the Puritans made a great stir in England. King Charles thought of taking back their charter, but decided that it was safer not to break his word so soon. However, a few years afterwards, when the bitterness between himself and the Puritans was increasing daily (section 40), it was reported at Boston that he intended to send over an army to deprive the American Puritans of their liberties. Thereupon these determined men prepared to fight. They built a fort overlooking Boston (1634). But the king thought better of it, and the army was not sent.

The Massachusetts Puritans did not have the Pilgrims' attitude toward religious freedom. They had crossed the sea for the purpose of establishing their own church, and they were determined to have no other in Massachusetts. Furthermore, they felt that at any moment a life-and-death
struggle against the king might be forced upon them. They felt that their whole community had need to be all of one mind, perfectly free from dissensions and controversies of every sort, in order to be able to put forth its full strength at any moment. Thus we find an explanation not only of the

(C) Harper \& Brothers

PURITANS ON THEIR WAY TO WORSHIP From "Old Times in the Colonies," by Charles Carleton Coffin. Drawn by Howard Pyle care with which they sought to prevent Royalists from becoming freemen but of the severity with which they punished any disagreement with the authorities of the Church of Massachusetts. No braver men than these Puritans have ever lived, and none more determined to be free ; but many of them had become embittered against all other religions and were grown proud, stern, and vindictive.
52. Roger Williams; Mrs. Hutchinson. The Puritans were reformers, and among reformers one new idea inevitably leads to another. The minister at Salem, Roger Williams, came to the conclusion that it was not sufficient for him and his friends to be free religiously; they ought to be willing to allow "soul liberty," as he called it, to everyone, even to those whose opinions they condemned. But if this were done, Massachusetts might before long contain many people who would not be friendly to the Puritan government and who
would side against it in a struggle with the king. The stern rulers of the colony decided to arrest Williams and send him back to England. Hearing of their intention, Williams fled into the wilderness in the dead of winter (1635). He wandered long among the snows, sleeping in hollow trees, but at length found shelter in the wigwam of the kindly Massasoit.


THE TRIAL OF ANNE HUTCHINSON WHICH LED TO HER EXPULSION
Less fortunate was a brilliant woman, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She drew together at her house in Boston a group of women that has been spoken of as "the first women's club in America." Mrs. Hutchinson may be called the first woman lecturer of America. She used to address the women at her house, discussing the sermons of the Boston pastors and expressing views of her own that were frequently not in accord with theirs. Soon she became famous. Her influence was so great and there was so much criticism of the regular ministers that the authorities became alarmed. Mrs. Hutchinson was tried, condemned, and ordered to leave the colony. With her children she sought a new home in the wilderness (see section 57). Four years later a party of hostile Indians destroyed both the mother and the children.

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53. Education in Early Massachusetts. Ten years after the first arrivals there were twenty thousand Puritans in Massachusetts. Many of them had been people of high standing in England; many of the clergymen were noted scholars of Oxford and Cambridge. Partly because the whole Puritan movement was deeply influenced by the scholars, partly because there was obvious need to teach the children what the colony stood for, Massachusetts made haste to establish schools. The first American public school was opened at Boston (1635). Compulsory education in America began with the early Massachusetts laws requiring every town in the colony to support a school. At a little town near Boston the oldest college ${ }^{1}$ of the United States was founded (I636) and named after a pious clergyman, John Harvard. 'The name of the town was changed to Cambridge, because Harvard, as well as many other Puritan clergymen, had graduated from the famous university of that name in England.

## Connecticut

54. The Puritans move Westward. There was not a great deal of good farm land in Massachusetts. The valleys of the rivers were generally narrow. The high land on either side of the rivers was barren, stony, and hard to cultivate. The valley land-so rapid was the immigration to Massa-chusetts-soon had as large a population as it could well support. Later emigrants had either to struggle with the barren hill country, where their plowshares were likely to be broken by the rocks, or to search for new valley land in the Western forest. They heard that there was plenty of such land along the lower course of the Connecticut River, but that region did not belong to Massachusetts. Strictly

[^10]speaking, none of the Massachusetts people had a right to go there. However, they believed that the king would grant the land to whoever was the first to settle upon it. Many people decided to take their chances. They packed up their household goods and set out on a journey through the woods, hoping to find better homes in the Connecticut valley.


EMIGRANTS ON THE WAY FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO CONNECTICUT
A large company of such emigrants was led by one of the finest characters in New England history, the Reverend Thomas Hooker. Following an Indian trail and driving before them a herd of cattle, the party took two weeks to penetrate the forests and reach the sunny banks of the broad Connecticut. There they founded the present city of Hartford ( 1636 ).
55. The New Towns that formed Connecticut. Soon other settlements were made-some in the Connecticut valley, some on the shores of Long Island Sound. Sometimes the settlers came, as Hooker's party came, through the woods
from Massachusetts; sometimes they came by sea, direct from England. The city of New Haven (1638), founded soon after Hartford, was the most important of these later settlements.

Each of these little towns was at first a separate republic that managed its affairs in a town meeting as the New Englanders had begun to do at Plymouth. But presently three river towns-Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor-united in a single community (1639). New Haven ${ }^{1}$ and other towns in its vicinity for a long time refused to join them, but at last, under a royal charter, were included along with the river towns in the colony of Connecticut, to which was granted the unusual privilege of electing its governor (1662).
56. A Free Commonwealth. Many of the immigrants who removed to Connecticut had another motive besides the search for land. They believed that government should express the wishes of the bulk of the people. In Massachusetts Thomas Hooker had held this idea. He was strikingly in contrast with Governor Winthrop, an enemy of Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, who said, "The best part of a community is always the least, and of that part, the wiser are still less." Winthrop was willing to let the Massachusetts freemen elect an assembly to make laws, but none the less he wished to have the mass of men accept the leadership of a small class which should include the rich and the learned. But the new idea was rapidly spreading. That was one reason why so many people were willing to follow Hooker into the wilderness. When the river towns formed their new state the influence of Hooker appeared in their written constitution, which put a great deal of power into the hands of the citizens and did not require the voters to be members of the Church.

[^11]
## Rhode Island

57. The Republic of Roger Williams. Roger Williams (section $5^{2}$ ) left the Indians after his first winter in exile, determined to found a settlement outside the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. The place he selected was the shore of Narragansett Bay. Hecalled it Providence (i636) because of God's merciful providence to him in his distress. Other exiles from Massachusetts, including Mrs. Hutchinson and many of her followers, also made settlements on the shores of that great bay. All these drew together in a new com-


> ROGER WILLIAMS IN THE WIGWAM OF MASSASOIT monwealth under the leadership of Williams. It was a long time before the king would recognize them as a separate colony, but at length a royal charter marked out the boundaries of Rhode Island ( 1663 ) and permitted its people to elect their governor.
58. Religious Freedom in Rhode Island. Williams invited people of all religions-Jews as well as Christians-to come to his colony and live in peace. His liberality is all the more noble because he was not lacking in devotion to his own faith. After his expulsion from the Church of Massachusetts he became attracted by the ideas of the Baptists, but there was no Baptist Church in America. In 1639, at Providence, Williams and eleven others declared themselves a Baptist
congregation. One of the eleven baptized Williams according to the practice of the sect in England. Williams then baptized the others. Thus began the American Baptist Church, which now includes millions of members.
59. The Quakers. Rhode Island stood up manfully for its principle of complete freedom in religion. Because of this it once came near to war with its powerful neighbor, Massachusetts. The dispute between the two colonies was over their treatment of a new sect called the Society of Friends, or the Quakers.

The Quakers whom we know today are very unlike the Quakers of the seventeenth century. The sect began in protest against all forms of religious authority, and its early members refused to show respect to any ruler, whether civil or religious. Even in the presence of his Majesty the king, these early Quakers refused stubbornly to take off their hats. They would not pay taxes for support of an established church. A peculiarity which led them to be looked upon as enemies of all government was their refusal to bear arms in time of war. Though many of them were quiet, kindly people, some felt called upon to express their singular views in a way that was bound to be resented. They would go into a church during service, rudely interrupt the minister, crying out that he stood for despotism and commanding him to come down from the pulpit and to hide his head in shame.

To the stern men in Massachusetts who had exiled Williams, the Quakers appeared to be destroyers of law and order. When Quakers appeared in the colony they were banished, but they insisted on returning, and at length several were hanged.

While the feeling against Quakers was at its height they were given a refuge in Rhode Island. Thereupon Massachusetts attempted to compel her tiny neighbor to coöperate in persecution. The refusal of Rhode Island was a turning
point in Quaker history. A change of feeling soon followed in Massachusetts. The Quakers received more humane treatment; gradually their methods changed and persecution died away.

## New Hampshire; Maine

60. Proprietary Government in New England; Mason and Gorges. Two Englishmen, John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, attempted to set up proprietary colonies (section 35) in New England. They obtained a grant of the region between the Merrimack and Kennebec Rivers, afterward divided into two "provinces" separated by the Piscataqua. Gorges took the eastern province ; Mason, the western.
61. New Hampshire; Influence of Mrs. Hutchinson. Mason named his province New Hampshire because his own birthplace was in old Hampshire in England. He was not an especially successful manager, and his colony was always more or less in confusion. After his death Massachusetts attempted to annex it. Finally, the king stepped in and made of New Hampshire a royal province (1679). ${ }^{1}$

During the confusion of Mason's time several towns were founded in New Hampshire, some with his consent, some without. Among early emigrants were refugees from Massachusetts. Once more we are reminded of that high-spirited woman who defied the rulers of Massachusetts, Mrs. Hutchinson (section $5^{2}$ ). One of her friends was the Reverend John Wheelwright, who, like his leader, was banished. Gathering a party of Mrs. Hutchinson's followers he led them across the Merrimack and founded the town of Exeter. Besides these emigrants from Massachusetts, New Hampshire

[^12]contained members of the Church of England,-Episcopalians, as we say,-who settled the towns of Dover (1627) and Portsmouth (163I). Thus, from the beginning New Hampshire permitted more religious freedom than did its great neighbor on the south.
62. The Province of Maine. The eastern province was known as Maine, or the Mainland. There Sir Ferdinando Gorges tried to play the part of a little king, ruling by means of his "deputy" in what is now the town of York. It was rather an odd kingdom. Sir Ferdinando had few subjects, and for a sovereign ruler he was very poor. Most of the neighbors in New Hampshire and Massachusetts were his enemies because Sir Ferdinando wanted to make the Church of England as powerful in Maine as was the Congregational Church in Massachusetts, but he lacked the money and the ability to carry out his schemes.

At length Sir Ferdinando died, and his heirs sold the province to the Puritans of Massachusetts (1678).

## SUMMARY

During the contention in England that preceded the Civil War many opponents of the king sought refuge in a part of North America which had been named New England. The first party of refugees, known as Separatists and afterwards as Pilgrims, founded Plymouth colony, which was virtually a little republic, though it was included in the British Empire. They governed themselves by means of town meetings in which most of the men took part and everything was decided by vote. The Pilgrims instituted the first American Thanksgiving Day. After seventy years of independent existence Plymouth was joined to its powerful neighbor, Massachusetts.

English Puritans obtained a royal charter permitting them to organize a colony in Massachusetts and required all the freemen of the colony to be members of the new church they had established. Roger Williams and Mrs. Anne Hutchinson became advocates of religious freedom and were compelled to leave the colony.

As the good land in eastern Massachusetts was rapidly taken up, a number of colonists removed into the Connecticut valley. Others joined the emigration because, like Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson, they had come to disapprove of the Massachusetts law which required citizens to be church members. The emigrants founded Connecticut, with a constitution which established religious freedom.

Meanwhile Roger Williams, after his flight from Massachusetts, had gathered together other believers in religious freedom and had founded Rhode Island, where every sort of religion was permitted.

Two attempts at proprietary government were made in New England. Neither was successful. John Mason failed to make New Hampshire prosperous, and after his death the king converted it into a royal province. The other proprietary colony was Maine, where Sir Ferdinando Gorges tried to establish the Church of England. His heirs sold Maine to Massachusetts.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, Colonial Self-Government and *The Fathers of New England; Bassett, United States, 59-70; *Becker, Beginnings of the American People, 80-107; Channing, United States, I, chaps. x-xv; *Fiske, The Beginnings of Nere England; Hart, American History told by Contemporaries, I, chaps. xiv-xx ; II, chap. iii; *Osgood, The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century; Tyler, England in America, chaps. ix-xv, xix.

For the Pupil: Collins, History of Vermont; Drake, The Making of New England; Faris, Real Stories from Our History; Fassett, Colonial Life in New Hampshire; Gordy, Colonial Days; Hawthorne, Grandfather's Chair; Higginson, Book of American Explorers; Long, American Patriotic Prose, 25-30; Moore-Tiffany, Pilgrims and Puritans; Tappan, Letters from Colonial Children.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What great difference was there between the settlement of Virginia and the settlement of New England? 2. Why did the Pilgrims come to America? 3. How was Plymouth colony governed? 4. Is your town
governed as Plymouth was? What differences between the two ways of a town? Are you a member of any society that manages its affairs as Plymouth did? If so, tell how the society would have to change to become monarchical in form. (The teacher can make this plain by describing, for example, the Salvation Army, a monarchical revival in the form of an association organized in exact imitation of a military army with no voting assemblies. It will also be easy in this connection to make plain the nature of representative government.)]
5. Why did the Puritans organize the Massachusetts Bay Company? 6. How did they surprise the king ? 7. Why did Roger Williams and Mrs. Hutchinson oppose the authorities of Massachusetts ? 8. Why did colonists from Massachusetts pass on into Connecticut? (Two answers) 9. How does the movement into Connecticut remind one of the first migration (sections 2, 54)? (An opportunity is given here to touch upon the economic motive in so many shiftings of population - the need either of food or of employment or of both.)
ro. What was the chief feature of the Connecticut constitution? II. How did the colony which Roger Williams founded differ from that which he had left? [ 12 . Compare the laws with regard to religion in England, Holland, Virginia, Maryland, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire (sections 36, 39, 45, 5I, 52, 57, 59, 6I).] I3. What proprietary colonies were there in New England? 14. How was the royal province of New Hampshire established? 15. What was done with Maine after the death of the Lord Proprietor?

## PART THREE: THE DUTCH AND SWEDES IN AMERICA

63. The Dutch and the English. While Englishmen were dotting with their plantations the shores of the James and Potomac Rivers and of Chesapeake Bay in the South, while their towns were springing up on the bleak coast of New England and along the Connecticut River in the North, another nation had pushed in between these two groups of settlements and had planted a hostile colony on land which the English regarded as their own (section 16). The Dutch had seized the great harbor at the mouth of the Hudson and the noble hills along its course. Curiously enough their leader was an Englishman, Henry Hudson. He had made a great reputation by two daring voyages into the Arctic Ocean.

After vainly trying to find a way to the Pacific and to India by sailing northeast, past Scandinavia, Hudson proposed to his men to give up the hunt in this direction and to try instead to find the supposed "northwest passage." The men agreed. Therefore Hudson steered to the west and coasted along America to the region indicated by Smith. At the entrance of what he thought was an arm of the sea, stretching far into the land, his ship, the Half Moon, came to anchor ( 1609 ).

Hudson had found the mouth of the great river which bears his name. He explored it as far north as the spot where Albany now stands, and only when the water became too shallow for him to go farther did he give up his search for the "northwest passage." Returning to Europe, he was forbidden by the English king to serve further in foreign employ. An English company was formed which provided him with a ship and men for another voyage of Arctic discovery. He set sail, but never returned. His grave is probably in the waters of Hudson Bay or in the icy seas beyond.

## New Netherland

64. The First Dutch Settlement. The Dutch were prompt to take advantage of Hudson's discovery. In defiance of the English, who had claimed this coast for more than a hundred years, their traders began at once to make voyages to the Hudson. The Indians in that region had a great supply of valuable furs which they were willing to sell for almost nothing. At the mouth of the river, on Manhattan Island, a trading post was established by the Dutch very soon after Hudson's visit. Colonists began to arrive in 1623 . In 1626 Holland sent over Peter Minuit, who bought the whole island from the Indians. The various things he gave them in return were worth altogether about twenty-four dollars. Minuit and his men built a village on Manhattan Island and called it New Amsterdam after old Amsterdam in Holland.
65. New Netherland. The Dutch now thought they had a chance to build up a colony of their own in North America. In those days Holland was a powerful country, England's rival in trade, and the Dutch thought the English would never be strong enough to drive them away. Many worthy Dutch families consented to emigrate, and New Amsterdam grew to be a considerable town. There was a fort at the south tip of the island, and the place where it stood is called the Battery to this day. Other towns were also built by the Dutch. One of these was named Fort Orange in honor of the Prince of Orange, a great nobleman of Holland. Today we call it Albany. To the whole of this region which they were trying to make their own, the Dutch gave the name "New Netherland."

In order to hasten the settlement of New Netherland the Dutch authorities gave large tracts of land to wealthy Hollanders, who promised to pay the cost of taking emigrants to America. A man who received one of these tracts was called a patroon. The land given him fronted sixteen miles on the Hudson and extended inland indefinitely. Not only was the land his, but he was allowed to govern the emigrants who settled on it and cultivated his farms. He had his own court in which his tenants were tried if accused of violating their obligations to the patroon. The power, as well as the land of the patroon, descended from father to son. The greatest patroon was named Van Rensselaer. He owned more land than is now contained in the state of Rhode Island ; the tenants who dwelt on his numerous farms would have made a small army. Much of this vast property remained in his family for many generations. In the nineteenth century the last Patroon Van Rensselaer sold to the state of New York his right to hold courts on his property.

PETER MINUIT BUYING MANHATTAN FROM THE INDIANS

## Delaware

66. New Sweden the Rival of New Netherland ; significance of Rivers in Colonization. Soon after the Dutch had established their first post on Manhattan Island they crossed the Hudson and at Bergen (1617) made the first European settlement in New Jersey. They went still further to the south and built a fort near where Philadelphia now stands. They then found that they were not the only people trying to conquer lands which the English claimed as part of their empire.

In those days Sweden was also a great power. Its rulers determined to get for Sweden a part of the rich new country which all the nations so dearly longed to have. They sent over a force of soldiers and emi-


LANDS CLAIMED BY THE DUTCH grants, who hunted for some unoccupied place on the coast which would serve as the beginning of a colony.

You will notice that all the settlements we have been hearing about were formed along the valleys of the rivers. The Virginians went up the James. The Marylanders went up the Potomac and up Chesapeake Bay to the Susquehanna. The New Englanders also went inland along rivers-the Charles, the Merrimack, the Kennebec, the Connecticut. The Dutch went up the Hudson. Thus the settlers could
penetrate far inland and still have easy communication with the sea. The rivers served them in the place of roads.

The Swedes came to the Delaware. .It lay opened and unoccupied, although the west shore of the river was included in the area granted to Lord Baltimore. Ignoring Baltimore, the Swedes built a town (1638) which has since taken the


QUEEN CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN name of Wilmington and is now the chief city of Delaware. At first, in honor of the queen of Sweden, it was called Christina. To the surrounding country was given the name "New Sweden." From this settlement the people of Delaware date the history of their state.
67. The Dutch conquer New Sweden. For a while New Sweden and New Netherland grew peaceably side by side. Very likely the good people at Christina had no suspicion that a storm was brewing at New Amsterdam. Going quietly about their business, they gave no heed to the growth of illfeeling between the Dutch and the New Englanders. If they knew that both nations wanted the Connecticut valley, and that England and Holland were on the verge of war, they did not see that this quarrel might mean trouble for New Sweden. However, the governor of New Netherland, a stout soldier, Peter Stuyvesant, looked eastward and saw that the English might at any moment come against him in battle array. He looked southward, and it occurred to him that if the English were to come to an understanding with Sweden, he would be attacked from both sides. He said to himself, "That shall never be."

One day the people of Christina saw seven ships come sailing up the Delaware River. Aboard them was Stuyvesant with a Dutch army. Taken by surprise, the Swedes were compelled to surrender. The Dutch flag was run above the roofs of Christina, and the country was proclaimed a part of New Netherland under the rule of the Dutch governor.
68. The Last Dutch Governor. Peter Stuyvesant was the last of the Dutch governors of New Netherland. He ruled the colony seventeen years. This determined man had served Holland bravely and had lost a leg in battle. He had a high temper which years of soldiering and governing did not improve. We have descriptions of him stamping about his council chamber, pounding on the floor with the wooden peg


PETER STUYVESANT that replaced his lost right foot. His temper flamed forth when the people of New Amsterdam petitioned for the right to vote. His angry reply was to the effect that if he granted the petition "the thief will vote for a thief, and the smuggler for a smuggler." However, the stormy governor had to yield something to the people and consented to the establishment of a council of "Nine Men" to superintend taxation.

Governor Stuyvesant is commemorated in the names of two famous streets. A lane which led to his farm, or "great bowery," outside the city has become the crowded thoroughfare called today the Bowery. Another lane ran alongside a wooden wall which he built across the island on the north side of the town. Today we call this lane Wall Street.
69. The Coming of the English; the People against the Governor. While the stout old governor was keeping his colony in readiness, as he thought, to repel the English, changes were taking place which he did not comprehend. New Amsterdam was ceasing to be wholly a Dutch town. So many strangers had come in that the laws had to be published in three languages-Dutch, French, and English.


SCENE ON BOWLING GREEN IN OLD NEW AMSTERDAM

This mixed population knew how the more fortunate English colonies were governed, and contrasted English freedom with the despotic rule of Stuyvesant. Though the governor did not suspect it, they were saying among themselves that they would be better off as an English colony than as they were.

At last the English came. A royal fleet which had touched at Boston and taken aboard a New England army sailed up the bay and trained its guns on New Amsterdam. Brave old Stuyvesant was summoned to surrender. His reply was that he would die first. He then discovered what a change had taken place right under his eyes. The townspeople rose against him. The English commander gave
them a promise that in every respect they should always have the full rights of Englishmen; thereupon they forced the governor, much against his will, to surrender. The flag of England was hoisted above the city (August 29, 1664), and New Amsterdam was renamed New York.

## SUMMARY

Henry Hudson, in the service of Holland, explored the Hudson River. Though it lay inside the region which England claimed as her own, the Dutch determined to occupy the Hudson valley. Their colony was called New Netherland, with its capital at New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island. To encourage colonization the Dutch granted large estates to landlords called patroons, who had the privilege of holding their own courts. Meanwhile the Swedes had also set the English at defiance. They had planted a colony on the Delaware inside the limits of Maryland. The Dutch in New Netherland knew that England was going to make war upon them and were afraid that England would come to an understanding with Sweden so as to get her aid against New Netherland. They took the Swedes by surprise and conquered their colony. Soon afterwards the expected attack on New Netherland was made by the English. The last Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, wished to fight it out, but the people rebelled against him. They were dissatisfied with Dutch rule and preferred to live under the English flag. They forced Stuyvesant to surrender, and New Amsterdam became New York.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher : *Andrews, Colonial Self-Government, chaps. iv, v; Bassett, United States, 72-76; *BECker, Beginnings of the American People, 107-160; Channing, United States, I, chaps. xvi-xix; II, 3 1-40; Fiske, Dutch and Quaker Colonies, I, 96-126; *Goodwin, The Dutch and English on the Hudson.

For the Pupil: Barstow, Explorers and Settlers, i7I-I88; Drake, The Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies, chap. iv; Gordv, Stories of Early American History, chap. xiv; Higginson, Book of American Explorers, chap. xiii ; Redway, The Making of the Empire State; Southworth, The Story of the Empire State.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. How did the Dutch acquire New Netherland? 2. What was a patroon? What privileges did a patroon have that no rich man has today? Suppose you were a farmer renting your farm from a modern millionaire, and suppose the millionaire were suddenly made a patroon, what changes would take place in your life? (An opportunity here for the teacher to explain that the feudal landholder governed his tenants and that in modern times the state, has taken this power away from the landlord. For city children a great apartment house will serve as illustration. Imagine the owner holding court and punishing a boy for beating another in a hallway.)
3. What other nation defied the English by forming an American colony? Why did the Swedes go to the Delaware? [4. Draw a map showing how the early colonies were all located on rivers or bays (see sections $25,30,37,44,50,54,55,57,60,62,64,66)$.] 5 . Why did the Dutch expect to be attacked by the English (see sections 64, 67)? (Two answers) What did they do to prevent an alliance between England and Sweden?
6. Why were the Dutch afraid of the Swedes? 7. What sort of man was the last governor of New Netherland? 8. Why did he consent to the establishment of the council of the Nine Men? 9. Why did the people of New Amsterdam wish to be included in the British Empire? io. When the English came what did the people do? [ir. How much of modern New York was comprised in New Amsterdam? (See section 68 ; compare a map of Greater New York. See also article "New York," in any good encyclopedia.)]

## PART FOUR: THE COLONIES OF KING CHARLES II

70. Significance of the Settlement of the Colonies in Groups. The English were now in possession of most if not all of the coast explored by Cabot in 1498. More than fifty years had passed ( $1607-1664$ ) since the beginning at Jamestown of the period of successful colonization. Since then the king and the Parliament, Cavaliers and Puritans, had fought the great Civil War (section 40). Charles I had been executed by the successful parliamentarians. Cromwell had reigned as Lord Protector (section 41). His death had been followed by a change of feeling in England and a revival of
attachment to the old royal family, the Stuarts. The son of Charles I, who was living in exile with very little money and having a hard time to make ends meet, was brought home to England and crowned king as Charles II (i660). Early in his reign New Netherland was annexed (section 69) and the gap between the Northern and Southern colonies (section 63 ) was closed.

It will explain a great deal in later American history if we bear in mind that except for these troubles in England in the seventeenth century the beginning of our country might have been very different from what it was. Because of the Civil War in England two things happened: (I) some American colonies were settled almost altogether by members of one of the English political parties, some by members of the other; therefore, (2) from the start the people of New England and the people of the Southern colonies looked at life in widely different ways. The stern Puritans (section 50), whose Ironsides (section 41) had shattered the king's army, when they thought of emigrating, turned toward one of those New England colonies controlled by members of their own party ; the Cavaliers (section 42 ), who loved the brilliant life of the royal court and who were devoted to the Church of England, turned, as inevitably, to those colonies where Cavaliers were in the majority-Virginia and Maryland.
71. The Basis of the American Republic. In studying the history of our country our chief aim is to form a clear impression of how all these communities, with others established later, grew at last into one great community, the United States. But this great community never could have been established if the first two groups of the American English had had nothing in common.

The differences between the North and the South were not nearly so great as their similarities. Out of many similarities five are of most importance: (i) all the colonists thought
of themselves as Englishmen and were proud of the great achievements of English history; (2) all had a priceless common property in the English language and English literature; (3) all had the great system of laws, centuries old, known as the English common law, which is the basis of our law today ; (4) all were citizens of a great empire, and all, however they might quarrel with the king, felt that the government in London was the connecting link binding Englishmen together ; (5) lastly, in spite of their bitter political disagreements all felt that as free Englishmen they had certain rights which their ancestors had acquired in long struggles with the king, rights which were now "inalien-able"-that is, beyond the power of any government to take away. What some of these rights were we shall hear in the next chapter (section 98). We shall hear of them again and again, until at last we shall see them incorporated in the Constitution of the United States.
72. The Third and Fourth Groups of Colonies. Charles II reigned twenty-five years. During his reign, in the middle country between Maryland and New England, four new colonies were established-New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware. These formed a third group geographically. Far to the south, below Virginia, there were the beginnings of a fourth colonial group, the Carolinas. In all these colonies the settlers had the same five reasons for feeling that they, the New Englanders and the Virginians, were all one people. At the same time their ways of living caused them to develop marked peculiarities of their own. In the middle colonies these peculiarities had more in common with the life of New England than with the life farther south. On the other hand, the habits and customs of the Carolinians were very different from those of New England and very like those of Virginia. By degrees most of the colonies of the third group, especially after they became states of the Union, grew to think of themselves, along with the New

England States and other still younger communities, as forming the "North." The fourth group of colonies, with others that were formed south and west of them, came to think that they, with Virginia and Maryland, formed the "South."

## New York

73. The Lands of the Duke of York. King Charles made a present to his brother, the Duke of York, of all the lands that had been conquered from the Dutch and the Swedes. The Hudson valley was, of course, the most valuable part of the duke's possessions. This he kept for himself, and over it he ruled as Lord Proprietor. But he gave it a new name. It became the province of New York - as if it were the American part of his English duchy of old York. In England there is both a region and a city called York. As a further reminder of England, the capital of the province took the same name. New Amsterdam became New York City. ${ }^{1}$

The duke was a pitiless ruler, and the people of his province were often discontented. They struggled hard to establish a free legislature of their own like the House of Burgesses in Virginia (section 32) or the General Court in Massachusetts (section 46, note). At length the duke permitted the establishment of the General A.ssembly of the province of New York (r683). But the Assembly at once drew up a "Charter of Liberties," providing for complete freedom, whereupon the duke, who had now become king as James II, abolished the Assembly (i686) and converted New York into a royal province.

[^13]74. Quakers settle New Jersey. The duke granted the lower part of his lands between the Delaware River and the sea (section 66) to two noblemen, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. As Carteret had distinguished himself


MAP SHOWING SETTLEMENTS IN NEW JERSEY fighting for Charles I in the island of Jersey, the duke named his colony New Jersey. Berkeley and Carteret were eager for money, and they sold their rights in New Jersey to what we should call today a "syndicate" of wealthy Quakers. One of these was William Penn, of whom we shall hear again. At last New Jérsey was given back to the king (I702), who joined it for a while to New York, but subsequently made it a separate province ( 1738 ).

The Quakers set a good example to the colonists by treating the Indians exactly as they treated the whites. As a result the New Jersey Indians became their fast friends, stood by them in times of danger, and aided them in times of peace. The story is that if they found a settler alone in the woods asleep, instead of harming him they would say among themselves, "He is an Englishman; let him alone." The Quakers of New Jersey were noted for the freedom allowed in their colony. The people worked hard, made their own laws, and each man attended what church he liked best. Things went so well with them it became a saying that there were no poor people in New Jersey.

## Pennsylvania

75. King Charles's Debt to Penn. A rich man by the name of Penn, an admiral in the British navy, lent large sums to King Charles II. As Charles very seldom had money to spare, the loans from Admiral Penn went unpaid year after year. At last the admiral died and left a son named William. This William Penn, though a close friend of both the king and the Duke of York, astonished them by becoming a Quaker. He took up with his whole heart the belief of the Quakers in complete political and religious freedom. From the admiral his father he inherited a fortune, part of which he spent in helping other Quakers to build up New Jersey. Penn concluded


WILLIAM PENN that what he wanted most in this world was the chance to establish a country where men should be truly free. It occurred to him that the king might enable him to do so by giving him a proprietary colony, and then he thought of the money which the king owed him as the heir of his father. It amounted to sixteen thousand pounds - a great sum for those days. Penn asked the king to discharge this debt by making him Lord Proprietor of the country west of the Delaware. This easy way of getting out of debt suited King Charles. Penn became Lord Proprietor (168r) of a great region which he named Penn's Forest, or Pennsylvania. ${ }^{1}$

[^14]
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76. Penn's Unselfish Plans. Penn was one of those lofty characters who are not controlled by selfish motives. He did not use his power as proprietor to make himself a great prince; on the contrary, he drew up a constitution for his colony in which he gave away much of his power. His purpose, he said, was to arrange things so that "the will of


THE PENNSYLVANIA COLONY
one man should not hinder the good of a whole country." His constitution was called the Frame of Government. It guaranteed to the people of Pennsylvania complete religious freedom and also the right to make their own laws through a legislature of their own choice. Penn may be regarded as one of the chief founders of free government in America.
been said: "If the Maryland boundaries were right, Philadelphia was a Maryland town, and if the Pennsylvania boundaries were right, Baltimore was a Pennsylvania town." The proprietors of the two colonies quarreled over this for many years. At last they compromised on the present boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania. They had it surveyed by two men, Mason and Dixon. That is how we get the phrase "Mason and Dixon's line." It came in time to mean the whole line separating the North and the South.

Penn sent out an invitation to "all thrifty men" who would live at peace with their neighbors to come to Pennsylvania. This invitation was accepted by many of Penn's fellow Quakers. Other immigrants came from Wales and still others from Scotland. Pious Germans, who could not have freedom of religion at home, crossed the sea to found Germantown in Pennsylvania. Other pious people from Germany came over and founded Bethlehem and other villages. In less than twenty years twenty thousand immigrants settled in Pennsylvania.

Among the first to come was Penn himself (1682). He proceeded at once to lay out a city. Apparently Penn did not like the form of city with which he was familiar in Europe, where, generally, the

william penn's wife streets wind and twist in all directions. He laid off his city in regular squares with streets at right angles. This plan has been followed in hundreds of American cities and towns built since his day. Penn called his city by the Greek name of Philadelphia, which means the "city of brotherly love."
77. The Treaty with the Indians. Very characteristic of Penn was his treatment of the Indians. He took no land, either for himself or his settlers, without first calling the Indians together and buying it from them at a fair price. These agreements with the Indians are often spoken of as "treaties." A tree under which the most famous of them took place was long remembered as the "Treaty Elm." Many other men had bargained with the Indians and had
made them fair promises. Penn not only made such promises but kept them, which too many others failed to do. Among the Indians his justness and goodness became a tradition. Long afterwards their veneration for his memory was a marvel to European travelers.
78. Another Royal Bargain : the Sale of Delaware. It will be remembered that New Sweden (section 66) in spite


PENN'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS
of being altogether inside the limits of Maryland (section 36) was given by the king to his brother the Duke of York (section 73). The duke, always eager to get money, sold it to Penn. A protest from Maryland was disregarded, and thus Penn became Lord Proprietor over two colonies. For a time the two colonies were ruled as one, but when the people of Delaware objected, Penn, true to his principles, heeded their objections and made their country a separate colony. It was known as the "Lower Counties." When the Revolution began in 1776 the inhabitants declared their region an independent state and named it Delaware.

## The Carolinas

79. The Eight Favorites; Settlement of Carolina. King Charles II wished to reward a group of eight lords and gentlemen whose friendship had helped to make him king. He decided to make one huge colony and allow these eight men to control it in common. They were to form a Board, and when one of them died his heir was to take his place. This was to go on forever. They were all to be called Lords Proprietary. Their Board was to have much the same power in its colony that Lord Baltimore had in


LATER SOUTHERN COLONIES Maryland (section 35) and Penn in Pennsylvania (section 75). The land given to them extended from Virginia to Florida and from the Atlantic to the Pacific. This immense territory was named Carolina. It included the site of Raleigh's colony on Roanoke Island (section 18).
80. Liberal Government of Carolina; Huguenot Settlements. Chief among the Lords Proprietary of Carolina was the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was a close friend of the celebrated philosopher John Locke. The earl asked Locke to draw up an ideal plan of government to be put into operation in Carolina. Locke prepared a plan called the Fundamental Constitutions. The government of the colony was
to be placed largely in the hands of a group of rich men called landgraves, whose power and estates were to descend from father to son. But the scheme of the philosopher did not please the settlers in Carolina, and before long it was abandoned. However, the Fundamental Constitutions will always be remembered for at least one of their provisions.


CHARLESTON IN 1673, AS SHOWN IN AN OLD PRINT
This was that if any nine people called themselves a church the government would consider them a church and allow them to hold their services unmolested. The spirit of this provision was never lost sight of in Carolina. By degrees, to be sure, the Episcopal Church became the leading denomination of the colony. Once there was a bold attempt to break up the other churches and make the Episcopal Church supreme (I704), as it was in Virginia (section 39), but the attempt completely failed, and Carolina kept her doors open to persecuted Christians from many lands. Three of her early governors were Quakers. Many French Protestants, or Huguenots, came to Carolina. They had left France because
its great king, Louis XIV, had issued a decree forbidding them to practice their religion. So it happened that while Catholics persecuted by the king of England found refuge in one part of our country (section 36), Protestants persecuted by the king of France found refuge in another.
81. The Rivers in Carolina Life; Albemarle. In Carolina -more, even, than elsewhere-settlements were pushed


A LANDING IN THE PROVINCE OF NORTH CAROLINA
From Faris's "Real Stories from Our History"
inland along the rivers and the arms of the sea. The very earliest of these settlements were made along the shores of Albemarle Sound. From there the settlers worked their way inland. Most of these early settlers came from Virginia and, as in Virginia, began at once to raise tobacco, but soon they began extracting turpentine from the pine trees that grew thick all about them. The tall trunks of the pines made excellent masts for ships. The men of Albemarle became traders, especially with New England, in tobacco, turpentine, and pinewood. From these Albemarle settlements has developed the rich state of North Carolina.
82. The Rice Industry; Charles Town. Meantime, far to the south, at a point where two rivers joined to form a noble harbor, was founded the city of Charles Town, known today as Charleston ( 1670 ). It grew rapidly and in time became the center of a great trade in rice. Here again use was made of the rivers. Rice requires plenty of water in its cultivation. In the vicinity of Charleston, along all the rivers of that section, the land is so low that it can easily be flooded by means of canals leading the fresh water from the rivers over the fields. To keep out the salt water, which at high tide might overflow the fields, it was necessary to build dikes. All this made the cultivation of rice very expensive, but there was a great demand for rice, and the planters who owned the rice fields rapidly grew rich. All along the rivers they built themselves stately mansions surrounded by huge oak trees.
83. Danger from Spain; Pirates; Discontent with the Proprietors. The Carolinians quarreled with the Board of Proprietaries because they thought they were not sufficiently protected against the Spaniards and against pirates. In the latter part of the seventeenth century pirates were numerous all up and down the American coast. At one time they regularly stopped every ship coming into or going out of Charles Town and forced it to pay toll, and the Proprietaries would not do anything to mend matters. At length the colonists took things into their own hands. A little fleet was equipped at Charles Town and the command given to Colonel William Rhett. He boldly sailed forth, met, the greatest of the
pirates-Stede Bonnet-in battle, took Bonnet prisoner, and carried him back to Charles Town, where he and his men were hanged.

The discontent with the Proprietaries ended at last in open rebellion. The colonists appealed to the king, George I, to put down the Proprietaries and make Carolina a royal province. After some hesitation the king bought Carolina from the Proprietaries and separated it into the two royal provinces of North and South Carolina (1729).

## SUMMARY

It is important to remember that the colonies were settled in groups. Members of each political party in England emigrated to colonies where their party was in control. Puritans came to New England; Royalists to Virginia. Thus began a marked difference between the North and the South. But all the colonists had so much in common that they were able to form at last one great community, which became the United States.

During the reign of Charles II four middle colonies were planted between Maryland and New England, and also the settlement of the Carolinas was begun.

All the lands which the Dutch and Swedes had occupied were given by the king to the Duke of York. New Netherland, now New York, was harshly ruled by the duke as Lord Proprietor. When the General Assembly which he established drew up a Charter of Liberties, he abolished the Assembly.

The territory east of the Delaware River was given the name "New Jersey." Early New Jersey was conspicuous for its good relations with the Indians and for the prosperity of its inhabitants.

William Penn became Lord Proprietor of what is now the state of Pennsylvania. The laws made by Penn gave complete freedom, both political and religious, to all his colonists.

Penn also purchased from the Duke of York, in spite of the protest of Maryland, the region that had been New Sweden, which is now the state of Delaware.

South of Virginia King Charles established the proprietary colony of Carolina, but instead of one proprietor he set over it a

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board of eight lords proprietary. Carolina's earliest constitution permitted any nine people to call themselves a church and to practice their religion. Both its commerce and its agriculture began in the settlements along Albemarle Sound and in the vicinity of Charles Town. It had two dangers: it was exposed to attack by Spaniards and by pirates. The Proprietaries would take no steps to defend the colony. After beating off the pirates the colonists persuaded the king to make the colony a royal province, which was later divided into North and South Carolina.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, Colonial Period, 42-61 ; *Colonial SelfGovernment, chaps. ix-xi ; Bassett, United States, 8o-88; *Becker, Beginnings of the American People, ro7-160; *Channing, United States, II, chaps. ii, vi-vii ; *Fisher, The Quaker Colonies; Fiske, Old Virginia and her Neighbors, II, 270-278; Goodwin, The Dutch and English on the Hudson; *McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government.

For the Pupil: Alderman, A Brief History of North Carolina; Barstow, The Colonists and the Revolution, 47-64; Drake, The Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies, 1S8-219; Gordy, Stories of Early American History, chap. xv; Hodges, William Penn; Long, American Patriotic Prose, 13-15; McCorkle, Old-Time Stories of the Old North State; Means, Palmetto Stories; Redway, The Making of the Empire State; Southworth, The Story of the Empire State; Stockton, Stories of Nere Jersey; Walton and Brumbaugh, Stories of Pennsylvania and Once upon a Time in Delaware; White, The Making of South Carolina.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. What part of America did the English hold-not merely claimwhen Charles II became king (sections 63, 70)? 2. How was the gap between the Northern and the Southern colonies closed? 3. Why was there a difference at this time between the people of Virginia and the people of New England? [4. Write a short statement of the effect of the English Civil War on American history (see sections 4I-42, $70-72$ ).] 5. What did the Northern and the Southern colonies have in common?
6. How were the people of New York treated by their lord proprietor? 7. Why was the General Assembly abolished? [8. When James II
succeeded to the throne, was it a good or bad time for the king to try to increase his power in America? When and how had previous kings tried to do so? Why do you think the colonists would be likely to resist the king (see sections $33,51,69,70,73,76$ ) ?] 9 . How did the Quakers get possession of New Jersey?

Io. Did New Jersey remain under the control of the Quakers? in. How did William Penn come to be a lord proprietor? I2. What was guaranteed to the people of Pennsylvania by the Frame of Government? 13. How did Penn acquire Delaware? 14. How did Penn carry out in Delaware his belief that the people should rule themselves? I5. How was Carolina unlike other proprietary colonies? 16. What sort of government was provided for by the Fundamental Constitutions? 17. How was religious freedom secured? [18. Write a brief statement of how persecuted Europeans found religious freedom in America (see sections $36,39,44,50,57,59,76,80$ ).]

## PART FIVE: THE THIRTEENTH COLONY

84. James Oglethorpe. Many years elapsed between the founding of the last of the colonies of King Charles II and the founding of the last colony of all. The king of that day was George II. In his honor the last colony was named Georgia. The chief promoter was James Oglethorpe, who had two motives in founding the new colony: ( I ) to plant a "buffer" state between the Carolinas and Spanish Florida and (2) to offer a new start in life to honest but unfortunate people who, having fallen into debt, were held by the courts of that day to be criminals and were cast into prison. Philanthropists coöperated with Oglethorpe because of the latter motive; the king and Parliament approved his plan because of the former motive. Oglethorpe and several others were named "trustees" of Georgia and- received for twenty-one years authority similar to that of a lord proprietor ( 1732 ). The land given to the trustees was cut off from South Carolina and, like the Carolinas, was supposed to extend to the Pacific. After ruling this great region for twenty years the trustees returned it to the king, who made it a royal province ( $175^{2}$ ).
85. Savannah; Oglethorpe and the Indians. Oglethorpe himself brought over the first party of settlers. On a high bluff above a great river, a few miles from the sea, he laid off the city of Savannah, the first capital of Georgia.

As might be ex-


JAMES OGLETHORPE pected of such a man, Oglethorpe dealt justly with the Indians. He was aided by an Indian woman who, like Pocahontas in Virginia (section 26), married an Englishman and is known by her English name, Mary Musgrove. Through her influence with her kinsmen a treaty was made, and the Indians consented to Oglethorpe's occupation of the country around Savannah (i733).
86. Conditions in Georgia: Slavery and Whisky Prohibited. The men who founded Georgia did not believe in slavery (section 3I). Everywhere else in the colonies rich men held slaves, but Oglethorpe and his friends began by forbidding the ownership of slaves in Georgia. Most of the early colonists were poor and were not interested in slaveholding, but after a while men of wealth began to settle in Georgia. Some of these were rich planters from South Carolina (section 82), where slaves were numerous. They wanted to bring their slaves with them. Thereupon arose a dispute between the two parts of the population-the poor people, who had no slaves, and the rich newcomers,
who had. The poor folks saw that if the rich were allowed to own slaves they would not give the poor employment, and it would be hard for them to make a living. Both sides appealed to the home government. But the rich slaveholders had more influence than their opponents. The plan of Oglethorpe was upset, and a law was made permitting slavery in Georgia (1750).
Oglethorpe had also intended to prevent permanently the sale of whisky in Georgia. He thought not only that his settlers would work harder without whisky but that there would be less trouble with the Indians. One


JOHN WESLEY PREACHING TO THE INDIANS of the weaknesses of the Indians was a thirst for whisky, which they called fire water. Unscrupulous traders took advantage of their weakness and gave them whisky in exchange for furs. As a result many of the Indians became drunkards and grew steadily harder to restrain. Thus the selfishness of the traders, by degrading the Indians, subjected the settlers to increased dangers, but the traders cared only for their profits in trade and were willing to let the rest of their countrymen suffer. So great was the influence of the traders that after much discussion the sale of whisky was permitted.
87. Protestants in Georgia; the Founders of the Methodist Church. The early history of Georgia is closely connected with important religious events. From Scotland many Presbyterians of small means removed to Georgia. Many German Protestants came over and founded Lutheran settlements. Some celebrated preachers also came-partly to care for the emigrants, partly in the hope of converting the

Indians. Chief among these were the two brothers John and Charles Wesley, who may be looked upon as the founders of the Methodist Church. Charles Wesley was secretary to Oglethorpe. John Wesley spent several years in the colony and gave much of his time to preaching among the Indians. The first hymn book which he prepared - one of the earliest publications, we may say, of the Methodist Church-was printed at Charles Town (1737).

## SUMMARY

The thirteenth colony was founded by James Oglethorpe, partly to form a "buffer" state between Carolina and Spanish Florida, partly to afford a refuge for the poor. It was named Georgia after King George II. The government was in the hands of a board of "trustees" who had the power of Proprietaries. After twenty years they returned Georgia to the king, who made it a royal province.

Oglethorpe wished to prevent slavery in Georgia and for a time succeeded. Later rich slaveholders who wished to come to the colony secured from the king permission to bring their slaves. The trustees of Georgia tried to prevent the sale of whisky, but in this also they were overruled because traders who had influence with the king wished to sell whisky to the Indians.

Many Europeans discontented at home found the opportunity for a new start in Georgia. There was also much interest in converting the Indians; John Wesley came over to Georgia and preached to them.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: *Andrews, Colonial Self-Government, chap. x; Bassett, United States, Io9-1 Io ; *Channing, United States, I, chap. xii ; Greene, Provincial America, chap. xv; Hart, History told by Contemporaries, II, chaps. v-vi ; Jones, History of Georgia; *Tyler, England in America, chap. viii.

For the Pupil: Brooks, History of Georgia; Chappelle, Georgia History Stories; Gordy, Stories of Early American History, chap. xii; Massey and Wood, The Story of Georgia.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. Who founded the colony of Georgia? Why? 2. How was Georgia to be governed? [3. Draw a map or write a description showing (a) what colonies began as proprietary, or company, colonies; (b) which, if any, began as royal provinces; (c) which began in some other way (see sections $24,36,46,50,55,57,60,73,75,78,79,84$ ). (Keep this exercise in mind, because following Chapter VII you will be asked to tell what colonies had changed from one sort to another.)] [4. So far as you know, how many proprietary colonies were eventually changed into royal provinces (see sections $33,61,73,74,83,84$ ) ?]
5. Who wanted to keep slavery out of Georgia? Why? 6. How was slavery established in Georgia? 7. Why did Oglethorpe wish to prohibit the sale of whisky? (Two answers) 8. How was this early prohibition movement brought to an end? 9. Give an earlier instance of trading with the Indians in a way to injure the whites (section 21 ). [Io. If you had an opportunity to engage in business which was injurious to your fellow men, what ought you to do? (The teacher has an opening here to lay the foundation of the idea of moral responsibility in business. The sale of impure foods, for example, has tempted as many men as has the sale of liquor to the Indians.)]


INDIAN LIFE


INDIANS ATTACKING A SETTLER'S COTTAGE

## CHAPTER IV

## OLD TIMES IN THE COLONIES

88. Early Colonial Hardships. The ships that brought over the first colonists were very different from the mammoth vessels that bring over the thousands of immigrants today. The Mayflower or the Susan Constant could be loaded on the deck of one of the great modern liners. When these early ships were packed with people there was little room for cargo. The length of the voyage-about two months -made it hard to keep food properly in the crowded and poorly equipped little ships; so for one reason or another it was almost certain that the first colonists would have to get their food as best they could from the forests and the streams. That was one reason why the Indians were such a danger. Even when they were friendly the work of cutting down the forests and then clearing and planting the land was difficult enough; but when they were hostile the settlers had to divide into parties. One party did the work, while the other, with their guns in their hands, stood guard, watching for the appearance of the Indians.
89. Log Houses of the First Colonists; how Brick came from England. The first colonial houses were built of logs hewn by axes into square timbers. Sometimes the timbers were not even squared, but were merely notched at the ends so that they would fit together; the chinks between the logs were filled with clay.

These first houses had few rooms, of which the kitchen, as a rule, was the most important ; in fact, it was the general living room for the whole family. Its fireplace, built of rough stone, was often immense. Before the fireplace on winter nights the family gathered, while the mother turned


A COLONIAL FARMHOUSE IN NEW ENGLAND her spinning wheel, the father cleaned his gun or mended his implements, and the children were amused by story-telling.

Later many houses were made of brick, and there were a few, even in the early times, whose brick had been brought from England as "ballast," loaded in the bottom part of a ship to keep it steady in the high seas. It is astonishing how soon the cabins of the first settlers were replaced by fine mansions (see Chapter VIII).
90. Earliest Colonial Agriculture; Value of River Lands; Trading for Food; Shipbuilding; Mines. The crops raised by the early colonists have been mentioned-tobacco in Virginia; rice in Carolina; corn almost everywhere. All the settlements lay along the rivers. From the very beginning, rivers decided what the colonists would do ; that is to say, large rivers are usually bordered by wide strips of what is called "bottom"-flat land easily cultivated. The Southern
rivers without exception had such borders; there, naturally, agriculture was easy. As soon as the forests were cleared away fields and pastures took their place, and crops and cattle soon gave the settlers plenty to live upon.

But in New England conditions were different. The rivers were generally small, the banks frequently rocky, and there was little bottom land.


FIRST TOWN HOUSE IN BOSTON, 1658
A reconstruction from an old print Agriculture was difficult, and the settlers found it necessary to send away to the richer lands farther south for no small part of their food. In order to get that food they had to have something to give in exchange for it ; therefore they became fishers and manufacturers. The fish of the Northern seas and the articles manufactured by the Northern men were gladly accepted by the Southerners in exchange for corn, tobacco, meat, rice, turpentine, and timber from their great fields and forests.

In order to carry these products back and forth ships were needed. To meet this demand the New Englanders began to build ships and to sail them. Soon they were among the most expert shipbuilders and most skillful sailors in the world.

Thus the people in the Northern and the people in the Southern colonies came gradually to have widely different occupations. In the middle colonies the occupations of both the other groups of colonies-agriculture and manu-facturing-were followed successfully. Another occupation began in these middle colonies. This was mining. Our first important mines were discovered in the middle colonies,
many of them in Pennsylvania. Throughout the colonial time all the coal and iron mined in our country came from that region. A great deal of it comes from that region still.
91. How the Climate affected the Way of Living; Country Life in the South; Town Life in the North. The climate of the various colonies had an effect on the way of living. In the South the mild weather which prevails during most of the year made it easy for settlers to communicate with each other at any time. The broad, slow rivers never froze, and it was always easy by means of boats to pass from plantation to plantation.


A GREAT CANOE ON A SOUTHERN RIVER Therefore, people lived mainly in the country and did not build many towns. Canoes were used for short trips. For longer journeys big barges were used, rowed by eight or more black slaves. We have seen already that almost everywhere in the South ships could sail up the rivers and load or unload at the plantation wharves (section 30).

In the North, on the other hand, in the days before good roads, the severe weather made it hard for people to communicate during a large part of the year. In winter heavy snow lay deep upon the earth. This was a new experience for most of the colonists because in England there is little snow. The Englishmen in the Northern colonies would hardly have known what to do in winter if the Indians had not taught them the use of snowshoes. But even with snowshoes the Northern settler who tried to live alone through the long Northern winter found life very dreary. He thought often of the mild, open winter of "Merrie England" and of the cheerful life at home-so different from the lonely life of
one family in a solitary American farmhouse surrounded by deep snow over which it was difficult to pass. He tried to better things by building his home near others and helping to form towns.
92. Slavery. In the main the first settlers were neither rich nor poor. Of course there were exceptions. From the beginning there were in every colony a few rich men. There


HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA BUILT BY WILLIAM PENN
were also, at the other extreme, the indentured servants ( section 3I). And in every colony negro slaves were introduced soon after the first shipload was brought to Virginia (section 3I). They were used almost altogether on the farms or as house servants of the rich. Slaves of the latter sort were found everywhere in small numbers. The farm slaves were found only where there were large agricultural estates. In New York the patroons were great holders of slaves. In most of the New England States, where farms were small, there were few slaves, though in Rhode Island, where the farms were larger, slaves were numerous. In all the Southern colonies agricultural labor was done chiefly by slaves. The demand for slaves led to a new business, the "slave trade," which consisted of raids along the coast of Africa and the
bringing over of captured negroes for sale in America. Slavetrading was one of the earliest occupations of the New England seamen.
93. Pirates: Blackbeard and Captain Kidd. Among the other hardships of the colonists was the risk of losing all their property, or even their lives, from the raids of pirates. The government in London was so busy with home affairs that it had little time to attend to America and few ships and soldiers to spare for America's defense. Thus the pirates got their opportunity to do mischief on the American coast. We have seen how they figured in the history of South Carolina (section 83). In Virginia they were almost as great a peril. Perhaps the worst of them was a wretch who called himself Blackbeard. He is said to have had no less than thirteen wives


BLACKBEARD and to have murdered at least three with his own hands. The news that Blackbeard's ship had been seen along the coast was enough to spread terror in Virginia. - But at last a bold sea captain ran him down and cut off his head.

The most famous pirate that ever sailed was Captain Kidd. He was once a respectable seaman whom the governor of New York employed to make war on the enemies of England. But Kidd took the ship that was given to him and turned pirate. He did so many daring deeds that his fame became world-wide. If one believed half the stories told of him, one would think that he and his men always
had a shipload of stolen gold. Up and down the Atlantic coast stories are told of great masses of treasure buried by Captain Kidd somewhere in the neighborhood-nobody knows just where - on a dark night two hundred years ago. Boys hunt in the woods or dig along the shore, hoping to


PINE-TREE SHILLING OF MASSACHUSETTS find a buried chest full of "pirategold." At last Kidd was caught and hanged. 94. Early Indian Wars. In most cases the friendship of the Indians and the whites did not last long. The whites came over so fast and their settlements pushed so far up along the rivers that the Indians began to regret having permitted the strangers to land.

Our first Indian war, called the Great Massacre, broke out in Virginia ( I 622 ). The leader of the Indians, Opechancanough, was a brother of Powhatan, recently dead, to whose power the brother had succeeded. He planned to destroy the English through treachery. On the evening of the last day of March, at many Virginia farms, passing Indians begged to be given shelter for the night. At sunrise next morning these Indian visitors began the massacre by murdering their hosts. This sickening slaughter was followed by much desperate fighting. But the whites were even then the more powerful race; the Indians were beaten back and much of their land was added to the territory of the whites.

Our second Indian war resulted from the advance of the English into the Connecticut valley. The Pequot Indians determined to drive them back. Thereupon the English made an alliance with the friendly Narragansett Indians. The war which followed was short but furious. So great was the danger from the Indians that Massachusetts sent aid to


WEIGHING A BRIDE IN COLONIAL MONEY
John Hull, Treasurer of Massachusetts, gave his daughter as a wedding present her weight in the silver shillings of the colony

Connecticut. A Pequot stronghold on the site of Stonington was taken by storm. The defenders were massacred ( 1637 ), and the Pequots made no further resistance.
95. King Philip's War. Many wars followed, and the Indians produced several great leaders who strove desperately to drive our forefathers into the sea. The first of these was a


A NIGHT EXPEDITION AGAINST THE INDIANS
son of the kindly Massasoit. He had been baptized; ${ }^{1}$ in English he has always been known by his baptismal name, and called King Philip.

Philip made up his mind to recover for his people all their old hunting grounds along the coast. He laid his plans in secret and persuaded many Indians to take part. Suddenly, on a summer day, without warning, he attacked the town of Swansea on the frontier of Plymouth colony (1675). Thus began King Philip's War, in which both sides suffered

[^15]frightful loss. It is estimated that one tenth of all the men of New England were either killed or captured by the Indians. When captured they were often burned alive. In retaliation captured Indians were sent to the West Indies and sold as slaves. A dozen New England towns were burned to the ground. But at length the Indians were beaten, and Philip


OLD BRICK CHURCH NEAR SMITHFIELD, VIRGINIA, ERECTED IN 1632 was killed. Several Indian tribes were practically wiped out. This horrible war did much to fix in the minds of the whites a bitter hatred and distrust of the Indians. Perhaps the Indians were affected the same way. At any rate, all the Indian wars which followed showed the same appalling fury on both sides that was shown in King Philip's War.
96. Nathaniel Bacon. When the war was at its height in New England the Indians made another bloody raid into Virginia (1676). There was at that time in Virginia a fearless and able man, Nathaniel Bacon. On his own- responsibility Bacon raised an army of volunteers, marched against the Indians, and in a fierce encounter broke their strength.

Following Bacon's victory the governor of Virginia, Sir William Berkeley, instead of being grateful to Bacon for defending the colony, became jealous. It is thought that he wanted to trade with the Indians and did not want any real harm done to them. Berkeley proclaimed Bacon a traitor because he had raised his army without asking the governor's
consent. This treatment, for he knew that he had served his country well, put Bacon in a passion. He called on the men he had led against the Indians to come together again and drive the governor out of office. Many of them responded. And then broke out a civil war known as Bacon's Rebellion.

For a time Bacon was successful. He drove the governor out of Jamestown and burned the city. But Bacon died soon after. Then Governor Berkeley got the upper hand


$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { THE "PALACE" OF THE ROYAL GOVERNOR AT NEW BERNE, } \\
\text { NORTH CAROLINA }
\end{gathered}
$$

and took a grim revenge upon the men who had fought for Bacon. In cold' blood he ordered twenty-three to be hanged.
97. Culpeper's Rebellion. Many followers of Bacon, in order to escape being hanged by Berkeley, fled to distant places where the vindictive governor could not reach them. Some escaped into North Carolina and joined the settlements upon Albemarle Sound (section 8I). These men seem to have aroused the spirit of liberty wherever they went. When the Proprietaries of Carolina made harsh laws that bore hard on the people of Albemarle, these refugees took part in an uprising against them which is called Culpeper's Rebellion because of the prominence in it of John Culpeper. The Proprietaries were forced to give way, and the liberties of Albemarle were made secure.
98. Ideas of Government. It was the general belief of the colonists that in crossing the sea they had not given up any

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of the rights of Englishmen. In various charters granted by the kings it was expressly stated that the colonists were to retain these rights. At this time the English Parliament was beginning to take a great part in political affairs and was asserting on behalf of the English nation many rights which the king would have liked to deny but which could no longer be disregarded. Charles I, to be sure, in those acts of his which produced the English Civil War (section 40), had tried to take away the recently acquired rights of his Parliament, but had failed to do so. When his son was restored to the throne of England (section 70) no one dreamed that any later king would ever repeat the course of the obstinate Charles I. Both the British and the American English in the time of Charles II felt secure in the political rights of Englishmen. As these rights for which our fathers' fathers struggled in the seventeenth century, and which were promised us in the old royal charters, are the very foundation of all American liberty, nothing in our history is of more consequence. Five of chief importance were ( 1 ) the right to have an elected legislature which should represent the people as a whole, like the House of Burgesses in Virginia, or the House of Representatives in Massachusetts, ${ }^{1}$ or the House of Assembly in New York, or the General Assembly in Pennsylvania, or the Commons House of Assembly in South Carolina; ${ }^{2}(2)$ the right to control taxation, that is, the right to have the representative assembly determine what taxes should be laid and also to spend, as it thought best, the money which was thus raised; (3) the right to trial by jury which means that if anyone was accused of a crime he had the right to demand that twelve men not connected in any way

[^16]with the government should be called in to form the jury that was to decide his guilt ; (4) the right to many privileges secured to English subjects by the laws of England which protected Englishmen from the arbitrary exercise of the power of the king ${ }^{1}$; (5) after 1689 the colonists were entitled to all the benefits of the famous English law, the Act of Toleration (passed in 1689), which gave freedom of worship to all Protestants and, furthermore, prevented the colonial governments from restricting the holding of public office to the members of their own church, as had been done by the early Puritans in Massachusetts (section 50).
99. New England Confederation. Few things which our fathers did in the seventeenth century are more interesting to their descendants than the first attempt to form an American federal union; that is to say, a great state made up of a number of smaller states all of which act as one in certain ways, while in other ways each manages its own affairs. Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, which was still a separate colony (section 55), united in the New England Confederation. It was formed at the opening of the Civil War in England (r643) and was designed partly to unite the American Puritans for protection against the king, partly to protect the Northern colonies against the Dutch, who were aiming to get possession of the Connecticut valley. The main purpose of the Confederation was to secure joint action by its members in all matters of defense. It was not very successful. There were sharp quarrels as to whether

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proposed measures which pleased some members were just to all. Once, when all the members except Massachusetts wanted to make war on the Indians, Massachusetts stubbornly refused to contribute any soldiers. The council of the Confederation was unable to exert authority, and at last the Confederation broke up (i684).

## SUMMARY

The early colonists encountered many hardships. Their first houses were rude cabins. As all settlements were along rivers, the character of the river valley determined their mode of life. The Southerners with rich river land became agriculturists; the Northerners had little such land and therefore many of them became fishers and manufacturers. They exchanged their products, and thus commerce began in the colonies. Climate also affected their lives because the mild weather of the South permitted easy communication by water, while the severe Northern winter made communication difficult. The Southerners lived chiefly on plantations, while the Northerners drew together in towns. All the colonists were in constant danger from pirates. The Indians also became their enemies and sought to drive them back into the sea. Three terrible Indian wars were the Great Massacre, the Pequot War, and King Philip's War. During King Philip's War the Indians raided Virginia settlements and were defeated by Nathaniel Bacon. The governor of Virginia, jealous of Bacon, treated him harshly and provoked a little civil war in Virginia. Bacon's Rebellion was put down, and many of his followers fled to North Carolina, where they took part in a successful rising against the rule of the Proprietaries. All the colonists believed that in leaving England they had not given up any of their precious political rights, some of which the king had but recently been compelled to acknowledge. Such rights had made England a free country while most others were still despotic. These seventeenth-century colonists made the first American attempt at a federal union, known as the New England Confederation.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, *Colonial Period (9-89), Colonial SelfGovernment (202-231), *Colonial Folkways; Bassett, United States, 89-93; *Becker, Beginnings of the American People; Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia (I, 487-571 ; II, 3-122, 229-254), Economic History of Virginia (I, chap. xviii ; II, chaps. x, xi); *Channing, United States, II ; Coman, Industrial History of the United States, chap. ii ; Fiske, Beginnings of New England (chap. vi), Old Virginia and her Neighbors; Hart, Contemporaries, I, Nos. 86, 91, 92, I23, 127, 129 , 133, 152, 162; *McCrady, South Carolina under Proprietary Government, 39-234; *Osgood, American Colonies (I, 73-79, 84-91, 98-103, 14I-199, 30I-333, 392-427, 496-526; II, 16-438; III, 258-265, 368-376), History of Industry (chap. xv); Payne, European Colonies, chap. iv; Tyler, England in America, I49-1 52.

For the Pupil: Andrews, Ten Boys, 191-207; Coffin, Old Times in the Colonies; Eggleston, Our First Century, 21-41, 61-82; Hart, Colonial Children, 98-104, 149-1 53, 165-170; Irving, Knickerbocker's History of Nezv York; Stone and Fickett, Everyday Life in the Colonies. See also references under Chapter III.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

[r. Describe a voyage to the colonies in early times (see Coman, Industrial History of the United States, chap. ii ; Egerton, Origin and Growth of the English Colonies, chap. iv).] 2. Why did the early colonists find it hard to get food? 3. What crops were raised by the early colonists, and where? 4 . Why did the Southerners develop agriculture? 5. Why did the Northerners become fishers and manufacturers? What industries sprang up in New England? Why? 6. How did trade begin in the colonies? 7 . How did climate encourage the Southerners to live in the country? 8. How did climate induce the Northerners to live very largely in towns? 9 . What danger threatened the colonists along the sea? on land? io. Why did the Indians become hostile?
it. How was the Great Massacre begun? 12. What Indian war was fought in Connecticut? I3. What were the results of King Philip's War? 14. Tell the story of Bacon's Rebellion. 15. What did the Americans consider their five chief rights? [16. State some promises made by the king in a charter (see Macdonald, Select Charters; Andrews, Colonial Self-Government). (The teacher should define "charter" as a document granting rights and privileges in accordance

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with which the persons receiving the grant are to regulate their lives. Somewhere in a royal charter will be found a statement of the rights of the colonists. A good illustration is in the original charter of the Virginia Company. The teacher might read and explain this passage, then require the pupil to find a similar passage in some other charter, say the charter of Massachusetts.)]
[17. Describe the operation of some one of the five chief rights at the present time (see Turkington, My Country). What might happen to us (a) without any elected legislature? (b) if the president, and not Congress, laid the taxes? (c) if there were no juries? (d) if the government could put us into prison without telling us why? (e) if Congress could require us to join a particular church?] 18. What is a federal union? 19. What was the first American federal union? 20. Why was it formed? (Two answers) 21. How did Massachusetts obstruct its action?


RELIEF MAP OF THE UNITED STATES


CARTIER ON THE ST. LAWRENCE

## CHAPTER V

## NEW FRANCE

100. Historical Geography. The eastern half of the present United States comprises two great plains separated by a long, irregular wall of mountains. Along the Atlantic lies the coastal plain, whose rivers come down eastward from the Appalachian Mountains. On the west slopes of the mountains the rivers flow down through the great central plain, where the main stream, the Mississippi, carries their waters to the Gulf of Mexico. During the period between 1607 (section 25) and 1664 (section 69) the English took possession of most of the coastal plain, but they made no serious attempt to penetrate the mountains and they did not settle as far north as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Meanwhile another people, the French, passed up the St. Lawrence River, made their way around the northern end of the mountain wall, and took possession of the central plain.
101. Beginnings of French Colonization. The first explorer of the St. Lawrence ( 1534 ) was Jacques Cartier, who was so pleased by the view from a hill which he climbed that he

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named the place Montreal, or Royal Mountain. The first permanent French colony in America was established by Samuel de Champlain at Quebec (i608). From Quebec Champlain and his Frenchmen set out to explore the country south of the St. Lawrence; in so doing he discovered that lovely lake which still bears his name, Lake Champlain.

(c) Harper \& Brothers

CHAMPLAIN FIGHTING THE IROQUOIS
From "Old Times in the Colonies," by Charles Carleton Coffin
An appeal from the Indians around Lake Champlain led him to join them in an attack upon enemies of theirs. How was Champlain to know that these enemies were the greatest of all the Indian peoples? But such were the Iroquois, afterwards famous as the Six Nations (section 125). The Frenchmen and the Lake Indians fought a battle with the Iroquois warriors, none of whom had ever before heard the report of a gun. When the French fired, the Iroquois thought they had witnessed something supernatural; thereupon these men, who were afraid of nothing human, fled into the woods. The French went back to Canada well satisfied with having
made friends of the neighboring Indians. They did not suspect that by incurring the enmity of the Iroquois they had made a fatal mistake.
102. The Iroquois form a Defense for the English. The French hoped to break up the English colonies. They intended to push down from Canada along Lake Champlain to the Hudson and down the Hudson to the sea; thus they hoped to cut the colonies in two and gradually conquer each


MAP SHOWING EARLY FRENCH EXPLORATION
section, but when they tried to begin their advance southward the Iroquois blocked their path. The English were quick to see how much the friendship of the Iroquois meant. From the English the Iroquois received guns and powder, which they quickly learned how to use. There were English soldiers ready to help them in their fights with the French. As the Iroquois never forgave the French, they decided at last to become subjects of England. In a treaty made at Albany the Iroquois were received into the British Empire (r684).
103. The French take Possession of the Northwest; the Jesuit Missionaries. The French made their way along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and far up into the Northwest. Here and there they built a fort which became a center for Indian trading. Among the forts over which flew the French flag was one that has grown into the city of Detroit; another was at Green Bay in Wisconsin; another was at Mackinaw ; there were many more.

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The French have always known how to get on well with savage peoples. They won the affection of the Indians,except the unforgiving Iroquois,-and the Indians swore faithfulness to the distant king at Paris. This was due very largely to the kindness, joined with bravery, of the Jesuit missionaries sent out from France to convert the Indians - the "Black Gowns," as the Indians called them. No missionaries have ever endured greater suffering with more noble courage. Especially terrible were the sufferings inflicted on them by the Iroquois, whom they tried in vain to Christianize. One of these heroes, Father Isaac Jogues, after returning from a missionary journey wrote an account of his torture by the Iroquois. Undismayed by their cruelty he went back to the Iroquois country and was there brutally put to death.
104. Joliet and Marquette explore the Mississippi. A young fur trader named Joliet, together with a noted Jesuit priest, Father Marquette, made the most important of the French discoveries in America. The Indians had told him of a great river under the setting sun which they called Misisissippi, or "Father of Waters." The explorers thought that this river might flow west into the Pacific and thus open for the French an easy road to Asia. To find out, they left Green Bay, Wisconsin, with five Indians and went up the Fox River to its head in birch-bark canoes; thence they carried the canoes across a piece of high land and found the headwaters of the Wisconsin River. Launching the canoes again, they paddled down the Wisconsin until it joined an immense river some two miles in width. They had found the Mississippi (1674). Down this enormous stream they floated, day after day and week after week, until they were convinced that its course was certainly southward. Therefore it could not lead to Asia; instead, it must lead to the regions controlled by the king of Spain. When they got to the mouth of the Arkansas River they decided that it
would not be safe to go any farther at present. They were eager to report their discovery to the king of France, and began to be afraid of meeting Spaniards, who perhaps would kill them and pretend to hạve explored the upper Mississippi themselves. Therefore they reluctantly turned back toward Canada, but on their way home they took a fresh course and explored the Illinois River. In going from its headwaters to Lake Michigan they passed over the spot where Chicago now stands.
105. La Salle completes the Discovery of the Mississippi; he founds Louisiana. The news brought back to Canada by Marquette inspired yet another famous French explorer, Robert de la


LA SALLE AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI

Salle. Following very nearly Marquette's course on his return journey, La Salle also. passed over the site of Chicago or near it. His voyage down the Mississippi began in midwinter. At first the brave Frenchmen had to steer their frail boats among masses of floating ice ; nevertheless they kept resolutely on. So long and slow was the voyage that spring came before its end. At last, on a bright April day, they came out from the mouth of the river upon the waters of the Gulf of Mexico (1682). La Salle landed and set up a
cross and a post; on the post his men carved the name of the king of France-Louis XIV - and the French coat of arms. La Salle drew his sword and said, "I take possession of all this land in the name of the king of France." He named the country Louisiana.
106. New France. Soon after his great journey La Salle died. His work was carried on by another Frenchman, named


BUILDING OF THE GRIFFON, THE FIRST SHIP THAT SAILED THE GREAT LAKES

From Hennepin's "Découverte" Bienville, whom King Louis appointed governor of Louisiana and in whose time were founded Mobile (I702) and New Orleans ( 17 I8).

Other towns were founded along the Mississippi and its tributaries. Before long there was a chain of forts each of which formed a convenient stopping place on the long journey from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. The king of France declared that the whole Mississippi Valley, as well as Canada, now belonged to him. To all that vast domain was given the name "New France."

This French colonial empire was widely different from the colonies of England. It contained very few actual settlers. Except along the St. Lawrence there were hardly any Frenchmen who cleared the land and became farmers. The only real towns were at the two extremities, the lower St. Lawrence and the lower Mississippi, where French ships came to anchor. Almost all New France remained a wilderness. The few Frenchmen in it were soldiers or traders or priests, stationed at the various forts scattered along the rivers or the Indian trails. There was scarcely any business except
fur-trading, and this was carried on at the forts. What the French really accomplished was merely to extend their rule

over a number of Indian tribes and to station among them handfuls of French soldiers who conducted the fur trade. The king of France had become the greatest Indian ruler in the world.

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At that time the French people had no voice in determining how they should be governed. A hundred years later, inspired largely by the examples of England and America, they rose against their king and established the glorious French republic. But when Louis XIV ruled France he gave no heed to either the wishes or the interests of the mass of the people. He denied that they had any rights. He alone made the laws, laid the taxes, and imprisoned his subjects or set them free at his pleasure. As he ruled old France, so he intended to rule New France. He intended also to conquer the English colonies, abolish their free institutions, and add their territory to his dominions. How he tried to do this and why he failed we shall now see.

## SUMMARY

In the seventeenth century the English settled the coastal plain which lies between the Appalachian Mountains and the Atlantic. Meanwhile the French entered the St. Lawrence valley, turned the north end of the mountains, and came down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. But their colonial empire, called New France, differed from the English colonies in having few actual settlers. It remained almost altogether a wilderness, having hardly any industry but the fur trade. The king of France was then a despotic ruler by whom the French people were held in complete subjection. No free institutions such as those of the English colonies were tolerated in New France. The French king aimed to conquer those colonies and extend over them his despotic sway.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, 35-67, III-II5; Brigham, Geographic Influences in American History, chap. i ; Channing, United States, II, chaps. v-vi ; Fiske, Discovery of America, chap. xii ; Hart, Contemporaries, I, chap. v; Hirchсоск, Louisiana Purchase, chaps. i, ii ; King, New Orleans; *Parkman, Pioneers of France in the New World, The Jesuits in North America, and La Salle and the Discovery of the Mississippi; Thwaites, France in America, chaps, i-iv,

For the Pupil: Archer, Stories of Exploration and Discovery, chap. xviii ; Baldwin, Discovery of the Old Northrwest; Catherwood, Heroes of the Middle West; Channing and Lansing, Story of the Great Lakes, chaps. iii, vi, xii ; Drake, The Making of the Great West, 85-I23; Edgar (Ed., condensing Parkman), The Struggle for a Continent, 83124, 130-135, 149-1 56, 186-222; Johnson, French Pathfinders in North America, chaps. iv, viii-xiv, xxx-xxxii ; Southworth, Builders of America, chaps. xv-xviii, xxii ; Tappan, Letters from Colonial Children.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. What are the main features of the geography of the eastern half of the United States? 2. How did the French enter America? 3. How did Champlain make enemies of the Iroquois? [4. What do you think might have happened if Champlain had made friends of the Iroquois? (The teacher here can bring out what is meant by a "buffer" state. The Iroquois, because of their hatred of the French, formed a buffer state, protecting the English colonies on the north. This buffer state formed a dam, so to speak, that forced the stream of French settlement to flow westward instead of southward.)]
5. How was the Northwest explored? 6. How did France acquire the Mississippi Valley? 7. What regions composed New France? [8. Draw a map showing the portions of North America occupied by Spain, England, and France about 1730. Indicate what lands were claimed by the English but not occupied. Show the chain of French forts (see section 106; also maps on pages III, II5).] 9. How did New France differ from the English colonies? (Three answers)


MARQUETTE AND JOLIET ON THE MISSISSIPPI


GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE GIVING ORDERS TO GEORGE WASHINGTON

## CHAPTER VI

## THE WARS FOR EXISTENCE

107. James II; the Great Province. In 1685 the Duke of York became king of England as James II. He admired and envied Louis XIV and wished to rule us as Louis ruled the French. With that end in view he would have liked to abolish the separate colonial governments and merge all the colonies together in one great province, but he hesitated about dispossessing the great lords proprietors of Maryland, Carolina, and Pennsylvania. He decided to begin by combining in one province all the middle and Northern colonies from Maine to New Jersey. He thought himself strong enough to put down the opposition which his course would arouse. His attitude was expressed by one of his officers, who told the people of Massachusetts that the king's subjects in New England did not differ much from slaves and that the only difference was that they were not bought and sold. In this spirit James appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of all New England as well as of New York and New Jersey. He was ordered to combine all these colonies
in the "Dominion of New England" and to destroy their elected assemblies through which they governed themselves.
108. The American Opposition to James II; the Connecticut Charter. But James and Andros did not understand the American spirit. Everywhere our fathers refused to obey the arbitrary king and his domineering governor. What happened at Hartford has never been forgotten. Andros determined to get the Connecticut charter (section 55) into his possession. This precious document was kept with utmost care at Hartford. Andros went to Hartford with his soldiers to obtain it. According to the story that has come down to us he met the Connecticut officials


ANDROS'S DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND in a conference by candlelight, and though they made an eloquent argument in defense of their liberties, he refused to consider it. The officials were powerless. Reluctantly they ordered the charter brought in, and it was laid on a table before the governor. Then, suddenly, all the candles were blown out. When they were lighted again the charter had disappeared. Andros was very angry, but he never discovered what became of the charter when the candles were out. It was safely hidden in a big hollow oak which was called the Charter Oak ever after.
109. The Whole Empire rebels against James II; the Revolution of 1688 . In England plans were laid to get rid of the tyrannical king. He had a daughter, the Princess Mary, who was married to the Prince of Orange, a great noble of

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Holland and president of the Dutch Republic. Several noted Englishmen signed a letter to the Prince of Orange asking him to come to England and help them drive out King James. Naturally Princess Mary hated to take part in a movement to depose her father, but at last she gave her consent. The prince, with a great fleet and army, sailed for England. James fled to France, and William and Mary were crowned king and queen of England.

This driving out of James II was known as the Revolution of 1688 - the year in which it occurred. The Americans played their part in it. They rose against the royal officers and compelled them to lay down their power. In some places they did not succeed without a struggle. The sharpest fight. was in New York, where the popular party was led by Jacob Leisler. They won the day and proclaimed William and Mary king and queen. The new sovereigns permitted the New Yorkers again to have an elected assembly (section 73).
110. The Overthrow of Andros. Andros was at Boston when the revolution began. The Prince of Orange had issued a declaration calling upon all officials who had been turned out of office by King James to resume their offices. John Winslow brought the declaration to Boston, and Andros threw him into prison, but it was too late to stop the revolution. Presently Boston was filled with armed men, the royal garrison was forced to surrender, and now it was Andros's turn to go to prison. The men who had been put out of office to make way for his arbitrary rule were restored, and Andros himself was packed off to England for trial. In time the generous new king, William III, pardoned him. The colony was made a royal province to which Plymouth was annexed. Freedom of worship was extended to all Protestants.
111. James II appeals to the King of France; the French attack the English. When his subjects drove him out James II fled to France. He appealed to Louis XIV on
the ground that all kings should stand together and help each other against their subjects. Louis responded to his appeal. The exiled James was received in France as an honored guest, a palace was placed at his disposal, and the French army prepared for war ( 1689 ).
112. The French attack Schenectady. The war which followed was the opening of a long struggle between the English


THE RAID ON DEERFIELD
people and the Bourbon dynasty - that family of French kings of which Louis XIV was the most famous member. In America the first event of importance was typical of the whole series of deadly conflicts. It took place at the village of Schenectady near Albany. One night in the midst of winter ( 1690 ) a party of French and Indians came softly through the surrounding forest and across the snow. Stealthily they drew near the village. The inhabitants were all asleep. Two big snow men which had been built in sport at the entrance to the village were its only guardians. Suddenly, with a wild yell, the savages rushed into the village street. There followed a desperate fight. The people in
each house defended themselves as best they could, but without success. Almost all were either killed or carried off as prisoners to Canada. Only a handful escaped across the snow to Albany.
113. The Double Danger of the Americans (French on the North, Spaniards on the South); Deerfield; Charleston. After the death of Louis XIV the struggle was carried on by later


THE ATTACK ON CHARLESTON
kings of his family who allied themselves with Spain. Therefore the Americans were subject to attack from both sidesfrom the north the Bourbon armies with their Indian allies carried fire and sword into the English dominions from eastern Maine to western New York ; on the south Spanish ships swept the coasts of Georgia and Carolina, while Indians under Spanish direction desolated many settlements.

Two events which occurred about the same time show how real was the double danger-on the north a brutal raid from Canada ended in the burning of Deerfield (1704); on the south a Spanish fleet besieged Charleston, but was driven off after a stubborn defense of the city ( 1706 ).
114. How the Wars brought the Colonists together. Another main feature of these wars was their effect in bringing the
colonists together and in causing them to rely on each other for aid. ${ }^{1}$ Then, too, the wars caused them to go forth outside the English boundaries and act as one people against foreigners. At one time the men of New York and New England combined to invade Canada ( 1690 ). The invasion was not a military success, but it helped to make all the Northern colonies better friends than they had been before. At another time the Southerners invaded Spanish Florida and just missed taking St. Augustine (1702).
115. The Indian Danger in the South. In all these wars Indians played a great part. In the North the friendship of the Iroquois was of priceless value to the Americans; in the South, on the contrary, we had no Indian allies of anything like the power of the Iroquois. The most threatening Southern tribe was the Tuscaroras, with whom we fought a desperate war in the midst of the struggle with France and Spain. The Tuscarora War began with a downpour of Indians upon the frontier settlements. Both the Carolinas and Virginia instantly combined to protect the frontier. The chief battle was won by an army from South Carolina commanded by John Barnwell (1712), who routed the Indians near New Berne in North Carolina. The war ended in the complete defeat of the Indians. ${ }^{2}$
116. The Spanish Attack on the South; American Victory at Frederica. Another great event which took place in the South was the attempt of Spain to invade Georgia from the sea. An immense Spanish fleet carrying an army of five thousand men laid siege to Frederica in Georgia (1742). Oglethorpe (section 84), who took command of the Americans, had but eight hundred soldiers. In the fierce battle of

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the Bloody Marsh his little army surprised the advancing Spaniards on the edge of a dense wood and defeated them with great slaughter. The terror-stricken survivors sailed away.
117. The French Attack on the North; American Victory at Louisburg. In the North the New Englanders won as great a victory over the French. Under Colonel Pepperrell of Maine their army sailed to Cape Breton Island, where the French had built the great fortress of Louisburg, which was called the Gibraltar of North America. It was so called because Gibraltar was the strongest fortress in Europe, and the French thought that Louisburg was also too strong for anybody to take. But Pepperrell took it in 1744 . The king was so pleased that he made Pepperrell a baronet. ${ }^{1}$ He was the first American to receive this honor.

## 118. The Six Years' Pause before the Last French War. Up

 to this time neither side had gained much advantage. After sixty years of struggle and suffering (1689-1748) the English in America were still in danger of being conquered by the Bourbons. Both sides now resolved to bring the matter to an end. During a short period of peace-only six years ( 1748 -i 754 ) - the two powers were getting ready for the final struggle. At this time there were two farsighted men among the American governors: one was the Marquis Duquesne, the French governor of Canada; the other was Robert Dinwiddie, the English governor of Virginia. Both saw that the country between Lake Erie and the Ohio River was at that moment the most desirable part of America. ${ }^{2}$ If the French could get it they would have an easy way to invade Virginia and cut the colonies in two.[^19]
MAP OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS


MAPS SHOWING THE GROWTH OF ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN AMERICA

Duquesne was first to act. He sent out an armed force for the purpose of constructing a chain of forts from Lake Erie to the headwaters of the Ohio. To carry a letter of protest to the French commander who was building the forts, Dinwiddie looked about for a brave, hardy, quickwitted man whom nothing could dismay, but who, even when dealing with enemies, would never forget to be a gentleman. The man he chose, though only twenty-one, was a great athlete, over six feet tall, a splendid horseman, a hunter, who had been in the Indian country and knew much about Indian ways-George Washington. To this courageous messenger Dinwiddie gave a letter for the French commander. The letter stated that the land on which they stood (Fort Le Bœuf) belonged to Virginia, and demanded that the French go back to Canada.


3

## WASHINGTON AT FORT LE BGEUF

From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher

Fearlessly young Washington set out on his dangerous journey of some five hundred miles. He performed it successfully and returned, bringing word to Dinwiddie that the Frenchmen, though they received him politely, refused to go back.
119. Washington wins the Fight at Great Meadows; Fort Necessity. The French now advanced more rapidly. They drove away a party of Virginians who were fortifying the place where Pittsburgh now stands, and there they built a fort which they named Duquesne in honor of their governor.

But Dinwiddie sent Washington with a small Virginia army to oppose them. The French heard of his coming and marched against him. Near Great Meadows in Pennsylvania the two armies met (May 28, 1754). After a sharp fight the French retreated.

Though victorious, Washington was in a dangerous situation, for the French soldiers at Fort Duquesne greatly outnumbered his own. Soon they were besieging him in a little fort he had built and named Fort Necessity. Seeing that it would be impossible to hold the fort, Washington agreed to surrender on condition that he should be allowed to take all his men home to Virginia. The French agreed, Washington retreated (July 4, 1754), and thus the last war between the Bourbons and the English for the possession of America had begun. Though called the Seven Years' War, because that was the period of the fighting in Europe, it lasted nine years in America.
120. Second Expedition against Fort Duquesne; Defeat of Braddock. Naturally the English were eager to make up for the failure at Fort Necessity. A force of regular soldiers commanded by General Braddock was sent over from England. Braddock was as brave a man as ever lived, but he thought he knew all there was to know about waging war. When Washington told him that he ought to use the Indian way of fighting he laughed. "Over here," said Washington,

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"the Indians have taught us to hide behind rocks and trees and not to expose ourselves." "British soldiers do not hide," said Braddock. He ordered his men to cut a road through the forest. They marched along it, all in their bright-red coats, as if they were marching along a city street. Suddenly, out of the forest, on both sides, bullets began to rain upon them. Many of the English were shot down, Braddock among the rest. Then Washington took command. He and his Virginians, fighting in the Indian fashion, held the enemy off, while the remnant of Braddock's army retreated.
121. The French at First Successful; William Pitt. The French were successful almost everywhere in the early part of the war. ${ }^{1}$ And then, just when the outlook was most gloomy for England, a very great man became head of the government. This was William Pitt." "I can save England," he said, and he kept his word. We shall hear of Pitt again, and see how Americans learned to love him. He began to earn our love by the great reforms he made in the methods of the army. One of his first orders was that American officers (who hitherto had been treated as amateur soldiers) should have the same rank and importance that British officers had. This was the end of all such things as Braddock's stubborn refusal to listen to Washington.
122. Wolfe captures Quebec. Pitt chose his generals well, and many famous victories were won by them in various

[^20]parts of the world. But none of these great victories is more celebrated than the victory won by General Wolfe at Quebec. The French thought Quebec was the key to Canada. At Quebec was the best French general in America, the gallant Marquis de Montcalm, with a French army.
A British fleet brought Wolfe's army up the St. Lawrence and anchored near the city. Montcalm, however, felt sure that the English could never succeed in landing their army. He watched the fleet closely, but without fear. One dark. night Wolfe put his army into boats, rowed softly past the town, and landed at the foot of an immense cliff overlooking Quebec. In the darkness, slowly, silently, the men climbed the face of the cliff.


CLIMBING TO THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM When the sun rose Montcalm saw the English "redcoats" drawn up in battle line, looking down on the city. The heart of the brave Frenchman sank. Wolfe had now the advantage of him, and he knew that if he lost Quebec there would be an end to New France. Quickly Montcalm formed a battle line and gave the word of onset, but so deadly was the English fire that the French line wavered. Wolfe ordered his men to charge, and the French gave way. Their brave commander fell, mortally wounded. Strangely enough Wolfe also received a death wound. As he lay upon the ground he heard

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a shout, "They run; they run!" "Who run?" he asked. "The French," replied an officer. "Then I die content," said Wolfe (1759).
123. Pontiac; France loses her American Possessions, 1763. This great defeat of the French was followed soon after by


THE DEATH OF WOLFE the end of the Seven Years' War (i763). ${ }^{1}$ Another Indian war was fought after peace had been made. There was an Indian from Michigan, named Pontiac, a friend of the French, who felt sure that if he boldly attacked the English, the French would come back and renew the fight. Led by Pontiac, the northwestern Indians attacked Detroit ( 1763 ) and carried the war eastward as far as Pittsburgh, but the French did not come back, and Pontiac was left to fight the English without their aid. Naturally he and his Indians were soon overcome.
The French king lost all his splendid American empire except some islands in the West Indies, and two little islands (Miquelon and St. Pierre) off the coast of Newfoundland that were used as fishing stations. All of New France east
${ }^{1}$ In the last years of the war a dispute with the Cherokee Indians developed into another murderous conflict, the Cherokee War ( 1760 -1761), waged on the Carolina frontier.
of the Mississippi, except New Orleans, was added to the British Empire. Spain was compelled to cede Florida ${ }^{1}$ to the English.
124. Results of the Wars for Existence. The year 1763, which marked the close of the wars, is one of the greatest years in American history. Two things had happened than which no other two have done more to make the Americans a great and powerful nation:
I. All danger of the overthrow of free institutions by the despotic Bourbon kings was gone forever. This meant that Americans were never again to be in serious danger of losing those precious rights for which their ancestors had striven bravely during many centuries.
2. A great new area had been opened up for American settlement. From this time forward "the West" was the part of our country toward which men turned as to the land of promise where were rich possibilities not to be found in the old states along the Atlantic coast. A great deal of later history is filled with the effort to make the West bigger and bigger, to push its boundary farther and farther toward the setting sun. The fact that we have a West at all, that ours is not a small country crowded between the eastern mountains and the sea, is due to the thousands of brave men and women who laid down their lives for their country during the wars for existence.

## SUMMARY

James II sent over Sir Edmund Andros to combine the northeastern colonies in the "Dominion of New England" and to rule them despotically. James's course roused general opposition, and in the Revolution of 1688 he was driven from the throne, and his daughter Mary and her husband, William III, became queen and king of England. James fled to France, where Louis XIV promised to help him regain his throne. Louis was the most
${ }^{1}$ France gave Spain what was left of New France to compensate for the loss of Florida. Twenty years later England ceded Florida back to Spain.

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famous king of the Bourbon dynasty, noted for its bigotry and its despotism. During seventy years the Bourbons conducted a series of wars with the English, aiming chiefly at the conquest of the English colonies. They formed an alliance with the kings of Spain and attacked the colonies from both north and south. At last William Pitt, in the Seven Years' War, broke the Bourbon power and added most of New France to the British Empire. The colonies were thus freed from the danger of having their free institutions overthrown by a Bourbon despot ; also the West was opened to English settlement.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: *Andrews, Colonial Self-Govermment, chap. xvii; Bassett, United States, II 5-1 32; Becker, Beginnings of the American People; Channing, United States, II, chaps. vii-xix; Cross, History of England; Green, Short History of England, chap. ix, sections 6-9; Greene, Provincial America, chaps. vii-x; Hart, Contemporaries, I, chaps. xviii-xx ; *MACAULAy, Essays on Lord Clize and William Pitt; * Parkman, Half Century of Conflict, Montcalm and Wolfe, and Pontiac; *Seeley, Expansion of England, 225-250; Thwaites, France in America, chaps. vi-xvii ; *Wrong, The Conquest of New France (Chronicles of America).

For the Pupil: Baldwin, Conquest of the Old Northwest, I-I49; Blalsdell, Story of American History, 112-126; Catherwood, Heroes of the Middle West; Eggleston, Life in the Eighteenth Century, 22-26, 52-60, 6ı-84, 92-106; Gordy, Stories of Early American History, chap. xxii; Hart, Colonial Children, 135-150; Parkman, Montcalm and Wolfe, chaps. vi, vii, xxv, xxvii, xxviii; Wilson, George Washington, chap. iii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What did James II want to do in America? 2. How were the king's plans defeated? 3. What happened in the Revolution of 1688 ? 4. Why did the Bourbon kings make war on the English? 5. What happened at Schenectady? [6. Why did all the early French invasions of the colonies take place in the Northeast? Show how geography helped the English by preventing French attacks from the west. Show how the "buffer" state of the Iroquois prevented a French attack from the northwest. (The teacher should make plain the great value to the colonists of the mountain barrier on the west and of the closing of the

Mohawk Valley to the northwest.)] [7. Draw a map showing what is meant by the "double danger of the Americans." Explain how the danger arose. (It is most important to make clear that these wars were conducted from two bases - Canada and Florida - and that until the final war the danger was equal North and South.)]
8. What happened at Deerfield? 9. What happened at Charleston? 10. What took place at Frederica? ir. What was accomplished by Pepperell? 12. How did the final war begin? [13. Tell the story of Washington's part in the war. (See Seawall, A Virginia Cavalier; Wrong, The Conquest of New France, Chronicles of America, chap. vi.)] 14. What great event ended the war in America? Describe the taking of Quebec. I5. What was done with New France by the treaty of peace? [r6. If the Bourbons had conquered the colonies, what changes would have taken place in American life? Have the French any reason to be glad because the Bourbons failed? (The teacher should not fail to make plain that the loss of New France was a turning point in Bourbon power and that it helped, therefore, to make possible the modern democratic world. Had the Bourbons prevailed, the French Revolution might have been long delayed and democracy would not have played the great part it did in the nineteenth century.)]


COLONISTS CAPTURED BY THE INDIANS


A MEET OF HUNTERS AT A SOUTHERN MANSION

## CHAPTER VII

## AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT TO 1763

125. The New Security of the Americans. When the French wars ended and it became certain that we would not be conquered by the Bourbon kings, our fathers had been developing our country for more than a hundred and fifty years. During that time great changes had taken place. The hardships of early colonial life (Chapter IV) were now, except among hunters and trappers in the forests, things of the past. The Indians were no longer a danger except to the distant settlements far removed from the sea. There were still, to be sure, in western New York the powerful Indian confederacy, the Six Nations, ${ }^{1}$ and along the mountain wall in the South the Cherokees still had possession of great forests, but in 1763 both the Six Nations and the Cherokees were friendly to the Americans. The most striking feature of American life during the next ten years was its comparative
${ }^{1}$ So the Iroquois had come to be known; their six tribes were Mohawks, - Onondagas, Cayugas, Oneidas, Senecas, and Tuscaroras. These last came north and joined the others after their defeat in 1712. (section 115).
freedom from danger. The pirates (section 93) had disappeared from the sea; the French had been driven off our Northern frontier; the Spaniards had been beaten so thoroughly that they were no longer a danger on the Southern frontier; westward the Indians were quiet. After a hundred and fifty years of constant peril peace came to the Americans as a great joy.
126. Colonial Trade; the Molasses Act; Navigation Acts. In the main the country was prosperous. This was due to its large trade. Here, again, the friendship of the Western Indians was a piece of good fortune. The fur-traders who went into the Indian country came home with rich cargoes, and now that all the West as far as the Mississippi was freed from the trade restrictions imposed by the jealous Bourbon kings (section 106), American traders were eagerly flocking into those far regions from which formerly they were excluded. Thus began that Westward movement of the Americans which led in time to the formation of so many states of our present Union.

Many things besides furs were carried abroad by ships built and owned in America. Cotton, rice, indigo, ${ }^{1}$ dried fish, hemp, iron, tar, turpentine, and lumber were the leading American exports. The imports included most, though by no means all, of the manufactured articles used in the colonies and practically all the luxuries. Hardware, silverware, and beautiful furniture from England, silks and wines from France and Portugal, and tea, spices, and exquisite porcelain from China found their way plentifully to the colonies.
However, American business was hampered by certain acts of the British Parliament designed to keep colonial

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ELIZA LUCAS ON HER PLANTATION
From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher
manufactures from competing with English manufactures; for example, colonial manufacture of hats was prohibited. Other Parliamentary laws restricted trade. In 1733 the Molasses Act forbade the colonists to buy sugar or molasses except in those West India islands which lay within the Empire, but Parliament would not take the trouble to see that the act was enforced, and the Americans got round the law by means of smuggling. Sugar was bought cheap in the French West Indies. The New Englanders imported quantities of molasses, which they


CAPTURING A WHALE made into rum.

Parliament also passed Navigation Acts, with a view to compelling the colonists to export their most important agricultural products to England alone and to buy from England all their manufactures. However, these laws were generally disregarded.

Two lines of trade, in particular,- the slave trade and the whale trade,-were immensely profitable. Though many Americans disapproved of slavery, ${ }^{1}$ and though attempts were made to abolish the slave trade, ${ }^{2}$ it was so profitable and there was such demand for slaves in some parts of the South that the New England sea captains (section 90) often based their fortunes on the trade in slaves.

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Most profitable of all New England industries was the whale trade. The killing of whales by means of a harpoon thrown by a seaman standing in the bow of a ship's boat led to thrilling adventures. From many a little port in New England noble ships, built in New England shipyards, went


A GREAT COLONIAL HOUSE IN NEW YORK, THE "JUMEL MANSION" out to rove the ocean in pursuit of whales. Oil extracted from whale fat made the fortune of many a great merchant.
127. The Rich Men : the Merchant, the Patroon, the Planter. Trade had produced wealth. Among the American merchants were men who, for that time, were very rich. They built fine houses, drove about in stately carriages, wore velvet coats with satin waistcoats, and had quantities of silver on their tables and sideboards. Such a merchant was John Hancock, in whose beautiful house on Beacon Street, Boston, there was a ballroom sixty feet long. Beautiful portraits of these prosperous people were painted by J. S. Copley, our first great artist. In New York also there were great merchants who lived in similar style, but many of the wealthiest New Yorkers made their money from the land. Most of these were descendants of the patroons of the Dutch time (section 65). In their large country houses along the Hudson, with their troops of slaves among their numerous tenants, they lived much as did the great nobles in Europe.

Besides the merchant princes in New England and the great landlords in New York, there were the wealthy planters in the South. Their wealth grew out of the lands granted by the king to their ancestors. After long cultivation these plantations had become very valuable, and the planters loved to beautify them. The houses, generally, were approached through long avenues of oak trees. The gardens surrounding the mansions were laid out in imitation of the famous gardens of Europe, but they contained flowers and flowering trees more gorgeous than were to be found in Europe north of the Alps. Not far from the planter's mansion stood the village of his slaves -not unlike the serf villages which in the Middle Ages were found in Eu-


AN EARLY MAIL COACH rope close to the castles of the lords who ruled the land. 128. Colonial Travel. For all their prosperity- the Americans had not greatly improved their means of communication. Along the rivers they relied on the use of boats, much as their fathers had a hundred years before (section 91). Everywhere, practically, boats had to be used in crossing streams. Bridges were very few. For travel along the coast small ships called sloops were used. The voyage from New York to Philadelphia in a sloop took, as a rule, four days.

Saddle horses were the favorite means of travel by land. Rich people traveled in their own carriages, attended by their servants on horseback. Stagecoaches going from place to place at stated times became familiar soon after the close of the French and Indian wars. One of the first of the "fast" stages was known as the flying machine because

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it conveyed passengers from Philadelphia to New York in only two days. Slower stages required three days. The stagecoach was one of the picturesque features of colonial life,-a great high carriage with seats both inside and on the top and drawn by at least four horses. Besides the driver, it had a "guard," who looked after the wants of the passengers and blew a horn when the stage approached a village.

A serious drawback of all colonial travel was the lack of good roads. Though the king's highway was sometimes fairly good,--like the old post road from New York to Boston,it was oftener a mere trail that had been widened into what we call today a dirt road. Over such highways the royal mail carriers made poor time. So great was the expense of the post office that the rate of postage was very high. Twenty-five cents a letter was not an infrequent charge. As a rule the charge was paid not by the sender of the letter but by the one who received it.
129. Education; the Colonial Colleges. By the end of the great wars every New England colony except Rhode Island had a law making some degree of education compulsory. However, many young Americans were sent to England for their education. This was especially frequent among Southerners, who liked to attend the famous English universities for the study of law. But already several American colleges destined to grow into great institutions had been established. In New England were three-Harvard (section 53), Yale, and Dartmouth; in New York there was King's College, which is now Columbia University ; New Jersey had a college which is known today as Princeton University ; at Philadelphia Benjamin Franklin had founded the University of Pennsylvania; at Williamsburg, Virginia, was the second oldest of all these, the College of William and Mary, founded in honor of the two sovereigns who received the crown in the Revolution of 1688 (section 109). Our first medical school was founded at Philadelphia in 1765 .

Though many Americans, then as now, were not able to go to college, very few were without schooling. As a people they were eager readers. None of the great mansions was without its library. At Westover, Virginia, the library of Colonel Byrd numbered four thousand volumes. New books from England and France found a ready sale in America. Furthermore, the Americans had their own newspapers.


COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA
The oldest of these was the Boston News-Letter, which began to appear early in the eighteenth century (1704). When the French wars ended there were some forty newspapers (though none were dailies) in English America.
130. Population. The extent of the change in American conditions is shown by the increase of population. From a handful of discontented settlers at Jamestown the colonists had increased in number to a million and a half. ${ }^{1}$ Of these, however, some three hundred and fifty thousand were negro slaves. In the North - that is, everywhere north of Mary-land-the slaves were one in ten of the whole population; in the South they were four in ten. This meant that already

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the Northerners and the Southerners had distinctly different ways of living. In the North the greater part of the white population were either small farmers, who did not employ slaves, or merchants, or artisans, or sailors; in whose work slaves were not profitable. This was true both of New England and the middle colonies. From Maine to Pennsylvania none but the few rich people owned slaves; in the South, on


SLAVES GATHERING TOBACCO
the other hand, all the large plantations were worked by slaves. The free artisans were few, and the merchants were not as numerous as in the North. Broadly speaking, even in 1763 the South was an agricultural region; the North was an industrial region. The coal, the iron, the homemade manufactured articles, and the ships of the colonies came from the North; the cotton, rice, tobacco, and much of the beef and other food came from the South. There were no great cities. Philadelphia was the largest, with about twenty thousand people. New York, Boston, Charleston, though smaller, were hardly less important. Baltimore was beginning to take a place among the leading towns. All these lacked conveniences which even petty towns now think they must have.

Their streets were dirty and unpaved and sewers were unknown. Philadelphia alone had a public water supply. It is not strange that ill health abounded in the colonial cities and that epidemics were frequent. In the Southern colonies yellow fever was always to be dreaded.
131. Southern Colonial Life. The Southerners had preserved the old traditions of country life in England. They loved to entertain large companies for days or weeks at a time in their spacious country houses. They delighted in all out-of-door sports, especially riding to hounds; that is, galloping across country following the hounds in pursuit of a fox. In the South, as in England, Christmas was the greatest day of the year. On every plantation at Christmas there was a joyous feast not only for the master and mistress, with their guests, but also for their slaves. The gentlemen wore laced coats brought from England or France ; the ladies wore splendid brocaded gowns. In the evening there would be dancing, while some fine lady played the harpsichord or a group of negro fiddlers bobbed their heads, making music for the merry crowd of dancers.

The Southerners had no town meetings as the New Englanders had. They lived too far apart for anything like that. The Southern colony was divided into counties, the officers of which were appointed by the governor. Invariably the governor bestowed the offices on some of the great gentlemen of the colony ; in fact, the wealthy planters had come to feel that they were entitled to manage the affairs of the county and that such poor people as there were should humbly allow them to do so.
132. New England Colonial Life. In New England the men of chief importance in every locality were the leading merchant and the minister. These men, though not as powerful as the leading planters in the Southern counties, had great influence in the town meeting (section 46), where their advice was almost always accepted by most of the voters.

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The chief feature of New England life was the observance of Sunday, called by its old name, Sabbath. It included the twenty-four hours from sundown Saturday to sundown Sunday. During those hours no work not absolutely necessary was done. Meals prepared the night before were eaten cold. Religious services or pious meditation at home were supposed


A COLONIAL DINING ROOM, JOHN ALDEN HOUSE, DUXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS
to fill one's thoughts. Everybody, young and old, went to church. The sermons were very long, lasting two and even three hours. Sometimes old people who were tired fell asleep or young people grew restless. An official called the tithingman was always on the lookout for such offenders. He had in his hand a long rod with a soft bit of rabbit fur on one end and a brass tip on the other. If a lady began to nod the tithingman wakened her with a touch of the rabbit fur, but if a mischievous boy got unruly he received a rap on the head from the other end of the rod.

There was much in New England life that was lofty and inspiring. Even that stern attention to religion, though it may seem to us too stern, had the effect of making all New Englanders thoughtful. It is not strange that New England produced the first great American philosopher, Jonathan Edwards, who was also a very famous preacher.


A COLONIAL BEDROOM, JOHN ALDEN HOUSE, DUXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS

Then, too, the severity of the long winter compelled people to make indoor life bright and cheerful. No Americans have ever given more attention to what may be called fireside life-the pleasant talk around the fireside in the long, bleak winter evenings. Very probably it was because New Englanders had for generations amused each other by telling tales around the fireside on winter nights that in the nineteenth century they produced the most famous American novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Many of the prosperous men of New England spent most of their time sailing the sea in command of ships. This had

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a great effect on New England life. While the men were at sea their wives learned to manage all the affairs of the family without assistance from their husbands. ${ }^{1}$ Thus New England women came by degrees to feel there was no reason why they should not do, if they wished, almost anything that men did. One result of this, long afterwards, was what is known


FRANKLIN'S PRINTING PRESS AND A MODERN NEWSPAPER PRESS
as the woman's rights movement, which developed into the movement for woman's suffrage, of which we shall hear later.
133. Middle Colonial Life. In 1763 the people of the middle colonies were living about as Americans live today. Among them were rich people, but the rich did not control the government as did the planters in the South. Though the middle colonists were not lacking in regard for religion, they did not share the religious sternness of the Puritans. They were busy, practical, and good-humored. Many of them were just the sort of people we have in mind today when we speak of typical Americans. Already they were showing themselves true Americans by their quickness in

[^24]adapting to their needs whatever they found useful. They put together the county system of the South and the town system of New England. Today their example is followed in most of our states, which, as a rule, have both towns and counties. This is but one of the many things in which the example of the middle colonies has been followed by the greater part of the country.

Though the mechanical history of our country began in the shipyards of New England, the great matter of electrical invention began in Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin demonstrated that lightning and electricity were the same thing. He then invented a machine to generate electricity. The millions of electrical appliances in use today - telegraphs, telephones, phonographs, dynamos, motors, etc.-may all be regarded as the children of the little machine invented by Franklin over a century and a half ago.

## 134. Common Features of Colonial

 Life. All the colonies had the three following features in common:r. At the head of every colony was


STOVE IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

Designed by Franklin and now in the State Library of Virginia a governor. In Connecticut and Rhode Island he was elected by the people ; in Pennsylvania and Maryland he was appointed by the lords proprietors ; in all other colonies he was appointed by the king. His duties were practically the same as those of the governor of a state today, with one important exception. When a bill was passed by a colonial assembly the governor had to see that it received the approval or disapproval of the king. If the king vetoeddisapproved - the bill it could not become a law.

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2. Every colony had an elected assembly, which levied taxes and decided how the money collected should be spent, and generally paid the governor's salary. Thus the colonists put into practice their belief that they had the ancient English right to a voice in the matter of taxation (section 98).


BENJAMIN FRANKLIN 3. Every colony in 1763 permitted religious freedom to all Protestants, though unfortunately complete religious freedom such as was established in Rhode Island and early Maryland was not universal. ${ }^{1}$ However, so general was the feeling against religious despotism that the time was almost come when all Americans were to be given complete religious freedom. Less than thirty years after I763 the new republic of the United States put into its constitution the provision that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."
135. The "First American." During the hundred and fifty years since the settlement of Jamestown the English in America had gradually changed. At first they were merely Europeans who had left their old homes. The famous Americans of the seventeenth century were either born in Europe or in such close touch with Europe that we cannot say America formed them ; but in 1763 there were men who owed nothing to direct experience of Europe, who had been formed altogether by American conditions. Though they

[^25]still called themselves Englishmen, they were different from the English in England. They were the sort of men we meet today everywhere in America. The American people, in distinction from the English people, came into existence about the middle of the eighteenth century. The first conspicuous example of this new sort of man was Franklin; therefore he has been sometimes called the first American.

Franklin had an adventurous career. Born in Boston in i 706 of poor parents, he went as a boy to Philadelphia, where he learned the trade of printer. He had a passion for scientific study. Educating himself as best he could, he became in time so noted as a scientist that he was made an honorary member of some of the most important scientific societies of Europe.

He was also a great writer, celebrated for his wit. The king made him deputy postmaster for the colonies. He lived to be the first minister of the United States to France, where he was greatly admired. He died in 1790.

## SUMMARY

The French wars were followed by an interval of peace and prosperity. Though Parliament had passed Navigation Acts and other laws restricting American business in various ways, these laws were seldom enforced, and the colonists thought little about them. There were now in the colonies great landholders and great merchants who had wealth and who lived luxuriously. Though some Americans went to Europe to be educated, there were good schools in most parts of the country, and several colleges had been founded. Newspapers were published. The population numbered a million and a half, of whom three hundred and fifty thousand were negro slaves. Most of these slaves were held in the South, which was mainly an agricultural region, while the North was chiefly an industrial region. In most of the colonies, in one way or another, the wealthy and educated people formed practically a local aristocracy. Every colony had the same three features in its government: a governor stood in place of the king;

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the Assembly levied taxes ; there was freedom of religion for all Protestants. Though the colonists still called themselves Englishmen, new conditions had somehow changed them ; they had become a new people-the Americans.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, Colonial Self-Government, chaps. xviiixix; *Colonial Folkways (Chronicles of America); *Andrews (Ed.), Journal of a Lady of Quality; Bassetr, United States, chap. vi; Bogart, Economic History of the United States, chaps. iii-vi; Brigham, Geographic Influences (chap. iii), From Trail to Railway (chap. ii); Bruce, Social History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century; Callender, Economic History of the United States, 6-68, 78-108, 742-748; Channing, United States, II, 252-272, 367-398, 40I-454, 462-526; Coffin, Old Times in the Colonies; Earle, Customs and Fashions in Old Newe England; Fisher, The Quaker Colonies (Chronicles of America); Fiske, Old Virginia, chaps. i, xiv; Hart, Contemporaries, I, chap. xxi ; McCrady, South Carolina under the Proprietary Government, 482-494, 504-512; MERENES, Maryland, 104-I28; OsG00D, History of Industry, chap. xvi ; Ravenel, Eliza Lucas Pinckney; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, I, chaps. viii, ix, xi.

For the Pupil: Baldwin, Discovery of the Old Northwest; BlaisDEll, Story of American History, 222-326; Brooks, Stories of the Old Bay State, I 09-I 38 ; "Colonel Byrd of Westover, Virginia," Century Magazine, June, r891; "Perils and Romance of Whaling," Century Magazine, August, I 890 ; Earle, Home Life in Colonial Days; Eggleston, Life in the Eighteenth Century, IO7-182; Faris, Real Stories from Our History, chaps. i-vi, ix-xiv; Gordy, Stories of Early American History, chap. xvii; Hart, Colonial Children, 94-100; Camps and Firesides, 1-37, 153-309; Southworth, Builders of Our Country, chaps. i-ix. Stone and Fickett, Everyday Life in the Colonies. See also references under Chapter III.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. In what ways had colonial life changed? [2. Suppose you came to the colonies about 1750 and had the notion that Americans still lived as they did in 1650 , what surprises would you meet? (See Chapter IV; also Earle, Home Life in Colonial Days; Eggleston, Our First Century; Hart, Contemporaries, 173, 214, 224, 235, 266 ; Muzzey, Readings, $50,75$.$) ] 3. What were the chief colonial exports? 4. What was$
the purpose of the Navigation Acts? [5. Imagine yourself a traveling agent sent from England to see what was the effect of the Navigation Laws; write home a letter describing colonial industry (see Osgood, History of Industry, chaps. xv, xvi).]
[6. Imagine yourself an English visitor on a Southern colonial plantation; write home to England describing your visit (see Andrews, Journal of a Lady of Quality).] 7. What broad difference was there between the North and the South? [8. Imagine yourself a visitor in the house of a great colonial merchant; write home telling how you are passing your time (see Andrews, Colonial Folkways).] 9. How did a rich man in Pennsylvania differ from a rich man in Virginia? 10. Explain the difference between the government of a Southern county and the government of a New England town.
II. What officer in each colony represented the king? What colonies elected governors? Where were the governors appointed by the lords proprietors? Where were they appointed by the king? [12. Prepare a map showing the royal colonies of 1763 . Contrast with the map prepared at the close of Chapter III.] I3. How were taxes levied in each colony and how were they spent? [14. Narrate the life of Franklin (see his Autobiography and More's Benjamin Franklin).]


THE BOWLING GREEN


PULLING DOWN THE STATUE OF KING GEORGE

# THIRD DIVISION. HOW THE BRITISH EMPIRE BROKE IN TWO 

## CHAPTER VIII

## TROUBLES INSIDE THE EMPIRE

136. The Formation of the British Empire. In the hundred and fifty years during which the English had been colonizing America they had made settlements or conquests in every quarter of the globe. In 1763 a large part of India as well as a considerable number of trading posts in Africa were ruled by English governors. Long before Canada was conquered, an English colony was planted to the north of it on the shores of Hudson Bay. England held important colonies in the West Indies. These various countries-the British Isles, India, British Africa, the British West Indies, the American colonies-composed together the great British Empire, which had begun with the union of England and Scotland when James I succeeded Queen Elizabeth.
137. The Consolidation of the Empire. At first the different states which composed the empire were very loosely held together. By degrees, however, the parts of the empire were more closely united. This was due to three changes that took place between the time of James I and I763:
r. The commerce of the empire became enormous, employing a multitude of ships sailing every sea, back and forth, among hundreds of ports. To protect this commerce a great navy was created. Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Americans, all shared in the commerce and all were protected by the navy. But how was the commerce to be regulated and how was the navy to be maintained? As England was unquestionably the head of the empire, England's Parliament by common consent took charge of the whole matter of regulating the commerce and maintaining the navy.
138. The Revolution of 1688 (section 109) greatly reduced the power of the king and increased the power of Parliament. Early in the eighteenth century it became the settled custom for Parliament to express its approval or disapproval of the ministers who formed the king's cabinet and who acted in his name. The king was expected to remove ministers who were disapproved by Parliament and appoint others who were acceptable. Thus his power was reduced in England but still remained very great in the colonies.
139. The increase of trade in Great Britain put a great deal of power into the hands of a class of rich men who controlled British business. These men were the "money power" in Great Britain. Their ideas of how the empire should be managed are known as the Mercantile System. They thought that the colonies existed for the benefit of the mother country, and they wanted the colonists to give their whole attention to the production of raw materials - that is, unmanufactured articles, such as grain and lumber - and to buy all their manufactured articles in the British Isles. The

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money power induced Parliament to pass such laws as the Navigation Acts (section 126), designed to prevent the colonists from trading outside the empire, and the Hat Act (section 126) and others, restricting colonial manufactures.

These three changes may be said to have consolidated the empire. The Parliament of Great Britain had come to believe that it was entitled to rule the entire empire pretty much as it thought best.
138. The Americans and the Empire. There were people in America who denied that Parliament was entitled to all the power it claimed. They held that Englishmen in removing to America had come out from under the authority of Parliament and that in each colony the colonial assembly under the king was supreme. They were willing to leave the control of commerce in the hands of Parliament, but denied that Parliament could tax them without their consent. In 1763 the colonies were full of restless, ambitious men seeking new opportunities to increase their fortunes either through taking possession of the country beyond the mountains or through the enlargement of colonial trade. Such men would be quick to resent any new attempt of Parliament either to restrict their trade or to tax them without their consent. On the other hand, the British merchants who had such great influence in Parliament wanted to carry out the Mercantile System in all its provisions, while the king and his ministers wanted to lay what taxes they thought best on all parts of the empire. It would be very easy to provoke a quarrel between these groups of determined men-between the ambitious colonists in America and either the merchants or the politicians in Great Britain.
139. King George III. In 1760 George III became king. He was obstinate and narrow-minded. The teaching of a foolish mother, who said, "George, be a king," had inspired him with determination to be the real ruler of the empire. But in order to get control of the empire the king had first


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to control a majority of the votes in Parliament. For a time he succeeded in doing so. Three things explain his temporary success:

1. He and his advisers aimed to carry out rigorously the Mercantile System and to compel the colonists to conduct their business accordingly. This pleased the money power and secured to the king its support in Parliament.
2. He used bribery on a great scale and bought the votes of unscrupulous members of the House of Commons- the lower House of Parliament, corresponding to our House of Representatives.
3. The British election laws of that day gave a vote to only one man in ten. Furthermore, in many localities one or two great landowners absolutely controlled the elections. One hundred and seventy-seven of these landowners had it in their power to dictate the choice of more than half the House of Commons. Most of the great landlords were noblemen who had seats by inheritance in the upper House of Parliament - the House of Lords, which corresponds to our Senate. By advocating legislation that pleased the nobles the king secured their support in both Houses of Parliament.

King George was opposed in Parliament by a group of broad-minded statesmen and outside Parliament by a great part of the English people. The English political parties were the Whigs and the Tories. The friends of the king were mainly Tories; his chief opponents were Whigs, among whom the most noted were William Pitt, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, the Duke of Richmond, and the Marquis of Rockingham. These men saw that the liberties of England as well as the liberties of America would be destroyed if the king had his way. Nevertheless they were unable to keep the king from committing a long series of blunders which angered the Americans and at last produced a war that broke the empire in two. As a result the king's
friends deserted him, and he was forced to accept Whig ministers. The Whigs then began a series of reforms. The landholders were deprived of their power in the House of Commons. Gradually the control of the government was transferred to the English people. Today England is a

faneuil hall, where many patriotic meetings were held, and THE LEATHER STORE, BOSTON

From an old engraving
democracy; every Englishman and every Englishwoman above a certain age may vote for members of Parliament.
140. The First Blunder: Writs of Assistance. The first of the king's blunders was made while the Seven Years' War was still going on. Military expenses were heavy, and England was running into debt. The king determined to raise money from America by enforcing the provisions of the Navigation Acts and the Molasses Act. ${ }^{1}$ Ships of war were stationed along the American coast to put an end to smuggling

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(section 126). Officers searching for smuggled goods were given a special kind of search warrant, called a writ of assistance, which hitherto had seldom been used in the colony. With one of these writs in his pocket an officer could walk into anybody's house, no matter how innocent the owner might be, search it from top to bottom, and if no smuggled goods were found walk away without so much as an apology. Great indignation was aroused by these writs. James Otis of Boston denounced not only the writs but the laws which had led to their employment. In a famous speech (i76I) he denied the obligation of the Americans to obey such laws. ${ }^{1}$ But in spite of popular protest the royal governor stood firm, and the hated writs continued to be issued.
141. The Second Blunder: the Proclamation Line. A still more significant action of the king's concerned the West. Those enterprising Americans who were so eager to take possession of the West (section 126) were astounded and infuriated in 1763 when the king issued a proclamation closing against them all the country beyond the mountains. To be sure, the proclamation was not obeyed, and bold adventurers continued to "go West," ${ }^{2}$ but they took the risk of being driven out by royal officers, and this did not make them love the king.
142. The Third Blunder: the Stamp Act. The king had made up his mind that America needed a standing army of ten thousand men. He said that its purpose was to protect the country in case of another war. But the Americans,
${ }^{1}$ Otis sought to establish the principle that a search warrant can be issued by a magistrate only when an officer shows good reason for suspecting that some particular person has in concealment in his house the particular things he ought not to have. The Constitution of the United States, affirming this principle, provides (Amendment IV) that "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."
${ }^{2}$ In 1769 , in defiance of the king, permanent settlements were made by Daniel Boone in Kentucky and by William Bean in Tennessee. In the valley of the Holston River a group of settlements formed the Watauga Association.
exasperated by the writs of assistance and the proclamation, were afraid he would use the army as did James II (section 108). When he proposed to make them pay for the army they angrily protested, but no regard was paid to their wishes, nor would the king listen to Pitt (section 12 I), whom he had forced to resign and who now condemned his course. The king's friends in Parliament passed the Stamp Act, which required the colonists to place on every business document-such as a lease, a will, a receipt-and on every pamphlet and newspaper a royal stamp. The stamps were to be bought from the government, and varied in price from half a penny (one cent) to the equivalent of fifty dollars. The sale of these stamps was to help defray the cost of the army.
143. Resistance to the Stamp Act. The way the Americans received


REVENUE STAMP USED IN THE COLONIES this attempt to tax them indirectly might have been foreseen by anyone less obstinate than King George. Everywhere, as with one voice, they refused to buy the stamps. Said John Hancock of Massachusetts, "I will never carry on business under such great disadvantages. . . . I have a right to the liberties and privileges of the English Constitution, and as an Englishman I will enjoy them."

Associations were formed called Sons of Liberty ${ }^{1}$ for the purpose of opposing the law. There were also "Daughters of Liberty," which were women's clubs whose members promised not to use English articles.

In the Virginia Assembly Patrick Henry introduced a set of resolutions declaring that the Assembly had the sole right to tax the Virginia people. Defending his resolutions, he

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cried out: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"-here he was interrupted by cries of "Treason! treason!" He paused a moment, then scornfully continued, as if no interruption had occurred "may profit by their example. If that be treason, then make the most of it."

At the suggestion of Massachusetts, delegates from nine colonies assembled at New York in the Stamp Act Congress, which drew up a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances of the Colonists in America,"-a formal statement of the principle that neither the king nor the British Parliament had any right to tax the Americans without the consent of their own assemblies. Meanwhile, British merchants whose shipments to America went unsold became alarmed and protested against enforcing the act. The Whigs took the matter up in Parliament. In a stormy meeting, after Pitt had made an eloquent defense of America, the king's friends gave way and the act was repealed. So strong was the popular feeling against the act that when Pitt came out of. the Parliament house a great crowd which was waiting received him with a shout. Numbers of people went along with him to his home, cheering all the way. In America the enthusiasm for Pitt knew no bounds. Statues were set up in his honor. One of these, at Charleston, South Carolina, still stands.
144. The Fourth Blunder: New York Assembly Suspended; Disturbances. During the agitation against the Stamp Act the king had kept at New York a part of his proposed American army. He ordered the Assembly to provide quarters for the soldiers. The Assembly refused, and the royal governor suspended it (1767). Two years passed before the Assembly yielded.

Now began a period of general disturbance in America. Several bloody fights took place between royal soldiers and mobs of citizens. In New York there was a fierce riot that
lasted two days ( 1770 ). A famous street fight between soldiers and citizens has been known ever since as the Boston Massacre. ${ }^{1}$ In North Carolina, bands of men called Regulators undertook to prevent the royal governor from exercising his authority. At the Alamance River the governor with his troops defeated the Regulators in a pitched battle ( 177 I ). Seven of their leaders were taken and hanged. The next year (1772) a royal revenue cutter, the Gaspee, was seized by a mob in Rhode Island and burned.
145. The Fifth Blunder : the Townshend Acts; Tea Parties. In the midst of these disturbances the king determined to renew his attempt to tax America. Pitt was no longer in Parliament, and the king's friends, led by Charles Townshend, succeeded in passing a series of acts


SAMUEL ADAMS, LEADER OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PATRIOTS ( 1767 ) which required the colonists to pay duties on certain imports from Englandtea, glass, lead, paints, and paper. Again from all parts of America went up a grim assertion that only through their own assemblies could Americans be taxed; again the king lost his courage. All the duties but a very small one on tea were removed.

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The colonists resolved to pay no duty, however small, that was levied without their consent. When ships laden with tea reached American ports and offered tea at a low price the Americans would not have it because of the duty. At Charleston the tea was seized and locked up in cellars, where it spoiled. At Annapolis the captain of the tea ship Peggy Stewart was compelled to burn it with the cargo. Philadelphia and New York forced the tea ships to sail away. At Boston, while three tea ships lay at dock, a band of citizens disguised as Indians rushed on board, burst open the tea chests, and threw their contents into the harbor. This famous "Boston Tea Party" destroyed nearly a hundred thousand dollars' worth of tea. ${ }^{1}$
146. The Sixth Blunder : the Intolerable Acts. The king's friends in Parliament now passed what we Americans call the Intolerable Acts. (1774).
I. The port of Boston was closed to all shipping until the tea should be paid for, and Salem became the temporary capital of Massachusetts.
2. The charter of Massachusetts was so altered as to make the royal governor practically supreme.
3. All that part of the West lying north of the Ohio River was added to the royal province of Quebec. Although this "Quebec Act" was intended chiefly to give the West an efficient government, it seemed to the angry colonists one more attempt to prevent their crossing the mountains.

The king had now given the Americans four main reasons for their bitterness against his rule: ( 1 ) he had denied them the political rights of Englishmen (section 98); (2) he had attempted to tax them against their will (section 142 ); (3) he had interfered with the free action of their assemblies (section 144); (4) he had tried to coop them up in a narrow strip along the sea (section 141).

[^29]
(C) Harper \& Brothers
"GIVE ME LIBERTY OR GIVE ME DEATH"
From "The Boys of ' 76 ," by Charles Carleton Coffin. Drawn by Edwin A. Abbey

## I 64 SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

147. The First Continental Congress. There was general recognition that all the colonies were in danger of losing their liberties. The feeling which moved them was expressed by Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina, who said, "There ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker, known on this continent, but all of us Americans." Patrick Henry, in advocating general support of Massachusetts against the royal authorities, made another of his ringing statements: "We must fight," said he. . . . "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death!"

Everywhere "Committees of Correspondence" kept the people informed of what was happening at Boston. ${ }^{1}$ By means of these committees, at the suggestion of the Virginia Assembly, a congress or convention of all those opposed to the king was convened at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. This first Continental Congress, of which Washington was a member, was not aiming at separation from England, but its members were determined to enjoy in America the full rights of Englishmen. The Congress did three things that had great results: ( 1 ) it drew up a Declaration of Rights setting forth the belief of the Americans that they had inherited the familiar English rights with regard to taxation; (2) it organized the "American Association," all members of which were to bind themselves not to buy any British goods until Parliament repealed the Intolerable Acts; (3) it sent to the king a humble petition begging him to redress our wrongs.
148. The Seventh Blunder: the Order to arrest the Patriot Leaders; Minutemen. Few of King George's measures were more hurtful to his cause than an order sent over to General

[^30]Gage at Boston for the arrest of John Hancock ${ }^{1}$ (section 143) and Samuel Adams (section 147, note), who were to be taken to London for trial on the charge of treason. This meant that if the king had his way Americans were no longer to have the protection of their own courts. ${ }^{2}$

Gage heard that Hancock and Adams were at Lexington. He also heard that minutemen had a store of powder at Concord. To seize the patriots and destroy the powder eight hundred soldiers left Boston secretly by night. But their movements were watched. Two lanterns hung up in the belfry of the Old North Church of Boston formed a signal to Paul Revere, who, for the


OLD NORTH CHURCH, BOSTON purpose of warning the patriots, was keeping guard on the farther shore of Charles River. Mounting a fast horse, he set out on his famous ride.

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark, And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet: That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light, The fate of a nation was riding that night.

[^31]Hancock and Adams, warned by Revere, withdrew from Lexington and made their escape.
149. Lexington and Concord. Revere also roused the minutemen of the vicinity. Sixty were assembled on the village green when the royal troops, just before sunrise, April 19, 1775, marched into Lexington. A royal officer cried out,


CONCORD BRIDGE
"Disperse, ye rebels," but they did not move. A shot was fired,-it is not known by which side,-and after that, a volley from the soldiers. Eight minutemen were killed and ten wounded; the rest retreated.

The soldiers marched on towards Concord. By this time the alarm had spread far and wide, and minutemen had assembled in large numbers. When the troops attempted to cross Concord Bridge they were met by such a withering fire that, brave soldiers though they were, they could not endure it. They fell back and began their retreat to Boston.

The whole countryside was now swarming with armed men. They fought as the Indians had taught them to dofrom behind trees, fences, stone walls. The royal troops marching along the highways were slaughtered as Braddock's army had been (section 120). Almost all the way to Boston
the fight continued. The loss of the soldiers was about three times that of the minutemen. ${ }^{1}$
150. Siege of Boston; Bunker Hill. As if by magic a militia army, some sixteen thousand men, gathered around Boston, where Gage with six thousand men found himself besieged. ${ }^{2}$ When a force of Americans occupied the high ground back of

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BUNKER HILL
From "The Boys of ' 76 ," by Charles Carleton Coffin. Drawn by Howard Pyle

Charlestown Gage saw that they must be dislodged or they would fire down on Boston and drive him to his ships. He ordered Sir William Howe to drive off the Americans and fortify Bunker Hill. Howe, with nearly three thousand men, advanced against the Americans, who were not more than
${ }^{1}$ The news of Lexington and Concord was carried swiftly by postriders to every corner of the colonies. The next month it inspired the people of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, to pass resolutions declaring themselves no longer subjects of the king.
${ }^{2}$ At first it was a serious question where powder was to be had. Ethan Allen, with some Vermont militia, seized Fort Ticonderoga, capturing quantities of powder and more than two hundred cannon.
half as numerous. Under command of Colonel William Prescott they had thrown up trenches, behind which they waited, silent, for the attack. Prescott, who had been trained in the Indian wars, said to his men, "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes." The royal troops came marching up the hill, in long even lines, all wearing the king's uniform of scarlet, white, and gold. They had almost reached the intrenchments before the Americans fired, but so deadly was the American fire that even the resolute, trained soldiers were thrown into dismay. Great numbers fell dead; the others broke ranks and fled down the hill. But their loss of heart was only for a moment. A second time they charged, and again they were driven back. A third time they charged. The Americans having used up most of their powder slowly gave way before this third attack, and at the end of the day Howe was in possession of Bunker Hill (June 17, 1775). But he had lost in killed and wounded more than a thousand men, twice as many as were lost by the Americans.
151. Whigs and Tories in America. It was now necessary for everyone in America to take sides either with the king or against him. When the dispute began hardly any Americans had approved of the attempt to tax the colonists without their consent, but as time passed the dispute had ceased to be a narrow question over the right of taxation. It had divided the Americans into two great groups: those who were in the main satisfied with conditions in America and those who were not.

The latter group very soon began criticizing not only the particular laws which they condemned but the whole plan of government which made those laws possible. From criticizing the British Parliament they had passed on to criticizing the colonial assemblies. No colony gave the suffrage to all its citizens. These advanced thinkers began to say that everyone should have the right to vote. They complained that rich men had too much influence in the colonies just
as they had too much influence in England. These radicals were known as the American Whigs.

The opponents of the Whigs in America included all those people who were satisfied in the main with American conditions. Among them were many, though by no means all, of the wealthy and influential classes (sections i3 1-133).


INDEPENDENCE HALL
Among these were some of the great merchants, who were as well satisfied with the Mercantile System (section 137) as were the merchants of England. These began to fear that the movement against the king might end in a general change and perhaps impair their fortunes. Some of the great landholders began to have a similar fear. They did not want to lose their control of the local government, which would certainly happen if everyone was allowed to vote. When the Whigs began talking about reducing the power of the rich and increasing the suffrage, these conservative people drew off from the movement and gave their support to the king. They adopted the name of the king's party and called themselves Tories.

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152. Second Continental Congress; Washington takes Command. Each party tried hard to have a majority in the Second Continental Congress, which assembled in the statehouse at Philadelphia, May ıо, 1775 . The Whigs succeeded. They prepared for war with the king and named George Washington as commander in chief of the colonial forces. On his way to the seat of war Washington heard how bravely the Americans had stood their ground at Bunker Hill. He exclaimed, "The liberties of the country are safe!" Under a great elm, which still stands, in the old town of Cambridge, Washington for the first time received the salutes of his army as it marched past its general on July 3, 1775.
153. The Eighth Blunder: the Proclamation of Rebellion; Civil War. Though they were in arms against a despotic king, the American Whigs were not yet aiming to secede from the empire. Their friends in England continued to urge the king to make concessions, but he stubbornly refused. While Washington was organizing the American army before Boston a royal proclamation of rebellion branded all Americans in arms as traitors. From that moment a strong faction among the Americans favored secession. Their leaders were Patrick Henry of Virginia (section 143), Samuel Adams of Massachusetts (section 147, note), and Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina (section 147). However, they would have had hard work carrying their point had not the king's friends in America acted outrageously. Captain Mowatt of the royal navy sailed into the harbor of Falmouth (now Portland), Maine, and burned the town. Lord Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, sent a force to Great Bridge to disperse the Virginia militia. When his men were beaten off in a sharp fight he revenged himself by burning Norfolk. ${ }^{1}$
[^32]Meanwhile the American Tories had taken up arms and had organized military forces. There was civil war among the colonists. The first important battle between Whigs and Tories, fought at Moore's Creek, North Carolina, was a victory for the Whigs (February 27, 1776).
154. Capture of Boston; Battle of Charleston. The king was quick to take advantage of the fighting going on in North Carolina. While the main "rebel" army was concentrated near Boston a royal fleet was sent to the aid of the Southern Tories, but before it reached its destination two important events occurred: ( 1 ) Wash


THE SIEGE OF BOSTON ington seized Dorchester Heights, overlooking Boston, and had the British army at his mercy; whereupon Howe, who had succeeded Gage in command, went aboard his ships and sailed away to Halifax (March 17, 1776 ); (2) the North Carolina Tories were so disheartened by their defeat at Moore's Creek and by the news from Boston that their army melted away.

Finding no one to coöperate with it in North Carolina, the royal fleet continued its voyage southward. Sir Peter Parker, the royal admiral, thought he would offset the loss of Boston by seizing Charleston, but in order to reach the city he had to pass Fort Sullivan - a roughly built earthwork composed of palmetto logs and heaps of sand. Rude as the fort was, Colonel Moultrie, who commanded it, received the fleet with such a tempest of cannon balls that the royal admiral was glad to sail away (June 28, 1776).

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In the midst of the battle the staff bearing the flag of South Carolina fell outside the fort. "Don't let's fight without a flag!" cried Sergeant Jasper. He leaped over the parapet in the face of the British fire and secured the flag.
155. The Ninth Blunder: the Hiring of the Hessians. While the rebellion was threatening to become a great war the obstinate king made his last and worst blunder. So great was the

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SERGEANT JASPER .
From "The Boys of ' 76 ," by Charles Carleton Coffin
reluctance of Englishmen to serve against Americans that he decided to hire foreign soldiers. The Prince of Hesse in Germany agreed to furnish him with an army of thirty thousand Hessians. When this was announced in England the indignation of the Whigs knew no bounds. Their leaders made a formal protest against further opposition to the Americans. The Duke of Richmond proposed in the House of Lords to forbid the king to send Hessians to America, but the king and the Tories were immovable; for the moment they controlled Parliament, and the Hessians were sent to America.
156. Independence. The hiring of the Hessians was the last straw which turned the scale in America against the king.


The Virginians led the way in a movement for secession. They called a convention, which declared the colony independent, May I5, 1776 . On June 7 Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved in Congress that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion. It was carried, and a committee of five was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence-Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, John Adams of Massachusetts, Benjamin Franklin of Pennsylvania, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston of New York. The Declaration was written by Jefferson. By order of Congress its president, John Hancock, signed the Declaration, July 4, 1776 . Subsequently it was signed by the other members.

The signing of the Declaration on July 4 was announced to a great crowd by the pealing of the "Liberty Bell" in the tower of the statehouse at Philadelphia. Fast as horsemen could carry it, the news spread. There were tumults of joy. Statues of King George were seized by shouting crowds and pulled off their pedestals. The gilded leaden statue of the king in New York was melted into bullets.

## SUMMARY

The British Empire having extended into all quarters of the globe, the Parliament of Great Britain took charge of the regulation of its commerce and the maintenance of its navy. At the same time, through the influence of the rich merchants of Great Britain, Parliament formed a colonial policy based on the Mercantile System. However, many Americans denied that Parliament was entitled to all the power it was using. These Americans held that in removing to the colonies they came out from under the authority of Parliament and founded new states, each entitled to be ruled under the king by its own assembly. Thus, in 1763 there were contradictory views of the rights of Parliament.

George III attempted to recover the old power of the kings. He aimed to control Parliament through a majority composed of
his friends. This seemed possible because a few great landholders dominated the elections. The king made friends of these landholders, also of the money power, and got their support in Parliament. He also used bribery. Thus he secured his majority, which was made up chiefly of members of the Tory party. Opposed to him were the leading men of the Whig party and great numbers of Englishmen outside Parliament. They saw that the liberties of England were at stake as well as the liberties of America.

The king made a series of stubborn blunders which so exasperated a large part of the American people that they resolved to withdraw from the British Empire. Meanwhile the first bloodshed of a great war had occurred in the fight at Lexington (April 19, 1775), which was soon followed by the battle of Bunker Hill and by the appointment of George Washington as commander of the colonial army. The royal forces were driven out of Boston and repulsed at Charleston. Finally, Congress voted to secede, and a formal Declaration of Independence was signed July 4, 1776.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: (On this subject wide reading is advised for the reason that within the past few years very radical changes have been effected in current views of the American Revolution and in the whole subject of the imperial policy with regard to the colonies. Every teacher should consider the somewhat extreme views of S. G. Fisher, in The True History of the American Revolution, as well as those of more conventional authors.) Bancroft, United States (last revision), II, 3I9-366; III, 30-40, 50-106, 134-148, 165-295, 319-337, 368-378, 447-458; IV, 55-77, 167-184, 265-279, 310-346, 382-391, 412-452; Bassett, United States, chap. viii; *BECKER, Beginnings (chaps. v-vi), The Eve of the Revolution (Chronicles of America), and An Experiment in Democracy (chap. iii) ; *Beer, British Colonial Policy, 265-3I6; *Channing, United States, I, chap. i ; III, chaps. i-vi ; Fiske, American Revolution, I, I8-78, III-I97; Hart, Contemporaries, II, chaps. xxi-xxv; Howard, Preliminaries of the Revolution, chaps. iii-xv ; *LECKy (Woodburn, Ed.), American Revolution, 52-79, 80-165, 194-244; Macdonald, Documentary. Source Book of American History, 105-109, 122-131, 13I-I 36, 136-I 39, 145-1 50; Osgood, History of Industry, chap. ix; Trevelyan, American Revolution, Part I, 100-174, 191-207, 274-384; Part II, 105-171; *Tyler, Literary History of the American Revolution, I, 44-60, 229-245, 475-519; Van Tyne, American Revolution, 34-49, 90-101, 248-268.

For the Pupil: (There is crying need of books adapted to the use of children which give the facts of $1763-1776$ without romantic distortion. In selecting references for this period the teacher should always be on guard. Most of the books mentioned in Chapter VII overlap Chapter VIII.) Barstow, The Colonists and the Revolution, $22 \mathrm{I}-224$; Cleveland, Stories of the Brave Old Times and Great Epochs in American History, III, 66-79, 93-109; Hawthorne, Grandfather's Chair and Twice Told Tales; Jenks, When America Won Liberty; Sparks, Men who Made the Nation.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What countries composed the British Empire? 2. What ideas were held by the powerful merchants of Great Britain? 3. How was the Mercantile System put into practice by Parliament? (Two answers) [4. Draw up a statement of all the causes that had contributed to make Americans impatient of control. Take into account $(a)$ religious causes, (b) the practice of self-government, (c) the habit of self-defense, $(d)$ the economic freedom of the new country. (See Andrews, Colonial Folkways; Becker, Beginnings of the American People; Eggleston, Life in the Eighteenth Century; Southworth, Builders of our Country.)] 5. Compare George III with James II.
6. Which party supported the king? 7. Who opposed the king? Why? 8. Why did the king think he needed to tax America? [9. Tell the story of resistance to the Stamp Act (see Becker, Channing, or Fiske; Barstow, Colonists and the Revolution, 22I-224; Macaulay, Essay on William Pitt).] 10 . What was done in the Stamp Act Congress? [ir. Were the king and his advisers wise or foolish in the way they dealt with the Americans? If you had been in their place, what should you have done? Why? State the mistakes they made. (See sections I42, I44, I45, I46, I48, I53, I55; also Becker, Beginnings, chaps. v-vi ; Fiske, American Revolution, chaps. ii-iii ; Great Epochs, III, 93-IO9.)]
12. What were the provisions of the Intolerable Acts? I3. What was the Declaration of Rights of the First Continental Congress? 14. How and why did the Americans divide into two parties and how did the parties get their names? 15 . How much fighting took place before the Declaration of Independence? 16. Why did the Americans decide to secede from the British Empire? [I7. Imagine yourself a delegate who worked in the Continental Congress for secession. Write a letter telling how you and your friends brought it about. (See Becker, Beginnings, 224-252; Fiske, American Revolution, chaps. iii-iv.)]


THE ROYAL FLEET SAILING FROM NEW YORK

## CHAPTER IX

## THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

157. The Value of Sea Power. We study the wars in which our country has been engaged, first, because the courage and self-sacrifice of our ancestors serve to inspire us with a like devotion to duty, even, if need be, to the laying down of our lives; and, second, because they are precious lessons in how to defend ourselves. The lesson which we should learn from the study of our war with George III is the military importance of the sea.

Until the last few months of the war the king had control of the sea along our coast. He could move his armies north or south and strike at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and Savannah almost as he pleased. On three great occasions the king shifted the whole scene of battle so as to increase the difficulties of the Americans by swiftly transporting his army along that easy, open road, the sea. This was done, first, in 1776 , when Howe sailed from Halifax to attack New York; second, in 1777 , when Howe left New

York and took his army by sea to the head of Chesapeake Bay; third, in 1779 , when Sir Henry Clinton made the greatest shift of all and transferred the principal seat of war from New York to Carolina.
158. Howe's Attack on New York. In 1776 Howe, returning from Halifax (section I54) with a fleet and 30,000 soldiers, anchored unopposed in the Lower Bay at New York.

Washington had brought his army to New York, had constructed forts along the Hudson, and had stationed 7000 men on Brooklyn Heights under General Putnam. Howe landed 20,000 men south of Brooklyn, took Putnam by surprise, and drove him from his position, August 27, I776. ${ }^{1}$

That night, in a dense fog, the beaten Americans withdrew across East River. Howe followed with such large numbers that Washington felt he had to retreat through the city and unite with other portions of his army farther north. He left Putnam with a small force to hold Howe back as long as possible and gain time for the Americans to concentrate. Putnam met Howe when he landed at the east end of what is now Thirty-fourth Street, fought a little battle there, and then slowly retreated. Howe attempted to overtake Washington and force a battle at once. The royal general might have succeeded if it had not been for a charming and clever woman, Mrs. Lindley Murray, who had a fine house on Murray Hill, which is now a part of New York but was then outside the city. As Howe drew near her house she sent her servant begging him and his officers to stop and take luncheon. They accepted the invitation. Mrs. Murray was so entertaining and the luncheon was such a pleasant interruption of the march that before Howe realized what he was doing he had lingered two hours. That small delay, slight as it was, gave Washington a chance to get his army together.

[^33]159. Washington forced to abandon New York; Battle of Harlem; White Plains. However, Washington's force was still too small to make it possible for him to stand his ground against the invaders. The Americans had to continue falling

general map of the revolutionary war (SEe section i 74 )
back, but they did not run. There was much hard fighting. Near where Columbia University now stands was fought the battle of Harlem, in which an attack by part of the royal army was beaten off. Nevertheless, in spite of their stubborn resistance the Americans were driven slowly back, and after a defeat at White Plains (October 22) Washington crossed the Hudson into New Jersey.
160. Washington's Retreat across New Jersey. Howe sent across the river one of his best officers, Lord Cornwallis, with a strong army, including many Hessians, and for a time Washington was in danger of being captured. He saw that with his little army now reduced to some six thousand men he dared not risk a battle; he had no choice but to retreat. His purpose was to cross the whole state of New Jersey and withdraw his army across the Delaware River into Pennsylvania. There he thought he could make a stand and gain time to raise fresh troops. Thus began a celebrated retreat which soldiers consider one of Washington's greatest achievements. Though his men were sadly downhearted, his inspiring influence kept them from giving up and nerved them for hard marching day after day. Cornwallis hurried after them, but was never able to overtake them. Often, as the Americans crossed a stream and burned the bridge behind them, they saw the advance guard of Cornwallis come galloping up on the


NATHAN HALE ${ }^{1}$ opposite bank. It was a race for life or death. Washington won the race. He took his army safely across the Delaware.

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Parties of American soldiers had seized or destroyed every boat on the east bank along seventy miles of the river's course. Cornwallis halted on the east bank. This was but a few days before Christmas. For the weary Americans on the west bank, who numbered now less than three thousand, ${ }^{1}$ that Christmas was the saddest they had ever spent. Not only

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THE BRITISH FORCES LANDING IN THE JERSEYS, NOVEMBER 20, 1776
From "The Boys of ' 76 ," by Charles Carleton Coffin
were they worn out from hard marching but they were also very nearly without food, and their clothes were in tatters. Washington was entirely without money; he wrote to one of the noblest of the Whig leaders, Robert Morris, begging him to raise money immediately and buy food and clothing for the soldiers. Morris was at Philadelphia, where he spent Christmas Day and the days following in what today we call a "drive," begging money from all his friends for the use of the army. He and Washington were both rich men, and they promised, if necessary, to give up their whole fortunes. Other leading Whigs did the same, and the money needed was soon collected.

[^35]There is an old saying that it is always darkest before the dawn, which means that brave men when in great trouble will often rouse themselves and make heroic efforts that bring their troubles to an end. Washington and his army made such an effort on the night following that dreary Christmas Day. It was bitter cold, and the Delaware River


WASHINGTON CROSSING THE DELAWARE
was filled with floating ice. In perfect secrecy Washington led his tattered army back across the river and marched eight miles through a blinding storm of sleet. His aim was to surprise and destroy a Hessian army which was camped at Trenton. The Hessians were comfortably housed, and on Christmas night they ate and drank with riotous merriment. In spite of the sleet Trenton was a blaze of joyous lights ; but through the storm, out of the darkness, the Americans were swiftly, silently drawing near. About daybreak they fell upon the city like a thunderbolt. The Hessians, taken by surprise, were totally routed; practically the whole force was either killed or taken prisoner. The Americans lost but four men. It has often been said that the American cause was at its lowest ebb that bitter Christmas night when Washington gave the order to march to Trenton.
161. Battle of Princeton; the British Retreat. Cornwallis had gone back to spend his Christmas in New York. Now, in hot haste, with fresh troops, he came hurrying westward. He thought that he could catch Washington at Trenton and destroy his army, but in order to do this he would have to bring together all the royal forces stationed at various places in New Jersey. While he was eagerly striving to do so Washington made another unexpected night march and again fought a battle at daybreak. He surprised a portion of the royal army at Princeton and won another brilliant victory (January 3, r777).

The feeling in the two armies was now reversed. The Americans were hopeful ; the invaders weredespondent. Howe and Cornwallis drew in their forces from New Jersey and gathered them close around New York. At the same time Washington came back across New Jersey, fixed his headquarters at Morristown, and began collecting a more powerful army.

## THE TRIPLE INVASION OF THE MIDDLE S'TATES

162. The Royal Fleet shifts the Seat of War. It now became plain what a great advantage the royal commanders had in their fleet. The Americans, looking out to sea, watched the stately warships of the king come and go as they pleased. Coming in from the wide field of blue water, they bore soldiers, ammunition, and food to New York and carried to Howe and Cornwallis the king's commands. They did more than this: when Howe got ready for another campaign it was by means of his ships that he moved to the point where he wanted to fight. At length the American outposts watching New York saw a great fleet-two hundred and fifty ships, looking very beautiful with all their white canvas spread in the glistening sun-sail out over the bright blue water, turn their prows to the south, and gradually grow smaller and smaller until they vanished beyond the horizon.

Washington could only guess why Howe had sailed away; but, as it turned out, he guessed correctly. Information from the interior of New York had already shown him that the British were planning a march from Canada to the Hudson. It was also reported that another royal army was threatening to move eastward from the shore of Lake Ontario along the valley of the Mohawk River. Howe had planned a third invasion; he intended to sail clear around Cape Charles and come up from the south against Philadelphia, where Congress was then in session. If Howe succeeded in capturing Philadelphia he would cut off communication with the Southern colonies and then, marching northward, might attack Washington in the rear, while the two other invasions coming down from the north would attack him in front. Washington determined to make every effort to prevent the capture of Philadelphia; accordingly he marched swiftly to the south. Howe, meanwhile, sailed up Chesapeake Bay and landed his army.
163. Washington's Effort to save Philadelphia; Brandywine; Germantown; Valley Forge. Moving toward Philadelphia, Howe met the army of Washington at Brandywine Creek. The British outnumbered the Americans two to one. Washington was defeated and driven back (September II). ${ }^{\text {. }}$ Howe entered Philadelphia, while Congress fled from the city, after appointing Washington dictator. Shortly afterwards (October 4) Washington attempted to regain the city. Taking advantage of a dense fog, he hoped to surprise and destroy the part of the royal army encamped at

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Germantown. He had almost succeeded when six royal companies seized the large stone house of Chief Justice Chew and used it as a fort. There they held out until strong reënforcements came in haste from Philadelphia, and Washington was forced to retreat. He fixed his camp at Valley Forge (December 19, 1777).
164. The Failure of the Western Invasion; Fort Stanwix. ${ }^{1}$ While Howe had succeeded so brilliantly with the Southern invasion the royal commanders of the other invasions had both failed. Colonel St. Leger, com-


RAISING THE IMPROVISED FLAG OVER FIVE CAPTURED FLAGS AT FORT STANWIX
> ${ }^{1}$ Fort Stanwix will always be remembered in America as the place where the Stars and Stripes were first raised in battle. The story is that the Fort Stanwix flag was made by a soldier's wife, who cut up an old blue army overcoat, a red flannel petticoat, and some white cloth to make it. It is supposed that Paul Jones (section i69) was the first to raise the American flag over a ship of war.

The Red Ensign, or Meteor Flag, was the commercial flag of England in I 775 . It consisted of a red field, a blue canton, the red cross of St. George of England, and the white cross of St. Andrew of Scotland. When Ireland was joined to the Union in 1801 the cross of St. Patrick was added, making the Union Jack of the present day.

The American colonists in 1775 laid six white stripes on the field of the Red Ensign, making thirteen stripes to represent the colonies. The canton was retained to represent the empire. This flag was raised by Washington at Cambridge, July 2, 1776 . It was the first distinctive flag representing colonial union.


On June 14, 1777, Congress removed the crosses from the canton and replaced them by a circle of thirteen white stars. Congress resolved "that the flag of the United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the union be thirteen stars, white on a blue field, representing a new constellation." This flag was probably raised for the first time at Fort Stanwix, New York, August 3,1777.


At first a new stripe and a new star were added for each new state. It was seen, however, that this would make the flag too large, and in 1818 Congress voted to return to thirteen stripes, but to add a new star for each new state. The additional star is added on the fourth of July next succeeding the admission of the new state.


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of Fort Stanwix. St. Leger gave up his invasion (August 22) and hastily made his way back to Canada.
165. Burgoyne's Invasion; Bennington; Saratoga. Far more important was the other of the two invasions which failed while Howe was conquering Pennsylvania. The forts at Crown Point


BURGOYNE'S EXPEDITION and Ticonderoga ${ }^{1}$ were captured by General John Burgoyne, who came south along Lake Champlain. As he was in need of provisions he decided on a raid into Vermont and sent a detachment of Germans, commanded by Colonel Baum, to collect what they needed from the farms of the vicinity. The Vermonters flocked together near the village of Bennington and prepared for battle. Colonel John Stark joined them with eight hundred New Hampshire militia. Led by Stark, they destroyed Baum's army (August 16, 1777). By this time Burgoyne had lost a great many men

[^37]and was now heavily outnumbered by the Americans gathered from all parts of New England and New York ; nevertheless he pushed on with dogged courage, seeking to smash his way through to Albany. There was furious fighting, especially at a place called Freeman's Farm, but at last


WASHINGTON'S CAMP AT VALLEY FORGE.
Burgoyne was surrounded at Saratoga. There he gave up the contest and surrendered his whole army (October 17, 1777). ${ }^{1}$
166. The Terrible Winter at Valley Forge. These successes of the Americans in the far north formed a turning point in their fortunes (section 167) and offset to some extent the discouraging events in Pennsylvania, and yet at the end of this year the hearts of the patriots were heavy. Their capital was in the hands of the king's army, and Congress was meeting in Chester, Pennsylvania. What a difference between Washington's camp at Valley Forge and the camp of the king's army at Philadelphia! The city that winter was filled with gayety. The royal officers were brilliantly entertained by their Tory friends, and they, in turn, gave
${ }^{1}$ The general who received the surrender, Horatio Gates, does not deserve the credit for it. The real work was done by his subordinates, Generals Lincoln, Arnold; and Morgan, and by General Schuyler, whom Gates succeeded in command.
an entertainment which is still noted as one of the most splendid ever given in America. At Valley Forge, on the other hand, there was so little shelter that the soldiers suffered bitterly from the cold; their clothes were in rags; many had to go barefoot, and left bloody footprints on the snow; there was insufficient food-even to this day Valley Forge is a byword in America for desperate suffering. The fact that Washington kept his army together under such conditions is the best evidence of the greatness of his character. Only a hero could have inspired those desperate men to keep at their posts through that terrible winter. ${ }^{1}$
167. France takes the Side of the Americans; Monmouth. While the American soldiers were barefoot in the snow at Valley Forge and our hopes were almost gone, help came to us. It was given by England's old enemy, France.

As soon as the colonies had declared themselves independent they turned to the nations of Europe to see whether any would lend them a helping hand. Franklin was sent over as envoy to France. ${ }^{2}$ The French admired him greatly, and the French king as good as told him that if the Americans should prove themselves reliable soldiers and win some great military event he would come to their aid. Soon after the news of Burgoyne's surrender arrived at Paris the king, Louis XVI, ${ }^{3}$ concluded a treaty of alliance with the United States of America. This was the same thing as declaring war upon England (February 6, 1778 ).

[^38]A French fleet and army were at once sent to America; thereupon Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe as the royal commander in chief, decided to draw all the royal forces together at New York. With that end in view Clinton left Philadelphia and started across New Jersey.

The spring had now come. The men at Valley Forge were thoroughly trained and eager to fight. At Monmouth in New Jersey, while Clinton was on his way to New York, Washington attacked him (June 28, 1778). If one of his generals ${ }^{1}$ had not disobeyed orders Washington probably would have won a brilliant victory. As it was, Clinton's march was turned into a retreat, but nevertheless he succeeded in getting safely to New York.

Washington, following close after, came back at last to White Plains (section 159), which he had left nearly two years before. In that time he had established his reputation as one of the world's great soldiers. He fixed his headquarters at White Plains and began the long siege of New York, which did not end until the close of the war.

## HOW THE WAR EXTENDED TO MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD

168. Many Enemies of England join in the War. The war now became almost world-wide. All the enemies of England took part. Spain and Holland, both of whom had old quarrels with England, openly declared war. Several other nations which were not willing to come forward and fight England nevertheless agreed upon a plan to help the Americans. The "Armed Neutrality" of Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark was an agreement to let the Americans trade with the ports of those countries.
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169. The War at Sea; John Paul Jones. The powerful. navies of France and England encountered each other in many parts of the world and fought tremendous battles. At the same time the Americans did some gallant things at sea. Many American merchantmen were fitted with cannon and sent out to prey upon British commerce. These were known as privateers. Congress also built a few ships of war. ${ }^{1}$ Though John Barry, as early as 1776 , made our first capture of a British ship, the most famous seaman of our infant navy was John Paul Jones, who hoisted the Stars and Stripes on a ship which Franklin obtained for him in France and which bore the French name Bonhomme Richard. In this ship Jones sailed up the east coast of England and met a British man of war, the Serapis. The two ships promptly opened fire. In those days a naval battle was not at all like the sea fights of today. The ships came close together, and sometimes the men of one ship clambered on board the other and fought with its crew hand to hand. In this case the ships fought for two hours, while the muzzles of their guns very nearly touched. At one time Jones stopped firing for a moment, and the British commander called out to know whether he would surrender. "No," said Jones, "I haven't begun to fight." At length a great explosion of powder on the Serapis caused her commander to yield (September 29, 1779).
170. The War in the Forests. The year in which France entered the war (1778) saw grim fighting in the American backwoods. Under Tory leaders the Iroquois, who had remained faithful to the king, raided Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, and Cherry Valley, New York, slaughtering the inhabitants without mercy. Similar raids by the Cherokees, also in coöperation with Tories, had already desolated parts of Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina.

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FIGHT BETWEEN THE SERAPIS AND THE BONHOMME RICHARD
From a pen-etching by. Sears Gallagher

Partly to put an end to the Indian danger, partly because he longed to have his countrymen possess the West, a young Virginian, George Rogers Clark, planned a daring campaign. He laid his scheme before Patrick Henry, who was now governor of Virginia, and Henry approved of it. A force of some two hundred Virginians was raised in secret, and Clark


CLARK'S VIRGINIANS CROSSING THE "DROWNED LANDS"
set forth. He crossed the mountains to Pittsburgh. There he put his men on flatboats and started down the beautiful Ohio River, whose banks were covered by the unbroken primeval forest. The Virginians drifted with the current many days, in the bright weather of the month of May, and came at last to the falls of the Ohio, where Clark founded the city of Louisville (1778), named in honor of the French king, Louis XVI. Simon Kenton, with a small force of frontiersmen, joined the expedition at Louisville.

After resting a month Clark's men "shot" the falls in their boats (June 24, 1778) and went on down the river

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to the mouth of the Tennessee. There, leaving the boats, they made their way through a great forest in southern Illinois toward Fort Kaskaskia, on the east bank of the Mississippi a little below St. Louis. So swift and stealthy was their approach that no warning of it reached the fort. One night a dance was given by the unsuspecting garrison. Suddenly the Virginians appeared. They surrounded the


FORT SACKVILLE, VINCENNES, INDIANA
fort, and Clark entered the dancing-hall. Naturally the dancers were terrified. "Keep on with your merriment," said Clark, "but remember that you now dance under Virginia, not Great Britain."
171. Clark takes Vincennes. With the aid of a French priest at Kaskaskia, Father Gibault, Clark persuaded the settlers of that region to take an oath of allegiance to the American cause, and several at once volunteered to serve in his little army.

A far more difficult task was still to be accomplished. On the Wabash River, in southern Indiana, stood Fort Vincennes. The British commander at Detroit, Colonel Hamilton, hearing what Clark had done, gathered all the men he
could and hurriedly marched down to Vincennes. The winter had now come, and between Kaskaskia and Vincennes lay the "drowned lands," overflowed by the Wabash. Supposing that no men could cross the drowned lands in the dead of winter, Hamilton had not kept careful watch, but


CLARK'S CAMPAIGN IN THE WEST
Clark's men crossed them, wading sometimes breast-deep through water that carried floating ice. Clark was under the walls of the fort before Hamilton dreamed of his approach. After a hot fight Hamilton hung out a white flag. In a little church in the old town of Vincennes he surrendered to the Americans the whole Ohio Valley from the mountains to the Mississippi (February 25, I779). ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ This country was covered by the original grant to Virginia (section 24). It was now described as "Illinois County" and was considered a part of Virginia. For what was done with it later see section 185.

## 172. Double Advance of the Royal Armies; Brier Creek and

 Stony Point. The great success of Clark in the West appeared for the moment to be offset by British success in the South. A royal army which had moved north from Florida (section 123), though checked briefly by Colonel Andrew Pickens at Kettle Creek in Georgia (February 14, 1779), inflicted a serious defeat on the Americans at Brier Creek (March 3, I779). Tories flocked to the royal standard, and the king's government was reëstablished in Georgia.At the same time Clinton began an advance along the Hudson, thus preventing Washington from sending aid to the South, but he met with desperate resistance. At length his advance post, Stony Point, was stormed by General Anthony Wayne (July r6, r779), and Paulus Hook, a fortress almost as important, was stormed by Major Henry Lee. Thus Clinton was brought to a standstill.
173. Unsuccessful Attempt to separate the Two Royal Armies. Between the royal armies in New York and Georgia the sea was the connecting link. A French fleet tried to cut this link and prevent the two armies from coöperating. For that purpose the fleet landed a French army near Savannah. This force joined an American army commanded by General Benjamin Lincoln, and together they made a brave but unsuccessful assault upon the city (October 9, 1779). They were so disheartened by their failure that Lincoln retreated to Charleston, while the French commander went aboard his ships and sailed away.
174. The Great Plan of the Royal Armies. Clinton now had complete control of the sea. He could move his armies back and forth as he pleased between New York and Charleston. He decided to leave enough soldiers at New York to keep Washington busy while he shifted the bulk of his army to the South. The Southern royal army, if it could follow up its recent successes, might then work its way gradually northward. In time Washington would be caught
between the two royal armies as in the grip of an enormous pair of pincers. (See map on page 178 .)

With a great force in ships and men Clinton sailed from New York ${ }^{1}$ and laid siege to Charleston. Its brave inhabitants and the resolute General Lincoln made a memorable defense, but the odds against them were very great. They were completely surrounded and at length compelled to surrender (May 12, 1780 ).

From Charleston expeditions were sent into the interior, where a number of small but bloody engagements took place. ${ }^{2}$ Before long it seemed as if the whole region was securely in the hands of the British; thereupon Clinton went back by sea to New York, leaving Cornwallis in command.
175. The Partisan Leaders: Marion; Sumter. There was no organized American army, now that Lincoln had surrendered, either in the Carolinas or in Georgia. Nevertheless, bands of daring men drew together and began what was known as guerrilla, or partisan, warfare-that is to say, they kept in hiding a great deal of the time, watching for some occasion when a portion of the royal army would become separated from the main body ; then, suddenly, they would swoop forth from their hiding place, attack and destroy the detached enemy, and, as swiftly, hurry away to

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some other place of concealment. The character of the country-lying low along the sea, with vast swamps through which no strangers could find their way-helped these partisans to carry on their war in this desperate fashion. Each band had its own leader. Best known of all were Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion. To the latter the British gave the name of "Swamp Fox" because of the marvelous way he came and went among the swamps.

176. Battle of Camden. All eyes were now turned upon the South. It was plain that if Cornwallis could not be checked he would push gradually northward and, between him and Clinton, Washington would be destroyed. Though Washington needed every man he could muster, it seemed absolutely necessary to send a part of the main American army to South Carolina. This was done (i780), and General Gates was placed in command. The partisan bands flocked around him. Confident of success he met Cornwallis at Camden.

The battle which followed was one of the great disasters of the Americans. Cornwallis scattered our army to the winds (August 16,1780 ). Gates, who galloped off the field, slept the next night at Charlotte, sixty miles away.
177. The Treason of Benedict Arnold. Perhaps there was no time during the whole war when the Americans felt less hopeful than in the month or two following the battle of Camden. Now; as always, the army was ill-fed, ill-clothed, and hardly ever paid. Clinton, hoping to persuade the American soldiers to desert, sent spies among them to talk them into fury because of their lack of food and pay. ${ }^{1}$ He even made secret offers to an American general, Benedic.t Arnold, who commanded the important post of West Point. This bad man promised to betray his trust in return for $\$ 30,000$ and a general's com-


CONTINENTAL MONEY mission. He was found out, fled to the royal camp, and joined the royal army. ${ }^{2}$ When Washington heard of the treason he burst into tears. "Whom can we trust now! " he exclaimed to Lafayette.
178. No Satisfactory Government; Lack of Money. In this last crisis of the war we had no satisfactory government. The Continental Congress (section 156), after issuing the Declaration of Independence, undertook to make laws and govern the country very much as the Congress of the United States does today. In particular it attempted to raise money and equip the armies, but this problem of money proved its greatest difficulty. In the old days, before the war, when the king's generals bought supplies they paid for them in gold coin. When Congress wanted to buy, merchants asked
${ }^{1}$ Wretchedness and these spies, together, caused several mutinies. At first Washington allowed the mutineers to go home, but when he saw that the matter was getting serious he had some of them seized and shot.
${ }^{2}$ This shameful episode ended in the death of a brave and unfortunate young officer of the king whose capture had led to the discovery of Arnold's treason-Major John André. He had been sent by Clinton to arrange secretly with Arnold for the surrender of West Point. Arrested by American soldiers, he was finally hanged as a spy.

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for gold. But Congress had no gold. It could only issue paper notes, which were promises that gold would be given to the holder of the note at some time in the future. But what certainty was there that this would ever happen? Suppose, after all, the king won, what would the notes be worth then? So all over America people objected to receiving these "continentals," as the notes were called, because they were issued by the Continental Congress. ${ }^{1}$ If merchants had to make a trade, they would not count these notes at anything like what was supposed to be their value. In the dark days after Camden a continental dollar bill would not be accepted in a store for more than two cents' worth of any kind of goods.
179. Financial Aid; John Laurens. Except for financial aid from France the war would have come to an end long before. The French king gave us liberally ships, supplies, and money. Great loans were also made to us by the French. Nevertheless, after Camden we were in desperate need of money. Washington wrote that unless another great loan could be secured from France the cause was lost. John Laurens of South Carolina was sent to France to make a special appeal. Young, charming, and very handsome, he captivated both the king and queen and obtained the loan.
180. King's Mountain. Meanwhile, just when the cause seemed helpless, the tide turned in America. An army of frontiersmen was raised in those settlements beyond the mountains that are now Kentucky and Tennessee (section 141). This force, led by John Sevier, marched eastward and combined with partisan bands from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Their aim was to destroy a royal force of eleven hundred men, chiefly Tories, under Colonel Ferguson. They gathered so swiftly, so silently,-as the Indians had taught them to do,-that before Ferguson was aware

[^42]his camp at King's Mountain in South Carolina was surrounded. ${ }^{1}$ He was caught in a trap, and his whole force was either killed or captured (October 17,1780 ).
181. General Greene in the South; Cowpens; Guilford; Cornwallis invades Virginia. One of Washington's best generals, Nathanael Greene, was now sent down to take the place of Gates. He had with him, as his right-hand man, General Daniel Morgan. The latter won a brilliant victory


GREENE'S RETREAT THROUGH NORTH CAROLINA
over a part of Cornwallis's army commanded by Sir Banastre Tarleton at Cowpens (January 17, 1781). Thereupon Cornwallis brought up his main army, but Greene, who was not ready for battle, skillfully retreated. Watching for his opportunity, Greene at length turned upon Cornwallis and fought the battle of Guilford Court House in North Carolina (March 15, 1781). It was contested so stubbornly that neither side can quite claim a victory; however, Cornwallis lost so many men that he decided to move to Wilmington, on the coast, and there recuperate.
${ }^{1}$ The American army included some of the most noted frontiersmen, such as William Campbell of Virginia, Benjamin Cleveland and Joseph McDowell of North Carolina, and Isaac Shelby of Tennessee. Each leader had his own following, and a council of leaders directed the campaign.

By this move Cornwallis divided his forces into two parts. One part, under Lord Rawdon, remained in South Carolina and was never again united with the other part under Cornwallis. While Cornwallis rested at Wilmington, Greene marched south against Rawdon. Though he lost the hardfought battle of Hobkirk's Hill (April 28), he was more


Courtesy of the Boston Muscum of Fine Arts LAFAYETTE, BY LA PERCHE successful at Eutaw Springs (September 8). The royal forces were finally shut up in Charleston and Savannah.

In the meantime Cornwallis moved northward and invaded Virginia, where there was a small American army commanded by Lafayette. "The boy cannot escape me," said Cornwallis. But though the "boy" had to flee before him, the Americans led the invaders upon a long chase, ${ }^{1}$ and at last, worn out with much marching, the royal soldiers had to be allowed to rest. Cornwallis seized Yorktown and began to fortify it. He counted upon soon receiving aid from Clinton.
182. The Final Importance of the Ocean ; the French Fleet prevents the Union of Clinton and Cornwallis. Now, in the last event of the war, we are to see again how much the ocean counted for. Clinton meant to send a strong force to Virginia to enable Cornwallis to begin over. Washington saw that he would try to do so and determined to take a

[^43]great risk. With the larger part of his army he stole away from before New York and made a swift march all the way to Yorktown, but Washington would not have gained anything by this famous march if Clinton had still been able to come and go on the ocean as he pleased. What made it good generalship for Washington to do as he did was the


THE SURRENDER AT YORKTOWN
arrival in American waters of a French fleet commanded by the Count de Grasse. Nearly eight thousand French troops were landed near Yorktown to coöperate with Washington and Lafayette. Then De Grasse stood out to sea to prevent any attempt of Clinton to reënforce Cornwallis.

There was scarcely a more important battle in the whole war than a sea fight which occurred shortly after. Just as was expected, the royal fleet came down from New York to assist Cornwallis, but now, for the first time, there was a fleet in their path. Try to imagine the feelings of the Americans, who had never before had such assistance, when they listened on a September day to the roar of the cannon of

De Grasse, fighting, off Cape Henry at the mouth of the bay, the battle of the Chesapeake. It was a complete victory for the French. The shattered fleet of King George fled back to New York and left Cornwallis to his doom.
183. The Siege of Yorktown. Washington, assisted by the French general Rochambeau, now attacked Cornwallis with great vigor. The British, though outnumbered two to one, stood their ground very bravely in the midst of a circle of cannon. One after another, thẹir chief defenses were carried by storm. At last Cornwallis surrendered. His whole army marched out of Yorktown and laid down their arms (October i9, 178 x ).
184. The End of Royal Despotism in England; the Whigs insist on American Independence. The surrender of Cornwallis practically ended the war. King George acknowledged himself beaten. He did so by giving up the attempt to rule England as he pleased. He consented to let his greatest English enemy, the Whig leader, Lord Rockingham (section I39), take charge of affairs and bring the war to a close. Rockingham insisted that the king should acknowledge the independence of the Americans. With bitterness in his heart the king consented. There were long negotiations, but at length peace was made between England, France, and the United States. Our country was recognized as an independent power on September 3, 1783 . King George surrendered to us all of British America (section 123) south of Canada with the exception of Florida, which was returned to Spain.

## SUMMARY

The royal navy enabled the royal generals to strike the colonies at whatever points they pleased. Three times they forced the colonists to shift the scene of battle:
I. In 1776 Howe sailed from Boston to Halifax and thence to attack New York. The Americans were defeated in the battle of Long Island and forced to retreat through the city and across

New Jersey. On Christmas night, 1776 , Washington recrossed the Delaware, surprised and defeated the Hessians at Trenton, and soon afterwards won a brilliant victory at Princeton. The royal forces fell back upon New York.
2. The royal navy conveyed Howe's army to Chesapeake Bay. Howe defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek and again at Germantown. Howe occupied Philadelphia, while _ Washington fixed his camp at Valley Forge. Meanwhile there were two northern invasions, one at Fort Stanwix, the other at Saratoga. The surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga led France to ally herself with the United States and declare war upon England. Holland and Spain also attacked England. Paul Jones raised the American flag at sea and won a famous victory over the British ship Serapis. George Rogers Clark conquered the British posts in the West.
3. In 1780 Clinton moved a large part of his forces by sea to South Carolina, and Charleston was taken. Leaving Cornwallis in the South, Clinton returned to New York. He planned to catch Washington between his two armies as between a pair of pincers. A great victory won by Cornwallis at Camden was followed by the defeat of part of his army at King's Mountain. After the drawn battle of Guilford Court House, Cornwallis moved northward into Virginia and fortified Yorktown.

A French fleet shattered King George's fleet and made it impossible for Clinton to bring his army to Yorktown to aid Cornwallis. Meanwhile Washington had marched south. Yorktown was besieged, and at length Cornwallis surrendered.

King George now consented to make peace. Our country was recognized as an independent power and received all of British America south of Canada with the exception of Florida, which was given to Spain.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, chap. ix; *Becker, Beginnings, chaps. vii-x ; Brigham, Geographic Influences, chap. iii ; *Channing, United States, III, chaps. vii-xii ; Fiske, American Revolution, chaps. ii, v-viii, xiii-xv; Hart, Contemporaries, II, chaps. xxvi-xxxv; *Lecky (Woodburn, Ed.), American Revolution; Macdonald, Documentary Source Book, 176-183, 204-209; MaHan, The Infuence of Sea

Power upon History, chaps. ix-xiv; *MCCRady, South Carolina in the Reaolution; *Roosevelt, The Winning of the West, II, chaps. i-iv; Van Trine, American Revolution; *Wrong, Washington and his Comrades in Arms.

For the Pupil: Baldwin, Conquest of the Old Northzeest; Barstow, The Colonists and the Revolution; Blaisdell and Ball, Hero Stories from American History, chaps. vii, ix-xvii, xix; Coffin, The Boys of '76; Cooke, Stories of the Old Dominion; Faris, Makers of Our History, chaps. ii, iii ; Fiske, The War of Independence; Hawthorne, Grandfather's Chair; Hapgood, Paul Jones; Means, Palmetto Stories; Moore, Benjamin Franklin; Seawell, Twelve Great Naval Captains; Southworth, Stories of the Empire State; Sparks, The Men who made the Nation; Scudder, George Washington; Wilson, George Washington.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

Note. In an evenly moving chronological narrative like the foregoing chapter, where there is no argument to develop, it is needless to give a long list of specific questions. As to details, section by section, the questions are obvious. Subsequently certain larger questions are necessary in order to mass the facts and fix a clear general impression.
I. What were the three main periods of the war previous to the summer of 178 I ? 2. How did the royal commander secure possession of New York? [3. Describe in one page what Washington did from the time he crossed the Hudson until he occupied Morristown. (The teacher should suggest the desperate ebb and flow of Washington's military fortunes in this episode.)] 4. What triple plan (section 162 ) was formed by the royal generals ? How did the royal fleet make possible the shifting of the scene of war?
5. Where else in America was notable fighting during the second period of the war? (Consider Clark, the Indian raids, Paul Jones, the invasion of the South from Florida.) 6. What European nations were fighting England at the same time as were the American colonies? [Note. It should be insisted that after 1778 the war was world-wide, but that in a textbook of American history we concentrate on the American part.] [7. Narrate the part of France in the war (see Bancroft; Channing; Lecky; Mahan; Fiske, The War of Independence; Morse, Franklin).] 8. What was Clinton's plan at the opening of 1780 ? 9. What immediate success followed the shifting of the scene of war to South Carolina? Io. Where were the two royal commanders Clinton and Cornwallis in the summer of 1780 and how was it possible for them to coöperate?
ir. What great victory was won by Cornwallis between the surrender of Charleston and the summer of 1781? 12. What royal disasters took place during this period (include Guilford Court House)? 13. After Cornwallis occupied Yorktown, how did Clinton again plan to shift the scene of war? Did he succeed? Explain. I4. What change in the control of the sea made the fourth period different from all the other three?

Note. A class play might present strikingly the patriotic motive in connection with Valley Forge. The suffering Americans would be contrasted with the comfortable Royalists. An American, taken prisoner, might be allowed to witness the famous entertainment in Philadelphia. This would be done for the purpose of influencing him to desert. The spectacle would have the opposite effect. The story could be developed according to the dramatic possibilities of the class. (For material see Lecky, American Revolution; Trevelyan; Coffin, The Boys of '76. See also Browne, The Project Method in Education.) Similar plays could be based on any episode involving a sharp contrast easily grasped by children, but to have any real educational value the contrast must involve a moral choice. For example, $a^{i}$ Boston merchant chooses to lose his fortune to become a patriot; a patroon joins the patriots, though he knows they want to abolish his privileges; a Carolina planter sees his house burned (or burns it himself) and joins Marion. Every such play should be an acted fable with a moral that is perfectly clear.

The fate of the Tories (section 15I) has also a tragic side. These people who stood by the king were regarded by the Whigs as public enemies. They were subjected to much cruel treatment; practically all of them were deprived of their property during the war, and after the war was over they were compelled to leave the country. A number of them went to Canada, where their descendants still live. (See Van Tyne, Loyalists of the American Revolution.)

There are several good historical novels for this period: Ford, Janice Meredith (a story of the leading characters in the Revolution); Frederic, In the Valley (a story of Dutch life in the Mohawk valley during the Revolution) ; Jewett, The Tory Lover (a story of John Paul Jones and his career); Kennedy, Horseshoe Robinson (a tale of the Southern Tories); Mitchell, Hugh Wynne (a story of Philadelphia in the Revolutionary period); Simms, The Partisan (a tale of the Revolution in the South); Thompson, Green Mountain Boys (a story of Ethan Allen and his times).


CELEBRATING THE ADOPTION OF THE CONSTITUTION

## FOURTH DIVISION. HOW THE NEW REPUBLIC BECAME A PROSPEROUS COUNTRY

## CHAPTER X

## FORMING A NEW GOVERNMENT

185. The American Confederation. Early in the war Congress had drawn up Articles of Confederation which were intended to bind the states together in one new countrythe "United States," but only after long dispute did all the states agree to accept the Articles. What delayed their acceptance was the fear of the small states that the larger ones, especially Virginia, ${ }^{1}$ would become too powerful. Finally, it was agreed that the Western country should be made into new

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states, but that the old states claiming it should have great tracts of Western land with which to pay their Revolutionary soldiers. All the states then accepted the Articles (1781). Soon afterwards Congress passed the Northwest Ordinance, ${ }^{1}$ which provided for the formation of new states in the region north of the Ohio. In time five states were formed there-Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.
186. Revolutionary Soldiers settle Ohio. The great state of Ohio was the first to be settled. In the northern part a large area known as the Western Reserve was given to Connecticut, and by Connecticut divided out among its old soldiers. In southern Ohio another great area, known as the Virginia Bounty Lands, was used in the same way by Virginia. Numbers of Revolutionary veterans, together with their families, at once removed to Ohio and began to hew down the forests, clear the land, and settle the state. The first town in


BADGE OF A MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI Ohio-Marietta-was founded by a Revolutionary veteran, General Rufus Putnam (1788). About the same time Cincinnati ${ }^{2}$ was founded ( 1789 ), chiefly
of present Michigan, while Connecticut claimed the northern part of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Finally, New York claimed a large part of Ohio because it was once controlled by the Six Nations (section 125), who were subject to New York in colonial days.
${ }^{1}$ This ordinance also provided that slavery should never exist in any of these states. There was then very little interest in slavery, and Southerners united with Northerners to exclude it from the Northwest.
${ }^{2}$ Named from the Society of the Cincinnati, which was composed of veteran Revolutionary officers. The society took its name from the Roman dictator Cincinnatus, whose career was thought to resemble the career of Washington.

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by settlers from New Jersey. Soon after, another Revolutionary soldier, General Moses Cleaveland, founded the great city of Cleveland (1796).
187. Kentucky. Meanwhile, another state was forming south of the Ohio. During the war settlers had come into Kentucky, where they fought hard against the Indians. The bloody battle of the Blue Licks (i773) near. Lex-


FORT AT MARIETTA
From "Building the Nation," by Charles Carleton Coffin ington, ${ }^{1}$ in which the Indians outnumbered them three to one, was a famous defeat for the whites. So numerous and so fierce were these Indian battles that Kentucky became known as the "dark and bloody ground."
The exciting dangers of Kentucky life drew thither many bold adventurers. They felt equal to managing their own affairs, and before long they were demanding a separate state government, such as had been promised to the settlers north of the Ohio.

Virginia generously made little opposition to the wishes of her Western citizens. Only a few years passed before Kentucky became a separate state (1792).
188. The Tennessee Settlers form the State of Franklin. Along Indian trails through the mountains many people came to Tennessee, which was still a part of North Carolina (section 14I, note). However, the Tennesseeans, so far away from the Atlantic coast, felt that their interests would never receive sufficient attention at the distant capital of North Carolina. Like the Kentuckians, they demanded a separate state. John Sevier, who had led them so gallantly at King's

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DANIEI. BOONE ON THE WILDERNESS TRALL
From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher

Mountain (section 180), was one of the most determined to have a new state. Under Sevier's guidance the frontiersmen held an election, adopted a constitution, and declared themselves citizens of a state which they named Franklin. Sevier was chosen governor:

North Carolina did not readily give up her Western lands. The frontiersmen had to wait some ten years before the quarrel was finally settled and they were allowed at last to have a state of their own-Tennessee ( 1796 ).
189. The Advance of Democracy. The founding of these new Western states may be looked upon as the completion of the American Revolution. We have seen that our Revolution was in no small part a struggle between two classes here at home (section 151). Those Americans who wanted to reduce the power of the rich, who aimed at universal suffrage (section 151), profited greatly by the establishment of these "frontier" states. The new communities did not attract wealthy people; their population was composed of brave, hardy, enterprising people who had their fortunes to make. In the free life of the frontier they felt that they were all about equal and they demanded an equal share for everyone in controlling the government-that is, democracy. Time and again we shall see the West turn the scale in favor of democratic ideas. Always we shall find the newest states the most unconditional believers in democracy.
190. The Problem of Western Trade. All these frontier settlements along the Western rivers were separated by great mountains and by immense forests, hundreds of miles across, from the Eastern settlements along the sea. Not one road of any sort crossed the mountains between East and West. Though the Westerners were soon making good crops from the rich new land they cleared, there was no way to get their produce across the mountains to the Eastern coast, where it might be sold. Therefore they turned their eyes to the South. In that direction trade might be made easy,
for almost every little farm in Tennessee or Kentucky or Ohio fronted on a river. At any of these farms a flatbottomed boat or a raft might be built, floated down the stream into the Ohio, down the Ohio into the Mississippi, and on to New Orleans. At New Orleans there were merchants, ships, all sorts of people buying and selling. Naturally the Westerners felt that


A SETTLER'S LOG CABIN for them, just then, the most important thing in life was to be free to go down the Mississippi and trade at New Orleans.

But Spain ruled at New Orleans (section 123), and the Spaniards were not friendly to the Americans. They would not allow them to trade unless they paid heavily-more heavily than they could afford -for the privilege.
191. The Clash of Interest between East and West. The Westerners appealed to the people of the old Atlantic states to help them secure the freedom of trade on the Mississippi, but the Easterners, since their own trade had been ruined by the war, concluded that what they wanted most was the revival of trade upon the ocean, particularly with the Spanish West Indies. Congress, which was controlled by Easterners, went so far as to negotiate a treaty that would have opened the Spanish ports to American ships but would have left the Mississippi closed, or nearly closed, against the Westerners. When it was known in the West what Congress proposed to do, there was an outburst of indignation; the Westerners threatened to leave the Confederation and set up a new country of their own. So menacing were these threats that Congress dropped the Spanish negotiations in alarm.
192. Troubles in the East. There was no denying that the East, with its trade at a standstill, was in a most unhappy condition. Many of its people had been impoverished by the war, and great numbers were out of employment. ${ }^{1}$ There was much difficulty in collecting taxes. The state governments were all in such distress for want of money that they


THE COURSE OF WESTERN MIGRATION AND TRADE
yielded to the temptation to get it any way they could. They did not scruple to take steps that would injure their sister states. A famous instance is the treatment of the little state of New Jersey by its powerful neighbor, New York. As New Jersey had no good harbor of its own, most of its
${ }^{1}$ Even those who still had employment found themselves compelled to borrow money to keep their families from starvation. Many were imprisoned for failure to pay their debts. In central and western Massachusetts, where the farmers were hopelessly in debt, there was a serious uprising, led by Daniel Shays. He and his followers fought a battle with state troops at Petersham (1787) and were defeated. Shays's Rebellion caused general alarm.

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imported articles came to it through New York, and New York made all merchants trading with New Jersey pay a heavy tax. In helpless anger New Jersey laid an outrageously high tax on the lighthouse which New York had built on the Jersey side of the entrance to the harbor.
193. Congress unable to restrain the States. All the while Congress met and passed laws and frequently begged the states to act differently. But Congress had almost no power. For example, it could not lay taxes. It could merely inform the states how much money it needed and ask each one to contribute its share. But if a state decided that the money was not needed and refused to contribute, there was nothing that Congress could do.

Then, too, Congress was supposed to have charge of all negotiations with foreign governments. But in this, as in money matters, though Congress made promises to foreign powers, the states lived up to the promises, or ignored them, just as they pleased. This was particularly embarrassing in our relations with England. We wanted, more than almost any other one thing, an agreement enabling us to resume trade with England and the English colonies, but the British government refused to make any agreement because any one of the states might render such an agreement "totally useless and inefficient."
194. Demand for a New Government; the Constitutional Convention. It is not strange that many leading men began to say that there was something wrong with the method of government. At last it was agreed to call a Constitutional Convention, made up of delegates from the various states, for the purpose of seeing what could be done to improve the government.

The Constitutional Convention assembled at Philadelphia. Fortunately almost all the ablest men in the country were present. Washington acted as chairman. Franklin was one
of the delegates, so was Robert Morris. The Convention took nearly four months to draw up its new plan. During that long discussion no men were more prominent in its debates than Alexander Hamilton of New York, James Madison of Virginia, Roger Sherman of Connecticut, and Charles Pinckney of South Carolina.

As soon as the Convention met it became plain that there was wide difference of opinion as to what sort of government the country needed. The delegates from Virginia proposed what is known as the "Virginia plan," which would have made Congress supreme in all respects, with power to set aside state laws of which it did not approve. The small states, which had been so slow to join the Confederation because of their fear of the large states (section 185), felt that this plan suggested by the largest of the states threatened the small ones with destruction. They banded together under the lead of New Jersey and proposed the "New Jersey plan," which aimed to guard the states against encroachment by Congress, but proposed to grant to Congress various new powers, such as the right to raise money by means of duties on imports.
The advocates of the two plans wrangled so bitterly that more than once it seemed as if the Convention would break up without an agreement. But at last, through a series of compromises, the Convention combined features of both plans and drew up the great document now known as the Constitution of the United States.
195. Main Features of the New Form of Government. Six new features, all of immense importance, were added to the method of governing the United States.
r. To quiet the fears of the small states Congress was divided under the Constitution into two "Houses"; in the Senate each state was given two votes and no more, while in the House of Representatives the states were represented

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in proportion ${ }^{1}$ to their population; both Houses were required to concur in order to enact a law.
2. To put a stop to the obstruction of business by the separate states (section 192), the Constitution gave to every American citizen liberty to buy and sell anywhere in the Union.
3. To make the national government self-supporting (section 193), the Constitution gave it the right to lay taxes and to collect them.
4. To restore and sustain business activity (sections 192193), the Constitution placed the sole control of commerce, both between the states and with foreign countries, in the hands of Congress:
5. To make the general government more efficient (section 193), the Constitution provided for a president (no such officer existed in the old Confederation) and put into his hands much of the authority formerly possessed by the king. But his veto; unlike that of the king (section 134), could not always prevent a bill's becoming a law. A bill could be passed in spite of the president's veto if it had the approval of two thirds of both Houses of Congress.
6. To settle any dispute that might arise as to what the new government had a right to do, the Constitution created the Supreme Court of the United States, which was empowered to pass judgment in any case that involved the powers of Congress.
196. The Constitution Adopted; our Bill of Rights. The Constitution was sent to all the states to be voted upon by the people. There were many things in it which this person or that person disapproved of, and there was much discussion before the voting took place. However, most people

[^46]were convinced that some change had to be made and that they had better give the new scheme a trial. One after another, all the thirteen states voted to accept the Constitution. But almost everybody had one great objection. They said, "The Constitution does not protect us against arbitrary legislation by Congress; we fought the Bourbons and we


RECEPTION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON AT NEW YORK, APRIL 23, 1789
fought King George to establish those political rights that Anglo-Saxons have slowly acquired during many centuries [sections 71, 98, 109, $134,143,147$ ]; we are not going to take any chance of losing them now." By common consent ten amendments were added, and these form the "bill of rights" of every American citizen.
197. The Election of Washington. Our first national election was held early in $1789 .{ }^{1}$ George Washington was
${ }^{1}$ The Constitution provided that as soon as it was accepted by nine states, it should go into effect among those nine. In 1789 eleven states accepted the Constitution and formed the Union. North Carolina joined in 1789 ; Rhode Island in I790.
unanimously elected president. New York was temporarily the capital of the country, and the government building on Wall Street was known as Federal Hall. It had a high balcony supported by stately columns. Standing in the balcony, while a great crowd filled the street below, Washington took the oath of office, April 30, 1789. The Chancellor of the state of New York, who had administered the oath, then turned to the crowd and said, "Long live George Washington, first president of the United States!" And all the people shouted back to him, "Long live George Washington!" while cannon at the Battery boomed in salute.

## SUMMARY

Congress drew up Articles of Confederation with a view to binding the states together. The small states refused to accept them until the large states, like Virginia, were reduced in size. Consequently the large states gave up their Western lands and the Confederation of the United States was established. In the West new states were rapidly formed, but the lack of roads across the mountains made it impossible for the settlers in the West to send their products to the East. The Westerners wanted to trade by water with New Orleans. Spain, holding New Orleans, made this difficult. The West demanded that Congress force Spain to open the Mississippi. At the same time the Easterners made a different demand. They wanted to trade with Europe and with the British and Spanish West Indies. Many Easterners had been impoverished during the war and there was much discontent. The East wanted Congress to ignore the West and give all its attention to restoring trade on the Atlantic. The various Eastern states quarreled with each other. They paid hardly any attention to the enactments of Congress. The Confederation seemed about to break up. To prevent this a convention was called which drew up a new scheme of union, embodied in the Constitution. This new scheme was adopted by the states, and Washington was elected our first president.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, chaps. x, xi ; Beard, American Government and Politics, chaps. i-iv; Bryce, The American Commonwealth; *Channing, United States, III, chaps. xiii-xvi; Ferrand, Records of the Federal Convention, *Framing the Constitution, and The Fathers of the Constitution (Chronicles of America); *Fiske, The Critical Period in American History; Guitteau, Govermment and Politics in the United States, chaps. xviii, xix; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chaps. vi, ix, x; *Johnson, Union and Democracy (Riverside History), chaps. i, ii ; Macdonald, Documentary Source Book, 195-204, 209216; McLaughlin, The Confederation and the Constitution, chaps. iiixvii ; McMaster, History of the People of the United States, I, chaps. ii-v; Roosevelt, The Winning of the West.

For the Pupil: Barstow, A New Nation, 1-24; Elson, Sidelights on American History, I, chaps. ii, iii, xviii; Faris, Makers of Our History, chap. iv; Griffis, The Romance of Conquest, chap. vi ; Guitteau, Preparing for Citizenship, chap. xiii; Irving, Washington; Roosevelt, Stories of the Great West; Stone and Fickett, Days and Deeds a Hundred Years Ago, 16-53; Turkington, My Country.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. Why were the small states afraid to join the Confederation? 2. What states claimed lands in the West? 3. On what did the Virginia claim rest (two answers) ? the Massachusetts claim? the Connecticut claim? the New York claim? (See sections 24, 171, 185, note.) 4. How were the small states induced to join the Confederation? 5. What was the Ordinance of 1787 ? 6. How was Kentucky settled? 7. How did Tennessee become a state? [8. Explain how the movement for democracy which began in the Revolution was strengthened by the formation of frontier communities. (See Becker, An Experiment in Democracy, chaps. iii-vi ; Turner, The Rise of the New West, chaps. i-viii ; Paxson, The Last American Frontier, chaps. i-iv.)]
[9. Describe a frontier settlement. (See Ogg, The Old Northwest; Skinner, The Old Southwest; Baldwin, The Conquest of the Northwest; Griffs, The Romance of Conquest; Stone and Fickett, Days and Deeds.)] 10. Why did the Westerners want to trade with New Orleans? II. What trade did the Easterners want? 12. How did the Easterners and the Westerners disagree over a treaty with Spain? [13. Here begins one of the greatest problems of American history: How are the interests of different sections to be adjusted? The

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problem must be borne in mind throughout all the remainder of our story. It would be well for every pupil to keep a notebook in which to set down as they appear the sectional clashes in American history. Have you heard of any such clashes today?]
14. Why was there discontent in the East? How did the states treat one another? Why could not Congress compel them to do differently? 15. What was done to improve these conditions? [16. Write an essay on the Constitutional Convention. (See Ferrand, Framing the Constitution; Guitteau, Preparing for Citizenship; Turkington, My Country.)] [17. What rights are secured to us by the first eight amendments? (See Appendix for the text of the Constitution, and also references under problem 16.)]


THE TREATY OF WATAGA - CHEROKEE INDIANS SELLING KENTUCKY TO THE TRANSYLVANIA LAND COMPANY

A mural painting, by T. Gilbert White, in the Kentucky Capitol


JOHN JAY ACCEPTS A TREATY

## CHAPTER XI

## THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

198. Washington gathers Advisers and forms the Cabinet; Financial Policy. The governing of a country may be compared to an enormous business which has to have many different men to manage the different parts of it. Washington at once divided up the business of the government among a number of eminent men who formed the cabinet. Among them were two of the greatest men our country has hadAlexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State.

It was Hamilton's business to raise money and get the country out of debt. He persuaded Congress to pass a tariff act ( 1789 ), which laid a duty on all foreign goods brought into the United States, and also to require every foreign ship to pay for the privilege of entering an American port. With the money thus raised he was able to meet the expenses of the government and, in addition, (i) to pay back the great sum lent us by France during the war, (2) to pay what we owed to the soldiers of the


WASHINGTON'S INAUGURAL PROCESSION
From "Building the Nation," by Charles Carleton Coffin. Drawing by Howard Pyle

Revolution, and (3) to pay the debts incurred by the states during their struggle with the king.

Hamilton wished to put the control of the country as far as possible into the hands of the prosperous people. His aim was to make them all feel that it was to their interest to support the new government. Therefore he persuaded Congress to charter the Bank of the United States, which was to assist business men in various ways, especially by lending them money. ${ }^{1}$

Hamilton's fondness for a strong central government made him enemies, and though they could not prevent the establishment of the bank, they drew together and began to oppose him systematically. Their leader was Jefferson. Hamilton's friends organized

alexander hamilton themselves in his support. Thus two political parties were formed. Hamilton became the leader of the Federalists; ${ }^{2}$ Jefferson, of the Republicans. ${ }^{3}$

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199. Federalists and Republicans disagree on Foreign Policy; the French Revolution. Very soon the two parties disagreed over a question of foreign policy. To understand it we must glance at the history of France.

Though the Bourbon king had aided the Americans in their war with George III, France continued to be a relentless despotism (section 106). Its rulers had no sympathy with free institutions. But the downtrodden French people were longing to be free. In the very year when Washington became president, wise and good men in France began the famous French Revolution.

At first the Revolution was directed by these high-minded leaders, who felt no hatred toward the king and had wished to take away his power gradually. Unfortunately something happened which had not been foreseen: many bitter people who had suffered from the harsh rule of the king were unable to restrain their passion for revenge, and began denouncing the moderate Revolutionists, who wanted to change the government without harm to anyone. The Moderates were thrust aside; and then followed a furious struggle between the nobles and the people. The people won. The nobles were either killed or driven out of the country. The poor king, Louis XVI, was seized and put to death, and France was declared a republic.

In America these terrible events made a deep impression. Though at first most people felt that the French Revolution was almost a continuation of the American Revolution, a reaction came when the king was executed. At that time Americans did not know what terrible excuses the people of France had for their rage against the king, and in America their action seemed both cruel and vindictive. A great number of Americans changed, for a time, their idea of the French nation and said, "We do not want our country to be a friend of the French Republic." This was the attitude generally of the Federalists.

On the other hand, there were some Americans who without excusing the execution of the king felt that they understood why the suffering people of France had been unable to restrain themselves. They said, "Let us stand by France and very soon we shall be glad we did so ; on second thought, the French will act differently." This position was taken by Jefferson and the Republicans.
200. The Proclamation of Neutrality. The new French Republic at once became engaged in war with Prussia, Austria, Spain, and England. It appealed to the United States for aid and sent over as its ambassador a foolish man named Genêt. The Republicans received Genêt with enthusiasm. Dinners were given in his honor. Speeches were made in which the Democratic orators assured their hearers that it would be shameful if the two republics did not stand together. But the Federalists did not take part in these demonstrations. They were greatly pleased because Washington, while Genêt was on his way across the ocean, had issued a proclamation of neutrality ( 1793 ) warning Americans that our country was at peace with both France and England and that American citizens must not commit hostile acts against either country.

When Genêt requested military aid from the United States it was promptly refused. Then Genêt fitted out a ship which was to sail from an American port to make war on England. Washington forbade the sailing. Nevertheless the ship, under Genêt's orders, sailed away. In anger Washington exclaimed, "Is the minister of the French Republic to set the acts of this government at defiance with impunity!" He notified France that the insolent ambassador was no longer wanted in this country. France at once recalled him.
201. The Mississippi Treaty. Genêt's meddling had one good result. Spain became alarmed because he tried to stir up the Western Americans to seize New Orleans. Fearful that the United States would take part in the French war

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(section 200), Spain at last proposed a satisfactory settlement of the Mississippi question (section 190). It was arranged ( 1795 ) that Americans might navigate the river and export their products free of duty through New Orleans.
202. The Jay


GEORGE WASHINGTON
From a painting by John Trumbull. Courtesy of the Daughters of the American Revolution Treaty. The great question before the country now was, Should we join France in her war against England? Many Republicans wished to do so. They complained that England had not fulfilled her obligations under the treaty of $17.83^{1}$ and that she was seizing American ships trading to French ports. In the hope of preventing war Washington sent John Jay to England to negotiate a treaty of commerce. Jay accomplished three things: (I) he settled the disputes over the treaty of 1783 ; (2) he brought about the resumption of trade with England and the British West Indies; (3) he secured from England a promise to submit

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to arbitration the claims of American merchants for losses they had suffered because of the interruptions of trade during the war. ${ }^{1}$
203. Washington refuses a Third Term. Washington refused to be president a third time. As an answer to the great numbers of people who begged him to continue at the head of the government, he issued his Farewell Address (September 7, 1796). Besides explaining his own course, the address contains "an appeal to the people to preserve intact the unity of the government, to put down party spirit, and to make religion, education, and public good faith the basis of the government, and, lastly, a needed warning against the admission of any foreign influence upon American politics." ${ }^{2}$

## SUMMARY

Washington formed a cabinet of secretaries to administer the new government. Its leading members were Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, and Jefferson, Secretary of State. Hamilton paid off the debts of the United States by means of duties on foreign goods and charges laid on foreign ships trading to American ports. He persuaded Congress to establish the Bank of the United States. When the French Revolution broke out Hamilton looked on it with distrust, while Jefferson warmly applauded. Washington issued his Proclamation of Neutrality. There was a popular demand to join France in a war with England. Washington wished to prevent war and succeeded in doing so by negotiating a commercial treaty with England. He also made an arrangement with Spain with regard to the Mississippi. While Washington was contending with so many difficulties the friends of Hamilton and the friends of Jefferson organized themseves as political parties, known as the Federalists and the Republicans or Democrats.

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## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, chap. xii; The Federal System, chaps. i-vi ; *Callender, Economic History of the United States, chap. v; *Channing, United States, chaps. ii-vi ; Dewey, Financial History of the United States, chaps. iii-vii; Fess, Political Theory and Party Organization in the United States, chap. i; Guittenu, Government and Politics in the United States, chap. xxvii; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chap. xii; *Johnson, Union and Democracy (Riverside History), chaps. iii, iv; *Jones, Washington and his Colleagues (Chronicles of America); Lodge, Alexander Hamilton; Macdonald, Source Book, 244-258; McMaster, History, I, chap. vi.

For the Pupil: Barstow, The Colonists and the Revolution, I3S148; Conant, Alexander Hamilton; Elson, Sidelights on American History, I, chap. iv; Faris, Makers of Our History, chap. vii; Fiske, How the United States became a Nation; Guitteau, Preparation for Citizenship, chaps. xiv-xvi; Irving, Life of Washington; Sparks, The Men who made the Nation, chaps. v, vi; Wilson, George Washington.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What is the cabinet? 2. Who were the chief men in Washington's cabinet? 3. How did Hamilton raise money? 4. Why did Hamilton want a bank? 5. Why did Jefferson and Hamilton oppose each other ? 6. What political parties did they organize? 7. What event in France caused further disagreement between Federalists and Democrats? 8. What was the attitude generally of the Federalists toward the new French Republic? of the Democrats? [9. Write a brief essay on the topic "How Political Parties began in the United States." Explain the differences between Hamilton and his friends, on the one hand, and Jefferson and his friends, on the other, with regard to ( I ) the power of the government, (2) the interest of the wealthy class, (3) foreign policy.]

Io. What proclamation did Washington issue? [II. Write a bricf essay on neutrality. (See Chapter XXV; also Latane, From Isolation to Leadership; Robinson and West, The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson; Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the World War (Chronicles of America). Of course the teacher will find it necessary, if this topic is used, to explain the subject fully.)] I2. What reasons were given by the Democrats for wanting war with England? I3. How did Washington prevent war?


WASHINGTON'S COACH

## CHAPTER XII

## OUR COUNTRY IN WASHINGTON'S DAY

204. The First Census. Congress ordered a count, or census, of the whole American people to be taken in I790, and afterwards once in ten years.

The first census showed that of all the states, Virginia had the largest population, 747,000 ; Pennsylvania came next with 434,000; North Carolina with 393,000 stood third; then came Massachusetts, having 378,000; while New York, which now has $10,000,000$ people, stood fifth with 340,000 .

There were only five cities which had a population of over 8000. It is interesting to compare the size of these cities then and now. New York in the census of 1790 had 32,305 , and in that of 1920 had $5,620,048$; Philadelphia had 28,522 in 1790 , and $1,823,158$ in 1920 ; Boston in 1790 had 18,038 , while in 1920 it had 748,060; Charleston had 16,359 in 1790, and 67,957 in 1920; Baltimore in 1790 had 13,505, and in 1920 had $733,826 .{ }^{1}$

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You will notice that these five cities are on the sea or near the mouth of some great river. The great bulk of all our $4,000,000$ people of that time also lived along the sea.
205. The Western Migration. During the next few years there was a rush of settlers to the West. From New England they crossed New York along the Mohawk Trail (section 22)


CINCINNATI IN 1800
to the shores of Lake Erie. From all parts of the Middle States they gathered at Pittsburgh, whence they went down the Ohio River on flatboats. These boats were large flat barges with rough houses built upon them for sleeping. They drifted with the current. Therefore the voyage on a flatboat was long, and the passengers filled the tedious days with games and merrymaking. Between I 790 and I800 many thousand people floated down the Ohio by means of these boats and settled in new towns or on farms both north and south of it. During those ten years more than a quarter of a million of our people crossed the mountains. An event which
contributed greatly to this result was the crushing of the Ohio Indians, after much hard fighting, by General Anthony Wayne, whose chief victory was the battle of Fallen Timbers, near Maumee.

The emigrants did not all go by way of the Ohio. A famous Indian trail led westward from Virginia and North


A PIONEER WEDDING
From "Building the Nation," by Charles Carleton Coffin. Drawing by Howard Pyle

Carolina, through Cumberland Gap, into Kentucky and Tennessee. Over this Wilderness Trail many settlers passed into the West, carrying their possessions on pack horses. There was a time when long strings of such horses might be seen following one behind the other through the shadows of the forest. Their drivers walked beside them. On other horses women were seated, sometimes with children in their arms.
206. The Life of the Pioneers. The life led by these pioneers, as the early settlers were called, was, of course, full of hardships. At first their houses were rude $\log$ cabins. A whole family had to be content to live in a single room.

As pack horses were the only means of conveyance very little furniture could be brought across the mountains. In the settlements of the frontiersmen the tables, chairs, and bedsteads were generally made on the spot. This was possible because mechanics were always to be found among the immigrants. None the less the furniture of their cabins was of the roughest sort. A table was but a rough board hewn smooth only on the upper side, with sections of small tree trunks for legs.

For a long time these Western settlements found it difficult to get cloth of any sort from across the mountains. The few traders who brought it West on their pack horses asked high prices. So the frontiersmen imitated Indian dress and often wore a fur cap, a buckskin shirt, buckskin leggings, and moccasins.
207. Beginnings of Civilization in the West. Many of the immigrants to the West were well educated. Almost immediately they began to lay plans for the development of schools. In Kentucky, even before the woods were cleared, the settlers began planning Transylvania University, which was finally organized in 1798 . In Ohio one thirty-sixth of the land was set aside to support the schools. There was a newspaper, the Kentucky Gazette, issued at the little town of Lexington when Washington was inaugurated. ${ }^{1}$ It was the first newspaper west of the mountains. Before the end of Washington's first term the first newspaper in Ohio appeared, the Sentinel of the Northwest, published at Cincinnati.
208. The Industrial Revolution. At the time of Washington's election most of our manufactured articles came from Europe. ${ }^{2}$ We had a few woolen mills, the first of which was established in Massachusetts as far back as 1662. There

[^51]were no mills in America that made cotton cloth. All our mills were run by water and were equipped with clumsy machinery.

During the thirty years following Washington's election a great change took place. What is known as the Industrial Revolution extended from England to America. We must understand this far-reaching event because its effects have had a profound influence on American life and are today perhaps the most important subject for Americans to think about (see Chapters XXII and XXVIII).

In the latter half of the eighteenth century England distinguished herself in all scientific and mechanical ways by the number and ability of her original thinkers. A series of inventions abolished many of the old modes of industry and created others that changed gradually the conditions of labor all over the world. Before this time thread was spun on the spinning wheels and then was woven into cloth on the old-fashioned looms that had been invented centuries before. These machines worked slowly, but they were cheap, and poor people could own them. Almost every English cottage, almost every American frontier cabin, had its spinning wheel. If a man wanted to make weaving his trade, he would have little difficulty paying for his own loom. These old-time conditions of manufacture made it possible for a single weaver to carry on business by himself.
But before long so many changes had come about that the workman could no longer run his business by himself. It was the unintended result of the new inventions. Machinery was introduced which was immeasurably more efficient than the old machinery, but it was also vastly more expensive. The workers themselves could not purchase it. Men of wealth had to be found who would buy this costly machinery and pay wages to the workmen who used it. Of the gradual but enormous results of all this in America, how they have grown into "big business," we shall hear later (Chapter XXVIII).


AN OLD-FASHIONED LOOM


MODERN L.OOMS IN A LARGE MILL
209. The Cotton Industry. Among all the new inventions undoubtedly the most important was the steam engine, which was perfected by James Watt in $\mathbf{r} 78 \mathrm{r}$. But the new inventions which had the most immediate effect upon America concerned the manufacture of cotton. We shall see hereafter that cotton has played a great part in our history. However, the home of cotton is Asia, and there for thousands of years past the people of India had made exquisite cloths from cotton by means of the most simple hand looms. Long ago England began importing cotton and manufacturing it into cloth in the same difficult way. Cotton culture was
introduced into the English colonies in the seventeenth century. While our fathers were quarreling with the king over the Townshend duties (section 145), Richard Arkwright invented a new spinning machine (1769) which was far superior to any that had been known before. However, the spinning of cotton was still tedious and unsatisfactory for two reasons: ( r ) because the old-fashioned looms could not turn out their cloth rapidly and (2) because the cotton was full of small seeds that had to be picked out laboriously before it could be spun. Two famous inventors one in England and one in America, worked at these difficulties about the same time and finally overcame them. In England Richard Cartwright invented the power loom, which often was run by steam. In America Eli Whitney, a young school-teacher born in Massachusetts but


ELI WHITNEY who was living in Georgia, invented the cotton gin (r793). Before that time cotton was grown in America but not with great profit. A negro working all day could pick the seeds out of but a pound of cotton; by means of Whitney's gin the same negro could clean three hundred pounds a day.

Whitney had been encouraged to attempt his invention by the widow of General Greene, at whose plantation, Mulberry Grove, the first gin was constructed. Even before then Americans had seen that the cotton industry might become a great source of wealth. As far back as 1775 one of the new spinning machines was set up at Philadelphia. Our first successful cotton factory was established at Pawtucket,

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Rhode Island, by Samuel Slater (1790), who had been superintendent of an English factory; he made use of some but not all of the recent inventions. Years passed, while enormous factories sprang up at many places in England,


A COTTON FIELD
before Francis C. Lowell built their first American rival (1814) at Waltham, Massachusetts, and equipped it with all their new appliances.

Both the growing and the manufacture of cotton now became leading industries in the United States. Because of the large number of mills in England and America, growers of cotton were able to sell at a good price all they could produce. Before the invention of the cotton gin we exported but a few hundred bales a year. In twenty years' time the amount exported annually had risen to 125,000 bales. Since then we have raised in one year as much as $16,000,000$ bales. ${ }^{1}$

[^52]210. The Schools of 1790. Few things have changed more since our first census than have our schools. Alexander Graydon of Philadelphia has preserved for us, in a book he wrote, a picture of the schools of Washington's day. While at school Graydon read Latin fables, learned ancient history, fought the other boys, was flogged by his teacher, and when fourteen years old had read Ovid, Vergil, Cæsar, and Sallust, and was reading Horace and Cicero.

Girls, as a rule, did not have the same education as boys. Most girls were considered educated when they had been taught how to keep house, how to embroider skillfully, and how to play the harpsichord. No girls

(C) Harper \& Brothers

WASHINGTON AND HIS SERVANT
From "Building the Nation," by Charles Carleton Coffin went to college.
211. Dress and Manners. Everybody who could afford it wore beautiful clothes-the men no less than the women. Gentlemen appeared on the street wearing bright-colored
Rumsey of Maryland made the first model of a steamboat (1784). He was encouraged by Franklin and Washington, but died before perfecting his invention. John Fitch of Connecticut followed in Rumsey's steps and came nearer to success, but he could not persuade anyone to give him the money needed to make his invention successful. In 1798 he committed suicide, after writing in his journal, "The day will come when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention" (for the fulfillment of his prophecy see section 22I).

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silk coats, embroidered waistcoats, short breeches reaching only to the knees, and silk stockings. On horseback they wore huge boots coming high up the leg.

All respectable people were very particular in the way they addressed each other. If a man spoke to another in loud, careless tones or slapped him on the back, it was considered proof that he was not a gentleman. Washington particularly required everyone to be extremely polite. He would not tolerate the least display in public of what we mean today by "familiarity."
212. The City of Washington. A memorial of Washington was the new capital of the Union. A tract of land ten miles square, lying on both sides of the Potomac, was placed by Maryland and Virginia at the disposal of Congress. Subsequently the portion south of the river was returned to Virginia. The remainder still forms the District of Columbia, for which Congress makes all the laws, local as well as national. In this little district was laid out the new city of Washington, now one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

## SUMMARY

Our first census, in 1790 , showed that we numbered 4,000,000. We still lived in the country or in small towns. The largest city, New York, had only 32,305 inhabitants. During Washington's time began a great shifting of population from the Atlantic seaboard to the West. Many pioneer communities were established beyond the mountains, where life was rough and free. At the same time a new opportunity to make money was created in the older parts of the country by the Industrial Revolution, which, starting in England, spread all over the world and changed the conditions of labor everywhere. New machines were invented that only rich men could buy. Factories became necessary. Before long men of wealth in America were imitating the men of wealth in Europe and putting their fortunes into factories. One result of these new conditions was the development of the American cotton
industry. This industry was revolutionized by the invention of the cotton gin in 1793 and by the invention of the power loom.

American life, however, except in the West, did not undergo any rapid change. Boys and girls were educated according to old notions very different from those of today. Men as well as women, if they could afford to do so, wore silk and satin clothes.

Washington's name was given to the new capital of the Union.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: *Adams, History of the United States, I, chaps. i-iv; Babcock, The Rise of American Nationality, chap. xv; Bassett, United States (chap. xvi) and The Federalist System (chaps. x-xiii); Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xi-xiv; CAllender, Economic History, chaps. v, ix, xii; Channing, United States, IV, chap. xvi; Cheyney, Industrial and Social History of England, chap. viii ; *Coman, Industrial History of the United States; Guitteau, Government and Politics, chap. viii; Hammond, Cotton Industry; Hart, Contemporaries, II, chap. xxii; III, chaps. ii, v, xxi; Hinsdale, The Old Northwest; *McMaster, History, II, chap. xii ; III, chaps. xxi, xxii ; *OsGood, History of Industry, chaps. xii, xiii, xvii ; Rhodes, History of the United States, I, chaps. i, ii, iv; Roosevelt, The Winning of the West; Smedes, Memorials of a Southern Planter; *Turner, Rise of the New West, chaps. v-viii; Webster, History of Commerce, chap. ii.

For the Pupil: Baldwin, Conquest of the Old Northrwest, 177-194; Barstow, The Westward Movement ( $1-80$ ) and A New Nation (i66180); Bass, Stories of Pioneer Life, 54-136; Brigham, From Trail to Railway, chap. ii; Bruce, Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road; Drake, The Making of the Great West; Elson, Sidelights on American History, I; Faris, Real Stories from Our History (chaps. xiv, xv, xvii-xix) and Makers of Our History (chap. ix); Gordy, Abraham Lincoln, chap. i ; McMurry, Pioneers of the Mississippi Valley; Morgan, Lincoln, the Boy and the Man, chaps. i-v; Nicolay, Our Nation in the Building, chap. vi; Paxson, The Last American Frontier, chaps. i-iv; Roosevelt, Stories of the Great West; Sparks, Expansion of the American People, chaps. iii, x; Wright, American Progress, chap. i.

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## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. How many people were in our country when the first census was taken? 2. Where did most of the people live in 1790? 3. What great movement of population then began? [4. Draw a map showing the chief routes across the mountains that were in use in Washington's day and what part of the West was settled before 1800 . (See sections 141, 186-188, 190, 205, and maps on pages 193 and 211; also Brigham, From Trail to Railway; Semple, Geographic Conditions, chaps. iv, v. Either on the map or on a separate sheet tell just where you found the information used ; for example, the Mohawk Trail, section 205, and map, p. 211.)] [5. Imagine yourself a Western settler in 1790 or 1795. Write a letter describing your westward journey (a) over the Mohawk Trail, (b) by way of the Ohio, or (c) over the Wilderness Trail. (See McMaster, History, chap. viii ; Ogg, The Old Northwest, chaps. vi, vii ; Semple, Geographic Conditions, chaps. iv, v; Skinner, Pioneers of the Old Southwest, chap. ii ; Turner, The Frontier in American History, 126-176.)]
[6. Write another letter dated a year later, describing the settlement where you live and how it was besieged by Indians. (See Bass, Stories of Pioneer Life, 54-136; Roosevelt, Winning of the West, I, chap. v; Semple, Geographic Conditions, chap. v; Ogg, The Old Northwest, chaps. v, vii; Skinner, Pioneers of the Old Southwest, chaps. vii, x, xi.)] 7. What was the earliest Western University? 8. How did Ohio support schools? 9. What were the chief occupations in America when Washington became president? Io. What great change took place during the next thirty years?
[ir. Explain how the Industrial Revolution changed the relations of capital and labor. (See Chapters XXII and XXVIII; Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xxix, xxxii ; Callender, Economic History, chap. xiv ; Orth, The Armies of Labor, chaps. i, ii.)] 12. What new inventions were most important to the Americans? I3. How did the new inventions change the American cotton industry? 14. What other American inventions were made about this time?


FIGHT BETWEEN THE CONSTELLATYON AND L'INSURGENTE

## CHIAPTER XIII

FEDERALISTS AND REPUBLICANS

JOHN ADAMS, SECOND PRESIDENT

## 213. Party Politics; Contest over Washington's Successor.

 As soon as it became known that Washington would not accept a third term the two political parties (section 198) began our first national campaign for the election of a president.The Federalists' candidate was John Adams, who had been vice president during both terms when Washington was president. The Republicans nominated Jefferson. Adams was elected. ${ }^{1}$
214. "X, Y, Z"; the Naval War. The French government at this time was controlled by five unscrupulous men called the Directory. They had it in their power to make war upon us, and they secretly informed our minister at Paris that
${ }_{1}^{1}$ The law provided that the candidate receiving the next highest number of votes should be vice president ; therefore, while Adams was president, Jefferson was vice president. The twelfth amendment (1804) to the Constitution provided that the president and vice president should be voted for separately.

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if we wished them to be our friends we had better pay each of them a great sum of money. They intended to keep the whole disgraceful negotiation a secret, but when it was reported to President Adams he at once made it public (1797). Instead of giving the names of three lower officers who were go-betweens, carrying the proposal of the Directory to our minister, he spoke of them as Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z.

When President Adams denounced this treatment of our ministers he was applauded by the whole country. John Hopkinson composed "Hail Columbia" in his honor. The general feeling was expressed by a remark attributed to C. C. Pinckney: "Millions for defense, not one cent for tribute."

There followed what is sometimes called the naval war of 1798 . French and American ships of war fought several brilliant engagements. Commodore Truxton in the frigate Constellation made a great reputation by capturing the French frigate L'Insurgente (1799). The next year Napoleon Bonaparte, who had overthrown the Directory and was now master of France, made peace with the United States.
215. Alien and Sedition Laws. During our dispute with the Directory there were a number of Frenchmen editing newspapers in America. Forgetting what was due the generous government which permitted them to make their fortunes here while continuing citizens of another country, ${ }^{1}$ they abused the president shamelessly. To make it possible to silence such people Congress passed the Alien Law (1798), which empowered the president to order offending foreigners out of the country. At the same time a Sedition Law provided for the punishment of any American citizen who published false statements about the government. No aliens were banished, but several Americans were fined, and one was sent to prison. These laws were in force only two years.

[^53]216. The Power of the Supreme Court ; John Marshall. The Republicans thought they saw in these laws an attempt to give the president the powers of a monarch (section 134). Resolutions of protest were passed by the legislatures of Kentucky and Virginia. These resolutions also laid down a principle that was accepted by the Republicans as part of what we should call today their "party platform." This was the idea, that if a state thought an act of Congress improper it had a right to refuse to obey that act. The Federalists replied that only the Supreme Court should pass judgment whether Congress was or was not acting in accordance with the Constitution, and that the states had no choice but to obey the court. However, they saw that the question was going to become a source of dispute in politics, and they wanted as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court a man of great courage and ability who would assert the authority of the court at every opportunity. Such a man was John Marshall of Virginia, whom Adams appointed Chief. Justice only a few weeks before retiring from the presidency. As the Chief Justice holds office for life, Marshall was able during nearly thirty-five years to oppose Republican ideas and uphold the Federalist conception of the powers of Congress. More than any other one man he helped to establish the idea that the state government did not have the right to pass judgment upon the lawfulness of an act of Congress and that this right belonged to the Supreme Court.
217. The Death of Washington. In the latter part of Adams's administration Washington died at Mount Vernon (1799). There was now full appreciation of his splendid services to the country, and he was mourned by the whole nation as "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen." So general was now the recognition of his greatness that an English admiral, Lord Bridport, commanding a fleet of sixty ships off the English coast, ordered all his flags at half-mast.:

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## THOMAS JEFFERSON, THIRD PRESIDENT

218. The Election of 1800 ; Jefferson the First President inaugurated at Washington; "Republican Simplicity." In the election of 1800 Adams and Jefferson were again the presidential can-


THOMAS JEFFERSON didates, but this time the Republicans won the election and Jefferson became president. He was inaugurated in the city of Washington, which had become the capital of our country the year previous. Jefferson was an ardent believer in what wascalled republican simplicity. He did not want, aspresident; to make himself different from his fellow citizens. He walked to his inauguration as if he were walking down town on an ordinary errand. Frequently, in later years, he went to the Capitol on horseback and himself tied his horse to a hitching post. He is described as "a tall man, with a very red, freckled face; his manners good-natured, frank, and rather friendly; wearing a blue coat, a thick gray-colored heavy waistcoat, with a red under-waistcoat lapped over it, green velveteen
breeches with pearl buttons, yarn stockings, and slippers down at the heels - his appearance being very much like that of a tall, large-boned farmer."
Jefferson was highly accomplished, and people who talked with him found him very charming. He was rich, with a great estate in Virginia called Monticello, where he entertained most attractively. A visitor there said of him that he was "at once a musician . . . an astronomer, a natural philosopher, and a statesman."

In Jefferson's day, in most parts of the country, no one could vote unless he had considerable property. The Federalists thought this was right. Jefferson opposed it. All his life long he urged his countrymen to adopt "manhood suf-frage"- that is, to allow all men to vote, whether rich or poor. Fifty years later, after long debate upon the subject, "manhood suffrage" became the rule in America (section 257). This was due in large measure to the influence of Jefferson.
219. War with Tripoli. Though Jefferson was a devoted believer in peace, he was forced into war with Tripoli. The Mohammedan states of northern Africa had long made a business of piracy. The greater countries of the world thought it cheaper to buy them off than to fight them. Hitherto we had done the same. But now the ruler of Tripoli became insolent, demanded a higher price for not robbing our ships, and when it was refused, declared war. ${ }^{1}$ Thereupon Jefferson sent the American navy to the Mediterranean and forced the Tripolitans to beg for mercy. They made a treaty promising never again to molest our ships.
220. The Revival of the Dispute about the Mississippi ; the Louisiana Purchase. Meanwhile Napoleon, having compelled

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Spain to return Louisiana to France (section 123), prepared a great army to take possession of it. Americans were informed that they would no longer be allowed to do business


SACAJAWEA
The Indian woman who was guide for Lewis and Clark. This statue is at Portland, Oregon unhindered at New Orleans (section 201).

Napoleonwas the greatest general in the world, and he hadat his back animmensely powerful army. All our people felt that if this great conqueror took possession of New Orleans, there was no telling what harm he might do to our country. Jefferson, though he loved the French people, at once prepared, if necessary, to make an alliance with England and fight Napoleon. "The day France takes possession of New Orleans," he wrote, "we marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation."
At the same time Jefferson attempted to make a bargain with Napoleon. He sent James Monroe and Robert Livingston to see whether New Orleans could be purchased. Napoleon astonished them by telling them he had changed his mind, did not want Louisiana, and would sell it all. They promptly agreed to buy. The price paid was fifteen million dollars. "I have sold you," said Napoleon, "the key to your country." ${ }^{1}$

[^55]221. Exploration of the West; Lewis and Clark; the Steamboat. The Americans knew almost nothing about Louisiana. To explore it Jefferson sent out a party of forty men commanded by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Starting from St. Louis (May 14, I804), they went up the Missouri River, crossed the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River,


FULTON'S STEAMBOAT, THE CLERMONT
which they descended to the Pacific (November 7, 1805). ${ }^{1}$ The expedition returned to St. Louis two and a half years after leaving it.

The next year Zebulon M. Pike set out to explore the Rocky Mountains. He discovered the great peak which bears his name; after severe hardships he made his way home in a roundabout way through Texas. He wrote a popular book describing his travels.

These explorations showed us that our Western territory was enormous. How to settle it was a problem. Fortunately a new invention made possible the transportation of settlers
not a minute to lose in selling Louisiana to America in order to keep it out of the hands of England." The territory thus acquired embraced $560,000,000$ acres, or some 900,000 square miles (see map of the United States in 1810). It cost us about three cents an acre.
${ }^{1}$ This river had been visited by an American seaman, Captain Asa Gray, in 1792. His visit and the expedition of Lewis and Clark gave us a claim to the valley of the Columbia. Our first settlement on the Pacific was, Astoria, built by fur-traders (181I) in the employ of John Jacob Astor, then the richest man in the United States.
and freight with perfect ease along the numberless rivers of the Western country. ${ }^{1}$ This was the steamboat (p. 235, note). The first entirely practical steamboat, the Clermont, was built by Robert Fulton. His first trip was from New York City to Albany (1807). The astonishment of the crowds of people gathered along the shore can hardly be exaggerated. Fulton had been ridiculed for building the Clermont, which had been nicknamed Fulton's Folly. At once people saw the value of this invention to the Westerners. Soon a Western steamboat made its first trip on the Ohio (18in). Before long there were steamboat lines up and down all the great rivers of the West. ${ }^{2}$
222. Results of the Westward Movement; Ohio Admitted; "Burr's Conspiracy"; Louisiana Admitted. Very rapidly settlers poured into the West. As one result, Ohio was cut off from the rest of the Northwest Territory and made a state of the Union (1803). Another result of this rapid movement of population toward the West was a strange scheme of Aaron Burr's. ${ }^{3}$ He thought that the Westerners

[^56]were so far from the coast and of such independent character (section 19I) that it would be easy to persuade them to leave the Union and set up a Western republic of their own. Whether he ever tried to put this idea into practice we do not certainly know. Many people at the time thought he intended to do so. When Burr made a journey to the West, President Jefferson grew suspicious. When he heard that Burr was gathering armed men and building boats at Blennerhassett's Island in the Ohio River, Jefferson felt convinced and sent orders to have him arrested on the charge of treason. Though Burr and his men made their way down the Ohio and the Mississippi as far as Natchez, he was at last caught and sent East for trial. There was no real proof that he intended to raise a rebellion; and he was set free.

As a third result of the Western movement of population the lower part of the new territory was cut off from the rest and made into the state of Louisiana (1812).

## WE ARE DRAWN INTO THE WARS OF NAPOLEON

223. Position of Napoleon in the History of the World. There have been a few men so great and so powerful that during their lives their influence has been felt in every country of the world. Their deeds are part of the history of all countries. One of these men was Napoleon the Great. He was a poor Corsican boy who went to France, became a soldier, rose by degrees to the command of the army, overthrew the French Republic (section 199), and at last made himself emperor ( 1809 ).

From one reason or another all the nations of Europe felt that Napoleon was their enemy. They formed coalitions, or armed leagues, against him, in which the chief powers were Austria, Russia, and England. England fought him mainly on the sea. As Napoleon announced that he would conquer the world, his enemies in Europe felt that every nation,

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including the United States, ought to help them resist him. When we refused to do so they felt and said bitter things.
224. The Problem of Runaway Sailors; England asserts the Right of Impressment; the Chesapeake. Many sailors deserted from the British navy and found employment on American ships. England demanded the right to search our ships, and if these men were found, to "impress" them and take them home. In spite of our protests she did so. There is no doubt that in some cases mistakes were made and Americans were carried off in the belief that they were Englishmen trying to deceive their own country. ${ }^{1}$

British ships of war sailed along the American coast watching for American ships to search. One day the British ship Leopard met the American frigate Chesapeake, which did not have its guns in condition to use. The British commander fired on the Chesapeake and forced it to submit to search. Four of the crew were taken off, one of whom was hanged as a deserter. The three others, Americans, were finally released.
225. Anger over the Chesapeake; the Embargo. The whole country clamored for war, but Jefferson thought he could settle the difficulty in a very different way. He reasoned that neither England nor France could get along without food from America. Therefore he proposed to Congress to stop all our trade with the rest of the world, thinking that the great belligerents would soon grant anything we asked in order to have trade with America resumed. Congress acted on this advice and laid an embargo, or prohibition, on all American ships which forbade them to go to sea (1807). ${ }^{2}$

[^57]

But our government had misunderstood the importance to Europe of American trade. Neither England nor Napoleon would make concessions. Our ships lay useless at their wharves. Their owners became impoverished and thousands of people were thrown out of employment. The distress was most severe in New England, where a rebellion against the government seemed possible. At last the embargo was repealed and American ships, while still forbidden to trade with France or England, were given permission to resume trade with other countries ( I 809 ). This was done by a Nonintercourse Act, which was passed by Congress in the closing days of Jefferson's administration.

## JAMES MADISON, FOURTH PRESIDENT

226. Madison tries to play off England and France One against Another. After serving two terms Jefferson was succeeded by another famous Virginian, James Madison, who was also a Republican. The struggle between Napoleon and the coalitions (section 223) was now at its height. Both sides were indignant at our country for not taking part ; both seized and searched our ships. At length Madison proposed to the belligerents that if either side would cease to interfere with American commerce, we, in return, would agree to trade with that one and not with the other. ${ }^{1}$
227. We fall into Napoleon's Trap. Napoleon saw his chance to trick us into war with England. He gave Madison a promise to meet his wishes about commerce while secretly not intending to do so. Madison, on the other hand, lived up to the offer he had made. He issued a proclamation informing the Americans of Napoleon's friendship and forbidding them to trade with England (February 2, r8ir).
though he did not practice it as successfully. Furthermore, each country interfered in many ways with trade to the other. See McMaster, "History," Vol. II, and Johnson, "Jefferson and his Colleagues."
${ }^{1}$ He was authorized to do so by an act of Congress passed in r8ro, known as Macon's Bill No. 2.

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228. Tecumseh : the War of 18ı2. Just at this time a very able Indian, Tecumseh, stepped forward as the leader of his


THE WAR IN THE EAST people against the whites. In the Northwest we were pressing the Indians back and seizing their lands upon very slight excuse. Tecumsèh attempted to organize a great Indian confederacy, but this was made impossible by General William Henry Harrison, who invaded the Indian country and at Tippecanoe Creek won a famous victory (November 7, I8II).

A group of young politicians called the war hawks raised a great outcry over this Indian war. ${ }^{1}$ They were wholly deceived by Napoleon; they bitterly resented the treatment of our ships by the British navy and thought that Tecumseh had received aid from Canada. Yielding to the war hawks, Congress declared war


THE WAR IN THE SOUTHWEST (June 18 , I8ı2).

At that very moment the British government was preparing to concede everything demanded by the Americans,

[^58]but when news arrived in Washington that England would agree to all our demands it was too late, and the war began. 229. The War of 18 I 2 on Land. On


THE BATTLE OF TIPPECANOE land the War of 1812 was a series of raids. Several times the Americans entered Canada. Twice we gained notable victories - at the battle of the Thames, under General Harrison (1813), and at Lundy's Lane, under General Jacob Brown and General Winfield Scott (18I4).

A shameful incident of one of the American raids-the burning of the Parliament House at Toronto (1813) -was as shamefully avenged by a British army the next year. Landing from a


THE WAR IN THE NORTHWEST


THE WAR IN THE SOUTH
fleet in Chesapeake Bay, four thousand men marched to Washington, scattered a militia force at Bladensburg, set fire to the capital, and made good their escape. ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ This is the first great instance in our history of reprisal. Today the drift of the world's thinking is against the idea of reprisal-the idea that you are free in war to do to your enemy the same evil that your enemy does to you.

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The same army and the same fleet made an unsuccessful attack upon Baltimore. While the British were vainly bombarding Fort McHenry a prisoner on one of their ships, Francis Scott Key, composed the "Star-Spangled Banner."


JaCKSON at THE Battle of NEW ORLEANS
Another British raid came down the west shore of Lake Champlain accompanied by a fleet. At Plattsburg (September II, 1814) Captain Thomas MacDonough destroyed the fleet, though it was double the strength of his own, and compelled the army to retreat.

The one great land battle was fought at New Orleans. Ten thousand British veterans landed eight miles below the city. General Andrew Jackson ${ }^{1}$ commanded the Americans,

[^59]who, though but half as numerous as the invaders, were posted behind strong fortifications. The attempt of the British to storm the fortifications caused a terrible slaughter and ended in complete failure (January 8, 18 I 5 ).
230. The War of 18 I 2 on the Water. The American navy won imperishable honor in the War of 18 I 2 . In addition to MacDonough's battle of Plattsburg, the inland waters saw another victory. In the battle of Lake Erie, Oliver Hazard Perry destroyed a British fleet. He announced his success in words that everyone remembers, "We have met the enemy and they are ours." On the ocean, to the astonishment of the world, American ships proved to be the finest afloat. Two months after war was declared the American frigate Constitution


THE FRIGATE CONSTITUTION met the British frigate Guerrière ${ }^{1}$ in the North Atlantic. "In less than thirty minutes from the time we got alongside," reported Captain Isaac Hull of the Constitution," "she was left without a spar standing, and the hull cut to pieces in such a manner as to make it difficult to keep her above water." This great fight was but one of a number of brilliant sea duels. Many British merchantmen were captured by the swift-sailing American ships, whose excellence was so undeniable that the London Times described them, when pursued, as putting "on their sea wings" and laughing at their "clumsy English pursuers."

[^60]
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231. The Treaty of Ghent. After two years of fighting both sides were tired of the war. Both appointed commissioners, who met in the quaint old city of Ghent in Belgium to negotiate a treaty. By this time Napoleon had been driven from his throne by the armies of the coalition (section 223), and


A FIGHT AT SEA IN THE WAR OF 1812
there was peace in Europe. The British and American commissioners signed a treaty of peace December $14,18 \mathbf{1 4} .{ }^{1}$ The treaty was little more than an agreement to stop fighting and become friends. Nothing was said about the quarrels which brought on the war. Americans realized that they had been tricked into the war by Napoleon, and Englishmen realized that they had been harsh and unfair. The two nations, like two men who had lost their tempers and now regretted it, shook hands - so to speak-and made up.

[^61]
## JAMES MONROE, FIFTH PRESIDENT

232. Madison is succeeded by Monroe; the Agreement of 1817. The close of the war caused great rejoicing, in the midst of which the Republicans once more elected a president. Again the new president was a Virginian, James Monroe.

Monroe had been Secretary of State under Madison, and even before he became president he had tried to bind the two countries in some sort of agreement that would insure peace for the future. One of the earliest of his important acts as president was to approve the agreement of I8I7, which pledged both countries not to maintain any ships of war on the Great Lakes. The


JAMES MONROE agreement is still in force. Because of it our great cities on the Lakes - Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Duluth - feel perfectly secure without either forts or warships to protect them.
233. The Coöperation of England and America in establishing the Monroe Doctrine. The return of good feeling in both countries was shown by a step which they took together.

The Spanish colonies in Central and South America had revolted and declared themselves independent republics; thereupon a league of European monarchs called the Holy Alliance ${ }^{1}$

[^62]promised the king of Spain to conquer these new republics and give them back to him. England protested, and asked the United States also to oppose the Holy Alliance. After a little hesitation Monroe decided to do so, though it was possible that a great war might follow in which England and the United States would be on one side and most of Europe on the other. What came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine was contained in a famous message which he sent to Congress (I823) asserting four things: (I) that no European power should plant any new colonies in either North or South America; (2) that the United States would not, however, object to European nations retaining those colonies which they had planted in America long before and which they still held; (3) that the United States would not interfere in the political affairs of Europe ; (4) that no European power could be allowed to interfere in the political affairs of an American republic.

Nearly a hundred years have passed, and all this while the United States has steadily asserted the Monroe Doctrine. England, with her immense fleet, has almost always done the same. As a result, the conquest of an American republic by a European power has never been attempted but once. That one attempt ended in disaster. ${ }^{1}$
234. Our Boundaries Defined; Florida Acquired. It had not been determined just what territory France had ceded to the United States under the name of Louisiana. With regard to our boundaries Monroe accomplished three things:
r. The northern boundary was now fixed by a treaty with England (1818) at the forty-ninth parallel, from the Lake of the Woods to the summit of the Rocky Mountains.
2. By a treaty with Spain (1819) Monroe fixed the western boundary; it followed the Rocky Mountains and the Arkansas and Sabine Rivers.

[^63]3. By the Spanish treaty we were also given the whole shore of the Gulf of Mexico east of the Mississippi. We paid Spain five million dollars. ${ }^{1}$
235. The Division between North and South; the Missouri Compromise. In Monroe's time our country was startled by the sudden evidence that the two parts of it, the North and the South, had conflicting interests. In the sixty years since the close of the wars for existence the two sections had developed in different ways ${ }^{2}$ and now had distinctly different points of view. Northerners had gone westward and settled in that northwest territory where slavery was forever prohibited (section 185). Southerners who went thither left their slaves behind. In three new states that had been admitted to the Union-Ohio (1803), Indiana (1816), Illinois (1818) -it was illegal to hold slaves. Consequently Southerners who wished to go West but who also wished to retain their slaves had turned to the Louisiana territory, where slavery had never been prohibited. In 18i9 slaveholding settlers in the rich lands around St. Louis applied to Congress for permission to form a state. Thereupon broke out a furious debate upon the right or wrong of slavery. Many Northerners pronounced it a crime and taunted the Southerners with sending missionaries to Africa, while bringing

[^64]
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Africans to America to be slaves. The Southerners replied that the slaves were brought over in Northern ships and that many Northerners made fortunes out of the trade. ${ }^{1}$

So much feeling was shown during this debate and such bitter things were said that it is a wonder the two sides ever


THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE OF 1820
came to an agreement, but Clay, who had marvelous skill in managing men, at last persuaded them to adopt the Missouri Compromise: ( ( ) Missouri was allowed to come in as a slave state; (2) slavery was forever prohibited in all other parts of the Louisiana territory north of the parallel $36^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$, which is Missouri's southern boundary'; (3) at the same time Maine was admitted as a free state to offset ${ }^{2}$

[^65]Missouri. Thus the division of our country into two sections, which had been taking place gradually during two hundred years, was established by law.
236. New Interest in the West; Steamboats; the National Road. The excitement over Missouri died as suddenly as it was born. People thought that the Compromise settled things "forever" and therefore dismissed it from their thoughts. They turned their attention to the settlement of the West. A great part of the West could now be reached by steamboats. To be sure, these steamboats were very slow; the voyage upstream from New Orleans to Louisville, at the falls of the Ohio, took twenty-five days. However, at the time of Monroe's second election between seventy and eighty steamboats were carrying freight and passengers up and down the Mississippi and its larger tributaries.

But there was a great region lying between the Ohio and the Lakes where the rivers were too small for steamboats to be used. Toward this region settlers were moving in large numbers from all parts of the East. Sometimes the whole population of an Eastern village "went out West" in a single party. One day, on a road in western New York, a traveler met twenty wagons and one hundred and sixteen persons all on their way to Indiana from one little town in Maine.

To enable settlers to reach the interior of this rich northwestern country, Congress decided to build a "National Road," which started from Cumberland in Maryland, crossed the mountains through southwestern Pennsylvania to Wheeling in what is now West Virginia, and was to lead thence across Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to the Mississippi. ${ }^{1}$
Maine (section 62) and its admission as a state. From this time, until 1850 (see section 305), states were regularly admitted in pairs, one slave and one free. The purpose was to keep the sections balanced in the Senate.
${ }^{1}$ The National Road was opened to Wheeling in 1825 and rapidly completed across Ohio and Indiana, but it never reached the Mississippi, because work on it was discontinued when railroads were introduced.

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237. Travel to the West. On all the roads leading to the West, both North and South, the travel at this time was enormous. A traveler who went from Nashville to Georgia tells us that he counted three thousand people, driving herds of cattle and hogs, who were all going out to settle in Alabama. In the one year 1820 three thousand wagons came


THE CUMBERLAND, OR NATIONAL, ROAD
to Pittsburgh from the East carrying eighteen million dollars' worth of merchandise, which was to be sent on to all parts of the West.
238. The Erie Canal. And now something happened which shows what a great part geography plays in determining the prosperity of countries and cities. The state of New York determined to build a canal that should connect the Atlantic with the Great Lakes. It was possible to do this because the mountains that form a great barrier right across Pennsylvania flatten out into low hills across New York. Each of these states saw that a canal connecting the coast with the West would greatly increase its prosperity. Each attempted to build one. But in Pennsylvania the mountains proved to be too great an obstacle, and the plan for a canal had to be given up.

Even New York's canal proved to be a difficult undertaking. The distance between Albany and Lake Erie is 363 miles. The level of the lake is 600 feet above the level of the river. This led people who thought the canal could never be successful to ask sneeringly whether its engineers could make water run uphill. The governor of New York,

De Witt Clinton, replied that they could build locks which would lift canal boats over every hill in their path.

The building of the canal took eight years - the eight years of Monroe's presidency. Forests had to be cleared; ridges had to be cut through; immense stone locks had to be built and aqueduct bridges to carry the canal over streams.


EARLY TRAVEL ON THE ERIE CANAL
At last came a day when the work was finished (I825). Cannon were placed five miles apart along the canal's whole length. As the water of Lake Erie flowed into this great artificial channel the first cannon was fired. From gun to gun the signal was flashed across the entire state. Governor Clinton made the voyage from Buffalo to Albany and thence down the Hudson to New York, bringing with him a keg of water from Lake Erie.. This water he poured into New York Harbor to commemorate, he said, "the navigable communication between our Mediterranean Seas (the Great Lakes) and the Atlantic Ocean."
239. Effects of the Erie Canal. From the day the canal was opened New York had a great advantage over Philadelphia in trading with the West. One fact will show this. Before
the canal was built, it cost ten dollars to send a barrel of flour by wagon from Albany to Buffalo. The cost of sending such a barrel the same distance on a canal boat was only thirty cents. No wonder the New Yorkers were enabled to build up almost immediately an immense business with the West. So great was this business that New York soon became, what it still is, our chief commercial city.

## SUMMARY

The Federalists elected John Adams as Washington's successor. His refusal to bribe the French Directory involved us in the naval war of 1798, which terminated through negotiations with Napoleon. The use of power by the Federalists during the war called forth a statement of principles by the Republicans, embodied in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

Adams was succeeded by Jefferson. Against his wish Jefferson felt compelled to make war on the pirates of Tripoli. He purchased Louisiana from Napoleon. Fortunately we acquired a new means of transportation, the steamboat, just as we acquired the Mississippi River system, and the new West was rapidly occupied. Meanwhile Jefferson refused to enter the war against Napoleon and attempted by means of the embargo to force both belligerents to consider American interests. The embargo, however, caused so much distress at home that it was repealed. His successor, Madison, was tricked by Napoleon and induced to go to war with England. On land the War of 1812 was a series of raids without permanent advantage to either side, closing with the battle of New Orleans. On the sea Americans made a distinguished record, winning a number of naval duels. A treaty of peace signed at Ghent was little more than an agreement to stop fighting and be friends again.

Monroe, the third Republican president, secured permanent peace on our northern frontier by the agreement of 1817 , forbidding the maintenance of warships on the Great Lakes. Later he coöperated with England to prevent the Holy Alliance from conquering South American countries that had acquired their independence from Spain. His statement of the foreign policy of the

United States has come to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. By treaty with England Monroe determined our northern boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and by treaty with Spain he settled our southwest boundary. He purchased Florida. A sudden outbreak of sectional feeling with regard to slavery led in 1820 to the Missouri Compromise.

Westward emigration increased from the older free states into the northwest and from the older slave states into the southwest. The importance of trade with the West led to the building of the Erie Canal, which made New York City the chief American seaport.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: *Adams, United States, I, chap. xii ; II, chap. ii ; V, chaps. vii-viii ; VIII, chaps. i, xi-xiii ; IX, chap. ii ; Bassett, United States, chaps. xiv, xv, xvii ; Bogart, Economic History, chap. xv ; Bolton, The Spanish Borderlands (Chronicles of America); Brigham, Geographic Influences, chap. v; *Callender, Economic History of the United States, 239-259; Channing, United States (IV, chaps. x-xiv, xvii-xix) and The Jeffersonian System; Coolidge, The United States as a World Power, chap. v; *Corwin, John Marshall and the Constitution (Chronicles of America); Fess, Political Theory, chaps. ii-v; Foster, $A$ Century of American Diplomacy, chap. xii ; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chaps. xvi-xviii, xix, xxii; *Нıтснсоск, Louisiana Purchase; Hulbert, The Paths of Inland Commerce (Chronicles of America); Hunt, Madison; *Johnson, Union and Democracy (chaps. vii-xiii), Jefferson and his Colleagues (Chronicles of America), and Readings in the History of the United States (277-299) ; *Latane, From Isolation to Leadership; Macdonald, Source Book, 279-282, 289-293, 311-320; McMaster, History, II, chaps. xiii-xvii; IV, chap. xxxix; V, chap.xli; Muzzey, Readings, 200-254; Paine, The Fight for a Free Sea (Chronicles of America); Reddaway, The Monroe Doctrine; Rhodes, United States, I, chaps. i, ii, iv; Webster, History of Commerce, chap. xxiii, 359-392; Woodburn, Political Parties, chap. iii.

For the Pupil: Barstow, A Nerv Nation, 43-46; Blaisdell and Ball, Hero Stories from American History; Brigham, From Trail to Railzuay through the Appalachians; Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, chaps. ii, iii ; Drake, Making of the Great West, 153-214; Elson, Sidelights on American History, chaps. iv-ix; Faris, Real Stories from Our History (chaps. xvi, xxi, xxii, xxv, xxxii-xxxv) and Great Epochs in American History (IV, 14-I85); Hitchcock, Louisiana

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Purchase; Lane and Hill, American History in Literature, 104-123; Merwin, Thomas Jefferson; Mowry, American Inventions, 215-228; Nicolay, Our Nation, chaps. iv, v; *Seawell, Twelve Great Naval Commanders; *Sparks, Men who made the Nation, chap. vii; Wright, American Progress, chaps. iii, iv, v, vii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What were the principles of the Federalist party (sections 198, 199) ? 2. How did President Adams take offense at the French government? 3. What was the naval war of 1798? 4. During this war how did certain aliens in America conduct themselves? 5. What action did Congress take? [6. Compare the action of unscrupulous aliens in two wars (see Chapter XXIV).] 7. Why did the Republicans disapprove of the Alien and Sedition Laws? [8. Review the movement for a strong central government. (See sections 194, 215, 216 ; also Fiske, The Critical Period of American History; Johnson, Union and Democracy, chaps. i, ii, iv, vi ; Elson, Sidelights, chaps. ii, xviii ; Conant, Alexander Hamilton.)]
[9. Write an essay on John Marshall. (See Corwin, John Marshall and the Constitutions (Chronicles of America); Thayer, John Marshall.)] [ro. Write an essay on the beginnings of states rights or on Thomas Jefferson. (See Johnson, Jefferson and his Colleagues; Channing, The Jeffersonian System; Merwin, Thomas Jefferson; Sparks, The Men who made the Nation, chap. vii.)] II. How was the dispute over the Mississippi renewed? How was it settled? How much land did we acquire? 12. How was Louisiana explored?

I3. What caused a quarrel between England and America during the time of Napoleon the Great? 14. How did Jefferson try to prevent war? 15. Where and why was the embargo opposed in America? 16. If there had been an Atlantic cable in 18 I 2 would we have gone to war? Why not? 17. How and when was the "Star-Spangled Banner" composed? 18. Describe the one great land battle. 19. What was done by the American navy? 20. Why and where was peace made?

2I. What agreement did Monroe make about Canada? 22. What was the Holy Alliance? What did it propose to do? How were its aims defeated? 23. What are the three assertions of the Monroe Doctrine? 24. How did Monroe define our northern boundary? our western boundary ? our southern boundary? 25. Why did the West need steamboats? 26. What else did the West need and why (section 237)? 27. What is the importance of the Erie Canal in American history ?


THE SOUTH SENT MANY THOUSANDS OF BALES OF COTTON TO ENGLAND

## CHAPTER XIV

## A NEW QUESTION MAKES A NEW PARTY

## JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, SIXTH PRESIDENT

240. John Quincy Adams, President; Protection wanted by Manufacturers. John Quincy Adams, who had been Monroe's Secretary of State, was elected president. ${ }^{1}$ The chief event of his administration was a great dispute over the tariff.
Jefferson's embargo (section 225) and other laws which followed it prevented our trading with Europe and for a time kept European goods out of this country. Many Americans with money said to themselves, "Now is the time to set up factories when there are no European goods to compete with ours." They did so. At first everything went well with them. They sold their American-made articles and made money, as they had hoped.
${ }^{1}$ At this time there was but one political party, the Republican (section 198). The Federalist party (section 198) made its last nomination for president in 1816. In 1820 there was no candidate opposing Monroe. In 1824 various leaders of the Republicans stood for election, but all claimed to be members of the same party (see section 250 ).

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And then came the end of the war. European goods poured into the country. And now one of the great results of the Industrial Revolution (section 208) appeared. England's huge new factories could manufacture goods at very low cost. Workmen were plentiful in England and drew small wages; as a consequence the imported goods were


JOHN QUINCY ADAMS offered at lower prices than the American articles, and the American manufacturers suddenly found themselves unable to sell anything. In alarm they turned to Congress and begged for help. They wanted to have the foreign goods shut out of the country. Congress would not go so far as that, but it promised to give the manufacturers protection. It did so by laying a tax on each foreign article. The merchant who imported the article paid the tax. He then added the tax to the price. Thus, when he offered the article for sale across his counter he had to charge the same price he would charge for a similar article made in America. This arrangement of taxes for the purpose of raising the price of foreign articles is called a protective tariff.
241. Opposition to Protection : why the North was satisfied with it, while the South was not. At first everybody said, "Of course give the manufacturers protection." In the North people continued to say this, because, although the manufacturers charged high prices, they also paid high prices. The Westerner who sent his grain to New York to feed the manufacturing population in the East made good bargains;
so the Eastern workman and the Western farmer were well pleased with each other. But before long the Southerners, who were chiefly concerned with the raising of cotton (section 209), protested. The most important market for their cotton was England. They sent many thousand bales to England each year, but when they brought English goods to America they had to pay the tax on them just as all other importers had to pay, in order to protect our own manufacturers. In this way, it seemed to the Southerners, they were forced to spend an unfair proportion of their cotton profits in purchasing manufactured articles. They complained that they had to sell at English prices and buy at American prices.
242. The "Tariff of Abominations." The bitterness between North and South in


HENRY CLAY 1820 (section 235) was due in no small degree to a desperate quarrel in Congress over a proposed increase of the tariff. The Northerners passed a tariff bill through the House of Representatives ${ }^{1}$ but were unable to pass it through the Senate. While Adams was president the attempt to raise the tariff was renewed. The friends of the manufacturers and the friends of the Western grain-growers, led by Henry Clay, passed a bill raising the tariff so high that it was nicknamed the "Tariff

[^66]of Abominations." The bill was signed by President Adams. Thus Clay and Adams were recognized as leaders of the Protectionists. In opposition were most of the other Republicans under the leadership of John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.
243. The Question of States' Rights : Should the South Secede? The feeling against the tariff was especially strong in


JOHN C. CALHOUN South Carolina, and there, as well as in other parts of the South, the question was raised whether they should stay in the Union when its laws did them harm? This produced a contention over states'rights : that is, whether in adopting the Constitution each state had promised to remain in the Union forever or had retained the right to withdraw. The latter view was prevalent in the South, where most people held that the Constitution was a mere contract like any other business agreement, and that any state was as free to secede from the Union as a business partner is free to withdraw from a firm. Many Southerners now began to talk about seceding.
244. Calhoun; the Doctrine of Nullification. There was scarcely anyone more eager to avoid secession than Calhoun, but he was unconditionally opposed to the tariff. He now brought forward an idea that has come to be known as the Doctrine of Nullification. He said, in substance: "Instead of seceding, let us refuse to allow the tariff to be put into operation in our state, and make an appeal to all the states not to allow Congress to pass laws by which any one of us
shall be hurt." This idea pleased the Southerners, and for a while there was no more talk about secession; instead, there was a great deal of talk about nullification. ${ }^{1}$

## ANDREW JACKSON, SEVENTH PRESIDENT

245. Andrew Jackson. Just at this time General Jackson (section 229) was elected president. He was a "self-made man," with little schooling and of humble origin. He was perfectly fearless, absolutely honest, with a wonderful gift for inspiring and holding the confidence of great numbers of men. He was especially beloved by the plain people all over the country, who nicknamed him "Old .Hickory" and called him the "standard bearer of the people." His personal influence was so great that often his partisans followed his advice in defiance of their


ANDREW JACKSON own convictions. ${ }^{2}$
${ }^{1}$ We must observe the exact meaning of Calhoun's proposition. Before this all legislation had rested on the idea that the majority must rule. Clay expressed this idea very forcibly in Congress. But Calhoun wished to require the majority not to do anything hurtful to the minority; in other words, he wanted to substitute for the principle of majority rule the principle of unanimous consent. Only such laws as all of us can agree to were to be put into effect. He reasoned that since we require a jury to be unanimous in passing judgment, we may require Congress to be unanimous in making a law.
${ }^{2}$ Jackson was a believer in the custom of turning out of office all the men who belonged to the opposite party. This practice is known as the spoils system, because of the old saying "to the victors belong the spoils." In our day it has been strongly condemned by the advocates of civil-service reform, which aims to have applicants for government offices pass careful examinations.

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246. Both Sides turn to Jackson ; they define their Views in the Great Debate. Both sides in the tariff controversy fixed their eyes upon the new president. Would he uphold the tariff or would he try to get it repealed? If Congress would not repeal it, would he indorse the Doctrine of Nullification?


ROBERT Y. HAYNE

While everyone was eagerly waiting to see what Jackson would do, there occurred the most celebrated debate ( 1830 ) that has ever taken place in the United States Senate. It is still called the Great Debate. The senators who made the most noted speeches were Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina and Daniel Webster of Massachusetts. Both these great men seized the opportunity to make perfectly plain how their sections felt upon the question of obedience to a law enacted by Congress. Hayne spoke for the South, Webster for the North. Hayne spoke first (January $2 \mathrm{I}, \mathrm{I} 830$ ). As he aimed to make perfectly clear the idea of states rights (section 243) he said, in substance :

We Southerners have been brought up to feel that our state has the first claim to our love and obedience; in a thousand ways we have been taught to cherish this feeling; in my eyes the only real country I have is South Carolina; the United States as a whole do not mean to me one tenth what South Carolina does; when the United States Congress passes laws that are injurious to South Carolina, I will resist them; I will try nullification first, but if that does not work, I will advocate secession; if you try to prevent me, I will fight ; rather than let you pass any law injurious to my beloved state, I will gladly lay down my life.


WEBSTER'S REPLY TO HAYNE

Webster, who believed in what we call the national idea, said (January 26, 1830) what amounted to this:

In the North we no longer think of the state as our country ; we believe that when our fathers adopted the Constitution they promised to make an end of such thoughts; we are thinking of the complete Union as the only country that has a right to command our love and obedience; what the Congress of the Union commands must be accepted by us all as the law of the land; to oppose it is treason; if Massachusetts should resist an act of Congress, then it would be my dreadful duty at the command of Congress to take up arms against my state. ${ }^{1}$

The two ideas expressed in the Great Debate-the "states" rights" idea, that your highest duty was to your state; and the "national" idea, that your first duty was to the Union-continued to be discussed throughout our country for more than thirty years, until at last they produced a great war.
247. South Carolina tries Nullification; Jackson Opposes. In 1832 the South Carolina leaders determined they would not submit to the tariff any longer. A convention was held which voted to notify the president that the tariff was nullified in South Carolina; that is, that they forbade the enforcement of the law, and if its enforcement was attempted they would fight.

And now at last Jackson showed how he felt upon this great question. The story is that when he got the news from South Carolina he shouted: "By" the Eternal-the Union shall be preserved. Send for General Scott" (section 229). Jackson issued a proclamation warning South Carolinians to cease opposing the law. At the same time he ordered General Scott to prepare for war.

[^67]248. Clay effects a Compromise. Terrible things might have happened if Clay had not again succeeded in persuading both sides to agree to a compromise. One reason why he succeeded in doing so was the fact that many of Jackson's followers were states' rights men who regretted their leader's course. Jackson's wonderful power over them (section 245) kept them on his side, but they were troubled by the way things were going and did not want to see South Carolina humiliated. These men were eager for a compromise. With their help Clay and Webster succeeded in getting Congress to pass an act asserting its right to compel South Carolina to obey, and then immediately they passed another act lowering the tariff. Jackson approved these acts (i833). The reduction of the tariff satisfied South Carolina, and there was no further attempt at nullification.
249. Jackson puts an End to the Bank of the United States; the Removal of Deposits. In the midst of the excitement over nullification Jackson was reëlected (1832). Previously he had told the country that if he was elected he meant to destroy the Bank of the United States. ${ }^{1}$ Clay and the Protectionists all were in favor of the bank, which was accused of lending them great sums of money. Jackson also believed that the bank was an enemy to the poor people, that it helped the rich to become richer, and that it used its great wealth to influence elections. He took away from the bank the money deposited by the government and brought its career as Bank of the United States to an end.
250. The New Party in Opposition to Jackson; First Whig Candidate defeated by Van Buren. Three great leaders were opposed to Jackson - John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster. All were Protectionists. All were believers

[^68]in the national idea. All were friends of the Bank of the United States, and all disliked Jackson for destroying it. Around these three the new Whig party was formed, but it was not yet strong enough to carry the presidential election (1836). The Republicans,-who now began to be called Democrats,-at the command of Jackson, nominated his intimate friend, Martin Van Buren, who was elected.

## SUMMARY

The embargo and the War of 18 I 2 shut off the supply of European goods and led Americans to start new lines of manufacture, but at the close of the war European goods came in again at lower prices than American goods. To compete with them American manufacturers persuaded Congress to establish a protective tariff. This was hard on cotton-growers, because much of their product went to England for sale, and thus they had to sell at English prices, but buy at American prices. The matter became a sectional issue - the North favoring a tariff, the South opposing it. It led to a revival of the debate over states' rights. Calhoun gave the debate a new turn by the Doctrine of Nullification. Webster and Hayne gave eloquent expression to the conflicting ideas of their sections in the Great Debate. However, the Protectionists would not give way, and South Carolina tried the experiment of nullification. While this contention had been gathering strength, John Quincy Adams served four years as president and was succeeded by Andrew Jackson. Jackson announced that he would prevent nullification by force. Thereupon Clay effected a compromise : the tariff was lowered and South Carolina's ordinance of nullification was repealed. Clay and Jackson did not continue to act together. They differed chiefly over the Bank of the United States, from which Jackson withdrew the deposits of the government. Other leaders opposed to Jackson, including Webster and John Quincy Adams, united with Clay to form the new Whig party, while the members of the Republican party became known as Democrats.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: BaSSETt, chaps. xviii-xx ; Bogart, Industrial History of the United States, chaps. xvi, xvii, xx; Brown, Lower South in American History, 16-49; Callender, Economic History, 327-344, 446-471, 487-563; Dewey, Financial History, chaps. viii-xi; *Dodd, Expansion and Conflict (chaps. i-vi) and Statesmen of the Old South; FESS, Political Theory, chaps. vi, x, xi; Harding, Select Orations, 212-24I; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chap. xxiv; *Hunt, Calhoun; *Johnson, Union and Democracy (chaps. xvii, xviii) and Readings (299-336); Johnston, American Orations (edited by Woodburn) ,I, 23I-302; Macdonald, Jacksonian Democracy and Source Book (329-340); McMaster, History, V, chaps. xlii, xlvi, liii ; VI, chaps. liv-lv, lvii-lix, lxiii-lxv, lxix; Muzzey, Readings, 255-288; *OGG, The Reign of Andreze Jackson (Chronicles of America); Rhodes, History, I, 40-53; *Schurz, Henry Clay; *Wilson, Division and Reunion, chap. i.

For the Pupil: Brown, Andrew Jackson; Elson, Sidelights, chaps. x, xi ; FARIS, Makers of Our History (chaps. x, xii) and Great Epochs in American History (VI, 3-II, 31-35, 178-190); HART, Contemporaries, III, chap. xxiv; Long, American Patriotic Prose, 153-16i; Nicolay, Our Nation in the Building, chap. viii ; Perry and Elson, Four Great American Presidents, I; Sparks, The Men who made the Nation, chaps. viii-x; Wilson, Division and Reunion, chaps. i-iv.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. Define "protective tariff." 2: Why did we have a protective tariff in 1824? 3. What people were benefited by the tariff? How? 4. What people opposed the tariff? Why? 5. How did this tariff dispute revive the question of states' rights? [6. Explain why North and South in 1830 had different interests and show how they had gradually become unlike each other (sections $4 \mathrm{I}-43,70-7 \mathrm{I}$, $13 \mathrm{I}-\mathrm{I} 33$, 235, 24I, 243, 247).] 7. What took place in the Senate about this time? 3. In the Great Debate what was Hayne's argument? Webster's argument? 9. What did South Carolina decide to do? ro. How did President Jackson act? II. How did Clay prevent civil war? 12. What leaders combined against Jackson? I3. What three ideas did Adams, Clay, and Webster have in common? What new party did they form? [I4. What ideas did the Whigs have that had been previously held by the Federalists? (See sections 198, 247, 249, 250; also Cole, Whig Party in the South, chaps. i, ii ; Lodge, Daniel Webster, chaps. vi, vii ; Schurz, Henry Clay, chaps. xix, xx; Sparks, The Men who made the Nation, chaps. viii, ix.)]


SCENE ON THE NATIONAL ROAD

## CHAPTER XV

## THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA

251. New Settlement in the Northwest; the Black Hawk War; Chicago Founded. In the eight years during which Jackson was president many striking changes took place. For one thing immigration continued to pour into the West. The rich prairie lands of Illinois were now the favorite region toward which the immigrants moved. So fast did they come that a powerful Indian chief, Black Hawk, felt that if he did not resist them his people would sooner or later be driven off their lands. He took up arms against the whites. But of course the time when Indians were a match for the American army had long gone by. Black Hawk was driven out of Illinois into Wisconsin and captured in the hard battle of Bad Axe ( 1832 ). ${ }^{1}$
${ }^{1}$ This was the last Indian war in the Northwest for a period of thirty years. There were other Indian troubles about 1830. For the second Seminole war see page 257 , note 1 . Other Southern Indians, including the Creeks, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, were either persuaded or compelled to sell their lands and remove to the Indian Territory, which was set apart for Indian tribes in 1834.

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When Black Hawk was captured a little town was springing up around Fort Dearborn on Lake Michigan. Soon afterwards (1833) it was given a name, Chicago. Its inhabitants numbered about five hundred. Though much less than a hundred years old, it has inhabitants now to the number of two million five hundred thousand.
252. The First American Railway; Peter Cooper's Locomotive. In the year of Jackson's first election (1828) the building of a steam railway ${ }^{1}$ was begun. It was undertaken by the city of Baltimore in the hope of getting more trade with the West. The work was started on July 4, 1822. Before this road-now known as the Baltimore and Ohio -was completed, a short railroad began business in Pennsylvania. Over the rails of this latter road ran the first locomotive ever seen in this country. It had been brought from England. The first locomotive built in America was constructed at Baltimore in 1830 by Peter Cooper and was called the Tom Thumb. Beside one of the great engines of today it would seem like a baby beside a grown man. Fourteen miles of the Baltimore railroad had now been completed, and over this part of the track the Tom Thumb made a trial trip. The little engine, sputtering smoke and fire and drawing one open car filled with passengers, made the trip in somewhat less than an hour. On the way back it raced a similar car, drawn by a spirited gray horse, and was barely able to win the race.
253. Rapid Growth of Railways. In the same year (1830) the people of South Carolina began what has been called the first long railroad in the world. They also had an Americanbuilt locomotive, which they named, very appropriately, the Best Friend. Four years later their road was completed from Charleston to Hamburg, opposite Augusta, a distance of one hundred and thirty-four miles.

[^69]Another great railroad was begun in the year following the Tom Thumb's race. We have seen that the Mohawk Valley contains one of the historic pathways of our country (section 22). Through that valley led one of the oldest Indian trails, connecting the Hudson with the Great Lakes. The wagon road which grew out of that trail was followed


THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCOMOTIVES
Upper, the Tom Thumb winning its race with a horse-drawn car; middle, the De Witt Clinton engine of 1830 ; lower, a modern locomotive
westward by thousands of emigrants. Through the Mohawk Valley the Erie Canal had been built. A railway was now laid out (I83I) following the course of the Mohawk. It is known today as the New York Central. Railroads quickly overspread the country. From twenty-three miles in 1830 they had by 1920 extended to about a quarter of a million.
254. The New Demand for Coal. Railways could hardly have been successful if there had not been plenty of coal. Thus the introduction of railways created new opportunities for business in those regions where there were coal fields. Most, if not all, of the coal supply in Jackson's time came from

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Pennsylvania. In Pennsylvania, also, close to the coal fields, were rich iron mines. From about 1830 onward Pennsylvania has been the center of a large coal and iron industry.
255. The McCormick Reaper. Another great change was the enlargement of the size of farms. It was so easy to get land in the West that people began to buy it up in large


UPPER RIGHT, HAND REAPER ; UPPER LEFT, HORSE REAPER, 1831 ; BELOW, MODERN HARVESTER THRESHER WITH OIL TRACTOR
tracts. But how were they to cultivate these immense farms? Farm laborers were comparatively few. If the Western landowners were to profit by their huge estates, they must get some sort of machinery which would do the work of many men. Cyrus McCormick solved their problems by inventing a reaper drawn by horses. What the cotton gin (section 209) was to the South, the McCormick reaper. was to the West. It enabled one man to do what was formerly done by twenty men slowly reaping the wheat with scythes. As late as 1840 the census reported our whole wheat crop as only thirteen million bushels. Today it comes near being a thousand million bushels.
256. Coeducation; Women's Colleges. A great change in the customs of our country came out of the West when Jackson was president. In Ohio, at the village of Oberlin, was a little college (r833) that decided to admit young women as well as young men. Thus coeducation began. Today, in many American colleges and in thousands of American schools, the example set by Oberlin has been followed.


THE ORIGINAL BUILDING OF THE GEORGIA FEMALE COLLEGE, NOW WESLEYAN COLLEGE, THE FIRST INSTITUTION IN THE WORLD TO CONFER A COLLEGE DEGREE UPON A WOMAN

> From an old print

The growing interest in the education of women produced also advanced schools for girls alone. Emma Willard had founded Troy Female Seminary in 1821. In 1836 the legislature of Georgia chartered the Georgia Female College, now named Wesleyan College, at Macon, which was the first institution in the world to give a college diploma to a woman (1840). ${ }^{1}$

[^70]257. Manhood Suffrage; Dorr's Rebellion. A most sweeping change made by the people of the new states consisted in giving all men the right to vote. They had begun doing this long before Jackson became president. Vermont, which resembled the West in being a "frontier" state, was the first to establish manhood suffrage (section 218). Kentucky was the next. The other Western states rapidly followed these examples and gave all men, whether rich or poor, the right to vote. However, when Jackson was elected few states of the East had followed the Western example. One cause of Jackson's great popularity was his steadfast assertion that every man should have a vote. During his time manhood suffrage was made the rule in most states, but it did not become universal in the United States until several years later. The last serious dispute over manhood suffrage took place in Rhode Island, where there was a miniature civil war known as Dorr's Rebellion (1842), which put an end to the distinction between rich and poor with regard to the ballot.
258. The Abolition Movement; William Lloyd Garrison. We have seen that many people had long disapproved of slavery, and many of them, both North and South, wished to bring it to an end. Among those was Jefferson (section 2 I8). In the Virginia legislature, shortly after Jackson became president, a scheme to free the Virginia slaves was defeated by one vote (183I). In the North a famous opponent of slavery was William Ellery Channing, the most distinguished Boston clergyman then living. However, these men did not write or speak of the slaveholders in a bitter way. Channing said to his friends in the South, "We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime ; and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it." He wanted the government to use the proceeds from the sale of public lands for the purpose of buying and freeing the blacks.

But this did not suit a young man in Boston, William Lloyd Garrison. He had a bold and fiery nature and had


FIRST COEDUCATIONAL COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES, IN A TENT ON THE GROUNDS OF OBERLIN COLLEGE (1841)

From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher

brooded long on the subject of slavery. At last he came to the conclusion that to own slaves was a deadly sin. He wanted to abolish slavery and to make the slaveholders suffer ; therefore he and others who thought as he did took the name of abolitionists. To spread his views he began publishing a paper, The Liberator (January i, 1831). At the head of this paper he subsequently printed the statement that the Constitution, because it permitted slavery, was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell." ${ }^{1}$
259. The Spread of Abolitionism. Many of the strongest opponents of slavery disapproved of Garrison and refused to join his movement, ${ }^{2}$ but he succeeded from the start in making friends. In all parts of the North and West abolition societies were formed. In a short time there were one hundred and fifty thousand members.

At just this time occurred one of the most horrible events in our history. A slave in Virginia named Nat Turner secretly planned with other slaves a frightful insurrection. Suddenly he and his followers attacked the houses of their masters and murdered women and children in circumstances of extreme cruelty (1831). In the South it was generally believed that "Nat Turner's Rebellion" was due to the teaching of Garrison.

In the North the feeling against Garrison was almost as bitter. There were riots, and abolition meetings were broken up by angry mobs. In Boston, on one occasion, Garrison himself was seized and dragged through the streets (1835). One of his followers, Elijah Lovejoy, was murdered in Illinois by a mob (1837).
260. Newspapers. When so much was changing and such intense interest was taken in public questions it is not strange

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that there arose a new demand for information. And this brought about the establishment of cheap newspapers. The New York Sun (1833) was the first, followed soon by the New York Herald (1835).
261. What the People read. The people of Jackson's day were keenly interested in books. The great English writers

" HOMEWOOD," BALTIMORE
A fine specimen of the early nineteenth-century mansion. It now belongs to Johns Hopkins University
of the time were eagerly read in America. Some of themCarlyle, for example - made their first profits out of American sales. In addition we had already some great writers of our own. Bryant had written "Thanatopsis" before Jackson became president. Cooper wàs writing his famous Indian romances. Washington Irving was recognized as a delightful writer both at home and abroad. William Gilmore Simms, the novelist of South Carolina, and that great, strange genius, Edgar Allan Poe, were both producing books while Jackson was in the White House. Just at the close of Jackson's term Emerson began issuing his essays.
262. Webster's Dictionary. One of the most important American books appeared the year of Jackson's first election. This was Webster's Dictionary, upon which Noah Webster of Connecticut had been at work for twenty years. It marks a new stage in the development of the noble English language, which contains such great literature and is one of the most precious things that we Americans possess. And this language belongs to us just as much as to the inhabitants of the British Empire; our contributions to it, the new words and phrases we invent, have as much right to be included in its dictionaries as have the contributions of those other peoples-British, Canadian, South African, Australianwhich share with us its possession. But before Webster no dictionary included these. Such words as "prairie" and "savings bank," and many more which have originated in America, were first set down in an English dictionary by Noah Webster.
263. Temperance Societies. Amid all the bustle and excitement of that time, there was quietly going on a widespread movement to restrict the use of alcohol. Even before Jackson's time it had begun. The American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, founded at Boston (1826), was the first of many. In Jackson's day Americans were still in the main hard drinkers, but everywhere the temperance societies were laboring to restrain the evil and were accomplishing great results. ${ }^{1}$
264. The National Party Convention. Of great significance was a far-reaching change in the method of selecting our presidents. Hitherto the senators and representatives belonging to one political party would meet in a "caucus" at Washington and choose that party's candidate for president.

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Jackson considered this method unfair to the rest of their party. He thought that in some way all the members of a party should be given a chance to say what candidate they preferred. All his influence was used to break up the plan


THE WHITE HOUSE
of nominating by the caucus. Instead, there was finally adopted the plan of holding a great popular convention made up of delegates chosen by the members of the party for the express purpose of selecting the party's candidates. Jackson himself was nominated in this way when he became a candidate the second time, in 1832 .
265. The Establishment of Democracy. We may sum up all these changes of the thirties by saying that they mark the time when American democracy became a real thing. The steps by which this great result has been reached must be clearly understood.


THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
I. In colonial times all Americans were accustomed to governing themselves in a considerable degree, either through town meetings (section 46), or through taking part in county management (section 131), or through electing their assemblies (section 134).
2. In the course of the dispute with the king the "governing classes" (sections 131-133) throughout the colonies were distrusted by the patriots, who demanded a reduction of their power (section 15I), and thus the Revolution became a movement for democracy.
3. The pioneer communities, founded in the West soon after the Revolution (sections 186-188), were filled with bold, capable people, all about equal in fortune, and in these communities manhood suffrage was demanded (sections 189, 218).
4. From the West the demand spread to the East (section 257), and gradually the right to vote was made general.
5. In the thirties and early forties various. political and social changes, such as the establishment of the political convention (section 264), gave the mass of the people greater power to direct the course of affairs, with the result that about 1840 there was in full operation in America the first successful large democracy that the world has known.

## SUMMARY

Jackson's administration marks the time when American society became genuinely democratic. At the same time the American people completed their occupation of the country east of the Mississippi by breaking down the last strong tribes of Indians. The removal of Indians to the Indian Territory began. The development of the West went on more rapidly than ever and was greatly furthered by new inventions such as the horse reaper and the steam locomotive. The growing spirit of change produced coeducation and women's colleges. All America was in a ferment, as we say, as was shown by the appearance of a new interest
in the abolition of slavery, which took two forms: Channing wanted North and South to coöperate in terminating slavery by purchase; Garrison preached a crusade against slaveholders. At this same time the outbreak of Nat Turner's Rebellion among the Virginia slaves alarmed the South. The stir of new ideas was shown in the eagerness for new books in America and by the appearance of an original group of writers, while Webster's Dictionary demonstrated that English was now an international language. New political devices such as the nominating convention enabled the mass of the people to control the course of affairs.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: *Becker, The United States, chaps. iv, ix, x; Brigham, Geographic Influences in American History, chaps. v, vii, x-xi, xiii ; Callender, Economic History, 409-417, 420-427, 633-665, 697-710; *Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, chap. ix; Fess, Political Theory, chaps. vii, viii ; Guitteau, Government and Politics, chap. xvi; Hart, Slavery and Abolition (chaps. vii-xviii) and Contemporaries (III, chaps. xxiii, xxv, xxvii) ; Johnson, Readings, 353-356; Long, American Literature, chap. iii ; McMAster, V, chaps. xli-xlii, xliv, xlv, xlvii-xlix; Macy, The Antislavery Crusade (Chronicles of America), chaps. ii-v; Moody, The Railroad Builders (Chronicles of America); Perry, The American Spirit in Literature (Chronicles of America), chaps. i-vi; Slosson, The American Spirit in Education (Chronicles of America); *Turner, The Rise of the New West; Wendell, Literary History of America, 157-345.

For the Pupil: Brigham, From Trail to Railzay; Dickens, American Notes; Drake, The Making of the Great West; Faris, Real Stories from Our History (chaps. xxxvi-xxxviii, xl-xli) and Great Epochs (VII,1216); Mowry, American Inventions, 22 I-228; Paxson, The Last American Frontier, chap. xix; Raymond, Peter Cooper; Sherman, Some Successful Americans; Sparks, Expansion of the American People, chap. xxiii; Wright, American Progress, chap. x.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. State every reason you can think of why railways were needed in America about 1830 (see sections $190,206,236-238,255$ ). [2. What did the early railroad builders owe to the Indians? (See Chapters III, XXVII; also Brigham, From Trail to Railway; Moody, The

Railroad Builders, chaps. i-v.)] 3. What invention besides the locomotive helped to develop the West? Why was it of great importance? [4. What changes in American life were advocated by the Westerners? (See sections 189, 257, 265; also Becker, United States, chap. vi; Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, chap. ii ; Turner, Rise of the New West, chaps. $v$-vii, xvii. Five points to be developed are Western demand for great internal improvements, Western faith in a strong central government, manhood suffrage, free land, and coeducation.)] 5. What movement hostile to slavery began about 1830 ? How did it differ from other movements to free the slaves? 6. Name some of the famous writers of Jackson's time. What did they write about? How was Webster's Dictionary unlike previous dictionaries?
7. What change was made in the method of nominating a president? Why was this change important? [8. Tell all you know about the way in which the government of the United States had gradually come to be controlled by the mass of the people. (See sections 180 , 218, 245, 249, 264 ; also Becker, Beginnings, chap. v; Johnson, Union and Democracy, chaps. vi, xvii; Ogg, The Reign of Andrew Jackson, chaps. iv, v. The references, in addition to the text, are chiefly for the teacher; for the pupil they should be abridged.)] 9 . State the five main steps in the establishment of American democracy.


ASTORIA, OUR FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE PACIFIC

## PART TWO: THE BUILDING OF A GREAT POWER



AMERICAN TROOPS ADVANCING IN THE MARNE VALLEY IN 1918


FOURTH OF JULY IN THE SOUTH PASS

# FIFTH DIVISION. HOW THE UNION VERY NEARLY BROKE IN TWO 

## CHAPTER XVI

TEXAS, OREGON, CALIFORNIA

## MARTIN VAN BUREN, EIGHTH PRESIDENT

266. How our Country has expanded: the Five Great Additions. We have seen that two great additions of territory were made to our country between 1783 and the time of Jackson. These gave us (I) the western part of the Mississippi Valley (section 220) and (2) a large part of the coast of the Gulf of Mexico (section 234). We are now to see how three further additions filled out our country and gave it the shape on the map that it has today.
267. Texas. During Jackson's time many of our countrymen crossed the southwestern border and settled in Texas, which was then a part of the republic of Mexico. Later an unscrupulous soldier, Santa Anna, became dictator of Mexico and oppressed the Americans in Texas. They took arms
against him and fought a gallant war of independence. A small party of Texans who had taken possession of the Alamo, an old convent at San Antonio, were surrounded by a whole army of Mexicans led by Santa Anna. When the Mexicans stormed the Alamo not a Texan surrendered, but every man died at his post fighting desperately to the last


THE CONVENT AND GROUNDS OF THE ALAMO
(March 6, 1836). Shortly afterwards the Texans, led by General Sam Houston, defeated Santa Anna in the furious battle of San Jacinto, took him prisoner, and forced him to consent to the independence of Texas. One of the last acts of Jackson while president consisted in recognizing Texas as an independent republic ( 1837 ). The Texans themselves wanted to form a state in our Union, and the Southern members of Congress were in favor of admitting them; but Texas maintained slavery, and for this reason many Northerners, among them Webster and Adams, objected. When Van Buren became president all the country was discussing the question, Shall we admit Texas?
268. The Panic of 1837 interrupts the Debate over Texas. However, the thoughts of our people were for a time turned away from Texas by business troubles which began the very year of Van Buren's inauguration. A great business house failed; then another, and another; then, hundreds. In the

space of two months the business men of New York City lost a hundred million dollars. The banks refused to pay money to their depositors. Whoever had any gold or silver locked it up and would not, on any condition, part with it. The United States government had to issue paper money in payment to the army and navy. Factories and mills could not get the money to pay their workmen. The mills were forced to shut down and thousands of workmen were thrown out of employment. ${ }^{1}$

## 269. Clay's Policy; the In-

 dependent Treasury. Clay and the Whigs demanded that the government come to the assistance of the business men and lend them money. Van Buren made

SAM HOUSTON, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS
${ }^{1}$ It is not easy to say what caused this frightful business panic. The following causes have been suggested: (I) The success of the Erie Canal (section 238) led many states, especially in the West, to borrow money and build canals. These canals did not always pay, and the states ran into debt. (2) The Bank of the United States (section 249) is thought by many to have contributed much to the prosperity of the country, and some think that Jackson hurt American business by breaking down the bank. (3) The government's money was deposited by Jackson in small banks nicknamed, in derision, "pet banks." These banks used the money in speculation. Among other things they bought great quantities of public land. A large part of the price of these lands was to be paid in the future, and the banks thought they would be allowed to pay in their own "bank notes"; that is, paper promises to pay, like the "continentals" of the Revolution (section 178). (4) Jackson surprised the pet banks by issuing the Specie Circular (1836), ordering them to pay for government land in gold or silver. To do so they had to borrow money. (5) Numbers of Americans had borrowed money from Europe. We owed to banks in England some two hundred million dollars. Much of this had been lost in rash speculations.

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himself very unpopular by insisting that the government had no right to do so. He argued that business questions should be kept out of politics. ${ }^{1}$ However, he proposed a wholly new plan for taking care of the money of the United States. Hitherto it had always been deposited in banks ; hereafter the government was to be its own banker, maintaining its independent treasury at Washington. Though there was much objection to the new plan, it was eventually put into operation and worked successfully.

## WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, NINTH PRESIDENT; JOHN TYLER, TENTH PRESIDENT

270. The Whigs defeat Van Buren. Great numbers of people who had suffered from the panic turned against Van Buren at the next election when his party renominated him for president. The Whigs, who nominated General Harrison, described Van Buren as a selfish aristocrat and contrasted him with their own candidate, who lived in a $\log$ cabin on his farm in Ohio. This "log-cabin candidate" was the man, they said, who could be trusted to look after the true interests of the "plain people." They carried the election by a great majority.
271. Death of Harrison ; the Vice President becomes President. At his inauguration President Harrison caught a severe cold, and a month later he died. The vice president, John Tyler of Virginia, became president. ${ }^{2}$ Tyler disposed of the two following territorial problems:
I. The Secretary of State, Daniel Webster, negotiated with Lord Ashburton, who represented England, a treaty for

[^73]determining the northern boundary of Maine. Ever since 1783 there had been a dispute as to just where the boundary ran (see section 184). The Webster-Ashburton Treaty gave us the upper part of Maine, about seven thousand square miles.
2. Webster resigned as secretary, partly because he was opposed to annexing Texas (section 267 ), while the president favored annexation. Tyler urged it upon Congress, and three days before he ceased to be president he had the pleasure of signing the resolution of Congress inviting Texas to enter the Union (March I, 1845). Texas accepted the invitation (October I3, 1845), ceased to be an independent republic, and became our largest state.
272. The Oregon Question; Whitman's Ride. Another dispute over ter-


FLAG OF THE REPUBLIC OF TEXAS ritory involved Oregon. We had long claimed that wonderful country west of the Rocky Mountains. ${ }^{1}$ It extended along the Pacific coast from the fortysecond parallel of north latitude to the parallel of $54^{\circ} 40^{\prime \prime}$. Whether we were entitled to all of it, or part, or none had been in dispute between ourselves and England ever since the War of 18 I 2.

Meanwhile American missionaries went out to Oregon. Two of them who accomplished great things were Marcus Whitman and H. H. Spaulding. They were accompanied by

[^74]their wives, though men who knew the Indian country had made plain to them how great was their risk of capture by the Indians. But these brave women were not to be kept back.

Many others joined the party of the missionaries. On July 4, 1836 , they were in South Pass, which divides the Missis-


THE OREGON COUNTRY sippi Valley from the Pacific slope. At the west end of the Pass they halted, raised the American flag, knelt beneath it in a short service of prayer, and took possession of the country in the name. of the United States.
Shortly afterwards Whitman went back to the East to bring out settlers. His journey took four months.
Much of it was spent among winter snows on the high mountains and was accompanied by great hardships. This journey, called Whitman's Ride, stimulated interest in Oregon, and when Whitman returned he guided a party of a thousand settlers.

## JAMES K. POLK, ELEVENTH PRESIDENT

273. Settlement of the Oregon Question. The possession of Oregon was loudly demanded in the presidential campaign of 1844. A popular catchword was "Fifty-four forty or fight," which meant, "We want the whole of Oregon, and if England objects, let us fight." This was a rallying cry of the Democrats, whose candidate, James K. Polk of Tennessee, defeated Clay, who had been nominated by the Whigs. Polk at once pressed negotiations with England, and finally the two countries agreed upon a compromise. The northern boundary of the United States (section 234) was

extended due west to the Pacific ${ }^{1}$ (1846). The area thus annexed to the United States embraced about 300,000 square miles. It includes the whole of the states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Wyoming and Montana.
274. Outbreak of War with Mexico. In annexing Texas (section 27I) we had taken up.a bitter quarrel with Mexico. The Texans claimed as their boundary the Rio Grande, while Mexico insisted that it lay a hundred miles farther east, at the Nueces River. The United States supported Texas and sent General Zachary Taylor to take possession of the region in dispute.


THE CAMPAIGNS OF THE MEXICAN WAR There, near Matamoros, the Mexicans attacked him, April 25, 1846. Polk at once informed Congress that "now, after reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States and shed American blood on American soil." Congress voted money for the prosecution of the existing war (May 13, 1846). ${ }^{2}$

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275. The Mexican War; Monterey; Buena Vista; Cerro Gordo; Chapultepec. In the short war which now took place our countrymen displayed striking qualities. In northern Mexico Taylor captured Monterey after four days of severe fighting (i846). Later, with only 5000 men he repulsed 20,000 under Santa Anna in the furious battle of Buena Vista (1847). Meanwhile an army under General Scott (section 229) had been sent by sea to Vera Cruz. ${ }^{1}$ Thence Scott


ROUTE OF GENERAL SCOTT
marched inland and at Cerro Gordo won a brilliant victory ( 1847 ). He was aiming at the City of Mexico, and after much hard fighting ${ }^{2}$ his gallant army approached the castle of Chapultepec, which was the main defense of the city. Planted on a rock one hundred and fifty feet high and defended by numerous soldiers, it seemed secure against attack. Seldom have Americans shown themselves more courageous than in the storming of this great fortress (September I3, 1847). The next day the city was taken.
276. The Conquest of California. While Scott was carrying everything before him, a volunteer army far off on the
forced into a perilous position and must be rescued." The abolitionists (section 259) opposed it unconditionally, as a war to extend slavery. Lowell denounced it in his famous satires the "Biglow Papers."
${ }^{1}$ The success of the Americans in capturing Vera Cruz was attributed by Scott to Robert E. Lee, a young officer of Virginia. A still younger officer of Scott's army who distinguished himself later in the campaign was Ulysses S. Grant of Ohio.
${ }^{2}$ The battles of Contreras, San Antonio, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey.

Pacific slope was breaking down the Mexican power in California. It was composed of hardy Americans in California who had gone to that country, which then seemed so far away, in the hope of making their fortunes. ${ }^{1}$ The leader


STORMING CHAPULTEPEC
of this army was John C. Frémont, called the Pathfinder because he was the first to find a good path across the Rockies to California.

When the war with Mexico began Frémont became the general of the Americans, who seized the town of Sonoma and made it their headquarters. They set up a flag on which was painted a grizzly bear and the words "California

[^76]Republic." Assistance was given them by an American fleet which sailed along the coast and raised our flag over San Francisco, Monterey, and Los Angeles. But the Mexicans also had formed a California army. This force was met and defeated by Frémont at the San Gabriel River (I847).
 Shortly after this series of events General Kearny, having conquered New Mexico, arrived in California and took possession of the country in the name of the United States.
277. Results of the War. The next year Mexico and the United States made peace at Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, I848). We agreed to give Mexico \$15,000,000 and to pay debts amounting to about $\$ 3,000,000$ owed by the republic to American citizens. In return Mexico accepted the Rio Grande as the boundary of Texas and ceded us her great northern provinces of New Mexico and California. ${ }^{1}$ The territory acquired from Mexico, including Texas and a little piece which we bought later (Gadsden Purchase, see note below), could be subdivided into one hundred and ninety states, each the size of Connecticut.

While the war was going on, David Wilmot, a Democrat from Pennsylvania, proposed in the House of Representatives to enact a law excluding slavery from all territory ceded

[^77]by Mexico to the United States (1845). This proposition, called the Wilmot Proviso, received a majority vote in the House, but failed to pass the Senate. It brought out the fact that most Southerners-whether Democrats or Whigs - wanted slavery established in part, at least, of the new territory, and that most-or, at least, a great manyNortherners of both parties wanted it excluded. Thus arose


SANTA BARBARA MISSION, CALIFORNIA
a general discussion on the topic "What shall be done with the new territory?" This was the one question in everybody's mind when peace was made early in 1848.
278. Gold discovered in California. Two weeks before that a workman at Sutter's Mill, California, forty miles from what is now Sacramento, noticed little yellow specks in some freshly dug earth (January 24,1848 ). These specks were bits of gold. The American River, which flowed past the mill, was then examined, and its whole bed was found to be rich with those precious bits of gold. At first the discoverers tried to keēp their "find" a secret, but they could not do so. One morning in May a man walked into San Francisco waving a bottle filled with yellow specks and shouting, "Gold, gold, gold, from the American River!" Within four weeks there was scarcely an able-bodied man left in San Francisco. Whatever their work was they dropped it, seized picks and spades, and
hurried away to the American River. Ships in the harbor could not sail because their crews had deserted. The two newspapers of San Francisco stopped printing because all their typesetters had gone off to dig for gold. San Francisco seemed to be an empty city all of whose shops were closed.


THE SCENE OF THIE GOLD DISCOVERY (SUTTER'S MILL)
In the autumn of 1848 the news of the discovery reached the Eastern states. There the excitement was equally great. Ships were bought for the sole purpose of taking gold-seekers on the long voyage round South America or by the Isthmus of Panama to the "Land of Gold." Large parties were organized which were to start westward in wagons or on horseback as soon as spring came and the snows on the Rocky Mountains began to melt. ${ }^{1}$

In those days the journey from the Atlantic coast to California was full of peril. A large proportion of the goldseekers never reached their destination. Many died of fever crossing the Isthmus of Panama; many more perished of

[^78]starvation going overland. Their trail came to be marked by the skeletons of men and horses and by the wrecks of


MAP OF EARLY CALIFORNIA wagons. Nevertheless, within two years aftergold was discovered California had a population of nearly one hundred thousand white people -about twice the white population of the state of Florida and just about equal to the whole population, white and colored, of the state of Delaware. These men who had thronged to California came from all parts of the country. All were men of courage and determination; some were also lawless and unscrupulous. To restrain the latter, Vigilance Committees were organized by which the thieves and other criminals were severely punished and in some cases put to death.

These resolute men


GOLD-DIGGERS OF '49 who had risked everything in seeking their fortunes wanted a government of their own. They drew up a state constitution (1849) and applied to Congress to be admitted to the Union.

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Their constitution prohibited slavery. This was done because (though all of them hoped soon to make their fortunes) all, in point of fact, were poor; and they felt that poor men, striving hard to get up in the world, would be at a disadvantage in this new state if rich men were allowed to secure mines and work them by means of slaves.

## ZACHARY TAYLOR, TWELFTH PRESIDENT

279. The Whigs carry the Election of 1848; the Great Compromise of 1850 . The popularity of General Taylor (section 275) enabled the Whigs to elect him president (1848). And then the discussion with regard to the new territory began in earnest.

The debates between Northerners and Southerners in Congress were carried on in such a violent temper that it looked for a while as if the Union was certainly going to break up. Clay for the third time brought about a compromise (sections 235, 248). It was agreed (I) that California should be admitted as a free state; (2) that in all the rest of the territory ceded by Mexico ${ }^{1}$ slaveholders should be permitted to settle with their slaves; (3) it was also agreed that Congress should enact a Fugitive Slave Law, under which runaway slaves could be pursued by their masters into the free states, captured, and taken back into slavery. This agreement was the famous Compromise of 1850 , sometimes called the Great Compromise.

[^79]
## SUMMARY

While democracy was being established in the United States some of our people had crossed the Western frontier and established the republic of Texas. When Van Buren (Democrat) succeeded Jackson as president we were considering the annexation of Texas to the United States. The discussion was interrupted by the panic of 1837 . Van Buren refused to come to the aid of business and laid down as a principle of his party that business questions should be kept out of politics. A reaction against Van Buren, led by those who had-suffered in the panic, caused the election of William Henry Harrison (Whig). His sudden death made Tyler president. He disposed of two problems in foreign relations: (r) a dispute with England over the northern boundary of Maine was settled by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842); (2) Texas was annexed (1845). Another dispute with England concerned the Oregon country. The next president, Polk (Democrat), settled the dispute by treaty ( 1846 ). Meanwhile war had broken out with Mexico (i846). During the war Americans who had settled in California proclaimed the Californian republic, which joined the United States. Peace was made by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). A dispute whether slavery should exist in the ceded territory began with the Wilmot Proviso (I846), and was greatly complicated by the sudden formation in California of a free state composed of hardy gold-seekers (r849) who were opposed to slavery. In the midst of the dispute the Whigs elected General Taylor president. In 1850 a compromise was effected, largely through the influence of Clay, by which (1) California was admitted as a free state, (2) the rest of the Mexican cession was opened to slavery, and (3) Congress was to enact a fugitive-slave law.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Barrows, Oregon, $160-254$; Bassett, United States, chap. xxi, 419-427; Bogart, Economic History of the United States, chap. xxi ; Brigham, Geographic Influences, chap. x; Callender, Economic History, chap. xi; Davis, Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government, I, chaps. ii, iii ; Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, chaps. viiix; *Elliott, Samuel Houston, 31-72; Garrison, Texas and Westward

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Expansion, chaps. i-xvii, xix, xx; Harding, Select Orations, 267-291; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chap. xxix; IV, chap. ii ; Johnson, Readings, 370-415; Lodge, Daniel Webster; McMaster, History, V, chap. liii; VI, chap. lx ; VII, chaps. lexv-lxxviii, lxxxv; VIII, chap. lxxxvi; Macy, The Antislavery Crusade (Chronicles of America), chaps. vi-viii ; Muzzey, Readings, 312-345; Rhodes, History, I, chaps. i-v; Royce, California; Schurz, Henry Clay, II, chap. xxvi; Skinner, Adventurers of Oregon (Chronicles of America); Smith, The War with Mexico; Stephenson, Texas and the Mexican War (Chronicles of America); White, The Forty-Niners (Chronicles of America).

For the Pupil: Barker and Others, Short History of Texas; Barstow, The Westward Movement(175-191) and A New Nation (138-1 59); Bruce, The Romance of American Expansion, chaps. v, vi, 28-103; Davis, Under Six Flags; Drake, The Making of the Great West, 215 240, 271-284; Elliott, Samuel Houston; Elson, Sidelights, chap. xiii ; Faris, Makers (chap. xv) and Real Stories (chaps. xx, xxvi, xxvii); Нitchcock, The Louisiana Purchase, chaps. xxi-xxiii; Lane and Hill, American History in Literature, 128-145; Nicolay, Our Nation in the Building, chap. xvii ; Parkman, The Oregon Trail; Paxson, The Last American Frontier, chaps. v-vii; Pennybacker, History of Texas; Sexton, Stories of California; Sparks, Expansion of the American People, chap. xxviii; Wright, American Progress, chap. xvi.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. How was Texas settled? 2. Why did the Texans go to war with Mexico? [3. Write an account of the defense of the Alamo. (See Barker, School History of Texas; Garrison, Texas; Pennybacker, History of Texas, especially the notes on events at the Alamo.)] [4. Write an essay on Sam Houston. (See Barker; Pennybacker; Elliott, Sam Houston; Stephenson, Texas and the Mexican War.)] 5. Why did the proposal to admit Texas to the Union cause a dispute in the United States? [6. Explain what a panic is. Tell what you think would happen among your own friends if they should be involved in a panic like that of 1837. (See McMaster, History, VI, or any large history of the United States.)]
7. What was Van Buren's attitude toward business problems? What party, in the main, has maintained this position ever since? [8. Compare the difference between Whigs and Democrats in 1840 with the difference between Federalists and Democrats. (See sections i98, 216, 249, 250; also Johnson, Union and Democracy, chap. vi ; Fess, Political Theory, chaps. ii, iii, vi.)] [9. Tell the story of our occupation of

Oregon. (See sections 221, 272, 273; also Parkman, The Oregon Trail; Skinner, Adventurers of Oregon.)]

Io. How did we become involved in a quarrel with Mexico? 11. How did the war begin? [12. Tell the story of one of three American expeditions into Mexico-Taylor's march to Buena Vista; Scott's march to Mexico City; Kearny's march to Santa Fe and on to California. (See Smith, The War with Mexico; Stephenson, Texas and the Mexican War, chaps. vii, viii.)] [r3. Tell the story of the war in California. (See Royce, California; White, The Forty-Niners, chap. ii.)] i4. What happened in California soon after the war? [15. Describe a journey from New York to California in 1840 either by ship or wagon. (See Dana, Two Years before the Mast; Barstow, The Westward Movement, 175-191 ; Bruce, The Romance of American Expansion, chap. vi ; Drake, The Making of the Great West, 271-284; Faris, Real Stories from Our History, chap. xxvii ; White, The FortyNiners, Chronicles of America.)]
[16. Write an essay on the Vigilance Committees: how the Californians ruled themselves without a government. (Use the same references as are given in problem 15.)] 17. Why did the constitution drawn up by the Forty-niners prohibit slavery? 18. Why was there a discussion of slavery at this time in the East (the Wilmot Proviso)? 19. What were the terms of Clay's Compromise of 1850 ? [20. In what parts of the country was slavery now (1850) illegal? (Answer these questions either in writing or by drawing a map ; see sections 235 , 278 , 279, and map on page 32 I .)]


THE FIRST MAIL CARRIER ACROSS THE WESTERN PLAINS
These horsemen were called the "pony express"


AMERICAN CLIPPER SHIPS AT HONGKONG

## CHAPTER XVII

## SOCIAL.AND INDUSTRIAL CHANGES

280. Changes between 1840 and 1850 : Area; Population. In the ten years previous to 1850 so many changes took place that altogether they amounted to a revolution in American life. First of all, there was the immense increase in area which gave to the United States the shape on the map with which we are now familiar. We possessed $1,793,326$ square miles in 1840 and $2,995,536$ miles in 1850 . The new territory acquired in those ten years was larger by nearly 400,000 square miles than the whole area of our country at the treaty of peace in $1783,{ }^{1}$ and was one third as large as the whole continent of Europe.

There was not, of course, a corresponding increase in population, but the increase was large. The $17,000,000$ of our people in 1840 had become $23,000,000$ in 1850.

Of the people living in our country in 1850 a large number had recently arrived from Ireland. The cause of their

[^80]coming shows how the conditions of one country will at times have an important effect upon another. In Ireland between 1840 and 1850 occurred the potato famine, when the crops failed and great numbers of people were on the verge


ST. LOUIS RIVER FRONT IN 1840
of starvation. They sought relief by coming to the United States. They came just when we were in need of labor to build railways and develop the West. ${ }^{1}$
281. Our Early Railways. We have seen that in 1830 we had but 23 miles of railroad. In 1840 we had 2818 miles; in 1850 we had 902 I miles. The building of railroads went on so rapidly that in 1860 we had more than 30,000 miles of track.

However, as late as 1850 it was still impossible to go from New York to Chicago altogether by rail. The middle part of the journey - from Buffalo to Detroit - had to be made by boat. Three years later this gap was filled, and passengers went the whole way from New York to Chicago by rail. Six years afterwards (1859) there was a continuous line from New York to New Orleans.
282. The Electric Telegraph; Labor-Saving Machines. One of the greatest changes between 1840 and 1850 was caused

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by the invention of the telegraph. In 1840 the telegraph did not exist ; in 1850 there were 5000 miles of telegraph lines in operation. ${ }^{1}$

Many other inventions which we have learned to take for granted and which have had a profound effect upon our lives had just come into use in 1850 . The sewing machine, for example, was only four years old, having been invented by Elias Howe in 1846 . Still younger was the rotary printing press, the invention of Richard Hoe ( 1847 ), which revolutionized the whole industry of bookmaking. We have seen what had already been accomplished by the McCormick reaper (section 255). These and many other machines enabled a few men to do as much work as was once accomplished by the slow labor of a much larger number of workers.
283. The Conquest of the Sea; Clipper Ships; Maury. In no respect has modern science made greater strides than in its discoveries and inventions that concern the sea. Americans may claim to have been pioneers in this modern conquest of the sea. Later the American "clippers" reached the highest excellence ever attained by sailing vessels. These swift ships-three-masted and carrying a great mass of sails-were among the most beautiful as well as the most practical of human inventions.

A great scientist, Matthew Fontaine Maury of Virginia, who became superintendent of the Naval Observatory (I844), showed the sailors how to lay out the best routes

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ABOVE, SHIPS OF COLUMBUS (FIFTEENTH CENTURY) ; CENTER RIGHT, MAN OF WAR (EIGHTEENTH CENTURY) ; CENTER LEFT, CLIPPER SHIP (NINETEENTH CENTURY) ; STEAMER BELOW, MAURETANIA (TWENTIETH CENTURY)

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upon the ocean. He was able to do this through long study of the trade winds and the ocean currents. He became known as the Pathfinder of the Sea.

Maury's discoveries and the skill of American shipbuilders enabled us to take advantage of a British law enacted in 1849. Before then American-built ships could not be purchased by Englishmen and sailed under the British flag. The new law permitted this. At


DOROTHEA DIX that time both England and America carried on an extensive trade with China. Americans had started our "China trade" as far back as 1784 , in the troubled times when we could not trade with Europe (Chapter X), and our merchants had to make a fresh start. In this trade our swift clipper ships proved themselves so admirable that Englishmen began using them in preference to their own ships the moment the law made it possible. Already Charles Dickens had written of "the noble American vessels which have made their packet service the finest in the world."
284. Increasing Activity of Women. Nothing is more characteristic of American progress during the nineteenth century than the steadily increasing share of women in public life. Their influence has generally been exerted in the way of correcting abuses or of protecting the unfortunate. Among many able women of the middle of the century none is more worthy of notice than Dorothea Dix, whose life work was the reform of prisons. Her book "Prisons and Prison Discipline" may be looked upon as the beginning of our modern scientific and humane attitude toward "charities and corrections."
285. Postage Stamps; Street Cars; Magazines; Newspapers. Thousands of things that now we think we cannot do without, from postage stamps to street cars, were just coming into use in 1850. A striking novelty was Harper's Magazine, which began to appear in 1850 and was our first illustrated


HENRY W. LONGFELLOW


EDGAR ALLAN POE
monthly. Our newspapers and periodicals numbered $2526 .{ }^{1}$ Only the year before (1849) a number of papers had combined in an organization of which, today, we hear so much the Associated Press.
286. The Writers of 1850. Many of the best-known writers of our country appeared shortly before 1850. Among these was our most famous novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne. Conspicuous among the other new writers were three poets, all from New England. Whittier had begun publishing his idyls of New England life as well as his poems against slavery; Lowell had recently become famous as the author of the "Biglow Papers." But the best-loved author in 1850

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was Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Only three years had passed since the publication of "Evangeline." The charming Southern poet, Henry Timrod, began publishing soon after 1850 .
287. The Discovery of Anæsthetics. But of all the new things that make 1850 seem the beginning of our own time, few are more important than certain discoveries of how to relieve pain. These discoveries were made about the same date by medical men in three different places. The credit for discovering the use of ether, by means of which surgical operations may be performed without pain, is usually given to Dr. W. T. G. Morton and Dr. C. T. Jackson, both of Boston. Their success was demonstrated at the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1846. They did not know that Dr. Crawford W. Long of Georgia had made the same discovery four years before. Another discoverer on anæsthetics was Dr. Horace Wells of Vermont, who began in 1844 to use "laughing gas" in extracting teeth.
288. The German Exiles. Americans took a keen interest in what is known as the Revolution of 1848 , which may be called the extension of the French Revolution (section 199) into Germany. All sorts of people, from university professors to laborers, joined in a desperate attempt to make the German countries democratic. In parts of Germany they came near succeeding. But the great power of the Prussian king and the Austrian emperor stamped out the revolution, and many thousands of the best men of Germany had to flee for their lives to other lands. It was but natural that Americans should welcome to their republic these martyrs in the cause of free government. Many found refuge among us. Some, because of the great business opportunities of America, soon acquired fortunes. Some were distinguished by their intellectual ability. An instance was Carl Schurz, who lived to be a cabinet officer in his adopted country. ${ }^{1}$

[^84]289. The Generosity of the United States. No other country was ever so generous toward foreigners as ours has been. The American enthusiasm for democracy which triumphed about 1830 (section 265) was not selfish. American democrats wanted to share their good fortune with the poor and the oppressed in all parts of the world. We took this attitude especially with respect to the public land. Immigrants were allowed to profit by our land laws as freely as native Americans. By a law passed in 1820 the price of public land had been fixed at $\$ \mathrm{I} .25$ the acre; the purchaser was allowed to "preëmpt" his land-that is, settle upon it and take a long time in which to pay. A considerable farm might thus be acquired by paying only a few dollars each year. Practically this was giving the land away. Through preemption great numbers of poor immigrants became prosperous American landholders.
290. The Great Difference between 1850 and Today. In one respect our country in 1850 was strikingly different from our country today. All the writers mentioned, all the intelligent newcomers, in fact, all the people in the Union, were discussing the same question which Webster and Hayne had debated so ably twenty years before (section 246) the question, If my state and Congress disagree, which must I obey?
291. Why Many People believed in States' Rights. We must not fail to understand why many people, in all parts of our country, once held the states' rights idea and felt that their state had a right to withdraw from the Union whenever it pleased. In such a vast country as ours it was easy, in the days before steam and electricity, for different parts to become so unlike that their inhabitants should feel toward the inhabitants of other sections almost as they felt toward foreigners. Today, when steam and electricity have linked us all close together, this is scarcely possible, but in 1850 the linking together by means of railroads and the telegraph

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was just beginning. The people of different sections knew little of one another and did not understand the true needs of other sections than their own; therefore whenever they could get control of Congress they did not scruple to pass laws that were wholly in their own interests. We have seen how this was done in the case of the Tariff of Abominations (section 242). It was largely out of fear that a number of powerful states might at any moment combine to injure the others that so many people insisted on their right to leave the Union whenever they thought best.
292. Why Many People believed in Nationalism. But we have seen that the national idea, or "nationalism," had led Webster to say that it was his duty to fight against his state if the Union as a whole demanded it (section 246), and a great many other men had come, by degrees, to hold the same view. In bringing this about, the railroads had had a great share. If you will look at a railroad map of 1850 you will see that the main railways lay east and west and that most of them were in the North; in other words, the people of the Northern states had come to be closely linked together by a network of railroads. This network extended into the West and linked the Westerners and Easterners in close bonds. All their people had come to know and understand each other. They had come to feel for each other as for members of one family. By degrees they left off thinking very much about their states, but they thought a great deal about the country as a whole. They wanted it to become great and powerful-as great and powerful as any country in the world. Therefore, if anyone proposed in any way to reduce the extent of the country and thus reduce its power-which would happen if a state seceded-they immediately grew angry; they felt that such a proposal was wicked.
293. The Threatened Clash between States' Rights and Nationalism. These two ways of thinking about our country -
as a league of sovereign states or as a great single power were thrillingly expressed in the debates over the Compromise in 1850 . Clay, Calhoun, and Webster, who had for so long been the leaders of their countrymen, were the chief speakers. Once more, as in the nullification episode, nearly twenty years before (section 247), Calhoun warned Congress that if a satisfactory agreement was not reached the dissatisfied states would withdraw from the Union. Thereupon Clay and Webster used language that astounded the country. Clay went so far as to say that if Calhoun should attempt to produce disunion "he would be a traitor, and I hope will meet the fate of a traitor." Said Webster: "I hear with distress and anguish the word 'secession.' . . . Disruption will produce war, and such a war as I will not describe."

The Compromise, for the moment, put an end to threats on both sides, but the question whether one's state or the Congress of the United States had the first claim upon one's obedience was from that day, until the outbreak of the war, in 186I, the most serious question in all men's minds.

## SUMMARY

The ten years between 1840 and 1850 witnessed many important changes in American life. Immigrants steadily increased in number, especially from Ireland. There was a rapid increase in railways, though it was not until 1853 that a continuous line led from New York to Chicago, and not until 1859 was there a line all the way from New York to New Orleans. Several epoch-making discoveries and inventions were made about 1850. Many things now familiar in everyday life, such as street cars and illustrated magazines, date from the middle of the century. A group of distinguished writers appeared just about 1850. The enthusiasm for democracy was stimulated by our cordial reception of German exiles after their failure to make Germany free in the Revolution of 1848 . In all material ways the American people were extremely well off in 1850. But they had one great

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misfortune: they were divided among themselves, the two sections holding irreconcilable ideas about the rights and powers of the central government. The debates over the Compromise of 1850 , though they seemed for the moment to have ended in a reconciliation of the sections, had made everyone see that the deep, dividing difference remained unsettled.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, chap. xxii ; *Becker, United States, chaps. vi-viii ; Bogart, Economic History, chaps. x, xviii, xxvi ; Brown, Lower South in American History, 32-49; Callender, Economic History, 271-386, 471-486, 666-689, 711-726; Coman, Industrial History, 232-278; The Economic Beginnings of the Far West, II, 167331; Dewey, Financial History, 248-274; *Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, chap. xii ; The Cotton Kingdom (Chronicles of America); Ingle, Southern Sidelights, 55-60, 88-94; Johnson, The Age of Invention (Chronicles of America); Long, History of American Literature, chap. iv; McMaster, History, VII, chap. lxxxvii ; Orth, Our Foreigners (Chronicles of America); Payne, The Old Merchant Marine (Chronicles of America); Perry, The American Spivit in Literature (Chronicles of America); Rhodes, History, II, chaps. xi, xii.

For the Pupil : Faris, Real Stories from Our History, chaps. xvii, xlii, xliii ; Great Epochs in American History, VII, 36-52; Mowry, American Inventions and Inventors, 270-277, 286-29I ; Sherman, Some Successful Americans; Sparks, The Expansion of the American People, chap. xxiv; Wright, American Progress, chap. xii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. How could you travel from New York to Chicago in 1850? from New York to New Orleans? from New Orleans to San Antonio? from New Orleans to Charleston? from Charleston to St. Louis? from St. Louis to San Francisco? (See maps, pp. 490, 49r.) 2. What famous inventions were made about 1850? [3. These American inventions may be regarded as a continuation of the Industrial Revolution (review Chapters VII, XII). Make a list of mechanical occupations which an American might follow in 1850 that he could not have followed in 1800. Make another list of the various sorts of work done by machinery in 1850 that were done by hand in 1800 . (See Coman, Industrial History of the United States; Osgood, History of Industry.)] 4. How did the China trade begin? Why did it prosper?
[5. Write an essay on What Women did in building our Country (see Chapters III, IV, VII, XV). What do you know about a woman who worked for religious freedom (Mrs. Hutchinson)? one who demanded the right to vote (Margaret Brent)? one who started an industry (Eliza Lucas)? one who made a change in education (Emma Willard) ? one who changed our attitude toward the unfortunate (Dorothea Dix)?] 6. Name some of the new things which came into use about 1850. 7. Name the chief writers of this period. What did they write about? [8. What do we mean when we say America has been the "asylum of the oppressed"? Tell all you know of immigrants seeking freedom in America (see Chapter III). Give two instances of American generosity toward unfortunate Europeans (section 288).]
[9. Imagine yourself a German or Irish boy or girl in 1850 whose parents have preëmpted a farm. Write a letter to a cousin in Europe telling how the land was acquired and expressing your feelings toward the generous republic that has adopted you.] io. What great difference is there beṭween 1850 and today? II. What have steam and electricity done to bring the parts of our country together? 12. Why did many people in 1850 believe in states' rights? I3. How, even in 1850, had railroads affected the North? 14. Why did Northerners believe in nationalism? 15 . What was the great fear in most people's minds between 1850 and 1860?


AN OLD-FASHIONED COVERED BRIDGE


LINCOLN'S BOYHOOD

## CHAPTER XVIII

## THE SLAVERY ISSUE

## MILLARD FILLMORE, THIRTEENTH PRESIDENT

294. President Taylor succeeded by Vice President Fillmore; the Fugitive Slave Law. President Taylor died in the year of the Great Compromise, and the vice president, Millard Fillmore of New York, succeeded him (p. 294, note 2). During Fillmore's term the dispute over slavery began again more bitterly than ever before.

The Fugitive Slave Law (section 279) soon produced trouble. Under this law black people supposed to be runaway slaves were seized in the North and carried to the South, sometimes with the aid of soldiers. The abolitionists at once asserted that some of these blacks were not slaves, but free negroes. Other Northerners, who until now had paid little attention to slavery, were deeply moved by the actual sight of weeping negroes, men and women, carried away by armed forces into slavery. So rapid was the spread of this sympathetic opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law that before long, in many parts of the North, any attempt
to enforce it was pretty sure to bring on a riot. In Boston, when the United States officers arrested a black man named Shadrack, a mob took him away from them and carried him off to safety ( 185 I ). There were other similar happenings. Even the legislatures of many Northern states took part in


UNITED STATES IN 1850
the movement by passing "personal liberty laws" designed to make it difficult to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. ${ }^{1}$

The runaways were also assisted by a great secret organization, which helped them to travel by night from one hiding place to another across the North to Canada. So skillfully hidden was the work of this organization that it was nicknamed the "Underground Railroad." No less than 60,000 slaves were thought to have escaped from the country in this way.

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295. "Uncle Tom's Cabin." In the year of the Great Compromise Harriet Beecher Stowe began writing her famous novel "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which was published in 1852. Its picture of slaveholding in Kentucky contained so many harsh features that it caused a sensation. Two hundred thousand copies were sold in a single year. Southerners have always denied that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" gave a correct impression of slavery, but the important thing is that almost everybody in the North accepted its picture as true. Together with the new indignation over the Fugitive Slave Law, "Uncle Tom" roused the feeling of the North to fever heat.

## FRANKLIN PIERCE, FOURTEENTH PRESIDENT

296. New Political Leaders. In 1852 the Democrats elected as the fourteenth president Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire. In this election the parties followed comparatively new leaders, such as Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, William H. Seward of New York, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, Robert Toombs of Georgia, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana, John C. Frémont of California, and Samuel Houston of Texas. All three of those great rivals who had led their countrymen for thirty years-Clay, Calhoun, and Webster-died before the end of 1852 .
297. The Exposition of 1853; Perry's Expedition to Japan. Though the ill feeling between North and South was steadily growing, the country was very prosperous, and new industries were springing up year by year. The industrial changes mentioned in Chapter XVII caused us to hold our first World's Fair at New York in 1853. It was a wonderful display of American inventiveness.

Shortly afterwards there took place another important event also connected with American business life. Commodore M. C. Perry, a brother of the "Perry of Lake Erie"
(section 230), visited Japan with a fleet of American warships. For more than two centuries Japan had refused to allow foreigners to enter her country. However, Perry succeeded in making a treaty with the Japanese government (1854), which was the beginning of a great trade between Japan and the United States. Our government sent over a locomotive and a railway train as presents to the emperor of Japan and set up a telegraph line for his use.
298. Dissatisfaction of Slaveholders with the Compromise; More Land demanded for Slavery. Meanwhile, in America, the slaveholders had become dissatisfied with the Compromise of 1850 . They found that the land given to them (see map, p. 32 I ) was not adapted to cotton-growing, and they saw no way to make that land profitable by slave labor. ${ }^{1}$ They


STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS began demanding another agreement between the North and the South so that some new region should be opened to slavery. There was talk of annexing Cuba or Central America, but as this could not be done without war, another plan was suggested. Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois took the lead in a movement to repeal the Missouri Compromise (section 235), organize new territories west of Missouri, and allow the people of each territory to decide for themselves whether they wanted slavery or not.

Senator Douglas's proposal, known as the KansasNebraska Bill, because it created the two territories Kansas

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## 324 SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

and Nebraska, both of which were to be open to slavery, was accepted by Congress and became law (May 30, 1854). 299. The Rush to Kansas. What happened next revealed the fact that large numbers of Northerners would make every effort to prevent the extension of slavery in the territories. Many of them at once left their homes farther east and


UNITED STATES IN 1854
started for Kansas, which, as the more southerly of the two territories, was more likely to be occupied by Southerners. The purpose of these immigrants was to settle in Kansas in large numbers before the slaveholders could settle there in equal strength. Associations were formed to assist the rush to Kansas. The most famous of these was the New England Aid Society, formed at Boston. Large sums of money were subscribed to aid the settlers in acquiring new homes. Whittier wrote the song of "The Kansas Emigrants" as a statement of the feeling that underlay this migration.

Slaveholders also took part in the rush to Kansas. At first they did not come as rapidly as did the Northerners, but they came in considerable and fast-increasing numbers.

In a short while each side had its own group of towns. The slaveholders made their headquarters at Atchison, Leavenworth, and Lecompton. The chief towns of the antislavery settlers were Lawrence and Topeka.
300. War in Kansas. Both sides were in that bitter and passionate frame of mind which produces war. Disputes between settlers led to fights, and in a short time there was a civil war in Kansas. It was what we call guerrilla warfare, very like the partisan warfare of the Revolution (section 175), and the forces engaged were few in number; but in fury and violence it was, alas, second to no war fought in our country. Among its most terrible events two are conspicuous: (i) the capture and plundering by slaveholders of the antislavery town of Law-


FRANCES WRIGHT
A prominent abolitionist of the middle of the century rence (1856) ; (2) the reprisal by John Brown, a noted antislavery leader, who seized a number of slaveholders and deliberately put them to death.

## JAMES BUCHANAN, FIFTEENTH PRESIDENT

301. The Republican Party; Election of 1856. The opponents of slavery now drew together ${ }^{1}$ in a new political party which took the name "Republican."

In 1856 the Republicans nominated as their first candidate for president John C. Frémont of California, the famous "Pathfinder" (section 276). In their platform

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they demanded the prohibition of slavery in the territories and the admission of Kansas as a free state. They were defeated by the Democrats, whose candidate was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania.
302. The Dred Scott Decision. Two days after the inauguration of Buchanan the Supreme Court rendered a decision in the case of Dred Scott, a negro slave who had asked to be declared a free man because his master had taken him ( 1834 ) into the free state of Illinois and later into the free territory of Minnesota, but had afterwards brought him back to Missouri. Scott claimed his freedom because he had lived on free soil. The court refused to pronounce him free and decided that Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, but merely a piece of property and therefore not entitled to bring suit before the court. In giving its reasons the court laid down a principle that startled the country, delighting the friends of slavery and infuriating its enemies: this was that Congress had had no right to pass its law, the Missouri Compromise (section 235) prohibiting slavery in a territory, and therefore that no such laws were binding.
303. Significance of the Dred Scott Decision; Abraham Lincoln. Thus the Dred Scott decision gave the slaveholders permission to take their slaves to any of the territories, no matter whether Congress approved or not: The Republicans at once denounced the decision in the most unsparing terms. A Republican from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln, now drew upon himself the attention of the whole country by a series of remarkable speeches. In one of them he used these words: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free."

In a famous debate with Douglas (section 298), Lincoln showed himself one of the clearest thinkers and ablest debaters in his party. He was also of a wonderfully gentle nature, and though he hated slavery he had no harsh words
for slaveholders. His views were similar to those of Channing (section 258), and yet he spoke of slavery as "a thing which has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."
304. John Brown's Raid. In the midst of these disputes our whole people, North and South, were astounded by something that took place at Harpers Ferry. John Brown


THE LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES
(section 300) some time before had disappeared from Kansas. This grim man had no sympathy with the views of such temperate opponents of slavery as Channing (section 259) and Lincoln (section 303). He planned to destroy slaveholding in a widespread uprising of the slaves, which he intended to lead himself. With that end in view he made his way to the mountains of western Maryland, where he gathered about him a little band of about twenty followers. With these men he suddenly descended from the mountains, entered Harpers Ferry, and sent out a call to the slaves of the neighborhood to rise and join his band. But the slaves did not rise. Soldiers were hurried to Harpers Ferry.

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Brown was besieged in an engine house he had fortified. After several men had been killed he was captured. He was tried and eventually hanged (December 2, 1859).
305. The Relation of the Sections in 1860 ; Lincoln Elected. It is impossible for us, today, to appreciate the intensity of the feelings of our grandparents and great-grandparents with


JOHN BROWN'S FORT regard to John Brown. Though most of the Northern people at once condemned his undertaking, there were many abolitionists who pronounced him a martyr. They used the most passionate and terrible language not only with regard to slavery but also with regard to everyone who held a slave and would not consent to immediate abolition.

The Southerners replied with equal bitterness. Many of them did not believe in slavery and wished to get rid of it, but these now joined with the friends of slavery in condemning every suggestion that came from the North. The fact that Brown had aimed at a slave insurrection was what united all Southerners, no matter how they felt about slavery, in one solid party, demanding "to be let alone." There was nothing the South dreaded so much as a great slave insurrection, such as Nat Turner had attempted (section 259). If such an uprising once got well started, the plantation houses widely separated one from another would be incapable of defense. In Nat Turner's Rebellion houses were burned and families massacred as in the old days of the Indian wars (section 95 ).

Meanwhile the "balance" in the Senate (section 235) had been upset by the admission of California (section 279).

One reason why the Southerners had tried so hard to secure Kansas (section 298) was their desire to restore the "balance" of states. They failed also to prevent the admission of the free states of Minnesota (1858) and Oregon (1859). In the House of Representatives the free states had now one hundred and forty-four members, the slave states only ninety. This fact made the Southerners still more uneasy. "If the Republicans elect the next president," said many Southerners, "we won't stay in the Union. The North could then enact what laws it pleased." In South Carolina, especially, threats of secession were frequently heard.
While North and South were each in a quiver of excitement the election of 1860 was held. The Republican platform denounced John Brown's raid as "lawless and unjustifiable"; it promised not to interfere with slavery in the states where it was established; at the same time it strongly condemned the Dred Scott decision and asserted that slavery must be unconditionally prohibited in all the territories. On this platform the Republicans elected Abraham Lincoln, sixteenth president of the United States.

## SUMMARY

During the administration of President Fillmore (Whig), who followed Harrison, the slavery dispute broke out more fiercely than ever, owing partly to the attempts to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law, partly to the appearance of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." The Southerners were becoming discontented because Arizona and New Mexico did not seem adapted to slave labor. During the administration of Franklin Pierce (Democrat), a movement to open the Northwest to slave-owning settlers brought about the Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854), which permitted settlers in a territory to decide the matter for themselves. There was a rush of settlers, both Northern and Southern, into the new territory of Kansas - the Northerners wishing to organize a free state; the Southerners, a slave state. A civil war broke out in

Kansas. These events led to the break-up of the Whig party, whose members could not come to an agreement on the slavery question. A new Republican party was now formed in opposition to the extension of slavery. In 1856 they were defeated by the Democrats, who elected James Buchanan president. The next year, in the Dred Scott case, the Supreme Court decided that slavery could not in any way be excluded from a territory until after the territory had become a state. Abraham Lincoln now became a national figure through his speeches against slavery. Feeling was becoming tense all over the country when suddenly John Brown appeared at Harpers Ferry and attempted to rouse the slaves of the vicinity in an insurrection. He failed and was taken and executed. But this incident roused the feeling on both sides to fever heat. In 1860 the Republicans nominated Lincoln for the presidency. Many Southerners threatened secession in the event of his election. In 1860 Lincoln was elected president.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, chap. xxiii ; Brown, Lozver South, 50-82 ; Callender, Economic History, chap. xv; Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln; Davis, Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, I, Part III; Dodd, Expansion and Conflict (chaps. xi-xiii) and Jefferson Davis (130191); Fess, Political Theory, chaps. xiii-xv; Harding, Select Orations, 309-34I; Hart, Contemporaries, III, chaps. viii-ix; IV, chap. vii; Hıтснсоск, The Louisiana Purchase, chap. xxv; Johnson, Readings (411-453) and Stephen Arnold Douglas; Macdonald, Source Book, 405433 ; McMaster, History, VIII, chaps. lxxxvi, lxxxix, xc, xci, xciii, xcvi; Nicolay, Abraham Lincoln, chaps. vii-ix; Phillips, The South in the Building of the Nation, IV, 398-422; Rhodes, History, I, chap. v; II, chaps. vii-xii ; Smith, Parties and Slavery, chaps. vii-xvii; Stanwood, History of the Presidency, chap. xxi ; Stephenson, Abraham Lincoln and the Union (Chronicles of America), chaps. i-v; Whittier, Antislavery Poems; Wilson, Division and Reunion, 90-100.

For the Pupil: Coffin, Building the Nation; Drake, The Making of the Great West; Eggleston, Two Gentlemen of Virginia (fiction); Elson, Sidelights (chap. xv) and Great Epochs (VII, 144-1 49, 164-168); Gale and Wheeler, A Knight of the Middle West (fiction); Hart, Contemporaries,. IV, 56-122; Muzzey, Readings, 346-387; Sparks, Expansion of the American People, chap. xxix.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

[I. The opening of Japan may be considered the turning point of a teadency for American trade to shift from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Write a brief account of the development of our commerce to 1855. Answer these questions: With what countries did we trade in colonial days? When did we begin to trade with Asia in our own ships? Why? How did California stimulate our interest in Pacific trade?] 2. How did the rivalry of the sections begin again?
3. What demand did the South make because it was disappointed with regard to the West? 4. What did Douglas accomplish in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill? [5. Describe the rush to Kansas. (See Dodd, Expansion and Conflict, chap. vii ; McMaster, History, VIII, chaps. lxxxvi, lxxxix, xc; Macy, The Antislavery Crusade (Chronicles of America) ; Rhodes, History, II, chap. vii ; Whittier, poems on Kansas. These references will have to be adapted by the teacher.)] 6. What new political party now appeared? How was it formed? What did it aim to do? 7. What principle did the court lay down in the case of Dred Scott? 8. What was the significance of this principle, that Congress could not forbid slavery in the territories? 9. What great man now became prominent? What do you know about him?

Io. What was Lincoln's attitude toward slavery? ir. What did John Brown try to do at Harpers Ferry? 12. Describe the feeling of the country over John Brown. I3. What now was the relation of the sections in Congress? [14. Why was the North more populous in 1860 than the South? (The clue to the answer is in the experience of California. What is it? Why did the immigrants, for example, go to the North almost altogether, instead of to the South? See section 278 for a hint as to the answer.)] 15. Why did Southerners threaten to secede if the Republicans carried the election of 1860 ?


A WESTERN MINING PLANT
Great silver mines were opened in the West in 1859


THE BOMBARDMENT OF FORT SUMTER

## CHAPTER XIX

## NORTH AND SOUTH AT WAR

## I. THE DISRUPTION OF THE UNION AND THE FORMATION OF THE CONFEDERACY

306. South Carolina secedes; Six Other States Follow. A convention was called in South Carolina, which, on December 20, 1860, at Charleston, voted unanimously "that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the United States of America, is hereby dissolved." The announcement of this action caused a great demonstration of joy in the streets of Charleston. Bells were rung and cannon were fired. The proud state delighted in the thought that now it was certainly a "free, independent, and sovereign" power. ${ }^{1}$

[^88]1860. Flag displayed in the Secession Convention at Charleston. The design was based on the state flag of South Carolina.
1861. This design, known as the "Stars and Bars," was adopted by the Montgomery Convention.


Six other states-Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Texas-rapidly followed the example of South Carolina. Delegates from the seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, which they fixed upon as the capital of their new "Confederate states of America." They also


JEFFERṠON DAVIS elected a president, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi, and a vice president, Alexander H. Stephens ${ }^{1}$ of Georgia. To make a flag for the Confederacy they altered the familiar design of the Stars and Stripes and raised instead of it the Stars and Bars (see illustration on page 333). ${ }^{2}$
307. The Question of the Southern Forts. On an island in Charleston harbor stood Fort Sumter, garrisoned by Federal soldiers and commanded by Major Robert Anderson. Its surrender was demanded by the state authorities and refused by Anderson. A merchant ship, the Star of the West, carrying supplies to Sumter, was fired on by state forces and compelled to put back to sea (January 9, I86I). When Lincoln was inaugurated Major Anderson still held Fort Sumter.

In his inaugural address the new president used the significant words given on the following page:

[^89]I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. . $\quad$. No state upon its own mere motion can lawfully get out of the Union. . . . The Union is unbroken; and to the extent of my ability I shall take care . . . that the laws of the Union be faithfully executed in all the states. . . . The power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government.

He speedily gave notice to Governor Pickens of South Carolina that Fort Sumter should be freshly supplied and held by the forces of the United States. ${ }^{1}$
308. The Firing on Sumter; Rising of the North. President Davis decided to compel the surrender of Fort Sumter. General P. G. T. Beauregard of Louisiana, who had been put in command of the South Carolina militia, opened fire early in the morning of April 12, 1861. Shells rained on Fort Sumter all that day and part of the next. Anderson replied, but his ammunition soon gave out, and as he had but a small supply of food he agreed to surrender. On Sunday, April 14, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down, and the garrison marched out of the fort, went aboard ship, and sailed for New York. The fort was in ruins, and yet, strangely enough, not one man had been killed on either side.

The next day (April $\mathbf{I}_{5}$, 1861) Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteer soldiers. ${ }^{2}$ It was quickly answered by 100,000 . Through all the Northern states there went up a fierce cry for vengeance because the flag of the Union had been fired upon.

[^90]Four days after the call, on the anniversary of the battle of Lexington (April 19), the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment passed through Baltimore, where it was attacked by a mob. There was firing, and men were killed - the first loss of life in this great war.
309. Four more States secede; Richmond becomes the Confederate Capital. As soon as it became plain that the North


A NORTHERN ARMY ON THE MARCH
meant to fight, four Southern states which had hitherto refused to secede felt bound in honor to go to the aid of the other states of the South. These were Virginia, ${ }^{1}$ North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas. All four withdrew ${ }^{2}$ from the
${ }^{1}$ Virginia had striven hard to avert war. It had called a peace convention (February 4, 186I), in which twenty-one states were represented, but Congress had refused to accept the convention's recommendation. Previously the Republicans in Congress had rejected what is known as the Crittenden Compromise, proposed by Senator Crittenden of Kentucky. It would have divided the territories into slave and free on the parallel $36^{\circ} 30^{\prime}$.
${ }^{2}$ Four other slave states-Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouridid not secede. In all these the feeling between nationalists and states' rights men was extremely bitter. From these states men enlisted in both the Union and Confederate armies. At Gettysburg an important part of the battle was between two divisions of Maryland troops, one on the Union side, the other on the Confederate. There was also a division of sentiment inside Virginia. In the mountainous part of the state few slaves were held, and


Union and entered the Confederacy. Thereupon the Confederate capital was removed from Montgomery to Richmond (May 20, 1861).

## II. THE GATHERING OF THE ARMIES

310. The Strength of the Two Sides. In the terrible war which thus began, each side had advantages over the other. In time it became apparent that these advantages were chiefly on the side of the North, but in 186 I this was not certain. However, in one respect the Northern advantage was plain from the start. First, the North had more men. ${ }^{1}$ Second, the North also had a great advantage over the South in possessing factories, machine shops, iron mills, and shipyards in which to construct guns, ammunition, supplies - everything that a soldier might need from a belt to a cannon. The South had but a small number of factories and was not prepared to manufacture arms. Third, the North had complete control of the navy, which was used to keep the South from importing the needed arms and ammunition from Europe.

On the other hand, the South had certain advantages. First, a large proportion of the best officers of the time were Southerners, and therefore the South entered the war better provided than the North with experienced generals. Second,
the inhabitants were not on good terms with the slaveholders of the coast, who controlled the Virginia legislature. A number of Western counties withdrew from Virginia and organized a new state, West Virginia, which was admitted to the Union on June 19; 1863. In the mountain region of Tennessee there were also many people who did not hold slaves and were more or less hostile to the slaveholders, who controlled the policy of the state. These people never separated themselves from Tennessee, but they sympathized strongly with the Union and sent many thousand men to serve in the Union army.
${ }^{1}$ Some $22,000,000$ people were opposed to about $9,000,000$. Of the latter, $3,500,000$ were slaves, who, of course, did not fight, but by staying quietly at work produced the food that enabled almost all the Southern white men to take part in the war.

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the Southern people were accustomed to out-of-door lifeto riding, shooting, and fox hunting (section I3I)—and already had much of the training needed to make good soldiers. The Northern armies, on the other hand, were composed largely of city men, who had to be taught to ride and shoot. Third, the Southern troops, as we shall see, fought almost always on the defensive, and thus their smaller numbers were helped out by the fact that they could choose their place to fight and did not have to protect long lines of communication. The Northern troops advancing into the South had to protect their communications in order to bring up supplies and ammunition from a far-off base in the North.
311. How Money was raised for the War. Both sides soon found that it was hard to get enough money. In the North this difficulty was overcome, but in the South it grew worse and worse as the war went on.

The Union government, in order to pay its soldiers and to buy the arms and food which it needed, did four things: ( 1 ) It laid new taxes. (2) It laid a new tariff on all imported goods. (3) It borrowed great sums from both Americans and Europeans. To the people who lent the money it issued bonds, which are practically the same as promissory notes given by business men when they borrow money and promise to pay it back at a certain time with interest. (4) It issued paper money, nicknamed "greenbacks," which were promises to pay, like the "continentals" of the Revolution (section 178 ). ${ }^{1}$

The Confederacy also ( 1 ) laid new taxes, (2) borrowed great sums both in America and in Europe, and (3) issued paper money. Both governments had poor success with

[^91]their paper promises to pay, but in this respect the South was much less successful than the North. Though Northerners before the end of the war objected to taking paper money as pay, they would do so if they got about three paper dollars for every gold dollar. In the South, however, before the war ended, paper money had become worthless. People put as little value upon it as they did on the "continentals" during the Revolution (section 178).
312. How the Fighting Began. On both sides the first thought was to get possession of the southern bank of the Ohio River and of Missouri. Gen-


CONSTRUCTING A PONTOON BRIDGE From an old print eral George B. McClellan led the militia of Ohio across the river (May 26, 186I) into the mountains of western Virginia, where they defeated a force of Confederates. This movement led eventually to the creation of the state of West Virginia (p. 336, note 2), composed of mountain counties whose inhabitants were opposed to secession.

In Missouri the states' rights men had formed a camp near St. Louis, which was broken up (May ro, 186ı) by Union men under the command of Nathaniel Lyon. There followed a miniature war in Missouri, in the course of which Lyon was killed, but which ended in attaching Missouri to the Union. But this was not fully accomplished until the following spring, when the Confederate forces, under General Van Dorn, were driven into Arkansas and defeated at Pea Ridge, or Elkhorn.

At first it looked as if Kentucky would join the Confederacy, but in August, 1861, the Union men got control of the legislature, and in September they declared that Kentucky would not secede. Though the Confederates held eastern Kentucky for a while, they were defeated by General Thomas early the next year at Mill Spring and driven into Tennessee. Nevertheless numbers of Kentuckians, including some famous generals, fought in the Confederate army.

Maryland was prevented from seceding by the large number of Federal troops rapidly brought together around Washington.
313. First Battle of Bull Run, or Manassas. By the middle of summer a considerable Union army, commanded by General McDowell, lay encamped south of the Potomac, protecting Washington. Not far distant, at Manassas Junction, on a little stream called Bull Run, a Confederate army was commanded by General Beauregard (section 308) and General Joseph E. Johnston. On a hot Sunday in July, McDowell attacked the Confederates and was at first successful. General Bee of the Southern army hurried to General Thomas J. Jackson and exclaimed, "General, they are driving us back." "We will give them the bayonet," said Jackson, quietly. His manner was so calm and yet so inspiring that Bee turned to his men and shouted, "Look at Jackson; he stands there like a stone wall!" Ever after he was known as "Stonewall" Jackson.

Owing to the firmness of Jackson and the arrival of more Confederates, led by General Kirby Smith, the Union troops were checked, thrown into confusion, and finally put to flight. The Confederates, however, had lost so heavily that they did not pursue, and the defeated army found shelter in Washington.
314. Results of the First Battle; Both Sides pause for Better Preparation. This battle showed both sides that they were not yet prepared for real war. There followed a long
pause in which both North and South set to work to drill and organize great armies, to collect arms and ammunition, and to build forts. On both sides there were hundreds of thousands of willing volunteers, but until they were trained and organized they were of little use as soldiers. For cannon, rifles, and ammunition the North turned to its own workshops; ${ }^{1}$ the South sent agents to Europe, who purchased arms in several countries. The Northern armies were assembled along an irregular line extending from Washington through western Virginia and Kentucky to the Mississippi and


OLD-TIME RIFLE PITS
These were not unlike the trenches of the World War. From an old print across southern Missouri to the Indian Territory. The Confederates, though they had failed to get possession of Kentucky, succeeded in building great fortifications at Columbus in that state, by means of which they had, for a time, control of the Mississippi River.
315. How the Confederacy expected to get Arms; "King Cotton." For the arms bought in Europe the Confederacy expected to pay in cotton. The rich English mill-owners and all the immense number of their employees had to have the Southern cotton in order to keep on with their work. It was estimated that no less than four million English-men,

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women, and children - would suffer, directly or indirectly, if the English cotton mills were stopped through lack of raw cotton brought from America. Therefore the Southerners felt sure of being able to get all the money they wanted in England. "Cotton is King," they said-meaning that England wanted cotton so badly that the American owners of cotton had unlimited power in their hands.


SHIPPING ARMS FROM LIVERPOOL IN 1861
316. Lincoln aims to destroy the Cotton Trade; the Blockade. Lincoln saw the importance to the North of breaking up the cotton trade. If the South could not sell its cotton it would not be able to buy the arms and ammunition without which the war could not be carried on. No sooner had Lincoln sent out the first call for volunteers (section 308) than he began preparations to shut the South off from Europe. A proclamation was issued (April 19, I86I) declaring all the Southern ports blockaded; that is, Lincoln ordered the United States navy to watch these ports and seize any ships attempting to go in or out of them. He also took steps for greatly increasing the navy's size and efficiency.

From this time to the end of the war the Union navy was the key to the situation. At first it was not numerous enough to close all the Southern ports - a good deal of cotton went out to Europe, and quantities of arms and ammunition came in; but as the Northern navy increased, the Southern ports one after another were all closed. At length there came a time when the blockade was complete. During the latter part of the war no cotton went out, no arms came in. It has been truly said that the Northern navy "strangled" the Confederacy. A great deal has been written on the influence of sea power in history, ${ }^{1}$ and there is no better example of what a fleet counts for in war than the American blockade. ${ }^{2}$
317. The "Trent Affair." At first it was possible for swift ships to run the blockade ; that is, evade the Federal warships, which were not numerous enough to patrol the coast efficiently. A famous case of blockade-running took place late in 186r. Two officials of the Confederate government, James M. Mason of Virginia and John Slidell of Louisiana, made their way to Cuba. There, on a regular mail steamer, -the Trent, under the British flag,-they took passage for England. The ship was stopped by the United States warship San Jacinto, whose commander carried off the Confederate officials as prisoners of war. By so doing he violated international law, ${ }^{3}$ which forbids the seizure of travelers under a neutral flag unless they belong to the armed forces of a

[^93]nation at war. Mason and Slidell were not in the Confederate army and so should have been safe against capture. Because they were taken from a British ship, England at once demanded their release. The demand caused much excitement in the North, and there were protests against agreeing


THE VIRGINIA SINKING THE CUMBERLAND
Above, a section of the Monitor
to it, but Lincoln saw that he had no choice. "We have done," said he, in substance, "just what we protested against in the War of I812" (section 224). Sumner (section 296), who was a great lawyer, said, "The men must be given up." Mason and Slidell were released and allowed to continue their journey. They became the official representatives of the Confederacy-one in Paris, the other in London.
318. A Great Attempt to break the Blockade; the Virginia (or Merrimac) and the Monitor. The Southerners soon saw that the blockade was their chief danger. They determined to make every effort to break through the line of Federal ships
along the coast. At Norfolk, Virginia, an old frigate, the Merrimac, had fallen into the hands of the Confederates. This vessel was remodeled by John M. Brooke, covered with a roof of railroad rails, armed with heavy cannon, renamed the Virginia, and sent against a fleet of wooden ships lying off the mouth of the James River. ${ }^{1}$ Against the iron coating of this strange new sort of ship the cannon balls from two frigates, the Congress and the Cumberland, glanced harmlessly. Both the frigates were destroyed, though the sinking


THE MONITOR IN BATTLE TRIM
Cumberland went on firing until the muzzles of the guns were under water. The fall of night put an end to the battle temporarily, but there were other Union ships which the Virginia intended to destroy the next day. During the. night, however, a strange little vessel steamed alongside the old-fashioned wooden frigates, which were waiting for day in order to give battle to the Confederate ironclad. This newcomer was described as "a cheese box on a raft"; its deck lay very nearly level with the water, and above this deck rose a single round turret carrying two powerful guns. Such was the Monitor-unlike any ship ever built before. Its designer, John Ericsson, had previously invented the screw propeller. His new ship was an ironclad which had been constructed in great haste at the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

The next day,-Sunday, March 9, 1862,-for the first time, a battle took place in which the combatants were both armored ships. They circled about each other, firing from such close range that often the muzzles of their guns very nearly touched. Though shells rained on both ironclads,

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neither was seriously damaged. But at length the Monitor drew off into shallow water, where the Virginia could not follow; the latter, unable to destroy the Monitor, steamed back to Norfolk and gave up her attempt to break through the blockade.
319. The Plan of the War on Land. Meanwhile plans had been laid at Washington for a great war on land. All the


THE WAR IN THE WEST
middle part of the northern line of the Confederacy ran across mountains through which it would be difficult for an invading army to enter the South. But at both ends of this mountain region, in Virginia on one side, in Tennessee on the other, are low hills and plains which offer little obstruction to an invading force. The wise plan for the invaders was to avoid the mountains and advance round each end of them across the lowlands. This, Lincoln and his advisers decided to do. In this fact lies the key to a clear understanding of all that follows. Always there were two struggles going on-one in the East, another in the West.
III. THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MISSISSIPPI: FROM EARLY IN 1862 TO THE MIDDLE OF 1863
320. Value of Rivers in War. From the fortifications commanding the Mississippi (section 314) a chain of forts stretched eastward. Two important strongholds were Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the


TRANSPORTING SOLDIERS BY BOAT

Cumberland. All these forts, you will notice, were situated on the banks of rivers. Of course you see why. If the Union troops could use the rivers commanded by these forts, they could advance by boat, bring up supplies by boat, and this would be much easier than advancing over land. Therefore the Western army aimed to get possession of these river valleys, each of which would open a gateway into the South.
321. Grant advances up the Tennessee ; Fort Henry ; Fort Donelson. Early in 1862 a Union army commanded by General Ulysses S. Grant moved up the valley of the Tennessee and captured Fort Henry (February 6, 1862).

At that point the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers lie close together. Turning suddenly to the left, Grant attacked Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. After a stubborn defense the Confederate general, Buckner, asked what Grant would require of him if he promised to give up. Grant's reply was: "No terms but immediate and unconditional


ALBERT S. JOHNSTON surrender can be accepted. I propose to'move at once upon your works." These terms were accepted, and Fort Donelson was surrendered (February 16, 1862) with fifteen thousand men and forty cannon. His soldiers, making a joke of Grant's initials, "U.S.," nicknamed him "Unconditional Surrender."
322. Grant proceeds along the Tennessee ; Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh. Grant went on, along the Tennessee, to Pittsburg Landing, near the little log church of Shiloh. One of the greatest Confederate generals, Albert Sidney Johnston, who had gathered an army at Corinth, Mississippi, made a swift march and attacked Grant (April 6, 1862). For two days a tremendous battle raged back and forth between Pittsburg Landing and Shiloh. On the first day the advantage of numbers was with the Confederates, and in the afternoon Grant appeared to be defeated. The death of Johnston and the coming of the darkness brought the battle to a standstill. During the night powerful reënforcements joined the Union army, and by the close of the second day Grant had won a victory. General Beauregard, who had succeeded Johnston, retreated to Corinth.
323. A Union Fleet Coöperates with the Army of the West; Farragut at New Orleans. While the Union Army of the West had been pushing South along the Tennessee and the Mississippi, a Union fleet commanded by Admiral Farragut had been sent against New Orleans. Two strong forts protected the approach up the Mississippi to the city. Massive iron cables, resting on barges, had been stretched across the river. Between the forts and the city were fifteen armed vessels, including two ironclads, one of which was similar to the Virginia (section 318). Against all these powerful defenses Farragut brought fifty wooden ships carrying an army commanded by General Butler.

On the night of April 24, 1862, Farragut ran past the forts amid, literally, a hail of shells, burst his way through the huge chain, and scattered


ULYSSES S. GRANT the Confederate fleet. The next day he anchored before New Orleans. The whole river front of the city blazed with burning steamers and great heaps of burning cotton which had been set on fire to prevent its seizure by the invaders. Farragut at once took possession of the city.
-324. Farragut attempts to join Grant; Vicksburg. Farragut landed Butler's army at New Orleans and proceeded up the river with his fleet. Thus it came about that two great forces were pushing their way - one down the Mississippi from the vicinity of Pittsburg Landing, the other up from New Orleans. What prevented them from joining hands was the great fortress of Vicksburg, called the

Gibraltar of the West. To take Vicksburg became now the chief object of the Union armies in the West. To defend it became the chief aim of the western Confederates.
325. The Federal Advance against Vicksburg; Nathan B. Forrest; Braxton Bragg. The advance of Grant's armies was rendered slow and costly by Confederate raids con-


MAP SHOWING GRANT'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST VICKSBURG ducted by the brilliant cavalry leader, General Nathan B. Forrest, who frequently cut the Federal lines of communication (section 310). However, the Federals captured Corinth (section 322 ), but in order to hold it they had to fight a furious battle which lasted two days (October 3-4, 1862 ). In this battle the Union general Rosecrans beat off the Confederate general Van Dorn.

The chief Confederate commander in the West was General Braxton Bragg. Hoping to draw the Union forces northward and away from Vicksburg he made a raid into Kentucky ; but Grant, who was steadily approaching Vicksburg, refused to turn back, and Bragg, after fighting a drawn battle at Perryville (October 8, 1862 ) with General Buell, decided to return and try another plan.

Bragg made up his mind to risk a huge battle in the hope of smashing Grant's communications (section 32 I ) and forcing him to give up the advance against Vicksburg. A Union army commanded by Rosecrans met Bragg at Murfreesboro in Tennessee (December. 3I, 1862). During three days the fighting was so severe that Murfreesboro ranks among the fiercest battles of the war. Though not quite a victory for either side, it stopped Bragg's advance and caused him to draw back southward.
326. Grant's Marches around Vicksburg; the Siege. Grant now performed the most daring act of his career. He crossed the Mississippi, marched down the west bank, recrossed, and came up against Vicksburg from behind. General Pemberton, who marched against him, was defeated in the battle of Champion's Hill-called also Baker's Creek (May i6, r863) and driven back into the city of Vicksburg.

Now at last the siege of Vicksburg really began. The Union army gathered close around it. Great guns were placed in position. Soon a storm of cannon fire began to fall upon the "Gibraltar of the West."

For nearly seven weeks the fortress held out. At last, when the garrison was


STATUE OF GENERAL FORREST, MEMPHIS on the verge of starvation, it surrendered (July 4, 1863) with thirty-two thousand men.

Soon after the fall of Vicksburg the Union forces had control of the whole Mississippi. Thus, at last, they had cut the Confederacy in two.
IV. FIRST GREAT STRUGGLE AT THE EASTERN END OF THE MOUNTAINS (SUMMER AND AUTUMN, 1862)
327. McClellan's March up the "Peninsula"; Seven Pines, or Fair Oaks; Robert E. Lee. Early in 1862 General McClellan (section 312), who had been put in command at Washington (section 313), took his Army of the Potomac by water to Fortress Monroe (see map, p. 353). His plan
was to advance up the long peninsula between the James and York Rivers and lay siege to Richmond. With one hundred thousand men he left Fortress Monroe on April 4, 1862. The Confederate forces, under the command of General Joseph E. Johnston (section 3I3), though little more than half as numerous, resisted so stubbornly that McClellan's advance proved slow. Hard battles were fought at Yorktown and Williamsburg, and at each place, for a time, McClellan paused ; then, slowly, steadily, he moved forward again. It took him nearly two months to reach the Chickahominy River, within sight of the church spires of Richmond. And then occurred one of those unforeseen accidents which often play such a great part in war. Heavy rains came on, and while the Union army was crossing the Chickahominy River it began to rise. When half the army was across, the river had risen so much that it became almost impassable, and the Union army was practically cut in two. General Johnston saw his opportunity and attacked with all his forces. Thus began the furious two days' battle of Fair Oaks, called also Seven Pines. McClellan, however, managed to get the rest of his army across the river and held his ground, though neither side gained any particular advantage. In this battle General Johnston received a severe wound and turned over the command of the Confederate army to General Robert Edward Lee (section 275, note I).
328. Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley; he joins Lee; the Seven Days' Battles. Meanwhile, in the Shenandoah valley, Stonewall Jackson had been fighting a campaign which is one of the most famous of the war. There were large Union forces in that region, and still others in the vicinity of Washington. McClellan had begged Lincoln to send them to his assistance. Jackson aimed to keep them busy where they were. His movements were so extraordinarily swift that the Union commanders were bewildered. They felt that if they went to the aid of McClellan, Jackson might slip in behind


LINCOLN WITH McClellan and His generals

them and seize Washington. Lincoln shared their alarm and ordered them to remain. Then, when they least expected it, Jackson suddenly wheeled about, rushed his army across the whole width of Virginia, and joined Lee. Immediately they attacked McClellan. The series of battles which were then fought is spoken of as the "Seven Days' Battles" (June ${ }^{25} 5^{-}$ July 1, 1862). Slowly McClellan was driven back from the vicinity of Richmond. He retreated toward the James, where he was met by Union gunboats. The last event of this furious series


SEAT OF WAR IN EASTERN VIRGINIA, 1861-1865 of battles took place at Malvern Hill, on the bank of the James, where the Army of the Potomac faced about and repulsed the confederates in some of the hardest fighting of the whole war. ${ }^{1}$
329. Lee moves Northward; Second Manassas, or Bull Run. The Army of the Potomac was transferred by boat to the vicinity of Washington, where General John Pope was in command of a separate force. Lee, seeing that these two

[^95]
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forces would soon unite, made a rapid march and attacked Pope on the old field of Bull Run (section 3I3). He gained a great victory; known sometimes as Second Bull Run, sometimes as Second Manassas. In this battle Jackson again greatly distinguished himself. Pope retreated to Washington and soon afterward was removed from command.


TRAFFIC BETWEEN THE LINES
Union and Confederate soldiers meeting and exchanging food and tobacco. From a war-time sketch
330. Lee's Invasion of Maryland; Antietam, or Sharpsburg; Fredericksburg. Lee now resolved to invade Maryland and if possible to take Washington. His army crossed the Potomac, singing "Maryland, my Maryland," and advanced to the little town of Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek. There Jackson joined Lee after an absence during which he captured great quantities of military supplies at Harpers Ferry. The Army of the Potomac, with McClellan in command, had also been marching upon Sharpsburg. ${ }^{1}$ And now occurred

[^96]what is generally called "the bloodiest single day" of the whole war (September 17, 1862). McClellan attacked, and all day long there was frightful carnage along Antietam Creek, and yet neither side gained a victory. Lee at last drove back McClellan's forces, but did not attempt to pursue. This battle showed that he was not strong enough to go on with his proposed invasion. Two days later he retreated across the Potomac. ${ }^{1}$

McClellan moved so slowly in following Lee that Lincoln lost patience and removed him from command. He was succeeded by General Burnside. He too followed Lee with caution, but at last attacked him near Fredericksburg, Virginia (December 13, 1862). The assault is justly considered one of the grandest examples of American courage. Nine times in quick succession the Union armies rushed against the Confederate intrenchments, which were so placed that there was not the least chance of their being taken; nine times the Union men were driven back by a deluge of cannon and riffe fire. Finally Burnside's officers begged him to give up the mad attempt. He reluctantly consented and ordered a retreat toward Washington.
V. THE CRISIS ; HOW SOVEREIGN COUNTRIES TOOK PART IN THE WAR; WHY LINCOLN CHANGED HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD SLAVERY; THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG
331. The Cotton Famine; the Alabama. The blockade (section 3i6) produced what is known as the cotton famine. English mills were forced to shut down. The mill-owners besought the British prime minister, Lord Palmerston, to form an alliance with the South, declare war on the North, and break the blockade. Lord Palmerston wished to do so,

[^97]but he hesitated for two reasons: (1) an influential group of Englishmen in Parliament, led by John Bright, were hostile to the South because it maintained slavery; (2) the suffering workmen of the idle cotton mills had read "Uncle Tom's Cabin" (section 295) and felt that the South by maintaining slavery was the enemy of the workingman the world over.

While Palmerston hesitated, agents of the Confederacy purchased ships in England, put cannon aboard them, and sent them out to prey upon the commerce of the United States. The most noted of these "commerce destroyers," the Alabama, was preparing to sail in the early summer of 1862. The minister of the United States, Charles Francis Adams, protested, but in spite of his protest the Alabama was allowed to go to sea. ${ }^{1}$
332. Napoleon III; the Mexican Empire. At this time, a nephew of the great Napoleon, having overturned the French Republic and made himself emperor as Napoleon III, was urging Lord Palmerston to take the side of the South. Like his famous uncle, Napoleon III wished to get control of some part of America. While our war was in progress he sent an army to Mexico (i862), overturned the Mexican republic, and forced the Mexicans to accept an emperor, Maximilian of Austria (1864). Napoleon thought that if the United States broke into two countries, neither would be powerful enough to drive Maximilian out of Mexico. ${ }^{2}$

[^98]333. Bright and the Slavery Question. The sailing of the Alabama and the intrigues of Napoleon encouraged the friends of the South in England and greatly alarmed the friends of the North. Bright wrote to Charles Sumner (sections 296, 319) that in England not secession but slavery was the one thing they were thinking about, and that if Lincoln would say the war was against slavery his friends in England would be able to keep Palmerston from siding with the South. Hitherto Lincoln had refused to say that he was fighting to destroy slavery; ${ }^{1}$ for that reason the American abolitionists had bitterly denounced him.
334. The Emancipation Proclamation. Lincoln at length decided that he could not save the Union without freeing the slaves. On January I, 1863, he issued the Emancipation Proclamation, in which he announced that henceforth, in the states at war with the Union, all negroes would be looked upon as free men by the United States government. ${ }^{2}$ There were three great results of the proclamation: (i) all the Northern abolitionists, who hitherto had disliked Lincoln, rallied to his support; (2) whenever Northern armies occupied a part of the Confederacy the negroes were freed; (3) the workingmen of England and all other followers of Bright came out unconditionally in support of the North, and their influence prevented Palmerston from taking sides with the South.
335. Lee's Desperate Attempt to change the Situation; Chancellorsville. In the spring of 1863 Lee set out on a bold attempt to march to Washington. In April his Army of northern Virginia met the Army of the Potomac, now commanded by General Hooker, at Chancellorsville. The battle which followed was perhaps Lee's greatest victory. ${ }^{3}$

[^99]However, the Confederates suffered a terrible loss: in the gathering darkness Jackson was accidentally shot by his own men and died soon after. It was universally felt that the loss of thousands of soldiers would not have equaled the loss of this one great genius.
336. Gettysburg. Lee paused briefly after this great combat and then pressed on toward the North. Late in June he

"FALL IN" FOR SOUP AT THE FRONT
From a war-time sketch crossed the Potomac. On the first of July, with seventy thousand men, he was not far from the little town of Gettysburg in Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile the Army of the Potomac, under a new commander, General Meade, was hurrying to meet Lee. At Gettysburg, July 1 , parts of the armies came in contact and a battle began. During the next day it continued. Both Lee and Meade kept hurrying up more men, and neither could yet say which way the battle inclined. Both sides fought desperately. They felt that the very turning point of the war had come.

On the third day at Gettysburg the center of the Union army lay along Cemetery Ridge, a piece of high ground shaped like a fishhook and extending from Culp's Hill on the north to another hill, called Little Round Top, on the south. Both at Culp's Hill and Little Round Top, the day before, there had been furious fighting without decisive results. Now Lee decided to make a terrific attack on the center of the Union line, where the troops of General Hancock held a low stone wall on the edge of a field. Select forces led by General Pickett were sent against Hancock.


LEE AND JACKSON

Fifteen thousand Confederates moved out in long, even lines and started upon their terrible undertaking. They had to cross open ground a mile in width. As they advanced the Union cannon fire tore huge gaps in their lines, but they did not waver; on they went, to the very mouths of the cannon! General Armistead, with his cap on the point of his sword, leaped upon the Union intrenchments, crying, "Boys, give them the cold steel." That moment he fell dead. At the stone wall occurred a furious hand-to-hand struggle in which men used their guns as clubs and fought like tigers. While this went on, Hancock, lying wounded on the ground, directed the movements of other Union troops he was keeping in reserve. They now converged from many directions and hurled themselves against the Confederates. For a brief space Pickett's men held their ground ; then they were swept backward, and the day was lost for the South.

## VI. WHAT WAS DONE BY WOMEN TO SUPPORT THE WAR

337. Soldiers only One Part of the Modern Army. The great novelist Thackeray says that war "takes the blood of the men and the tears of the women." He means that while the men suffer bodily, the women suffer in spirit, and their courage in bearing sorrow is as great as that of the men in bearing pain. But in modern war the women do more than this ; they do a large part of the actual work. This is necessary because the armies are so enormous. ${ }^{1}$ So many men
[^100]
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have to leave their ordinary occupations that the country could not go on with its daily life if the women did not, to a large extent, take up the work that the men must break off.
338. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions. In the North women did a large part of the work necessary to maintain

(C) The Century Co. A WAR BALLOON OF 1864
From "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," by Johnson what was known as the Sanitary Commission. It was an association formed to aid the government in taking care of sick and wounded soldiers. It employed surgeons and nurses, it established hospitals, and it looked after convalescent soldiers who were allowed to come home for a time to regain their strength. In many ways it corresponded to the Red Cross of today.

Another important association, the Christian Commission, also owed much of its success to women. Its purpose was to aid the government by keeping up the spirit of the soldiers and especially by looking after their religious needs. It enrolled many clergymen and sent them to the front to hold services among the fighting men and to give Christian consolation to the dying.

In collecting funds for these associations the women of the North were both zealous and successful. Such women as Mrs. Mary Livermore were tireless in their unremitting labor-collecting supplies and money and enrolling workers. They taught our country what an immense part may be done by these voluntary associations in aid of the government
into the army. In some cases the draft met with fierce opposition. In New York there were famous draft riots which were put down by Union troops just after Gettysburg.
during a war. It is impossible to estimate how much the government was able to save in actual expense because of the work of these capable women. What they did in the way of keeping up enthusiasm for the cause is still more completely beyond our power to estimate.
339. The Southern Women; Hardships during the Confederacy. In the South the women were equally powerful in keeping up the spirit of the men. This was especially true in the latter part of the war, when the Northern armies became so much more numerous than the Confederate, and the chance of eventual success for the Confederacy became each day discouragingly smaller. If in those dark days the women of the South had lost heart and had begged their husbands and brothers to give up the fight, the men would not have had the courage to go on. But the women never wavered; they kept up their fearless encouragement of the men to the very last hour. Meanwhile they bore great hardships. Long before the end of the war the Southern women were turning over to the army everything they had which could in any way be used. Their silk dresses were made into flags; their woolen dresses and shawls were cut up and made into shirts for the soldiers; their napkins, tablecloths, and linen sheets were torn into strips for bandages. From the carpets off the floors army blankets were made.

One of the most striking features of the time was the faithfulness of the negroes on the plantations. For the most part they stayed quietly at work under the direction of the white women. Many attended their masters to the front as servants. Nowhere did they attempt a slave insurrection.
340. The Food Supply. The women managed the plantations while the men were at the front. It was owing to the women and slaves whom they directed that the Confederate armies were fed, but even then the Confederate food supply was sadly inadequate. Very soon all imported foods such as coffee and tea gave out. This was due to the blockade.

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As substitutes for coffee the South used parched corn and parched rye. Tea was made from dried raspberry leaves. Parched peanuts were ground and used in place of chocolate. But the hardest thing to get was salt. At times it could not be had at any price. A bargain is recorded in which thirty


CONFEDERATE BATTLE LINE AT CHICKAMAUGA
cups of salt were exchanged for thirty cords of wood. ${ }^{1}$ "In every emergency," wrote a Confederate lady afterwards, "there was one unfailing resource-if we could not find a substitute for any article, we could do without it; and this we did, with a fortitude born of the times."

## VII. HOW THE WAR WAS BROUGHT TO AN END

341. Midsummer, 1863 ; the European Powers decide not to Intervene. Lee's terrible disaster at Gettysburg, July 3, 1863 (section 336), put an end to the hopes of the Southerners for aid from Europe. The party of John Bright (section 331) was able to dictate the policy of Palmerston,

[^101]who definitely refused to agree to the plans of Napoleon III (section 332). Without English assistance Napoleon did not dare to intervene further in America. Shut off from Europe and greatly weakened both in men and supplies, the Confederacy fought on with all the odds against it.
342. Chickamauga, Chattanooga, and the Wilderness. The chief events of the latter part of 1863 took place in the West. Bragg of the Southern army defeated Rosecrans in the terrible battle of Chickamauga (September 19-20), only to be defeated himself two months


FORT BRADY
A type of harbor defense of 1864 later by Grant in the three days' battle of Chattanooga.

Grant was now made general in chief of all the Union armies (March, 1864). Leaving General William T. Sherman to command the West, he joined the Army of the Potomac and prepared for a final struggle with Lee. At the same time he directed Sherman to invade Georgia. Together they were to shut Lee betwen their two armies as between the jaws of a pair of pincers.

In May, i864, Lee's army lay intrenched in the neighborhood of Fredericksburg, on the south side of the Rapidan River, in a region of woods and thick undergrowth known as the Wilderness. On May 4, 1864, Grant crossed the Rapidan with one hundred and twenty thousand men. Just before doing so he sat down on a fallen log and wrote out a telegram instructing Sherman to start from Chattanooga on his march into Georgia. The watchword of Grant's men was
"On to Richmond!" That was also their leader's purpose. Throughout the month of May, Grant strove to "hammer" his way through Lee's army. His losses were appalling. In the thickets of the Wilderness both Union and Confederate soldiers threw away their lives in complete forgetfulness of everything but what each man held to be his duty.

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RAID UPON A BAGGAGE TRAIN BY STUART'S CAVALRY
From "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," by Johnson. From a war-time sketch

All the while the two armies were gradually moving southeastward. ${ }^{1}$ The bloodiest fighting took place at Spottsylvania Court House and at Cold Harbor. At the latter place Grant was within six miles of Richmond. He ordered a general attack all along his line, only to be driven back with frightful slaughter. ${ }^{2}$

[^102]343. Grant changes his Plan; the Siege of Petersburg. After the repulse at Cold Harbor, Grant suddenly changed his plan. He made a wide detour to the east, crossed the James River, and came up against Richmond from the south. But in order to reach Richmond from this side he had to pass through Petersburg. Lee, who had hurried straight south, ${ }^{1}$ was there before him. Grant then began the famous siege of Petersburg, which lasted nearly a year. Time and again the Union forces attacked the defenses of the city with reckless courage ; time after time they were stubbornly driven back. ${ }^{2}$
344. Sherman in Georgia; Mobile Bay; the March to the Sea. Meanwhile Sherman invaded Georgia. General Joseph


WILLIAM T. SHERMAN E. Johnston (section 327 ) delayed him in the hard-fought battle of Kenesaw Mountain, but had not sufficient force to stop his advance. Soon afterwards President Davis removed

[^103]General Johnston and appointed in his place General John B. Hood. Sherman defeated Hood in the great struggle for Atlanta (July-August, 1864) and captured the city. An attempt of Hood's to cut Sherman off from his base (section 342 ) in Tennessee was foiled by General George H. Thomas


ADMIRAL FARRAGUT ATTACKING THE FORTS IN MOBILE HARBOR
in the battle of Nashville (December 15-16, 1864). Meanwhile the last Confederate fleet was destroyed by Farragut in Mobile Bay (August 5, 1864) and the blockade (section 316) was made complete.

Sherman had determined to march through the heart of the South, destroying the supplies which were to be sent to Lee. As a first step he burned all the foundries, mills, and machine shops of Atlanta; then he cut the telegraph wires, and with sixty thousand men started eastward (November 15, 1864). Five weeks later he appeared before Savannah. Behind him the crops and the plantation houses had been burned and the railroads destroyed, so that all connection
between Lee and the far South was at an end. The track of his army was a path of fire and smoke sixty miles wide. The army of Lee now faced the possibility of starvation.

At the same time Grant, bringing up more men and still more men, pressed the siege of Petersburg regardless of loss of life. Lee's army shrank to less than thirty thousand men. Grant now ordered Sherman to come up across the Carolinas and join in the effort to surround Lee. Sherman carried out these instructions. ${ }^{1}$ By the first of April, 1865 , Lee saw that it was impossible to defend Richmond any longer. He withdrew his army toward the west. ${ }^{2}$
345. Lee Surrenders. Grant closely followed Lee, and a week later, at Appomattox Court House, the Army of northern Virginia surrendered. The meeting of the generals to arrange the surrender is best described in the words of the victor:

What General Lee's feelings were, I do not know, for he was a man of great dignity, with an impassible face. . . . They were entirely concealed from my observation. . . . My own feelings were sad and depressed. I felt like anything rather than rejoicing at the downfall of the foe who had fought so long and so valiantly and had suffered so much. . . . We fell into conversation about old army times [p. 298, note]. . . . After our conversation had run on for some time in this style, General Lee called my attention to the object of our meeting-the terms I proposed to give his army. I said that I meant merely that his army should lay down their arms and not take them up again during the continuance of the war, unless duly and properly exchanged.

[^104]Grant further allowed all soldiers to retain their horses because, said he, "they would need them in the spring plowing." The officers were allowed to keep their swords. ${ }^{1}$

When the Union soldiers began firing a salute, Grant ordered it stopped. In his own words, "The Confederates


PHILIP H. SHERIDAN were now our prisoners, and we did not want to exult over their downfall." The surrendered army numbered $26,765 \mathrm{men}$. They had nothing to eat but parched corn. Grant at once supplied them with food.

Five days later-April 14, 1865-Major Anderson (section 307) hoisted over Fort Sumter ${ }^{2}$ the same flag which he had hauled down four years before. Shortly afterwards the Confederate forces in North Carolina surrendered to Sherman.
346. The End of the War. While this eastern war was fought out, a small but important supplementary struggle went on west of the Misssissippi. The Federal government wished to get control of Texas, partly to prevent the men of Texas from making their way eastward to join the main Confederate armies, partly because there were in the southwest large quantities of food and of cotton which both armies hoped to secure. The Texan coast was closely blockaded. Earlier in the war the blockading fleet had possession of Galveston for a brief space (1862), but it was driven off by General Magruder, who recovered the city for the

[^105]Confederates (January, 1863). A later naval attack failed. During the latter part of the war the defense of Texas was in the hands of General Kirby Smith, whose forces occupied the Red River valley. A movement against him by General Banks ended in a Federal defeat at Mansfield (April, 1864). A counterstroke was attempted by General Price, who made a raid northward through Arkansas into Missouri and threatened St. Louis (autumn, i864), but was forced to retreat. The western Confederates kept the field even after the great surrenders in the East. The last engagement of the war was fought at Palmito, Texas, May 13, 1865. General Smith brought the war to an end by surrendering his command on May 26, 1865 . The war had cost the lives of seven hundred thousand men.

## SUMMARY

The secession of South Carolina, following Lincoln's election, was followed quickly by the secession of Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. These states formed the Southern Confederacy (February, 186r). The surrender of Southern forts held by Federal troops was demanded and refused. When Lincoln announced that he would continue to hold these forts President Davis replied by ordering a bombardment of Fort Sumter. It was surrendered (April) to the Confederates, and Lincoln at once called for volunteers. This led to the secession of four states-Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas - which promptly joined the Confederacy.

The earliest fighting consisted of scattered contests of hastily armed forces in the border states. The one large action of this period of the war was the defeat, in the battle of Manassas, or Bull Run, of a Federal army protecting Washington.

Both sides now perceived that they were unprepared for real war. Nearly a year passed while they labored to equip their armies largely through purchase in Europe. The crucial importance of the Northern fleet now became apparent. It blockaded the Southern ports and largely prevented both the import of munitions of war and the export of cotton.

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On land the war had always two parts-eastern and western. In the west, from early in 1862 to the middle of 1863 , the war was a struggle for the Mississippi, with Vicksburg as the central point. The Federals attacked from both ends. Vicksburg surrendered July 4, 1863.

During this same period in the east the struggle was for the Confederate capital, Richmond. The Army of the Potomac, commanded by General McClellan, advanced (April, 1862) from the coast almost to Richmond. General Robert E. Lee and General Stonewall Jackson drove McClellan to his ships (June-July, 1862). Lee then defeated Pope in the second battle of Manassas (August, 1862) and fought the terrible drawn battle of Antietam, or Sharpsburg (September, 1862). He won a victory at Fredericksburg (December, 1862), followed by the victory of Chancellorsville (May 2-4, 1863), but suffered a defeat at Gettysburg (July 1-3, 1863).

Meanwhile Lincoln had decided to make abolition an issue of the war, though at first he had refused to recognize any issue but secession. He issued the Emancipation Proclamation (January, 1863).

In the autumn of 1862 the Confederates, led by Bragg, defeated General Rosecrans in the bloody battle of Chickamauga (September, 1863). Two months later Bragg lost all he had gained when Grant defeated him at Chattanooga (November, 1863 ). From this time forward the struggle was practically two distinct wars:
r. Between the Atlantic and the Mississippi the eastern and western Federal armies planned to converge gradually upon Lee. The plan was carried out by Grant in the east and by Sherman in the west. At Appomattox Court House Lee surrendered his army, April 9, 1865. The Confederate forces in North Carolina surrendered to Sherman on April 26.
2. West of the Mississippi a Federal attempt to overrun Arkansas and penetrate Texas (1864) was foiled in the battle of Mansfield (April, 1864). General Price led a Confederate force unsuccessfully against St. Louis (autumn, 1864). General Kirby Smith continued the defense of northern Texas until the war closed with his surrender on May 20, 1865.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Adams, Charles Francis Adams; Andrews, Women of the South in War Time; Bassett, United States, chaps. xxiv-xxvii; *Bradford, Lee, the American; Brigham, Geographic Influences, chap. vii ; *Charnwood, Abraham Lincoln; Davis, Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government; *Dewey, Financial History, chaps. x, xii; Fess, Political Theory, chap. xvi ; *Grant, Memoirs; Harding, Select Orations, 370-381, 392-413, 417-420; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, chaps. xi-xviii, xx-xxii; *Henderson, Life of Stonewall Jackson; Hosmer, The Appeal to Arms; Johnson, Readings, 454-505; Morse, Abraham Lincoln; Muzzey, Readings, 388-452; Nicolay, Abraham Lincoln; Paxson, The Civil War; Rhodes, History, III, chaps. xivxvi; IV, chaps. xvii-xxiii ; V, chaps. xxiv-xxix; Ropes, The Story of the Civil War; Stephens, The War between the States; Stephenson, Abraham Linioln and the Union (Chronicles of America) (chaps. v-xiv), The Day of the Confederacy (Chronicles of America), and Lincoln (in Cambridge History of American Literature, III); Wilson, Division and Reunion (208-252) and History of the American People (IV, 210-286); Wrong, Captains of the Civil War (Chronicles of America).

For the Pupil: Barstow, The Civil War (Century Readings); Elson, Sidelights, chaps. i-vi ; Faris, Makers of Our History (chaps. xvi, xviii, xxii) and Great Epochs in American History (VIII); Gordy, Abraham Lincoln, chaps. ii-xiv; Griffis, The Romance of Conquest, chaps. xxii, xxiii ; Hart, Romance of the Civil War, 277-282, 312-318, 342-368; Нıтснсоск, Decisive Battles of America, chaps. xvi-xx; Johnston, Leading American Soldiers, 137-362; Lane and Hill, American History in Literature, 146-157; Moores, Life of Abraham Lincoln; Page, Treo Little Confederates; Roosevelt and Lodge, Hero Tales from American History; Sherman, Some Successful Americans; Wilson, Division and Reunion, 213-252.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

(See introduction to questions on the Revolutionary War. For the teacher's convenience the following questions are arranged in groups.)
r. How did geographical conditions compel the Federal armies to conduct two invasions of the South - one in the east, another in the west? 2. What pathways did the Federals find west of the mountains? 3. Describe Grant's advance up the Tennessee River to Shiloh. (See Chronicles of America or any history of the war.)
4. Meanwhile, what other attempt was there to get control of the Mississippi? 5. After taking New Orleans why did not Farragut go
up the river to Memphis? [6. A series of Confederate operations in central Tennessee and Kentucky were designed to create a situation that would compel Grant to draw off from the Mississippi and move inland. Who conducted these operations (section 325)? Trace on the map about how he must have moved during 1862, and mark two important battlefields (section 325). What Federal general opposed him?] [7. The defense of Vicksburg involved a number of separate operations. General W. T. Sherman here made his name on the Federal side. General Stephen Lee became the hero of the Confederates. Either would form a thrilling subject for an essay. (See Ropes, Story of the Civil War; Wrong, Battle and Leaders of the Civil War and Confederate Military History.)] 8. How was Vicksburg taken?
9. While these great struggles were taking place in the west, what were the Federal armies in the east trying to accomplish? [10. Compare McClellan's use of the sea with Howe's use of the sea in the Revolutionary War (sections 157, 162, 327).] II. Who drove McClellan back from Richmond? How? 12. What was the purpose of Lee's rush across Virginia to Manassas? I3. Describe the battle of Sharpsburg on Antietam Creek. 14. What great battle took place in Virginia during the next eight months? 15. Describe the battle of Gettysburg.
16. What were the purposes of the blockade? (Two answers) 17. Why did Lincoln want to prevent cotton from going abroad? 18. Why did the South have to send to Europe for munitions of war? [Ig. What was the meaning of "Cotton is king"? (Here the teacher can bring in the great importance of trade in diplomacy. A foundation can be laid for understanding later the quarrels of the world over markets and the relation of these quarrels to the World War.)] 20. Explain the importance of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. [2I. Tell the story of Napoleon's interventron in Mexico. (See Stephenson, Abraham Lincoln and the Union (chap. vii) and The Day of the Confederacy (chap. viii).)]
22. What was the plan of the war between the Mississippi and the Atlantic in 1864 and 1865 ? [23. How did this pincerlike plan resemble a plan of the royal generals in the Revolutionary War (sections 172, 174) ?] 24. What terrible series of battles was fought between Grant and Lee? 25. Meanwhile, what did Sherman do? 26. What, as the result of these two Federal advances, was Lee's situation early in 1865 ? 27. Where was he at last surrounded? Who surrendered to Sherman?
28. Turn now to the war beyond the Mississippi. Why was it important for both sides to secure Texas? 29. Who defended Galveston? 30. What victory of Kirby Smith's prevented the invasion of Texas? 3I. What surrender brought the war to an end? Where?


BUILDING THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD IN ALASKA

## CHAPTER XX

## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNION

347. Second Election of Lincoln; his Plan for the South. While Sherman was in Atlanta (section 344) and Grant was besieging Petersburg (section 343), Lincoln was reelected. All through that dreadful last winter of the war he was planning what to do for both North and South the moment the fighting ceased. His spirit was shown in his second inaugural address, which contained words that have long been famous:

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive 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 with ourselves and with all nations.

What Lincoln had in mind to do for the South was revealed by a talk he had with his cabinet shortly after his second inauguration. He told them that he wished to have Congress
appropriate four hundred million dollars to be distributed among the Southern states to offset the loss of the slaves and enable the Southern people to start over. What other statesman has had such plans at the end of a victorious war!
348. The Assassination of Lincoln. But all Lincoln's generous plans were brought to naught by one half-insane


ANDREW JOHNSON fanatic. On the night of April 14, 1865, while Lincoln was attending a performance in Ford's Theater, Washington, an actor, John Wilkes Booth, stole up behind him and shot him through the head. ${ }^{1}$ He died the next day.
349. President Andrew Johnson; Southern Governments; the Thirteenth Amendment. Lincoln was succeeded by the vice president, Andrew Johnson of Tennessee. Johnson's first duty was the formation of new governments in the Southern states. When the Union armies overran these states the governors and legislatures either fled from the capitals or were driven out by the soldiers. The question now was, What governments shall be organized to take the place of those that were there formerly? Johnson attempted to meet this question by issuing a proclamation permitting all but a few ${ }^{2}$ of those who had voted in 1860 to take part in forming new state governments on condition that they would take an oath faithfully to "support, protect, and defend the

[^106]Constitution and the Union." He also required a promise to support an amendment (the Thirteenth) to the Constitution abolishing slavery. ${ }^{1}$ These conditions were accepted throughout the South. Slavery was abolished, new state governments were set up, and senators and representatives were sent to Washington.

At the same time laws were passed by Southern legislatures providing for the control of the great numbers of now idle negroes, who generally believed that the United States intended to seize the plantations of the former masters and divide the land among the emancipated slaves, who were now called freedmen. Already they had received aid in many ways from the Freedman's Bureau, established by the Federal government to look after these "wards of the nation," as the abolitionists called the freedmen. Somehow a rumor had got started, and was eagerly believed by the freedmen, that very soon the Bureau would give every negro "forty acres and a mule." Therefore most of them refused to do any work. The new laws, which were spoken of as "black codes," were designed to force the negroes to go to work and also to prevent disorder among the unemployed.
350. Congress refuses to admit the New Representatives (I865) ; the Fourteenth Amendment (1866). The majority in Congress resented what the President had done. Furthermore, some extreme abolitionists wanted the new governments to give the right to vote to all the freedmen, while the more moderate abolitionists were honestly afraid that the freedmen would be ill used by the Southern state courts and legislatures. The new laws for the regulation of unemployed blacks were misrepresented by enemies of the South, and many Northerners were persuaded that they aimed at a restoration of slavery. Then, too, there were members of Congress who clamored for vengeance on

1 The Emancipation Proclamation did not apply to states that had not seceded. The Thirteenth Amendment applied everywhere. It went into effect on December 18, 1865.

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the whole South, partly because of the war, party because it was a Southern sympathizer who had murdered Lincoln. Congress refused to admit the senators and representatives of the "reconstructed" states. ${ }^{1}$ The angry protest of Johnson was disregarded.

Congress proceeded to draw up its own plan for reconstructing the Southern states. It proposed to admit senators and representatives from the South as soon as their respective states should ratify a new amendment to the Constitution, the Fourteenth, ${ }^{2}$ which provided (I) that negroes should be recognized as citizens (though this amendment did not give them the vote) ; (2) that all the Confederates who had ever held office under the United States should be disqualified from holding national or state offices unless pardoned by Congress; (3) that no state should pay the debt incurred while fighting for the Confederacy.
Tennessee at once accepted these terms, ratified the amendment, and was formally readmitted by Congress (i866). The other states refused, especially because the amendment required them to exclude all their leading citizens from holding office.
351. Congress reconstructs the States (1867). Congress then passed over the President's veto a Reconstruction Act. Under this act all the states of the former Confederacy excepting Tennessee (section 350) were subjected to military governors who were to make lists of voters. In these lists all negro men were to be included. The majority of whites, on one ground or another, were to be deprived of the vote. Conventions elected largely by negroes were to draw up new state constitutions.
352. The Impeachment of Johnson. While the work of President Johnson was thus being swept aside, there was

[^107]bitter wrangling between him and Congress. The majority in Congress believed that the President would try to prevent the carrying out of the Reconstruction Act, and now they decided to make a bold attempt to remove him from office. He was impeached. ${ }^{1}$ However, this trial of the President -the most noted in our history - ended in acquittal by a majority of one vote.
353. The New Southern Governments (1868); the Fifteenth Amendment (1869). Meanwhile, in the six states North and South Carolina, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Arkansas the military governors had reconstructed the governments in the way Congress had ordered. Senators and representatives from these states were received by Congress and allowed to take their seats (1868). The reconstruction of the four remaining states of the Confederacy-Georgia, Virginia, Mississippi, Texas-went on more slowly, but by 1870 they also had governments which were satisfactory to Congress.

In this way Congress had given the right to vote to all negroes in the reconstructed states. But it was still possible for a state government to take this right away if it chose. To make that impossible the Fifteenth Amendment was prepared by Congress (1869) and accepted by the states (1870). It forbade every state, North and South, to deny to negroes the right to vote.
354. New Conditions in the South. Life in the South was now utterly different from what it had been in the old days (section 13I). In most cases the ladies and gentlemen in their great plantation houses found themselves deserted by their former servants. There were, to be sure, a few exceptions. When General Clayton called together all the negroes on his plantation and told them they were no longer his

[^108]property but were all free, they replied, "Master, we want to stop right here with you." But many thousands of negroes were eager to wander about because now they were-as they put it-"free as birds." The owners of the plantations being now so often without any laborers frequently found it very difficult to maintain their families. There are remem-


PAYING OUT THE CABLE FROM THE Hold of the great Eastern bered many instances of Southern ladies sitting at their dinner tables, on which were rare china and beautiful silverware but scarcely any food. All the whites were heavily taxed by the reconstructed legislatures, which were composed very largely of former slaves. In each state a detachment of Federal troops upheld the power of the new government. The terrible consequences of all this will appear in Chapter XXII. 355. "An Indestructible Union of Indestructible States." While all these bitter contentions went on with regard to the reconstruction of the Union, people were asking: "But what about secession? Has that question been settled ?" During the progress of reconstruction the Supreme Court of the United States gave an answer. It made a formal declaration (1869) that the law of the land forbade a state to secede. In words that are now very famous it asserted that our country is "an indestructible union of indestructible states."
356. The Atlantic Cable. But we must not imagine that these unhappy events were the only things that took place during Johnson's administration. A company formed by Cyrus W. Field succeeded in connecting Europe and America
by a wire cable laid on the bottom of the Atlantic, for conveying telegraphic messages. Several million dollars were spent in the attempt. At first warships were used in the work; afterward the Great Eastern, the largest ship then existing. After long endeavor a cable that would last was constructed and laid along the ocean's bed (i866). Since then the happenings which occur in Europe during the forenoon are printed in the afternoon papers in America. ${ }^{1}$ 357. The Purchase of Alaska. In Johnson's time we bought Alaska from Russia for $\$ 7,000,000$. The Secretary of State, William H. Seward, who brought this about, was laughed at for doing so. People asked, "What do we want with a refrigerator of a country?" Since then gold has been discovered in Alaska, and the famous Klondike mines


AMERICAN OFFICERS AND SAILORS LaNDING THE ATLANTIC CABLE AT NEWFOUNDLAND have yielded gold sufficient to pay the purchase price of Alaska many times over. Its fur trade, fisheries, and other resources are also of great value.
358. The Monroe Doctrine and Napoleon III. One other event of Johnson's administration seems to us today the most significant of all. This concerned the presence in Mexico of the troops of the French emperor, Napoleon III. You will remember that Napoleon had taken advantage of the war to set up a "Mexican Empire" (section 332). Thus he defied the Monroe Doctrine (section 233).

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No sooner was war ended than the United States asserted the Monroe Doctrine. We demanded the recall of the French army from Mexico. This was the first time we had negotiated in a condition of preparedness. There were in the country at that moment more than a million veteran soldiers.

We had little trouble in getting from Napoleon a promise to withdraw his army from the American continent. Without the French army to protect him the emperor of Mexico was soon captured by the Mexicans and put to death.

## SUMMARY

Lincoln, in the spirit of his own words, "with malice toward none," planned to aid the South in its effort to recover from the war. His plans were cut short by his assassination. Andrew Johnson became president (April 15, 1865). He issued a proclamation of amnesty under which most of the former Confederates were permitted to take part in forming new governments for the Southern states. These new governments ratified the Thirteenth Amendment. Congress refused to admit the senators and representatives of the reorganized Southern states (December, 1865) until those states should ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Tennessee accepted these terms in 1866. The other Southern states refused to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment. Congress thereupon drew up (1867) a plan of reconstruction under which new governments were formed composed largely of adventurers and negroes; the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified by these governments, and their senators and representatives were admitted to Congress ( $1868-1870$ ). As President Johnson was violently opposed to the plans of Congress, his enemies made an unsuccessful attempt to impeach him (i868). Congress drew up the Fifteenth Amendment (1869); it was adopted by the states. About the same time the Supreme Court decided that a state could not be destroyed, that our country is "an indestructible union of indestructible states." Meanwhile Napoleon III was compelled to withdraw his French army from Mexico. A notable engineering feat of this period was the laying of the Atlantic cable.

## AIDS TO STUDY

Note. For the period between 1865 and IgI 4 the material available to the teacher has been richly increased in the past few years. On the other hand, material for the pupil remains scanty and ill-prepared except in connection with mechanical progress. The teacher will find it increasingly necessary to guide the pupil discreetly through those readings in the teacher's list that are of a popular character, such as the Chronicles of America.

For the Teacher: Andrews, The United States in Our Own Time, chaps. i-vi; *Bassett, United States, chap. xxviii; Dunning, Reconstruction, Political and Economic, chaps. i-iii ; Fess, Political Theory, chaps. xvii, xix; *Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox (Chronicles of America) and Documentary History of Reconstruction, I; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, chaps. xxiii-xxiv; Muzzey, Readings, 453-479; *Oberholzer, United States since 1865, I; Paxson, The New Nation, 39-50; Rhodes, United States, V, chap. xxx ; VI, chaps. xxxi, xxxii ; Taylor, Destruction and Reconstruction.
For the Pupil: Elson, Sidelights, chaps. vii, viii, x; Faris, Makers (chap. xx) and Great Epochs in American History (3-69, I 88-195); Sparks, Men who made the Nation, chap. xii; Wilson, Division and Reunion, 254-287; Wright, American Progress, chap. xviii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. How did Lincoln show his liberal attitude toward the South? 2. How did President Johnson plan to reconstruct the state governments in the South ? 3. What amendment was now passed and what did it provide? [4. Describe the labor situation in a Southern state in 1865 and explain how the state legislature tried to deal with it. (See Bassett, United States, 601-603; Dunning, Reconstruction (American Nation Series) ; Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox; Oberholzer, United States since 1865, I; Paxson, The New Nation, 39-43; Rhodes, History, V, chap. xxx.)] 5. Why did Congress refuse to admit representatives from the South? 6. What did Congress decide upon as the terms of reconstruction?
7. What state accepted these terms? 8. Under the Reconstruction Act what was done with the governments of the other Southern states? 9. After the abolition of the Southern state governments how for a time were the states ruled? 10 . Whom did the military governors permit to vote? II. Why was President Johnson impeached? [I2. Describe the constitutional convention held by a military governor in a Southern state (see Fleming and Oberholzer).] I3. What was the Fifteenth Amendment? 14. How did the Supreme Court describe our Union?


AN INDIAN ATTACK ON A STAGECOACH

## SIXTH DIVISION. HOW THE AMERICANS became A UNITED NATION

## CHAPTER XXI

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE WEST

359. The Advance of the Frontier. We have seen that our countrymen in the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century distinguished themselves by overcoming political obstacles and establishing an extensive democracy (section 265). In the nineteenth century we made this democracy a great power in the world. We did so partly through our inventive genius (Chapter XVII), partly through our success in taking possession of all our vast domain and adapting to our use its vast natural resources. Few things are more stirring than the westward march of the American people through the forests, across the prairies, over the snow-capped Rockies, to the sunset ocean. In a hundred years, between 1790 and 1890 , the frontier line moved across the continent and disappeared. In 1890 the census bureau
reported that the country was no longer divided into two portions - the occupied and the unoccupied. The American people had taken possession of their whole country.

The most noteworthy feature of this westward march is the fact that it was mainly a movement of individuals. It was not the action of a government deliberately planting colonies. What happened in 1790 was repeated every time the frontier was pushed a little farther to the west. Resourceful men and women gathered their belongings and set out with their families to seek their fortunes. They built towns or they settled farming regions. After a while they grew restless, or their children did, or newcomers came from the East and the community became fairly populous. And then in a man and a woman here and there a longing awakened to be off again into the wild country seeking better fortunes. Before long another family had taken the road toward the sunset - a man, a woman, their children, in a huge, covered wagon, facing westward, fearless, independent, ready to take whatever came to them and not whimper. That was the spirit in which Americans slowly, without any set plan, pushed the frontier across the continent.
360. How Railroads followed Population. Almost as soon as settlers began making their way to California there was talk of a transcontinental railroad, but for a long time nothing was done. The mails from California were carried by pony express; that is, by men on horseback, whose route extended from Sacramento through Salt Lake City to St. Joseph, Missouri. Presently a telegraph line was put up along the course of the pony express (1861), and then a wagon road was opened and stagecoaches traveled over it as on the Eastern roads in colonial days. (section 128). But travel over this road was very dangerous. There were still many tribes of Indians roaming through the West; often the stagecoaches were attacked and all their passengers killed. At last Congress offered to give an immense quantity of land
to any company that would agree to build a railroad across the continent ( I 862 ). The state of California also offered assistance. Two companies were formed: the Union Pacific built westward from Omaha ; the Central Pacific built eastward from San Francisco Bay. They aimed to meet in Utah.

## ULYSSES S. GRANT, EIGHTEENTH PRESIDENT

361. Grant elected President; the Transcontinental Railway. As the Western railways were approaching completion General Grant was elected president. Shortly after his inauguration the railways met at Ogden, in Utah (May io, 1869). The last spike of the last rail connecting the two roads was made of gold. It was the gift of California and was driven by the governor of the state. Thus our first transcontinental railway was complete. It was then the most remarkable railway in the world. Between Omaha and San Francisco it crossed nine great mountain ranges. In so doing it climbed gradually to a height of eight thousand feet above the level of the sea ; thence it slowly twisted downward, among peaks so lofty that the snow on their summits has never melted, down through the greatest forests on the continent, to the shore of the ocean.
362. The Land given to the Railroads; Population increased by the Railroads. This great road was followed by others, all of which received aid from Congress. ${ }^{1}$ The land given to these roads had an area, altogether, that was about five times as large as Pennsylvania. The first road alone received more land than is contained in the whole state of New York.

And now began a new era in the history of the westward movement. In order to make money out of the West the railroads wished to see it peopled quickly. They had two

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MAKING CAMP FOR THE NIGHT
A caravan of emigrants crossing the Great Plains on their way to the West. From a pen-etching by Sears Gallagher
arguments for persuading Easterners and Southerners to go West: (i) the great number of soldiers who had been away from their homes for four years found when they came home again that it was not always easy to get work; (2) in the South so many plantations had been wrecked and so many people who had once been wealthy were now poor that there was a general willingness to go out to the new lands and


DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE IN THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD
start over. The agents of the railways assured the people of the East and of the South that the roads would not only give them lands for very little but that in all sorts of ways they would help them to develop the lands and get a new start in life. So it happened that just after the war many veterans of the great struggle moved to the West with their families and either became farmers on the lands of the railroads or helped to build the towns that everywhere sprang up along the line of rails.

The railroad companies also made arrangements with steamship companies, so that immigrants newly arrived from Europe were induced to go directly West. The United States government had previously assisted in the settling of the West by passing the Homestead Act (1862), which

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provided that every settler who would become a farmer might have one hundred and sixty acres of land for nothing. This law was the cause of the popular song with the chorus "Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm."
363. The New Life of the West. The rapid movement of population to the West transformed that whole region. Towns


AN INDIAN CHIEF sprang up, it was said, overnight ; forests disappeared as if by magic. Where but a few years before were open prairies and roaming Indians, immense wheat farms became in a few years very profitable investments.
364. The Danger of the New West ; the Indian Wars. The question, of course, arose, What will the Indians do? For three hundred years the white men had slowly been driving the Indians back. Would the two races now fight their last great war? President Grant tried to prevent this by keeping the Indians on tracts of land called reservations, which had been set apart for their use. But this did not please them; they wished to be free, as of old, to roam the plains at will. Quarrels between whites and Indians led to a number of savage wars. The most serious was fought with the powerful tribe of the Sioux, led by their famous chief, Sitting Bull. In this war occurred one of the fiercest battles in the whole history of Indian fighting,-the battle of the Little Bighorn River in southern Montana. General Custer with a force of cavalry was surrounded by the Indians, and the whole

INDIANS SKIRMISHING IN THE FIGHT AGAINST CUSTER
command was massacred (1876). By degrees, however, the Indians were subdued and the West was freed from its dread of Indian outbreak. ${ }^{1}$
365. New Commerce: the Way to Asia; Power of the Railroads. The transcontinental railroads opened a new way to Asia. Before that time tea, silks, spices, and many other


AN INDIAN PUEBLO
Throughout the Southwest there were many Indian villages like this
articles came to Eastern seaports after a long voyage round Cape Horn (section 283). Often the voyage took five or six months. Today, by using the railroads across the country; tea can come from China through Seattle or San Francisco to New York in about a month. ${ }^{2}$ Of course this overland trade with Asia gave the railroads a great deal to do, and the money paid for carrying this freight helped to make them rich.

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The railroads, grown rich and powerful, began saying to the settlers and to the towns along their lines, "You must do what we wish you to do or we won't haul your products to market." As all the Western farmers had to send a large part of their products to the East for sale, the railroads had them at their mercy.
366. The Rise of Great Corporations. These powerful railroads were corporations; that is, associations of business men who all contributed money to carry on the business, chose officers to conduct it for them, and received from the government a charter giving them various privileges. About the same time that the railroads became so powerful, corporations were formed to carry on other sorts of business. The most celebrated of these was the Standard Oil Company, founded by John D. Rockefeller. This company aimed to get control of the whole oil business of the United States. ${ }^{1}$

Other corporations quickly imitated the Standard Oil Company, each aiming to get control of some one line of business. They were popularly called trusts. ${ }^{2}$ These trusts made arrangements with the railroads by which the two groups of corporations helped each other to make money. A trust would agree to give a great quantity of business to a railroad, and the road would agree to haul the freight sent over its roads by the trust at a lower rate than it would charge to a competitor who was trying to do business in a small way against the wishes of the trust. ${ }^{3}$
367. The New Questions brought about through the Rise of the Corporations. As the great corporations increased in wealth and power the workpeople began to fear their dictation. Workmen had already begun to demand shorter

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hours of labor. The United States government had long before made ten hours of work a legal day's labor for all its employees. Workmen in other lines of business protested against being required to work longer in the course of a day than government workers did. Some even began demanding still less work-only eight hours every day. Of course all these reductions in the time of the working day compelled the corporations to employ more men and cost them more money. The employers all tended to act together to prevent the shortening of the day's work, and the workmen began associating together to oppose the employers. The first successful association for this purpose was the Knights of Labor (1869). It was followed by others. Before long, in almost every trade, the workmen had organized a union-a society which in many cases fixed the number of hours its members should work each day and the price they should demand. Between these two sets of organizations - the corporations, on the one hand, and the labor societies, on the other-there were bitter disputes.
368. Colorado Admitted ; Philadelphia Exposition. In the hundredth year of our independence the Centennial state, Colorado, was admitted to the Union. The hundredth anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was celebrated by a great international exposition held at Philadelphia. Buildings which covered about seventy-five acres contained a wonderful display of the wealth and resources of the United States. But the most remarkable part of the display consisted of machinery. The thousands of new machines exhibited at Philadelphia showed that the old days, when most of the labor of men was handwork, were gone forever. The Age of Machinery had begun.

## SUMMARY

Our great achievement in the nineteenth century is the utilization of our own enormous country. A large part of this achievement was the development of the West. In 1869 the first railway across the continent was completed. These great corporations, owning enormous tracts of the most desirable Western land, changed the conditions of Western life. They attracted settlers. New towns, naturally, were formed around railroad stations. The favoritism shown by the railroads led Congress to intervene by legislation aimed to reduce their influence. Meanwhile, another sort of powerful business corporation had become a feature in American life. Various trusts aimed to monopolize entire industries. These, also, Congress has tried to control but not with much success. The growth of corporations-railroads, trusts, other great commercial organizations-alarmed the workingmen, who began organizing labor societies to offset these powerful money societies. During the ten years following the War of Secession several Indian wars were necessary to protect the new settlements in the West. The rapid occupation of the West was indicated by the admission of Colorado in 1876. The same year the Centennial Exposition was held in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of our independence.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, United States, chap. xi ; Bassett, United States, chaps. xxxii, xxxv; *BECKER, United States, chap. vi ; BoGART, Economic History, chaps. xxv, xxix, xxxii ; *Brigham, Geographic Influences, chaps. viii, ix ; CALLENDER, Economic History of the United States, chap. xiv; Dewey, National Problems, chaps. iii, xii, xviii ; Hendrick, The Age of Big Business (Chronicles of America); Macdonald, Source Book, 58 I-590; Moody, The Railroad Builders (Chronicles of America); Muzzey, Readings, 481-493; *Paxson, The New Nation, chaps. ii, ix, x, xviii; Sparks, National Development, chaps. iv, v, xiv, xv.

For the Pupil: Barstow, The Westward Movement, chap. xxii; Faris, Real Stories from Our History, chaps. xxviii-xxx, xli; Guitteau, Preparing for Citizenship, chap. xviii; Hitchcock, The Louisiana Pur: chase, chap. xxiv; Lomax, Cowboy Songs and other Frontier Ballads; Paxson, The Last American Frontier, chaps. xiii, xxii; Talbot, My People of the Plains.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. What was the great achievement of the Americans in the nineteenth century? 2. We made our democracy a great power in the world through our success in two lines of endeavor. What were they? [3. Describe the westward march of the American people. (See Dodd, Expansion and Confict, chap. vii; Brigham, Geographic Influences, chaps. viii-xi ; Bruce, Romance of American Expansion; Faris, Real Stories, chap. v; Garrison, Westward Extension; chaps. i-xvi ; Paxson, The New Nation, chaps. ii, vi, ix.)] [4. Draw on a map the approximate frontier of settlement in 1800, 1825, and 1850, using the same references as in problem 3.]
[5. Describe an early journey across the continent; for example, the Donner party or Whitman's party or a company of Forty-niners. (Use the same references as in problem 3; also Bourke, On the Border with Crook; Parkman, The Oregon Trail; Skinner, Adventurers of Oregon; White, The Forty-Niners.)] [6. Write a brief account of the building of the Union Pacific Railroad. (See Barstow, Progress of a United People, 135-140; Bassett, United States, 680-683; Moody, The Railway Builders, chap. viii; Paxson, The New Nation, 20-26; Last American Frontier, chap. xiii.)]
[7. Review the history of the public lands down to the passing of the Homestead Act (see sections 185, 186, 289, 362; also Becker, The United States, chap vi).] 8. How was the West changed by the rapid immigration that followed the building of the railroads? [9. What was the condition of our Pacific commerce and how was it affected by the railroads (see sections 283, 365) ?] 10. How did the railroads attempt to control the settlers along their lines? Ir. As the railroads grew in power other great corporations arose. Explain what you mean by "corporation." What did the Standard Oil Company try to do? 12. What have trusts done that has made them unpopular? 13. How do workingmen feel toward trusts? Why? 14. Explain what you mean by a union? 15. What was demonstrated by the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 ?


PALACE OF THE LIBERAL ARTS, COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, CHICAGO, 1893

## CHAPTER XXII

## INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AND MONEY PROBLEMS

## RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, NINETEENTH PRESIDENT

369. The Contested Election of 1876 . . President Grant served two terms. The Republican candidate for president in 1876 was Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio; the Democratic candidate, Samuel J. Tilden of New York. The election was very close. Feeling was intense, and owing to inaccuracies in the records of the voting in several states both parties claimed the election. To settle the matter an electoral commission was appointed by Congress; it consisted of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the $\mathrm{Su}-$ preme Court. Eight members of the commission were Republicans; seven were Democrats. The commission decided only two days before the inauguration, by a party vote of eight to seven, that Hayes had been elected.
370. The Southern Problem. The most urgent problem confronting the new president was the condition of the

South. Those reconstructed state governments set up by Congress (section 351) had legislatures composed almost wholly of negroes, and these men, unaccustomed to act without orders, were easily led by unprincipled whites, who professed to be their friends. The latter were either "carpetbaggers" from the North-so called because they had no property except what might be carried in an old-fashioned valise called a carpetbag-or Southerners of low character known as "scalawags." Under the direction of these vicious leaders black legislatures taxed the whites so heavily that often plantations had to be sold to pay the taxes. The money thus raised was expended in whatever way the carpetbaggers and the scalawags directed. In one year the carpetbagger legislature of South Carolina spent $\$ 350,000$ for liquor and cigars. In an attempt to break the rule of the carpetbaggers the Southerners organized a great secret society called the Ku-Klux Klan. The carpetbaggers and scalawags then organized their black followers in secret societies, of which the most important was the Union League. Between the two organizations there was for a time virtual civil war. For several years the carpetbaggers were able to secure aid from the national government because they led the North to believe that the Southerners were still at heart aiming at secession. National troops were sent to the aid of the carpetbagger governors, but at length President Grant refused to continue the practice and told the governor of Louisiana (a carpetbagger) that if he could not stay in office without the aid of soldiers he must shift for himself.
371. The Act of Amnesty; President Hayes and the South. About the same time a number of Northern Republicans, headed by Charles Francis Adams (section 331) and Carl Schurz (section 288, note), secured the passage through Congress of the Act of Amnesty (pardon), which gave back the right to vote to all but a very few Confederates. Soon after, in South Carolina, General Wade Hampton organized what

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was virtually an army to oppose the carpetbagger governor of that state. It seemed as if actual civil war would soon break out in South Carolina.

Just then President Hayes came into office. He was in sympathy with the men who had passed the Act of Amnesty and believed that his first duty was to heal the breach be-


RUTHERFORD B. HAYES tween North and South. To indicate his attitude he made a former Confederate general, D. M. Kee of Tennessee, a member of his cabinet. He next withdrew the Federal troops from the Southern states. The carpetbagger governors also withdrew, and their opponents quietly took possession of the state governments. The negroes gave up the attempt to vote in those states, and thereafter the white voters again controlled the elections. 372. Engineering Triumphs: the St. Louis Bridge; the Mississippi Jetties. During President Hayes's administration a famous engineer, James B. Eads, who had previously constructed a gigantic steel bridge across the Mississippi at St. Louis, finished a still greater undertaking at the river's mouth. Navigation of the Mississippi was rendered difficult because the huge stream is forever discharging quantities of mud that used to bank up at its mouth and form "bars" on the edge of the gulf. These bars were threatening to divide the river into numerous channels, each too small to be of use. Captain Eads discovered that there was a powerful current moving through the Gulf of Mexico a few miles out to sea. He reasoned that if the mud of the river could all be carried out and dumped into the current, it
would at once be swept away and would no longer accumulate in bars. To carry the mud out to sea he proposed to stop up all the channels but one, and from this one build a pair of dikes, or jetties, which should really be artificial banks prolonging the river to the edge of the powerful gulf current. Congress (1875) gave him money with which to build the jetties. He did so, and the result proved his theory (1879). Since then the mouth of the Mississippi has been open. Today New Orleans is only less important than New York among American seaports.
373. The Cotton Exposition, 1881; the New Orleans Exposition, 1884; the Atlanta Exposition, 1895. The revival of prosperity throughout the South was shown by the Atlanta Cotton Exposition in 188ı and again by the Cotton Centennial held at New Orleans in 1884. Just a hundred years previous the first shipment of American cotton (section 209) was sent from Charleston to Liverpool. It was contained in eight bags. In the year the Cotton Centennial was held nearly four million bales were exported. Since then the annual export has increased to ten million bales and over.

The wonderful recovery of prosperity in the South was further shown by another exposition, held at Atlanta in 1895. The buildings were placed in Piedmont Park, where Sherman had planted his batteries to shell the city very nearly thirty years before.
374. The New South; Manufactures; the Fall Line. The South is no longer, as it once was (section 24I), a purely agricultural country. Manufacturers everywhere throughout the South are rivaling their competitors in the North and West. In developing their works they are assisted by excellent water power. Suppose you lay down a map of the seaboard states and mark the head of navigation on the course of every river (that is, the point where rapids or falls prevent vessels from ascending farther); you will find
that at these places the water flows so swiftly that it can be used to turn mill wheels; then connect all these points with a continuous line. Thus you will mark out what is known as the fall line, which means that all along that line the rivers crossing it are both large enough and swift enough


THE FALL LINE
All along this line the abundance of water power has led to profitable manufacture to be useful in turning machinery. Now observe the string of cities that lie along this line (see adjacent map). These cities are the backbone, so to speak, of a belt of new manufacturing towns strung along the fall line.
375. Resumption of Specie Payments. During President Hayes's administration two important events took place affecting the coinage. One was the passing of a law (i878) requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to coin silver dollars. The other event is known as the resumption of specie payments. When a government pays out coin to all its creditors it is said to be making specie (metal) payments. We have seen that our country during the war issued "greenbacks" (section 3II), which were simply promises that at some time in the future the government would give the holder, if he asked for it, a dollar in specie-that is, gold or silver-for every paper dollar; but until 1879 it had not done so, although for four years previously the Secretary of the Treasury had been collecting coin for this purpose. On January $\mathbf{x}$, 1879 , the government began paying out specie for its greenbacks.

## JAMES A. GARFIELD, TWENTIETH PRESIDENT, AND CHESTER A. ARTHUR, TWENTY-FIRST PRESIDENT

376. Garfield and Arthur; Assassination of President Garfield; Civil Service Reform. In 1880 the Republicans again elected their candidates for president and vice president James A. Garfield of Ohio and Chester A. Arthur of New York. President Garfield's administration was cut short only a few months after his inauguration (July 2, 1881). He was assassinated by Charles J. Guiteau. In the autumn he died and the vice president succeeded him.

The assassin was an unsuccessful office-seeker, who, with many others, had been tormenting the President for an appointment. At once there was a general demand for a change in the method of filling the government offices, so that the president should not any longer be persecuted as Garfield had been. Congress passed the Civil Service Reform Act, under which commissioners are appointed who examine applicants for thousands of civil offices - that is, not military or naval offices and make out lists of applicants who are satisfactory. From these lists appointments are made. About two thirds of all government appointments are now made in this way. The examinations are open to all, and thus a "merit system" is replacing the old spoils system of Jackson's time (section 245).
377. Revival of Interest in the Tariff; William McKinley. While President Arthur was in office the tariff ${ }^{1}$ again became

[^113]a subject of dispute. The Democrats demanded a lower tariff, while the Republicans wanted it made even higher than it was. For a while neither side succeeded in effecting a change. But the revival of interest in the tariff is further


WILLIAM McKINLEY to be remembered because just then appeared in Congress the most noted champion of high tariff in recent times-William McKinley of Ohio.

Ever since then the dispute over the tariff has been one of the leading issues in American life. The Democrats have always been trying to lower the tariff. The Republicans have opposed them and have succeeded several times in making it higher than ever. As the Republicans have been in power oftener than the Democrats, we have, during the last forty years, generally had a high tariff. The most famous tariff law is known as the McKinley tariff because McKinley had a great deal to do with getting it through Congress (1890). ${ }^{1}$

## GROVER CLEVELAND, TWENTY-SECOND PRESIDENT

378. The Democrats return to Power; Cleveland elected; how Capital and Labor opposed One Another; the Black List; Boycott; Federation of Labor. In 1884, for the first time in twenty-five years, the Democrats elected a

[^114]president, Grover Cleveland of New York. He was a strong man, who was not liked by all the members of his party, and he did not always succeed in getting Congress to do what he wished. ${ }^{1}$ One of the most famous propositions which he made to it was this : he advised Congress to pass a law compelling every dispute between labor and.capital (section 367) to be arbitrated by a commission-a special court-appointed by the government. Congress would not pass such a law. Let us see what caused the President to make the suggestion.

The Trades Unions (section 367), which aimed to secure shorter days of work and higher wages, frequently ordered their members to strike in order to force the


GROVER CLEVELAND employers to grant the various demands of their workmen.

The employers organized other societies to look after their special interests and introduced the custom of keeping a list of workmen who had taken conspicuous parts in strikes. This was called the black list. Such men when in search of work were often refused employment.

The laboring men then began to practice what is called a boycott, ${ }^{2}$ which means that all agreed to have no dealings with an employer who was supposed to keep a black list, and

[^115]also, as far as they were able, to prevent others from dealing with him. Labor and capital were practically at war. To increase the strength of the labor unions the American Federation of Labor-which is a combination of many labor unions-was formed in 1886.
379. The Year of Strikes. In the very year when the Federation was formed, so many labor troubles occurred that it has sometimes been called the year of strikes. First came a strike of street-car drivers in New York, then one strike after another. There were strikes as far west as Nebraska and as far south as New Orleans. Sometimes the strikers wanted an "eight-hour day" for work (section 367); sometimes they wanted higher wages. In Chicago forty thousand men "went on strike," and for a time the manufacturing part of the city seemed to have stopped business. Railway men joined the strikers, and until they went back to work it was impossible to move freight into or out of Chicago.

And now, for the first time, "anarchists"-people who do not want any government at all-appeared in America. Taking advantage of the excitement of the moment some Chicago anarchists tried to get up a rebellion against the government. A meeting in Haymarket Square became disorderly, and the police ordered the crowd to disperse ; thereupon a dynamite bomb was thrown among the police, killing and wounding a number. The remainder, however, showing the courage we expect of American police officers, charged the crowd, seized the leading anarchists, and carried them off for trial.

Four were convicted of murder and hanged. The workingmen not only of Chicago but of the whole country denounced the anarchists as the worst enemies of labor.
380. Later Strikes: Homestead (1892), Pullman (1894), and the Great Anthracite Strikes (1902). We have had since that time a great number of strikes, some of them involving
so many men that soldiers have been called upon to settle them. For example, there was the strike at the Carnegie Steel Works, Homestead, Pennsylvania (1892). The employers hired a large number of detectives and organized them as an army which met the strikers in a number of sharp fights, both sides using firearms and killing their opponents. The governor of Pennsylvania, with the state troops, finally interfered and restored order.

Perhaps the greatest of all strikes began near Chicago, among the workmen of the Pullman Car Company, who were threatened with a reduction of wages. They were joined by workers on all the railroads that entered Chicago (1894). On twenty-two railroads business was practically suspended. Chicago was for a time cut off from the rest of the country and could not get its usual supply of food, and a famine seemed possible. When the strikers held up trains carrying the United States mails President Cleveland used six thousand soldiers to stop this interference with the business of the Federal government.

Equally serious was a strike among the anthracite miners in Pennsylvania (IgO2). It lasted five months, and during that time one hundred and forty thousand men were out of work. No anthracite coal was mined, and it is estimated that during those five months the country paid out a hundred million dollars which, except for the strike, would have been used in other ways. When this strike occurred President Roosevelt (section 394) was in office. Through his efforts the dispute between the owners and the workers of the mines was arbitrated by a Coal-Strike Commission, which decided that the workmen should have more wages and fewer hours of work and that future disputes should be settled by arbitration.

To help in such difficulties Congress established the Department of Commerce and Labor (I903), which was subsequently divided (1913) into separate departments-

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one of commerce, the other of labor. The former collects and publishes a great mass of information that is useful in improving the condition of business; the latter seeks in numerous ways to keep peace in the business world and to increase the usefulness both of labor and capital.
381. Congress protects the


BENJAMIN HARRISON Workingman ; Alien Labor Law. While Cleveland was president Congress took a step which the labor unions demanded-to protect American workingmen from unfair competition. It passed the Alien Contract Labor Act, which forbade employers to send to Europe and import laborers who, because they were accustomed to lower wages than we are accustomed to, would enable the employers to discharge American workmen and at the same time save money by employing the foreigners. Before the passage of this law numbers of workmen had lost their places because the employers were in the habit of importing labor. That was why the unions demanded a restriction upon immigration in order to protect our own workingmen.

## BENJAMIN HARRISON, TWENTY-THIRD PRESIDENT

382. Election of Harrison (1888) ; Expansion of the West. The next president was a Republican, Benjamin Harrison of Indiana. During his administration six new states, all of which were Western, were admitted to the Union: Montana (I889), North Dakota (I889), South Dakota (I889),

Washington (1889), Idaho (1890), and Wyoming (1890). ${ }^{1}$ About the same time a new territory was created-Oklahoma, ${ }^{2}$ which was once a part of the old Indian Territory. We purchased it from the Indians and opened it for settlement. The President gave notice that on a certain day,April 22, 1889, at the sound of a trumpet, anyone might cross the border of Oklahoma and take up land (section 362 ). When the soldier onguard was ready to blow the trumpet about fifty thousand resolute people were encamped just across the line, waiting for the signal. The moment the loud clear note of the


MORMON TEMPLE, SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH trumpet rang through the air they poured across the line. Farms were laid out and towns sprang up as if an enchanter out of the Arabian Nights had commanded them to appear.

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Within four months Guthrie had five thousand people, four daily papers, and six banks; street railways were under construction, and the city was almost ready to be lighted by electric lights.
383. The Preservation of the Western Forests. President Harrison sought to prevent the destruction of the forests of


IRRIGATED LAND IN CALIFORNIA
A prosperous orange grove has been cultivated on the irrigated land at the right, but only the plants of the desert can grow on the land at the left, through which the irrigation ditches do not run
the West. By recklessly cutting down the forests settlers and lumber companies had contributed to the drying up of springs, thus reducing the water supply. Moreover, the clearing of the hillsides removed nature's means for holding the rainfall back and keeping it from pouring down all at once into the streams and thus producing floods. As a step toward preserving our forests, President Harrison set aside eighteen million acres of forest land which should always belong to the government. This was the beginning of what we now call the National Forest.
384. The Columbian Exposition. .In October, 1892, all over the United States, exercises were held in honor of the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus. Previously Congress had decided to celebrate the event by holding an international world's fair. The city of Chicago obtained the privilege of supplying the site for the Columbian Exposition.

The beautiful buildings of the Columbian Exposition stood in spacious gardens on the shore of Lake Michigan. The waters of the lake were let into canals - basins that made floors of sparkling sapphire among shimmering, creamy walls. Nothing like this had been seen before in America. It gave us a new idea with regard to expositions. Before then we thought only of what the buildings contained; since then we have thought of the whole thing as a work of art and have taken special interest in combining the buildings and their surroundings into a single effect of great beauty. This idea was admirably carried out at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, held at St. Louis in 1904 to commemorate the purchase of Louisiana; and again in the great exposition held at San Francisco in i915, which commemorated the discovery of the Pacific by Balboa (section 12) and also celebrated the opening of the Panama Canal. Artistically the most striking feature of this exposition was the use of electricity to decorate the buildings at night. It was the universal opinion that new and very lovely artistic effects were produced.

## PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

385. The Democrats recover Power; they divide on the Silver Question. Though the Democrats carried the election of 1892 and put Cleveland in office again they were unable to continue in power and were unsuccessful at the next presidential election. This was due very largely to a division among themselves over "the silver question." To understand

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this we must look back to the time of President Hayes, when a law was passed which required the Secretary of the Treasury to coin silver dollars (section 375). The government did not permit what is known as free coinage of silver, but it did permit free coinage of gold. That is, the owner of a gold mine might send his gold, in any quantity, to a government mint and have it

(c) Harris \& Ewing turned into coin, paying only a slight charge to cover the cost. The owner of a silver mine did not have this privilege. And the price of silver was steadily falling. Those who were interested in having silver bring a good price on the market thought that its value would be much increased if silver owners were given the privilege of free coinage. Many people replied that since the price of silver had fallen very low, the silver dollar was not really worth a dollar and its coinage should be forbidden. ${ }^{1}$ President Cleveland was the leader of the "gold" Democrats. The leader of the "silver" Democrats was William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska. The silver men controlled the Democratic national convention of 1896 , nominated Mr. Bryan for president, and

[^117]declared that if they were successful they would give every owner of silver the privilege of free coinage. The "gold" Democrats refused to support Mr. Bryan and nominated their own candidate, John M. Palmer.
386. Defeat of the Silver Men; Election of McKinley. The "silver" Democrats were joined by some of the Republicans, but most of the Republicans were gold men. They nominated William McKinley (section 377). The election was carried by the Republicans. Shortly afterwards we became involved in our Spanish War, and the dispute over silver ceased to command general attention. In 1900 the Republicans in Congress passed the Gold Standard Act, which put an end to the hope of their opponents for free coinage of silver.

## SUMMARY

During the eight years that Grant was president the reconstructed governments of the Southern states were controlled by negroes led by white adventurers. They squandered the money of the taxpayers and created such bitter hostility that only the presence of Federal troops kept them in power. President Hayes (1877) withdrew the Federal troops from the South; thereupon the governments of the adventurers collapsed and the native whites again came into power.
The South was rapidly recovering prosperity. Expositions held at New Orleans and Atlanta demonstrated its extent. Meanwhile manufacturing cities were springing up in the South along the fall line.

The West had developed a silver-mining industry, and Congress, in the interest of mine owners decided to coin silver dollars (1878). During President Hayes's administration specie payments were resumed.
President Garfield was assassinated (188r) by a disappointed office-seeker, and Arthur became president.
The tariff now became a party issue-Republicans favoring a higher tariff, Democrats advocating free trade. The Republicans in the main have controlled tariff legislation ever since.

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President Cleveland (1885) was elected by the Democrats. The relations of capital and labor had become hostile. Capitalists formed combinations to control their workmen and instituted black lists. The workmen replied with boycotts and by uniting unions in the Federation of Labor.

Congress has established the Departments of Commerce and of Labor. It has also protected American workmen by the Alien Contract Labor Act, forbidding the importation of cheap foreign labor by employers.

During the administration of President Harrison (1889) six Western states were admitted and the territory of Oklahoma was opened to settlement. The National Forest was begun. The fourhundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated by preparations for the Columbian Exposition. The beautiful buildings of this exposition set a new standard that was strikingly developed in the expositions of St. Louis and San Francisco.

Following the return to office of President Cleveland (i893) owners of silver mines demanded free coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one. President Cleveland refused to meet their demands, though most of the Democrats, under the lead of Mr. Bryan, became advocates of "free silver." The Republicans in 1896 elected William McKinley on a platform opposing free silver.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Bassett, United States, chaps. xxix, xxxiii-xxxvi; Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xx, xxii, xxv-xxvii, xxix; Brigham, Geographic Influences (chap. vi) and From Trail to Railzuay (chap. xiv); Bryan, The First Battle; Buck, The Agrarian Crusade (Chronicles of America); Callender, Economic History, 727-737; *Cleveland, Presidential Problems, chap. i; Dewey, Financial History, chaps. xivxvii, xix; Fess, Political Theory, chap. xx; Ford, The Cleveland Era (Chronicles of America); Hart, Contemporaries, IV, chaps. xxviii, xxxiii; Hendrick, The Age of Big Business (Chronicles of America); Jenks, The Trust Problem; Latane, United States as a World Pozver, chap. xvii; *Lingley, Since the Civil War; chaps. ii-xvi; Macdonald, Source Book, 575-581; Mitchell, Organized Labor, chap. viii ; Moody, The Masters of Capital (Chronicles of America); Muzzey, Readings,

461-545; Orth, The Armies of Labor and The Boss and the Machine (Chronicles of America); Osgood, History of Industry, chap. xix; *Paxson, The Nere Nation, chaps. iii-viii, xi-xv; Thompson, The Nere South (Chronicles of America).

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was peculiar in the election of 1876? 2. What problem confronted President Hayes? 3. The condition of the South was due largely to its legislatures. How were these legislatures composed? Explain the terms "carpetbagger" and "scalawag." [4. Describe a "reconstructed" government in a Southern state. (See Fleming, The Sequel of Appomattox (Chronicles of America); Oberholzer, The United States since 1685 (I) and The South in the Building of the Nation; Rhodes, History, VIII, chaps. xli-xlii.)] [5. Write an account of the Ku-Klux Klan, using the same references as in problem 4; also Barstow, The Progress of the United States, 16-25; Page, Red Rock.] 6. How did certain Northern Republicans assist the Southern whites? 7. How did prosperity return to the South? 8. What legislation grew out of the murder of President Garfield? 9. What did McKinley stand for?
ro. What did President Cleveland propose as a means of settling labor disputes? Define "black list" and "boycott." What is the Federation of Labor and why was it formed? ir. What happened during the "year of strikes"? [12. Name some famous later strikes and state some of their events. What president intervened in the anthracite strike of 1902? (See Orth, The Armies of Labor.)]
2. How was the four-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America celebrated? 14. What do you know about later expositions? 15. What did silver men want when they asked for free coinage of silver? 16. Why did gold men oppose them? 17. What three tickets appeared in the election of 1896 ? Who was elected?

BATTLE OF SANTIAGO

## CHAPTER XXIII

## THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER

## WILLIAM McKINLEY, TWENTY-FIFTH PRESIDENT

387. The United States and Cuba. A rebellion was going on in Cuba when President McKinley was inaugurated. That beautiful island, together with Porto Rico, formed the American possessions of the king of Spain-all that was left of the Spanish-American empire. ${ }^{1}$ Several times the Cubans had tried to become independent, but each rebellion had been stamped out by a Spanish army. In 1897 the Spanish general, Weyler, was conducting a war with the Cubans and was showing such brutal ferocity that American sympathy had gone out to his desperate enemies. The stories told of his cruelty moved great numbers of our countrymen to demand that our government take sides with the unhappy Cuban "rebels."
[^118]But the government hesitated to do so. Suddenly something happened that infuriated the whole American people. One of our warships, ${ }^{1}$ the Maine, was lying at anchor when the sun went down, February 15,1898 , in the harbor of Havana. During the night it was blownup, and two hundred and sixty American sailors were killed. The explosion was apparently due to a submarine mine, and although it was not possible to determine who placed the mine, yet the American people felt that the responsibility must fall on the Spanish govern-


EASTERN ASIA AND THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS ment. "Remember the Maine!" became a popular cry throughout the country. On April 19, the anniversary of the battle of

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Lexington, Congress passed resolutions recognizing the independence of Cuba, demanding the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from the island, and authorizing the President to make war upon Spain.
388. Battle of Manila; the Pursuit of Cervera. Curiously enough the first battle of the Spanish War occurred in the Far East. An American fleet under Commodore George Dewey was at Hongkong. Acting on orders cabled from Washington, Dewey sailed for the Philippine Islands. Steaming into Manila Bay, over submarine mines and through the gun fire from Spanish fortifications, he met and destroyed a Spanish fleet. Soon afterwards American forces took possession of the islands.

Spain had on the Atlantic a fleet of cruisers which was promptly dispatched to American waters under the command of Admiral Cervera. Two American fleets-one commanded by Admiral Sampson, one by Commodore Schleysailed for the West Indies. When it became known that Cervera had reached the Cuban port of Santiago, these fleets united in a blockade. Soon afterwards an army under the command of General Shafter was landed near Santiago. Thus the place was besieged both by land and by sea. ${ }^{1}$
389. Battle of Santiago; the Rough Riders; Capture of Cervera. A Spanish army defended Santiago. In the series of bold attacks by the Americans (July I-2, 1898) this army was defeated and driven back into the city. In these engagements a portion of the American army called the Rough Riders became famous. This body of horsemen was made up partly of Western "cowboys," partly of Eastern university men. They had been gathered together by Theodore Roosevelt, who was given the rank of lieutenant colonel by President McKinley.

[^120]Since the Spanish army had been driven into the town, and the Americans had possession of high hills close by, Cervera with his fleet dared not remain in the harbor. He attempted to slip past the blockading fleet and escape, but his attempt failed. The Americans promptly attacked him and sank or captured every Spanish ship (July 3, 1898).


SAN JUAN, PORTO RICO
390. The Treaty with Spain ; we acquire Porto Rico and the Philippines; Hawaii. Santiago surrendered July 17, 1898. Shortly after, Spain and the United States agreed upon terms of peace: ( I ) Cuba became an independent republic under our protection, (2) the Spanish colonies of Porto Rico and Guam were ceded to the United States, and (3) the Philippines were transferred to American control in exchange for an indemnity of $\$ 20,000,000$.
Shortly before the treaty was drawn up the United States annexed the little republic of Hawaii (July 7, 1898). This was done largely because we had decided to hold the

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Philippines and wanted Hawaii as a "halfway house" between San Francisco and Manila. We were urged to do so by high authorities upon naval war, who considered Hawaii a necessary station if we wished to defend the Philippines against an Asiatic enemy. ${ }^{1}$
391. Lessons of the Spanish War; what the American Women did. The Spanish War taught us some useful lessons. For one thing it showed us that war is a business, and that in this business, as in any other, men must know how to deal with its problems. Our soldiers suffered terribly from typhoid fever because we did not know from experience how to make proper camps and protect them from disease. Because the War Department did not understand the business of feeding an army, our men were short of food, or were given bad food, which caused sickness.

In fact, owing to bad management, there was so much sickness in the army in Cuba that Colonel Roosevelt and other officers signed a letter saying, "This army must be moved at once or it will perish." The men in charge of the War Department had shown themselves, as a rule, mere bunglers. Fortunately private persons came to the aid of the government and to a great extent made up for the bad management of the officials. Among these a woman stood preëminent - the noted millionaire, Miss Helen Gould. It was largely through her efforts that the army, on being transferred from Cuba to Long Island, was properly cared for in a scientific way. Another great lesson of the war was the new spirit of comradeship between. Northerners and Southerners. Two of the most conspicuous figures were

[^121]ex-Confederate generals; Fitzhugh Lee, a nephew of Robert E. Lee, and Joseph Wheeler, a famous cavalry leader, won fresh distinction in Cuba.
392. Results of the War: our Protectorate over Cuba; our Occupation of the Philippines. As a result of the war we bear a peculiar relation to Cuba. It is a free and independent republic; nevertheless there is an understanding that we will promptly intervene whenever things go wrong and set them right. We did this in 1906, when an insurrection broke out which the Cuban government could not


NATIVE FILIPINO PLOWING WITH A CARABAO quell. American forces restored order. It is the confident hope of this country that what we call a protectorate of the United States over Cuba will in the future be only a defense against possible foreign aggression.

In the Philippines we have followed a different course. A native leader, Aguinaldo, headed a movement to drive out the Americans. Hard fighting for more than a year ended in complete victory for our troops and the submission of the Filipinos to American rule. Since then the islands have been under the protection of the United States; that is to say, our president appoints their governor general, but the inhabitants of the islands elect their own legislature (consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives) and
manage their own affairs with very little interference on our part. They maintain an excellent system of public schools, collect their own taxes, and manage their own police, although some United States troops are kept in the islands. Our government is informed, through the governor general, of all acts of the legislature and has the right to veto unwise laws.
393. Further Results of the War : our policy in China-the "Open Door." Having established our power in the Philippines we were led by circumstances to increase our interest in whatever took place in Asia. Furthermore, our trade with Asia had grown so large that we were much concerned in the prosperity of all the Asiatic peoples; therefore, when it became known that several European powers proposed to cut up China and divide it among them, the United States objected. We proposed (1899) to England to insist on preserving China as an independent country while allowing all nations to trade with the Chinese on equal terms. This was called the open-door policy. England agreed to it, and the other powers eventually consented. Thus our country was instrumental in preserving the independence of China. ${ }^{1}$

## THEODORE ROOSEVELT, TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT

394. Reëlection and Assassination of President McKinley; Theodore Roosevelt becomes President. In the election of 1900 the Republicans were again successful. President McKinley was reëlected, with Colonel Roosevelt (section 389) as vice president. Shortly after his second inauguration
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## THE UNITED STATES AS A WORLD POWER 417

President McKinley visited the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo (igor). While holding a reception the President was shot by an anarchist (section 379) named Czolgosz ${ }^{1}$ and died within a week. President McKinley was of such an amiable and sympathetic nature that he was universally mourned. He was succeeded by Colonel Roosevelt.
395. The Panama Canal. The new president was almost idolized by an enthusiastic following; before he left the White House he had a hand in many notable undertakings. None of them aroused more general interest than the building of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. For many years people had discussed the desirability of such a canal. Some time before, a French company employed Ferdinand de Lesseps, who had built the

(C) Baker Art Gallery

THEODORE ROOSEVELT Suez Canal, to construct a canal at Panama, but the French company failed and its plan was never carried out. For a while the world seemed to have lost interest in Panama, but during the Spanish War it became once more a subject of general interest. This was due to a famous voyage of our battleship Oregon, which, at the opening of the war, was at San Francisco. In order to join our fleet in the Atlantic, the Oregon steamed down to the Strait of Magellan and up the coasts of Argentina and Brazil. Here was something that proved the value of a canal across the Isthmus. Everyone now began asking why wie didn't build the canal. Among the first thoughts of President

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Roosevelt after coming into office was the question, What should be done about the canal between the oceans?


THE PANAMA CANAL 396. The Republic of Panama; the Canal Zone. The line of the proposed canal crossed the state of Panama, which was a state of the United States of Colombia. The Colombian government refused the price offered by the United States for the privilege of constructing the canal ; thereupon the state of Panama, fearing the canal might be given up, seceded from Colombia and declared itself independent. We at once recognized the new republic (November 6, 1903) and purchased from it the control over a strip of land ten miles wide from ocean to ocean. We paid $\$ 10,000,000$ and promised a yearly payment of $\$_{20,000 \text {. Through this Canal Zone the Panama }}$ Canal has been built. ${ }^{1}$

## PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

397. Election of 1904; our Dispute with Japan. In I904 President Roosevelt was reëlected. He soon found himself involved in a dispute with Japan. The people of California believed it inadvisable to have the children of the Japanese who lived among them attend the public schools. It was finally forbidden. Thereupon the emperor of Japan complained to the President. He pointed out that we had

[^124]promised by treaty to allow such Japanese as happened to be in our country the rights and privileges, so far as schools were concerned, of American citizens.
398. The President and the Californians. The President's first impulse was to reply that the provisions of the treaty


THE FIRST SHIP THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL
would be carried out, whether California approved or not. But the Californians vigorously protested. Then it occurred to the President that after all they had a right to be considered. Great bitterness had been caused in the past because a majority of states ignored the wishes of a minority. ${ }^{1}$ To repeat that sort of thing, to say to the Pacific states, "You must conduct your schools not to suit yourselves but to suit the people of the Mississippi Valley and the Atlantic states," struck him on second thought as dangerous to the peace of the country. He entered into negotiations with

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Japan, also with the Californians, and in the end effected a compromise. The emperor withdrew his protest and agreed that the lower classes of his people-the ones chiefly objectionable in California-should not be allowed to emigrate to America. ${ }^{1}$
399. The California Earthquake. One of the great disasters of our history occurred in 1906, when San Francisco was almost destroyed by an earthquake shock. Twenty years before we had thought our country safe from such dangers, and we were astounded in 1886 when Charleston suffered severe losses from earthquake. An invention, the seismograph, was installed at Washington and other places for the purpose of recording the tremblings of the earth; though its delicate mechanism has revealed time and again that the earth was in commotion, we were again taken by surprise when in the earthquake of 1906 the great buildings of San Francisco reeled and shattered and the city fell in ruins. Between the earthquake and the fire that followed, half a million people were temporarily rendered homeless. The whole country contributed to relief funds for their benefit.
400. "Roosevelt Policies"; Conservation. The most notable of President Roosevelt's policies was his boldly successful course in foreign affairs. It will be told in the next chapter. At home his policies involved (i) strenuous enforcement of all the laws designed to reduce the power of certain powerful corporations (whose managers he was fond of describing as "malefactors of great wealth") and (2) insistence on the importance of conserving natural resources (section 383). We had been grossly wasteful of our timber, our coal, of everything that we had in abundance. When it was protested that what we were wasting would be needed tomorrow, the reply was, "Let tomorrow take care of itself." To

[^126]rouse interest in preventing waste, especially to check the reckless destruction of our forests, the President held a national conference on conservation (ig08). A National Conservation Commission was appointed. To discuss the report of the Commission the President summoned a council composed of governors of the states (1908). The result of all this was a great increase of public interest in conservation. Congress passed new laws, placing enormous tracts under the control of the National Bureau of Forestry. Among these were the Appalachian Forest (igir) and the White Mountain Forest (igit). The nation now owns 163 forests, including $187,000,000$ acres.

## WILLIAM H. TAFT, TWENTY-SEVENTH PRESIDENT

401. The Arbitration Treaties; Election of President Taft, 1908. The next president was William H. Taft of Ohio. He had served as Secretary of War and also as governor of the Philippines. Before that he was a judge in the United States courts.

Being a great lawyer and also a hater of war, President Taft thought that nations ought to cease attempting to settle their disputes through bloodshed and should set up courts of arbitration, governed by international law, in which all their disputes might be tried and adjusted; therefore on August i3, i9ir, he signed two treaties-one with France, the other with England. In each it was declared that the nations making the treaty are "resolved that no future difficulties shall be a cause of hostilities between them or interrupt their good relations and friendships." Therefore they agreed in future to submit their differences to arbitration.
402. History of Arbitration: Alabama Claims (I87I); Bering Sea (I893); Venezuela (1897); South American Agreement (1907) ; the Hague Tribunal. There is no more interesting subject than the gradual turning of men's minds toward

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the idea that nations, like individuals, ought not to settle disputes by means of battle. We Americans have done much to help on this way of thinking. A number of times we have consented to arbitrate disputes with other powers instead of going to war. Among the most famous instances is the case


WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT of the Alabama claims (section 33 I and note).

In the first administration of President Cleveland we got into a dispute with both England and Russia over the rights of the three nations as to catching seals in Bering Sea. The dispute was at last peacefully settled by arbitration ( 1893 ). ${ }^{1}$ In Cleveland's second administration a sharp controversy with England led to a noted instance of arbitration (1897), ${ }^{2}$ which strengthened in the two countries the feeling that all disputes could be arbitrated and that war was no longer necessary. One of the most striking events of President Roosevelt's second term was an agreement made by Elihu Root, the Secretary of State, with the republics of South

[^127]America to submit all disputes about money matters to arbitration and never to attempt settling them by war. ${ }^{1}$

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of the Czar of Russia, the nations of the civilized world had established at The Hague (1899) a permanent Court of Arbitration, to which all international questions might be referred. It is in this court that we have agreed to have our disputes with Latin America judged.
403. Later Arbitration Treaties. Since the time of President Taft arbitration treaties have been made with numerous countries. In the next administration (section 404) the Secretary of State, William Jennings Bryan (section 385), was an enthusiastic believer in arbitration. To him, especially, is due the credit for the later treaties.

## WOODROW WILSON, TWENTY-EIGHTH PRESIDENT

404. Election of 19I2; Foreign Affairs the Great Problem for President Wilson. Many Republicans thought that President Taft had become too conservative. These men called themselves Progressives. Led by ex-President Roosevelt they fought hard to prevent the renomination of the President. Failing to do so, they bolted the Republican party and put up ex-President Roosevelt on a ticket of their own. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, who was elected. President Wilson wished to give his attention to
[^128]
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questions of the tariff and of banking, but he was compelled by unexpected events to concern himself chiefly with foreign affairs. ${ }^{1}$
405. Our Trouble with Mexico; Huerta; Vera Cruz; Carranza; Villa. A civil war had broken out in Mexico, and the leader of one of the factions, Huerta, had got control of the government. President Wilson felt convinced that Huerta had gained his power by murder and treachery, and refused to recognize him as president. He gave encouragement to the enemies of Huerta, who, at last, under the lead of Venustiano Carranza, drove Huerta out of the country. Meanwhile, however, for a short time, American troops had possession of Vera Cruz, which they seized because Huerta's followers had insulted the American flag. As soon as a proper government was reëstablished at Vera Cruz the troops were withdrawn.

But no sooner was Carranza in power than a new civil war began. A bandit named Villa, who hitherto had fought on the side of Carranza, now turned against him. Villa was hostile to Americans because our government was plainly friendly to Carranza. Often his followers crossed the Rio Grande and murdered Americans on our own soil. For a

[^129]long time President Wilson patiently waited for Carranza to punish Villa; but when Villa made a peculiarly daring raid on Columbus, New Mexico (March 9, 1916), where his soldiers committed shocking murders, the President could not wait any longer. He ordered an army to pursue Villa. A force commanded by General Pershing crossed the border ; thereupon Carranza, whom we had supposed was our friend, protested. He could not punish Villa himself nor would he consent to our doing so. At Carrizal troops of Carranza fought a skirmish with the Americans and killed about twenty of our soldiers. President Wilson at once mobilized the National Guard and assembled a strong army on the Mexican border. This brought Carranza to terms. It was agreed that the United States should withdraw from Mexico and that Carranza should police the Mexican border. At the same time he was notified that if he failed to do so Mexico would again be invaded. This settlement did not prove final, and ever since there has been disorder on the border and strained relations between the two governments. The explanation of Carranza's course now seems to be plain. It was probably part of a vast scheme to overawe our country, and this in turn was part of the foreign policy of the German Empire. The gradual development of that world-wide German menace will be narrated in the next chapter.

## SUMMARY

Sympathy with the Cubans, who were in rebellion against Spain, led many Americans to demand intervention in Cuban affairs. Congress authorized the President to make war upon Spain (April 19, 1898). The Spanish War opened with the naval victory of Commodore Dewey in Manila Bay. Admiral Cervera was blockaded at Santiago, Cuba, and the city surrounded. Its protecting army was defeated by American forces. Cervera, attempting to escape to sea, was overtaken and captured. Santiago then surrendered. Terms of peace acknowledged the independence of Cuba and awarded Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippines

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to the United States, while we agreed to pay Spain $\$ 20,000,000$. During the war the United States annexed Hawaii.

The scheme of certain European powers to partition China was strongly opposed by the United States. Our "open-door policy" was at length accepted by the other nations.

On the assassination of President McKinley, soon after his second election, Theodore Roosevelt became president. During his first administration the building of the Panama Canal was begun. Early in President Roosevelt's second administration the emperor of Japan was brought to agree to restrictions on Japanese emigration to America.

President Roosevelt's policies involved strenuous attempts to reduce the power of corporations, and insistence on conservation of natural resources. A National Conservation Commission was created, and large additions were made to the National Forests. Roosevelt's successor, President Taft (1909), made his most important contribution to our progress by negotiating treaties for international arbitration.

Dissatisfaction with President Taft inside the Republican party led to a bolt of Progressives, who nominated ex-President Roosevelt after the regular Republican convention had nominated President Taft. The Democrats nominated Woodrow Wilson, who was elected. The establishment of the Federal Reserve Bank was an important event in his first administration. Complications arose with Mexico, and Vera Cruz was temporarily occupied by American troops. Subsequently, in order to prevent raids of Mexican bandits into the United States, General Pershing was sent into Mexico with an army, which was withdrawn when Mexico promised to keep peace on the border - a promise which she failed to keep.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Andrews, United States, chaps. xxvii, xxviii; Bassett, United States, chaps. xxxviii-xl; Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xx, xxiii, xxviii, xxx; Coolidge, United States as a World Power, chaps. v-viii, xv-xix ; *Fish, The. Path of Empire (Chronicles of America), chaps. ii-v; Guitteau, Government and Politics, chap. xxxiii ; Hart, Contemporaries, IV, chaps. xxx-xxxii ; Howland, Theodore Rooservelt and his Times (Chronicles of America); Macdonald, Source Book, 597-608;



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*Mitchell, Organized Labor, chaps. xvii, xviii; Muzzey, Readings, 546-596; Ogg, National Progress, chaps. i-xvi; Orth, The Armies of Labor(Chronicles of America) ; *Paxson, The New Nation, chaps. xvi-xx ; *Roosevelt, Autobiography; Thayer, Life of Roosevelt and *Life of John Hay.

For the Pupil: Barstow, Progress of a United People, 70-77; Bruce, Romance of American Expansion, chap. vii; Griffis, Romance of Conquest, chaps. xxvii-xxix; Hitchсоск, Decisive Battles of America, chaps. xxi, xxii; Miller, Philippine Folk-Lore Stories; Roosevelt, Rough Riders; Spear, Our Navy in the War with Spain.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

(In connection with the problems of the present day it will often be necessary to give the pupil material, as under problem 6 below, which the teacher must either explain or abridge.)
I. Why did we sympathize with the Cubans in their revolt against Spain? 2. Describe the first battle of the Spanish War. 3. Why was Santiago besieged? 4. What did Cervera attempt to do? 5. State the terms of the peace with Spain.
[6. Write an essay on the Republic of Hawaii. (See Bassett, 771774 ; Carpenter, America in Hawaii; Coolidge, The United States as a World Power, chap. xv.)] [.7. Narrate the loss by Spain of her American dominions. (Sections 220, 233, 234, 387, 390; see also Shepherd, The Hispanic Nations of the New World (Chronicles of America).)] [8. Describe our possessions outside continental United States. (See Bruce, The Romance of American Expansions, chaps. vii, viii ; Coolidge, The United States as a World Power, chaps. vii, viii ; Mowry, Territorial Growth of the United States, chaps. viii-xi.)]
9. What were the lessons of the Spanish War? 1o. How are the Philippines governed? Ir. What led us to intervene in Asiatic affairs? Explain the "open door." 12. Tell the story of the building of the Panama Canal. I3. Explain our contention with Japan over California. 14. What were the "Roosevelt policies" in home affairs?
[15. Write a brief essay on conservation of natural resources. (See Bogart, Economic History, chap. xxxviii ; Van Hise, The Conservation of the Natural Resources of the United States.)] 16. Name some noted instances of arbitration. What tribunal for international arbitration was suggested by the Czar of Russia? 17. What important financial measure was put through by President Wilson? 18. Why did we occupy Vera Cruz? 19. What agreement was reached with Carranza?


BELGIANS DEFENDING THEIR COUNTRY

## SEVENTH DIVISION. HOW OUR COUNTRY BECAME THE CHAMPION OF DEMOCRACY

## CHAPTER XXIV

## THE WORLD WAR

406. The World War. The war which began in August, 1914, in which our country later played a glorious part, was probably the most terrible ever known. To understand it we must look back into the early history of the nineteenth century. Three questions must be answered: (i) How did the nations that brought on the war become great armed powers? (2) What was their purpose in forcing the whole world to go to war? (3) What part did our country take in the war?
407. How the Great Armed Powers were Formed. To answer the first of these three questions we must go back to Napoleon (Chapter XIII). That great despot conquered Germany, Italy, Spain, nearly conquered Austria, and tried to conquer England and Russia. When at lạst he was driven from his throne and the conquered nations were set free
(I8I5), most of them resolved to increase their military strength so as to render them free thereafter from the dread of another conquest. Prussia set the example by working out a plan which required every able-bodied man to serve part of his life in the army. Thus, in case of need, the whole male population could be turned into soldiers on short notice. This plan was rapidly followed by all the other European nations except England.
408. The New German Power. The Prussian military system, with the king at its head, proved to be a great influence in favor of monarchy. When the German democrats in the Revolution of 1848 ( $\mathrm{sec}-$ tion 288) attempted to reduce the strength of the German princes, the military power of Prussia


CARL SCHURZ One of the revolutionists of 1848 turned the scale against the democrats. During the next sixty years the power of the king of Prussia grew steadily more terrible in spite of the opposition of many Germans who still held democratic principles. When the new German Empire was formed ( 1871 ), in which were united all the German countries except Austria, Prussia was its most powerful state and the Prussian king became German emperor.
409. First Policy of William II. At the opening of the nineteenth century William II was the German emperor. He had formed a plan for making himself master of the world, with power equal to that of Napoleon, and as a step in that direction he wanted to acquire a large extent of

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country to be used for colonies. Germany was so densely populated that thousands of Germans emigrated every year to other lands. To keep these under the German flag the emperor looked about for lands to conquer. He turned his eyes upon South America. He knew that the United States would oppose him as we had opposed Napoleon III in Mexico (section 358). But the emperor's advisers were chiefly professional soldiers, who despised the Americans because we had no army worth speaking of. They assured him that while we might talk about our Monroe Doctrine, we would never fight for it. William II decided to take his chances in South America. For about ten years, ending in 1905, the Germans tried to force their way into South America. During this period William II had another end in view. He was afraid that England might side with us in any dispute over South America. His other purpose was to persuade England not to stand by the United States in matters of foreign policy.
410. Early Evidence of German Hostility to the United States. I. Samoa. Even before this time Germany showed hostility to the United States. It appeared in the Samoan Islands, which form a valuable coaling station between San Francisco and Australia. The islanders had offered their country to the United States (1877), which refused it, but gave them a promise of protection against invaders. The Germans, disregarding the American promise, attempted to establish their power over the islands (i886), but when a German ship prepared to shell a native village Lieutenant Leary, who commanded an American cruiser, anchored squarely in the line of fire. The German commander drew off. The German government negotiated. In course of time the islands were divided between the United States and Germany.
2. Manila. During the Spanish War the German press took up the cause of Spain and bitterly denounced the United States. It is generally believed that the emperor
went so far as to ask the other European powers to intervene and that it was only England's flat refusal which prevented such action.' Our ambassador at London, John Hay, wrote home that we could have the use of the British fleet "for the asking." The contrasting attitudes of England and Germany were dramatically revealed at Manila. Shortly after Dewey's victory (section 388) a German admiral, Von Diedrichs, with a fleet more powerful than Dewey's, entered the harbor. When Dewey proclaimed a blockade Von Diedrichs ignored it and sent provisions to the Spaniards; thereupon Dewey sent an officer to inform the German that if he wanted a fight he could have it "right now." Von Diedrichs, with his stronger fleet, could not understand how Dewey ventured to defy him, except for one thing: a British admiral, Chichester, with three warships lay anchored near the Americans. "Perhaps," thought Von Diedrichs, "there is an understanding between Dewey and Chichester." He asked the latter what he would do if the Germans refused to comply with the demand of the Americans. Chichester replied that he had sealed orders, the contents of which were known only to himself and to Commodore Dewey. Von Diedrichs took the hint and gave no further assistance to the Spaniards.
411. The Chinese Controversy; the Venezuela Crisis. It looked as if the United States and England were prepared to stand together against German aggression. The prompt acceptance by England of the "open door" in China (section 393) made Germany uneasy, but still the emperor pursued his South American policy. Enormous quantities of German capital were invested in Brazil and Argentina. To both countries went German emigrants in large numbers. But soon a crisis arose in South American affairs. Venezuela was deep in debt to Germany, England, and Italy. All three demanded payment. President Roosevelt intervened (1902) and persuaded Venezuela to agree to arbitration.

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England and Italy at once concurred, but Germany refused ; thereupon President Roosevelt took one of the most farreaching steps in modern history. The whole American fleet, commanded by Admiral Dewey, was assembled at Porto Rico prepared for battle. An ultimatum was issued to Germany. Thus America gave notice that she was ready to fight forthe Monroe Doctrine. Just how the emperor reasoned we do not know, but two things are plain-(I) during the few years since Manila, German feeling against England had become very bitter, and Germans were beginning to talk of England as their greatest enemy; plainly, they thought England would support the United States; (2) the emperor accepted the American terms, and the American battle fleet remained at Porto Rico (1903).
412. The Pretext for War. During the next ten years William II attempted to build up a great power in the East. Together with the Austrian emperor, who was his ally, he planned to get control of the little Balkan states, - Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro,-of Turkey, and of all southwestern Asia. ${ }^{1}$ In 1912 the Balkan states, together with Greece, united in a war against Turkey which was brilliantly successful. It seemed that a new and strong confederation was to arise in southeastern Europe. This was the last thing either Germany or Austria wanted. Both breathed more freely when the victorious confederates fell to quarreling among themselves and their plan of a southeastern confederacy collapsed. The Central Empires-Germany and Austria-now decided that it was time for them to get the Balkan states into their own hands, and a young Serbian unfortunately gave them the pretext for beginning war. Already Austria had forced a considerable number of Serbs to live under her rule. They longed for independence and for reunion with the little kingdom of free Serbia. In the summer

[^130]of 1914, while the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, was on a visit to the little town of Sarajevo, in the southern part of the empire, he and his wife were shot (June 28) and killed by an Austrian Serb, a member of a secret society that was working for independence. Austria professed to believe that the Serbian kingdom


RUSSIAN TROOPS IN THE CITY OF PETROGRAD ON THE WAY TO THE FRONT
had inspired the assassination. She sent an ultimatum to Serbia making demands that if accepted would reduce Serbia to the position of an Austrian vassal (July 23). Only fortyeight hours were allowed for a reply. Though Serbia, realizing her helplessness, consented to yield almost everything demanded, Austria pronounced the reply unsatisfactory and declared war (July 28).

The Serbians are members of the Slavic race, to which the Russians also belong. Serbia appealed to her "big brother," the Russian emperor, for protection. It was now plain that Austria was determined to have war, and everyone knew that Austria and Germany acted together in all their foreign
affairs. Russia, France, and England all made earnest efforts to preserve peace, although indicating that they could not stand by and let Austria conquer Serbia. The Czar began mobilizing his army, but at the same time he asked the German emperor to induce Austria to submit the Serbian matter to the Hague Tribunal for arbitration (July 29). Instead of acting on this proposal, which would have prevented war, William II sent Russia a bullying demand that all war preparations cease within twelve hours (July 3r). As Russia ignored the demand, Germany declared war against Russia (August r). Two days later she declared war against France, which was in alliance with Russia. This fateful step was not taken without opposition from liberal Germans who still retained the ideals of 1848 . The opponents of war were led by a noble democrat, Karl Liebknecht, who, with a number of others, was at once thrown into prison.
413. The Violation of Belgium. The course which was now taken by the German government astounded and horrified the world. The frontier between France and Germany was well fortified. A direct attack on France would have to proceed slowly. For the sake of speed the Germans instantly demanded of Belgium permission to move their armies across Belgian soil. But the neutrality of Belgium was guaranteed by international agreement; Germany had herself signed a treaty promising never to invade Belgium. Both the Belgian and British governments instantly protested; the only reply was the cynical remark of the German prime minister that the treaty was "a scrap of paper." The same day (August 4) huge German armies burst into Belgium, and England thereupon declared war upon Germany.
414. Belgium checks the Germans. If the Germans could have crossed Belgium unopposed they might have conquered France, for the French armies were not ready for battle. England's available army was small, and though it was
hurried to France the combined French and English armies were not at first strong enough to make a stand. Had Belgium surrendered they would have been destroyed. But Belgium did not surrender. "A country which defends itself," said King Albert, "commands the respect of all; that country cannot perish." Little as she was, Belgium rose in arms as Germany rushed upon her. During nineteen days


HOWITZERS POUNDING THE GERMAN LINES
(August 4-23) the Belgians - at first alone, then with the aid of French and British reënforcements-kept the Germans out of France.

It was this delay that saved France and made possible the eventual defeat of Germany. But Belgium paid an awful price for her courage. Knowing how disastrous to their plan (section 4I3) this delay might be, the Germans vented their rage against the Belgians with terrible cruelty. Beautiful cities were destroyed; noncombatants were massacrednot only men too old to fight, but defenseless women and little children; the horrible story reads like a page from the history of the Dark Ages.
415. The First Battle of the Marne. When the Germans crossed the French frontier only part of the Anglo-French force had arrived on the scene of battle. The defenders had

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to fall back toward Paris, while both the British and French governments hurried every available man to their assistance. The thirteen days of this great retreat from August 24 to September 5 formed a continuous, desperate battle.

During the retreat the French government was removed from Paris to Bordeaux. A great French general, Joffre,


PIECES OF HEAVY ARTILLERY CAPTURED FROM THE GERMANS
was placed in command of the French armies. On Sep.tember 6, when the Germans were but fifteen miles from Paris, the Anglo-French army turned upon them and began a terrific battle along the course of the River Marne. Four days later (September io) this crucial battle closed with a German retreat. The plan of a swift conquest of France was no longer possible. Instead, there now began a long, slow struggle, during which the soil of northeastern France was contested inch by inch.
416. The Two Periods of the War. From the American point of view the war has two periods: the first extends from August 4, I914, to April 6, I917-from the violation of Belgium to the declaration of war against Germany
by the United States; the second period embraces seventeen months, April 6, 1917, to November 11, 1918, during which our country was in certain respects the most important member of the group of powers associated against Germany.
417. The Double Story of the First Period of the War. Throughout the first period two distinct themes must be borne in mind: ( I ) there is the terrible story of the actual fighting; (2) there is the equally important story of the complications which grew out of the German policy and of their effect on the United States.
418. Later Military History of the First Period. During two and a half years there was "trench warfare" all along the Western Front ; that is to say, both sides constructed an enormous system of fortifications extending from Switzerland across northern France and western Belgium to the North Sea. Repeatedly one side or the other attempted to break through the enemy's line. A famous attack by the British was the battle of Neuve-Chapelle in March, 1915. Slight gains were made, which, however, were offset by German gains the next month in the terrible battle of Ypres. The greatest German attack was directed against Verdun and was sustained during five months of terrific fighting (February-July, i916). At last General Pétain repulsed the Germans. The battle of the Somme was a combined attack by the British under Sir Douglas Haig and the French under General Foch, which began in July and closed in November, 1916. It "nibbled" a small area held before by the Germans under Field Marshal von Hindenburg, but failed to break their line-merely pushed it back a few miles. At the opening of 1917, after all these gigantic battles, the combatants in the West stood about where they were at the close of 1914.

Meanwhile war raged in every quarter of the globe. It is estimated that in the course of this greatest of wars forty
million men took up arms. Blood was shed with sickening profusion along the Eastern Front (in Poland, Russia, and Austria; in southeastern Europe; in Turkey), in South Africa, even in distant China. The Allies were joined by Japan (August 23, 1914) and by Italy (May 23, 1915), while Germany was joined by Turkey (November 3, 1914) and by Bulgaria (October 4, 1915). Rumania, after entering the war on the side of the Allies (August 27, 1916), was quickly conquered by the Germans (December, 1916January, 1917). On the other hand, Germany lost her colo-nies-her Chinese colony, Kiaochow, being taken by Japan, while her African colonies were conquered by British forces commanded by the noted South African leaders, General Smuts and General Botha.

One of the grandest displays of courage in modern war was the attempt of the British forces, chiefly Australians, to seize the peninsula of Gallipoli (1915) preparatory to an attack on Constantinople. The attempt failed because it was not properly supported, but it made the word "Anzacs," ${ }^{1}$ by which the Australians were known, another name for heroism.

Our neighbors the Canadians also greatly distinguished themselves. Few nations sent a larger proportion of their men to the battle lines, and none did more desperate fighting. The name of Vimy Ridge became famous throughout the world because of the terrible slaughter endured by the Canadians in taking possession of it.

At sea the German cruisers and battleships were either destroyed or driven into ports of refuge during I9I4 and 1915. In May, i916, the remaining battleships of Germany left their refuge at Kiel and engaged the main British fleet in the battle of Jutland. Though not a decisive victory for the British, the battle ended in the retreat of the Germans to Kiel. They did not venture forth again until they

[^131]came out from their harbor to surrender themselves to the victorious Allies at the end of the war (see section 447).
In one respect the Germans were startlingly successful during the first period of the war. They proved that the submarine was a practical weapon. Before the war was a month old three British cruisers were torpedoed by submarines. The Germans then undertook to destroy the commerce of their enemies by means of "undersea" boats. It was this submarine warfare more than any other one thing that brought the United States into the war.
Let us now see how these terrible events of the first period affected our own country.
419. The United States and Belgium. The first effect of the war on America was an outburst of sympathy for Belgium. Subscriptions were at

(C) Underwood \& Underwood

HERBERT HOOVER once opened to provide food for the starving victims of the invasion. There was utmost need for such aid, because the invaders seized all the food they could lay hands on and left the inhabitants to the mercy of foreign sympathizers. Two able men-Mr. Brand Whitlock, our minister to Belgium, and Mr. Herbert C. Hoover, who was appointed to distribute relief-were mainly instrumental in saving Belgium from famine.
420. American Neutrality, 1914-1917. President Wilson in 1914 hoped to keep us out of the war. He issued a proclamation of neutrality, ${ }^{1}$ but in attempting to put neutrality into practice he became engaged in disputes with Germany

[^132]that finally made it impossible for us to continue neutral. Chief among these disputes were the munitions issue and the question of the rights of neutrals on the high seas.
421. The Munitions Issue. The right to buy munitions of war in other countries is a matter of vital importance to


CLARA BARTON
Miss Barton founded the Society of the Red Cross to reduce the horrors of war all nations that are averse to maintaining large armies. We have seen that both North and South in 1861 armed themselves by purchase in Europe (section 314). It did not occur to either side to question the right of the other to do so. In I914, when both England and France needed a vast supply of extra munitions, American factories made haste to supply their needs. The United States government had no right to prevent them. Nevertheless Germany violently protested. Austria sent a formal demand that our government suppress the international munitions trade. The demand was refused (1915).
422. Rights of Neutrals on the High Seas. The British navy had established a blockade (section 316) of German ports. Germany saw that this blockade was probably her greatest danger and determined to use the submarine as her weapon to counteract it. She proclaimed a "submarine blockade" of the British Isles (February 4, 1915). To this we could not have objected had it not been for three things which Germany now proceeded to do: (r) She refused to observe an established principle of international law, according to which, though a ship attempting to "run a blockade"
may be seized with its contents, the crew and passengers must be taken off and conveyed to a place of safety. Her submarines sank ships where they found them, often drowning the crews and passengers. (2) By refusing to live up to international law in this respect she compelled every American traveling on a British ship to take his life in his hand. (3) She torpedoed hospital ships as well as merchant shipsan act of inhumanity that incensed the people of the United States.

President Wilson was prompt to warn Germany that this country would not tolerate a violation of our rights under international law. He informed the German government that he would hold it to a "strict accountability" if American lives were lost through the activities of her submarines (February io, i915).


AN ALLIED MERCHANTMAN AT THE MOMENT OF ITS BEING SUNK BY A GERMAN SUBMARINE

In bold defiance of the United States Germany committed one of the cruelest actions of the war. On May 7, i915, the great liner Lusitania, one of the largest ships upon the seas, was approaching Ireland from New York. Suddenly a German submarine rose from the depths of the ocean and without warning attacked the Lusitania with torpedoes. The liner sank, drowning some twelve hundred people, among them one hundred and twenty-four Americans. A great rage took posses-sion of the American people. In spite of the President's

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demand for redress, Germany persisted in arguing the matter and evaded making an answer. Nearly a year passed. Then occurred the sinking of the British steamer Sussex, on which two Americans lost their lives (March 24, 1916). President Wilson now made a peremptory demand for redress (April 18, 1916), and Germany appeared to yield (May 4, I916), giving a promise that merchant ships would not be sunk without making provision for the safety of the passengers.
423. The Change of Sentiment in the United States. By this time there was very deep indignation in America against the imperial German government. At the opening of the war most Americans had thought that it was our duty to stand neutral while the European powers fought out their terrible quarrel among themselves. But during the two years 1915 and i916 the Americans made several discoveries. (i) They began to read the history of the imperial German government and discovered that it had long been planning a world war. This was made shockingly plain by the writings of General von Bernhardi, which were translated, published in cheap form, and read from one end of America to the other. Long before the war broke out Bernhardi had told his countrymen just how it should be fought and urged them to provoke war at the first opportunity. (2) A great number of new writings dealt with both the past and the present of Germany. Americans awoke to the fact that for twenty years Germany had been working against the United States. They were thrilled and enraged by the eloquent portrayal in many brilliant books of the harshness of the Germans in conquered countries. (3) The unreasonable demands made on our government by the German government (sections $42 \mathrm{I}, 422$ ) and its slaughter of our citizens (section 422) had created in most American hearts a deep, fierce desire for vengeance. (4) Practically everyone was convinced that the German ambassador had
filled our country with spies and that German money was being used to stir up trouble in America. ${ }^{1}$ (5) The conviction was gaining that Germany was in truth a despotic colossus bent on destroying free government throughout the world.

It would take but one more insult to bring the Americans furiously into battle, convinced that they were the last hope of democracy.
424. Election of 1916; Germany's Plan. While the nation was settling into this grim humor, the election of 1916 gave President Wilson a second term in the White House. Meanwhile Germany had formed a daring and unscrupulous new plan. Having concluded that she could not beat the Allies in battle, she resolved to cut off their supplies by sinking every ship that brought them food or munitions under any flag. On January 31, 1917, the German ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, informed President Wilson that "unrestricted" submarine warfare in a large area including the coast of France and England would begin the next day. This meant that the lives of still more Americans would be sacrificed at sea. The President's answer was the dismissal of Count von Bernstorff and the recall of the American ambassador, James W. Gerard, from Berlin.

The new temper of the Americans was now made manifest. The President's action was applauded in every corner of the country. All the governors of the states telegraphed him their assurances of support. The Senate indorsed his action by a vote of 78 to 5 . A significant feature of the popular demonstration was the unhesitating loyalty of Americans of German descent. The German-American newspapers, almost without exception, declared their readiness to stand by the President whatever happened.

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While the country was at fever heat, expecting daily to hear of the sinking of American ships, the President made an astounding revelation. He published a dispatch which had come into the possession of the American Secret Service in Mexico. It was signed by Dr. Zimmerman of the German government and proposed to the Mexican government joint

U. S. Official

FLOCK OF UNITED STATES SUBMARINES AT A BASE ON THE IRISH COAST DURING THE WORLD WAR
war on the United States-Mexico to receive New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona as her share of the spoil. It was dated January ig, nearly two weeks earlier than the announcement of the submarine war.
425. The Sinking of the American Ships; War Declared. Nothing could now prevent the Americans from making the appeal to arms, but if anything more had been needed to justify our indignation the events of the next few weeks would have been sufficient. Germany sank ships of all sorts -ships flying belligerent flags and ships flying neutral flags; merchant ships; hospital ships; even relief ships
carrying food to the starving Belgians. Among these were several under the flag of the United States. Though in some cases the crews escaped in their boats, a number of American sailors lost their lives. On April 2 the President appeared before Congress, ${ }^{1}$ and after recounting the falseness of the German government and the wrongs we had suffered at its hands, he used these memorable words:

The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

On April 6, 1917, Congress declared war against the German Empire.
426. Our Five Reasons for going to War. As this declaration of war was in some respects the most eventful action ever taken by the Congress of the United States, no American should forget our five reasons for making this great decision.
I. Because Germany had killed our countrymen while they were exercising their rights under international law (section 422 ).
2. Because Germany had sunk ships flying the American flag (section 425 ).
3. Because we were deeply indignant over the German inhumanity toward Belgium and other conquered countries (section 414).
4. Because we had come to see that Germany aimed at world dominion, which meant, eventually, the abolition of

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the Monroe Doctrine and our own decline into the position of a German vassal (sections 233, 332, 4IO, 4II).
5. Because Germany stood for a revival of despotic monarchy, and her victory would mean the overthrow of democracy throughout the world (sections 288, 408, 409).

## SUMMARY

The nineteenth century witnessed in Europe two far-reaching changes : the arming of all the continental nations and the gathering of the German states outside Austria into one empire, hostile to democracy. William II aimed at building up a great colonial German dominion. South America seemed to offer a field for German colonization. To do this the United States and the Monroe Doctrine would have to be defied. A crisis was reached in 1904 over a Venezuelan dispute, when President Roosevelt mobilized the American fleet and served an ultimatum upon Germany. Germany gave up her attempt to colonize South America and turned toward the East. Part of the program of Germany and her ally, Austria, was the conquest of the Balkan states. A pretext for war was found in the assassination of the heir to the Austrian throne by a Serbian. Austria demanded humiliating promises from Serbia, and when they were given not exactly as she demanded she declared war. Within a few days the war had also involved Germany, Russia, France, Belgium, and England.

The Germans, checked in their rush through Belgium toward Paris, were met and defeated by Anglo-French armies in the first battle of the Marne. The first period of the war extended to April 6, 1917. During this period the United States did not participate, but attempted to stand neutral. Germany vainly tried to induce us to defy international law and forbid our munition makers to sell to belligerents. In spite of treaty obligations Germany, defying international law, destroyed the lives of neutrals by sinking merchant ships without saving their passengers. This was done by means of submarines. President Wilson warned Germany that if American lives were lost she would be held to strict accountability. Nevertheless Germany sank the Lusitania with many Americans on board. After long discussion between
the two governments President Wilson made a peremptory demand, and Germany promised to comply with international law. Subsequently Germany decided to resume "unrestricted submarine warfare." This meant that more of our citizens would be killed. President Wilson at once dismissed the German ambassador and recalled our ambassador from Berlin. A few days later the American government published an intercepted dispatch of the German government proposing the dismemberment of the United States. Shortly afterwards German submarines began sinking American ships. Congress declared war on the imperial German government on April 6, 1917.

## AIDS TO STUDY

For the Teacher: Chéradame, The Pan-German Plot Unmasked; Davis and Others, *The Roots of the War; Fish, The Path of Empire (Chronicles of America); Foerster, Norman, and Pierson (Eds.), American Ideals; Gibbs, The Way to Victory; *Harding, Topical Outline of the War; Hart and Lovejov, Handbook of the War; Hayes, $A$ Brief History of the Great War (chaps. i-x) and Modern Europe (II); Hazen, Modern European History (chap. xxxviii) and Europe since 1815; *McKinley, Collected Materials for the Study of the War; Robinson and West, The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wìlson; Roosevelt, Fear God and take your Own Part; *Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War (Chronicles of America); *Simonds, History of the Great War; Stoddard and Frank, The Stakes of the War; Thayer, Life of Joln Hay; The University of Chicago war papers: The Threat of German World Politics; Americans and the World Crisis; Democracy the Basis of a WorldOrder; Sixteen Causes of War; Usher, Pan-Germanism. During the war the government issued several series of pamphlets, many of which are very valuable; for example, The War Message and Facts behind It (Committee on Public Information, No. I); American and Allied Ideals (Wår Information Series, No. iz); Paxson, Corivin, and Harding, *War Cyclopadia (Red, White, and Blue Series); War, Labor, and Peace (Red, White, and Blue Series). With this chapter periodical publications begin to be of great assistance. The American Year Book and the International Year Book, both issued annually, give condensed accounts of the events of each year. *The World Almanac, costing only 50 cents, contains the statistics of the year, with an excellent, brief calendar of important events. Very useful magazines for the history teacher are Current History, the Litcrary Digest, the World's Work, the Review of Revieres, the

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Outlook, the Independent, Current Opinion, all of which contain accounts of the leading events of each year in chronological order.

For the Pupil: Almost all the government pamphlets, especially The War Message and Facts behind It; the great quantity of excellent illustrations of the war found in the Century Magazine, the Ladies' Home Journal, the Literary Digest, the World's Work, the Reviezu of Reviews, and in the weekly supplements of all the great daily newspapers, especially those of New York and Philadelphia - the Midweck Pictorial, issued by the New York Times, is especially full. Among a host of publications several are noteworthy; for example, Channing (Ed.), Letters of Edmond Genêt; Davis and Others, The Roots of the War; March, A History of the World War; Masefield, Gallipoli; McKinley, Coulomb, and Gerson, School History of the Great War; Powell (Ed.), The Spirit of Democracy; Thompson and Bigwood, Lest We Forget; Turkington, My Country, chaps. xix-xx ; Van Dyke, Fighting for Peace. McKinley, Coulomb, and Gerson have a chronology of the war, $1 \mathrm{~S}_{\mathrm{I}-189 \text {. Two }}$ high-school histories give useful bibliographies: Muzzey, An American History, 536-537; Stephenson, An American History, supplement, xlv-xlvii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

r. State the three questions that must be answered in connection with the World War (section 406). [2. Explain the plan that was worked out by Prussia for turning the whole nation into an army. How would your life change if such a plan were adopted by the United States? Have you heard of any other schemes of preparedness besides the Prussian? How do the schemes you know of differ from the Prussian plan ?]
3. Describe the first clash between Germany and the United States. 4. What was the attitude of William II toward America during the Spanish War? 5. How did Roosevelt compel William II to respect the Monroe Doctrine? [6. Write an essay on what might have happened if we had abandoned the Monroe Doctrine in 1904. Would there have been a world war if the emperor had been allowed to colonize South America? Describe the world as you think it would be today if Roosevelt had yielded to William II. (See Davis, Roots of the War; Robinson, Medieval and Modern Times, 599-606, 612-635.)]
7. Why did Austria pick a quarrel with Serbia? 8. How did Russia try to prevent a war? [9. Tell briefly how the World War began. (See Bassett, Our War with Germany, chap. i; Hayes, Brief History, chap. ii ; Hazen, Modern European History, chap. xxxviii ; Robinson, Medieval and Modern Times, chap. xxxv.)] 10 . What attempts were made in Germany to keep the emperor from going to war?
[ir. Write an essay on the Heroism of Belgium. (See Hayes, Brief History, chap. ii ; Turkington, My Country, 303-3I2; Whitlock, Belgium under the German Heel.)] 12. What event divides the war into two main periods? [I3. Narrate briefly the military events of the first period. (See Gibbs, The Way to Victory (I) and The Menace; Hayes, Brief History, chaps. iii-ix ; Hazen, Modern European History, 619646.)] [14. Compare President Wilson's action in proclaiming neutrality with that of Washington. What is neutrality? (See sections 200, 420 ; also Ogg, National Progress, chaps. xiv, xv, xvii, xxi; Robinson and West, The Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson; Rogers, America's Case against Germany.)]
[15. Explain why nations should have the right to buy munitions abroad. Show how Americans profited by this right in the past. Why and how in the World War did Austria try to induce us to contradict our own history? (See sections 3I4, 42I.)] I6. How did Germany interfere with the exercise of the rights of Americans who wished to travel on British ships? Following the note on "strict accountability" what dealings were there between President Wilson and the imperial government? What German order brought the dispute to a close early in 1917? (See Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War.)
17. How did the imperial navy attack us on March, I917? I8. State our five reasons for declaring war against Germany. [ig. Write an essay on why we entered the World War. (See Hayes, Brief History, chap. x ; How the War came to America (Committee on Public Information); Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War and The War Message and Facts behind it (Committee on Public Information); Hart and Lovejoy, Handbook of the War, chap. ii.)]


A CONVOY OF TROOP SHIPS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO FRANCE

## CHAPTER XXV

## OUR FIGHT FOR DEMOCRACY

427. The National Army. When we entered the war all our military forces, both the regular army and the militia, numbered only 202,000 men. The first duty of Congress was to raise an immense army. In May, 1917, a law was passed establishing the "selective draft." Under this law (June 5, 1917) 10,000,000 men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-one were enrolled in the national army. Numbers were attached to the names and then drawn by lot. Later men were "called to the colors" in the order in which their numbers were drawn. The next year Congress declared subject to military duty all men between eighteen and fortyfive. A second enrollment (September 12, 1918) increased the army by $13,000,000$.

Of course it was not intended to put all these $23,000,000$ men into the field unless we were forced to do so. To call them out gradually four thousand "draft boards" were appointed. As the War Department called for soldiers, each draft board summoned before it a number of the enrolled
men of its vicinity and had them examined by physicians. If they were perfectly healthy and there was no other reason for excusing them, they were sent to "the colors." However, some healthy men were dismissed by the boards because the draft laws exempted those who had certain obligations; for example, if a drafted man was the only son of a widow who had no other means of support he was excused from service. In spite of all exemptions made by the draft boards, the new army grew with immense rapidity. ${ }^{1}$

As fast as the recruits could be trained they were sent abroad for active service. Some were sent far afield, even to eastern Siberia, where German sympathizers were fighting the Russians; ${ }^{2}$ some, for the same reason, were sent to Archangel in northern Russia; some went to Italy, where


AN AMERICAN SOLDIER WITH FULL EQUIPMENT the Austrians made dangerous advances in 1918; but the great bulk went to France. June 26, 1917, is a memorable day in American history, for on that day our soldiers began arriving in France. Never before had American soldiers set foot on the continent of Europe as belligerents.

At first our men went across at the rate of about 50,000 a month, but in the spring of igi8 there was need for rapid reënforcement of the allied lines (see section 436). We had

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not ships enough to move our army more rapidly, and England came to our aid. With the help of British ships we were able to send over 250,000 men a month. July 4 , 1918, the government announced that our "first million" was on French soil. When the war closed we had $2,000,000$ men in


Harris \& Ewing
ADMIRAL HUGH RODMAN foreign service, all of them at least three thousand miles from home. This was far the most stupendous military achievement in American history.
428. The Greater Navy; Battle of the Atlantic. The navy, when we entered the war, included 82,000 men. This number was rapidly increased to 500,000. Though warships cannot be built in a hurry, numbers of merchant ships were rapidly adapted for naval use. Among these were many German vessels which had sought refuge in American ports in the early days of the war. The huge liner Vaterland, renamed the Leviathan, did good service as a transport, carrying 12,000 men every trip. A squadron of battleships under Admiral Hugh Rodman was sent to join the "grand fleet" of the Allies in the North Sea (December, 19r7).

To beat off the German submarines that were aiming to keep American troop ships from reaching Europe, a great fleet of destroyers was needed. During the greater part of i917 American destroyers under command of Admiral W. S. Sims, in coöperation with England's destroyers, hunted down the German submarines and sank them wherever found. At the end of rgr 7 the Anglo-American fleet had destroyed so many submarines that the Atlantic was comparatively safe
for our transports. ${ }^{1}$ Except for this great victory the American millions could not have gone to France in 1918 and Germany might have won the war (section 427).
429. Training our Men. At home, during our first year, we accomplished three great tasks: (I) we trained our


AMERICAN SOLDIERS PASSING IN REVIEW
enormous army; (2) we raised money for the maintenance of the war; (3) we reorganized our industries for war purposes.

As soon as a recruit was accepted by a draft board he was sent to a camp of instruction. Many of these camps, scattered over the country, sprang up as suddenly as if at the command of a wizard. They were not the old-style tented camps, of which everyone has read. Each was a temporary city with streets, houses, hospitals, and administrative buildings. Some had populations of from forty to fifty thousand men. At these camps the recruit was taught how to shoot, how to drill-everything in fact that could be learned without actually going under fire. For the later training which
${ }^{1}$ This was made possible by a new sort of bomb, the depth charge, which could be fired into the sea and would explode with great force under water.

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only the battlefield can give our government made an arrangement with France. There also large American camps were built. Our soldiers assembled at these camps were to be sent into action, at first for short periods, in close association with French or British troops. Early in 1918 every French and every British


ONE OF THE MANY POSTERS USED DURING THE WAR TO STIMULATE THE PURCHASE OF LIBERTY BONDS army on the Western Front had its American members who were finishing their military education under its guidance.
430. Raising Money for the War. The war cost us about $\$ 30,000,000,000$, or $\$ 300$ for every man, woman, and child in the United States. The money was raised in four ways:
I. Taxes. War taxeschiefly the income tax ${ }^{1}$ and the excess-profits tax-were designed to tax people more and more heavily in proportion to their wealth. A married man with an income of $\$ 2000$ paid no income tax; a man with an income of $\$ 5000$ paid a small percentage by way of tax. The percentage grew with the income until at the top of the scale a multimillionaire gave the government six tenths of his income.

By the excess profits law the government took a considerable part of the earnings of business houses which had

[^136]much larger profits than they had before the war. Taxes were also paid on liquors, cigars, theater tickets, club dues, notes, deeds, mortgages, freight and express shipments, telegrams, and automobiles. The postal rate for an ordinary letter was raised from two cents to three.
2. Loans. Four times the government asked the nation to contribute to liberty loans. Sixteen billions were subscribed in response to these appeals. A fifth, the Victory Loan (April, 1919) raised four and a half billions. Other loans were made through the purchase of War Savings Stamps. The smallest Thrift Stamp had a value of twenty-five cents. They were to be kept for five years and then presented to the government, which promised to buy them back with interest. In IgI8 two billions were paid into the United States Treasury in return for War Savings Stamps.
3. Contributions. A considerable part of the war cost was paid by volunteer individuals or organizations that made or purchased army supplies and presented them to the government. Everywhere local societies were formed for the purpose of raising funds or making army clothes or for meeting the expenses of army hospitals. Women knitted socks and sweaters for the army. They carried their knitting around with them and worked at it in every odd minute. There was a time when you could not go into a street car without seeing a row of women busy with their long steel needles. The Red Cross Society formed chapters in every town and village. These chapters kept their members at work making surgical dressings and preparing countless articles for the army medical service. A Junior Red Cross was formed which was composed altogether of school children.
4. Unpaid Service. Large sums were saved to the government because an incalculable amount of service was given free. Many of the ablest men and women in the country became, temporarily, government workers with salaries of only one dollar a year. Such were Charles M. Schwab,

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chairman of the Shipping Board (section 43I) ; Herbert C. Hoover, Food Administrator (section 432 ) ; and many more. Coöperating with these were the heads of great corporations and of the great labor organizations, conspicuously represented by Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. ${ }^{1}$
431. Reorganization of Industry. How to equip our army on short notice was one of our most difficult problems.

U. S. Official

AN ADVANCING AMERICAN TANK CROSSING A DITCH
The tank, which was based on the principle of the tractor, was one of the most important inventions of the war

Fortunately many American factories had adapted themselves to the production of munitions and had worked at high speed supplying England and France during the early part of the war (section 42I). Meanwhile England and France had built new factories of their own; therefore the output of our factories could now be used by our own army

[^137]without making difficulties for our allies. Nevertheless we were unable to supply our artillery with cannon, and even when the war closed we were using guns obtained from the French. For fifteen months we had to rely upon the French and the British for much of our aircraft. The use of aircraft in the World War was as novel and important a feature as the use of submarines. Aircraft were the eyes of the armies. In 1917 we had no factories for the production of aircraft, but we overcame this difficulty. First, there was a conference of mechanical engineers representing all the most successful makers of automobiles. They designed a new engine, named the Liberty Motor. Five leading automobile factories were

U.S. Official

ABOVE, A BATTERY WAGON OF THE MILITARY TELEGRAPH (IN I864) (FROM AN OLD PRINT) ; BELOW, TELEPHONING BY WIRELESS FROM THE EARTH TO AN AIRPLANE (WORLD WAR) asked to build Liberty Motors. The typewriter and cashregister factories were asked to make nuts, bolts, and various other small but highly important parts that were needed in our aircraft. To furniture factories was assigned

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the delicate task of making the wings-spruce frameworks covered with cloth. When peace came these factories had produced 13,396 Liberty Motors, and we were turning out completed airplanes at the rate of 1500 a month. Had the war continued three months longer our own factories would have been supplying our armies with everything they needed-rifles, cannon, ammunition, aircraft, gas, gas masks (p. 470), tanks (p. 456).

Early in 1917 German submarines were sinking allied ships by hundreds. To help in replacing this tremendous loss the United States went to work with all its might. Congress created the Emergency Fleet Corporation, generally known as the Shipping Board, of which Charles M. Schwab became the head. His task was to stimulate the production of ships not only by increasing the number of shipyards but by inducing all the trades that might contribute to this result to increase immensely their output. Furthermore, he had to teach men unfamiliar with shipbuilding how to do work entirely strange to them and he had to persuade shipwrights to work longer hours than ever before. One of Mr. Schwab's devices for stimulating work was the holding of competitions in riveting. The riveting record for the whole country was made by John Omir, who drove 12,209 rivets in nine hours. Though there was pressing need for ships before ours were ready (section 427 ), the Shipping Board accomplished a great work: it increased the yards from 6 I to 198, sent to sea 496 ships, and was at work on 1028 ships when the war closed.

All this reorganization of industry necessitated a special arrangement for the swift movement of supplies ; therefore the government took possession of the railways "for the duration of the war," agreeing to return them to their owners within twenty-one months after the declaration of peace. The Secretary of the Treasury, William G. McAdoo, became Director General of the railroads. The telegraph and
telephones were also taken over by the government for the duration of the war and placed under the control of the Postmaster General.
432. Privations. In a great number of ways-some direct, some indirect-the nation was called upon to submit to privation in order to carry the burden of this enormous war. Food was the first subject of concern, and the cereal crops in 1917 were unusually small. To meet the needs of all the allied countries, there was utmost need of economy and coöperation. In America a Food Commission was created, and Herbert C. Hoover (section 419) was appointed Food Administrator. A system of rationing was established, especially in the use of wheat flour and of sugar. Bakers were required to mix other flours with that of wheat in making bread.


MANY GREAT VESSELS WERE BUILT AT HOG ISLAND NAVY YARD DURING THE WAR

From a lithograph by Thornton Oakley

Quite as serious was the problem of fuel. The Germans were using the coal mines seized from the French and Belgians. To make up for this loss to our great continental ally, to provide transportation for men and supplies, to keep the vast munition plants going at full speed, there was need from America of a vast quantity of fuel. A Fuel Administrator, Dr. Harry A. Garfield, regulated the distribution.

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Industries necessary to the war were given full supply; others were reduced. All unnecessary use of fuel and the products of fuel-light and power-was forbidden. Ornamental electric signs disappeared. Street cars were required to make less frequent stops. During the winter of 19171918 one day each week was a "heatless day," when heat

U.S. Official

AMERICAN RED CROSS ESTABLISHING A HEADQUARTERS POST IN FRANCE
was shut off in many classes of buildings. Similarly, there were Sundays when no automobiles were used for private purposes. To lessen the use of artificial light Congress adopted a "daylight-saving" plan which was already in use abroad and had been under discussion here. From the last Sunday in March to the last Sunday in October all clocks were required to be set forward one hour.
433. The Women's Land Army. Nothing is more remarkable in connection with the World War than the great part played by women. When soldiers are counted by the million the fighting countries are almost emptied of their able-bodied men. This was the case in England, where six men out of
every ten went to the front, leaving only the elder men and boys at home. There the Women's Land Army took up every form of service which the men had been compelled to abandon. Wearing uniforms, with trousers instead of skirts, these women worked in the fields, made munitions, took charge of hospitals, drove ambulances, even served as policemen. American women were prepared, whenever it became necessary, to follow the example of the women of England and of the equally courageous women of France. The war did not last long enough to necessitate in America such a women's army as was formed in England. But it was no exaggeration to say that all the vast burden of the war was divided equally in America between men and women. In many of the organizations assisting the government (section 430) women were as important as men. There was a beginning of actual enrollment of women for service under the War Department. .Voluntary uniformed organizations of women were formed by the Motor Corps of America, by the National League for Women's Service, and by the Red Cross. As ambulance drivers these women were at the disposal of the great military hospitals, to which they gave tireless service, especially in 1918, when the wounded came home in shiploads from France (see section 44I). Another great service was rendered by these brave women in the winter of 1917-1918, when influenza became epidemic and deaths were hourly occurrences. So many of our physicians and nurses had been sent abroad with the army that the situation at home became extremely grave. Had it not been for volunteer women ambulance drivers, it would have been in many cases impossible to bring the stricken and helpless victims of influenza to the hospitals.
434. Our Women in France. American women rendered priceless service near the battle lines in France. In connection with our French camps (section 429) the government established schools, hospitals, recreation centers, and

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churches. All the noted welfare societies were invited to take part - the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, and others. These societies, with government aid, maintained clubhouses, gave entertainments, held religious services, and in a thousand ways kept up the spirits of the men. All this was done so close to the front that often the welfare workers were under fire. And great numbers of them were women volunteers. It was chiefly on the gracious presence


ARRIVAL OF THE FIRST AMERICAN TRANSPORT AT A PORT IN FRANCE
of American women that the government relied to keep strong in the soldiers the feeling that they were still closely in touch with the great homeland beyond the sea. Often when an American soldier started forward to go "over the top" the last noncombatant who called a cheery word to him was some gallant American woman whom the horrors of war could not dismay.
435. New Dangers of 1918. While the Americans were making such great preparations the situation in Europe took a new and startling turn. This was due to a revolution which occurred in Russia. It began just before we entered the war. A sudden uprising dethroned the Czar and set up a
republic (March 15, 1917). The original leaders of the Russian Revolution were high-minded democrats, and the Allies were confident that Russia would continue to do her share in opposing Germany. Suddenly a different set of leaders became popular in Russia and began preaching the doctrine of "peace at any price." These Bolsheviki, as they were called, overthrew the revolutionary government (November 7, 1917) and started negotiations with Germany (December 23, 1917). Their leaders, Lenin and Trotzky,


LANDING OF AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN FRANCE
From the port of arrival they were sent to training camps before going to the front
are generally believed to have been in German pay. At Brest-Litovsk, a town of Russian Poland, the Bolsheviki made a shameful peace (March 3, 1918) which (i) split up the old Russian Empire into several distinct countries (see map, (2) made large cessions of territory to Turkey and Germany, and (3) promised Germany a huge indemnity. Since then Lenin and Trotzky have been masters of Russia. The Bolsheviki have mercilessly crushed everybody who opposed them. They profess to be the champions of the working class and aim to destroy or control all other classes.

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436. How Germany profited by the Russian Collapse. Since Germany now had nothing to fear from Russia she could move enormous armies from the Eastern to the Western Front. In the middle of March, 1918, her divisions facing the British outnumbered their opponents three to one. On the twenty-first of the month, with overwhelming superiority of numbers, the Germans burst upon the British at the point where their line joined the French. Regardless of their own losses the German commanders hurled forward dense masses of picked troops in successive waves. By nightfall terrible gaps had been formed in the British front line. Through these gaps the German torrent of fire and steel was surging against the British reserves. Thus began the battle of Picardy, one of the fiercest ever known. The German purpose was to capture Amiens and separate the British and French armies. But though the allied lines bent far back, they did not break. The invaders were forced to halt a few miles east of Amiens (April m, r918). This terrific "drive" of the Germans was followed by four others. The five drives of igi8 recovered almost all the ground the Germans had lost since the battle of the Marne (section 4I5) and placed them again very nearly at the outskirts of Paris. In the spring of 1918 the Germans seemed to be winning the war.
437. America to the Rescue. In America this terrible news produced but one effect. A single question was heard throughout the land, "Why aren't we there?" When it was known that a detachment of American engineers took part in the heroic combat which checked the Germans under the walls of Amiens the whole nation rejoiced, but this did not lessen our anxious eagerness to get our whole army to the front. It was then that we made the arrangement with England (section 427 ) which enabled us to rush our reënforcements across the ocean. As England and France had put their last men into battle, the one chance to overcome the German myriads lay in America's reënforcement. The

Germans knew this. For that reason their commanders, Von Hindenburg and Von Ludendorf, pressed their attack with reckless indifference to the sufferings of their own men. They meant to crush England and France before America could arrive. Mr. Lloyd George, the prime minister of England, described the situation as "a race between Field Marshal Von Hindenburg and President Wilson." The President won. Our "first million" (section 427 ) turned the scale.
438. Foch. At the moment of deepest anxiety, when Amiens was in danger, the Allies put all their armies under the command of one general, Ferdinand Foch. This greatsoldierhad distinguished himself at the battle of the Marne (section 415). His appointment as generalissimo was applauded in all the allied


MARSHAL FOCH countries, not only because of his ability but because it was felt that the crisis demanded a single directing head. President Wilson cabled General Foch his congratulations. General Pershing went at once to Foch's headquarters and said: "The American people would hold it a great honor for our troops were they engaged in the present battle. . . . Infantry, artillery, aviation-all that we have -are yours to dispose of as you will."
439. Foch waits for the American Reënforcements. From the end of March to the middle of July Foch slowly, stubbornly, drew back before the Germans. He dared not do otherwise until America's first million was on hand. Meanwhile, in their second drive (April, 1918) the Germans struck

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the British with redoubled fury, aiming to hew their way through to the English Channel and separate the British army from England. Sir Douglas Haig called upon his soldiers to "hold every position to the last man." The dogged courage of the British and the arrival of French reënforcements kept the Germans from reaching the Channel. Turning southwest, the Germans in their third drive (May 27-June I) again reached the Marne (section 415). During this drive the Americans began to share in the fighting. Our First Division, in a brilliant engagement, saved the town of Cantigny (May 28). In the (first) battle of ChâteauThierry, Americans of the Second Division, who had been hurried to the front, contributed nobly to bringing the third drive to a standstill (June r). While the Germans were pressing their fourth drive (June, 1918) American marines seized and held Belleau Wood, where they conducted themselves so gallantly that the French government has renamed the place "The Wood of the Marine Brigade." The Germans lost heavily in their fourth drive and made few gains. A lull in the fighting followed the storming of Vaux by the Americans (July i). Two weeks later the Germans opened their fifth drive by a second furious attack on ChâteauThierry (July 15 ). The battle extended eastward sixty miles through the famous city of Reims, which had been desolated by German shells. In this battle the Americans played a great part. The Forty-second Division held a position east of Reims against furious attacks. The Twenty-sixth Division captured Torcy. At Château-Thierry a terrific German advance crossed the Marne, but was at length driven back by the Third American Division in some of the grimmest fighting of the war.
440. Second Battle of the Marne. The fifth German drive was held as if by a stone wall. This was due to the arrival of America's first million. Foch had 300,000 Americans in his battle line on "the Reims front." The remaining


## BLOWING UP THE BRIDGE AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

After the French and Americans had crossed to the south (or left side of the bridge in the picture) the bridge was blown up to stop the German advance. From a pen etching by Sears Gallagher

Americans, placed at less critical points, made it possible for him to bring up great numbers of French veterans to the vicinity of Reims. A million men, including three hundred thousand Americans, were massed in front of the Germans when their attempt at a fifth drive came to nothing. Thereupon Foch attacked them. On July 18, 1918, began the

U.S.Official
general pershing decorating an american soldier at bulligny, FRANCE, SEPTEMBER 7, 1918
second battle of the Marne. At last the advantage of numbers was with the Allies, and the Germans were swept backward before the fury of the allied advance in a crushing defeat.
441. The American First Army; St. Mihiel. Foch now assigned to General Pershing a part of the front that was to be held altogether by American troops. This. "American sector" stretched southeastward from a point near Verdun, past the town of St. Mihiel. A "salient,"" or projection, of the German line had its apex at St. Mihiel. The Germans called
this projection a dagger thrust at the heart of France. To drive them out of the St. Mihiel salient was the first duty of the American First Army, as Pershing's men were called. Swiftly, silently, 600,000 Americans were assembled along the two sides of the salient (see map, p. 472 ). No American army had ever before attempted so large an undertaking. To prevent the Germans from knowing what we were about, our troops moved to their positions only at night. Our airmen scouted over the enemy's lines and brought back exact information of their arrangements. ${ }^{1}$ A hundred thousand maps were prepared and distributed among the soldiers. Five thousand miles of telephone were laid. In the rear 70,000 hospital beds were made ready for the wounded. During the battle more than $\mathrm{I}, 500,000$ shells were fired from the American cannon.

In a rainy dawn (September 12, 1918) American soldiers sprang out of their trenches both south and west of the salient and rushed upon the German lines. ${ }^{2}$ So sudden, so irresistible, was the double rush of the Americans that the German defense crumbled before it. At some points the Germans were not able to save themselves by flight, and German cooks were forced to serve oncoming Americans with the hot breakfasts they had prepared for their comrades. Within twenty-four hours the two American advances from opposite sides of the salient had joined hands, and the Germans had been driven back to a new line along the northeast side of what two days before had been the St. Mihiel salient.
442. The Battle of the Hindenburg Line. The Germans had now been pushed back to the great system of defenses which

[^138]they had occupied in March before the drive at Amiens began. It was known as the Hindenburg line. Besides trenches and forts it comprised intricate entanglements of barbed wire ${ }^{1}$ to impede the advance of infantry. Probably no other line of fortifications ever made was so complete. The trenches often were floored with concrete and lighted by electricity. Behind the line-its "artery," as the soldiers said-was a railway linking the cities of Strassburg, Metz, Sedan, and Lille. The Germans confidently believed that the Allies could never pierce the Hindenburg line.

But Foch knew that he could. He meant to drive right through it at several points and cut the. "artery"-that is, the railway. Thus he would make it impossible for the Germans in the various parts of the line to act together. Each portion of the German army would have to fight its own battle without help and supplies from elsewhere, or beat a hasty retreat. Just what Foch planned came to pass. The battle of the Hindenburg line-the greatest battle in history, employing four million men-ended in a splendid victory for the Allies.
443. The Breaking of the Hindenburg Line. Foch paid us the compliment of allowing the Americans to open this colossal battle. The First American Army struck the Germans opposite it September 26, 1918. But the men of our First Army were not the only Americans engaged. In other armies - French and British-American soldiers were included; they won fresh honors with a British army that attacked in Belgium, and with the famous British Fourth Army, that assaulted the line near Cambrai. On September 29 General Rawlinson of the British Fourth Army sent forward a column composed of three divisions, the Twentyseventh and Thirtieth American and the Forty-sixth British.

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This column effected the first breach in the Hindenburg line. Said Sir Douglas Haig: "The deeds of the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth American Divisions, which took Bellicourt and Nauroy and gallantly sustained the desperate struggle for

U. S. Official

GAS MASKS HAD TO BE USED WHEN THE GERMANS MADE USE OF POISONOUS GAS THAT DRIFTED WITH THE WIND AGAINST OUR SOLDIERS Bony, will rank with the highest achievement of the war."
444. Battle of the Argonne. Just as Foch had foreseen, after a few days the great battle broke up into a series of battles, in each of which a part of the German forces made its own separate defense against one of the advancing armies of the Allies. None of these actions was more obstinate or more heroic than our battle of the Argonne (September 26-November 7). The battle takes its name from the Argonne Forest, a region of hills and thick woods through which the Germans had constructed four successive lines of defense. One after another, these lines were pierced by the Americans amid frightful tempests of shell fire. An incident that will never be forgotten was the adventure of the "lost battalion,"-part of the Sev-enty-seventh Division,-which went forward more rapidly than was intended, was cut off, surrounded, and for three days, practically without food or water, held its own until rescued by the main American advance. In this great battle we employed over $1,000,000$ soldiers, captured 16,000 prisoners, took 3000 machine guns, and lost i20,000 killed and wounded.

The fighting ended at the old town of Sedan, where our army for the first time raised the American flag above a captured European city (November 7, 1918).
445. The Armistice, November il, igi8. From Sedan we were preparing to advance northeastward when news came that Germany had sued for peace. Five things which took place far apart contributed to bring the war to an end:
I. All the series of battles which together make up the "super-battle" of the Hindenburg line had been successful.

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While we were crashing through the Argonne into Sedan the French had smashed the German defenses both on the right and on the left of us. The British Fourth Army, in some of the most terrible fighting of the war, with our men still participating, had hewn its way straight through the middle of the line. In Belgium the Anglo-Belgian forces had destroyed the line at its right flank. When Pershing took Sedan the Germans were in full retreat all along the Western Front.
2. All land operations of the Allies the world over, during the six weeks of our Argonne battle, were directed by Foch.

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He sent the Italians (section 418) against Austria (October 24). A crushing victory won by General Diaz, in whose army there was an American contingent, induced Austria to abandon her ally, Germany, to sue for peace, and to accept the terms dictated by her opponent (November 3).


MAP SHOWING AMERICAN OPERATIONS IN EUROPE
Second battle of the Marne and subsequent actions along the Aisne: Divisions I, 2, 3, 4, 26, 28, 32, 42, 77. St. Mihiel : Divisions I, 2, 4, 5, 26, 42, 82, 89,90 (in reserve, Divisions 3, 33, 35, 78, S0, 91). Attack south of Cambrai: Divisions 27, 33, part of 33. Advance in Belgium near Ypres: Divisions 27, 30, 37, 91. Battle of the Argomne: Divisions 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 26, 28, 29, 32, $33,35,37,4^{2}, 77,78,79,80,82,89,90,91$
3. Foch also directed the allied forces in southeastern Europe. (section 418) to advance against Bulgaria (section 418). Sweeping up the Vardar Valley (September 15) the Allies inflicted a terrible defeat upon the Bulgarians, who promptly laid down their arms and withdrew from the war (September 30).
4. A British army under General Allenby was fighting Turkey in Syria. A year previous this army had captured Jerusalem (December io, I9I7). Now it moved northward, capturing Damascus (October 1, 1918) and Aleppo

U. S. Official

REFUGEES RETURNING WITH THE TROOPS FROM THE REGION NORTH OF CHÂTEAU-THIERRY
(October 26), with the result that Turkey, hemmed in by victorious enemies, made haste to surrender (October 3I).
5. Abandoned by their allies, with their beaten armies in full retreat, the Germans turned upon the imperial government, which had promised them at the opening of the war an easy victory. German soldiers at Kiel mutinied (November 6) and there were rebellions in many German cities. William II, terrified by these signs that his power was broken, announced his abdication of the imperial crown, deserted his army, and fled to neutral Holland (November ıo); while

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General Von Ludendorf sought safety in neutral Sweden. By this time a German revolution had taken place and a republican government was set up.


VICTORY MEDAL
Presented to each man who served in the United States forces in the World War. One bar appears on the ribbon for each of the major engagements in which the man participated

The new German government agreed to an armistice (November if, i918). They promised (i) to surrender so much war material that the German army would be rendered incapable of further resistance ; (2) to withdraw all their armies east of the Rhine and put Germany west of the Rhine temporarily under the control of the Allies; (3) to surrender the entire. German fleet; (4) to allow the Allies to occupy three bridges across the Rhine,-at Mayence, Koblenz, and Cologne,-and at the east end of each bridge a small territory which would enable the Allies to rush their armies into central Germany should the war be renewed. The aim of the Allies was to render Germany helpless while they debated among themselves the terms of a treaty of peace.
446. Koblenz. The French occupied the bridgehead of Mayence, the British occupied Cologne, and Koblenz was occupied by the Americans. Koblenz, the occupied territory opposite, and the bridge connecting were turned over for American soldiers to guard and an American general to rule.
447. The Surrender of the German Fleet. The last event of the war was the surrender of the German fleet. To

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THE STARS AND STRIPES OVER THE FORTRESS OF EHRENBREITSTEIN, ON THE RHINE, DECEMBER 16, 1918

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receive its surrender the grand fleet of the Allies, in the later hours of a bright, moonlit night, left its anchorage off the coast of Scotland and steamed forth into the North Sea. At eight o'clock on the morning of November 21 it was drawn up in two lines, three miles apart, forming a majestic avenue. The ships flanking that avenue were all in battle trim. All of their mighty guns were shotted; every gun crew was in position; every commander sweeping the horizon with his binoculars was prepared to give the word to fire. They were expecting the vanquished German fleet. Said Admiral Rodman (section 428), whose American dreadnaughts formed a part of the waiting fleet, "There is not the slightest possibility of any trouble, but we are overlooking no chances."

Presently a little British cruiser which had been sent out to meet the Germans was sighted to the eastward; then behind her, in squadron after squadron, the enemy ships. On they came, following their pilot,-great dreadnaughts, powerful battle cruisers, destroyers, in columns, five abreast. They passed along that avenue of the allied triumph, while from the ships of the victors not a sound was heard. When the last of the German ships had passed, the grand fleet closed up behind them. They were conducted to the Firth of Forth, where the formalities of surrender were completed. The World War was at an end.

## SUMMARY

We entered the war unprepared. Conscription was at once established and a national army was begun. The first "draft" occurred in June, 1917; the second in September, 1918. Our soldiers were sent to nearly all the scenes of action. On June 26 , 1917, our first detachment reached France. Our destroyers, under Admiral Sims, joined the British destroyers and gradually cleared the Atlantic of German submarines. A battle squadron under Admiral Rodman joined the grand fleet in the North Sea.

To pay for the war we raised money ( 1 ) by taxing incomes, profits, and luxuries; (2) by loans-five in all-and by war stamps. Unpaid service saved the government the cost of many employees. Many forms of industry were reorganized with a view to utilizing their output in the manufacture of munitions. The railroad, telegraph, and telephone lines were taken over by the government "for the duration of the war." Women conducted many forms of relief work and also formed volunteer motor corps. Other women went to France to assist the welfare organizations in providing for the wants of the soldiers.

In March, 1918, after making peace with the revolutionary Russian government, Germany threw her whole strength upon the Western Front and penetrated the allied lines. The danger thus created was met ( I ) by combining all the allied forces under one commander, Marshal Foch, and (2) by hurrying over American reënforcements. Three hundred thousand Americans shared in the second battle of the Marne, which ended in the German retreat. Shortly after General Pershing, commanding the First American Army, won the brilliant battle of St. Mihiel. At last began the colossal battle of the Hindenburg line, the greatest in history. Two American divisions fighting in the British Fourth Army participated in the attack that made the first breach in the Hindenburg line. The First American Army fought the battle of the Argonne, and after desperate fighting took possession of Sedan. In Germany a reaction against the government overturned the monarchy and set up a republic. The German republic asked for terms and was granted an armistice on condition that it surrender its fleet and immense quantities of war material and receive allied garrisons east of the Rhine (November II, 1918). These terms were carried out, and American soldiers occupied Koblenz.

## AIDS TO STUDY

Use the same references as for Chapter XXIV, with the addition of the following for teachers: Bassett, Our War with Germany; *Beck, The Evidence in the Case; Beer, The English-Speaking Peoples; Daniels, The Navy and the Nation; Davison, The American Red Cross in the War; Director of Munitions, America's Munitions (Government Printing Office); Dorr, A Soldier's Mother in France; *Gibbs, The Way

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to Victory (II), The Repulse, and Now it Can be Told; Gibson, A Journal from our Legation in Belgium; *Gompers, American Labor and the War; Hayes, Brief History of the Great War, chaps. xi-xv.; Kelley, What America Did; Lauzanne, Fighting France; Law, Italy in the War; Llovd George, The Great Crusade; Palmer, *America in France and *Our Greatest Battle; *Roosevelt, The Great Adventure; Scherer, The Nation at War; Strother, Fighting Germany's Spies; Tompkins, The Story of the Rainbow Division.

For the Pupil: Bott, Cavalry of the Clouds; Canfield, Home Fires in France; Catlin, With the Help of God and a Fere Marines; Dawson, Carry On; Egan, The War in the Cradle of the World; Gibbons, And they Thought we Wouldn't Fight; Gibbs, The Way to Victory; Hankey, A Student in Arms; Hough, The Web; Lauder, A Minstrel in France; D'Brien, Outwitting the Hun; Paine, The Fighting Fleets; Palmer, America in France and Our Greatest Battle; Thompson and Bigwood, Wimning a Cause; TURkington, My Country, chaps. xxi, xxii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

[I. Compare American unpreparedness in 1861 and 1917. (See Bassett, Our War with Germany, 71-79, II4-I 30 ; Hayes, Brief History, $219-224$; Lee, The Valor of Ignorance; McKinley, Coulomb, and Gerson, School History of the Great War, chap. xiii; Ogg, National Progress, 384-390; Stephenson, Abraham Lincoln, 143-144, 168175.)] 2. How did we raise an army in IgI7? 3. How were recruits trained (section 429)? 4. Why was there such great need of destroyers? 5. What great victory was won by the Anglo-American fleet of destroyers?
6. Name four ways in which money was raised for the war. Explain what is meant by the income tax and the excess-profits law. 7. What do you mean by "reorganization of industry"? How did different industries coöperate in making aircraft? What was done to hasten the construction of new ships?
[8. Write a brief essay on Women in War. (See sections 337-340, 433, 434 ; also Chamberlain, Women and War Work (Survey, May ig, 1917) ; Franks, Household Organization for War Service (motto of the book, "America expects every woman to do her duty"); Hart and Lovejoy, Handbook of the War, 98, 100-10I, 105-110; Pennybacker, What our Country asks of its Young Women; Rinehart, The Altar of Freedom.) ] [9. Write an essay on What Children can do in War Time. (See Hagedorn, You are the Hope of the World; Hart and Lovejoy, Handbook, IO9-IIO.)]
10. What did the Germans attempt in 1918? [if. Tell the story of General Carey and the force he organized out of British and American engineers for the defense of Amiens. (See Bassett, Our War with Germany ; Hayes, Brief History, chap. xiii ; Simonds, History of the Great War.)] 12. How were American reënforcements hurried to France (sections 427, 437)? I3. How did Foch conduct the war during the next three months? 14. What did Americans do at Cantigny? at ChâteauThierry (first battle)? in Belleau Wood? at Vaux? in the second battle of Château-Thierry?
[I5. Write an essay on How we helped turn the Tide against Monarchy. (See Bassett, Our War with Germany; Hayes, Brief History of the Great War, chap. xiv; Hazen, Modern European History, chap. xxxyiii; Palmer, America in France; Sibley, With the Yankee Division in France; Tompkins, The Story of the Rainbow Division. The weekly reports of the Independent during April, June, and July, 1918, are especially good.)] I6. Describe the battle of St. Mihiel. (See Palmer, America in France; also Bassett or Hayes.) 17. What was the Hindenburg line? Explain Foch's plan of attack. Indicate at least two points where Americans participated.
18. What was the task before our army in the battle of the Argonne? [19. Write an essay on Our Greatest Battle. (See Bassett, 220-282; Hayes, 326-334; *Palmer, Our Greatest Battle; Sibley, 257-281; Tompkins, 102-144.)] [20. While we were fighting our way toward Sedan, what had happened outside France? (See Hayes, Brief History of the Great War, chap. xix.)] 21. Following the flight of the emperor Germany accepted an armistice. What does this mean ? What were the terms on which fighting was stopped? 22. What part of the conquered territory was occupied by American forces?


THE KING OF ENGLAND SALUTING THE STARS AND STRIPES IN LONDON


RURAL FREE DELIVERY

## CHAPTER XXVI

## THE PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN NATION

448. Our Country established among the Chief Powers. On the day when American warships took part in the surrender of the German fleet the United States was finally established as one of the chief powers of the world. In the course of three hundred years we had expanded from a little offshoot of the English kingdom into a huge republic whose timely reënforcement had saved the other free nations from despotic conquest. Let us review the causes of our country's power.
449. How the Americans acquired their Land. The deepest foundation of power is land. No people, however valiant, can be powerful unless their land is large enough for them to become numerous and rich enough for them to become prosperous. The story of our acquisition of this splendid land of ours has twelve parts.
r. The Claims of the English Kings. Our earliest title to the soil on which we live is due to the discovery of a part of our Atlantic coast by Cabot, sailing under a commission
from King Henry VII (section 16). This oldest title was strengthened in the glorious reign of the great queen Elizabeth by the visit of Sir Francis Drake to the coast of California (section 17) and by Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition to our south Atlantic coast (section 18). Because of these discoveries King James I laid claim to the central part


THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS (SHADED AND BLACK AREAS)
of North America between latitude $31^{\circ}$ and latitude $48^{\circ}$ (map, p. 33). King Charles II extended the English claim southward to latitude $29^{\circ}$ (map, p. 83).
2. The Early English Settlements. The English did not succeed in settling all this enormous territory. In spite of them the Spaniards went up the Pacific coast and took possession of California (section 234); the French entered the valley of the St. Lawrence (section ior) and passed on into the valley of the Mississippi (section 104); the Dutch seized the valley of the Hudson (section 64); while the Swedes seized the valley of the Delaware (section 66). One hundred and sixty years after Cabot and a hundred years

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after Drake the English had actual possession of only two small fragments out of all the great territory which they claimed (section 63).
3. The Absorption of the Dutch and Swedes. About the middle of the seventeenth century English America began its career of expansion. The first step was the absorption of the Dutch and Swedes and the occupation by the English of most of our Atlantic seaboard (sections 67, 69, 70).
4. The Conquest of the French. After we had struggled with the French for more than a hundred years (Chapter VI), the Treaty of 1763 required them to abandon control in North America (section 123) and established English rule over practically all the continent east of the Mississippi, with the exception of Florida and New Orleans (section 123).
5. Our Area when we seceded from the Empire. Following our secession from the British Empire, the Treaty of 1783 (section 184) fixed our boundaries as follows: On the north, beginning on the Bay of Fundy, the line ran to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, thence along the watershed south of the St. Lawrence and down the Connecticut River to the 45th parallel, along that parallel to the St. Lawrence itself, thence through the middle of the Great Lakes and on past the western end of Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods; on the west, from the Lake of the Woods to the headwaters of the Mississippi, ${ }^{1}$ down the Mississippi to the 3 Ist parallel ; on the south along the 3 Ist parallel to the Chattahoochee River, thence along the present northern boundary of Florida to the sea.
6. The Louisiana Purchase. In 1803 we crossed the Mississippi and began a new era of expansion which ended in our possessing all and more than all of the territories which James I and Charles II gave the early colonies in their

[^140]charters (sections 24, 6I, 79, 84). The Louisiana Purchase was defined by the treaties of 1818 (section 234) and 1819 (section 234). It gave us all the western part of the Mississippi Valley south of the 49th parallel.
7. The Florida Purchase. The northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico eastward from New Orleans was purchased from Spain in 1819 (section 234).
8. The Maine Compromise. The boundary laid down in the Treaty of 1783 with Great Britain proved a puzzle because part of it ran along "the St. Croix River." But there were two rivers of that name. Which was referred to in the treaty? The Webster-Ashburton Treaty (section 27I) compromised the matter in 1842 and gave us, finally, the northern part of Maine.
9. The Annexation of Texas. In 1845 we annexed Texas (section 27I), whose boundary was fixed at the Rio Grande by treaty with Mexico in 1848 (section 277).
10. The Acquisition of Oregon. The Oregon country (section 272), after long contention, was in i846 divided between the United States and England (section 273). Our northern boundary was thus extended due west along the 49th parallel to the Pacific.
in. The Mexican Cession. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 . Mexico ceded us all the Southwest (section 277) except a small strip acquired in 1853.
12. The Gadsden Purchase. This small strip, now included in the states of Arizona and New Mexico, was called the Gadsden Purchase (section 277, note).
450. "Continental United States." This vast country, which is almost the same size as the whole of Europe, ${ }^{1}$ is well suited by nature to form a single great power capable of defending itself from invasion while supporting from its own resources an immense population. No one has described it better than did President Lincoln :

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A nation may be said to consist of its territory, its people and its law. The territory is the only part which is of certain durability. "One generation passeth away and another cometh, but the earth endureth forever." . . . The great interior region bounded east by the Alleghenies, north by the British dominions, west by the Rocky Mountains, and south by the line along which the culture of corn and cotton meets . . . contains more than one third of the country . . . certainly more than one million square miles. . . . A glance at the map shows that territorially speaking, it is the great body of the republic. The other parts are but marginal borders to it. . . . In the production of provisions, grains, grasses, and all which proceed from them, this great interior region is naturally one of the most important in the world. Ascertain from statistics . . . the large and rapidly increasing amount of its products, and we shall be overwhelmed with the magnitude of the prospect presented; and yet this region has no seacoast, touches no ocean anywhere. As part of one nation, its people now find, and may forever find, their way to Europe by New York, to South America and Africa by New Orleans, to Asia by San Francisco.

Skirting this Great Central Plain, the three "marginal borders"- the East, the South, the Pacific slope-all have their especial importance. All form military bulwarks for the center. Furthermore, the East, with its iron and coal mines in the Appalachian valleys (sections 90 , 130 ) and its swift rivers (section 208), is one of the busiest manufacturing regions anywhere on earth. The South, having wonderfully rich soil and a semitropical climate, is preëminently the home of cotton; which is now the leading material for cloth throughout the world. The West beyond the Rockies combines the characteristics of East and South, ranging in its agriculture from the growing of almost tropical fruit in southern California to the cultivation of hardiest Northern grain in Washington: The region of enormous mountains, where the Far West and the center join, is as rich in its mines of gold and silver as are the Eastern mountains in
TERRITORIAL GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES
iron and coal. This area - so vast and yet so well arranged to form one country-is often spoken of as "Continental United States." We think of it as "America." It is the homeland of our extensive dominion, just as the British Isles are the homeland of the widespread British Empire.
451. Our Outlying Dominions. In the past seventy-five years we have acquired possessions outside the homeland. These are (1) Alaska, acquired in 1867 (section 357); (2) the Philippines with Guam Island (which lies between them and Hawaii and is valuable as a coaling station), together with Porto Rico, which were ceded to us by the treaty with Spain in 1898 (section 390); (3) Hawaii, acquired in 1898 (section 390); (4) Wake Island, a valuable coaling station between Hawaii and Guam, which we occupied in 1898 ; (5) a number of small Pacific islands, useful as coaling stations, of which the most important is Tutuila in the Samoan Islands, occupied in 1899 (section 4IO); (6) the Panama Canal Zone, acquired in 1903 (section 396); (7) the Virgin Islands-a group of little islands, formerly called the Danish West Indies, containing one of the finest harbors of the Caribbean Sea and invaluable as a naval base, especially as a means of defending the approach to the Panama Canal. We bought the Virgin Islands from Denmark for $\$ 25,000,000$ in 1917.
452. The Change in the Face of the Land. When the first settlers landed at Jamestown our country was a wilderness (section 22). During the seventeenth century the settlers worked their way up the Eastern rivers, slowly, through great forests (section 66). In the eighteenth century the foolish attempt of the king to prevent their crossing the Eastern mountains helped to bring on the Revolution (section 141). By the end of the eighteenth century the Indians had almost disappeared east of the mountains, and the Eastern forests had given place, generally, to farms. Mining had begun in the mountain valleys. Early in the nineteenth

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century the whites drove the Indians westward until they crossed the Mississippi. After that there was a pause in the struggle of the races, while the retreating Indians roamed the Far West, and the whites took possession of the rich lands between the Mississippi and the Eastern mountains.

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## SCENE ON A CATTLE RANCH IN THE NORTHWEST

The complete settlement of this region was the great achievement of the first half of the nineteenth century. Much more rapidly than along the coast in the preceding century the forests diminished, farms replaced them, roads were laid out, and cities were built. Regions that were called the backwoods or the frontier in 1800 were wealthy communi-ties-trading to the sea by steamboat and railway-in 1850 .

During this half century some immigrants crossed the Mississippi, settling Missouri (section 235) and Texas (section 267) and making a start at settlement in Oregon (section 272 ) and California (section 276 ), but not until after
the War of Secession did the real opening of the West (Chapter XXI) occur. Once started, it progressed so swiftly that it reads like a tale from the Arabian Nights. Like Aladdin's palace, that came into existence in a single night, there were Western cities that seemed to spring full-grown out of the earth, whose network of paved streets suddenly covered a stretch of open prairie over which but a little while before Indians were galloping their ponies in pursuit of buffalo.
453. The Great Roads of America. This swift occupation of the continent was made possible by a series of famous highways. We have seen that roving Indians had begun laying these highways out ages ago (section 22). Eastward of the Mississippi the main historic highways of our country are four: ( 1 ) the Mohawk Trail (sections 22, 205), over which New York and New England sent their people westward and northwestward ; (2) the National Road (section 236), from the headwaters of the Potomac across the "Middle West" (over this road Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and part of Virginia found their Western outlet); (3) the Wilderness Road (sections 14I, 205), twining through the mountains, making use of the natural gateway of Cumberland Gap, and giving to lower Virginia and the Carolinas a passage into Kentucky and Tennessee and on to Missouri and Arkansas ; (4) a less definite route skirting the mountains across upper Georgia and branching southwestward toward Mobile, New Orleans, and Natchez, and leading eventually, by one of its branches, to Texas.

West of the Mississippi the wagon roads played a smaller part in developing the country. Railroads are the historic highways of the farther West. However, there was a famous old Spanish road that crossed Texas from northeast to southwest, passing through San Antonio. From San Antonio an ancient trail led away hundreds of miles northwestward to Santa Fe. What was known as the Santa Fe trail covered
the long distance between that old Spanish city and St. Louis. In the opposite direction from Santa Fe a trail led to California, ending at San Francisco. The same point could be


PROGRESS OF HIGHWAY TRANSPORTATION
reached from St. Louis by following the "Oregon trail" up the Missouri River, past Fort Laramie and Salt Lake City, and then branching to the southwest. Over this trail went many of the "Forty-niners" to California (section 278),


THE GREATER RAILROADS
while over the northwestern branch (see map, p. 485) went the early settlers of Oregon (sections 272, 273).

The great Western railroads, historically, are four:
I. When Congress chartered the Union Pacific Railway (section 360), California chartered the Central Pacific. The former, beginning at Omaha, followed in a general way the course of the old Oregon trail into northern Utah. The Central Pacific, beginning at San Francisco Bay, went northeastward approximately along the trail used by the "Fortyniners." The junction of the two tracks near Ogden, where the last spike driven was of pure gold, established one of the world's most important highways.
2. The Northern Pacific Railway connects Duluth, at the head of Lake Superior, with Seattle and Tacoma. This road is the main artery, so to speak, of the northern tier of Western states - Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington.
3. Hosts of immigrants were carried into the Southwest and on into California by a railroad that linked the Missouri valley with the Pacific slope by following pretty much the line of the Santa Fe trail. This is the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe.
4. The Southern Pacific, running close to the border of Mexico through the Gadsden Purchase (section 277) was projected soon after the Mexican War. Jefferson Davis, when Secretary of War, was eager to build such a road and caused extensive surveys to be made. The Southern Pacific is the direct route from New Orleans to San Francisco. Its course through Texas, at most places, is not far distant from the old Spanish road, which it crosses at San Antonio.
454. Agricultural Development. In the course of three hundred years American agriculture has changed in every respect. Our first farms were mere patches of forest where the "girdled" trees stood black against the sun, while around their dead trunks sprouted Indian corn (section 22 ).

From these humble beginnings, after a hundred and fifty years, grew the vast estates along the Hudson (sections 65, 127), the large colonial farms of Rhode Island (section 92), and the great plantations of the South (section 13I). Then came the movement into the West (section 205) and the cultivation of enormous Western farms (sections 255, 363). However, the greater part of the West was occupied by small farms. In fact, there are few things in our history more significant than the general disappearance of the large "landed estates," the dividing up of the land into farms comparatively small. This change had not begun in the middle of the eighteenth century; it was completed by the close of the nineteenth. Nowhere is it more noticeable than in the South. The extensive plantations have almost all been broken up. Cotton is grown today not by a few owners of enormous estates but by an immense number of farmers, each cultivating a small area. The same is true, relatively, of the grain production of the North and West.

Four causes explain our change from a country of large landed estates to a country of small farms: (I) The rapid movement of population in search of new homes. The government aided this movement by the Homestead Act (section 362). (2) During the nineteenth century manufacturing gradually became more profitable than farming, but it demanded capital ; therefore the small farmer could not leave his farm and set up as a manufacturer. This the landed proprietor could do. In many cases he disposed of his large tracts of land and put his money into factories. (3) In the same way it was found that mining land, if it paid at all, paid better than farm land; therefore people of wealth tended more and more to put their surplus money into mines. (4) The growth of cities drew people off the farms and into the towns. This came about partly because there were many opportunities to make money in town, partly because farm life was dull, while city life was gay.

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 SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATESRecently five new things have changed the whole aspect of farm life. (i) The post office has established rural free delivery, sending the farmer's letters to his own gate. In the old days he had to go for them to a post office perhaps miles away. (2) The parcel post makes it possible to buy a great variety of articles anywhere in the country and have them sent, if not to one's own door, at least to a station close by. Thus the farmer is no longer dependent on the little store of the next village. He can deal with New York or

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STACKING HAY ON A GREAT WESTERN FARM

Atlanta or New Orleans or Chicago or Omaha or San Francisco as easily as with the village merchant. (3) The telephone (see page 503) enables the farmer's family to keep in cheerful touch with friends at any distance and to transact business as conveniently as does the man in town. (4) The low-priced automobile is perhaps the most important of these new things. It gives the farmer a means of rapid transportation which brings, him, almost everywhere, into convenient reach of some town where his family can find diversion. (5) Lastly, there are many new devices or improvements that make farm work easier indoors and out, and farm life pleasant, such as gasoline engines, windmills, improved lighting and heating systems, phonographs, and motion pictures.



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The government assists the farmer in many ways. The Weather Bureau mails to him detailed forecasts of what may be expected in weather conditions. Bulletins issued by the Secretary of Agriculture and sent free give him the latest scientific information in connection with every phase of farming. The government also distributes seeds and plants to such farmers as will experiment with them and report their experience. Whenever diseases appear among plants or cattle the government sends out experts to study them and, if possible, find the cure. In no way has the government done more for the agricultural industry than in its encouragement of systematic irrigation (see page 404).
455. Business Development. What has led so many of the wealthier Americans to put all their money into manufactures or into mines or into railroads? for these, with the industries related to them, are the chief forms of American business. There are five main reasons:
I. As far back as the time of the embargo (section 225) the government began to create an "artificial market" for American goods ; that is, by keeping out goods from abroad the government gave the home producer his chance to sell his manufactures. When competition revived after the War of 18 r 2 a tariff was established which continued to "protect" the American manufacturer (section 240). The tariff has been an issue in our politics ever since, and more often than not we have had a high tariff, practically excluding foreign competition in certain lines (sections 24I, $31 \mathrm{I}, 377$ ). However, in spite of the tariff some industries were not protected; for example, dye-making. Until the beginning of the World War we got almost all our dyes from Germany. When Germany was blockaded (section 422 ) we ran short of dyes. At once the conditions of 1808 were repeated. Our men of wealth built dye works and employed our chemists to find out how dyes could be made at the minimum cost. Thus an active dye industry was established.

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2. The rapid growth of population, from something less than four millions in 1790 to more than a hundred millions in 1920, created an immense demand for implements and utensils of all sorts. Farm implements were among our most successful manufactures - so successful that they have gone all over the world and are met with today as far from home as the interior of China. Our cities necessitated many new


CHICAGO IN THE EARLY DAYS
From an old print
contrivances, such as electric cars; while the rapid transaction of business called for such new inventions as the typewriter. The war has shown us that the airplane may soon take its place with the steam and electric railways in transporting the vast quantities of supplies consumed daily by our immense population.
3. A change in what we call standards of living during the nineteenth century has led innumerable people to demand new comforts. We have seen that the farmer has his telephone, orders things by mail from the great centers, drives twenty miles in an automobile to talk with a friend, and takes his family perhaps the same distance to a movingpicture show. His family buys new books, orders candy by mail, listens to a musical phonograph, reads magazines, takes
a paper or two, and wears hats, gloves, shoes, coats, dresses that are all three times as costly as were those worn by a farmer's family fifty years ago. This change in the standard of living has taken place, more or less, in the lives of all Americans. In manufacturing the articles demanded by this new standard thousands of business men have made their fortunes.
4. The task of handling all these things, of buying them from the producers, and of selling them to the people who use them calls for a great host of merchants large and small. On the one hand we have a few great trusts (section 366), on the other small dealers who are numbered by the thousand (see section 478).
5. Great fortunes have also been made by sup-


IN CHICAGO TODAY plying our export trade. Many American inventions besides our farm implements have gone all over the world. The traveler in Greece meets electric cars built in America; if he visits the Pyramids of Egypt he is pretty sure to see other travelers taking snapshots with American pocket cameras; American shoes are on many feet whose owners could not pronounce the word "America.". American kerosene, sewing machines,

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automobiles, and typewriters are met with the world over. Furthermore, the exportation of our farming products is a great feature of American business. We send cotton abroad to England, France, Germany, Italy, by the million bales. Our grain, our meats, are the staple food of the British Isles; without them all western Europe would run short of food.
456. Our Labor Problem.. Our "agricultural interests"that is to say, all the men and women who depend on agriculture for their prosperity - and our "business interests," though they include a great part of our people, do not include us all. What we know as "labor" includes the bulk of those who are employed by others to work under direction. Formerly we meant by "labor" only those who worked with their hands, but nowadays the term includes many who are not handworkers. Musicians and actors have enrolled themselves in the ranks of "labor" and have formed themselves into unions (section 367). The labor unions are one of the chief features of our present-day life. The union is a local association of workers which is part of a national association made up of many unions, such as the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers or the United Mine Workers of America. These large associations of workers fix the prices their members must charge for their work, regulate the number of hours that shall constitute a working day, and when they think their associates are not receiving justice they endeavor to get better conditions for them and in this endeavor sometimes go so far as to order strikes.
I. W. W. Of late years American labor has divided into antagonistic groups. The disagreement between them is chiefly upon the question, How should labor advance its interests? The unions and the Federation of Labor (section 378), under such leaders as Mr. Gompers (section 430), hold that labor should contend with capital openly, without violence, in the spirit of "fair play." In the management of strikes they do not want to resort to force. A strike,


AN EARLY AMERICAN MILL


A GROUP OF MODERN STEEL MILLS
they say, is a peaceable protest, not a war. Opposed to them is a new society, the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.), which aims to stir up hatred between employer and employee. It would convert strikes into civil wars. These extremists hold much the same views as the Bolsheviki in Russia (section 435) and, like the Bolsheviki, want to destroy or control all classes that do not actually work with their hands. Like the Bolsheviki, they justify murder and the wholesale destruction of property when it serves their ends. The strong opposition of our ablest labor leaders to the Bolsheviki is one of the encouraging signs of the times. Though strong for what they consider their own rights, these leaders do not propose to abolish other classes. "There is no fundamental antagonism," says Mr. John Mitchell, late president of the United Mine Workers, "between the laborer and the capitalist. . . . Broadly considered, the interest of the one is the interest of the other, and the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the other." No one has expressed the ideas of conservative American labor more ably than did President Lincoln :

The strongest bond of human sympathy outside the family relation should be one uniting all working people of all nations and tongues and kindreds. Nor should this lead to a war upon property or the owners of property. Property is the fruit of labor, is desirable, is a positive good to the world. That some should be rich shows that others may become rich, and hence is just encouragement to industry and enterprise. Let not him who is houseless pull down the house of another, but let him work diligently and build one for himself, thus by example insuring that his own shall be safe from violence when built.

Arbitration. The old way of settling a dispute between labor and capital, between employees and employers, was almost war (sections 367,378 ). For a long while intelligent people on both sides have tried to substitute arbitration for conflict. President Cleveland led the way in. urging Congress to compel arbitration (section 378). Though Congress has created a general Arbitration Board, to which all labor disputes may be submitted, and also a special Railway Labor Board, the popular tendency is to call in the president in great disputes between employers and employees. President Roosevelt set a famous example when he interfered in the anthracite coal strike (section 380). President Wilson, during his two terms, was called upon to take part in almost all the serious labor disputes, many of which he succeeded in adjusting. In igIg he assisted in adjusting a great coal strike which ended in increasing the wages of the miners 37 per cent. So large is our labor problem that it has brought about the organization of the Department of Labor (1913), whose head is a member of the cabinet.
457. The Fourth Group of Americans. There is a fourth group of people who are necessary to a nation's greatness: all those who neither till the soil nor work in the trades and whose work cannot be described as "business." Doctors, lawyers, clergymen, teachers, artists, are included in this group. And who could be more useful? It is by what these people do - by the scientific, the legal, the religious, the educational, the artistic, achievement of any people-that they are chiefly known in after time. He is a poor patriot who does not long to see his country excel in these ways, who does not ardently hope that his own generation will

> Leave behind a name, I trust,
> That will not perish with the dust.
458. Science and Education. Americans are celebrated for their skill in adapting scientific knowledge to useful ends. Beginning with our first great scientist, Franklin (section 135) ; following him with such men as Whitney (section 209), McCormick (section 255), Morse (section 282, note), Maury (section 283), Howe (section 282), Ericsson (section 318),

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Eads (section 372), we have been splendidly successful in "applied science." Conspicuous among a host of recent inventors are Edison, who perfected the incandescent electric light and the phonograph, and the two Wright brothers, who were the leaders in the gradual development of the


OLD AND NEW MEANS OF LOCOMOTION REPRESENTED AT THE HUDSONFULTON CELEBRATION
airplane. With our natural bent for putting science to use, it is not strange that in medicine and in the management of hospitals Americans stand high. Among our remarkable successes is ridding Havana of yellow fever during the brief period of American control (section 392). Still more striking is the medical history of the Canal Zone. Before the United States took possession of that region it was a death trap-so frequent and so terrible were the epidemics of yellow fever, so prevalent was malarial fever. By a rigid cleaning up and by the extermination of the mosquito the Canal Zone has been freed of its dangers.

No country has a more complete system of public schools. Beginning with that early law which rendered school attendance compulsory in New England (section 53), school legislation has grown until today every state makes large appropriations for its schools. The United States maintains a Bureau of Education, which studies educational problems and gives information on the subject to all who desire it. The school-teachers of the nation have combined in the National Education Association, which holds conventions each year for the discussion of school management and of courses of studies. Similarly, the colleges and universities hold annual conventions with a view to exchanging ideas upon their difficulties. The professions, such as law and medicine, also have associations whose aim is to improve the educational equipment of their members. These also


ALEXANDER GRAHAM BELL Inventor of the telephone hold annual discussions. In fact, these educational conventions are among the most momentous things in American life. They are quietly and steadily bringing us all into closer and closer union.
459. Religion. In matters of religion we stand firm on the noble principle enunciated in the Constitution: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The great Christian denominations which were organized in our country during colonial times - the Baptist, Congregational, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal,

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Roman Catholic - have all grown with the growth of the country. There has been added to our religious life the Jewish Church. The joint action of all these, together with smaller religious bodies, was remarkably shown when a "welfare drive" was conducted in the summer of 1918 (section 434). The drive culminated in a great meeting in New York, presided over by a distinguished Baptist, Charles E. Hughes, ${ }^{1}$ with religious exercises in which a Roman Catholic archbishop, a Protestant Episcopal bishop, and a Jewish rabbi took part. Among new denominations are two that have originated in this country:
r. The Mormon Church (page 403, note 1 ) has its headquarters at Salt Lake City, where its chief temple is a famous edifice. This church has its membership chiefly in the Rocky Mountain country between Colorado and California, though it sends missionaries into many countries.
2. The Chrisstian Science Church, founded by Mrs. Mary Baker Eddy, has its headquarters in Boston, though its membership extends into all parts of the world.
460. Literature and the Drama. In recent years American writing has been strikingly successful in expressing humor and in the short story.

Samuel L. Clemens, known to all the world as Mark Twain, set everyone laughing with his boys' story of "Tom Sawyer"; later, his "Innocents Abroad" made fun of the ignorant American traveler in Europe; his "Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court" satirized some of the ideas we have inherited from the Middle Ages; while his masterpiece, "Huckleberry Finn," for its combination of humor, story-telling, and bitter satire, is unrivaled.

Poe and Hawthorne created the American short story. Bret Harte showed the world that this form of literature had possibilities never before appreciated. In some ways he was the teacher of Kipling. Though in his own country Harte's

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example has been followed by a host of skillful writers, he has never been excelled. Among his noted successors are George W. Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, James Lane Allen, Frank R. Stockton, Edward Everett Hale, O. Henry, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman.

Two novelists of high distinction are William Dean Howells and Henry James. The later poets include Sidney Lanier, Eugene Field, James Whitcomb Riley, and Walt Whitman. Second to none as a writer of eloquent prose is Abraham Lincoln, whose "Gettysburg Oration" has become an English classic.

In the drama-though we have not, as yet, any famous names of our own-Americans take the keenest interest. The great classics of our literature, the plays of Shakespeare, are always popular. Recently many playwrights of American birth have attracted attention, but their fame is still to be made sure. How great is our interest in the theater was strikingly shown in 19I9, when the city of Tacoma established a municipal theater whose support was guaranteed by the city. Another famous experiment is the beautiful openair theater built and maintained by the University of California especially for rendition of the classic plays of ancient Greece.
461. Architecture; Painting; Sculpture; Music. Since the Columbian Exposition (section 384), whose designers were influenced by the architecture of.Paris, some American architects have continued to follow French styles, while others have turned to ancient Rome for their inspiration and still others to fifteenth-century England. Roman imitation was carried out with masterly skill in the Pennsylvania Railway Station, New York, where the central apartmentone of the grandest in the world-is a study from the baths. of the Emperor Caracalla. What is known as Collegiate Gothic, studied from the lovely buildings of the universities

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of Oxford and Cambridge, has recently become the favorite American style for schools and colleges. The lofty Woolworth Building, New York,-perhaps the finest American structure of recent years, -


THE WOOLWORTH BUILDING, NEW YORK is in a similar English style, which is called by architects the perpendicular because of the prominence it gives to up-and-down lines.

One of the greatest nine-teenth-century painters was an American, - James M'Neill Whistler, who began work as a map draftsman in the War Department and died famous throughout the world because of the strange beauty of his peculiar pictures. Perhaps the greatest American sculptor was Augustus Saint Gaudens, whose heroic statues of famous men are a priceless contribution to our history. His statue of Lincolr at Chicago is one of his most celebrated productions.

In music also we have produced an original genius, Edward MacDowell, who is universally accorded high rank as a composer. He too has made his contribution to the history of his country. A wonderful surge of majestic sound is "A.D. MDCXX," a composition in which he expressed his feeling for the significance of the early voyaging to America. As has been said of it, "We feel the passage of a civilization across a mighty sea, the courage of man triumphing over natural obstacles."


LINCOLN, BY SAINT GAUDENS

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462. The Position of Women in America. One peculiarity of American history is the fact that the story of our country begins with a woman for our ruler. Most nations have some great figure in the far past to whom they look back as to their remote founder. Everyone has heard the ancient story of Romulus founding Rome. At the beginning of our history stands the figure of the great queen Elizabeth, perhaps the greatest queen in the history of the world. During her reign was fought the war with Spain which settled the question whether there was or was not to be any free democratic American people (section 19). It was in the name of Queen Elizabeth that Drake took possession of our Pacific coast (section 17) and that Raleigh's colonists took possession of the Atlantic coast (section 18). In her honor the first English colony in America was named Virginia (section 18).

It is fitting that a country which had such a patroness should be noted for the great importance of women in its affairs. This was due in part to the conditions of colonial life, - to the many demands upon the New England woman while her husband was at sea (section $\mathrm{I}_{32}$ ) and to the numerous responsibilities which devolved upon the Southern woman in the management of a great plantation (section 13 I ). Then, too, from the beginning, American women have made the most of their opportunities of leadership. Mrs. Brent in Maryland (section 38), Mrs. Hutchinson in Massachusetts (section 52 ), Mrs. Pinckney in South Carolina (section 126, note), were merely the most conspicuous among many. In the changing conditions of the nineteenth century (Chapter XV) the activities of women increased in importance, leading, among other consequences, to the establishment of coeducation and of colleges especially for women (section 256). Of late years many women have served as college professors and as presidents of colleges. A noted instance was Alice Freeman Palmer, long the president of Wellesley College.

The humanitarian work begun by Dorothea Dix (section 284) has been continued in all parts of our country by many women.

Especially have women labored to improve the condition of our cities. No problem of American life is more serious than this. Our cities, which have grown so suddenly to such


A Class at hull house, chicago, where many young people of FOREIGN PARENTAGE FORM IDEALS OF CITIZENSHIP AND SERVICE
great size, have their crowds of poor people, often foreigners, who inhabit the "slums." Few people anywhere are more wretched. To encourage these inhabitants of the slums, to teach them better ways of living, to assist them in finding work, "settlement houses" have been established among them, each with its group of high-minded "residents," who aim to become friends of the slum people and to teach them our customs. None is better known than Hull House, Chicago, under the direction of Miss Jane Addams. In all the "movements" of recent times women have taken their full share. Among the abolitionists (section 259) there was

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no figure more striking than Frances Wright (p. 325 ). We have seen that two American women have founded new churches-Mrs. Hutchinson (sections 52, 6I) and Mrs. Eddy (section 459). The part of women in our great wars (sections $337-340,433,434$ ) cannot be exaggerated. America


SUSAN B. ANTHONY is especially rich in women writers (section 460).
463. Woman Suffrage. Almost a hundred years ago the question was asked, "Why not let women vote?" A movement to secure the ballot for women had among its chief leaders Susan B. Anthony and Frances Willard. As.far back as 1861 Kansas gave women the right to vote on all matters connected with schools. In 1869 Wyoming led the way in giving women just the same rights as voters that men had. Other states slowly followed Wyoming's example. ${ }^{1}$ In 1916 Montana elected Miss Jeanette Rankin, the first woman member of the National House of Representatives.

Meanwhile it had been proposed to give women the ballot in all the states by an amendment to the National Constitution. The great services of women in the World War secured many friends for this proposal. In the terrible days of 1918, when all Americans-women as well as men-were giving all their energies one way or another to the winning of the war, President Wilson appealed to Congress to recognize the

[^143] work of women by helping to make them voters. In 1919 Congress drew up an amendment providing 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 sex." This amendment was submitted to the states for ratification. ${ }^{1}$ The first state to take action was Wisconsin (June 5, 1919), which ratified the amendment the day after its adoption by Congress. Other ratifications followed in quick succession. In August, 1920, Tennessee gave the amendment its thirty-sixth ratification. Thus the approval of the necessary three fourths of the states was obtained. The amendment was proclaimed a part of the Constitution on August 23 , and at last the United States included among those entitled to vote the whole number of the women of the Republic.
464. Elections. There are four ways in which American citizens may use their right to vote:
I. National Elections. Every four years we elect a president. This is done in rather a complicated way. In every state each political party nominates "electors," who are equal in number to both the senators and representatives of the state in Congress. In what we call the presidential election we really vote for electors. After the election the men and women chosen as electors are known as the Electoral College. They choose the president. However, as each elector has been pledged to vote for the candidate nominated by his or her party, we know as soon as the election is over which candidate will be chosen. The choice by the electors is really no more than the official recording of the result of the election. ${ }^{2}$

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Every two years elections are held for members of the House of Representatives. Each state is represented according to its population. Congress decides on the ratio of representatives to population after each census. The first ratio following the census of 1790 (section 204) was I representative to 30,000 inhabitants; today it is about i to 211,000 . In 1920 five states - Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, New Mexico, and Wyoming - had but a single representative each, while the one great state of New York had forty-three.

Until very recently senators were chosen by the legislatures of their states, but the Seventeenth Amendment requires them to be chosen by popular vote. Each senator holds office six years.
2. State Elections. Our government is a "federation"; that is, in every part of America the labor of government is divided between the national and the state authorities. ${ }^{1}$ Certain matters are in the charge of Congress; certain others, in the charge of the state legislature. Congress legislates on all matters (i) that concern our relations with foreign countries, such as treaties and the tariff ; (2) that concern two or more states, such as the coinage of money, the mails, navigation of rivers, and railway traffic across state

Jefferson, Democrat, was vice president. In 1804 the Twelfth Amendment provided that the electors should vote for president and vice president separately. Ever since the two have always belonged to the same party. Even before 1804 a movement had begun to require the electors to pledge themselves in advance as to how they would vote. In I800, in each party a "caucus," or council of leaders, named their party candidate and required their electors to promise to vote for him. The caucus continued to direct the electors until the National Convention came into use (section 264).
${ }^{1}$ See section 99 for our first attempt at federal government.

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lines, which is regulated under act of Congress by the Interstate Commerce Commission (section 366, note 3); (3) that have been put into the hands of Congress by the Constitution or by an amendment to the Constitution, such as the liquor traffic (section 263 , note). On everything else the state legislates. ${ }^{1}$ It keeps the peace, punishes criminals, regulates the holding of property, maintains schools, and does a thousand things that combine to make life comfortable and well ordered. The state elections, held at whatever time the state prefers, choose the officers necessary to accomplish these ends. Every state elects by general vote at least a governor and a legislature and frequently many other officers. What is known as the referendum ${ }^{2}$ is an arrangement by which an act of the legislature may be referred to a popular election in which the people either approve or abolish it. The "initiative ${ }^{\prime 2}$ is a popular election in which all of those voting express their preference for or against a proposed law for which a small percentage of voters have asked.
3. County Elections. States are subdivided into counties ${ }^{3}$ (section I3I). A sheriff keeps order in the county; a treasurer receives taxes; the county judges administer justice. As a rule these are all elected by the people of the county.
4. Municipal Elections. In cities special local officers are needed to take charge of the dense mass of population. ${ }^{4}$ The work of the sheriff has to be supplemented by the local police force. Special taxes, to be expended within the city limits, are collected by a city treasurer. Local criminal courts try the numerous offenders whom the county court

[^147]is too busy to deal with. For the safe management of traffic in city streets, and for many other incidental matters, regulations are needed-different from those which are in force outside the city, in what we call the country. To deal with all these difficulties peculiar to towns, municipal elections create municipal officers-including a mayor, a council (or city legislature), a treasurer, and a school board. ${ }^{1}$ Often the judges are also elected, though sometimes the mayor or other officials appoint them.
465. How the Vote is taken. Formerly there was much dissatisfaction with the way the vote was taken. In those days each party printed the names of its candidates on a slip of paper called a ballot. On election day each voter came before the judges of election at a place previously advertised and himself put his piece of paper into a "ballot box." Sometimes dishonest voters slipped in more than one. Sometimes improper influence was used on those who were voting in this public way. To prevent this we generally use nowadays what is called the Australian ballot. The new plan requires the government to print all the candidates of all the parties on one large ballot. When a citizen comes to the voting place the election officials have before them a full list of all persons entitled to vote at that place. When the voter appears his or her name is found on this list and checked off. Then the officials give him or her an official ballot. The voter goes into a booth and in secret marks the names of the candidates whom he prefers. The ballot is then folded so that none of the marking can be seen, and dropped into the ballot box. In this way it is impossible for anyone to vote twice, and no one can tell how anyone else has voted.

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466. The National Government. The government of the United States consists of three distinct parts: Congress, the president, and the Supreme Court.
I. Congress. It is important to know why our Congress has its two parts, or Houses. The oldest reason for this is the fact that our ancestors, when they drew up the Constitution, had been accustomed for many generations to two Houses of Parliament - the House of Lords and the House of Commons. But there is another reason why we have the two Houses. In the Constitutional Convention of 1787 ( $\mathrm{sec}-$ tion 194) the men from the large states wanted to have all the representation in Congress proportional to population. This frightened the little states. They were afraid that the large states would on all occasions vote them down and run the government as they pleased. At last a compromise was agreed upon. It was decided that in one House each state should have the same representation - two senators and that in the other House its representation should be in proportion to its population. It was also agreed that no law could go into effect until both Houses agreed to it.
467. The President. When our ancestors debated the Constitution there were many who did not want to have a president. They were afraid that in setting up a president they were really setting up a king. We now see that their fears were groundless. And yet the officer that they created and named president was simply the old-time king, without a crown. Their idea was that he should stand above all parties, take advice from all, but decide himself what was best. That was how Washington tried to rule as president-an uncrowned king. But it would not work. Even Washington found that the people would not leave the decision of important questions to his individual government. He found that he had to tell them in a general way what he meant to do, and secure their approval ; that is to say, he had to have behind him an organization of voters pledged to support him-
a political party. In his second term Washington accepted the leadership of the Federalist party. Every candidate for president since then has frankly admitted that he belonged to a party and that he would, if elected, carry out the program which that party had agreed upon. This program is called the party platform.

The president holds office for four years and nowadays receives an annual salary of $\$ 75,000$. He, as well as the two Houses, must approve an act of Congress before it can become a law. If he pleases he may veto an act, which cannot then go into effect unless two thirds of both Houses vote in favor of it a second time. The Constitution, in Article II, explains in full the rights and duties of the president.

If the president dies while in office the vice president becomes president for the remainder of the term. If the vice president dies he is succeeded by the Secretary of State, and so on, in case of other deaths, until seven members of the cabinet (section 219) have followed as president. ${ }^{1}$
3. The Supreme Court. The Supreme Court is composed of justices who are appointed by the president with the consent of the Senate, but who, once appointed, hold office for life. The presiding judge is called the Chief Justice. We have a Supreme Court because in the old days, before the Constitution was adopted (Chapter X), there was no way of enforcing the Articles of Confederation (section 185). So much confusion resulted (section 193) that our fathers learned a needed lesson, and when they drew up the Constitution they provided for a court empowered to say what the Constitution meant and when its provisions were being violated.

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467. The American People. Behind all these various officers, directing and controlling them, is the American people. Who are they?

This great nation began as a handful of English colonists on the James River (section 25). If our present mode of taking the census extended backward through the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries the first census would be dated 1610 and would give us a population of but two hundred and twenty-five. When the census of 1790 was taken we numbered nearly four million. Almost all the white Americans of that day were immigrants from the British Isles or descendants of such immigrants. A few were of French, German, or Dutch descent ; but, however descended, they had all come to have qualities of their own that marked them off as a new people (section 135). Just why this should have happened, just what influences had worked upon the original English settlers and converted them into Americans, it is hard to say, but the fact remains. About the middle of the eighteenth century the new people, the Americans, had come of age so to speak (section 135). These were the people who numbered four million in 1790 . Their characteristics were the same that we have today-good humor, a love of freedom, cheerfulness in bad fortune, generosity in good fortune, warmheartedness, shrewdness, carelessness of danger, and immense energy.

Whatever it was that created the new nation, the same force went on at work for another hundred years, making Americans out of the thousands upon thousands of immigrants who poured into our country between 1790 and 1890 . Until the latter date this process of "assimilation," or the making of Americans out of immigrants, did not receive any serious check. Since 1890 we have received large numbers of immigrants who have not been Americanized, so that today we have in parts of our country a foreign population. How this has happened and what it signifies will be discussed in the next chapter. By "the American people"in distinction from the groups of unassimilated foreignerswe mean that great body of men and women who have been


STEPS IN TRANSCONTINENTAL TRANSPORTATION
molded by the same creative influences that were at work in our country throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries.

The national character which we had developed in the preceding century was solidified and made permanent by a great

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number of influences, among which seven are of first importance in explaining our difference from other nations.
r. The abundance of free or very cheap land made it easy for every American to keep his independence of character. If a workman, he had no need to stand in fear of his employer. At any moment he could go out West and turn farmer (section 289). Our liberality with the public land was a powerful influence in Americanizing the immigrants: Many an unhappy peasant from eastern or southern Europe who had never dreamed of owning land in his native country was made into a new man by the gift of an American farm. His sons or grandsons showed their gratitude in 19I7 when they proudly claimed the right to fight for their country America.
2. During the nineteenth century there was, in the main, real freedom of business in America. Very few men with brains and energy failed to find a good business opportunity. This also tended to make them hopeful and self-reliant. Like the free land, it helped to Americanize our immigrants. Many a poor tradesman from France or Austria or Bohemia became, in the kindly freedom of American life, a man of fortune. His son crossed the ocean eastward in an officer's uniform to fight for democracy in the World War.
3. Our free schools have taught our children-and also the children of all the oppressed who have come to us-the thrilling story of the long battle of the Anglo-Saxons to be free. The great ideals of the founders of our country (section 98), of the wars against the Bourbons (section II2), of the struggle with George III, were in the hearts of all Americans when in 1918 we gave our savings to help win the war that was to put down despotism.
4. We practice self-government all the time in a hundred ways, so habitually that we hardly notice what we do. Our clubs, our societies, our associations of all sorts, are all organized on the idea that a group of people can manage
their affairs through discussion and by taking votes with justice to everyone. Our rules for conducting meetings in this way are known as "parliamentary law." Few things work more effectually in training our immigrants for American citizenship than their participation in clubs and societies. For example, a club of Polish children at a settlement house (section 462), governing their meetings in strict accordance with parliamentary law, are forming a point of view of which their parents as children never dreamed.
5. All grown Americans of good character are free to take part in politics. The feeling that one has a right to do this has an incalculable effect in upbuilding his or her feeling of independence.
6. All of us are equal before the law, all have the same right to go into court and bring suit against those whom we think have injured us.
7. Above all else, as a means of keeping bright our ideal of freedom, we have the English language. The forms of English-their directness, their simplicity - are a constant reminder to its users to be straightforward and independent. It has been said that Italian is the loveliest language, French the most subtle, Spanish the most high-sounding, while English, whatever else it is, is the language of freedom. From the time when Queen Elizabeth gathered her fleet to resist the Invincible Armada (section 19) to the battle of the Argonne the English-speaking peoples have been the chief enemies of despotism. Our noble literature reflects the whole of this long struggle of democracy against the kings.

## SUMMARY

In the long story of the acquisition of the land now included in continental United States there are twelve distinct steps, beginning with the discoveries of Cabot in 1498 and closing with the Gadsden Purchase in 1854 . Our outlying possessions have all been acquired since 1854 .

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The land of the United States has undergone a transformation as the frontier of settlement has slowly moved across the continent.

Following the lines of ancient trails the paths of settlement have marked out a great system of historic highways.

Agriculturally in the past two hundred years we have passed from a country of large landed estates to a country of small farms with a majority of our people living in towns.

Business on a great scale has grown out of the immense increase of our population and the changes in the standard of living.

We have a labor problem that involves questions of the activities of unions, of the struggle between conservative labor and the I. W. W., and of arbitration.

The importance of women in American life has grown with the country and has led at length to the adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment.

Through local, state, and national elections the people create and control, either directly or indirectly, all the branches of our government.

The national government is headed by Congress, which makes the laws but does not enforce them ; the president, who does not make laws, but whose duty is to enforce them; the Supreme Court, which decides whether laws are constitutional.

The American people began as a little offshoot of the English people, but changed in the new conditions of America into a distinct nation with a character of its own. This birth of a new people was complete about 1763 . Of the many influences determining the character of the American people, seven are of chief importance: the abundance of free land in our formative period, the freedom of business in that period, the Anglo-Saxon tradition of political freedom, the practice of self-government, our general participation in politics, equality before the law, and the English language.

## AIDS TO STUDY

As this chapter is in the nature of a summing up, most of its references have been given already in connection with the topics here restated and regrouped. The teacher is again reminded of the value, for recent developments, of such magazines as the Literary Digest or Current Opinion; the Survey is useful for economic problems; the Manufacturers' Record and

Commerce and Finance contain a great deal of valuable historical matter. The nearer we approach the present, the harder it is to find historical material in convenient form. The following may be added to previous references: *Becker, United States, chaps. xviii-xx; Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xx, xxii, xxxii, xxxiii ; Brigham, Geographic Influences, chaps. xi, xii ; Bryce, The American Commonwealth (edition of 1911); Guitteau, Government and Politics in the United States, chaps. iv-vi, xv, xxxvii; Hall, Immigration; Hendrick, The Age of Big Business (Chronicles of America); Jenks, The Immigration Problem; Kellér and Bishop, Industry and Trade; Lane and Hile, American History in Literature, 158-177; Long, American Literature; Moody, The Masters of Capital (Chronicles of America); Muzzey, Readings, 559-582; *Orth, The Armies of Labor (Chronicles of America); *Osgood, History of Industry, chap. xix; Sparks, National Derrelopment, chaps. i-iii; Van Dyke, The American Spirit; Walker, Discussions in Economics and Statistics, II, 417-45I ; *Webster, History of Commerce, chaps. xix, xx.

For the Pupil: To the references previously mentioned may be added the following: Barstow, The Progress of a United People; Faris, Makers of Our History, chaps. xxiii-xxviii; Guitteau, Preparing for Citizenship, chap. x; Lane and Hill, American History in Literature, 158-177; Mowry, American Inventions and Inventors, III-116, 252297 ; Roosevelt, Stories of the Great West; Southworth, Building our Country, II; Turkington, My Country, chaps. i, xiii-xviii.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

[r. Draw a map showing the twelve steps in our acquisition of continental United States.] 2. What three things were named by Lincoln as together composing a nation? 3. What did he call "the great body of the republic"? [4. Describe each of the three "marginal borders" of the "great interior region." (See Brigham, Geographic Influences; Semple, Geographic Conditions.)] 5. Name our outlying dominions. 6. Describe the four great wagon roads that were formed out of Indian trails. 7. Name four Western railways that have great historical importance. [8. Write an essay on Development of Agriculture in the United States. (See Bogart, Economic History, chaps. xx, xxiii; Coman, Industrial History and Economic Beginnings of the Far West, II, 167-33I.)] 9. How has the growth of population stimulated business?
[ro. In what ways has American business expanded? (See Bogart, Economic History, chap. xxxii.)] ir. Explain (1) "labor," (2) I.W.W.,

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(3) industrial arbitration. [12. Explain what you mean by the "fourth group." Name some noted scientists. What have they invented? How have we distinguished ourselves in medicine? Tell all you know about American educational institutions. What is characteristic of Americans in religion? Name some great writers and their writings. Name a famous American building. Name a great painter and a great musician. (See Brooks, As Others See Us; MacMaster, History IV, $552-555$; V, chaps. xlvii-xlix; VI, 79-IOI, 421-429; VII, 73-99, 134-162, 185-208, 221-227; Perry, American Spirit in Literature; Rhodes, History (III, 59-II3) and The South in the Building of the Nation (V, 595-655; VII, chaps. I, xiii, xiv, xx-xxii) ; Turner, The New West, 16-31, 40, 106-110; Wendell, Literary History of America.)]

I3. Between the time of Queen Elizabeth and today what have women done to build up our country? Tell the story of the movement for woman's suffrage. I4. How do we elect a president? How are Congressmen chosen? How are senators chosen? [15. Explain "initiative" and "referendum." (See Guitteau, Government and Politics,. 102-103; Paxson, The New Nation, 249-250; Woodburn, Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States, chap. xxii.)]
16. What are the seven chief influences that have been at work ever since early colonial times forming the American people?


COURT OF HONOR AT THE COLUMBIAN WORLD'S FAIR


THE SPIRIT OF AMERICA

## CHAPTER XXVII

## PROBLEMS OF TODAY

468. Proposals for Peace. Long before the war closed there was talk in all countries about what might come after. Among the Allies it was generally agreed that a speech made by President Wilson, called "the speech of the Fourteen Points" (January, 1918), contained the main points that would have to be insisted upon. Shortly after the armistice a peace conference assembled at Paris. The attendance of President Wilson was the first instance of an American president's taking part in a conference in Europe.
469. The Treaty of Versailles. So many and so difficult were the problems before the peace congress that not until the following spring was a treaty drawn up. On June 28 , 1919, the representatives of all the nations involved in the World War assembled in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles and signed a treaty of peace. Among the many provisions upon which an agreement was finally reached, the following seven were of chief importance.

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I. Alsace and Lorraine, which had been seized by Germany in 1871, were restored to France.
2. Germany was required to pay indemnities to the Allies to assist them in discharging the cost of the war.
3. Austria-Hungary was broken up as an empire. Independent countries remained under the names "Austria" and "Hungary," but a part of their former territory inhabited by Italians was given to Italy and another part inhabited by Rumanians was given to Rumania. Other parts combined to make the new country of Czechoslovakia, and still other parts combined with Serbia and Montenegro to form a country now known as Jugoslavia.
4. Parts of Russia, of old Austria, and of Germany were united as Poland. ${ }^{1}$
5. Turkey was dismembered, and Armenia was made an independent state.
6. The former German colonies were placed under the protection of different countries among the Allies.
7. A scheme was drawn up for uniting all the Alliesand eventually all the world-in a "League of Nations" to prevent future wars.
470. American Opposition to the Treaty. Signing the treaty did not make it effective. It had to be ratified by the governments behind the signers. Without long delay France, England, and Germany ratified the treaty, but in the United States there was much opposition. This was directed chiefly against the scheme for a League of Nations. Enemies of the scheme made three objections: (I) They were afraid that if the United States entered a permanent league we might have to do things which the rest of the League insisted on, but of which we did not approve. (2) They did not like it because Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India were in certain respects treated as separate nations

[^150]and given a voice in determining the policy of the League. As these countries are included in the British Empire, the objection was raised that the Empire, in addition to Great Britain's vote in the Council of the League, would have five extra votes, while the United States would have only its single vote. (3) One article (X) of the "Covenant," or constitution, of the League, pledged the members to respect and


THE PEACE CONGRESS IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, VERSAILLES ; PREMIER CLEMENCEAU OF FRANCE PRESIDING
preserve against outside attack the boundaries of the various countries as laid down on the map of the world by the peace conference. Many Americans were unwilling to give this pledge; they felt it was possible that the conference had made mistakes and that its map of the world might have to be redrawn.

The friends of the scheme made the following replies:
r. That all important matters would come before the Council of the League. In this Council no decision is binding unless all members agree, and therefore, said the believers
in the League, the United States could always protect itself by refusing to make a decision unanimous.
2. That this principle of unanimity, which was to be applied in almost all the legislation of the League, made it immaterial how many votes a member might have and that in all discussions of policy Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India should be represented.
3. That it was necessary to agree, once for all, on the boundaries of all countries in order to prevent further attempts to seize territory ; this, argued the defenders of the Covenant, was the only way to prevent further war.

The nation quickly divided into four groups, under distinguished leaders: ( I ) the uncompromising defenders of the Covenant, who would not listen to any proposal of change, were led by President Wilson; (2) moderate "leaguers," who were ready to accept the Covenant as it stood but were willing to make changes, - for example, to alter Article X,--were led by ex-President Taft, President Lowell of Harvard University, and President Butler of Columbia University ; (3) enemies of the Covenant, who wanted a league very different from the one proposed, were led by Senator Lodge of Massachusetts; (4) opponents of the whole plan of a league were led by Senator Borah of Idaho and Senator Johnson of California.
471. The Senate rejects the Treaty. Though the President of the United States negotiates all our treaties, they are not binding until "ratified"-that is, approved-by the Senate. When President Wilson submitted the treaty to the Senate a furious debate was started there between its friends and its enemies. At length its enemies won. In March, 1920, the Senate refused to approve the treaty because it provided for a League of Nations; thereupon President Wilson announced that he would submit this question of foreign policy to the judgment of the whole country and would ask the people to settle the matter at the next presidential election.
472. The Election of 1920. A most unusual thing now occurred. Both Republicans and Democrats chose a presidential candidate from the same state-Ohio. The Republicans at their convention in Chicago chose Senator Warren G. Harding; the Democrats, in convention at San Francisco, Governor James M. Cox. Senator Harding announced himself as opposed to the sort of league described in the treaty, but as willing to form some association of powers less closely knit together. He believed that the proposed plan would merge the nationsthe United States with the others-into one "superstate." Governor Cox, on the other hand, stood for the League as it was described in the treaty; nevertheless, he was willing to accept "reservations" which would define the rights of the United States and make plain that in entering the League the

(C) Baker Art Gallery

WARREN G. HARDING United States would remain an independent sovereign power. The election in November was a sweeping victory for the candidate of the Republicans.
473. The Polish Problem. Many grave problems confronted the American people in 1920. With one of these President Wilson had to deal in the midst of the presidential campaign. Though war had ended in western Europe, it was still raging in eastern Europe. The unscrupulous Bolshevik government of Russia was at war with the Poles. In 1920, Bolshevik armies penetrated to the vicinity of Warsaw. France, England, and Italy were all negotiating with Russia in an effort to save Poland; but in midsummer,

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1920, they were not in complete accord, and it seemed likely that while they debated what to do Poland would be destroyed. At this juncture President Wilson sent a note to Italy, intended for all the world, vigorously condemning the


IN POLAND AND IN SOME OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WOMEN ENLISTED AND FOUGHT AS SOLDIERS Bolsheviki and expressing the strong sympathy of the United States for Poland. Fortunately the Poles, a few days later, gained a great victory over the Russians. The other countries took up the cause of Poland with renewed vigor. Although there was not yet a settlement of "the Polish prob-lem"-that is, of how Poland is to be preserved as an independent statethe hope of a settlement became brighter.
474. The Russian Problem. In his note on Poland President Wilson also stated his attitude toward Russia. What is known as "the Russian problem" is largely the question, Shall we recognize as independent powers the various states into which the old Russian empire has broken, or shall we refuse to do so and wait for them to combine again in a single state? During the war President Wilson had refused to recognize these states, with the exceptions of Finland and Poland, whose people were not Russian and should therefore, he thought, be separated from Russia. But as the other portions-or, at least, all the important portions-were
inhabited by the great Russian people, he thought that it was for the best interest not only of Russia but of the world for them all-like the states of the American Union -to be united in one great power.
475. Our Home Problems: Profiteering. Side by side with these new problems in our foreign relations, serious problems appeared in our affairs at home. One of the most important is "profiteering"-the taking of unjust profits. It is not a new thing, but we did not think much about it until the World War. Then the enormous profits made by a few conscienceless speculators roused the whole nation to begin thinking on the question, What are just profits? The question became still more serious after the war, when prices rose enormously-when a pair of shoes that ten years before might have been had for five dollars were sold for twenty, and the prices of other necessities rose correspondingly high. To enable people to supply their needs at the new prices, wages and salaries had to be increased. As explanation of the numerous strikes of 1919 and 1920 (section 456) the same reason was always given: We cannot live on our old wages, because the prices of things are "soaring." Who is responsible for these uncertain prices? Who benefits from them? These questions are not yet answered. But they point toward one of our most serious problems: the prevention of these violent fluctuations of prices, with the hardships which they cause.
476. The New Plan for Arbitration. The internal difficulties of 1919 and 1920 (sections 456,475 ) made popular a new and peculiar plan for arbitration (sections 378, 380, 456). It rests upon the idea that all of us are interested in all these problems and that all of us should therefore have a voice in settling them. Old-fashioned boards of arbitration listened merely to the two disputing parties and decided which of the two had the better case. A new-fashioned arbitration board is now expected to hear the arguments

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of a third party, the general public. To illustrate: the thousands upon thousands of people who will suffer if there is no coal to be had demand a voice in settling coal disputes ; they insist that the mine owners and the mine workers must not disregard the interests of the community as a whole but must consent to settle their differences with due regard to the interests of us all.
477. The Shipping Problem. In order to carry on easily a huge business with foreign countries, America has need of many ships. We have seen that once upon a time we had such ships of our own (section 283), but during the last fifty years most of our exported goods have been carried in foreign ships, chiefly British, German, or Norwegian. The sailors of these countries were content with lower wages than were American sailors; consequently the captain of a ship belonging to one of those countries could afford to charge lower rates on his freight, and American captains could not compete with him. Gradually most American ships had given up trying to compete as "carriers" with foreign ships and had gone out of business. When the World War came the great bulk of our trade was carried by foreign ships. As these were needed by their own countries and were also likely to be destroyed by enemy warships, the American merchants were deprived of their means of transportation across the sea. At once Americans began demanding that we contrive somehow to carry American goods in our own ships under our own flag. But how are we to do so without either reducing the wages of our sailors lower than they will stand or charging such high rates that the merchants will not pay them? How to solve this problem is a question in everyone's mind today.
478. The Danger to the Small Dealer and Small Owner Today. While the large concerns are doing "big business," thousands of small dealers are finding it harder and harder to compete with them. This is due (I) chiefly to what we
call "cost of marketing"-that is to say, the large dealer who aims to make a great number of sales spends enormous sums on advertising. He leaves no stone unturned in his effort to "go after" buyers. His advertisements sometimes fill whole pages in newspapers or in magazines. He sends out thousands, even millions, of handsome calendars that are also advertisements. He pays high salaries to expert advertising agents, who spend all their time planning new ways of catching people's attention and enlisting their interest. The money paid out in these ways forms a large part of the "cost of marketing." Small dealers, who cannot afford such expensive advertising, are constantly losing customers because of the success of the skilled advertisers in "going after" these customers. (2) Furthermore, because the small dealer makes few sales he needs a larger profit in proportion on each sale. He is likely, therefore, to ask a higher price than the large dealer. But if he does


LOOKING UP BROADWAY, NEW YORK, FROM BOWLING GREEN Compare the picture of Bowling Green on page 72 so, very probably he will drive his customers away and perhaps ruin his business. One of the great problems of our day is how to help the small dealers, mechanics who own their own businesses,

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and farmers to continue prosperous. We want to do so because every man or woman who owns his or her business feels independent and therefore is not afraid to say and do what he or she thinks is right. A great number of prosperous small dealers, men and women owning their own businesses, will help immensely in preserving democracy. In fact, the new danger for democracy, unforeseen in 1830 (section 265 ), is in this very problem. Should they all give up trying to carry on business for themselves, should they all become clerks or hire themselves to "big business," many of them would lose their fearless independence of character and would incline to think and vote as their employers desired. A large number of men and women owning their businesses is almost if not quite necessary to preserve a democratic form of government.
479. The Problem of the New Sort of Immigrant. One result of the World War was to give us all a new pride in our country, a new enthusiasm for American ideals. This leads us to look about us at home to see whether all our people are loyal Americans. In doing so we find that something has happened during the past thirty years which hitherto most of us have overlooked. Until about thirty years ago the foreigners who came to us were either from free countries (sections 280, 288) or from countries where there was an intelligent desire to be free. They fitted easily into our American life. But we have seen that the year 1890 marked a change in American conditions (section 467). Since then the bulk of our immigrants have come from old, oppressed countries and have no adequate idea what democracy is. Often they have been induced to emigrate by the unscrupulous agents of steamship companies, who have told them all sorts of impossible stories about how they would become wealthy almost as soon as they reached America. Hosts of such people, after giving up all their savings to pay their passage to America, find themselves alone, friendless and
penniless in a strange country whose language they cannot speak. There is nothing for them to do but to accept the least desirable sort of work or to starve. They drift together and form dense groups of foreign population where their life is even harder than it was at home. There are

(C) Brown Bros.

SLUM CHILDREN
Children of the city slums often have no playground but the sidewalks
two sorts of these islands of unhappy foreigners: the "slums" of large cities and the factory population in certain industrial centers.
480. The Problem of Conservation: Soil and Fuel. We have many problems that all make up the one great problem of conservation (sections 383,400 ). For example, the reckless lumbering in many parts of the country has destroyed millions of small trees that should have been allowed to stand and grow. It has swept the woodlands bare, permitting the rain to wash away the rich upper soil. Furthermore, unscientific farming, planting the same crop too often, has frequently reduced the strength of the soil for agricultural

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purposes. Large areas have to be replanted with trees so as to prevent washing of the soil, and the soil itself has to be treated with fertilizers that will restore its strength. A national association called the Farm Bureau coöperates with the government for the purpose of improving our soil.

We have also a fuel problem. Our coal and oil are being consumed with great rapidity, and scientists are taking


THE KEOKUK DAM
By means of this great dam the rapids of the Mississippi have been utilized for generating electricity that is communicated over wires to many cities of the central West
thought as to how they can be economized. It is proposed to use coal less and to use electricity more, since electricity can be generated in large dynamos run by water power. In many parts of the country attempts are being made in this direction. This use for water power gives new significance to the fall line (map, p. 396).
481. The Problem of the Great Cities: Cleaning the Slums. Fifty years ago even the largest American city was still relatively a small town. In those days the vast area of free Western land (sections 289, 362) acted like a great pump, drawing a human stream toward the West and sprinkling it
over the earth. But nowadays the American people do not move about as once they did. They tend more and more to remain where they grew up. All sections of the country have great cities that number their population by the hundreds of thousands or even by the million. In many of these cities discouraged foreigners, who can barely make a living, are crowded into the slums, where they lead a life of extreme poverty. Their pitiful condition is relieved to some degree by the devoted residents of settlement houses (section 462 ), but no one has yet found a way to transform the slums.

However, a great deal is being done. First of all the city authorities, with the help of the state and


A FREE CLINIC national authorities, are laboring to clean the slums. This must be done, because the dense crowds of people packed together in dirty and unsanitary houses breed disease. From the slums epidemics start and sweep over the country; therefore every city has its department of health in which trained physicians are endeavoring to prevent disease.
482. The Problem of the Factory Towns: Immigrant Education. Few problems are more serious than how to educate the crowds of recent immigrants who have gathered in dense settlements in our factory towns. The growth of these huge groups of non-Engliṣh-speaking foreigners may be seen by examining the census during the past fifty years. In 1870 , in the anthracite-coal region of Pennsylvania, 105,000 laborers

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spoke English, while only 306 did not. In 1910, in the same region, the number of English-speaking laborers had shrunk to 82,000 , while the laborers that did not speak English at all, or with difficulty, numbered 177,803 . Our new enthusiasm for our country aroused by the war is leading us to demand that all these ignorant, unhappy people shall be educated and changed into contented American citizens.


FIGHTING FIRE IN A MODERN CITY

For that purpose (I) night schools give instruction to the grown men and women. Sometimes the town pays for these schools; sometimes they are supported by the churches or by patriotic societies or by generous individuals. Some of the best are maintained by owners of the factories. (2) The laws of most states make it compulsory for children to attend school ; therefore the children of the immigrant factory workers are required to receive the same education, broadly speaking, that American children receive. They learn the English language, study American history, learn what democracy is and what it means to be a free American citizen. (3) Nothing is more important in making good Americans of these foreign children than the sports which they learn at school. In a boys' football team or a girls' basket-ball team some of the most precious American ideals are put into practice. Perhaps the most important is the idea that everyone shall have equal opportunity. When a school captain picks out his football team he does not ask
whether a boy's father is rich or poor, native or foreign. He asks if he can play the game. If he finds the boy is better fitted than anyone else for a certain position, he puts him on the team. Many a time, in a factory town, the boy who is

(c) Wide World Photos

AN INTERCOLLEGIATE FOOTBALL GAME IN A MODERN STADIUM
thus chosen comes of an immigrant family whose members are just beginning to realize that they are Americans.
483. The Crisis of Democracy. All these imperative problems of today, both in foreign affairs and in home affairs, are of absorbing interest because directly or indirectly they affect the preservation of democracy. Abroad our great concern is to be on friendly and sympathetic terms with all nations, but especially those that are truly democratic. At home what thinking Americans want most of all is to persuade

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all our people, whether rich or poor, that their first duty is to consider the country as a whole, to take thought for the good of us all, not merely for their own selfish interest. But how is our patriotism going to unite all our people in one brotherhood? How shall we strengthen in them all the true American spirit-that just and liberal temper, that generous

(C) Brown Bros.

WOMEN WORKERS ARE BECOMING MORE THAN EVER A VITAL FACTOR IN WAR AND PEACE. THESE WOMEN ARE MARCHING IN A RED-CROSS PARADE IN NEW YORK CITY
feeling for one another, that fearless independence, without which a genuine republican government is impossible?

The answer is not far to seek. All American history is the valiant pursuit of a great hope. Beginning with the first colonists, who in Elizabeth's time defied Spain and came to Roanoke (section 18), Americans have marched onward, generation after generation, faithful to the idea that what they believed in they could accomplish. First we believed we could take possession of this vast land and make it our own. And we did so. Almost from the beginning we had the belief that we could build a free state in which all the old worn-out monarchical customs should be discarded. And in
this also we succeeded. Behind those two great achievements lay a deep conviction that has often been put into words and of which we are growing more and more conscious day by day. It is the conviction that God intends mankind to be happy, that all customs which keep men and women from achieving happiness are at bottom wrong and must somehow, sooner or later, be remedied. Because Americans are becoming steadily more conscious that this idea is their deepest inspiration, and because they know how irresistibly they work out whatever they really believe in, we are taking up these new problems of democracy unafraid. An American poet expressed the fundamental faith of his countrymen in the line "I only know that God is good and every wrong shall die."

## SUMMARY

The treaty of peace rearranged the map of Europe and provided for a League of Nations. Rather than accept the League without change, the Senate rejected the treaty, which became the issue of the presidential campaign. Warren G. Harding, the Republican nominee, who stood for modification of the League, was elected.

During the summer of 1920 President Wilson was active in rousing a new desire to see Poland hold its own against Russia, and also announced, as American policy, the desire to see the Bolsheviki defeated and the fragments of the old Russian Empire reunited in one great democracy.

The profiteering that went on during the war has led us to see that one of our problems today is how to prevent unscrupulous profits. There is a new demand to permit the whole public to take part in the settlement of industrial disputes.

A problem of today is the creation of an American merchant marine. One of the dangers of today is the possible destruction of the small business concerns because of the cost of marketing.

Perhaps our greatest problem is the Americanization of those recent immigrants who have drifted together in large numbers in the slums of our great cities and in our manufacturing towns.

The World War aroused in us all a new faith in democracy and a new enthusiasm to make it successful in our own country.

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## AIDS TO STUDY

On the treaty of peace and the League of Nations: Bogart, The Direct and Indirect Costs of the Great World War; Butler, Is America worth Saving; Dillon, The Inside History of the Peace Conference; Duggan, The League of Nations; * Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War. Many valuable pamphlets are distributed for the nominal subscription of 25 cents a year by the American Association of International Conciliation (407 West II7th Street, New York City); Pamphlet No. I42 contains the full text of the treaty of peace. For the same annual subscription the World Peace Foundation ( 40 Mt . Vernon Street, Boston) distributes bimonthly pamphlets, many of which are extremely useful; for example, Pamphlet No. 2, April, 1919, Joint Debate on the Covenant of Paris (League of Nations), by Henry Cabot Lodge and A. Lawrence Lowell.

American foreign policy since the armistice: American Year Book; Current History; Hayes, A Brief History of the Great War, chap. xv; the Independent; International Year Book; Literary Digest; the Outlook; Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War.

The problems that are following upon the return of peace, both internal and external, are so close to us that it is very hard to get information about them in compact form. The yearbooks and the chronological reviews in the magazines are the most practical sources. The Survey should be included in the magazine list for economic problems. Four volumes of the Chronicles of America contribute much that will assist in a general summing up of the problems of 1920: XXXIX, The Age of Big Business; XL, The Armies of Labor; XLI, The Masters of Capital; XLVIII, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War. Timely, in the face of Bolshevism, is Brooks, American Syndicalism, and also Gompers, American Labor. An admirable brief statement of the problems of peace is in Muzzey, An American History (revised edition), 524-536. There could be no more satisfactory review of our country's situation in 1920 than a reading of the whole of the small volume of Becker, *The United States, an Experiment in Democracy.

## PROBLEMS AND REVIEW QUESTIONS

I. What speech was made the basis of the discussions in the peace conference? 2. What were the chief provisions of the peace treaty? 3. What governments speedily ratified the treaty? 4. Why did the United States act more slowly than England, France, and Germany? 5. How did the treaty become the issue of the presidential campaign?
[6. Explain what you mean by "superstate." What would the world be like if all governments were combined in one superstate?

What would be the difference between that condition and a worldwide partnership among nations to preserve peace? The teacher will probably find the specific issues of the League dispute too difficult for the pupil, but the two general ideas suggested above could be made clear: ( I ) an international government under which ours would have about the position of a state in our Union; (2) a loose but permanent alliance in which the various countries would all have to agree upon anything they proposed to do in common. A further problem would consist in finding these two ideas in earlier American history. Which was illustrated by the old Confederation? Which did Calhoun believe in? What did Webster think? (See sections 193, 243, 244, 246, also Duggan, A League of Nations; Lodge and Lowell, Joint Debate on the League of Nations; Seymour, Woodrow Wilson and the Great War.)]
7. Explain the Polish problem. 8. Explain the Russian problem. [9. Write a story of a boy or girl who in some way "profiteers." Suggest some means by which the indignation of the other boys and girls could put a stop to profiteering. Here is an opportunity for the teacher to bring a historical issue close home to the lives of children. The remedies suggested by the pupils will reveal the unsuspected germs of the world's political theories. Some pupils will want constitutional remedies, others mob law ; some will reason as individualists, others as socialists.] [ro. What would America be like if it, had no independent small dealers? Describe a presidential election in a country where all business was done by a few great corporations with armies of employees.] ir. What is the problem of Americanization?


## APPENDIX

## DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE ${ }^{1}$

In Congress, July 4, 1776

## A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident:- That all men are created equal ; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is
${ }^{1}$ The original copy of the Declaration of Independence is kept in the Department of State in Washington. The Declaration was adopted July 4, 1776, and was signed by the members representing the thirteen states August 2, 1776. John Hancock, whose name appears first among the signers, was president of the Congress.

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a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature - a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measure.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.
He has erected a multtude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance.
He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.
He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ;
For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;
For imposing taxes on us without our consent;
For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;
For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrection among. us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in our attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the vaice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold. them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all
political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The foregoing Declaration was, by order of Congress, engrossed, and signed by the following members:

## JOHN HANCOCK

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Josiah Bartlett
William Whipple
Matthew Thornton
MASSACHUSETTS BAY
Samuel Adams
John Adams
Robert Treat Paine
Elbridge Gerry
RHODE ISLAND
Stephen Hopkins William Ellery

## CONNECTICUT

Roger Sherman
Samuel Huntington
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott
NEW YORK
William Floyd
Philip Livingston
Francis Lewis
Lewis Morris

NEIV JERSEY Charles Carroll, of Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Francis Hopkinson
John Hart
Abraham Clark
PENNSYLVANIA
Robert Morris
Benjamin Rush
Benjamin Franklin
John Morton
George Clymer
James Smith
George Taylor
James Wilson
George Ross
DELAWARE
Cesar Rodney
George Read
Thomas M'Kean
MARYLAND
Samuel Chase
William Paca
Thomas Stone

Carrollton

VIRGINIA
George Wythe
Richard Henry Lee
Thomas Jefferson
Benjamin Harrison
Thomas Nelson, Jr.
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton
NORTH CAROLINA
William Hooper
Joseph Hewes
John Penn
SOUTH CAROLINA
Edward Rutledge
Thomas Hayward, Jr.
Thomas Lynch, Jr.
Arthur Middleton
GEORGIA
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
George Walton

Resolved, That copies of the Declaration be sent to the several assemblies, conventions, and committees, or councils of safety, and to the several commanding officers of the continental troops; that it be proclaimed in each of the United States, at the head of the army.

## CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Preamble

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## ARTICLE I. LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

## Section i. Congress

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. ${ }^{1}$

## Section 2. House of Representatives

Election of Members. 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.

Qualifications. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Apportionment. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, ${ }^{2}$ 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. ${ }^{3}$ The actual
${ }^{1}$ The term of each Congress is two years. It assembles on the first Monday in December and "expires at noon of the fourth of March next succeeding the beginning of its second regular session, when a new Congress begins."
${ }^{2}$ The apportionment under the census of 1910 is one representative for every 212,407 persons.
${ }^{3}$ The word "persons" refers to slaves. The word "slave" nowhere appears in the Constitution. This paragraph has been amended (Amendments XIII and XIV) and is no longer in force.

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enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative : and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one ; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.

Vacancies. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority ${ }^{1}$ thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Officers. Impeachment. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker ${ }^{2}$ and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

## Section 3. Senate

Number of Senators: Election. 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. [Repealed in i913 by Amendment XVII.]

Classification. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year; 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 ${ }^{1}$ thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

Qualifications. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

President of Senate. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

Officers. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

Trials of Impeachment. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments : When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation.
${ }^{1}$ Governor.
${ }^{2}$ The Speaker, who presides, is one of the representatives; the other officers - clerk, sergeant-at-arms, postmaster, chaplain, doorkeeper, etc. - are not.

When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside : and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of twothirds of the members present.
Judgment in Case of Conviction. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

## Section 4. Both Houses

Manner of electing Members. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators. ${ }^{1}$

Meetings of Congress. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

## Section 5. The Houses separately

Organization. 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.

Rules. 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.

Journal. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Adjournment. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

## Section 6. Privileges and Disabilities of Members

Pay and Privileges of Members. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their

[^151]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.
Prohibitions on Members. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

## Section 7. Method of passing Laws

Revenue Bills. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.
How Bills become Laws. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it, but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.
Resolutions, etc. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

## Section 8. Powers granted to Congress

## Powers of Congress. The Congress shall have power:

To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

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 a 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, ${ }^{1}$ 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, ${ }^{2}$ and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; - And
Implied Powers. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof. ${ }^{3}$

[^152]
## Section 9. Powers forbidden to the United States

Absolute Prohibitions on Congress. 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. ${ }^{1}$

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus ${ }^{2}$ shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder ${ }^{3}$ or ex-post-facto law ${ }^{4}$ shall be passed.
No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore 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 io. Powers forbidden to the States

Absolute Prohibitions on the States. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts ; pass any bill of attainder, ex-post-facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

Conditional Prohibitions on the States. 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,

[^153]shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships-of-war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II. EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

## Section I. President and Vice-President

Term. 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:

Electors. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

Proceedings of Electors and of Congress. [ ${ }^{1}$ The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall, in like manner, choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

1 This paragraph in brackets has been superseded by the Twelfth Amendment.

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Time of choosing Electors. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States. ${ }^{1}$

Qualifications of President. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years resident within the United States.

Vacancy. 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. ${ }^{2}$

Salary. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

Oath. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:- "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

## Section 2. Powers of the President

Military Powers ; Reprieves and Pardons. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

Treaties; Appointments. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United

[^154]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.
Filling of Vacancies. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

## Section 3. Duties of the President

Message ; Convening of Congress. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information ${ }^{1}$ of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

## Section 4. Impeachment

Removal of Officers. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

## ARTICLE III. JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

## Section i. United States Courts

Courts established; Judges. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

## Section 2. Jurisdiction of United States Courts

Federal Courts in General. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority ; - to all cases

1 The president gives this information through a message to Congress at the opening of each session. Washington and John Adams read their messages in person to Congress. Jefferson, however, sent a written message to Congress. This method was followed until President Wilson returned to the earlier custom.

## xiv SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; - to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; - to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; - to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; ${ }^{1}$ - between citizens of different States; - between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

Supreme Court. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all 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.

Trials. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

## Section 3. Treason

Treason defined. 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.

Punishment. 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. RELATIONS OF THE STATES TO EACH OTHER

## Section i. Official Acts

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. Privileges of Citizens

The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

Fugitives from Justice. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State,

[^155]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.

Fugitive Slaves. No person ${ }^{1}$ held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

## Section 3. New States and Territories

Admission of States.' 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.

Territory and Property of United States. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

## Section 4. Protection of the States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

## ARTICLE V. AMENDMENTS

How proposed; how ratified. 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

1 "Person" here includes slave. This was the basis of the Fugitive Slave Laws of 1793 and 1850 . It is now superseded by the Thirteenth Amendment, by which slavery is prohibited.

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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. GENERAL PROVISIONS

Public Debt. 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.

Supremacy of Constitution. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.
Official Oath; Religious Test. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII. RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Ratification. 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. ${ }^{1}$

> GEORGE WASHINGTON, President, and Deputy from Virginia.

[^156]
## CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES xvii

NEW HAMPSHIRE
John Langdon
Nicholas Gilman

MASSACHUSETTS
Nathaniel Gorham
Rufus King
CONNECTICUT
William Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman

NEW YORK
Alexander Hamilton
NEW JERSEY
William Livingston
David Brearley
William Paterson
Jonathan Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA
Benjamin Franklin
Thomas Mifflin James Madison, Jr.
Robert Morris
George Clymer
Thomas Fitzsimons
Jared Ingersoll
James Wilson
Gouverneur Morris
DELAWARE
George Read
Gunning Bedford, Jr.
John Dickinson
Richard Bassett
Jacob Broom
MARYLAND
James M'Henry
Daniel of St. Thomas GEORGiA
Jenifer
Daniel Carroll
Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary

## AMENDMENTS

Religion, Speech, Press, Assembly, Petition. Article I. ${ }^{1}$ 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 redress of grievances.

Militia. Article II. A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

Soldiers. Article III. No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner; nor in time of war but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

Unreasonable Searches. Article IV. The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon
${ }_{1}$ These amendments were proposed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of the several states, pursuant to the fifth article of the Constitution. The first ten were offered in 1789 and adopted before the close of 1791. They were for the most part the work of Madison. They are frequently called the Bill of Rights, as their purpose is to guard more efficiently the rights of the people and of the states.

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probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

Criminal Prosecutions. Article V. No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war and public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.
Article VI. In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.
Suits at Common Law. Article VII. In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reëxamined in any court of the United States than according to the rules of common law.
Bail, Punishments. Article VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.
Reserved Rights and Powers. Article IX. The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

Article X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.
Suits against States. Article 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 any of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

Method of electing President and Vice-President. Article 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 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; -

[^157]the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; - the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President.' But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

Slavery abolished. Article XIII. ${ }^{1}$ Section r. 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.

Negroes made Citizens. Article XIV. ${ }^{2}$ Section r. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of
the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or 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.

Negroes made Voters. Article XV. ${ }^{1}$ Section I. The rights 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.

Income Tax. Article 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.

Article 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.

Direct Election of Senators. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the Executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.
This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

National Prohibition. Article 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 severa! States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

Woman Suffrage. Article XIX. ${ }^{2}$ Section $r$. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.
${ }^{1}$ Ratified in $1919 . \quad 2$ Ratified in 1920.

## xxii SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

## CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY

1492. Columbus discovers America (§ 9).
1493. Cabot discovers the continent of North America (§ 16).
1494. America named (§ II).
1495. First circumnavigation of the globe (§ 12 ).
1496. Discovery of the Mississippi (§ 14 ).
1497. Accession of Queen Elizabeth ( $\$ 17$ ).
1498. Spaniards found St. Augustine (§ 14).
1499. Drake claims California for England (§ 17).
1500. English colonization begun at Roanoke (§ 18).
1501. Defeat of the Invincible Armada (§ 19).
1502. Permanent English colonization of Virginia (§ 25 ).
1503. French settle Quebec (§1о1).
1504. Representative government established in Virginia (§ 32).
1505. The Pilgrims settle Plymouth (\$ 44).
1506. Purchase of Manhattan Island (§64).
1507. The Puritans settle Boston ( $\$ 50$ ).
1508. Religious freedom for all Christians in Maryland (\$36).
1509. Public schools begun (\$80).
1510. Entire religious toleration in Rhode Island (§58).
1511. Harvard College founded ( $\$ 53$ ).
1512. Civil war in England ( $\$ 40$ ).
1513. New England Confederation (§81).
1514. Act of Toleration in Maryland ( $\$ 39$ ).
1515. English conquest of New Netherland (§69).
1516. Carolina begun ( $\$ 79$ ).
1517. Charter of Pennsylvania (§75).
1518. La Salle explores the Mississippi (§ ro5).
1519. Revolution in England. James II expelled (§ 109).
1520. English Act of Toleration (§98).

1689-1 763. Wars for existence ( $\$ 113$ ).
1704. First newspaper established (§ 129).
1704. Deerfield. Defense of the North against the French (§ II3).
1733. Georgia founded $\left(\S 8_{4}\right)$.
1742. Frederica. Defense of the South against the Spaniards (§ 116 ).
1754. Great Meadows (\$ 119).
1763. Treaty of Peace with France (§ 123).
1765. The Stamp Act (§ 142 ).
1773. The colonists destroy taxed tea (§ 145).
1774. First Continental Congress (§ 147).
1775. Lexington and Concord (§ 149).
1776. Declaration of Independence (§ 156 ).
1777. Burgoyne's surrender (\$ 165).
1778. The French alliance ( $\$ 167$ ).
1779. Surrender of Vincennes (§171).
1780. King's Mountain (§ 180 ).
1781. Surrender of Cornwallis ( $\S_{183}$ ).
1781. Articles of Confederation ( $\$ 18_{5}$ ).
1783. Treaty of Peace ( $(184)$.
1787. The Northwest Ordinance (\$ 185).
1787. The Constitution adopted ( $\$ 194$ ).
1789. Washington president (§ 197).
1790. The first census (§ 204).
1792. Claim to Oregon (§272).
1793. Proclamation of neutrality ( $\$ 200$ ).
1793. Invention of the cotton gin ( $\$ 209$ ).
1795. Jay's Treaty (\$ 202).
1803. Purchase of Louisiana ( $\$ 220$ ).
1807. The first steamboat ( $\$ 22 \mathrm{I}$ ).
1811. The National Road begun (§ 236).
1812. War with England (§228).
1819. Purchase of Florida (§ 234).
1820. The Missouri Compromise ( $\S 235$ ).
1823. The Monroe Doctrine ( $\$ 233$ ).
1825. The Erie Canal opened ( $\S 238$ ).
1830. The first passenger railway (\$252).
1831. The Liberator published ( $\$ 258$ ).
1832. Nullification in South Carolina (\$247).
1832. First national party convention (\$264).
1833. Chicago founded ( $\$ 25$ I).
1833. Coeducation ( $\$ 256$ ).
1834. McCormick reaper ( $\$ 255$ ).
1836. First college exclusively for women (\$256).
1838. First steamship line to Europe ( $\$ 221$ ).
1842. Manhood suffrage (§257).
1844. First telegraph line opened (§282).
1845. Annexation of Texas (§271).
1846. Oregon (§ 273).
1846. Sewing machine (§ 282).
1846. Ether comes into use ( $\$ 287$ ).

1846-1848. The Mexican War ( $\$ 274$ ).
1848. Discovery of gold in California ( $\$ 278$ ).
1848. Mexican land cessions ( $\$ 277$ ).
1850. Compromise on slavery ( $\$ 279$ ).
1854. Kansas-Nebraska Act (\$ 298).
1857. The Dred Scott case ( $\$ 302$ ).
1860. Secession (§ 306).
1861. Lincoln president (\$305).
1861. Fort Sumter ( $\$ 308$ ).
1863. National banks established (§311).
1863. Emancipation Proclamation (§334).
1863. Battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg (§§ 326,336 ).
1865. Appomattox (§ 345).
1867. Reconstruction Act (\$351).
1867. Purchase of Alaska ( $\$ 357$ ).
1869. First railway to the Pacific $\left(\$ 36_{1}\right)$.
1869. Woman suffrage in Wyoming ( $\$ 463$ ).
1883. Civil service reform ( $\$ 376$ ).
1890. Admission of Wyoming with full wo man suffrage ( $\$ 463$ ).
1898. War with Spain ( $\$ 387$ ).
1898. Territorial expansion ( $\$ 390$ ).
1903. Panama recognized (§396).
1903. The Wright airplane ( $\$ 458$ ).
1908. Conservation of resources ( $\$ 400$ ).
1913. New system of banks ( $\$ 404$ ).
1914. Proclamation of neutrality ( $\$ 420$ ).
1914. Panama Canal opened ( $\$ 396$ ).
1916. First woman member of Congres! (§ 463 ).
1917. War with Germany ( $\$ 425$ ).
1918. Battle of the Argonne ( $\$ 444$ ).
1918. Armistice (§ 445).
1920. Nineteenth Amendment (woman suffrage) (§463).
None of the candidates having a majority, the choice of president devolved upon the House of Representatives.


| President | Born in | Nominated by | Elected from | YeARS of Service | DIED | Vice President |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| George Washington . . . John Adams | Virginia, $1732 \ldots$ Massachusetts, 1735. | People as a whole Federalists | Virginia . . . . <br> Massachusetts | $\begin{aligned} & \text { 1789-1797 } \\ & 1797-1801 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1799 \\ & 1826 \end{aligned}$ | John Adams |
| Thomas Jeffermon | Virginia, 1743 | Democratic-Republicans ${ }^{1}$ | Virginia | ıSor-I So9 | 1 S26 | $\left\{\begin{array}{l} \text { Aaron Burr, ist term } \\ \text { George Clinton, 2d term } \end{array}\right.$ |
| James Madison | Virginia, 1751 | Democratic-Republicans. | Virginia . | 1809-ı Sr $^{\text {\% }}$ | I 836 | $\{$ George Clinton, ist term |
| James Monroe. . . . . . . John Quincy Adams | Virginia, $1758 .$. Massachusetts, 7767. | Democratic-Republicans . Democratic-Republicans ${ }^{1}$ | Virginia . . Massachusetts | $\begin{aligned} & 1817-1825 \\ & 1825-1829 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 1831 \\ & 1848 \end{aligned}$ | Daniel D. Tompkins <br> John C. Calhoun |
| Andrew Jackson | South Carolina, 1767 | Democrats | Tennessee | I $8_{29}-1837$ | I 845 | \{John C. Calhoun, ist term <br> Martin Van Buren, ad term |
| Martin Van Buren . . . | New York, 1782 | Democrats | New York | $1837-1841$ | 1862 | Richard M. Johnson |
| William Henry Harrison | Virginia, 1773 | Whigs | Ohio . - | 1841 (one month) | 1841 | John Tyler |
| John Tyler K. Polk | Virginia, ı790 . . ${ }^{\text {North Carolina, }}$ | Whigs . . . | Virginia . | 1841-1845 | 1862 |  |
| Zachary Taylor. | North Carolina, 1795 Virginia, $1784 . .$. | Democrats Whigs . . . | Tennessee. | 1845-1849 | I 849 | George M. Dallas |
| Millard Fillmore | New York, i Soo. | Whigs | New York | I $849-1850$ I $850-1853$ | 1850 1874 | lmore |
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The italics are not in the original.

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ Until very recently it was thought that the overland trade between Europe and Asia was broken up by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople (I453) and that the Portuguese aimed to recover the lost trade. If this

[^2]:    ${ }^{1}$ Perhaps near the spot now called De Soto Front, in northwestern Mississippi.

[^3]:    ${ }^{1}$ It was also called the London Company. The king's charter created two companies, with headquarters at London and Plymouth. The former was to colonize the South, the latter the North. An attempt made by the Plymouth Company, at the mouth of the Kennebec (1607), was not successful. The colonists returned home at the end of their first winter.
    ${ }^{2}$ This is the date according to the "New Style" calendar, which we use today. At the time what is known as the "Old Style" calendar was in use, and the date was written May 13. Because of a mistake in the old calendar we have added eleven days to the date as it was originally written.

[^4]:    ${ }^{1}$ In ig15 a descendant of Pocahontas married the president of the United States.

[^5]:    ${ }^{1}$ A move in this direction was made earlier by Sir Thomas Dale, governor of the colony from $\mathbf{6 I I}$ to $\mathbf{1 6 I 6}$. He allowed each colonist a plot of land and a part of his time for cultivating it.

[^6]:    ${ }^{1}$ It was once thought that these earliest African emigrants were slaves. Probably they were indentured servants. Other Africans were later sold as slaves.

[^7]:    ${ }^{1}$ There were several uncertainties with regard to both the new boundary of Virginia and the new boundary laid down for Maryland. These were due to confused ideas about the geography of that region. They were the cause later of a dispute between Maryland and Pennsylvania (see section 75).

[^8]:    1-20ana Onfnuch as in awell-governed and Chriftian Common wealth, Matters concerning Religion and the Honour of God ought to be in the firt
    Oninuch as in awell-governed and Chriftian Commonwealth, Martersled. Be it therefore Ordained and Enacted by the Right Honourable pla e in be taken into ecrious confideratioa, and endeavoured to be fertied. Be is therefore with theAdvice and Confent of the Upper and Lower Houle of this General Affembly, That whatfoever perfon or perfons within this Province and the Illands thereunto belonging, fhalis Lower Houle of this General Aliembly, that whatioever perion or perion suitur JES US CHRIS T tabe tho Son of God; or hall deny frona henceforth blafpheme GOD, that is curfe hm; ;or thad head of any of the faid ThreePerfons of the Trinity, or the Unity of the Godhead or thall ufe or utter Iny reproachful fpceches, words, or language, concernag Ged to the Lord Proprietary and his Heirs.
    nithed with death, and confication or forfeiture of ailhis or her ands and Grods the The whatloever perfon or perfons fhallf from fienceforth ufe or utter And be it alfo enaqued by the Authority, and with the advice and altent a forcaid, That whatiocver perfon olp Apofles or Evangelifts, or any of them, iny reproach ful words or freeehes eoncerning the blefled Virgin infir, the Mother ors, Lords and Proprietaries of this Province, the fum of Five pounds Thall in fuch cale for the firt Offence forfeit to the faid Lord Proprier ary and has Heirs, 1 ords and Proprietarics of whe Pifender or offenders fhall not then: Sterling, or the value thercof to be levied on the goods and chateis of every fuch perfon fo oftending; but in cate fuch oftender or fer
    have goods and chatels fufficient for the fatisfy ing of fuch forfeitore, or that the fame be not otherwife fpeedily fatisfed, that then fuch offender or oftmd-
    
     ume being: And that every fucli offender andoffenders for every fecond offence fhaliforfert Ten Pounds sterling, or the value therothen to: be publickly ands fide ; or incafe fuch offender or offenders Thail nor ihen have grods and chattels within this Province fufficient for that purpote, then to. be publickiy and
    feverely whipt and imprifoned as before is expreffed: and tbat every perfon or perfons before mentioned, offending herein the third time, fhall for fuehfeverely whipt and imprifuned as before is expreffed: and tbat every perfon or perfons before mention
    elird offence, forfeit all his lands and goods, and be for ever banifhe and expelled out of hus Province.

[^9]:    ${ }^{1}$ They were used, however, for local government only. For the larger task of governing the colony as a whole, representative assemblies were formed. Even Plymouth, as it grew larger, formed such an assembly. It was similar to the House of Burgesses (section 32). In Massachusetts the Assembly was called the General Court.

[^10]:    ${ }^{1}$ A still earlier attempt to found a college was made in Virginia under the name of Henrico University. After a promising start it was destroyed by the Indians in 1622 (see section 94).

[^11]:    ${ }^{1}$ See section 99, for the subsequent history of the separate colony of New Haven.

[^12]:    ${ }^{1}$ The charter of Massachusetts gave it all the land between two linesone three miles south of the Charles River; the other, three miles north of the Merrimack and westward to the Pacific. But was the north line to be measured at the mouth or at the source of the Merrimack? Massachusetts said the source and claimed most of New Hampshire. Without settling the matter the king laid off New Hampshire as a separate colony.

[^13]:    ${ }^{1}$ The eastern boundary of the duke's province was long in doubt. He tried to make out that it was the Connecticut River. However, along the southern part he was forced to yield to Massachusetts and Connecticut, but north of Massachusetts he made good his claim. The region which is now Vermont was part of New York until the time of the Revolution.

[^14]:    ${ }^{1}$ Later there was a dispute about the extent of the new province. When it came to be laid off it overlapped the northern part of Maryland. As has

[^15]:    ${ }^{1}$ Many good men labored long and sincerely to convert the Indians to Christianity. We have heard of the work of Wesley in Georgia (section 87) and shall hear later of Catholic missionaries (section 103). Long before Wesley, John Eliot of Massachusetts earned the title "Apostle to the Indians." His converts were called Praying Indians. Eliot published a translation of the Scriptures in an Indian language (1635). During King Philip's War many of the Praying Indians fought on the side of the whites.

[^16]:    ${ }^{1}$ The General Court of Massachusetts (section 46, note) was now composed of two bodies of men as are our legislatures today; the House of Representatives was elected directly by the people, while the "upper house," called the Council, was elected by the representatives of the people.
    ${ }^{2}$ In spite of their variety of names the assemblies were all very much alike and exercised about the same power,

[^17]:    ${ }^{1}$ In most countries in the seventeenth century the king cuuld arbitrarily disregard the law and interfere in the affairs of his subjects in almost any way he saw fit-forbid them to go on with their business, or force them to give up their property without payment, or put them in prison without telling them why. The English king could do only what the law authorized him to do. However, even in England it was not yet permitted to criticize the king or his officers freely. The Americans established the right to do so. When Peter Zenger, editor of the Weekly Journal of New York, was tried for libel because he had told the truth about an unscrupulous governor of the colony, the jury decided that he was not guilty (I734).

[^18]:    ${ }^{1}$ Toward the close of this period a general colonial conference was held (1754) at Albany to discuss military problems. Benjamin Franklin proposed a union of all the colonies, but neither king nor colonies approved the plan.
    ${ }^{2}$ Why the Tuscaroras attacked the whites is not certainly known. In the next Indian war - the Yamassee War - there can be little doubt that Spain induced the Indians to attack.

[^19]:    ${ }^{1}$ The lowest rank in the British nobility, which consists of baronets, barons, viscounts, earls, marquises, dukes.
    ${ }^{2}$ Many Americans resolved to make haste and settle the Ohio valley, and for that purpose associations were formed. The best known was called the Ohio Company, in which Lawrence Washington, the older brother of George Washington, was a leader. The king gave the Company five hundred thousand acres of land on the west side of the Allegheny Mountains.

[^20]:    ${ }^{1}$ During this period occurred the pitiful incident of the deportation of the Acadians (1755). The English had conquered (1710) the province of Acadia, now Nova Scotia. It was still French in sympathy. The English feared that the population would rebel and take sides with France. Many of them refused to take an oath of allegiance to England. Therefore it was decided to be very severe with them. Troops were brought from Massachusetts; numbers of the Acadians who refused to take the oath were forced on board ship and were removed to distant colonies. Some of them went to South Carolina and Louisiana, where their descendants still live. See Longfellow's "Evangeline."
    ${ }^{2}$ When Fort Duquesne was captured by the Americans, in 1758, it was renamed Fort Pitt. It is now Pittsburgh.

[^21]:    ${ }^{1}$ The successful cultivation of indigo was due to the experiments of a brilliant young woman, Eliza Lucas, of South Carolina, who at sixteen was called upon to manage three plantations owned by her father, then absent on duty as a soldier. She became the wife of Charles Pinckney and mother of the patriots Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Thomas Pinckney. At her funeral, in 1793, Washington, by his request, was a pallbearer.

[^22]:    ${ }^{1}$ The American opposition to slavery was begun by Quakers in the seventeenth century. A famous antislavery pamphlet, "The Selling of Joseph," was published at Boston in ryor.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Virginia Assembly passed a number of bills designed to put a limit to the growth of slavery, but the king vetoed (section 134) them all. This was one reason why the king became unpopular in America.

[^23]:    ${ }^{1}$ New England, 473,000; middle colonies, 405,000; the South, 718,000.

[^24]:    ${ }^{1}$ See page 126, note, for a somewhat similar experience in the South.

[^25]:    ${ }^{1}$ In Maryland the Revolution of 1688 had its dark side. A bitter quarrel between Protestants and Catholics ended in curtailing religious freedom and making the Church of England the established church of the colony.

[^26]:    ${ }^{1}$ Though the Molasses Act expired in 1763 , its provisions were renewed by the Sugar Act (i764).

[^27]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Americans were thus described in the House of Commons by Colonel Isaac Barré.

[^28]:    ${ }^{1}$ The soldiers fired without orders. Five citizens were killed and several wounded. A great public meeting demanded the withdrawal of the soldiers from the city and the governor consented. Their officers tried for murder were defended by John Adams and Josiah Quincy and acquitted.

[^29]:    ${ }^{1}$ At Edenton, North Carolina, a number of ladies met and burned in public a package of tea. Similar demonstrations were made at other places.

[^30]:    ${ }^{1}$ Samuel Adams (page 161), sometimes called the Father of the American Revolution, organized at Boston the first Committee of Correspondence. Adams was a chief mover in all the opposition to royal authority that took place in Massachusetts from 1763 to 1776.

[^31]:    ${ }^{1}$ Gage had suspended the Massachusetts Assembly. Its members gathered at Concord, calling themselves a Provincial Congress, and elected Hancock president. They at once set about organizing a militia - the "minutemen" - pledged to take up arms at a minute's notice.

    2 Americans were entitled to be tried by a local jury.

[^32]:    ${ }^{1}$ These outrages were later remembered in the Declaration of Independence, one of whose charges against the king is that "he has burnt our towns." To the king's credit it must be said that the burning of Falmouth, at least, met with royal disapproval.

[^33]:    ${ }^{1}$ The American army was saved from destruction by four hundred Maryland troops, who threw themselves in the path of the invaders. All but fourteen were killed or captured.

[^34]:    ${ }^{1}$ During the desperate attempt to defend New York a brave young officer from Connecticut, Nathan Hale, volunteered to go into Howe's camp in disguise and try to find out what Howe planned to do. Hale succeeded in entering the camp, but was recognized and betrayed by a Tory kinsman. He was seized and condemned to death as a spy. His execution took place in an orchard near where Market Street now crosses East Broadway. His last words were, "I regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

[^35]:    ${ }^{1}$ Besides the battle losses, there had been many desertions.

[^36]:    ${ }^{1}$ In this unfortunate battle a brilliant young Frenchman, the Marquis de Lafayette, who was serving in the American army, showed great bravery and was wounded. Lafayette, though a noble, was an enthusiast for liberty and had come over from France to serve as a volunteer in the American army. Only nineteen, he had nevertheless received from Congress a commission as major general "in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connections."

[^37]:    ${ }^{1}$ Vermont was not counted among the thirteen states, and the region had had a curious history. It was claimed in whole or in part by Massachusetts (section 6I, note), New Hampshire, and New York (section 73, note). Before the Revolution the king decided that it did not belong to Massachusetts. The people of the section declared themselves independent in 1777 and set up a government of their own. New York and New Hampshire objected, but after a while New Hampshire (1782) and, later, New York (1790) renounced their claim to Vermont.

[^38]:    ${ }^{1}$ At Valley Forge a distinguished foreign volunteer joined the American army. This was Baron von Steuben. Washington turned over to him the task of training the men. Von Steuben was a born drill master and worked wonders. When Washington took the field in 1778 his army was admirably drilled. There were other distinguished foreigners who served as volunteers in the American army. Lafayette has been mentioned (section 163, note). There were also his friend Johann de Kalb, a Bavarian gentleman, and two distinguished Poles, Pulaski and Kosciusko.
    ${ }^{2}$ With Franklin were associated Arthur Lee and Silas Deane.
    ${ }^{3}$ Louis had aided us secretly before this by giving Franklin money to be spent as he thought best.

[^39]:    ${ }^{1}$ Charles Lee (who was not related to the patriot Lees of Virginia) was bitterly jealous of Washington and probably wished him to fail. Congress dismissed him from the army.

[^40]:    ${ }^{1}$ During the war a Connecticut inventor, David Bushnell, built the first submarine, The Turtle. Though it was not a success, it demonstrated that boats could be operated under water.

[^41]:    ${ }^{1}$ At the same time he arranged for a number of small invasions to take place at various points along the coast from Virginia to New England. These were of importance, however, because they compelled Washington to remain in the North and thus kept the American forces divided. One time a fleet sailed from New York, and the next thing the Americans knew it had appeared before Norfolk, Virginia, and burned the, town; another time one of these New York fleets suddenly appeared before New London, Connecticut, which, like Norfolk, was burned. This was done by Benedict Arnold, who had gone over to the king (section 177). Arnold massacred the garrison at Fort Griswold, New London, in cold blood ( 178 r ).
    ${ }^{2}$ The fighting in the South was especially desperate. One of the first of these small battles, at Waxhaw Creek, South Carolina (May 29), was the keynote of all that followed. Out of five hundred Americans two hundred and sixty-three were killed or wounded. So many Tories were in the royal army that both sides were very bitter.

[^42]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is why we have today the expression "not worth a continental."

[^43]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the course of the march the British drove the Virginia legislature from the temporary capital, Charlottesville, and just missed capturing Jefferson, who was then governor of Virginia. John Jouett made a famous ride across country to carry the alarm which enabled Jefferson to escape.

[^44]:    ${ }^{1}$ Virginia claimed all the vast Western area described in her old charters of the kings (section 24). This included all the territory of the present states of Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Virginia made a second claim to the Northwest because of Clark's conquest (section 170). There were other Western claims. Both Massachusetts and Connecticut in their original charters extended to the Pacific. Their grants conflicted with the Virginia grants. Massachusetts now claimed a large slice

[^45]:    ${ }^{1}$ So named by its settlers on receiving news of the battle of Lexington.

[^46]:    ${ }^{1}$ In counting population it was agreed that every five slaves should be reckoned as three people. It was also provided that Congress should not restrict the slave trade (section 126) before 1808 , though after that it might legislate on the subject as it chose. In 1808 the African slave trade was abolished under an act of Congress passed the previous year.

[^47]:    ${ }^{1}$ The bank also issued paper currency that was good in every state. A mint was established where coins were issued. Jefferson secured the adoption in our currency of the new decimal system of measures recently invented in England by James Watt (1783). Strangely enough, England would not adopt any part of Watt's system; we adopted only the portion that applied to money; the French took the entire system, applying it to money, weights, quantities, and distances, and giving the various measures French names. It is known today as the metric system.
    ${ }^{2}$ This word had been used previously as a sort of nickname for all those who wanted to adopt the Constitution. Those opposed to adoption were called Antifederalists.
    ${ }^{3}$ About 1830 the name of Jefferson's party was changed to "Democratic." Its old name must not be confused with that of the later Republican party, which still exists.

[^48]:    ${ }^{1}$ England still held Detroit and other posts inside the boundary of the United States. Her excuse was that we had not kept our promise to enable English merchants to collect debts contracted by Americans previous to the war. This dispute was settled by the treaty of 1795 , and the forts were surrendered to the United States.

[^49]:    ${ }^{1}$ The British navy had seized American ships carrying provisions to French ports. As a result of Jay's negotiations we, in substance, admitted the right to make these seizures, while England admitted the obligation to pay for them. Eventually our merchants were paid for their losses.
    ${ }^{2}$ This summary is from Johnson, American Politics, p. 4 I .

[^50]:    ${ }^{1}$ The city which in 1920 was the second in the country, Chicago, with a population of $2,701,705$ did not exist in 1790 .

[^51]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 1790 there were but 103 newspapers in the whole country; in 1920 the number was 23,074 .
    ${ }^{2}$ Many articles of household use such as candles were made in almost every home. These "houschold manufactures" disappeared soon afterwards.

[^52]:    ${ }^{1}$ There were a number of inventions made by Americans about this time besides cotton-gin machinery. Oliver Evans of Delaware invented the grain elevator (1780) and also revolutionized the manufacture of flour. Later he built the first steam dredge. Jacob Perkins of Massachusetts was the inventor of the first satisfactory machine for making nails (r790). James

[^53]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is the same problem of the unscrupulous alien, who tries to $\mathrm{in}=$ fluence American opinion in the interests not of the United States but of his own country, that came up again during the World War (see Chapter XXIV):

[^54]:    ${ }^{1}$ American seamen -among them Barry, Bainbridge, Decatur, Preble, and Truxton-won great distinction. Perhaps the most brilliant naval exploit was Stephen Decatur's raid into the harbor of Tripoli, where he destroyed a captured frigate, the Philadelphia. There have been few more daring things in history than the land attack on Derne by William Eaton (see Whittier's poem "Derne" and Johnson's "Jefferson and his Colleagues").

[^55]:    ${ }^{1}$ Napoleon was about to declare war upon England, and was afraid the British fleet would seize Louisiana. He said to his ministers, "I have

[^56]:    ${ }^{1}$ You will remember that the flatboat (section 190) could not be moved upstream. When a flatboat reached the end of its voyage it was broken up and sold as lumber. Thus, while the Westerners, before steamboats came into use, could float their exports downstream on flatboats, all their imports had still to be brought to them on pack horses through the forest.
    ${ }^{2}$ Not many years passed before ocean-going boats were built. The first to cross the Atlantic was the Savannah, from Savannah to England (1819), but it was not until twenty years later that an English company established the first regular steamship line across the ocean (1838).
    ${ }^{3}$ Burr was one of the most brilliant men of his time and one of the worst. He was vice president during Jefferson's first term. Later he was defeated as candidate for governor of New York. Hamilton was one of his most bitter opponents. In revenge Burr challenged Hamilton to a duel. At this time most men thought dueling was a proper mode of settling disputes. Hamilton did not hold this view, but thought that if he refused the challenge people would think him a coward and he would lose influence. However, the idea of killing a man in cold blood disgusted him. When the enemies met, Hamilton fired in the air; Burr, who had been practicing marksmanship for this express purpose, shot him dead. Dueling continued to be practiced for about half a century.

[^57]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is a shameful episode, and both sides were much to blame. The British excused themselves on the ground that we issued fraudulent naturalization papers to their deserters. Unfortunately this was true. It will probably never be known how many of the impressed sailors were genuine American citizens and how many were deserters.
    ${ }^{2}$ The embargo was aimed at both England and France because Napoleon had offended us by insisting on impressment no less than England did,

[^58]:    ${ }^{1}$ The leading war hawks were Henry Clay of Kentucky, Felix Grundy of Tennessee, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina.

[^59]:    ${ }^{1}$ Jackson had lately distinguished himself in a furious border war with the Creek Indians, who massacred the garrison of Fort Mimms (i813). In the battle of Tohopeka, Jackson broke the strength of the Creeks (1814).

[^60]:    ${ }^{1}$ Formerly a French ship; she had been captured by the British. The name means "warrior."
    ${ }^{2}$ This famous ship was nicknamed Old Ironsides. See Holmes's poem with that title.

[^61]:    ${ }^{1}$ The battle of New Orleans (section 229) was fought two weeks later. News of the signing reached the United States in February, 1815.

[^62]:    1 The sovereigns of Europe were afraid that the peoples of Europe would make another attempt to destroy monarchy. Shortly after the overthrow of Napolcon, Russia, Austria, and Prussia had formed the Holy Alliance, with a view to combating every movement toward democracy.

[^63]:    ${ }^{1}$ See section 332 for the attempt of Napoleon III to set up an empire in Mexico.

[^64]:    ${ }^{1}$ Previously we came very near to a war with Spain. The Seminole Indians in Florida raided the Georgia settlements. General Jackson pursued them into Spanish territory and captured Pensacola (1818). Many years afterwards (1835) the famous Osceola roused the Indians to begin the second Seminole war, which ended in the removal of the Seminoles to the Indian Territory.
    ${ }^{2}$ See sections 131 I-133 for the contrast of North and South in the eighteenth century. Since then the North had become more and more industrial, the South more and more agricultural. The Middle States were now more close to New England in feeling (section 133) and less sympathetic with the South than ever. Life in the South had not greatly changed since 1763 . In the North, on the other hand, two changes had taken place. All the states north of Maryland at various times previous to 1805 had abolished slavery. The break-up of many great fortunes during the Revolutionary War had thrown political power into the hands of the populace. For the dispute between North and South over the Protective Tariff see sections 24I, 242.

[^65]:    ${ }^{1}$ Between 1783 and 1807 (see p. 214, note) 39,000 negroes were brought into the one port of Charleston. Among the importers of these poor creatures were thirteen Charlestonians and eighty-eight Rhode Islanders.

    2 The admission of Mississippi (1817) and Alabama (early in 1819) had made the number of free states the same as the number of slave states. The dispute over Missouri led the free-state men to insist that if a new state was added to the South, a corresponding addition must be made to the North. Massachusetts gave consent to the separation of its district of

[^66]:    ${ }^{1}$ The North was increasing in population more rapidly than the South. Already it had a majority in the House. This was why the South insisted that in the Senate the number of Northern and Southern senators should be equal (p. 258 , note 2 ).

[^67]:    ${ }^{1}$ There has been much discussion as to just when the national idea became predominant in the North. Webster's biographer, Henry Cabot Lodge, thinks it was a new idea in 1830 . Even as late as 186 I some Northerners did not accept it and therefore opposed the war with the Confederacy.

[^68]:    ${ }^{1}$ There have been in our history two banks with this name. The one organized by Hamilton (section r98) had long since ceased to do business as a government bank. Afterwards another bank was organized by Congress. It was this second bank that Jackson antagonized.

[^69]:    ${ }^{1}$ The steam locomotive was invented in England (1814) by George Stephenson.

[^70]:    ${ }^{1}$ First on the list of graduates was Catherine Brewer, who became the mother of Admiral Benson, a distinguished American commander in the World War.

[^71]:    ${ }^{1}$ Words taken from the prophet Isaiah.
    ${ }^{2}$ Garrison advocated breaking up the Union in order to free the North from responsibility for slavery. Men like Daniel Webster and Abraham Lincoln refused to take that position. They also condemned his violent language and his bitterness toward the slaveholders.

[^72]:    ${ }^{1}$ Later the Washington Temperance Society became very influential, and in 185 I Maine passed the first state prohibition law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages. Many other states passed similar laws. At length, in 1919, an amendment to the National Constitution prohibited the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors throughout the United States.

[^73]:    ${ }^{1}$ The idea that the government should leave business questions entirely alone became a principle of the Democratic party which was not seriously questioned by Democrats for fifty years (see Chapter XXII).

    2 The Constitution provides in Article II, Section I, paragraph 6, that in event of the death of the president, the vice president shall succeed him (see also section 213 , note).

[^74]:    ${ }^{1}$ Because it was explored by Captain Gray in 1792 (section 22I, note) and a settlement was made at Astoria in I8II ; also because of the exploration of Lewis and Clark (section 22I). England maintained that the celebrated Captain Cook had discovered Oregon long before Gray and that it belonged to her. The Hudson Bay Company had established trading posts in Oregon. Still earlier Russia had laid claim to Oregon, but had agreed by treaty in 1825 not to advance south of the line $54^{\circ} 40^{\prime \prime}$. This treaty, however, left undecided the question whether England or the United States should have the country south of that line.

[^75]:    ${ }^{1}$ See page 295, note. The straight line of our northern boundary has been marked every mile by a mound, a stone heap, or a cast-iron pillar.
    ${ }^{2}$ There was angry contention throughout the country with regard to this war. The Whigs, in the main, condemned it, though their members in Congress stood by the president "on the ground that the army had been

[^76]:    ${ }^{1}$ Some of these early immigrants to California suffered terribly from being. caught in the storms of the high mountains. What is known as the Donner Party lost their way amid the snow, were overtaken by fearful storms, and only a very few at last made their way to California. See Century Magazine, July, r89r, "Across the Plains with the Donner Party."

[^77]:    ${ }^{1}$ This cession comprised all our present continental territory south and west of the old line of Louisiana excepting what belonged to Texas and a small piece purchased from Mexico in 1853 and now called the Gadsden Purchase, from the name of the man who arranged the sale. We wanted this piece so as to get a good railway line along our southern boundary.

[^78]:    ${ }^{1}$ These gold-seekers are called Forty-niners because they poured into California in the year 1849.

[^79]:    ${ }^{1}$ That is, south of the parallel $42^{\circ}$, the old boundary of Mexico (section 235), and west of the line of 1819 (section 234). The Oregon country north of $42^{\circ}$ was already free soil (see map, p. 258). At this same time the present northwestern boundary of Texas was agreed upon. Texas gave up her claim to all land between the Arkansas and the Rio Grande north and west of her present territory.

[^80]:    ${ }^{1}$ The area in 1783 was somewhat over 800,000 square miles.

[^81]:    ${ }^{1}$ Between 1840 and 1850 we received 780,719 Irish immigrants.

[^82]:    ${ }^{1}$ This wonderful invention is the work of Samuel F. B. Morse, who was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in I791. In 1832 he conceived the idea that an electric current conveyed by wires might carry signals an indefinite distance. After long experimenting he designed two machines connected by wires charged with electricity. Moving a lever in one machine caused a corresponding movement in the other. It is the striking, rising, striking again, of these levers that produces the click-click of the telegraph. The first telegraphic message was sent from Washington to Baltimore, May 24, 1844. The line between the two cities had been constructed with $\$ 30,000$ given Morse by Congress, in order to demonstrate his invention. Today, inside the United States are some $1,500,000$ miles of telegraph line.

[^83]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 1920 the number was nearly fifty thousand.

[^84]:    ${ }^{1}$ Secretary of the Interior under President Hayes.

[^85]:    ${ }^{1}$ The national law denied to the accused negro the right to a trial by jury. These state laws secured to him such a trial. They formed a defiance of Congress on the subject of slavery. They were defended by the abolitionists, on the ground that there was a higher law than the law of Congress - a law of humanity - and that this law forbade slavery.

[^86]:    ${ }^{1}$ Arizona and New Mexico on investigation were reported to form the "Great American Desert." Since then irrigation has turned the "desert" into a garden (see page 404).

[^87]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Whig party broke up about 1854 . Its antislavery members sooner or later became Republicans; its slavery members became Democrats.

[^88]:    ${ }^{1}$ This tragic event should be looked upon not as the result of any one cause but as the result of slowly developing differences, some of which were more than two hundred years old. For the full story of the gradual drifting apart of the North and South, review sections 40-42, 70-72, 130-133, 235, 24I, 243, 246, 259, 267, 271, 277-279, 290-305.

[^89]:    1 Stephens led a strong party in the South that opposed secession. Howcver, he believed it was his duty to obey the commands of his state, and when Georgia seceded he gave his loyalty to the new government.
    ${ }^{2}$ As each state seceded, its senators and representatives left Washington. Presently there were so few Southerners remaining in Congress that the Northerners had no difficulty in admitting Kansas as a free state (January, 186I).

[^90]:    ${ }^{1}$ Previously Seward (section 296), whom Lincoln had made Secretary of State, had told Southern commissioners who had been sent to Washington that Sumter would not be relieved. The Confederates held that Lincoln was bound by Seward's promise ; the Northerners held that he was not. The two views are fully stated by Davis in "Confederate Government," I, 263295, and by Rhodes in "History of the United States," III, 325-35I.
    ${ }^{2}$ They were asked to serve only three months, as there was a general belief that the war would be quickly ended.

[^91]:    ${ }^{1}$ To assist in these great undertakings the Union government created a system of national banks each of which was required to buy bonds of the United States but was allowed to issue bank notes equal to 90 per cent of the value of its bonds. These notes the bank paid out.in its business transactions. These banks proved a great success and are now the most important in the country.

[^92]:    ${ }^{1}$ But even these could not equip the Northern armies. During the first year of the war the North bought in Europe no less than 726,000 rifles and great quantities of military supplies.

[^93]:    ${ }^{1}$ See the famous book of this title by Admiral Mahan; see also Chapter XXIV, on "The World War."

    2 The figures of the export of cotton just before, during, and after the war tell the whole story. The cotton exported in 1860 was valued at $\$ 191$,806,555 ; in 186 I the value shrank to $\$ 34,05 \mathrm{I}, 483$; in 1862 it was only $\$ 1,180,113$. In 1866 , with the return of peace, it rose at a bound to \$281,385,223.
    ${ }^{3}$ We mean by international law a set of agreements, expressed chiefly in treaties, by which nations have promised to be bound in their relations with one another. During the war the American government and the British government agreed upon important rules as to the conduct of blockade.

[^94]:    ${ }^{1}$ A still more interesting experiment made by Confederate engineers was the first effective submarine, the Hunley. It torpedoed the United States ship Housatonic in Charleston harbor and sank with its victim.

[^95]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Union loss on the Peninsula was about 23,000; the Confederate, about 27,000.

[^96]:    ${ }^{1}$ A copy of Lee's plan of campaign, which was lost by a Confederate officer, was picked up by Union soldiers and sent to McClellan.

[^97]:    ${ }^{1}$ There has been much debate over the size of each army in this dreadful battle. Neither general had his whole force on the field. It would seem that Lee had about forty thousand men in action; McClellan, about twice as many.

[^98]:    ${ }^{1}$ This famous ship destroyed vessels of the United States worth $\$ 7,000,000$. It was eventually sunk by the United States warship Kearsarge in a battle off the coast of France (June 19, 1864). After the war the United States claimed that in allowing the Alabama to sail from an English port England had violated international law (p. 343, note 3) and should pay for all the ships it had destroyed. The case was tried in a special international court at Geneva, which decided that the United States was right. England promptly paid for the losses caused by the Alabama and other cruisers which had also been allowed to sail from British ports. The total payment was \$15,500,000.
    ${ }^{2}$ This is the one instance in which the Monroe Doctrine (section 233) has been openly defied (see also section 4II).

[^99]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a letter to Horace Greeley he had said, "My paramount object is to save the Union and is not either to save or to destroy slavery."
    ${ }^{2}$ In consequence negroes were allowed to enlist in the Union armies, which, before the end of the war, included 179,000 black troops.
    ${ }^{3}$ Union forces, II3,000 men ; Confederates, $63,000$.

[^100]:    ${ }^{1}$ At the opening of 1863 the Union armies numbered 918,000 ; the Confederates, 486,000 . At the close of the war the Union had. $1,05^{2,038}$ soldiers. The Confederate army was so much reduced in size that the number which actually laid down their arms was only 174,223 . These great armies were at first composed altogether of volunteers, but as the war went on both the North and the South imitated the nations of continental Europe and adopted "conscription"; that is, they passed laws which made military service compulsory until the end of the war. Picking out the men who had to serve under these laws was called making a draft. The men who were thus called upon to serve were said to have been "drafted"

[^101]:    ${ }^{1}$ Prices rose enormously. At Richmond, late in the war, a barrel of flour cost a thousand dollars.

[^102]:    ${ }^{1}$ In a fight at Yellow Tavern was killed the brilliant Confederate cavalry leader, J. E. B. Stuart. This able soldier was one of the most striking figures of the war. More than once he showed his cool audacity by riding completely around the Union army.
    ${ }^{2}$ The Union losses in the Wilderness campaign were 60,000 ; the Confederate, 40,000.

[^103]:    ${ }^{1}$ This movement gives the teacher a good opportunity to explain with the blackboard what soldiers mean by the "interior line"-the opportunity a defending army has to move on a straight line between two points, while the attacking army must often move on a curve (see also map, p. 350).
    ${ }^{2}$ During this terrible fighting in eastern Virginia, General Early of the Confederate army and General Sheridan of the Union army were struggling for the control of the Shenandoah valley. Early wanted to get in Grant's rear and attack Washington; Sheridan wanted to drive him back and also to destroy the crops of the region, most of which were intended for Lee's army. Sheridan was at last successful. At the battle of Cedar Creek (October 19, 1864) occurred the picturesque incident known as Sheridan's Ride. When the battle began Sheridan was at Winchester, many miles away. He had with him his favorite horse, a splendid coal-black charger. Springing into the saddle, on hearing news of the fighting, he put his horse at the gallop. He rode onto the field just as his men were beginning to fall back. He rallied them and swiftly changed defeat into victory.

[^104]:    ${ }^{1}$ On his march through the Carolinas (February-March, 1865) Sherman continued the work of desolation. The most terrible incident of the march was the burning of Columbia, February 17. Sherman had not ordered the destruction of the city, but his advance guard appear to have taken things into their own hands. Between darkness and daylight the city was burned to the ground.
    ${ }^{2}$ President Davis and his cabinet officers attempted to make their way south. Davis was overtaken and captured near Irwinville, Georgia. He was imprisoned in Fortress Monroe until 1867 , when he was released.

[^105]:    ${ }^{1}$ It is related that when Grant was writing out the terms of surrender he happened to look up and his eyes fell on Lee's sword-a remarkably handsome one. Grant paused a moment, then added to the terms, "officers to retain their side arms."
    ${ }^{2}$ Charleston had been taken by the Union fleet early in 1865.

[^106]:    ${ }^{1}$ Booth, with other fanatics, had formed a conspiracy to kill a number of prominent officials. Other attempts at assassination were made but without success. Booth, after escaping from the theater, was shot while attempting to elude pursuit ; four others were caught and hanged.
    ${ }^{2}$ The exceptions were chiefly high officers of the Confederacy.

[^107]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Constitution, Article I, Section V, empowers each House of Congress to "judge of the election returns and qualifications of its own members."
    ${ }^{2}$ Accepted by three fourths of the states, it was proclaimed as part of the Constitution on July 28, 1868.

[^108]:    ${ }^{1}$ That is, he was accused by the House of Representatives of "high misdemeanors in office." When a president is thus accused, the Senate acts as jury and the Chief Justice as judge. Two thirds of the senators must agree in order to convict him.

[^109]:    ${ }^{1}$ There are now a number of cables. In 1902 the first Pacific cable was laid.

[^110]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Northern Pacific was building from 1870 to 1893 . The most important of the other roads aided by Congress are the Santa Fe system and the Southern Pacific.

[^111]:    ${ }^{1}$ Later the plan of keeping Indians on reservations was partly given up. By the Dawes Act (1887) Congress made it possible for an Indian to own land and become a citizen of the United States. This law was amended in 1896. Under it many thousand Indians have become citizens. In igr9 the government reported that the Indians numbered 333,702.
    ${ }^{2}$ Today a traveler can go from New York to San Francisco in the same time it took Washington to go from Philadelphia to Boston-about four days.

[^112]:    ${ }^{1}$ The first oil well was opened in Pennsylvania in 1859.
    ${ }^{2}$ Because in some cases the control of their business was vested in a board of trustees representing the stockholders.
    ${ }^{3}$ After long protest against the power of the railroads, Congress passed the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), forbidding the railroads to discriminate in favor of any shipper.

[^113]:    ${ }^{1}$ The war tariff (section 3II) was still in force and high duties were charged on many imports.

[^114]:    ${ }^{1}$ President Cleveland (section 378) unsuccessfully urged Congress (I887) to reduce the tariff. The general plan of the McKinley tariff was extended by the Dingley tariff act (1897) and by the Payne-Aldrich tariff act (1909).

[^115]:    ${ }^{1}$ The Republicans had a majority in Congress and generally opposed the President.
    ${ }^{2}$ So called because of a certain Captain Boycott in Ireland who was so disliked by his neighbors that they all refused to work for him, buy from him, or sell to him.

[^116]:    ${ }^{1}$ Utah was admitted shortly after (1896). The first settlers of Utah belonged to a new religious denomination founded in 1820 at Elmira, New York, by Joseph Smith. They were called Mormons because they believed that a volume called "The Book of Mormon" was the word of God. The Mormons migrated in a body to Illinois and later continued their migration (I845) to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. The region was supposed to be a desert, and the few hunters who had explored it said the Mormons would starve. Their energy converted it into a garden; their frontier village has now become Salt Lake City.
    ${ }^{2}$ Admitted as a state in 1907 . The word, in the speech of the Indians, means "beautiful land."

[^117]:    ${ }^{1}$ Silver mining had become an important industry in Nevada in 1850. Later the famous Leadville mines were found (1877). Two laws designed to help the owners of silver were the Bland-Alison Act (1878) and the Sherman Silver Act (1890), both of which required the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase silver in large quantities for use as money. A silver coin weighs sixteen times as much as a corresponding gold coin. In 1893, while the gold in a gold coin was worth its face value, the silver in a silver dollar was worth only sixty-one cents ; therefore, if a mine owner could have all his silver turned into coin he would greatly increase his wealth.

[^118]:    ${ }^{1}$ All the other American provinces of Spain had revolted and become independent republics (section 233).

[^119]:    ${ }^{1}$ In 1884 the United States began building a new navy composed of modern steel ships of the most improved sort. Since then we have been making the navy more and more powerful, until now it has no superior except the gigantic navy of England. In the American navy the most powerful vessels-usually battleships-are named after states, while vessels next in size-cruisers-are named after cities.

[^120]:    ${ }^{1}$ In an effort to close the mouth of the harbor Lieutenant Hobson, with only a handful of men, very daringly sank a collier, the Merrimac, almost under the guns of the Spaniards.

[^121]:    ${ }^{1}$ Hawaii was formerly under the rule of native sovereigns. Many Americans, however, had settled in Hawaii, and they were instrumental in changing the government from a monarchy to a rèpublic, which asked to be admitted to the American Union. President Cleveland, who believed that the proposition was not approved by the bulk of the Hawaiian people, prevented annexation at that time (1893). Eventually the Hawaiian people became eager to enter the American Union.

[^122]:    ${ }^{1}$ In bringing about this fortunate result the American and European governments were embarrassed by an uprising of fanatics called Boxers, who wished to drive all foreigners out of China. A joint army of Americans, English, Germans, Russians, French, and Japanese was sent to Peking to protect foreigners. China was required to pay $\$ 330,000,000$ as indemnity for the murder of foreigners. In 1907 we released China from the obligation to pay what was still due the United States-about $\$ 12,000,000$.

[^123]:    ${ }^{1}$ Czolgosz was executed for the crime the same year.

[^124]:    ${ }^{1}$ The canal was completed in 1914, after ten years' work. The chief engineer was 'Colonel George W. Goethals. The cost was $\$ 375,000,000$. Vessels passing through the canal are raised by means of locks to a height of eightyfive feet above the sea, and then by corresponding locks are let down again to the ocean level.

[^125]:    ${ }^{1}$ For example, see the embargo (section 225), the "Tariff of Abominations" (section 242), nullification (section 247), and reconstruction (section 350).

[^126]:    ${ }^{1}$ Previous to this quarrel very friendly relations existed between Japan and the United States. President Roosevelt had invited Japan and Russia to send ambassadors to a conference in this country for the purpose of closing the Russo-Japanese War. The result was the Treaty of Portsmouth (I905).

[^127]:    ${ }^{1}$ The question was, Had the United States acquired control over the whole sea or only, as is the usual custom, over a strip three miles wide along the coast? It was decided that our jurisdiction did not extend beyond the three-mile limit.
    ${ }^{2}$ England and Venezuela had long been in dispute over the boundary of British Guiana. President Cleveland announced that the Monroe Doctrine gave the United States the right to interfere as protector of Venezuela. He demanded a settlement by arbitration, which England at last accepted.

[^128]:    ${ }^{1}$ A regular conference of all the American republics was advocated by James G. Blaine, Secretary of State under Harrison, who presided over the first international conference of American states ( 1890 ), which had been invited to assemble a year before by President Cleveland. The second conference was held in Mexico City (1901) ; the third at Rio de Janeiro (1906); the fourth at Buenos Aires (1910). To improve the relations of all these countries there has been established at Washington the Bureau of American Republics, now known as the Pan-American Union.

[^129]:    ${ }^{1}$ One important financial measure was passed in 1913-the Federal Reserve Act. To improve our banking system Congress established Federal Reserve Banks, which receive deposits not from individuals but from other banks and also lend money to these banks. Furthermore, part of the government funds is deposited in Federal Reserve Banks and by them lent out.

[^130]:    ${ }^{1}$ At this time Russia, England, and France were united in a defensive alliance called the Entente Cordiale.

[^131]:    ${ }^{1}$ From the initials of the term "Australian-New Zealand Army Corps."

[^132]:    ${ }^{1}$ Compare the situation of Washington (sections 199, 200).

[^133]:    ${ }^{1}$ There were explosions in munition factories, killing hundreds of American workmen, that were thought to be due to German spies. Several officials were known to have been concerned in improper practices and had been sent back to Germany or Austria by the President.

[^134]:    ${ }^{1}$ Congress had adjourned soon after the Senate voted its indorsement of the President's policy (section 424). The President called it together in a special session to consider declaring war.

[^135]:    ${ }^{1}$ Not all our soldiers were drafted. When the war began we had our small regular army and the militia, called the National Guard. These men did splendid service throughout the war.
    ${ }^{2}$ See section 435 . The Bolsheviki were waging war on loyal Russians who stood by the Allies.

[^136]:    ${ }^{1}$ Until recently Congress did not have the right to tax incomes except under inconvenient restrictions. In 1913 the Sixteenth Amendment, giving it this right unconditionally, was added to the Constitution.

[^137]:    ${ }^{1}$ Disputes with regard to employment were settled by the War Labor Board, which arbitrated over a thousand cases involving half a million workmen.

[^138]:    ${ }^{1}$ Many gallant feats were performed by our air scouts in the course of the war (section 43r). Many airmen lost their lives; among these was the daring young Lieutenant Roosevelt, son of President Roosevelt.
    ${ }^{2}$ From the south advanced Divisions I, 2, 4, 5, 42, 82, 89, 90 ; from the short west side advanced Division 26 with some French divisions; in reserve were Divisions 3, 33, 35, 78, 80, 91.

[^139]:    ${ }^{1}$ This American invention, after proving invaluable in fencing the great farms of the West (section 363 ), proved equally useful as a defense in war and has been adopted all over the world.

[^140]:    ${ }^{1}$ See section 234 for the Treaty of 1818, which corrected a mistake in the treaty. The headwaters of the Mississippi were originally supposed to be west of the Lake of the Woods.

[^141]:    ${ }^{1}$ Europe, $3,872,56 \mathrm{I}$, and continental United States, $3,6 \mathrm{I} 6,484$ square miles.

[^142]:    ${ }^{1}$ Republican candidate for president in 1916.

[^143]:    ${ }^{1}$ Colorado, 1893 ; Utah, 1896 ; Idaho, 1896 ; Washington, I910; California, 1911; Kansas, Arizona, and Oregon, IgI2; Montana and Nevada, 1914; New York, I9I7; Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, IgI8.

[^144]:    ${ }^{1}$ An amendment must be proposed by Congress and ratified by three fourths of the states in order to become law.
    ${ }^{2}$ Originally the electors did actually elect the president. In those days the candidate who got the second largest vote of the electors became vice president, with the result that the president and vice president were pretty sure to be of opposite parties. Thus, when John Adams, Federalist, was president,

[^145]:    *Among the most important places in Washington the location of the following are shown in the picture on page 513: I, Lincoln Memorial; 2, Washington Monument ; 3, New National Museum ; 4, Agricultural Building ; 5, government war buildings ; 6, United States Capitol ; 7, Congressional Library ; 8, United States House of Representatives office building ; 9, United States Senate office building; io, Botanical Gardens; II, White House; 12, White House ellipse.

[^146]:    THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, D.C.*
    Memorial, with the Washin according to a plan which provides for a splendid avenue from the capitol to the Lincoln When this plan is carried photograph taken from an 512) many noble buildings.
     flanked by airplane by the United States Army Air Service. out Washington will

[^147]:    ${ }^{1}$ In the Constitution (Article I, sections VIII-X) are lists of the things Congress shall attend to and of those that are in the care of the states.

    2 Elections of this sort are virtually an attempt to apply the principle of the New England town meeting (section 46) to the business of an entire state.
    ${ }^{3}$ Louisiana is an exception; it has parishes instead of counties.
    ${ }^{4}$ Because of the great size of modern cities the town meeting (section 46) has not been used as a mode of city government. The city government, generally speaking, is a little copy of the state government.

[^148]:    ${ }^{1}$ In many cases our mode of city government is unsatisfactory. There is a widespread feeling that it is too cumbersome, that some simpler form must be devised. What is known as commission government has been widely advocated. This plan abolishes the old complicated city government and puts the affairs of the city into the hands of a small committee, usually five, who are to manage it as a board of directors manages a great business.

[^149]:    1 When the law was made (1886) the cabinet numbered seven. The secretaries succeed the president in the order of the dates when their departments were established, which are as follows: (I) Secretary of State, 1789 ; (2) Secretary of the Treasury, 1789 ; (3) Secretary of War, 1789 ; (4) Attorney General, 1789 ; (5) Postmaster General, 1789 ; (6) Secretary of the Navy, 1789 ; (7) Secretary of the Interior, 1849 ; (8) Secretary of Agriculture, 1889 ; (9) Secretary of Commerce, 1903; (10) Secretary of Labor, 1913.

[^150]:    ${ }^{1}$ The old Polish kingdom was dismembered by Russia, Austria, and Prussia over a hundred years ago.

[^151]:    ${ }^{1}$ This is to prevent Congress from fixing the places of meeting of the state legislatures.

[^152]:    ${ }^{1}$ Letters granted by the government to private citizens in time of war, authorizing them, under certain conditions, to capture the ships of the enemy.

    2 The District of Columbia.
    8 This is the famous elastic clause of the Constitution.

[^153]:    ${ }^{1}$ This refers to the foreign slave trade. "Persons" means "slaves." In 1808 Congress prohibited the importation of slaves. This clause is, of course, no longer in force.
    ${ }^{2}$ An official document requiring an accused person who is in prison awaiting trial to be brought into court to inquire whether he may be legally held.
    ${ }^{3}$ A special legislative act by which a person may be condemned to death or to outlawry or banishment without the opportunity of defending himself which he would have in a court of law.
    ${ }^{4} \mathrm{~A}$ law relating to the punishment of acts committed before the law was passed.

[^154]:    1 The electors are chosen on the Tuesday next after the first Monday in November, preceding the expiration of a presidential term. They vote (by Act of Congress of February 3, 1887) on the second Monday in January for President and Vice-President. The votes are counted, and declared in Congress on the second Wednesday of the following February.

    2 This has now been provided for by the Presidential Succession Act of 1886.

[^155]:    ${ }^{1}$ This has been modified by the Eleventh Amendment.

[^156]:    1 There were sixty-five delegates chosen to the convention : ten did not attend; sixteen declined or failed to sign; thirty-nine signed. Rhode Island sent no delegates.

[^157]:    1 Proposed in 1794; adopted in 1798.
    ${ }^{2}$ Adopted in 1804.

