A BRIEF HISTORY
OF THE
UNITED STATES

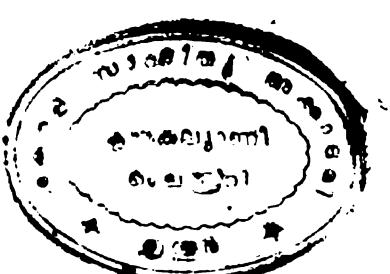
BY

ALLAN NEVINS

WITH FOREWORD BY

JOHN G. WINANT

OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS
1942



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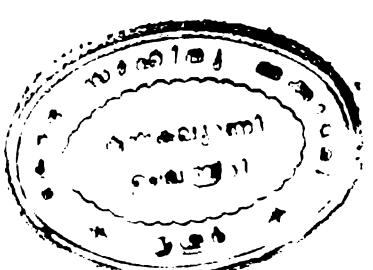

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FOREWORD

WHEN Lord Lothian set out for the United States he suggested that his task was 'not merely to represent the policy of the British Government to the administration in Washington, and vice versa, but to increase the mutual comprehension between the two peoples'.

I believe that every ambassador has hoped that he might do just that, for mutual understanding is necessarily a basis for good will. Perhaps, because the larger part of our population found its origin here in the British Isles, because we speak a common language, and therefore carry back to a common literature and also to a common law, and because we took over from you representative government, we study as a matter of course your early history as being in part our own.

There has been no corresponding place in British education of the story of the development of the United States as it related to you. The study of our history in the secondary schools of your country has been very incidental to the study of your own history. There is much to know and this much we do know, that there is no way of comprehending the present without some understanding of the past.

When I first arrived here to represent my country Mr. Ramsbotham, then President of the Board of Education, talked this over with me with some concern. He developed a plan to introduce a short course

in American history in your free schools which I hope will be carried through in all secondary schools. This plan was followed through by Mr. R. A. Butler, who succeeded Mr. Ramsbotham as President of the Board of Education, and as a preliminary to originating such a course discussions were scheduled at the teachers' conferences last summer. We discovered at that time that there was no short modern history of the United States that might be adopted as a text-book. It was because of this lack that I asked Dr. Allan Nevins, Harmsworth professor of American history at Oxford University, if he would write a short history before returning to the United States. It has just been completed and printed by the Oxford University Press, and I gladly commend it to you.

Edmund Burke once said that 'plain good intention was more than half the fight'. To-day both our countries have that in their relations with each other. Perhaps Lincoln expressed with greater sureness than any other statesman the underlying political concept of our way of life and our hopes of its ultimate fulfilment when he said 'It was not the mere matter of separation of the colonies from the motherland, but that sentiment in the Declaration of Independence which gave liberty, not only to the people of this country, but hope to all the world, for all future time. It was that which gave promise that in due time the weight would be lifted from the shoulders of all men and that all would have an equal chance.' And then he added that it was 'meant to set up a standard—for a free society which should be familiar to all and

revered by all—constantly looked to, constantly labored for, and even though never perfectly attained constantly approximated; and thereby constantly spreading and deepening its influence and augmenting the happiness and value of life to all people everywhere'.

You understand that way of life. In large measure it is your own. It is a political philosophy that applies with equal force to-day and has been restated by President Roosevelt in his declaration of the four freedoms—freedom of speech, freedom of worship, freedom from want, and freedom from fear. These are the things that we want together. They are the outgrowth of our common history.

May I take this opportunity to thank the Presidents of the Board of Education, Dr. Nevins, the Oxford University Press, and the teachers on whom so much depends in presenting my country to the youth of your country and also in helping to work out a friendlier world?

JOHN G. WINANT

3 *December* 1941

MAP 1. THE COLONIAL ERA

I

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE

NATURAL FEATURES OF NORTH AMERICA

A GREAT shaggy continent, its eastern third covered with pathless forests; its mountains, rivers, lakes, and rolling plains all upon a grandiose scale; its northern stretches fiercely cold in winter, its southern area burning hot in summer; filled with wild beasts and peopled by a warlike, treacherous race still in the Stone Age of culture—such was North America at the time of its discovery. It might have seemed a forbidding land. But its central extent was admirably fitted to become the home of a great nation.

North America is a triangular continent, of which the widest part, a rich, variegated, and on the whole well-watered area, lies between the 26th and 55th parallels. Here the climate is healthful, with a warm summer that permits of fine crops, and a cold winter that stimulates men to activity. Europeans could establish themselves in this belt without a painful process of adjustment. They could bring their chief food-crops: wheat, barley, rye, oats, carrots, and onions. They found in the new land two new foods of remarkable value, maize and potatoes. The 'Indian corn', if planted in May, would yield roasting-ears by July, and later furnished fodder for cattle, husk-beds for people, and an unequalled yield of grain. The country teemed with game; its coastal waters were rich in fish. A search in due time revealed that this middle area of North America contained more iron, coal, copper, and petroleum than any other part of the world. It had almost boundless forests. Bays and harbours gave many shelters along the eastern shore, while fine rivers—the St. Lawrence, Connecticut, Hudson, Delaware, Susquehanna, Potomac—made it easy to penetrate a considerable distance into the interior. A foothold could be gained and held without too much hardship.

Some natural features of the continent were destined to

have a great effect upon the future course of the American nation. The many bays and inlets on the Atlantic coast made for numerous small colonies rather than a few large ones. Fifteen in all were soon established, counting Nova Scotia and Quebec, and gave America in its early years a rich variety of institutions. When independence came, the nation built out of thirteen of these units *had* to be a federation. Behind the coastal plain rose a wide, wild mountain barrier, the Appalachian chain. It was so hard to cross that the coastal settlements grew fairly thick and sturdy, with well-rooted ways, before they expended any great strength upon westward expansion. When the people did push west, they crossed the mountains to find before them a huge central plain, the Mississippi basin. This, comprising nearly half the area of the United States and more than half of its cultivated land, was so flat that communication was easy; particularly as it was seamed east and west by many navigable rivers—the Wisconsin, the Iowa, the Illinois, the Ohio, the Cumberland, the Tennessee, the Arkansas—and north and south by one great river system, the Mississippi and Missouri. Men moved about this basin with rapid ease. Settlers from all parts of the seaboard and all countries of western Europe intermingled in it on equal terms. It became a great fertile pool in which a new democracy and a new American sentiment developed.

THE EARLY SETTLERS

To the raw new continent the first English settlers came in bold groups. Captain John Smith and his associates founded Jamestown on the Virginia coast in 1607, and the hundred Pilgrims on the *Mayflower* established Plymouth in Massachusetts in 1620. As these settlements succeeded, other colonies sprang into being—hopeful seedlings of the parent European culture, and especially of British civilization.

Roughly speaking, two main instruments were used in this work of transferring Britons across the sea and founding new commonwealths. It was a chartered trading company, organized for profit, which planted Virginia, and another which planted Massachusetts. They did their work well. New

York was founded about the same time by a chartered trading company of the Dutch. But more colonies were set up by means of proprietary grants. The proprietor was a man belonging to the English gentry or nobility, with money at his command, to whom the Crown gave a tract of land in America simply as it might have given him an estate at home. William Penn thus received Pennsylvania, where he hoped that numbers of diverse colonists would live in 'brotherly love'; Lord Baltimore received Maryland, which he wished to make a haven for Catholics; and some favourites of Charles II received the Carolinas. Of course several colonies were simply offshoots of the older settlements. Thus Rhode Island and Connecticut were founded by people who came out of Massachusetts, the mother-colony of all New England. And one colony was established largely for benevolent reasons: Georgia was set up in 1733 by charitable Englishmen who wished to give poor debtors a better chance, and at the same time to create an outpost against the Spaniards in Florida.

As soon as it was proved that life in America might be prosperous and hopeful, a great spontaneous migration from Europe began. It came by uneven spurts, and drew its strength from a variety of impulses. Eastern Massachusetts was swiftly populated by a great outflow of English Puritans, who left home to the number of perhaps 20,000 in the years in which Charles I and Archbishop Laud made life most unhappy for them. Virginia was given a great increase in strength by a similar outflow of royalist sympathizers or Cavaliers after the Puritans gained control in England. Many men came because they loved adventure. Many wished to escape hard times and the apparent over-population of their homelands. A host of Scotch-Irish left Ulster in order to escape from economic restrictions that were crippling them. Thousands of honest Germans fled from the Rhine valley to get away from political oppression and the path of war. Perhaps the most general motive was the wish to find free land, and with it prosperity and independence. At times immigration seemed a thick stream, at times a mere trickle; but taken as a whole it amounted to one of the great folk-wanderings of history.

Fortunately, from beginning to end this migration took place in a way which made the English language and English institutions dominant, and so gave the country general unity. Neither the Germans nor the French Huguenots set up a separate colony, as they might have done; they mingled with the first comers, adopting their language and outlook. The English migration soon swamped the Dutch in the Hudson valley. Yet this happy unity was matched by an equally happy local diversity. By 1765 the thirteen colonies that became the United States had taken firm root and contained more than 1,500,000 people. They ran the whole length of the coast from the spruce of the Kennebec valley to the palmettoes of the Savannah. Each had characteristics of its own, while they fell into four well-defined sections (*v.* Map 1, p. 6).

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES: (1) NEW ENGLAND

One was New England, a country of small, rocky, well-tilled farms, of lumbering, and of a wide variety of maritime employments: construction of the kind Longfellow described in 'The Building of the Ship', cod-fishing like that described by Kipling in *Captains Courageous*, and overseas trade not unlike that described by R. H. Dana in *Two Years before the Mast*. Another section was the Middle Colonies, made up partly of small farms and partly of great estates, with a good deal of small-scale manufacturing, and with lively shipping interests in New York and Philadelphia. A third was composed of the Southern Colonies, where large plantations, worked by great gangs of black slaves, producing tobacco, rice, and indigo, were the most prominent feature. Finally, there was the most American section of all: the great border strip or back-country where pioneer hunters, hardy log-cabin settlers, and a sprinkling of more solid farmers, pushed towards the interior. This border country was much the same north and south. In western Massachusetts, western Pennsylvania, and western Carolina alike it produced hard-hitting, resourceful men, indifferent to book-learning and impatient of restraint. Feeling between the poor, aggressive people of the back-

country and the richer, more powerful inhabitants of the coastal area was never friendly and often hostile.

New England had the most homogeneous population, its 700,000 people at the time of the Revolution being almost purely English in blood. They were generally alike in language, manners, piety, and ways of thought; one colony alone, little Rhode Island, standing somewhat apart, for dissenting church groups and political radicals had found refuge there. The Yankees had sprung in the main from the middle class of England, the squires, yeomen farmers, shopkeepers, and mechanics, and they felt a stern pride in their ancestry. Those who tilled the land or fished the seas made a comfortable living, while the merchants, shipowners, and small manufacturers often accumulated considerable wealth. Sawmills and gristmills abounded; leather-tanning, rum-distilling, and woollen-spinning were carried on vigorously. The foreign commerce of Boston alone employed six hundred vessels; the fisheries of Massachusetts, with their product exported to Europe and the West Indies, were estimated to be worth £250,000 annually. With good reason the codfish was made the emblem of the commonwealth! Throughout the New England countryside most households were self-supporting, weaving their own cloth, growing their own food, even making their own furniture and shoes. Industry, thrift, hard-headed enterprise, and a distinctly narrow piety were Yankee characteristics; and if the people were not much liked by other sections, they were universally respected.

(2) THE MIDDLE COLONIES

The Middle Colonies had a far more varied, cosmopolitan, and tolerant society. Pennsylvania and its appendage Delaware, conducted by the Penn family upon a liberal basis, had attracted settlers of numerous faiths and several nationalities. Farming was the dominant interest, and no part of America had thriftier, more prosperous homesteads. Philadelphia, the foremost city on the continent, was noted for its broad, poplar-shaded streets laid out in chequerboard pattern, its

substantial brick and stone houses, and its busy river-quays; but at the time of the Revolution it had hardly 30,000 people. The sober Quakers, with their grave deliberate ways, their philanthropy, and their talent for accumulating property, gave a pleasant tone to its society and that of the surrounding country. But elsewhere other stocks were dominant. The Germans came in such numbers that just before the Revolution Benjamin Franklin thought they made up one-third of the people of the province, and they filled whole counties with their neat houses and big barns. Frugal, hard-working, and pious, they were also likely to be narrow-minded, slow, and lacking in public spirit. The Scotch-Irish were even more numerous and important. Some judges thought that America had half a million of them, spilling from New York and Pennsylvania into other colonies. Taking to the frontiers, they made tough-minded, hard-fisted Indian-fighters and pioneers; their Presbyterian church organization gave them a love of representative government; and they were acquisitive, 'keeping the Sabbath and everything else they laid hands on'. Maryland had many English and Irish Catholics. New York had many Dutch, some admirable French Huguenots, and an enterprising little group of Jews. Even in the seventeenth century sixteen languages were said to be spoken in that province, all the lesser tongues finally giving way to English.

A more mixed and polished society could be found in New York City and even staid Philadelphia than in New England. The merchants and shippers of these towns kept in close contact with Europe and showed a great deal of hospitality and gaiety. New York in particular boasted of its clubs, its balls, its concerts, and its private theatricals. The Dutch had shown a liking for holidays which their English successors gradually acquired; wealthy people dressed in the latest London fashions; and the mixture of sects and races made ideas circulate more briskly than elsewhere. Religious dissent flourished to such a degree that churchmen complained of the 'freethinking'. Politics also were carried on more actively in New York than in most other parts of British America.

Attempts to maintain a special position for the Church of England caused the dissenting denominations to wage a constant struggle with the government, many factions showing a 'seditious' temper. In all the Middle Colonies a large population of Negroes added to the variety and colour of life. The Quakers were deeply hostile to slavery, and it did not flourish among the Scotch-Irish and Germans in the outlying counties; but it was common in the cities and on the large manorial estates along the Hudson.

(3) THE SOUTHERN COLONIES

The distinctive features of the Southern Colonies, and particularly of the richest and most influential, Virginia and South Carolina, were three: the almost exclusively rural character of their life, Charleston being the only town of even slight importance; the important place held by great estates, with gangs of slaves, rather imposing mansions, and ostentatious living; and the sharp stratification of society into classes. An upper class was composed of aristocratic planters, who furnished a singularly able political leadership; the middle class was made up of small planters, farmers, and a few tradesmen and mechanics; while the lower class was of 'poor whites'.

The rich planters were sprung in the main from middle-class England—the Washingtons had been country squires in Northamptonshire, the Lees had been a good county family in Shropshire; and they made country gentlemen of a type not unlike Fielding's Squire Western. Their handsome houses, with massive frames, diamond-paned windows, tall chimneys, and carved doorways, bore a resemblance to English manor-houses. Their furniture, plate, and hangings were likely to be costly. When they travelled it was probably in a fine coach or chariot, drawn by horses in whose breeding the owner had taken great pride. Much visiting took place, and a showy hospitality was often maintained, the planters keeping open house amid a retinue of slaves. But this seeming affluence was frequently based on a reckless extravagance, and improvident debts, speculation in land, and gaming, with the

ups and downs of the tobacco market, sent many families through bankruptcy. Some of the planters had good libraries, in which they made themselves masters of the ancient classics and of recent political thought. Not a few of the young Virginians and Carolinians were sent to England to study. As a whole, the planter class took a passionate interest in politics, held most of the elective offices, and talked and wrote on governmental questions with extraordinary ability.

The lesser planters and farmers of the South were hard-working men, many of whom tilled broad tracts with the aid of slaves, but who lacked aristocratic standing. They were a sturdy race, self-reliant and independent in temper, and determined to maintain their British liberties. Many pushed their way up to affluence. If they lacked polish and education, they were by no means deficient in hard sense, and produced some brilliant political leaders of their own, like Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. Indeed, differences between the upper and middle classes in the South often grew vague, and intermarriage tended to knit the two together. Merchants and attorneys stood on a somewhat lower level than land-holders, while shopkeeping was regarded for generations with the same condescension it then received in England. But the lowest stratum in the South was marked off very distinctly. The 'poor whites' and some indentured servants made up a body, illiterate, vulgar, and generally shiftless, who were despised even by the Negroes. Of course most of the indentured people, who worked off the cost of their passage to America by several years of labour, were not devoid of energy and character. Many were the victims of poverty, who came to America voluntarily or as a punishment for petty crime, and rose rapidly when opportunity opened the door. In Defoe's novels we see some of them achieving high success. Nevertheless, the South had a large element of vagabondish, unenterprising, and turbulent folk, who made indolent, shiftless farmers and poor citizens. In due time science was to show that climate, a bad diet, and the hookworm had a great deal to do with their backwardness and weakness.

It is clear that New England and the South were very

unlike, while the Middle Colonies had some of the traits of both. New England was adapted to small farms; much of Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia to large plantations. In New England the people worked in a stimulating climate with their own hands; in Virginia they tended to oversee the labour of slaves under the broiling sun. In New England the small-holdings and the great stretches of unoccupied land encouraged parents to divide their estates equally among their children; in the South the large slave-worked estates could not be broken up without loss, and men kept them together by laws of primogeniture and entail. In New England the people associated in compact villages to maintain their church congregations; in most of the South congregations counted for little and the plantations spread over so wide an area that villages were impossible. In New England the town became the unit of government; in the South the county was the unit. In New England the general rule was that local officers should be chosen by the people, while in the South some were appointed from above, and some practically elected themselves. The parish vestrymen, for example, were not elected by popular vote but chose their own successors. It should be added that the philosophy and outlook of the two sections were very different. The Puritans, though by no means the dour, unhappy, fanatical race they are sometimes painted, were apt to be duty-ridden and sober; the Southerners were sunnier, freer, and more pleasure-loving. Somewhere between these two extremes, in many respects, stood the Middle Colonies.

(4) THE BACK-COUNTRY

The fourth great section, the border or back-country, had come into clear existence by the eve of the Revolution. It stretched from the haunts of the rough Green Mountain boys and the ragged forest-clearings of the Mohawk down along the eastern fringes of the Alleghenies, on through the Shenandoah valley in Virginia, and into the rough Piedmont area of Georgia. Here lived a rude, simple, and intrepid people, who were purely American in outlook.

They cleared tracts in the wilderness, burned the brush, and cultivated corn and wheat among the stumps. They erected log houses of a type first built by Swedish immigrants. The men dressed in hunting-shirts and deerskin leggings, the women in homespun petticoats. They pegged their chairs and tables together from wooden slabs; they ate with pewter spoons from pine trenchers; they went barefoot or wore skin moccasins. Their food was 'hog and hominy', with roast venison, wild turkeys or partridges, and fish from some neighbouring stream. They had their own boisterous amusements—great barbecues at political rallies, where oxen were roasted whole; the 'infare' or house-warming of newly married couples, with dancing and drinking; shooting-matches, quilting-bees, and dances. As in the wilder parts of Scotland and Ireland, feuds and sporadic fighting furnished much excitement. On the Pennsylvania border the Scotch-Irish and Germans waged vindictive combats. In Virginia and the Carolinas personal encounters knew no rules, and 'gouging' matches made men who had lost an eye no uncommon sight. All border dwellers tended to regard the Indians as their natural foes. They also looked with suspicion —often with outright enmity—upon the governments in the eastern capitals; governments in which they were inadequately represented, and whose tax laws and restrictions they impatiently resented.

RELIGION

Religious practices varied greatly in these four sections. In New England the prevailing faith was Congregationalism, expounded by a remarkably bold, vigorous, and well-read body of ministers; men often narrow and intolerant, but of deep convictions. The fundamental purpose of the Puritan migration was to establish a church-State, and this existed throughout the greater part of the first century of Massachusetts. Even when it was abolished by royal edict, taxes were still laid for religion, church attendance was practically compulsory, and the clergy exercised a tremendous influence. The Puritan Sabbath was observed with iron rigidity in New

England, all work, travel, and amusements ceasing at six o'clock on Saturday, and nobody in Boston being allowed to leave or enter town. Long sermons, long prayers, and long hymns chanted by rule marked the tedious services. Yet before the Revolution toleration was gaining a firm foothold. The Anglican Church, though thunderously denounced from many Congregational pulpits, made a rapid growth under official patronage in Boston and Portsmouth. Rhode Island had been founded by Roger Williams, who believed that Church and State should be entirely separate. Here every sect was welcomed; the Baptists became numerous; and the charter of the colony's one college gave representation on its governing body to four different denominations. Even in Connecticut, which was less tolerant than Massachusetts, several Anglican churches were founded and prospered.

In the Middle Colonies far less attention was given to religious doctrines, church forms, and the observance of the Sabbath. William Penn had made his colony a land of perfect religious tolerance for all Protestant sects. If the Quakers stood first in influence, the Presbyterians (with a particularly able body of ministers), the Lutherans, the Baptists, and such strange German sects as the Moravians and Mennonites were all prominent. The churches were usually smaller than in New England, the clergy had less social and political power, and services were less ostentatious. Nevertheless, religion gave a distinct tone to society. In New York, also, every sort of denomination took root. Although the Anglican Church was shown official favour, it remained much smaller than the Presbyterian or Dutch Reformed sects. In New Jersey likewise all the Protestant denominations were welcomed, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists being the strongest. The only Church which was maltreated was the Catholics, and this illiberality abated after the conquest of New France; for it sprang chiefly from a fear that the Catholic clergy and communicants might give aid in the French wars to their Popish brethren in Canada.

In the South, Anglicanism was almost as clearly predominant as was Congregationalism in the northernmost colonies.

One of the first buildings erected in Jamestown was an Anglican church, before whose altar John Rolfe made his romantic marriage with the Indian princess Pocahontas. In Virginia and South Carolina this church was one of the bulwarks of the landed aristocracy, and hence the conservatism and the established order. But social conditions were often unfavourable to it. The parishes were for the most part spread out over wide tracts, sparsely settled, their boundaries sometimes following a river-bank for thirty or even sixty miles. Attendance was therefore irregular and frequently scanty; one of the reproaches that some biographers have levelled at George Washington is that he was capricious in attendance at his neighbouring church. The low salaries, the insecure tenure, the lack of good church buildings, the rough life, and other hardships made it difficult to bring out good clergymen from England. Those who came over were likely to be dull of intellect, lazy, or of dubious morals. Reforms were undertaken, but the character of the Anglican Establishment remained unsatisfactory down to the Revolution. Meanwhile the Presbyterians and Baptists showed increasing vitality and enterprise. By 1770 they controlled the field in both the Carolinas and all along the Virginia frontier. They and a little later the Methodists were the denominations best suited to our fourth section, the widening back-country.

GOVERNMENT

In matters of government the colonies presented the same varied picture. Three main lines of distinction may be noted. Two of the provinces, Connecticut and Rhode Island, were practically self-governing republics. They elected all their own officers, including their governors; they made their own laws; and they kept the original charters which guaranteed them full measure of civil liberty. Three of the provinces, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, remained to the end proprietary colonies. The two former, that is, were to a great extent controlled by the Penn family, and Maryland by the Calvert family, which sent out governors to help administer them. The other eight provinces were Crown

colonies. That is, the king appointed a royal governor for each, and most of the other executive officers were named either by the king or governor.

But by far the most important fact was that in all the colonies the people had received a long training in representative forms of government. Before Virginia was twenty years old the colonists had been given a legislative assembly 'freely elected by the inhabitants'. The passengers on the *Mayflower* drew up a compact by which they organized themselves into a 'civil body politic', which was a pure democracy, and elected their own governor. All of the colonies had legislatures, and in all of them at least the lower house was chosen by the people. In some provinces, like South Carolina, the property qualifications for voting and sitting in the legislature were high, while in others, like New Hampshire, they were low. In some, as in Virginia, the popular house of the legislature was large, while in others, as in New Jersey, it was small. But this did not matter; the great point is that everywhere representative government existed, and everywhere it was effective. To be sure, the governors could veto laws that ran counter to British policy, and so could the Privy Council in England. But in colony after colony the lower house insisted on a control of the purse; that is, it would not pass needed appropriation bills unless the governor in at least some measure met the popular will. In New England self-government was probably carried farther in 1770 than in any other part of the world, while in other sections it was lustily growing.

CULTURE

By the time of the later colonial period, culture was beginning to thrive in favoured communities. Particularly in New England great emphasis was placed upon education. While the colonies were still in their infancy, all except Rhode Island had made some schooling compulsory. Before the Revolution four flourishing colleges had been set up in as many colonies —Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Brown. At Harvard, which had commodious brick buildings, a library of 5,000 volumes,

and good scientific apparatus, the instruction in theology, philosophy, and the classics lagged little behind that of the best European universities. New York had some good town schools on Long Island, and some grammar schools in New York City, but no general system. Pennsylvania had excellent schools in Philadelphia, but a general lack of them in rural districts. In the South no system of public education was attempted, but the best families employed tutors or sent their children to private schools. A number of colleges were founded in the middle and lower colonies—King's College (now Columbia University) in New York, a college at Princeton in New Jersey, the University of Pennsylvania, and William and Mary College in Virginia. This last-named was younger only than Harvard, and trained many an eminent public figure, including Thomas Jefferson.

Newspapers, magazines, and even books of merit were being published in the colonies. Two men achieved a European reputation as writers, Jonathan Edwards in theology and philosophy, and Benjamin Franklin in science and *belles lettres*. One learned divine, Cotton Mather, who has aptly been called the 'literary behemoth' of New England, issued no fewer than 383 books and pamphlets; while an historian of the period, Thomas Hutchinson, is still read with pleasure and profit. The oldest printing-press in America was set up as early as 1639 at Cambridge, and its activity was never interrupted. On the eve of the Revolution Boston had five newspapers; Philadelphia had three. Some of the private libraries in Virginia were admirable, while all of the larger cities had good public book-collections—Philadelphia boasting of two. The simple Quaker farmer John Bartram was known abroad for his careful observation of botanical facts, while another Pennsylvanian had invented the quadrant. Good artists were at work in the colonies, and one of them, Benjamin West, went to England shortly before the Revolution, and there succeeded Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy.

Wealth was accumulating faster and faster; finer houses were being built, luxury in food and dress was increasing,

fashionable conventions were growing commoner. All along the seaboard a well-to-do society, acquainted with the best European thought, could be found. In Boston and New York, Philadelphia and Charleston, as much elegance was visible as in any British or French towns outside of London and Paris. But at the same time the frontier was steadily being pressed westward, and the first rivulets of immigration were pouring through the passes of the Appalachians into the Ohio and Kentucky country. Hardy pioneers of the border like Daniel Boone, with their long rifles and keen axes, cared nothing for luxury, fashion, or ideas; their mission in life was to tame the wilderness. Between the fashionable planters and merchants on one side, the Indian-slaying frontiersmen on the other, stood the great mass of plain middle-class people who were the typical Americans of 1775. Yeomen farmers and small planters, brawny mechanics and bustling shopkeepers, they had grown up with no real knowledge of any land but America, and no taste for any but American ways of life. They were loyal subjects of the Crown, but at least subconsciously they felt that America had a destiny of her own.

THE COLONIAL HERITAGE

Part of the heritage that the colonies were to bequeath the young nation is evident at a glance. The fact of a common language, the English tongue, was of immeasurable value. It was one of the great binding elements which made a true nation possible. The long and slowly broadening experience with representative forms of government was another priceless part of the heritage. We may take it rather for granted until we remember how little the French and Spanish colonies had to show in the way of representative self-government. The respect paid to certain civil rights was another important element in the heritage; for the colonists had as firm a belief in freedom of speech, of the press, and of assemblage as did Britons at home. These rights were not secure, but they were cherished. The general spirit of religious toleration in the colonies, and the recognition that different sects could and

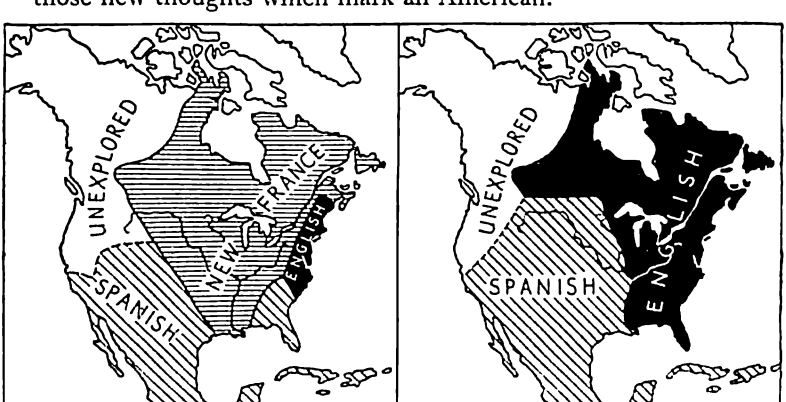
should get on with entire amity, must be included in the roster. Equally valuable was the spirit of racial toleration, for people of different blood—English, Irish, German, Huguenot, Dutch, Swedish—mingled and intermarried with little thought of any difference. And perhaps we should mention the strong spirit of individual enterprise which manifested itself in the colonies; an individualism which had always been noteworthy in Britain herself, but which was now heightened under the pressure of life in a rich but wild and difficult land. Taken all together, these parts of the colonial heritage were a treasure worth far more than ship-loads of gold or acres of diamonds.

But two basically American ideas had also taken root during the colonial period. One was the idea of democracy, in the sense that all men are entitled to a rough equality of opportunity. It was to gain opportunity for themselves and still more for their children that a host of settlers had come to the New World. They hoped to establish a society in which every man should not only have a chance, but a good chance; in which he might rise from the bottom to the very top of the ladder. This demand for equality of opportunity was to bring about increasing changes in the social structure of America, breaking down all sorts of special privileges. It was to effect marked changes in education and intellectual life, making America the 'most common-schooled' nation in the world. It was to produce great political changes, giving the ordinary man a more direct control of government. Altogether, it was to be a mighty engine.

The other basic idea was the sense that a special destiny awaited the American people, and that they had before them a career such as no other nation was likely to achieve. This faith arose naturally from the natural wealth of the country, the energy of the people, and the atmosphere of freedom which enveloped both. It imparted to Americans a fresh and buoyant optimism and an aggressive self-confidence. The idea of a peculiarly fortunate destiny was to be one of the main forces in the swift expansion of the American people across the continent. It was sometimes to have evil effects;

that is, it was to lead them to rely all too easily upon Providence when they should have been taking painful thought to meet their difficulties—it was to make them complacent when they should have been cautious. But, along with the idea of democracy, it was on the whole to give American life a freshness, breadth, and cheerfulness that were matched nowhere else. The French settler St. Jean Crèvecœur caught a glimpse of these two basic ideas when he wrote of what made an American:

A European, when he first arrives, seems limited in his intentions, as well as in his views; but he very suddenly alters his scale. He no sooner breathes our air than he forms new schemes, and embarks on designs he never would have thought of in his own country. There the plenitude of society confines many useful ideas, and often extinguishes the most laudable schemes which here ripen into maturity. He begins to feel the effects of a sort of resurrection; hitherto he had not lived, but simply vegetated; he now feels himself a man, because he is treated as such; the laws of his own country had overlooked him in his insignificancy; the laws of this cover him with their mantle. Judge what an alteration there must arise in the mind and thoughts of this man! He begins to forget his former servitude and dependence, his heart involuntarily dilates and glows, and this first swell inspires him with those new thoughts which mark an American.



Before *After*

MAP 2. THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

II

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF INDEPENDENCE

IN the long run, a political separation between the colonies and Great Britain was inevitable. As America rapidly grew in population, wealth, and governmental experience, a position subordinate to the motherland was bound to become intolerable on both practical and sentimental grounds. The real question was whether the cleavage was to be accomplished peacefully and gradually, or violently and abruptly. At first glance it might seem a pity that the separation did not take place by moderate and friendly steps. But the sharp, armed revolution actually offered some advantages to both sides. It enabled Great Britain to retain Canada, which in a more evolutionary process of separation would doubtless have gone with the other provinces. It gave America a unity and a spirit of national patriotism that only a long and desperate war could have generated.

But just when did the separation begin? The patriot leader John Adams tried to emphasize the difference between the Revolution and the Revolutionary War by declaring that the former really ended before the latter commenced. 'The revolution was in the minds of the people, and the union of the colonies,' he stated, 'both of which were accomplished before hostilities commenced. The revolution and union were gradually forming from the years 1760 to 1776.' Adams, a close observer, ought to know. But his assertion that the Revolution was in 'the minds of the people' makes it necessary to draw another distinction. After all, it was only a minority of the colonists who by the summer of 1776 had been convinced that it was wise to leave the British Empire. Probably more than half the Americans at that date still wished to avert a political divorce. Adams himself says that one-third of the colonists opposed the revolt, and another third was neutral. It is therefore more accurate to say that the Revolution prior to 1776 was in the minds of *part* of the

people, and that the conflict of 1776–81 was a struggle to impose it on the rest of the people, and to make Britain recognize it.

THE SEVEN YEARS WAR

The stage was set for the Revolution by the victorious Seven Years War. Hailed at the time as an event which had consolidated and strengthened the Empire, this war actually hastened its disruption. We need say only a few words about it. While the British had been filling the Atlantic coastal area with snug farms, broad plantations, and busy towns, the French had been planting a different kind of dominion in the St. Lawrence valley. They sent over fewer settlers, but more explorers, missionaries, and fur-traders. They took possession also of the Mississippi river. Steadily, by a line of forts and fur-trading posts, they marked out a great crescent-shaped empire, stretching from Quebec on the north-east to New Orleans on the south, which they expected to hold and develop. Thus they would pin the British to the narrow belt east of the Appalachians. When the British pushed west into the Ohio valley, conflict was unavoidable, and fighting began in 1754.

For three main reasons a British victory was certain. First, the population of the British colonies aggregated about 1,500,000 and was compact, fairly well organized, and tenacious; while New France had only about 100,000 scattered and ill-organized people. Second, the British held a better strategic position. Operating on inside lines, they could effectively strike westward at what is now Pittsburgh, northwestward towards Niagara, and northward at Quebec and Montreal. They also had the stronger navy. Third, they were capable of producing better captains. In Chatham they had a political leader, and in Wolfe and Amherst generals, whom the French did not equal. The result was that after years of hard fighting, in which the British sustained some sickening defeats, Canada was conquered, and the dream of a French empire in North America faded away for ever.

This triumphant conflict jarred the American colonies into a totally new position with respect to Great Britain. It

removed the sharp menace offered by French domination to the north and west, in an arc that had half-encircled the colonies as with a jagged scythe. It removed the lesser pressure of the Spaniards in Florida. Its campaign gave many colonial officers and men a valuable training in war. It did something to create sentiment for uniting the provinces; a number of proposals for union were broached, of which Benjamin Franklin's 'Albany Plan' was the chief, and they educated people even while they failed. As it lessened the old dependence on Great Britain, so it reduced the respect paid to her. The colonial troops, though badly equipped and ill disciplined, found on several fields that they could fight as well as the British regulars—and indeed, could do better wilderness fighting. They found many British officers blundering, and saw that a general like Braddock would have done well to take more advice from a young colonial like George Washington. The New Englanders, electing their officers on a democratic basis, thought badly of the aristocratic British system of choosing commanders. Finally, the victorious close of the war sowed some seeds of practical dissension between the colonists and the London Government.

CAUSES OF DISPUTE BETWEEN THE COLONIES AND THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT

One reason for this was that it made possible an unlimited western expansion, on which colonists and crown officials by no means saw eye to eye. The colonials were fast increasing in numbers—so fast that the population would more than double in thirty years. They needed more land. Indeed, the formation of the Ohio Company to take up and settle a large western tract had helped to precipitate the war with the French. Various colonies claimed by charter right an extension clear to the Mississippi, and the people felt that the newly conquered region belonged to them. But the British Government feared that if pioneer farmers crowded across the mountains they would provoke a series of Indian wars. It knew that the divided and jealous colonies could never work out a sound Indian policy. For this reason it issued

a proclamation in 1763 forbidding any immediate land-sales west of the Appalachian crest, and reserving the empty territory as a Crown domain. The theory was that a little delay would do no harm, that the restive Indians should be given time to settle down, and that lands could then be gradually opened to colonists. The Board of Trade in London was soon supporting a plan for a new western colony called Vandalia. But to a host of indignant Americans the proclamation of 1763 seemed to slam shut the door which they had just fought the French to force open.

Another ground for dispute lay in the question of imperial defence. It was clear that some Indian fighting was certain, that the French thirsted for revenge, and that the Spaniards beyond the Mississippi could not be trusted. The British Government did not believe that the colonies could defend themselves. It complained that they had been slow and stingy in raising troops in the recent war, and had failed to act in harmony. The only central and effective agency was the imperial government in London. Under George Grenville, therefore, it was shortly decided to keep 10,000 soldiers in North America, paying one-third of the cost of maintenance out of colonial taxation. This meant raising about £360,000 a year in the colonies. Grenville, after giving a year's notice and assuring the colonies that he would take a better plan if they offered it, brought in a bill for a stamp tax on newspapers and legal documents. Parliament passed it in 1765 'with less opposition than a turnpike bill', and along with it a measure requiring the colonies to furnish the troops with fuel, light, bedding, cooking utensils, and help in obtaining billets. To England this seemed a trifle; but to the colonists the Stamp Act was a clear instance of taxation without representation.

Still another controversy grew out of the American customs service. The system had grown obsolete, and now that half the continent was under British control its defects had become more conspicuous. During the late war the British Government had been deeply irritated by the heavy smuggling of colonial goods and foodstuffs to the French in

Canada and the West Indies, a trade that had prolonged the conflict. They had done their best to stop it, but had failed. They knew that in time of peace a great deal of smuggling went on, cutting down the revenues. They knew also that the cost of collecting the customs was much too high. The existing laws on trade or Navigation Acts, most of which dated back to the previous century, were unsatisfactory, and the British Government thought it right to take reformative measures. These fell under three main heads. A tariff law was passed, the Sugar Act of 1764, which laid effective new duties upon West Indian products imported into the colonies; customs officials were ordered to show more energy and strictness; and enforcement was strengthened by various steps—for example, British warships in American waters were authorized to seize smugglers, and 'writs of assistance' were issued to enable Crown officers to search suspected premises. Naturally, American merchants and shipowners complained that Britain was trying to ruin them.

MISUNDERSTANDING

Seldom have two contestants more completely misunderstood each other than the American colonists and British Crown managed to do in the ten years preceding the Revolution. None of the early British steps was inspired by a desire to 'tyrannize' over America. The effort to solve the Indian problem, to garrison the colonies for their own protection, and to strengthen the customs service, seemed to ministers in London quite fair and moderate. But to multitudes of Americans these measures looked like a closely geared engine of oppression. Hard times had followed the war. Men who were out of work and pinched for money wished to find new homes beyond the mountains—and the 'Proclamation Line' forbade it. Trade was bad and hard cash very scarce; yet the Crown seized this moment to drain gold and silver out of the country by new tariff levies, strictly enforced. Under the Stamp Act it was meanwhile taxing the colonists without their consent. The moneys thus raised were being used to maintain a standing army, for which most colonists saw no

real need; and this grim garrison was in turn to help enforce the burdensome customs regulations and the unfair tax laws. To Crown officers it seemed proper to ask the courts for 'writs of assistance'. But to the colonists these writs, applying to everybody, giving absolute power to the officers who held them, and allowing every man's home or shop to be ransacked, were intolerable. The British Government had passed certain laws for restricting or forbidding manufactures in the colonies. The Crown thought this fair; it believed that the Empire would prosper best if the colonies concentrated their efforts on raw materials, and Britain on manufactured goods. But many colonists resented the interference.

And behind these disputes over practical matters lay a theoretical disagreement which gave the whole quarrel depth and created an unbridgeable gulf.

Most British officials held that Parliament was an imperial body which exercised the same authority over the colonies as the homeland. It could pass laws for Massachusetts as it passed laws for Berkshire. The colonies, to be sure, had governments of their own. But the colonies were nevertheless merely corporations, and as such subject to all English law; Parliament could limit, extend, or dissolve their governments whenever it pleased. This is not so, said the American leaders, for no 'imperial' parliament exists. Their only legal relations, they argued, were with the Crown. It was the Crown which had agreed to establish colonies beyond the sea, and the Crown had provided them with governments. The king was equally a king of England and a king of Massachusetts. But the English Parliament had no more right to pass laws for Massachusetts than the Massachusetts legislature had to pass laws for England. If the king wanted money from a colony, he could get it by asking for a grant; but Parliament had no right whatever to take it by passing a Stamp Act or other revenue law. In short, a British subject, whether in England or America, was to be taxed only by and through his own representatives.

It must be realized, however, that both in Britain and

America feeling was sharply divided on the main issues; that the developing contest was not so much a struggle between colonies and motherland as a civil conflict within the colonies, and also within Great Britain. In Parliament the eminent Whig leaders, Chatham, Burke, Barré, and Fox, leaned strongly towards the side of the American patriots; in the colonies a staunch body of Tories upheld the British Government. It must also be realized that some extreme men on both sides were glad to use the quarrel to further their own views. Lord Bute and Lord North would have been glad to drive roughshod over the colonists in order to diminish the spirit of democracy that was expressed by John Wilkes and others in England. Samuel Adams in Massachusetts and Patrick Henry in Virginia were glad to make use of the conflict to advance their radical ideas in colonial politics and to remake society on a basis more friendly to the plain man.

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF WAR

Little by little the irritation and the turbulence increased. A number of popular outbursts occurred, the most dramatic of which was a street affray in Boston in 1770 between residents and soldiers of the two British regiments stationed there, five townsmen losing their lives. This 'Boston massacre' aroused deep feeling. A little later, to maintain the right of Parliament to lay taxes, the British Government undertook to help the East India Company land tea which was priced at a very low rate but which bore a duty. The colonists were expected to pay the tax and so acknowledge the principle, but to be grateful for getting their tea cheap. Keen indignation was excited by this subterfuge. At every port the tea was rejected, and in Boston a party of men disguised as Indians boarded the tea-ships and threw the chests into the harbour. Their act was fervently applauded by patriot groups from Maine to Georgia, but the Crown regarded it as open rebellion. To punish it the ministry carried through Parliament a drastic series of Acts. These laws radically changed the charter of Massachusetts; made the British military commander in America the governor of

that province, with four regiments for his support; provided that certain offenders might be sent to Nova Scotia or England for trial; shut the port of Boston to all commerce; and extended the boundaries of Canada over the entire territory north of the Ohio and west of the Alleghenies.

These harsh acts of Parliament brought about an immediate unification of the colonies for defence. Already they had set up 'committees of correspondence' to communicate with each other on measures of self-protection. Now, in the late summer of 1774, the first Continental Congress hastily assembled at Philadelphia, with every colony except Georgia represented. Its fifty-one delegates included Washington, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and many other able men. Realizing the 'awful solemnity' of the crisis, they took a series of vigorous steps. They adopted addresses to the king and to the people of America and Britain, studiously ignoring Parliament. They drew up a stiff declaration of colonial rights. But above all, they adopted two measures which pointed straight towards a breach with the British Government. One was the preparation of an agreement to be scattered broadcast, binding its signers to stop all imports from or exports to Great Britain. The other was the drafting of a resolution—practically an ultimatum—by which the Congress not only approved the opposition of Massachusetts to the recent Acts of Parliament, but declared that if force were used against the people of that colony, 'all America ought to support them' in resistance.

An open collision had now become inescapable. Either the Acts of Parliament would become nullities, or force would have to be used in executing them. Neither side could recede. Parliament declared that Massachusetts had begun a rebellion, and offered the Crown the resources of the Empire to suppress it. And when on 19 April 1775 General Gage sent a force of redcoats to Concord to seize a stock of munitions, the embattled farmers gathered at dawn with their muskets and, as Emerson later wrote,

> Fired the shot heard round the world.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

Within a few days an undisciplined and half-armed but formidable mass of patriot troops had besieged Gage and his army in Boston; within a few weeks the last royal governments were being overturned all over the country. Within less than two months the second Continental Congress had met as a purely revolutionary body, had organized the troops about Boston into the 'American continental army', and had appointed Washington to command it; the fortress of Ticonderoga, commanding the main approach to Canada, had been captured; and the British had been forced to fight the bloody battle of Bunker Hill to force the patriots off an eminence commanding Boston harbour. Already a republic was emerging.

The Revolutionary War dragged over six years, with fighting in every colony and a dozen pitched battles of importance. Repeatedly the patriot forces came close to total disaster. It was hard for Washington to form a true army out of the mixed and ill-trained forces at his disposal, and still harder to hold it together. It was hard for Congress, which had unfortunately failed to seize the power of taxation and so had to depend on State gifts, to raise sufficient funds. It was soon driven to the printing of paper bills or 'continental currency' as a substitute for taxes, and these bills depreciated until they became worthless. Had one British commander, General William Howe, pressed his successes of 1776 in the New York area with energy, he could probably have destroyed Washington's army and ended the war. His hesitations enabled Washington to keep his force fairly intact, and as the year ended to win two smart victories in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. A little later Howe captured Philadelphia, drove Congress into flight, and left Washington to pass an almost despairing winter with his ragged hungry men at Valley Forge. The patriots, freezing at their camp-fires and leaving bloody footprints in the snow, seemed on the verge of defeat. But the following summer (1778) the British had to retreat to New York, and Washington was able to fight

a hard but indecisive battle at Monmouth with their withdrawing forces. Throughout the war the best asset the Americans possessed was the courage, the constancy, the breadth of view, and the wise insight which Washington, amid the sorest trials, always displayed.

The turning-point of the Revolution in a military sense was the battle of Saratoga (1777). Here in upper New York a formidable army of British, hired German troops, and Indians was brought to a stop in its attempted march from Canada through the Hudson valley to New York City, and compelled to surrender. The loss of the army was a stunning blow to the royal cause and put new heart into the Americans. Moreover, when the news reached France, it enabled Benjamin Franklin, who had gone to Europe to negotiate for help and whose simple wisdom had won him a host of friends in Paris, to conclude a treaty of alliance with the French kingdom. This placed a wholly new aspect upon the war. Not only did some 6,000 excellent French troops under Rochambeau in time appear to reinforce Washington. French fleets on the ocean greatly aggravated the difficulties of the British in supplying and reinforcing their armies. British commerce suffered heavily from French and American privateers, and from the operations of the dashing American captain, John Paul Jones. Money and supplies came from France.

Of course the British forces did not give up the contest without a stubborn struggle. Early in 1780 they captured Charleston, the principal Southern seaport, and temporarily —but only temporarily—overran the Carolina country. In the following year they made an effort to conquer Virginia. But the French fleet that summer temporarily gained control of the most vital part of American waters, and this enabled Washington, by a rapid march, to pen Lord Cornwallis's army of 8,000 up at Yorktown on the Virginia coast. His formal surrender, while a British band played 'The World Turned Upside Down', sent a wave of rejoicing throughout the country; and the aged doorkeeper of Congress died of joy when he heard the news. For a time the Crown still

refused to acknowledge its defeat. But it now exercised no authority beyond the sound of the garrison bugles in a few coastal cities.

INDEPENDENCE

What had begun as a war for the 'rights of Englishmen' and the mere redress of grievances had long since become a war for independence. This was perfectly natural. At first, Congress had warmly protested its loyalty to the Crown. But the bitterness caused by the bloodshed and destruction, the resentment aroused by the implacable attitude of George III, and a sense of the natural right of Americans to determine their own destiny, soon led to a demand for complete separation. Early in 1776 Washington's army raised a distinctive American flag. At the same time a profound effect was being produced by the pamphlet *Common Sense*, written by a brilliant young radical, Thomas Paine, lately come from England. He argued that independence was the only remedy, that it would be harder to win the longer it was delayed, and that it alone would make American union possible. By June the more advanced group of patriots had become impatient. A Virginia delegate that month moved a resolution for independence, which a Massachusetts delegate seconded. A committee, for which Thomas Jefferson held the pen, then drew up a formal declaration of independence. Its language was strong, for it offered a stern indictment of British oppression; it contained some striking radical utterances—'all men are born free and equal'; and Congress adopted it on 4 July 1776.

THE PEACE TREATY

In the treaty of peace which ended the war, Great Britain made generous terms. Had her government chosen, it might have driven a hard bargain as to boundaries. The British fleet under Rodney had just won a decisive victory over the French in the West Indies, and the British forces in New York and Charleston could not be dislodged. It is true that American riflemen under George Rogers Clark had penetrated the wild country north of the Ohio river, capturing

British posts in what is now Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. But the British plenipotentiaries might have tried to draw a tight line around these conquests. Instead, they conceded to the new republic all of the country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, with the northern boundary nearly as it now runs; while they handed Florida over to Spain, and gave Americans large fishing-rights off the Canadian coast. This generosity bore valuable fruit. Had the British tried to hold a great part of the North-west, friction with the United States (by no means lacking anyhow) would have been constant and serious. The natural march of the republic was westward, and its expansive energies were exerted in a direction which finally compelled the French to cede Louisiana, and the Mexicans to cede the area north of the Rio Grande—but which, especially after 1815, gave little anxiety to the British Empire. Indeed, Canada and the United States expanded to the Pacific side by side, and to-day hold the best part of the continent as fast friends and allies.

THE GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

In external relations, America had accomplished a memorable revolution. But internally an equally important change had taken place. Quite as important as the cutting of the British connexion was the profound alteration which these years brought to American society.

Of course the separation from England was accompanied by an immediate gain in political democracy. Sovereign States at once took the place of the provinces; their governors were now chosen by the people instead of the Crown, the upper chamber of the legislature was made an elective instead of an appointive body, and laws were safe from a royal veto. In various States the ballot was given to more people, while representation was placed on a fairer basis. In Pennsylvania, for example, a tremendous demand arose in 1775–6 for two democratic reforms; one giving the western counties a full representation in the legislature, the other abolishing certain qualifications which had restricted the suffrage to a favoured group. Both objects were achieved. The legislature

admitted a number of additional members from the western counties, while soon afterwards it broadened the suffrage in a way which allowed many Scotch-Irish and German farmers and poor city mechanics to vote for the first time. When the Revolution ended, the ballot had been given in a number of other States (though by no means all) to every taxpayer. One conservative North Carolinian complained that 'every biped of the forest' had a vote.

The driving of many rich loyalists from the country made an important contribution to social democracy, though it left American culture poorer. Many of the rich Tories were contemptuous of the common people or 'dirty mob'. During or just after the war they went to Canada, the West Indies, and Great Britain in scores of thousands. 'There will scarcely be a village in England without some American dust in it by the time we are all at rest', wrote one. After their departure the plain people were able to recast society on a more equal basis. The huge tracts of land held by the Penn family in Pennsylvania, by an illegitimate scion of the Lord Baltimore family in Maryland, and by many Tory leaders, were confiscated and broken up into small farms. New York took over about sixty important estates, including one which covered about three hundred square miles; Virginia seized the great estate of the sixth Lord Fairfax, with many other lands; and Massachusetts confiscated all the holdings of prominent Tories, including one tract so large that its owner could ride on it thirty miles in a straight line. In the towns, too, there were changes. The loyalists who deserted Boston and New York, leaving their property behind, found that it was often sold for a song to new men who came in and took their places as merchants, attorneys, and office-holders.

Another strong impetus towards democracy was supplied by the abolition of entail (that is, the rule that an estate cannot be alienated from a certain family) and primogeniture (the rule that the eldest son inherits all or most of an estate). Virginia in particular had copied the English land system. It had given the colony a set of great aristocratic families who, as Jefferson put it, were 'formed into a patrician order, distin-

guished by the splendor and luxury of their establishments'. By an impetuous attack Jefferson swept entail away at almost the first assault in 1776; although the legislature had many representatives of the aristocracy, it passed the law without trouble. Nearly ten years later Jefferson also succeeded in abolishing primogeniture. Some legislator proposed a double share for the oldest son. 'No,' Jefferson replied, 'unless he eats a double allowance of food and does a double allowance of work.' Other States followed Virginia's example. A feature of society that had made parts of America, particularly in the South, much like eighteenth-century England, disappeared. Large plantations were divided among numerous heirs or broken up for sale, former slave-overseers taking control of some. 'The distinction of classes', wrote the French observer Brissot de Warville, 'begins to disappear.'

RELIGION AND EDUCATION

Another striking social change lay in the establishment of fuller freedom of worship and greater equality among sects. The State support that the Congregational Church enjoyed in most of New England and the Episcopal Church in the South was felt to be inconsistent with the new order. In Virginia Thomas Jefferson once more won a dramatic victory. His Bill for religious freedom, after ten years of intermittent agitation, was adopted in 1786. It forbade any governmental interference whatever in church affairs or matters of conscience, or any support of religion. The measure proved a corner-stone of religious freedom in many a State, new and old, outside Virginia, and was regarded abroad as a model of advanced legislation, being translated into French and Italian. The Anglican or Episcopal Church was similarly deprived of State support in the rest of the South. In New England the special privileges of the Congregationalists were at once restricted, and were then slowly but surely whittled away. Men who feared that all this would mean a diminution of piety found themselves happily mistaken.

The first effect of the Revolution upon education was bad,

for the marches of the armies, the general confusion, and the impoverishment of the people made it necessary to close many schools. The colleges were hard hit. Yale was for a time closed down, and when the century ended the Harvard faculty consisted only of the president, four professors, and three tutors. Literature suffered badly; for years few books were written, libraries were allowed to decay, and reading and learning declined. It is a significant fact that in Massachusetts the first general school law after the war was much less stringent in its requirements than the old colonial law. The loyalist exiles numbered, on the whole, the most cultivated body of men that America had known. Yet in one way the Revolution did establish a strong new foundation for popular education. A great many people accepted the theory that since the country now had a democracy, it ought to be an educated democracy. The governor of New York wrote as the war was ending that 'It is the peculiar duty of the government of a free State where the highest employments are open to citizens of every rank' to train these citizens. Jefferson said: 'Above all things, I hope the education of the common people may be attended to; convinced that on this good sense we may rely with the most security for the preservation of a due degree of liberty.' Here was a conception of the State's duty on which the free public school system of the future was to be built.

LACK OF A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The outlook of the young republic was thus hopeful and progressive. But one dark and heavy cloud lay on the horizon. The thirteen States had never succeeded in setting up a really *national* government. They had established what they called a Confederation, but it was feeble and inadequate. No national executive existed. No national system of courts had been set up. The continental Congress, which consisted of one house in which each State had a single vote, was too weak to be effective. It could not levy taxes; it could not enlist troops; it could not punish men who broke the laws it passed; it could not compel the States to observe the treaties

it made with other countries. Worst of all, it could not raise enough money to carry on the functions of government, or pay interest on the national debt.

The Revolution, in short, had given the American people an independent place in the family of nations. It had given them a changed social order, in which heredity, wealth, and privilege counted for less, and human equality for more; in which the standards of culture and manners were temporarily lowered, but those of equity were raised. It had given them a thousand memories to deepen their patriotism: memories of Washington unsheathing his sword under a Cambridge elm, of the bloody slopes of Bunker Hill, of the death of Montgomery under the walls of Quebec, of Nathan Hale saying 'My only regret is that I have but one life to give for my country', of the prison ships in the Hudson, of Benedict Arnold foiled as he tried to betray his country, of the piercing cold of Valley Forge, of Marion's guerrilla fighters earning him the nickname of 'the swamp fox', of Benjamin Franklin saying 'We must all hang together or we shall all hang separately', of Robert Morris, the patriot financier, patiently collecting money for the cause, of Alexander Hamilton storming the redoubt at Yorktown, of the British Fleet sailing out of New York bay in its grand evacuation. But the American people still had to show that they possessed a genuine capacity for self-government—for making a success of their republic. They had not yet proved it. Their 'league of friendship' seemed to be turning into a league of dissension. Their Congress was sinking into utter contempt. The quarrels among the States were growing positively dangerous. No group suffered more from the chaotic state of affairs than the army, which failed to receive the food, clothing, or pay it needed. Its officers had a frequent toast: 'Here's to a hoop for the barrel'—and if a hoop were not furnished, the barrel seemed likely to collapse into a pile of staves.

III

MAKING THE CONSTITUTION

BY common agreement the United States has one of the most ingenious and effective constitutions ever prepared; a constitution which, unlike Britain's, is written, but which has expanded flexibly with the nation. The story of how it came into existence is of unusual interest. Gladstone said that just 'as the British Constitution is the most subtle organism which has ever proceeded from progressive history, so the American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man'. Actually it too was largely an evolutionary product. But it took general shape in one of the most remarkable conventions of modern times.

It was probably fortunate that the Articles of Confederation which the States adopted near the close of the Revolution were so grossly defective. Had they offered a somewhat better framework of government, efforts might have been made to patch them up, and the country might have laboured for many decades under a poor constitution. Because they broke down completely they were thrown aside; because the breakdown sprang from their weakness, the new constitution was made exceptionally strong. It was fortunate also that American affairs reached so desperate a pitch as they attained in 1786. Only a terrible crisis could lead many suspicious Americans to agree to the powerful new central government.

WEAKNESS OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT

For in 1786 the outlook seemed black. Not only was the country without a national executive or a national judiciary. The thirteen States had become so disorderly that men spoke of possible war between some of them. They were quarrelling over boundary lines, and in Pennsylvania and Vermont even breaking heads over them. Their courts were handing down decisions which conflicted with one another. The

legislatures of several large States—Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania—were passing tariff laws which injured their smaller neighbours. They were also placing restrictions upon commerce between the States, which created bitter feeling. New Jersey men, for example, could not cross the Hudson to sell vegetables in the New York markets without paying heavy entrance fees and clearance fees.

It was the national government which should have had the power to lay whatever tariffs were necessary and to regulate commerce—but it did not. This government should have had authority to levy taxes for national purposes—but again it did not. It should have had the sole control of foreign relations; but a number of States had begun their own negotiations with foreign countries. Nine States had organized their own armies, and several States had little navies of their own. The country had no uniform system of currency. Pounds, Spanish dollars, doubloons, moidores, carolines, pistoles, and ducats all passed from hand to hand, along with a bewildering variety of paper money. Counterfeiting and clipping were common. The nation should have had exclusive control over Indian relations, but several States managed the savages to suit themselves, and Georgia began and ended an Indian war.

Especially irritating, too, was the way in which various States passed laws which interfered with contracts and helped dishonest debtors to cheat their creditors. This, wrote the Virginia leader James Madison, 'is producing the same warfare and retaliation among the States as were produced by the State regulation of commerce'. Some States printed paper money, let it sink to almost nothing in value, and then permitted their citizens to pay their debts in it. Some allowed their citizens to use property as legal tender, so that a man might pay his debts in wheat or tobacco. Finally, some closed their courts to debt-collection cases. All this was part of the hard times following the war. In Rhode Island the government flooded the State with half-worthless paper money. Then the legislature authorized citizens to pay, not only each other, but creditors in other States, with these wretched rags.

Connecticut and Massachusetts passed laws to punish Rhode Island for this. Nothing did more to arouse a demand for a strong national government than the feeling of business men that they needed a stable currency, a protection against dishonest debtors, and a safeguard against a conflicting set of State tariffs.

Only one great success was scored by the government of the Confederation. Faced with the question of what to do with the unsettled lands west of the Alleghenies (for the States one by one ceded their claims here to the general government), it devised a wise plan which did much to make the United States the country it is. It decided to open them to settlement; to encourage the inhabitants to develop self-government by regular stages; and finally, to erect new States, similar in powers to the original thirteen. This scheme was embodied in the Northwest Ordinance (1787), which covered the region north of the Ohio, and provided for the ultimate creation of from three to five States. Slavery was never to enter this region. Three regular stages of government were arranged. Congress was first to create a 'Territory', appointing a governor and judges who were to make the laws subject to a Congressional veto. Later, when the population reached 5,000, the people were to have a legislature of two chambers, electing the lower house themselves. Finally, when the Territory attained 60,000 people, it was to be made into a full-fledged State. Thus a pattern was established which the nation followed as it expanded to the Pacific, and which finally gave it forty-eight States.

But in every other way the Confederation was a disappointment. Washington wrote that the States were united only by a rope of sand, and another observer declared that 'our discontents were fermenting into civil war'. Congress now had too few members of ability, and its prestige was too low, to enable it to devise a better form of government. Thomas Paine had long before suggested that 'a continental conference be held, to frame a continental charter'. A few far-sighted leaders who gathered to discuss commercial questions brought this about.

THE FEDERAL CONVENTION

On 14 May 1787 there opened in Philadelphia, in the plain brick building where the Declaration of Independence had been signed, the historic convention which was to give America an enduring constitution. All the States but little Rhode Island were represented, each State with one vote. Of the fifty-five delegates who arrived, twenty-nine were graduates of various universities, including Oxford, Edinburgh, and Glasgow; while Washington, Franklin, and other leaders possessed a better training than any college could give. Though they varied in age from twenty-six to eighty-one, on the whole it was an assemblage of young men. The brilliant Alexander Hamilton was only thirty, and the man who contributed most to the constitution, James Madison, was only thirty-six. In general they represented the property, the education, and the solid constructive ability of the country. No fiery radical was present, and the man who might have done most to represent extreme democracy, Jefferson, was in Europe. Several of the more demagogic State leaders had fortunately refused to accept membership. The convention chose Washington president. It wisely decided to keep its debates secret, for news of them would have aroused public dissension and placed the delegates under pressure from home, and it set hard to work behind closed doors.

It soon became clear that the convention was divided into two main groups, one representing the large States, one the small. The Virginia delegates, speaking for the States which had or expected to have a large population, brought forward a basic plan. Its principal author was Madison, and it possessed great merit. It proposed a national Congress of two houses, in which the States should be represented in proportion either to their wealth or to the number of free inhabitants. This Congress was to choose an executive, who would serve for a short time and be ineligible for membership of Congress, and a body of judges to serve for good behaviour. The great objection to this plan was that it would throw the

government wholly under the control of the populous and wealthy States. Acting for the small States, a New Jersey delegate therefore brought in another scheme. It provided for a national Congress of a single house, which should have large powers, but in which each State should have but a single vote. At once the division between the richer, more populous commonwealths like Virginia and Pennsylvania, and the lesser commonwealths like Maryland, Delaware, and New Hampshire, became pronounced. The more powerful States seemed determined to force some form of the Virginia plan through, while the little States were ready to break up the convention before submitting. For a time disruption seemed at hand—and disruption meant chaos.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

The result was a compromise. The convention agreed that the new Congress should consist of two chambers: a House where the States should be represented according to their population, and a Senate where they should be represented equally. Members of the House should serve for two-year terms, and Senators for six. It also agreed that the country should have a President, chosen for a four-year term by an electoral body selected by the States. It was to have a Supreme Court and other judges, appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. Care was taken to give the legislative branch, the executive branch, and the judicial branch a great deal of independence, so that they would offset one another. This was on the theory that such 'checks and balances' would prevent any one branch from exercising a tyrannical power. Yet at the same time the three branches were ingeniously interrelated. Thus the President could veto any Bill of Congress, which could then repass it only by a two-thirds vote; the Senate had to approve a long list of Presidential appointees and all treaties negotiated by the President; the Supreme Court was chosen by the President with the Senate's approval, but it was given an implied power to declare laws unconstitutional which the Congress and President had joined in enacting. This system of checks

and balances, this elaborate interrelation of parts, gave the United States a government that seemed slow and ponderous beside the British system. It was safe against hasty action, but it was not well fitted to meet a great emergency.

Before the constitution was completed, several minor compromises were written into it. Most of the States wished to stop the slave trade with Africa, but South Carolina and Georgia objected. The constitution therefore provided for ending it after twenty years. Again, the slave States wished to count their Negroes as part of the basis for representation; the free States objected to this. It was therefore agreed that three-fifths of the slaves should be enumerated for purposes of representation. But the all-important compromise was that between the greater and the lesser States. It has worked so well that to this day little jealousy has resulted. New York, with its thirteen million people, sometimes grumbles because it has just the same number of Senators as Nevada, with fewer than one hundred thousand people; but the arrangement is generally accepted as just. It has always done much to make one section feel safe against arbitrary action by another—the South from the North, the West from the East.

One of the basic principles adopted by the convention was that the Federal Government should have only the powers expressly assigned to it, while the State governments should have all the powers not forbidden to them. Of course, the Federal Government was given a wide authority. It could coin money, fix weights and measures, grant copyrights and patents, and establish post offices and post-roads. It was empowered to raise and maintain an army and navy. It was given the whole management of international relations and of war. If 'domestic violence' broke out in any State, and the legislature or governor asked for help, the Federal Government might intervene to restore order. It could borrow money, and lay duties, imposts, and excise taxes, keeping them uniform throughout the country. It could pass laws for naturalizing foreigners and for admitting new States into the Union. It was to have its own capital in a district not more than ten miles square. In short, the national government was from the

beginning a strong government—and it was soon to be made still stronger by the rules which the Supreme Court adopted in interpreting the constitution. This strength was a natural reaction from the weakness of Confederation days.

Yet the States also remained strong. All the powers of local government remained in their hands, and they regulated most of the daily concerns of the people. Schools, local courts, policing, the chartering of towns and cities, the incorporation of banks and stock companies, the care of roads, bridges, and canals—these and many other matters were in State hands. The States were to decide who should vote, and how. They were mainly responsible for the protection of civil liberties. For a long time many people felt themselves Georgians, or Virginians, or Pennsylvanians, more than they felt themselves Americans.

When the convention ended its work, only three of the delegates present refused to sign, and most of the members were delighted. The aged Franklin declared that while he did not approve all parts of the constitution, he was astonished to find it so nearly perfect. He begged any men who did not like some of its features to doubt their own infallibility a little, and accept the document. Dashing young Alexander Hamilton made a somewhat similar plea. He had wished a far more centralized and more aristocratic form of government; but, he asked, how could a true patriot hesitate between anarchy and convulsion on one side, order and progress on the other? Delegates representing twelve States came forward to sign the document. Many seemed oppressed by the solemnity of the moment, and Washington sat in grave meditation. But Franklin relieved the tension by a characteristic sally. Pointing to the half-sun painted in brilliant gold on the back of Washington's chair, he remarked that artists had always found it difficult to distinguish between a sunrise and a sunset. 'As I have been sitting here all these weeks,' he commented, 'I have often wondered whether yonder sun was rising or setting. But now I know that it is a rising sun!'

RATIFICATION

But would the States ratify the new constitution? To many plain folk it seemed full of dangers; for would not the strong central government that it set up tyrannize over them, oppress them with heavy taxes, and drag them into foreign wars? The convention had decided that it should go into effect as soon as it was approved by nine of the thirteen States. Before 1787 ended, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had ratified, but would six others follow? Great anxiety was felt by the authors of the new system.

The struggle over ratification brought into existence two parties, the Federalists and anti-Federalists; those who favoured a strong government and those who wanted a mere league of States. The contest raged in the press, the legislatures, and the State conventions. Impassioned arguments were poured forth on both sides. The ablest were the *Federalist Papers*, written in behalf of the new constitution by Alexander Hamilton, James Madison, and John Jay, a series that has become a classic work on politics. The three States in which the battle proved sternest were Massachusetts, New York, and Virginia. In Massachusetts the strong support of the Boston shipwrights, metal-workers, and other mechanics, reinforcing the lawyers, merchants, and a good part of the farmers, carried the constitution to victory. In New York the eloquence of Alexander Hamilton finally converted the principal opposing debater, broke down the enemy forces, and obtained ratification by a handsome majority. In Virginia the influence of George Washington (which was powerful everywhere), and the strong arguments of Madison, won the day. By the time that Virginia finally acted nine other States had given their approval, so that the government was certain to go into effect; but the full support of Washington's State was felt indispensable, and was received with tumultuous rejoicings.

Philadelphia mustered a great procession on 4 July 1788 to celebrate the acceptance of the new form of government. One symbolic float showed how the battered scow *Confederacy*,

with Imbecility for captain, had foundered;[1] another showed the good ship *Constitution* ready to take the high seas. And ready she was. Arrangements were made for the choice of President and Congress, and for putting the new government into force in the spring of 1789. One name was on every man's lips for the new Chief of State, and Washington was unanimously chosen President.

Thus it was that after the gloom of recent years the country witnessed the bright sunrise which Franklin had hailed in Independence Hall. One of the delightful episodes of early American history, at once idyllic and moving, was the journey which Washington made from his beautiful estate on the Potomac to take up the reins of government in New York. He set out in mid-April, as full spring was breaking over the Virginia hills. He moved northward over roads that at some points closely paralleled the route he had taken in 1781 to capture Cornwallis. In every hamlet, town, and city the people poured forth to give him lusty cheers. At Philadelphia cavalry paraded and he rode under triumphal arches of evergreen and laurel. He reached Trenton on a sunny afternoon, where twelve years earlier he had crossed the ice-filled Delaware in darkness and storm to strike one of his most famous military blows. Here a party of white-clad maidens strewed flowers before him and sang an ode. On the shores of New York bay he was escorted aboard a handsome barge manned by thirteen men in white uniforms, and as he approached the city thirteen guns boomed; while he landed to find the city filled with joyful crowds, which included many Revolutionary veterans. On 30 April, in the presence of an immense multitude, he stood on the balcony of Federal Hall in Wall Street to take the oath of office. The chancellor of New York administered it, and then, turning to the crowd, exclaimed 'Long live George Washington, President of the United States!' From the host below rose a thunderous shout.

[1] 'Confederacy', of course, refers to the weak Government under the Articles of Confederation, now replaced by the strong National Federal Government.

AMERICA IN 1789

It was a lusty republic that was now ready to begin its career. A census taken the year after Washington's inauguration showed that it had nearly four million people, of whom about three and a half million were whites. This population was almost wholly rural. Only four cities worthy of the name existed: Philadelphia with 42,000 people, New York with 33,000, Boston with 18,000, and Baltimore with 13,000. The great mass of the population lived on farms and plantations or in small villages. Communications were poor and slow, for the roads were wretched, the stage-coaches uncomfortable, the sailing-vessels uncertain. But turnpike companies were beginning to be formed (a model road was soon made from Philadelphia to Lancaster), and canals were soon dug. Most people lived comparatively isolated lives, with poor schools, few books, and rare newspapers. The impression which America made upon European travellers was one of rudeness, discomfort, rough manners, and thin culture, along with independence and boundless self-confidence. Yet culturally as well as materially its condition was improving.

For the country was growing sturdily. Immigration from the Old World came in such volume that Americans sometimes thought that half of western Europe was flowing into the land. Good farms were to be had for small sums; labour was in strong demand and well paid. The government looked with favour on this immigration, and Washington particularly liked the idea of bringing expert farmers over from Britain to teach Americans better agricultural methods. The rich stretches of the Mohawk and Genesee valleys in upper New York, of the Susquehanna in upper Pennsylvania, and of the Shenandoah in Virginia were becoming a great wheat-growing area. Many New Englanders were moving farther west into Ohio, and a little later into Indiana and Illinois; many Virginians and Carolinians were moving into Kentucky and Tennessee. Manufactures, too, were growing, and were encouraged by State bounties. Massachusetts and Rhode Island were laying the foundation of important textile indus-

tries, surreptitiously obtaining their models of jennies and Arkwright machinery from England. Connecticut was beginning to turn out tinware and clocks; the Middle States paper, glass, and iron. But America as yet had no mill towns with a population exclusively devoted to factory work. Indeed, much of the manufacturing was still done in households. Farmers in the long winter evenings could make coarse cloth, leather goods, pottery, simple iron implements, maple sugar, and wooden contrivances. When mills and factories did spring up, the owner usually laboured alongside his hands.

Shipping was beginning to flourish, and the United States was taking second place on the ocean only to England. Vessels were built in great numbers for the coastal trade, for the cod fisheries, for whaling, and for carrying breadstuffs, tobacco, lumber, and other goods to Europe. The Revolution had scarcely ended when the ship *Empress* made a voyage to Canton and brought back news of the possibilities of the Oriental trade which stirred New Englanders. A new commerce sprang up. It became so brisk that in 1787 five ships carried the stars and stripes to China. The Orientals were eager to obtain furs; and some Boston merchants determined to send ships to the north-west coast, buy pelts from the Indians, carry them to China, and bring home teas and silks. The new scheme proved successful. What was more, it led the Yankee captain Robert Gray, master of the ship *Columbia*, to enter the great river of that name on the upper Pacific coast, and so lay a basis for the claim of the United States to Oregon.

But the main impulse of American energy was westward—ever westward. From the oak clearings of Michigan to the pine glades of Georgia the backwoodsman's axe rang out as the drumbeat of advancing hosts. Up the long slopes of the Alleghenies climbed the white-topped Conestoga wagons of the emigrant trains; through Cumberland Gap into Kentucky wound the buckskin-clad hunters, and the pioneers with carts of seeds, simple farm implements, and domestic animals. In many a rough clearing, where the hickory and walnut trees, tokens of a rich soil, had been killed by girdling, the

frontier farmer and his neighbours lifted a log-cabin, its timbers chinked with clay, its roof covered with thin oak staves. Year by year the Ohio and Mississippi saw more American rafts and flat-boats floating downward to New Orleans with grain, salt meat, and potash. Year by year the western towns, such as Cincinnati on the Ohio, Knoxville in the heart of Tennessee, and Lexington in Kentucky, grew more important. Indian warfare, malaria, wild beasts, the roving highwaymen of the remote borders, and other perils had to be faced; hardship and poverty took a heavy toll. But still ten thousand rivulets of settlement spilled into the wilderness, still the frontier line advanced, still Bishop Berkeley's statement of colonial days held good: 'Westward the course of empire takes its way.'

IV

THE REPUBLIC FINDS ITSELF

AS revolutionary America had produced two commanding figures who gained world-wide renown, Franklin and Washington, so the youthful republic raised into fame two brilliantly able men whose reputation spread beyond the seas—Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson. But it was not the striking personal gifts of these two men which best entitle them to remembrance. It was the fact that they represented two powerful and indispensable, though to some extent hostile, tendencies in American life: Hamilton the tendency towards a stronger union and more national feeling, Jefferson the tendency towards a broader, freer democracy. The most significant facts in American history between 1790 and 1830, next to the irresistible westward march, are the triumphs scored by nationalism and democracy.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

Hamilton had been born in Nevis, a little sugar-growing island of the Lesser Antilles, to a Scottish father and a Huguenot mother. He grew up a man of the Scottish type portrayed by Stevenson in Alan Breck of *Kidnapped*—ambitious, generous, devoted, proud, quick to take offence and to forgive, of flashing mind and inexhaustible energy. His achievements all arose from his combination of brilliancy, self-confident ambition, and industry. It is noteworthy how precociously he displayed these traits. A poor boy, he had no money to go to college. But a terrible hurricane swept the Antilles, and he wrote a description of it which attracted so much attention that his aunts sent him to the American mainland. He entered King's College in New York, a happy choice, for it threw him into easy contact with the radicals of the town who were leading the revolt against royal authority. By publishing two long pamphlets, one just before he was eighteen, the other just afterwards, he measured himself

effectively against the leading Tory divine of the province. When at twenty he became captain of an artillery company, he took to camp books which showed an omnivorous mind.

Besides brilliancy and ambition, Hamilton had other qualities which served him well. He possessed great personal attractiveness. With reddish-brown hair, bright brown eyes, fine forehead, and firm mouth and chin, he was exceptionally handsome; his face animated and pleasant when he talked, severe and thoughtful when he was at work. He liked a lively dinner party, and shone in any circle which offered good wine, intellectual companions, and rapid talk. As shrewd as he was quick, he had the great quality of *address*—of doing the right thing at the right time. His address made him leader of the New York patriots, it brought him to Washington's notice and made him the general's principal aide, it lifted him to the leadership of the New York Bar, it rendered him the principal figure in Washington's administration, and it gave him command of a great party. He had remarkable talents as an executive and organizer. Yet he also showed striking defects. He was excitable, quick-tempered, and when thwarted decidedly petulant. At the battle of Monmouth, when Washington rebuked General Charles Lee for retreating, he leapt from his horse, drew his sword, and shouted, 'We are betrayed'. Washington silenced him by the quiet command: 'Mr. Hamilton, mount your horse'. He quarrelled with Washington near the end of the war, wrote his father-in-law a pompous, conceited letter about the incident, and rejected the advances that Washington made to heal the breach. His hot impetuosity, his readiness to embark hastily upon a quarrel, and his petulant arrogance of spirit brought him into unnecessarily harsh conflicts—with Jefferson, disrupting the Washington administration, with John Adams, disrupting the Federalist party, and with Aaron Burr, ending in his own death in a duel.

The keynote of Hamilton's public career was his love of efficiency, order, and organization, a dominant impulse which explains his unforgettable service to the young nation. From 1775 to 1789 he saw spread all about him the evidence of

inefficiency and weakness. He thoroughly detested the resulting disorder. As Washington's secretary he was the agent through whom the commander conducted much of his business. We need only glance at Washington's letters for the Revolutionary period to see in what a continual fret the general was kept by the feebleness of the government. He fretted because the States would not supply him with enough troops; because they sent insufficient munitions, clothing, and money; because while one part of the country acted energetically, others hung back. He fretted over the lack of discipline in the army, for the troops straggled, looted, and on the slightest excuse often packed up and went home. All this anxiety Hamilton shared. And later, in the dark Confederation years, Hamilton was an active attorney close to the mercantile groups in New York, and intimately acquainted with their worries over the obstacles to trade and the insecurity of property. It is easy to see why Hamilton desired efficiency and vigour in the government—a strong Federal authority.

THOMAS JEFFERSON

When we turn to Jefferson, we turn from a man of action to a man of thought. As Hamilton's talents were executive, Jefferson's were meditative and philosophical. Hamilton delighted in setting up strong machinery and watching its efficient operation; Jefferson delighted in people, and in seeing them contented whether efficient or not. He himself was so inefficient as a farmer (and so hospitable) that he closed his life in great poverty. He was so inefficient as governor of Virginia that he left the office in discredit, and he was not a particularly efficient Secretary of State. But he was highly efficient as a thinker and writer. When he suggested the inscription on his gravestone, he proposed not a record of his offices and acts but of his three major contributions to thought. The stone reads:

Here Was Buried Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independence
Of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom
And Father of the University of Virginia

Jefferson had been reared in the loose, genial, and carelessly intellectual atmosphere of Virginia. As a youth he engaged in 'dancing, junketing, and high jinks'; he was fond of riding, observing wild life, and playing the violin; he read novels—Fielding, Smollett, and Sterne—and was enthusiastic over Ossian. His later life, full of wide contacts with nature, books, and men, merely stimulated his intellectual vagrancy. He acquired a smattering of half a dozen languages; of mathematics, surveying, and mechanics; of music and architecture; and of law and government. He eagerly collected a large library, he wrote about plants and animals, he designed his famous house at Monticello and the beautiful halls of the University of Virginia. He liked freedom, leisure, and breadth of contacts.

Politically all Jefferson's instincts were opposed to Hamilton's, and his training confirmed them. He was identified for many years with Virginia, first as legislative leader and then governor. He was never in a position to understand the anxieties which troubled Washington and other continental leaders. On the contrary, he saw plainly how difficult it was for the States to meet all the demands upon them. When he went abroad as minister to France, where he was pressed for repayment of the loans to America, he did see that a strong national government could be of value in foreign relations; but he did not want it strong in any other respect. He frankly declared: 'I am not a friend to a very energetic government'. He even said that the weak Articles of Confederation were 'a wonderfully perfect instrument'. He feared that a strong government would fetter men. He fought for freedom from the British Crown; freedom from church control; freedom from a landed aristocracy; freedom from great inequalities of wealth. He was an egalitarian democrat. As such he disliked cities, great manufacturing interests, and large banking and trading organizations—they promoted inequality; he believed that America would be happiest if she remained chiefly a rural nation.

Hamilton's great aim was to give the country a more efficient organization; Jefferson's great aim was to give individual

men a wider liberty. The United States needed both influences. It required a stronger national government, and it required also the unfettering of the common man. The nation would have suffered had it possessed Hamilton alone, or Jefferson alone. It was a piece of great good fortune that it had both men, and could in time fuse and to a great extent reconcile their special creeds.

HAMILTON'S FINANCIAL MEASURES

Becoming Washington's Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton carried through a set of measures that made him the greatest finance minister in American history. His programme was not only impressive in extent but creative in character. Many men wished to repudiate the national debt of about $56,000,000, or to pay only part of it; against their opposition he put into effect a plan for reorganizing and paying off all of it. He carried out a plan by which the Federal Government took over the unpaid debts of the States, some $25,000,000 more. He set up a Bank of the United States modelled largely on the Bank of England. He established a national mint. Writing a famous *Report on Manufactures*, he argued in favour of laying moderate tariff duties in order to develop national industries. Congress did pass a tariff law which, though it imposed only low duties, gave definite aid to American manufacturers.

These measures had an instant effect, which reached in three directions. They placed the credit of the national government on a foundation strong as bedrock, and gave it all the revenues it needed. They encouraged industry and commerce. And most important of all, they attached powerful groups of men in every State to the national government. The refunding of the national debt, and the assumption of the State debts, made a host of men who held continental and State paper look to the new government for their money. Manufacturers who depended on the new tariff law for their prosperity looked in the same direction. The national bank secured the support of influential groups of moneyed men, for it made all financial transactions easier and safer. Alto-

gether Hamilton's policies created a solid phalanx of propertied men who stood fast behind the national government, ready to resist any attempt to weaken it. They were pleased when Washington and Hamilton took energetic steps to crush the 'whiskey rebellion' in western Pennsylvania, a frontier revolt against the new excise laws.

INTERPRETATION OF THE CONSTITUTION: 'IMPLIED POWERS'

Nor was this all; for Hamilton's measures required a new and profoundly important interpretation of the constitution. When he brought forward his scheme for a national bank, Jefferson—speaking for all believers in State rights as against national rights—objected. The constitution, he said, expressly declares all the powers belonging to the Federal Government, and reserves all other powers to the States; and it nowhere says that the Federal Government may set up a bank. This seemed good logic. Washington was on the point of vetoing the Bill. But Hamilton wrote out a more convincing argument. He pointed out that all the powers of the national government could not be set down in explicit words, for that would mean intolerable detail. A vast body of powers had to be implied by general clauses. For example, under the war powers of the constitution the government clearly had a right to conquer territory. It followed that it had a 'resulting power' to administer this territory, even though the constitution said nothing about it. The constitution said that the government should regulate commerce and navigation; and it followed that it had a 'resulting power' to build lighthouses. Now the constitution declared that the national government should have power to lay and collect taxes, to pay debts, and to borrow money. A national bank would materially assist it in gathering taxes, in sending money to distant points to pay bills, and in borrowing. It was therefore entitled to set up the national bank under its 'implied powers'. Washington accepted this argument, and signed Hamilton's measure.

Thus, in Washington's presidency, Hamilton succeeded in giving the new government financial strength. He rallied about it most of the wealthy and conservative people of the country. By dealing with the mob-activities in western Pennsylvania, and by defeating the hostile Indians in Ohio, Washington and he demonstrated the vigour of the government. They steered clear of any embroilment in Europe, where America's old ally France was embarking upon a series of wars. They saw to the negotiation of a treaty with Great Britain, called Jay's Treaty, which obtained some valuable advantages for merchants and shipowners, and led them to look gratefully to the national authority. Above all, by the doctrine of implied powers Hamilton gave the constitution an elasticity which enabled it to grow with the nation's needs. These powers have been pushed to an extent which to-day might astonish even Hamilton. The United States now owns and operates a railroad in Alaska. On what authority? On the constitutional authority to 'establish post offices and post-roads'. The United States in 1941 enacted a law under which the President might lend, lease, sell, or give away to Great Britain many billions of dollars' worth of war material. On what authority? On the constitutional authority of Congress to 'provide for the common defence and welfare of the United States'. Hamilton's growth-germ had made this possible.

It was fortunate for the new government that in its early years, when it was ill established and much distrusted, the Federalist party had it in charge. Many people believed (and some hoped) that the government would not prove permanent. First under Washington and Hamilton, and then under John Adams as second President, the Federalist party put an end to this distrust. But it was also fortunate for the nation that after this initial work had been done by elements friendly to a strong national authority, the Jeffersonian party came into authority. A division, the result of a bitter quarrel between Hamilton and Adams, broke the Federalist party in half. Indeed, it ruined this party. After their defeat in the election of 1800 the Federalists never again chose a President or wholly controlled a Congress.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION

In the way in which he assumed the presidency in 1801, Jefferson emphasized the fact that democracy had come into power. The inaugural ceremonies were the first to be held in the new capital at Washington, then a mere forest village on the north bank of the Potomac, its muddy roadways built through bushes and across sloughs. Jefferson walked from his simple boarding-house up the hill to the new Capitol, entered with a number of friends at his heels, quietly delivered his address, and took the oath of office. This avoidance of display marked his whole eight years in office. He was not a man of the people, for he was too intellectual; but he wished the people to feel that they were in power. He appointed to office a number of men who knew how to appeal to the populace. He made economy a watchword, cutting down the expenditures for the army and navy, and trying to keep all Federal activities at a low level. He reduced taxes by abolishing the whole system of internal taxation, which he regarded as tyrannous.

The very fact that Jefferson was in the White House for two terms greatly encouraged democratic procedures throughout the country. He abolished all the aristocratic trappings with which Washington had surrounded the presidency. The weekly levees were given up, court etiquette was rigidly pruned, and he refused to recognize titles of honour like 'Excellency'. To him the plainest citizen was as worthy of respect as the highest officer. He taught his subordinates to regard themselves simply as trustees for the people. He encouraged agriculture, and promoted land-settlement by purchasing the Indians' titles and helping them migrate beyond the Mississippi. Believing that America should be a haven for the oppressed, he encouraged immigration by a liberal naturalization law. He tried hard to keep the peace with other nations, for war would mean more government activity, more taxes, and less freedom. As a wave of Jeffersonian feeling swept over the nation, all commoners rejoiced. State after State was abolishing property qualifications for

the ballot and for office, and passing more humane laws as regarded debtors and criminals.

Yet fate turned Jefferson and the country in a direction that he had not intended. By two steps he, the apostle of a 'strict construction' of the constitution, stretched the powers of the Federal Government to the utmost; and when he left office the war that he hated lay just ahead.

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

One of his steps brilliantly doubled the area of the nation. Spain had long held the country west of the Mississippi, with the port of New Orleans near its mouth. But soon after Jefferson came into office Napoleon forced the weak Spanish government to cede the great tract called Louisiana back to France. The moment he did so intelligent Americans trembled with apprehension and indignation. New Orleans was an indispensable port for the shipment of American products grown in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Napoleon's plans for a huge colonial empire just west of the United States, balancing the Anglo-Saxon dominion in North America, menaced the trading-rights and the safety of all the interior settlements. Even feeble Spain had made a great deal of trouble for the south-western country. What might not France, the most powerful nation in the world, do? Jefferson asserted that if France took possession of Louisiana, 'from that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation'; and that the first cannon-shot fired in a European war would be the signal for the march of an Anglo-American army against New Orleans. Napoleon was impressed by this. He knew that another war with Great Britain was impending after the brief Peace of Amiens, and that when it began he would surely lose Louisiana. He therefore resolved to fill his treasury, and at the same time to put Louisiana beyond the reach of the British, by selling it to the United States (see map on p. 78). For $15,000,000 this vast area passed to American possession. Jefferson 'stretched the constitution till it cracked' in buying it, for no clause author-

ized the purchase of foreign territory, and he acted without Congressional consent.

By this happy stroke the United States gained more than a million square miles, and with it the valuable port of New Orleans, picturesque brick and stucco city built on a crescent sweep of the Mississippi, with the dark cypress forest as background. On an autumn day in 1803 a motley gathering on the Place d'Armes—French soldiers in royal uniforms, Spaniards and French creoles in fashionable dress, pioneers in hunting shirts, tawny Indians, ebony slaves—saw the ensign of France fall and the stars and stripes rise. The United States gained a sweep of rich plains that within eighty years was one of the world's granaries. It gained control of the whole central river system of the continent. For the first time Americans could say, as Lincoln said later in Civil War days, that the Father of Waters flowed unvexed to the sea. Within four years Robert Fulton's introduction of a successful steamboat on the Hudson solved the problem of using these inland waters easily and cheaply. Puffing vessels soon filled all the western streams, taking emigrants to settle on the land, and bringing furs, grain, cured meats, and a hundred other products back to market.

AMERICAN NEUTRALITY: THE EMBARGO ACT

Jefferson made his second extraordinary use of Federal authority in attempting to maintain American neutrality during the colossal struggle between Great Britain and Napoleon. He knew that the young and ill-formed republic needed peace; and as war raged on land and sea, he hoped to keep the United States outside the circle of flames. Great Britain was fighting to prevent the conquest of all continental Europe by a single Power. Naturally commercial warfare was one of her best weapons. Realizing its value, the British hastened to blockade Napoleon's empire, and Napoleon retaliated by the Berlin and Milan decrees for blockading Great Britain. In their combat both Powers struck heavy blows at American commerce. The British acted to cut off the rich carrying-trade of American vessels with products of

the French West Indies, and to shut them out of practically the whole European coast from Spain to the Elbe. The French ordered the seizure of any American ship which submitted to British search or touched at a British port. That is, the war soon reached a point where no American craft could trade with the broad region controlled by France without being seized by the British, and none could trade with Britain without being seized (if it ever got within reach) by France! Under these conditions commerce was almost impossible. The British Government was fairly rigorous, while the French confiscated American vessels on the slightest excuse.

What especially aroused American feeling against Great Britain was the impressment question. To win the war the British had to build up their navy to a point where it had more than seven hundred warships in commission, with nearly 150,000 sailors and marines. This oaken wall kept Britain safe, protected her commerce, and preserved her communications with her colonies. It was vital to Britain's existence. Yet the men of the fleet were so ill paid, ill fed, and ill handled that it was impossible to obtain crews by free enlistment. Many sailors deserted and they were particularly glad to find refuge on the pleasanter and safer Yankee vessels. Under these circumstances British officers regarded the right of searching American ships and taking off British subjects as essential. They did not claim the right to impress American seamen, but they refused to admit that a Briton could be naturalized into an American citizen. The American view, however, was thoroughly hostile to this claim. It was humiliating for American vessels to lay to under the guns of a British cruiser while a lieutenant and a party of marines lined up the crew and examined them. Moreover, many British officers were arrogant and unfair. They impressed true American seamen by scores and hundreds—finally, it was alleged, by thousands.

To try to bring Great Britain and France to a fairer attitude without war, Jefferson finally had Congress pass the Embargo Act, a law forbidding foreign commerce altogether.

It was a grim experiment. First the shipping interests were almost ruined by the measure, and discontent rose high in New England and New York. Then the agricultural interests found that they were suffering heavily, for prices tumbled when the Southern and Western farmers could not ship their surplus grain, meat, and tobacco overseas. Observers compared the measure to a surgeon's amputation of a leg in an effort to save a life. In a single year American exports fell to one-fifth their former volume. But the hope that the embargo would starve Great Britain into a change of policy failed—the British Government would not budge. As the grumbling at home increased, Jefferson turned to a milder measure. A Non-Intercourse Law was substituted for the embargo. This forbade commerce with either Britain or France, including their dependencies, but promised that it would be suspended with reference to either country as soon as that country ceased its attacks upon neutral commerce. Napoleon in 1810 officially announced that he had abandoned his measures. This was a lie—he was maintaining them. But the United States believed him and limited its non-intercourse to Great Britain.

THE WAR OF 1812

This made relations with Great Britain worse, and the two countries rapidly drifted towards war. Ill feeling had been aroused by various incidents. For example, the British warship *Leopard* had ordered the American warship *Chesapeake* to give up certain British deserters—though only one actually was aboard; meeting some hesitation, it fired into the *Chesapeake* for fifteen minutes; and then it boarded her, the decks wet with blood, and took off four men. A little later the President laid before Congress a detailed report, showing 6,057 instances in which the British had impressed American citizens within three years. Other factors entered into the situation. Northwestern settlers had suffered from the attacks of a league of Indian tribes formed by the able chief Tecumseh, and they believed that British agents in Canada had encouraged the savages. Some land-hungry men in the West wished to annex Canadian territory, while some Southerners hoped to conquer

Florida from Spain, now Britain's ally. The result was that, with Madison in the White House, war was declared on Britain in 1812.

This war of 1812 was in many ways one of the most unfortunate events in American history. For one reason, it was needless; the British Orders in Council that had caused the worst irritation were being unconditionally repealed just as Congress declared war. For another, the United States suffered from internal divisions of the gravest kind. While the South and West favoured war, New York and New England in general opposed it, and towards its end some important New England groups wanted their section to leave the Union. For a third reason, the war was far from glorious in a military sense.

The American army, ill trained and badly supplied, began the conflict by surrendering Detroit without a shot, and then suffered disaster after disaster. Its efforts to invade Canada ended in general failure. The most memorable battle on the Northern frontier, that of Lundy's Lane, was a drawn contest which both sides later claimed as a victory. When Napoleon was defeated at Leipsic, the British heavily reinforced their armies; and Americans had the mortification of seeing a British force capture Washington and burn the Capitol. Only at sea did the Americans win any laurels. In a series of single-ship actions the Yankee captains consistently defeated equal or superior British forces, while on the inland lakes American squadrons were likewise victorious. Commodore Perry after the battle of Lake Erie thrilled the country with his laconic dispatch, 'We have met the enemy and they are ours.' Yet in the end the stronger British navy established full control of the ocean and blockaded the American coast. When the war closed the Treaty of Ghent (1815) said not a word about impressment and neutral rights, its main causes. Only the great victory which the frontier general Andrew Jackson gained at New Orleans over a strong British force (just after the peace treaty was signed and before its news reached America) gave the country any real exultation. It made Jackson a tremendous national hero.

THE GROWTH OF NATIONAL UNITY

Yet in one respect the war did contribute signally to the development of the republic. Begun and continued amid discontent and bickering, it nevertheless strengthened the sentiment of national unity and patriotism. For this several reasons can be assigned. The scattered successes, and especially the naval victories and the defeat of Pakenham's veterans at New Orleans, gave Americans a new basis for pride and self-confidence. They dispelled the feeling of inferiority that Jefferson's 'submission policy' had fostered. In the second place, the fact that men of different States again fought side by side, and that a Virginian named Winfield Scott was the ablest commander the Northern troops found, added to the sense of national unity. The Western troops won some battles that they did not forget; and they had less attachment to their State and more loyalty to the nation than many people of the original thirteen. From this time onward the West counted for much more in American life, and the West was always national in sentiment. Finally, the people came out of the war disgusted with the unpatriotic temper that some selfish and narrow groups had shown. The malcontents of New England late in the war had sent delegates to a convention in Hartford to consider their grievances; and this 'Hartford Convention' became a byword of contempt and reproach. Altogether, this ill-starred war did a good deal to make the republic more mature and more independent—to knit it together and strengthen its character.

Events had proved that no matter which party was in control, whether Hamilton's Federalists or Jefferson's Democrats, the national unity grew, and the power of the central government increased. This was because the conditions of national growth demanded it. To acquire Louisiana, to wage a commercial contest with France and Great Britain, to attack the Barbary pirates, to carry on war with the British—all this required a vigorous central authority. And we should add that the government was being greatly strengthened at the same time by the decisions of the Supreme Court. A truly

great jurist, John Marshall of Virginia, was made Chief Justice just before Jefferson entered the presidency, and held that office until his death in 1835. The court was weak when he took control; he transformed it into a powerful and majestic tribunal, occupying a position as important as that of Congress or President. In his tastes and manners Marshall belonged to the easy-going planter society of his native State. He dressed plainly, he carried his own dinner home from market, he loved cards, punch, and a rollicking game of horseshoes or quoits. But in ideas he represented rather the business and professional circles of cities like Boston and New York. His memorable decisions, the work of a lucid and penetrating mind, showed that he was dominated by two cardinal principles—one the sovereignty of the Federal Government, the other the sanctity of private property.

It is impossible to describe these decisions. We can only say that in one, Marbury *v.* Madison, he fully established the right of the Supreme Court to review any law of Congress or of a State legislature if it was alleged that the law conflicted with the constitution. In other decisions, notably McCulloch *v.* Maryland, he emphatically upheld Hamilton's doctrine of the implied powers of the Federal Government under the constitution—the growth-germ of the American government. In still other decisions he strengthened the Federal power in various fields, such as commerce among the States. Altogether, Marshall did as much as any leader to make the central government of the American people a living force, and a growing force. Nationalism was irresistibly advancing. And yet, somehow, so was democracy—as we shall see.

V

THE WEST AND DEMOCRACY

THE MOVING FRONTIER

ONE of the forces which did most to shape American life from the beginning down to the end of the nineteenth century was the frontier—a frontier which moved across the continent as population advanced from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It affected American politics, thought, manners, and ideals in the profoundest way.

It is important to picture the frontier as a steadily moving, steadily changing border-strip of settlement, broken into variegated belts, patches, and pockets. When we think of the frontier we think of the West. But the first English settlers at Plymouth and Jamestown really lived on a frontier, with the wild forest at their doors. The Indians had to teach them much about life on the new continent; how to burn off clearings, to plant maize, to fertilize the land with fish, to cook potatoes and succotash, to smoke tobacco, and to make canoes, moccasins, and snowshoes. By 1700 the second American frontier had come into existence. The settlers had reached the Appalachian uplands, where life was more primitive and dangerous, and had formed a new zone of settlement as different from the seaboard towns as the towns were from England. They were more independent, for they grew nearly all the food and made nearly all the furniture, implements, and clothing that they used. They cared little about Europe. Then by 1765 a third frontier was being formed, for the pioneers were trickling through the passes of the Appalachians. After the Revolution they flowed out rapidly upon the broad prairies of the Middle West. By 1800 Kentucky and Tennessee were full-fledged States, and Ohio was about to become one; by 1822 Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri were all States. The first frontier had been tied closely to Europe, and the second tied to the coast settlements. But this third

frontier of the Mississippi valley was independent, and its people looked west rather than east.

THE FRONTIER SETTLERS

Who were the frontier settlers? Naturally they were a varied body of men, but most early observers distinguish three main groups. In the van of emigration marched the pioneer hunter or trapper. An English traveller named Fordham described them pithily.

'A daring, hardy race of men, who live in miserable cabins, which they fortify in time of war with the Indians, whom they hate but much resemble in dress and manners. They are unpolished but hospitable, kind to strangers, honest and trustworthy. They raise a little Indian corn, pumpkins, hogs, and sometimes have a cow or two, and two or three horses belonging to each family. But the rifle is their principal means of support. They are the best marksmen in the world.'

Their rule was that when they heard the sound of a neighbour's gun, it was time to move on. Fenimore Cooper has given a good picture of the pioneer hunter in Natty Bumppo and of backwoods life in *The Prairie*. These men were dexterous with the axe, rifle, snare, and fishing-line; entering a new country, they blazed the trails, built the first log-cabins, held back the Indians, and so made way for a second group.

This second body Fordham describes as the first true settlers, 'a mixed set of hunters and farmers'. Instead of a log-cabin, they built a 'log house', which had glass windows, a good chimney, and partitioned rooms, and was as comfortable as an English farm cottage; instead of drinking from a spring they sunk a well. An industrious man would rapidly clear some land of timber, burning the wood for potash and letting the stumps decay. Growing his own grain, vegetables, and fruit, ranging the woods for venison, wild turkeys, and honey, fishing the nearest streams, looking after some cattle and hogs, he would worry little over the loneliness and roughness of his life. The more enterprising bought large tracts of the cheap land on the theory that it was wise, as a character in

Edward Eggleston's *Hoosier Schoolmaster* put it, to 'git a plenty while you're a-gittin' '; then as land values rose, they sold their acres and moved westward. Thus they gave way to the third group, the most important of all.

The third body included not only farmers, but doctors, lawyers, storekeepers, editors, mechanics, politicians, and land-speculators; all the materials to furnish the fabric of a vigorous society. But the farmers were the most important. They intended to stay all their lives where they settled, and hoped their children would stay after them. They built larger barns than their predecessors, and then better brick or frame houses. They constructed better fences, brought in better livestock, ploughed the land better, and sowed more productive seed. Some of them erected flour-mills, saw-mills, or distilleries. They laid out good highways. As towns grew up, many of them, as bankers, merchants, or land-dealers, became men of wealth. In short, they represented American civilization. So rapidly did the West grow that almost incredible transformations were accomplished within a few years by this third wave. Chicago had hardly a hundred people in 1830, being merely an unpromising trading-village with a fort; but before some of its first settlers died it was one of the largest and richest cities in the world.

Many different peoples mingled their blood in the new West. Farmers of the upland South were prominent, and from this stock sprang Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, born in Kentucky log-cabins in the same year. Hard-headed Scotch-Irish, thrifty Pennsylvania Germans, enterprising Yankees, and men of other origins played their part. The father of Daniel Boone, the fearless wilderness rover who did so much to open up Kentucky and Missouri, had migrated from Devon. But all these people had two traits in common —individualism and democracy. By 1830 more than half the Americans had been brought up in an environment in which Old World traditions and conventions were absent or very weak. Men in the West had to stand on their feet. They were valued not for family, inherited money, or years of schooling but, like the castaways in Barrie's *Admirable Crichton*, for

what they could do. People could get land almost for the asking—after 1820 for $1·25 an acre, and after 1862 for merely settling on it; they could easily get the tools to work it. Then, as Horace Greeley said, they could 'grow up with the country'. This equality of economic opportunity bred a sense of social and political equality, and gave natural leaders a chance to come quickly to the front. It should be added that the sea was practically another frontier in its effect upon American character. Vessels were small and had small crews, while many fishing-ships and whalers were worked on a partnership basis. Initiative, courage, individual vigour, and hard sense were the requirements of a good pioneer hunter, frontier farmer, or Eastern sailor alike.

FRONTIER VIRTUES AND VICES

By contagion and example this democracy and individualism became marked traits in the cities of the young republic. The upright independence that William Cobbett lauded, immediately struck European visitors to New York and Philadelphia. These observers noted that workmen did not tip their hats and say 'sir' to earn a shilling. The very porters accepted a job with the attitude of men conferring a favour. Cobbett mentioned approvingly that American servants wore no livery and usually ate with the family. He saw only two beggars in America and both were foreigners. One of Ralph Waldo Emerson's most truly American essays is that on 'Self-Reliance'. In it he speaks of the typical Yankee of the day who, going West, was by turns farmer, storekeeper, land-dealer, lawyer, Congressman, and judge, a jack of all trades, always landing on his feet. It was not an overdrawn portrait. One of the ablest Civil War generals, W. T. Sherman, was in turn cadet, soldier in the Mexican War, banker in San Francisco, lawyer in Leavenworth, farm-manager on the Kansas frontier, head of a military college in Louisiana, and then soldier again.

But if the frontier fostered virtues, it also bred vices. The frontier folk were in general unruly, impatient of discipline, and too aggressively self-confident—too 'brash'. Many of

the military defeats of the War of 1812 were attributable to a frontier dislike of training and subordination. The frontier-trained Americans were also inclined to do everything with hurried crudity. So many tasks needed performing that careful finish seemed a waste of time. Americans hurried up rough frame houses instead of durable stone and brick structures, they built rough roads, they made makeshift bridges. Less attention was paid to human life and limb than in older societies. New York had firebells clanging all night because its houses burned like tinder, while in 1836 two of the city's largest business buildings actually collapsed. Railroad collisions and steamboat explosions were frequent. Naturally, little attention was paid to manners or culture; the frontier had no leisure for them. And worst of all, frontier life was marked by a deplorable amount of outright criminality. Some of the scum of society swirled out to the border. Men developed ungovernable tempers, and had a taste for settling their quarrels with fists or pistols. Officers of justice had to possess iron nerve and a quick trigger-finger.

THE INDIAN WARS

The individualism of the frontiersmen had especially tragic consequences in their dealings with the Indians. They constantly encroached on Indian lands in defiance of treaty; they destroyed the game on which the Indians depended for food and clothing; and many were ready to slay any redskin on sight. When the Indians tried to defend themselves, war ensued. Of course the savages were often aggressors, but the inexorable westward thrust of the whites was the principal cause of the many conflicts. The most bloodcurdling wars were with the Creeks in the South, where Andrew Jackson won a bloody victory; with the Seminoles in the Florida swamps and thickets; and with Tecumseh's followers in Indiana. Young Abraham Lincoln was a captain in the Black Hawk War, an especially brutal affair. Some spokesmen for Black Hawk's tribe, the Sauk and Fox Indians, had ceded their title to about 50 million acres to the government. The chief and a great part of the tribe denied the validity of this cession.

Before a threat of force Black Hawk withdrew from his corn lands in Illinois to the west bank of the Mississippi. But his tribe suffered from hunger, and next spring they recrossed the river in order to join a friendly tribe in southern Wisconsin and raise corn there. The whites immediately attacked them; Black Hawk retreated, making offers of peace which the whites ignored. His despairing followers were driven across southern Wisconsin to the Mississippi again, where men, women, and children were mercilessly cut to pieces as they tried to cross. 'It was a horrid sight,' wrote one rifleman, 'to witness little children, wounded and suffering the most excruciating pain, although they were of the savage enemy.' This was the frontiersman at his worst.

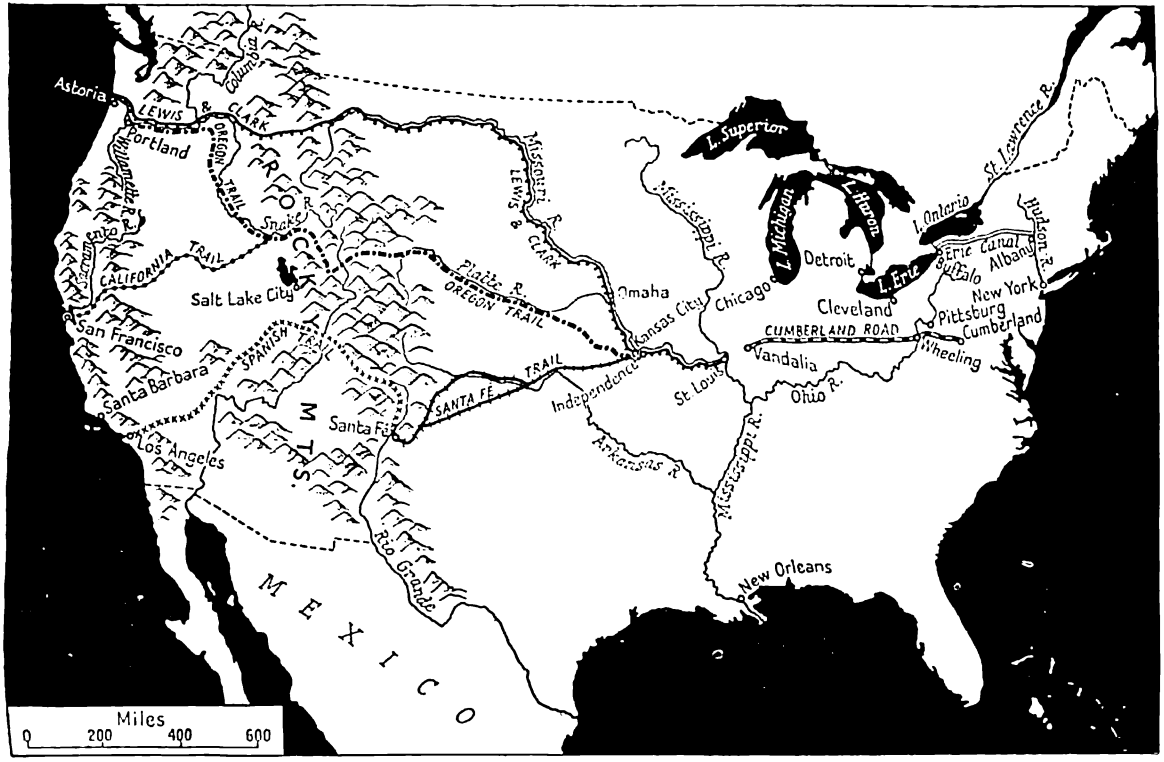
When the rich Mississippi valley was settled, the most distinctive part of the United States had come into existence —'the valley of democracy'. By 1850 it was fairly well peopled and well tilled. The Indian tribes had been removed to reservations in the farther West. Not only had all of the country east of the great river been divided into States, but west of it a tier of them had entered the Union—Louisiana in 1812, Missouri in 1821, Arkansas in 1836, Iowa in 1846. Cyrus H. McCormick, the inventor of the reaper, had set up his factory in Chicago, and was turning out machines which made it easy to cover the prairies with grain. Railroad building had begun, and a mesh of tracks was soon being laid over the whole region. Middle Western leaders were coming into notice who would soon hold the reins of power in Washington —Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln.

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WEST

A major part had been played in the development of the Mississippi valley by the opening of great avenues of transportation. The first main artery to the West was the Cumberland Road, built with Federal money and running from Cumberland, Maryland, over the mountains into the flat country beyond. As finally completed to Vandalia in Illinois, it was about six hundred miles in length. Sixty feet wide, it had a paved strip of 20 feet in the centre. Over this 'National

Pike' ran the Western mails, with special postage. Inns sprang up at convenient distances. The stream of colonists swelled until in summer passengers were never out of sight. 'Hundreds of families are seen migrating to the West with ease and comfort', wrote one observer in 1824. 'Drovers from the west with their cattle of almost every description are seen passing eastward seeking a market. Indeed, this great thoroughfare may be compared to a street through some populous city—travellers on foot, on horseback, and in carriages are seen mingling on its paved surface.' The road connected at Wheeling with the Ohio river, and this also became a crowded artery of travel. Nicholas Roosevelt, of a family later famous, built a steamboat which ran from Pittsburgh clear through to New Orleans and back, and he soon had many imitators.

But the most famous of the highways to the West was the Erie Canal, which linked the Hudson river and Atlantic Ocean with the Great Lakes, thus providing a water-road into the very heart of the continent. Men had dreamed of it even in the eighteenth century. It would enable emigrants and trade to flank the wild Appalachian chain. But the task of digging nearly four hundred miles of canal was so heavy that leaders shied away from it. Finally a patriotic and energetic New Yorker, De Witt Clinton, carried on a campaign for it, gained the governorship, and after many years saw 'Clinton's Ditch' completed. A joyous celebration in 1825 welcomed the first procession of boats along the waterway, and before an acclaiming multitude Clinton poured a kegful of Lake Erie water into the Atlantic. The canal, along which new towns and cities sprang up, confirmed New York in her position as leader of American trade and finance. More important than that, however, was its contribution to Western growth. New Englanders and New Yorkers travelled westward on it in a steady stream. This flood of migrants built up Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago into bustling cities, and gave great parts of the North-west a decidedly Yankee flavour. It was responsible in itself for a striking shift in the American population; and it did much to help save the Union, for before the



MAP 3. THE HIGHWAYS TO THE WEST

Civil War broke out it had tied the upper Mississippi valley securely to the North Atlantic States.

When we turn to the vast country west of the Mississippi, we find that its settlement offers an even more colourful story. It was first made known to the nation by the exploring expedition which Jefferson sent clear to the Pacific under Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. This famous undertaking, which wrote an immortal chapter in geographical discovery, was financed by a Federal appropriation of only $2,500! Jefferson had always been keenly interested in the wonders of the West. He had written at length about the Indians, whom he admired, and of such matters as the discovery of remains of the mammoth in the Ohio valley. But when he sent Lewis and Clark into the wilderness his object was twofold. In addition to scientific inquiry he expected these men to open up the Missouri river country to American fur-traders. At that time the Indians of the area carried their furs into Canada to sell to British dealers. They would find it far easier, Jefferson thought, to send the pelts down the river to American buyers.

Both objects were accomplished. Lewis and Clark, ascending the Missouri, crossing the Rockies, and descending the Columbia to the Pacific, accomplished an epic bit of exploration, which has been called 'incomparably the most perfect achievement of its kind in the history of the world'. They also laid a basis for American competition with the rich British fur-trading companies. Immediately after their return Clark helped found the Missouri Fur Company, with a chain of forts on the river. It prospered and grew. And soon afterwards John Jacob Astor's energetic American Fur Company entered the North-western field. It had hitherto traded chiefly about the Great Lakes, but Astor now resolved to plant a trading-post at the mouth of the Columbia. In 1811 a ship of his founded Astoria (about which Washington Irving later wrote a delightful book), while an expedition across the continent by land reached the same point the next year.

This was a good beginning. And the development of the

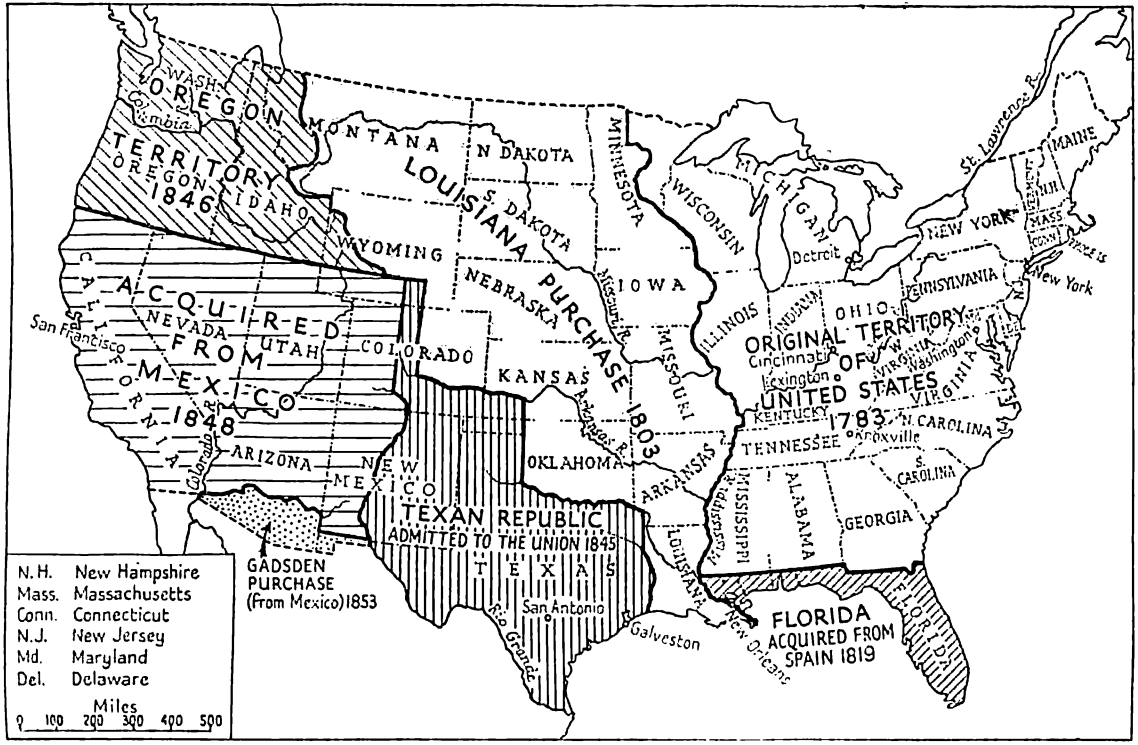
West and its trade was hastened by three picturesque occurrences early in the 1820's. One was the opening of a brisk trade along the Santa Fé Trail to the Far South-west, then in Mexican hands. An enterprising Missourian got together a trading party of about seventy men, placed some goods on horses and mules, and travelling about eight hundred miles over a rough and dangerous country, sold his wares in Santa Fé at a handsome profit. The next year he took wagons on the long journey. Other traders imitated him, and the celebrated Santa Fé Trail was fairly open. The traders who used it encountered many perils, for much of the country was semi-desert, parched by heat and drought; they had to ford difficult rivers; and they were likely to be attacked by hostile Comanche, Arapahoe, and Sioux Indians. But the pioneers beat out an American road which did much to win the South-west for the republic. The second remarkable occurrence was the founding of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1822 by William Ashley, who advertised for a hundred young men to ascend the Missouri and remain about its headwaters for one to three years. This was the first company which depended primarily upon trapping by its employees rather than upon trading with the Indians. Among its men were some of the greatest figures in Western exploration, including Kit Carson, who as trapper, hunter, Indian-fighter, scout, and guide was to meet a series of adventures which make his life read like a romance. The third occurrence was a military expedition up the Missouri in 1823 to frighten the Arikaras and other fierce Indians into submission.

Missionary activity also helped greatly in the penetration of the Far West. The churches had long been active in frontier work, but a curious incident in 1831 gave new stimulus to their zeal. The Indian tribes on the upper Columbia had learned from British traders some of the rudiments of religion and wished to obtain further information. The Nez Percé sent four leading men to William Clark in St. Louis to ask for the Book of Heaven. When church journals published the story, keen interest was aroused. The Protestants sent several clergymen, with supporting parties, into

the Far North-west, and they established a mission in the Willamette valley and another near the junction of the Snake and Columbia. The leading figure in this effort was the heroic and devoted Dr. Marcus Whitman. These missions did a good deal to Christianize the Indians. They set up model farms, showing the savage converts how to build houses, clear the fields, and grow crops. The enthusiastic letters they wrote about the scenery and climate meanwhile fired the interest of relatives and friends; and soon large annual caravans of settlers were crossing the plains and mountains to the Oregon country.

THE MORMONS

But by far the most striking and important of the religious settlements in the West was that of the Mormons in Utah. The traditions of individualism, dissent, and evangelism in America had led to the formation of numerous curious sects. Most of them were offshoots of existing bodies. But the Mormons were a wholly new organization. The creator of this 'Church of Latter-Day Saints' was Joseph Smith, a youth of upper New York, who asserted that one day in 1820 he retired to the woods to pray for salvation; that two glorious personages appeared to him and asked him to wait for a full restoration of the Gospel; that in time an angel named Moroni came and told him of a record, engraved on buried plates of gold, containing the sacred history of the ancient inhabitants of North America; and that with the aid of instruments presented by this angel, he translated the history. It was published in 1830 as the *Book of Mormon*. A church was organized in that year and grew rapidly. Its head-quarters, after various vicissitudes, were transferred to Illinois. Here the Mormons built on the banks of the Mississippi the prosperous city of Nauvoo, founded a university, and commenced erecting a great temple. They also adopted polygamy. Antipathy to this practice and to their religion, together with economic and political jealousies, caused an outbreak of rioting. A mob took Smith and his brother from the county jail and hanged them; and soon afterwards the Mormons, now



MAP 4. THE GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES

led by the able Brigham Young, were expelled from the State. They crossed the Mississippi, and resolved to find peace and safety in the Far West.

The upshot was a remarkable exploit in the settlement of what many thought a desert region. Brigham Young led his people across the plains and into the valley of the Great Salt Lake, where, surrounded by high mountain ranges, he found fertile land, a healthful climate, and enough water for irrigation. He directed the laying out of fields, selected the site for a city, and saw to communications with the East. The first year witnessed some scarcity, but after that Utah offered a rude plenty for everyone. Farms and irrigation ditches soon extended up and down the whole valley. Brigham Young exercised a despotic power, but his wisdom and benevolence made it endurable. He and his church officers organized the marketing of Utah products; they controlled the march of settlement, choosing sites for new towns and sending each just the craftsmen it needed; and they made Salt Lake City, with its fine broad streets, its rills of sparkling water, and its temple and tabernacle, one of the most interesting places in America. Polygamy for a time continued, serving a sound colonizing purpose—for women were in the majority among the converts, and the frontier had little place for unmarried and childless women. Like Oregon with its missionaries and fur-traders, Utah was a spontaneous colony that owed nothing to the national government. By 1849 it was organized as a Territory.

THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS

The annexation of Texas, and the conquest of California and the South-west from feeble Mexico, finally rounded out the American domain in the West. Within a few years in the 1840's the United States extended its boundaries over some of the richest and most scenic regions of the continent. Various writers have treated this wresting of territory from Mexico as immoral aggression. James Russell Lowell said that the South wanted Texas just to have 'bigger pens to cram slaves in'. Goldwin Smith thought that the war with

Mexico was a striking illustration of the quarrel between the wolf and the lamb. But this is unjust. A natural and inevitable process brought about the addition of this territory to the United States; a process well hit off by the phrase 'manifest destiny'.

Texas was at first a part of the Mexican Republic, a land as large as Germany with but a few ranchers and hunters. It soon attracted many Americans and some Britons. Free lands, easily accessible to the Southern States, were the principal bait. The Mexican Government was inefficient, corrupt, and tyrannical. In 1835 the settlers rose in revolt, and after a number of battles won their independence. One episode was the capture of the Alamo, a fort in San Antonio, where every American defender was killed. 'Thermopylae had its messenger of defeat; the Alamo had none.' Once established, the Texan Republic flourished and attracted many fresh American settlers. For a time the United States refused to consider any proposal for annexing the country. But for a number of reasons many Americans gradually changed their minds. For one, they thought it a duty to expand over the unpeopled and undeveloped West. For another, they felt that the Texans were a kindred people whose natural place was under the American flag. For a third reason, they feared that Great Britain might intervene in Texas and try to establish a protectorate there. And finally, some pocket motives were at work. Northerners wished to sell farm products and manufactured goods in Texas; shipowners saw that their vessels could make profitable voyages to Galveston; Yankee mill-owners wished to have cheap Texas cotton to spin. Many Southerners wanted to migrate, and yet were unwilling to leave the American flag.

In the national election of 1844 a majority of the voters showed that they were ready to take the little republic into the Union; and early the next year it was annexed.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND THE ACQUISITION OF CALIFORNIA AND NEW MEXICO

Meanwhile many Americans were equally intent upon gaining control of California by the same peaceful means. They thought that this was possible because of its peculiar position. California had a meagre population of but 11,000 or 12,000 people, clinging tightly to the coast. They had no money, no army, no political experience. Yet they were only nominally dependent upon Mexico. They had more Spanish blood than the Mexican masses, and regarded themselves as physically and intellectually superior. Indeed, they would have thrown off the Mexican authority altogether had it not been for their family jealousies and an old feud between northern and southern California. As it was, Mexico provided no courts, no police, no regular postal facilities, and no schools. Communication between California and Mexico City was rare and uncertain. So frankly did Mexico recognize that its sovereignty was a mere shadow, that by the middle forties it showed a disposition to sell the region to Great Britain. Year by year the American element in California was growing in numbers and in aggressiveness. American ships had long traded on the coast, while emigrants who wished to settle in the golden climate and make money from cattle and wheat had begun crossing the mountains in the eighteen-thirties. By 1846 California had twelve hundred foreign residents, most of them Americans. No wonder that some men believed California would drop like a ripe pear into the outstretched hand of the United States—that no force would be needed.

Perhaps it would have done so had not the Mexican War broken out. The remote cause of this conflict was the increasing distrust between the two nations, while its immediate cause was a dispute over the boundary of Texas. The United States found it a short and brilliant conflict. One American army was sent into northern Mexico, captured the fortified city of Monterey, and defeated a large Mexican force in the stubborn battle of Buena Vista. Another army landed at

Vera Cruz, pushed westward over the mountains, and after hard fighting took Mexico City. Here General Winfield Scott hoisted the American flag over 'the halls of the Montezumas'. When peace was made, the United States was given not only California but the huge area between it and Texas called New Mexico, which included the present Nevada and Utah. Altogether, in this country and in Texas the United States gained about 875,000 square miles.

It also gained a treasure-house, for even before the treaty of peace was ratified gold was discovered in the California hills. At once a host of fortune-hunters poured forth, some by sea and some by overland trail, to the canyons and gulches where nuggets could be washed out in troughs and pans. The mountains filled with roaring camps; San Francisco sprang overnight into a lusty little metropolis, full of vice, luxury, and energy; and California was converted in a twinkling from a sleepy, romantic community of Spanish-American ranchers into a hustling and populous commonwealth of Anglo-Saxons. These 'days of old, and the days of gold, and the days of '49', were among the most colourful in all American history. So fast did California grow that in 1850 it was added to the Union as a State. Meanwhile, the acquisition of these broad new stretches in the West had compelled Americans to take an interest in various neglected problems—the problem of the Caribbean; the problem of the Pacific; the problem of an isthmian canal; and the problem of slavery, which threatened to expand into the whole area.

ANDREW JACKSON

The rise of the West had of course brought about an immense political as well as social and economic change. As early as 1829 it had placed its greatest favourite, Andrew Jackson, in the White House; and his advent to power carried so broad a meaning that it has been well called 'the Jacksonian revolution'. The son of a poor Scotch-Irish immigrant, reared in poverty in western Carolina and trained in law in the raw new Tennessee country, Jackson was a

wonderfully picturesque and forceful man. His gift of leadership, his political skill, his energy in fighting the Indians and the British, and his unswerving courage soon lifted him to national power. He came to the presidency amid dramatic circumstances. On the day of his inauguration a motley concourse of enthusiastic followers, largely from the West, stormed the Capitol and White House, thrust officers aside, upset waiters with their refreshments, stood in muddy boots on the satin-covered furniture, and forced Jackson against the wall so that his friends had to link arms to protect him. 'The reign of King Mob seemed triumphant', wrote a dismayed onlooker.

But Jackson represented some exceedingly healthful forces. Partly from his frontier environment, partly from unfortunate personal experiences as an attorney and merchant, he had acquired a deep suspicion of the wealthy interests of the large Eastern cities. He believed that speculators, bankers, and money-lenders there were growing rich at the expense of Western farmers. They exercised a tyrannical sway over the nation's commerce and credit. As a Western man who had fought for the country, he had a strong faith in the Federal Government and the idea of Union. He was impatient of Yankees and Southerners who put State allegiance above national allegiance. He felt an intense confidence, too, in the ability of common yeomen and mechanics to produce strong leaders. He had seen the backwoodsmen whip Wellington's veterans; he had seen self-made men like himself and Henry Clay become the match of the best-educated Eastern politicians; he knew the irresistible energy of the West and its strength of character. He was hostile to all forms of social and political privilege. The great prizes of public life, he thought, should not be reserved for the rich and well born; they should be as freely open to the racoon-hunter of ability as to the Harvard graduate. All these ideas Jackson shared with the West—and with the fast-increasing body of mechanics in the great cities.

When he came to power Jackson carried all his ideas into practice. He fought a desperate and successful battle with

the United States Bank, overthrowing that citadel of Eastern finance and—so he declared—monopolistic power. He dealt sternly with South Carolina when it attempted to nullify a Federal law that it did not like. At a Jefferson Day banquet in 1830 he looked the South Carolina leader, Calhoun, fiercely in the eye as he gave an immortal toast: 'Our Federal Union—It must be preserved.' And when South Carolina continued on her wayward course, he showed that he meant business by sending General Scott and a naval force to Charleston, and by issuing a proclamation in which he declared that 'disunion by armed force is treason'. He was ready to hang Calhoun if necessary—but in essential matters South Carolina receded. Jackson appointed plain men to office and gave them every opportunity to show their worth. He broke up what he regarded as an office-holding class, and unfortunately brought in a spoils system—the grant of office for party services—which fostered inefficiency and corruption. He showed his faith in the common man in other ways, and the masses both on the frontier and in the large cities repaid him with intense devotion.

A great new democratic wave was in fact rising to flood-tide in Jackson's day, and reaching much higher levels than Jeffersonian democracy had touched. All of the Northern and most of the Southern States had now adopted manhood suffrage. In 1824 only about 350,000 Americans had voted for President, but in 1840, only sixteen years later, about 2,400,000 voted. A more democratic method of selecting candidates by party conventions, representing the masses, instead of by small 'caucuses' of insiders, had come into use. The press was being democratized. In imitation of a successful innovation in England, penny newspapers were begun, and in the hands of enterprising editors like James Gordon Bennett had a spectacular success, reaching millions who had seldom read a journal. Popular literary magazines came into existence, and helped to support a new popular literature—for Fenimore Cooper, Washington Irving, Edgar Allan Poe, and poets like Longfellow and Whittier were widely followed. Education also fell under the influence of democracy.

The second quarter of the century witnessed a great battle for free public schools, supported by taxes and exempt from any church control. Such schools had existed in most of New England, but were little known elsewhere. Now, after hot fighting, State after State in the North and West passed laws for a sound public school system. Of this widespread wave of democracy Andrew Jackson, sitting in the White House for eight years, made an impressive symbol.

VI

THE BROTHERS' WAR

SLAVERY: THE 'PECULIAR INSTITUTION'

SLAVERY was unfortunately an element in American life from the very beginning. When the colonies were planted, chattel slavery was practically dead in Europe and serfdom decaying. But expansion into the lands overseas, where an immense amount of hard manual labour had to be done and where hands were scarce, revived the use of bondsmen. The English colonists made fruitless efforts to enslave the Indians. These red men preferred death to servitude. Then the settlers turned to Negroes, the first shipload being brought to Virginia by a Dutch vessel in 1619. By the year of independence the United States had nearly half a million Negroes, more than half of whom were held as slaves in two States, Virginia and South Carolina. A small number were used in New England and the Middle States in domestic service, farming, and simple trades. But they especially fitted the large Southern plantations, where they could be worked in droves by overseers. The invention of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney, making cotton the chief crop of the lower South, gave impetus to the use of slaves. Since little skill but constant labour were needed to hoe and pick cotton, the whole Negro family could be utilized. Slavery gradually died out and was legally abolished in the North; it flourished in the 'cotton kingdom' and rice and sugar country of the South.

It was this fact that slavery was a sectional institution which made it dangerous to the Union. While Northerners more and more disliked it, Southerners profited from and defended it. 'Like a firebell in the night' the Missouri question in 1820 awakened everybody to the danger. Till then a balance between free and slave States had been maintained. Missouri was knocking for admission; which should she be? The question was settled by the simultaneous entry of Maine as a free State, Missouri as a slave State, with a provision that

all future States carved out of the Louisiana Territory north of the line 36′ 30″ should be free.

After this 'Missouri Compromise' the slavery question slept in politics until 1844, when again the firebell clanged ominously. Why this sudden tocsin? Because up to 1844 slavery had merely asserted its right to continue unmolested where it existed. It had been given bounds and made no attempt to overstep them. But now it declared its right to expand. The demand for the annexation of Texas was the first great aggressive step. A small body of Northern Abolitionists had tried to make slavery a burning moral issue; Texas now made it a political problem. There were millions of Northerners who had no wish to attack slavery where it stood, but who regarded it as a curse and violently objected to seeing it spread. If it were kept within close bounds, they thought that ultimately it would decay. They declared that Washington, Jefferson, and other founders of the republic had held this view; and they pointed out that the Ordinance of 1787 had forbidden it in the North-west. But important as Texas made the slavery question, it became far more disturbing the moment the Mexican War ended. While Texas already had slavery, California and New Mexico had not. An angry struggle was sure to arise over the question whether they should be opened to 'the peculiar institution'.

It was even angrier than most men expected. By 1850 it had thrown the country into a turmoil, and many Southerners were threatening to take their States out of the Union. A compromise healed the breach for a few years. Then in 1854 the quarrel burst forth more violently than ever; and by 1860 the country was at war, North against South, brother against brother—one of the bloodiest wars of history. How could such a tragedy occur?

THE COMPROMISE OF 1850

As soon as the slavery question began to be discussed, various groups suggested different solutions. Four main proposals were brought forward. The extreme Southerners, who maintained that slavery was a blessing, urged that all the

lands acquired from Mexico be thrown open to slaveholders. The extreme Northerners demanded that all the new regions be closed to slavery. One group of moderate men suggested that the Missouri Compromise line of 36′ 30″ be extended to the Pacific, with free States north of it and slave States to the south. Another moderate group proposed that the question be left to 'popular sovereignty'. That is, the United States should take its hands off; it should allow settlers to flock into the new country with or without slaves, as they pleased; and when the time came to organize the region into States, the people should determine the question for themselves. More and more, the weight of Southern opinion leaned towards the view that slavery had a right in all the Territories. More and more, the opinion of the North inclined to the view that it had a right in none; and in 1848 thousands of men voted for the candidates of a Free Soil Party, which declared that the true policy of the nation was 'to limit, localize, and discourage slavery'.

But at first the moderate groups had their way, for the American people wanted peace. The debates by which the Compromise of 1850 was hammered out were among the most impressive in American history. The Senate then possessed three parliamentary giants, all in the last years of their long careers—Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. The two former stood for compromise, while Calhoun and others opposed it. After a terrific battle a group of laws was passed which the great majority of the people greeted with heart-felt rejoicing. The most important of them provided that California should be admitted as a free State; that New Mexico and Utah should be organized as Territories without any restriction whatever as to slavery; and that a more effective machinery should be set up for catching slaves who ran away from the South, and returning them to their masters. Both sides gave up something.

For a few years this compromise seemed to settle nearly all differences. To be sure, a good deal of tension remained. Many Northerners objected to the new measures for pursuing

fugitive slaves. An impassioned Northern woman, Harriet Beecher Stowe, wrote the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which painted a dark picture of slavery so vividly and eloquently that it aroused deep feeling in both North and South. But on the whole the nation seemed at peace. Then in 1854 the old issue was torn open again, the quarrel became more bitter, and new actors appeared.

THE KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL

The country beyond the Missouri river which now comprises the fertile States of Kansas and Nebraska had been attracting some settlers. It needed stable government and promised a rapid development. Many Northern people believed that if this district could be organized into two Territories, settlers would flock in and a railroad could be built through it from Chicago to the Pacific. This would forestall a Southern project for building a railroad west of New Orleans. Under the Missouri Compromise all this country was closed to slavery. But Missouri objected to letting Kansas, which adjoined her on the west, become a free State. It would be too easy for Missouri slaves to run away to this free area; moreover, Missouri would then have three free neighbours, and would probably soon become a free State herself. For a time Missourians in Washington blocked all efforts to organize the district. Then Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois cut through the opposition with a Bill which enraged all free-soilers. It declared that the Missouri Compromise had been superseded and was null; it organized two Territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and permitted settlers to bring slaves into them; and it left the final question of freedom or slavery to the people residing therein. This was an application of 'popular sovereignty'. Douglas's main object was simply to hurry up the organization and development of the region, whose climate he thought would never suit slavery anyway.

But if he believed that Northern sentiment would tamely accept his plan, he was mistaken. To open these free prairies of the West to slavery struck millions of men as unforgivable.

Angry debates marked the progress of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The free-soil press vehemently denounced it. Northern clergymen assailed it from literally thousands of pulpits. Mass meetings were held in all the chief Northern cities to attack Douglas and his measure. He confessed that he could travel from Washington to his Chicago home by the light of fires built to burn him in effigy. When he did visit Chicago to speak in his own defence, the ships in the harbour lowered their flags to half-mast; the church-bells tolled for an hour; and a crowd of ten thousand men hooted and groaned until he left the platform. The law went into effect, but it had simply made matters worse.

The immediate results of Douglas's ill-starred measure were four. (1) The old Whig party, which had straddled the question of slavery expansion into the Territories, died, and a powerful new organization, the Republican party, took its place. Dedicated to the exclusion of slavery from all Territories, it nominated the explorer John C. Frémont for President in 1856, and swept much of the North, losing by no heavy margin. (2) Such free-soil leaders as W. H. Seward and Salmon P. Chase rose to greater influence than ever, and along with them appeared a tall, gaunt attorney of Illinois who showed a marvellous power of logic in discussing the new issues—Abraham Lincoln. (3) The flow of Southern slaveholders and Northern anti-slavery men into Kansas produced a sharp conflict, with savage episodes of guerrilla warfare. It was soon clear that the North held the advantage. The proximity of the large free-soil population of the upper Mississippi valley, and the risks of taking slaves into a region that might soon become free, assisted it. But the slaveholding forces had the support of the administration in Washington, so that the conflict dragged on. (4) Many Northerners felt that the bargain made in the Compromise of 1850 had been broken by the South. They therefore refused to carry out the Fugitive Slave Act, which was part of that bargain. Mobs rose to protect fleeing Negroes, and many Northern States passed 'personal liberty acts' which nullified the Federal law. When the slave Anthony Burns was caught in Boston, angry men

poured in from all eastern Massachusetts, threatening crowds filled the streets, and it required the united force of the city police, the State militia, and the Federal army and navy to drag one poor black man back into servitude.

SOUTH AND NORTH: DRIFTING INTO WAR

Year after year brought the nation closer to war. It was as if a great drum were beating out a march, stroke by stroke. In 1856 a Southern member of Congress attacked Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts at his desk, and hammered him so heavily with his cane that Sumner was an invalid for several years. In 1857 the Supreme Court declared in the famous Dred Scott decision that Congress had no power to exclude slavery from the Territories. At once the free-soil press and politicians attacked the court with unprecedented bitterness, and declared they would see to it that in good time it changed this interpretation of the constitution. In 1858 occurred the remarkable series of debates in Illinois between Lincoln and Douglas, both seeking a seat in the Senate. Outwardly, these debates had little dignity. They took place at crude political rallies in dusty, frowsy wooden towns planted in the woods and cornfields. Douglas, a squat, dwarfish man with a huge head, and Lincoln, an awkward, lanky giant whose homely countenance was surmounted by a shock of rough black hair, presented an extraordinary contrast. But no arguments in the English language have more shrewdness, luminosity, or Saxon force than those which they presented. They did much to awaken the country. In 1859 came the raid of John Brown at Harper's Ferry—a fanatical one-man invasion of the South with the object of liberating the slaves. This quixotic enterprise completely failed, and Brown and six followers were hanged; but it aroused deep indignation in the South, while many Northerners exalted the old Abolitionist into the position of a martyr to liberty.

The underlying fact which made these events desperately serious was that South and North had now grown into totally unlike sections, economically, socially, and politically. The South was almost wholly rural, with but one sizable city—New

Orleans. Great parts of the North were urbanized, and New York City was approaching a population of a million. The South was almost without manufacturing, and its textile mills actually handled a fourth less cotton than the single town of Lowell in Massachusetts. The North, on the other hand, was now full of industrial establishments, turning out iron, textiles, shoes, watches, farm implements, and a thousand other products on a large scale, building ships, packing meats, milling flour, and engaging in many similar activities. It already had a painful problem of labour management, and another of slums. The North believed in fairly high tariffs; the South detested them. The North was interested in a quicker distribution of the public lands to small holders; the South wished to see them held and sold only for good prices. The North wanted better banking facilities; the South distrusted banks. Socially the North, despite great extremes of wealth and poverty in the larger cities, was more democratic than the South, where a slave-owning oligarchy held the wealth and power. In the cotton, sugar, and rice country of the lower South in 1850 three or four thousand families owned most of the slaves, lived on the best lands, and enjoyed about three-fourths of the whole income. Howell Cobb of Georgia, for example, with a thousand Negroes, raised cotton on ten thousand acres. Political power and intellectual leadership were similarly concentrated in a small and generally aristocratic group.

SECESSION

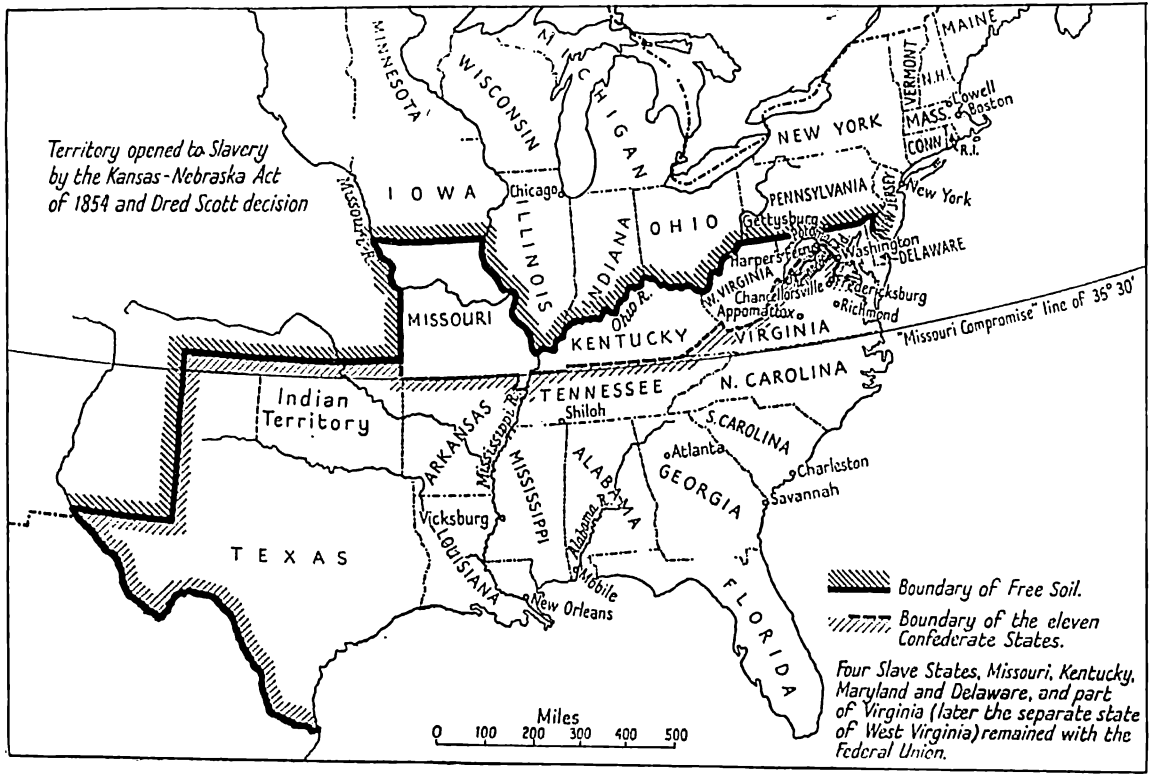
The triumph of the Republican party in 1860, with its demand that slavery be excluded from all Territories, precipitated the war. Nominating Lincoln for President, the party placed him on a platform broad enough to appeal to many diverse Northern interests. It faced a divided Democratic party, for extreme Southerners refused to accept the hero of the Northern Democrats, Douglas; they now repudiated 'popular sovereignty' and insisted that the national government must protect slavery in all the Territories even if the residents there did not want it. As the canvass progressed,

the Southern fire-eaters declared that if Lincoln were elected, they would take their States out of the Union—that is, would secede. They would not see the country presided over by the leader of a purely sectional party. Yet their own action in splitting the Democratic organization made his election certain. Carrying practically the whole North, he obtained a heavy majority of the electoral votes although he had only a minority of the popular votes.

It was clear that neither the South nor slavery stood in any real danger. During nearly his whole first term, Lincoln (if the Southern States remained in the Union) would have a hostile majority facing him in Congress; his hands would be tied. Slavery could not be abolished in the South except by constitutional amendment, and that would be utterly impossible for decades to come. Yet the South plunged into secession. It was actuated by a variety of reasons; hatred of the North, pique over the election, unwillingness to accept the verdict on the Territories. But the chief reason was that the fire-eaters saw that it was now or never. Nullification had been stamped out by President Jackson. Secession by a single State was impossible. The North was growing steadily more powerful in relation to the South. If this crisis were permitted to pass without an attempt at establishing Southern independence, no such opportunity would recur. A Southern Confederacy might now gain a place among the nations of the world; and it could soon expand southward, acquiring Cuba and Mexico as slave areas. South Carolina led the way in secession, the lower South immediately followed, and the upper South more reluctantly fell into line.

THE WAR: RESOURCES AND LOSSES

Secession meant war, and it began with fighting at Fort Sumter in Charleston harbour on 14 April 1861. The shock of conflict united both the North and the South. The upper Mississippi valley, declaring that it would never have 'a line of custom-houses' between it and the gulf, took a vigorous stand with the Union. Far-off California did the same. Each side had certain advantages. The North was far stronger in



MAP 5. THE BROTHERS' WAR

population, industrial resources, and wealth. The census of 1860 showed that it had nearly 20,000,000 people, while the slave States had only 12,000,000, of whom about 4,250,000 were Negroes. Moreover, four of the slave States, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, were saved for the Union. Thus in the end the Federal Government had twenty-three States and about twenty-two million people as against eleven States and about nine million people in the Confederacy. The South had in its favour the martial spirit of its people; the easy seizure of many forts and arsenals; the fact that it was fighting on the defensive; and the fact that its armies could operate on inside lines. Many believed that it also possessed a great advantage in controlling the world's main cotton supply—that England, needing this cotton to keep her mills busy, would intervene on the Southern side. A defiant spirit animated the South even in disaster. Its generals were on the whole quicker and abler than those of the North, but President Lincoln was a far greater statesman than the Mississippian whom the Confederacy chose for chief executive, Jefferson Davis.

At first most Northerners thought that the war would be short, but the defeat of the Union army at Bull Run in the summer of 1861 taught them a lesson. In the end it dragged over four years, and ended only when the South was in utter exhaustion. Its cost in money, property loss, and lives was frightful. The North is supposed to have enlisted about two million men altogether, and when the last shot was fired had about a million in the field. The South is estimated to have enlisted between 700,000 and a million men—no one will ever know the exact number. On the Union side about 360,000 men died in action, from wounds, or of disease; on the Confederate side the dead have been estimated at 258,000. The war was a terrible calamity, the scars of which are still (especially in the South) plainly visible.

THE CAMPAIGNS

Four main fronts or theatres of action may be distinguished—the sea; the Mississippi valley; Virginia and the

eastern seaboard States; and the diplomatic front. The first may be briefly dismissed. At the beginning of the conflict practically the whole navy was in Union hands, but was scattered and demoralized. An able head in Washington, Gideon Welles (best remembered now for his invaluable diary of the war), quickly reorganized and strengthened it. Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Southern coast, and although this was at first extremely weak, by 1863 it became highly effective. It prevented shipments of cotton to Europe and the importation of munitions, clothing, and medical supplies that the South sorely needed. Meanwhile, a brilliant naval commander, David G. Farragut, had emerged, and conducted two remarkable operations. In one he took a Union fleet into the mouth of the Mississippi, ran past two strong forts, and forced the surrender of New Orleans; in another he forced his way past the fortified entrance of Mobile Bay, captured a Confederate ironclad, and sealed up the port. Ironclads were now beginning to supplant wooden ships. One of the anxious moments of the war occurred when the new Confederate ironclad *Merrimac* destroyed two Union frigates and seemed ready to attack Washington or New York; but an armoured Union vessel of curious design, 'a cheesebox on a raft', the *Monitor*, appeared in the nick of time, attacked the champion, and put a stop to its career. The Union navy gained another smart victory when a roving Confederate cruiser built in England, the *Alabama*, was sunk by the *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg. The navy served the Union well in blockading the South, in helping capture important coastal points, and in sinking or capturing Confederate commerce-destroyers.

In the Mississippi valley the Union forces won an almost uninterrupted series of victories. They began with the breaking of a long Confederate line in Tennessee by capturing Forts Henry and Donelson, thus making it possible to occupy almost all the western part of the State. The important port of Memphis on the Mississippi was taken, and Union troops were enabled to advance to the southern boundary of Tennessee—that is, some two hundred miles into the heart of the

Confederacy. Ulysses S. Grant, a dogged, tenacious general, unimaginative but with a clear grasp of the main principles of strategy, was in command. He was suddenly attacked at Shiloh, on the bluffs overlooking the Tennessee, by a large Confederate army which took him by surprise; but he stubbornly held his position until the arrival of reinforcements enabled him to drive his enemy back. Grant's forces then steadily but slowly advanced southward. Their great object was to gain complete control of the Mississippi, the lower reaches of which had been cleared of Confederates after Farragut's capture of New Orleans. For a time Grant was blocked at Vicksburg, where the Confederates had strongly fortified themselves on bluffs too high for any naval attack. But by a brilliant campaign in 1863 he moved below and around Vicksburg, conducted a six weeks' siege, and on 4 July captured the town together with the strongest Confederate army in the west. The great river was now entirely in Union hands. The Confederacy was broken in two, and it became almost impossible to bring supplies from the rich Texas and Arkansas country east across the stream.

But in Virginia the Union troops had meanwhile met one defeat after another. The distance between Washington and Richmond, which the Confederates made their capital, is only a hundred miles, but the country is intersected by numerous streams which furnished strong defensive positions. Moreover, the Confederates had two generals, Robert E. Lee and Thomas J. ('Stonewall') Jackson, who in brilliant leadership far surpassed the early Union commanders. It is impossible to describe the succession of bloody campaigns in which the Federal armies, trying to capture Richmond and destroy the Confederate forces, were again and again thrown back. George B. McClellan failed in the desperate 'seven days' battles' before Richmond; at one time his troops could hear the clocks striking in the steeples of the Confederate capital, but they finally retreated with heavy losses. The blundering John Pope failed in the second battle of Bull Run, and was driven back towards Washington while the North feared for its own safety. Another Union commander failed

when, attempting to storm the heights behind the town of Fredericksburg, he was repulsed with terrible slaughter. Still another was beaten as ignominiously at the great battle of Chancellorsville—where, unhappily for the Confederates, the victorious army lost Lee's right arm, the indomitable 'Stonewall' Jackson. Up to the summer of 1863 the Confederates had all the best of it in the East.

Yet not one of these Confederate victories was decisive; the Union government simply mustered new armies and tried again. And in July 1863 came the turning-point of the war. Lee, believing that the crushing defeat of the Union troops at Chancellorsville gave him his chance, struck northward and invaded Pennsylvania. His army almost reached the capital of the State, and the large Northern cities were thrown into great alarm; but a stronger Union force intercepted his march at Gettysburg. Here, in a three-day battle, the Confederates made a valiant effort to break the Union lines. Pickett's desperate charge on the final day, facing a terrific fire, was one of the most gallant efforts in the history of war. But it failed, and next day, as Lee's veterans, after losses which permanently crippled them, sullenly fell back to the Potomac, it was clear that the 'high tide at Gettysburg' had been the high tide of all Confederate hopes. Grant's army was then taking possession of Vicksburg. The blockade of the Southern coasts had become an iron cordon which few vessels pierced. The Confederacy, its factories running short of machinery and materials, its railroads falling into decay, was nearing the end of its resources. The Northern States, on the other hand, seemed more prosperous than ever, their mills and factories running full blast, their farms exporting bumper crops to Europe, their man-power being restored by immigration.

It would have been far better for the South had it recognized its impending defeat and tried to make terms with the magnanimous Lincoln. But feeling had become too bitter to permit of that. The Confederacy fought on until further resistance became almost impossible. It lost its last hope of French and British intervention in 1863. The Union govern-

ment had great advantages on the diplomatic front, it used them skilfully, and after Gettysburg no European minister would bet on a losing cause. Moreover, in 1862 Lincoln had issued his Emancipation Proclamation, making the extirpation of slavery one of the main objects of the war; and this rallied the moral sense of the British masses to his side. The impoverished working people of Lancashire, deprived of cotton by the Union blockade, gave a memorable proof of their devotion to principle when they stood unshakably for the Union side. Early in 1864 Grant was brought east, and made commander of all the Union armies. In battle after battle he relentlessly hammered at Lee, gradually wearing down the main Confederate force. Meanwhile General Sherman made a famous march through the very heart of the South, capturing the industrial town of Atlanta, and then cutting a wide swath of destruction to the Atlantic coast. Savannah and Charleston were captured. The dashing cavalry commander Phil Sheridan laid waste the Shenandoah valley. Finally Lee had to abandon Richmond, and surrendered his army at Appomattox.

INTERNAL HISTORY DURING THE WAR

Much might be said about the internal history of both the North and the South in these years of fearful exertion. On neither side did the government show high efficiency. The armies were filled by crude, haphazard, and blundering methods. Conscription laws were passed, but they were not fairly and democratically drawn, and in the North they resulted in angry 'draft riots'. On both sides the States were allowed to interfere far too much in military affairs, while in the North particularly politics played an unhappy part in army appointments. Desertions became widespread, and in the end gravely crippled the Southern armies. The North accused the South of atrocious abuses in its prison camps, and with reason; but the Northern camps were little if any better. Favouritism, fraud, and corruption were prominent in both sections; Washington became full of dishonest contractors, speculators, lobbyists, and other foul birds of prey. The

depreciation of paper money in the South carried prices to absurd heights and ruined great numbers of people. In the North a pronounced inflation encouraged all kinds of gambling and risky enterprises, and helped to make a new crop of millionaires. High tariff laws were passed by Congress, enabling manufacturers to reap handsome fortunes. Altogether, the war had its very seamy side. But it also had its innumerable tales of heroism and devotion, of philanthropic effort and patriotic sacrifice.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

To the South it gave an immortal hero in Robert E. Lee, the knightliest of commanders. The brilliance of his leadership, the strenuosity of his service, the humanity he displayed throughout the conflict, and his magnanimity in accepting defeat and urging the Southern people to become loyal partners of their late enemies, must always arouse admiration. To the North the war gave a still greater hero in Abraham Lincoln. At the beginning almost nobody saw the true stature of this rough-looking Western lawyer, so homely, awkward, and ill schooled. His war minister called him a gorilla; the hostile press spoke of him as imbecile. Little by little men came to comprehend his deep sagacity, founded upon hard thinking; his intense love of truth, his inexhaustible patience, and his generosity of spirit. He seemed at moments to vacillate, but time proved that he had always combined strength with tact. Understanding the American people completely, he knew when to move forward and when to stand still. He was the most honest of leaders, never resorting to unfair measures; he constantly appealed to the intelligence, never to the ignorance or prejudice, of his followers. He was so charitable in thought and deed that during all the heat and stress of the conflict he never said a vindictive word about the Southern people. He was anxious to weld the country together again as a true union of hearts, and even as the war was closing he proposed paying the South generously for its slaves. His foreign policy showed dignity, integrity, and firmness. Though he assumed arbi-

trary powers in carrying on the struggle, he believed fervently in democratic self-government and knew how to awaken the loyalty of the people; so that at the end he exercised the authority of a Tsar with the complete faith of the masses. His eloquence grew with the need for it, and his Gettysburg Address and Second Inaugural are among the finest treasures of English prose. His murder on 14 April 1865, less than a week after Appomattox, was a stunning stroke to the nation, a tragic misfortune to victors and vanquished. As Lowell wrote:

> Never before that startled April morning did such multitudes of men shed tears for the death of one they had never seen, as if with him a friendly presence had been taken from their lives, leaving them colder and darker. Never was funeral panegyric so eloquent as the silent look of sympathy which strangers exchanged when they met that day. Their common manhood had lost a kinsman.

THE HERITAGE OF THE WAR

Under a new, untried, and unevenly equipped leader, Andrew Johnson, the nation had to face the trying problems of readjustment and reconstruction. They were not made easier by the widespread demand for vengeance which burst forth immediately after Lincoln's assassination. They were quickly complicated by selfish political and economic considerations—by the desire of the Republican party to exploit the situation in order to perpetuate its power, and by the wish of selfish business groups to use it to their own advantage.

For the war left the country a mixed heritage of good and evil results. It had saved the Union and given it an 'indestructible' character. It had abolished slavery for ever. It had struck down an aristocratic oligarchy in the South and made possible the emergence of a strong middle class there. It had greatly hastened the industrial development of the North. All this was beneficial. But it had fastened upon the country a system of excessive tariffs. It had encouraged bankers, manufacturers, railroad builders, and other capitalistic groups to look to the national government for support

and special favours. When the Fourteenth Amendment was added to the constitution in order to protect the civil rights of the liberated Negroes, it was written in such a fashion as to offer a strong protection to corporations as they tried to evade government regulation. That is, it declared that no State might deprive any person of life, liberty, or property 'without due process of law'; and the courts soon held that any corporation was a 'person' and must be carefully respected in all its rights.

The war left a hatred between North and South that lasted for decades—the hatred that Lincoln had hoped to sweep away. It made many people more intolerant than before, especially in political affairs. Republican demagogues in the North long waved the 'bloody shirt' to catch votes; that is, they appealed to the prejudice against Southern Democrats. The opposing section, on the other hand, became a 'solid South' under the Democratic banner. This intense partisanship was most unfortunate. Not until twenty years after the war ended did a Democrat enter the White House; not until nearly fifty years had elapsed did a man of Southern birth, Woodrow Wilson, become President. The war gave the North a body of veteran soldiers who held great voting power. They presently began to demand pensions from the government, and obsequious politicians ladled out the public money to them with disgusting carelessness. The conflict had an unhappy effect, too, on the social and moral fibre of the country. It brought into prominence a class of men who were eager for money and power, coarse in their tastes, and unscrupulous in their acts. The great mass of Americans, of course, remained hard-working, conscientious, and patriotic. But a vulgar, brassy, greedy element was more conspicuous than ever before.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SOUTH

Now that the South had been defeated, it had to be 'reconstructed'; and this process occupied a dozen years, 1865–77. Had Lincoln lived, he would have insisted that the Southern people be treated mildly, and would probably have

won a majority of Congress to his view. But Andrew Johnson, though right-minded on the subject, was rash, tactless, and ill tempered. He quarrelled with Congress, let himself be outmanœuvred and discredited by the 'diehard' or Radical leaders of that body, and totally lost control of the situation. Indeed, he almost lost his office. The Radicals impeached him for 'high crimes and misdemeanors', tried him before the Senate, and came within a vote or two of ejecting him from the White House. Meanwhile, by winning the Congressional elections in 1866 the Radicals took charge of reconstruction, and compelled the South to submit to a programme as humiliating as it was unwise.

The main features of this reconstruction programme, harshly carried out by the vindictive Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, the fanatical Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, and other Radical leaders, were three. First, the South was placed under military control, five districts being created under as many generals, well supported by troops. Second, the Southern whites were compelled to accept not only the Fourteenth Amendment, which made an elaborate attempt to assure the Negro of equal rights in everyday affairs, but the Fifteenth Amendment, which gave coloured men (practically all illiterate and nearly all still densely ignorant) the ballot. Recent slaves, whose grandfathers had perhaps been African savages, who could not read a line of print, and who had spent their whole lives in the cotton-field, were given a full voice in choosing public officers and making laws. Finally a systematic use was made of these coloured voters, of poor-whites, and of fortune-hunters or 'carpetbaggers' who came in from the North, to set up new State governments in the South. These Negro and carpetbagger governments were probably the worst that have ever been known in any English-speaking land. The blacks for a time controlled a number of State legislatures, elected men to Congress, and filled minor State offices; the carpetbaggers obtained most of the juicier plums. It is true that these reconstruction governments undertook some valuable work in building roads and bridges, and passed good laws as to education and charities. But on

the whole they were incompetent, wasteful, and corrupt. They squandered money in bucketfuls, and laid taxes that the impoverished whites were utterly unable to bear. The South for a time was in despair.

But not for long. Little by little the self-respecting whites of the region gained the right of ruling themselves. In part they did this by violence and intimidation. They set up the Ku Klux Klan, which compelled many carpetbaggers to return to the North, and frightened Negroes away from the voting-places. In larger part they did it by the peaceful use of the old political machinery. Many blacks became tired of being the tools of crafty politicians from the North and quietly gave up voting; some even followed their former white leaders. State after State was reconquered by the Democratic party, until in 1876 only three—Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina—remained in the hands of the black-and-tan Republicans. Even in these three the Negroes and carpetbaggers were then kept in power only by Federal garrisons. The election of 1876, the closest-drawn in American history and one of the most disorderly, made it plain that the South would know no peace until the troops were withdrawn. The next year, therefore, President Rutherford B. Hayes took them out. By this act the Republican leaders admitted the failure of their 'radical' reconstruction policy. It had been adopted chiefly for two reasons: because the idealistic wing of the party wished to protect the Negro, and because the materialistic wing hoped to hold the South for votes, offices, and power. Its result had been to retard and weaken the Negro and to commit the whole South to the Democratic party.

As we look back on the period of civil strife and turmoil between 1850 and 1877, it seems an almost unmixed tragedy. The country would have fared far more happily if, as Lincoln long hoped, the abolition of slavery could have taken place gradually, and with due compensation to the slaveholders. That would have given time to educate the Negroes to their new place in society. It would have spared the nation the six

hundred thousand vigorous young men who lost their lives in the conflict, and the millions of vigorous children they would have brought into the world. It would have saved the South the stupendous ruin that cripples it to this day; it would have saved both sections the coarsening effects so clearly revealed in the 'gilded age' of money-getting and vulgarity after the war. Yet, even beyond the items already mentioned, the page shows credit entries. The storm unified the nation and knit it into one great whole as no slower process could have done. Socially and economically the South now became closely akin to the North. The war did much to deepen and mature the national character; thought and feeling became more adult. And the conflict gave the country a set of memories, poignant and dramatic, to quicken its heart and lift its imagination. For centuries to come it would recall them with a thrill—the firing on Fort Sumter; the duel of the *Merrimac* and *Monitor*, a David meeting a Goliath; the brilliant sweep of Stonewall Jackson through the Shenandoah, with a trail of defeated Union armies behind him; the gunboats running the Mississippi below Vicksburg in a storm of shot and shell; the death-grapple of Pickett's grey host with Hancock's blue line on Cemetery Ridge; the storming of the heights above Chickamauga by troops whom even Grant's order could not stop, a feat that surpassed Balaclava; the *Kearsarge* circling about the *Alabama* till she plunged stern-first into the sea; Lee with his jewelled sword, Grant in his common private's dress, shaking hands at Appomattox; Lincoln walking through the fire-blackened streets of Richmond; the thousand-mile funeral given the remains of the martyred President; the Grand Review as the endless ranks of the Eastern and Western armies rolled up Pennsylvania Avenue in the closing scene of the war. It was an epic story, which will be retold again and again.

VII

PELF AND POWER

NO other country of the globe grew so rapidly in population, wealth, and strength during the years 1865–1900 as the United States. But the mere fact of its growth—the increase of its population in that period to seventy-six millions; the spread of its railroads until they much exceeded those of all Europe; the multiplication of its mills and factories—is not what chiefly interests us. It is the *direction* of the growth which is significant. What, we may ask, were the main tendencies of American life in this busy generation?

RAILROADS AND SETTLEMENT

Perhaps the fundamental force in the growth of America just after the Civil War was the improvement in communications. Railroads were built with an energy never equalled elsewhere. The first 'transcontinental line' to connect the existing railroad network in the East with the west coast, the Union Pacific Railroad, was completed in 1869. The whole country celebrated the event; it seemed to shrink visibly, for passengers could now travel the three thousand miles from New York to San Francisco in five or six days. A panic and depression in the seventies slowed up the railroad builders. But early in the next decade three new lines to the Pacific were completed—the Southern Pacific, the Santa Fé, and the Northern Pacific; and then came the Great Northern. This made five in all. Meanwhile, railroads were criss-crossing every part of the Mississippi valley and were being built in the East. In the older part of the country small lines were linked up into powerful systems, so that one company, such as the Pennsylvania or the New York Central, would control many thousands of miles of track. Great capitalists, the most important of whom were Cornelius Vanderbilt, James J. Hill, and J. Pierpont Morgan, stepped forward to control these

systems. East of the Rockies few localities were left beyond the sound of a railroad whistle.

All this made possible the rapid settlement of the untouched parts of the cultivable West. The Indian tribes, after some brisk fighting, were pushed off the great plains beyond the Missouri river into comparatively small reservations. The buffalo which had roamed the prairies in uncounted millions were destroyed so swiftly and ruthlessly that they were curiosities by 1885, and barely escaped extermination. Into the plains country came first the cattle ranchers, spreading enormous droves over the stretches of wild bunch-grass; then appeared the farmers, building sod-cabins, erecting windmills to lift the water from deep wells, planting wheat, and enclosing more and more country with their barbed-wire fences. Mountain valleys gave refuge to industrious sheep-herders. The 'Wild West' of the Red man, the trapper, the prospector, the cowboy, and the desperado, after their brief heyday, disappeared for ever—leaving these figures to the novelist and the motion picture. Grain and meat produced in the new West made possible the huge flour-mills of Minneapolis and the world-famous packing-houses of Chicago. The volume of these foodstuffs—along with the grain of Argentina and Canada, the mutton of Australasia—broke the markets of the world before 1890, so that farmers received only a pittance for their labour. But even before this happened they had forced the Western legislatures to pass some largely futile measures for cutting down railroad charges. The 'granger laws' were the first real attempt at the government regulation of business in the United States.

MASS-PRODUCTION AND MONOPOLY

But this stimulus to farming was only one effect of the railroad network. Another was equally impressive. The wide-spreading railroads created a national market for all kinds of products. So long as transport was slow and costly, a manufacturer could sell only to his own neighbourhood. But the growth of the railways threw open the whole nation; the shoe factory in Massachusetts, the textile mill in Rhode

Island, the pork-packer in Illinois, could sell their wares all over the country. They had the whole 76,000,000 people for potential buyers. What was the result? The factory selling to a single neighbourhood had been small; the factory selling to the entire nation could be very large. In Civil War days and just after, a great number of industrial enterprises had sprung up in the United States. Many of these now grew together in larger and larger units; competition gave way to combination. This process of concentration in turn made possible a new feature of industry called 'mass-production'. That is, machinery would be used on an enormous scale, turning out great masses of a single kind of goods under one factory-roof. In mass-production a small economy might result in an extraordinary saving in the course of a year; a drop more or less of solder in sealing a container made a difference of thousands of dollars. Hence ever closer attention was paid to efficiency in business. At the Chicago packing-plants it was said that every part of the pig was utilized except the squeal.

Concentration in business led naturally to monopoly. That is, industrial leaders arose who combined all or nearly all the companies in a given industry, controlled most of the output, and became able to fix prices to suit themselves. The two greatest business organizers of the time were John D. Rockefeller in petroleum, and Andrew Carnegie in steel. Rockefeller, who was born the son of a wandering medicine-pedlar and who had few early advantages, went into the business of oil-refining during the war. He found it overgrown, wasteful, and cursed with a cut-throat kind of competition. He resolved to reorganize the industry into a single great combination which would put the production of refined oil on a stable basis, do away with waste, and furnish large profits to the manufacturers. By a combination of grim determination and sheer genius he pushed through this programme. He made the brainiest men in the business his partners, he bought out all who were willing to sell, and he crushed those who opposed him. By 1885 he had built up a huge 'trust' or monopoly; perhaps the most powerful business organization in the

world, and certainly within a few years the most profitable. He became one of the most bitterly hated men in America. Yet in comparison with many other business leaders of the time he was an enlightened and fairly honest man, who did a truly creative work. His Standard Oil Company introduced important economies, gained control not only of the American but the European market, and battled with Russian and East Indian oil interests for the Asiatic field. Rockefeller amassed perhaps the greatest fortune in history, and before his death gave nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars to philanthropy.

Almost equally spectacular was Andrew Carnegie's career. A poor Scottish immigrant, he began manufacturing iron at Pittsburgh in 1864. Like Rockefeller, he enlisted highly efficient partners. Like Rockefeller, he obtained special freight-rates from the Pennsylvania Railroad which enabled him to outdistance competitors. And like Rockefeller, he made the most of the prodigious natural resources of the United States. The Rockefeller fortune would have been impossible had America not possessed the greatest oil-pools in the world. The Carnegie fortune would have been impossible but for the almost incredibly rich iron-ore fields about Lake Superior. Having built the best mills and gained control of the richest ore-deposits, the Carnegie Steel Corporation by 1900 was making a quarter of all the steel in the United States. The possibilities of a still greater consolidation caught the keen eye of J. Pierpont Morgan, who had steel interests of his own. He bought out Carnegie, and in 1901 combined eleven steel companies into the first billion-dollar corporation in the world—the United States Steel Corporation, the actual capitalization of which was nearly $1,400,000,000. It controlled about seven-tenths of the steel industry of the country.

The story was much the same in other fields. In tobacco-manufacturing the Duke family of North Carolina built up a huge monopoly. In sugar-refining Henry O. Havemeyer formed a powerful trust. In copper production a few aggressive groups, notable the Guggenheim family, obtained the ownership of great ore deposits in the South-west, in Alaska,

and at Butte, Montana, where from 'the richest hill in the world' about two billion dollars' worth of copper was taken in thirty years. The whisky distillers formed a trust—that is, a great combination; so did the match-manufacturers. J. P. Morgan and his partners created the International Harvester Company, which for a time sold more than three-fifths of the agricultural machinery of the country. At the turn of the century the work of combining numerous small business units into a few gigantic aggregations was being pushed more merrily than ever. One authority asserted in 1904 that altogether about 320 trusts, many of them monopolies, had been formed, and had swallowed up about 5,300 previously independent businesses. The process seemed inexorable and almost uncontrollable. When laws were passed to deal with one form of business combination, leaders simply resorted to another. They were assisted by the courts, which took an extremely conservative stand, and by several small States, which passed laws friendly to big corporations so that they could get the fees for chartering them.

INVENTIONS

Special inventions also fostered the rise of huge businesses. In the use of electricity Americans had always been pioneers. Before the Revolution Franklin had invented the lightning rod. Before the Civil War S. F. B. Morse had invented an electric telegraph which easily surpassed other systems. Shortly after the war a Scottish immigrant named Alexander Graham Bell invented the telephone, on which was built a great industry. Various men experimented with electricity for illumination. The most successful was Thomas A. Edison, who more than anyone else made the electric lamp in its present form possible. He found a satisfactory filament for use in vacuum bulbs, and he designed the machinery for a central power station, erecting one in lower New York City early in the 1880's. It was a memorable moment when the first chains of lamps flashed forth in banks, shops, and newspaper offices. The Edison Electric Company, supplanted within a few years by the General Electric Company, was

soon spreading electric light all over the country. Still another inventor, George Westinghouse, did much to make electricity usable for industry and transportation. Trolley cars filled the cities, and before the century closed Niagara Falls had been chained to supply energy to neighbouring cities. Other inventions might be named. The discovery of celluloid by A. W. Hyatt, for example, marked the beginnings of the important plastic industry.

BIG BUSINESS

America, in short, became the land of Big Business. Before the Civil War industrial units had been small and manageable. Now they were mighty dinosaurs that stalked over the nation, dwarfing and terrifying the common man. They reached into the State capitals to control legislatures and into Washington to manipulate Congress. They not only defied regulation, but they expected special favours from the government. Carnegie's steel interests, for example, were shielded from British competition by a high tariff which enabled it to add many millions every year to its profits; the 'sugar trust' and scores of other combinations were protected by high tariff levies. The growth of the big corporations was accompanied by many malpractices. Those which gained a monopolistic position, like the Standard Oil, raised prices to unjust levels—or rather, failed to lower them to the levels that improvements in operation demanded. Many promoters made ill-gotten fortunes by stock-watering. That is, they would merge various small units into a large new company, would issue an excessive amount of stock on the company name, and would sell it to a gullible public. As Andrew Carnegie pithily put it: 'They throw cats and dogs together and call them elephants.' About half of the stocks and bonds issued when the United States Steel Corporation was formed represented water and nothing else.

THE GROWTH OF CITIES

The growth of industry encouraged another main tendency of the times, the movement of population towards the cities.

This urban drift had an almost revolutionary effect. It changed the whole character of life in the United States. When the first census was taken under President Washington more than 95 per cent. of the population had lived in rural surroundings—on farms and in villages; young men had looked towards the open West. Just a hundred years later the United States had one urban district, New York and Brooklyn (separated only by the East River), with 2,300,000 people; Chicago and Philadelphia both had more than a million; three other cities had about half a million apiece. The principal factors in this flight to the city were the immense growth of manufacturing; the heavy influx of immigration; the replacement of manual labour on the farms by machinery; the activities of city promoters; and the superior comfort, cheeriness, and stimulation of city life. New England began to be filled with abandoned farms. As the cities grew and immigrants poured in (more than five millions in the decade 1880–90), they naturally became a melting-pot of different races. By 1890 New York, for example, had twice as many Irish as Dublin, two and a half times as many Jews as Warsaw, as many Germans as Hamburg, and half as many Italians as Naples! Yet the old American stock absorbed these elements without great difficulty, and everywhere English remained the dominant tongue.

RICH AND POOR

Big business meant big fortunes. Every city in the United States soon had its 'millionaires' row' or 'gold coast', while Newport and Fifth Avenue became synonymous with wealth flaunted on the most lavish scale. At the other extreme in the social scale every great city had its slum district, inhabited by struggling immigrants and the refuse of the industrial system; while lower New England and the Middle Atlantic States were full of ugly, ramshackle, depressing mill towns, where men lived squalid lives on inadequate wages. Before the Civil War the extremes of wealth and poverty had not been conspicuous. Now they struck every observer and worried all thoughtful men. The reader of the newspapers could

turn from an account of some sumptuous banquet at Delmonico's, some gilded ball at Newport, to a record of the police charging half-starved working-men, or a description of want and disease in the congested tenements. America had come to share all the problems of the Old World. Many took this fact for granted; but others asked how it could be squared with the special American tradition of democracy in the sense of equality of opportunity, and the special American belief in a brighter future, a more favoured national destiny, than that of other lands. Once every American of industry and health could attain economic independence. Now urban society seemed to be hardening into class lines, with rich business men and well-to-do salary earners on one side, penniless workers on the other. Large bodies of people faced the grim spectre of insecurity.

BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICS

The national government down to 1900 seemed for the most part signally indifferent to the two problems that grew more pressing year by year—the control of business, and the protection of social justice. The Republican party maintained its general dominance, and forces growing out of the Civil War had made Republicanism to a great extent synonymous with a few special interests. The party was allied with the large manufacturers, who demanded high tariffs and furnished in return ample funds for campaign purposes; with the bankers, who profited from the inflexible and inadequate national banking system; with bondholders and other moneyed interests, who looked to the conservative Republican leaders to maintain a rigid gold standard; and with the army of war-veterans, who saw in it a fountain of pensions and other favours. The Republicans elected a succession of Presidents who were respectable and nothing more. They furnished the country under President Grant with the most corrupt administration it has ever had; but this corruption was to be blamed rather upon post-war disorder and the speculative tendencies of the gilded age than upon the party. In a reaction from it the Republicans elected a colourless reform President,

Rutherford B. Hayes. They passed a succession of high tariff laws, lobbied through by selfish groups; the McKinley Tariff of 1890 and the Dingley Tariff of 1897 being especially famous—or infamous. They befriended business in every possible way.

One President of the period was much more than respectable, and gave the nation its closest approach to a liberal leadership. Grover Cleveland, a hard-working attorney of Buffalo, N.Y., was elected in 1884 after a spectacular campaign. He was a Democrat in the lineage of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson; and though he had far less imagination and intellectual versatility than the former, far less thrust than the latter, he had admirable qualities of his own. His most arresting traits were a stubborn adherence to principle that knew no yielding, and a courage that flinched before no foe and no disaster. He represented a moderate type of reform, based on Manchester Liberalism. In his eight years in office he purged the government of a vast deal of inefficiency and minor dishonesty; he fought a tremendous and temporarily successful battle to revise the tariff downward; he checked the pensions abuse; he imposed an income tax on the propertied East, which an ultra-conservative Supreme Court promptly annulled; and he greatly strengthened the merit system in the civil service, which had been introduced just before he took office. In his second term he had the misfortune to encounter a panic and hard times, and the larger half of his own party demanded a currency inflation which was plainly unwise. Against this he offered an adamant front, though he was made the target of intemperate abuse. In the political history of the long generation after the Civil War he looms up as the one rugged, powerful, and in his limited way progressive leader.

Popular pressure forced the government to take two important though unsuccessful steps towards the regulation of business. In 1887 it enacted the Interstate Commerce Act, intended to put an end to the many abuses in the railroad business. Men particularly complained of rate discriminations between shippers (favoured manufacturers getting

'rebates'); of similar discriminations between cities and districts; of favouritism in car supply; and of general overcharges on freight and passengers. A regulatory commission was set up. Unfortunately this body was not given sufficient powers or adequate funds, while the courts proved hostile to its work. Within a few years the defiant railroads were ignoring the law. Congress also passed the Sherman Anti-Trust Act (1890), intended to break up the greedy monopolies of the day. It forbade all combinations in restraint of trade among the States, and offered several modes of enforcement with severe penalties. But here again the law accomplished little. Successive Presidents failed to take energetic steps to enforce it; several States passed enactments which helped the trusts to evade it; and in 1895 the Supreme Court, in a famous decision in favour of the 'sugar trust', gave the anti-monopoly forces a stinging defeat. The trusts grew in size, in numbers, and in arrogance.

THE ORGANIZATION OF LABOUR

Yet in the background forces were marshalling which were destined ere long to open a new era in American politics. The working-men were organizing. Still more important, the farmers of the country, mustering several million votes, were rising in their wrath and demanding drastic changes.

The violent railroad strikes of 1877, the first on a national scale, awakened the country to the fact that it had a pressing labour problem. Coming near the close of a long depression, this outbreak was caused by a 10 per cent. cut on several lines in wages already too low. Rioting spread from city to city, Pittsburgh was held for a day and a night by a populace enraged against the Pennsylvania Railroad, and some days passed before—with the aid of State militia and Federal troops—the strike was broken. In 1886 came another series of labour disturbances in behalf of better wages and an eight-hour day, marked by the Haymarket Riot in Chicago. Six years later the Homestead Strike of organized steel-workers in Pennsylvania against the Carnegie works ended in failure, but aroused so much public feeling that it helped to defeat

the Republicans and re-elect Cleveland. Meanwhile, the first powerful labour organization of an inclusive character had appeared in the Knights of Labour. Founded in 1869, its membership rose in spectacular fashion in the middle eighties until it boasted of 600,000 or 700,000 adherents. It conducted a large number of strikes, some victorious but more unsuccessful, it created a great stir, and then it swiftly declined. But its place was soon more than taken by a powerful combination of craft and industrial unions, the American Federation of Labor. Led by a shrewd organizer of British birth and Dutch-Jewish blood, Samuel Gompers, it followed a conservative policy, accepting the capitalist system, and making astute bargains with as little use of strikes as possible. By 1900 labour was a power in America that no statesman could ignore.

AGRICULTURE: THE FARMERS' ALLIANCE

Agriculture was of course a still greater power. The American farmers had always been an exceptionally sturdy, intelligent, and liberal-minded body of men. In the later decades of the nineteenth century they became convinced that their rights were being trampled underfoot; and they staged a peaceful uprising that ranks as one of the great agrarian revolts of history.

This uprising, the Populist and free-silver movement, was the most dramatic event of the last quarter of the century. Immediately after the Civil War the farmers, suffering from low prices for their products, high freight rates, and rural loneliness and hardship, had founded a great society called the Grange. It soon declined in the Middle West. Then in the early eighties came a new wave of hard times for the farmers, growing steadily worse until in the early nineties their sufferings seemed almost unendurable. In part this was due to the heavy overproduction of grain and meat already mentioned, driving prices down throughout the world. In part their difficulties could be traced to the poor credit and marketing facilities of the rural West. To buy livestock and machinery, farmers had to borrow money from Eastern

lenders at 8, 10, and even 15 per cent. a year, deducted in advance. They had to sell their grain at local elevators where they were often systematically cheated; or to ship it over railroads which charged excessive rates to central markets that were grossly manipulated. Hard-working tillers of the soil complained that they had to raise three crops—a crop of interest for the money-lenders; a crop of freight-rates for the railroads; and finally, a crop for themselves. They suffered, too, from the heavy deflation of the times. Too little gold was being mined; money became worth more and more, goods became worth less and less. Year by year it took more bushels of wheat to pay off a debt or meet a tax-bill.

The consequence was the swift rise in the South and West of a new organization, in two sectional parts, the Farmers' Alliance. As the hardships of the time increased, they drove this body into politics. The year 1892 found the same elements that had created the Alliance meeting at Omaha in an enthusiastic convention to form the People's party. They drew up a progressive platform—the best platform thus far written in American history. It called for an income tax; for a national system of loans to farmers; for government ownership of railroads; and for the election of Senators by the people instead of by the State legislatures. On behalf of labour it demanded an eight-hour day and the restriction of immigration. It asked for an increase in the supply of currency by the free and unlimited coinage of silver—this last being its only unfortunate demand. The vote of the new party showed that a tidal wave was rising in the West. It cast more than a million ballots for its Presidential nominee, carried four States, and sent a number of men to House and Senate. Then came the panic of 1893, followed by industrial prostration and deepened poverty. The mood of the rural West grew still angrier, and in 1896 its Radical leaders captured the Democratic party.

No Presidential campaign in American history has been more tensely exciting than that in which William Jennings Bryan, 'boy orator of the Platte', as nominee of the Populists and free-silver Democrats, faced William McKinley as the

candidate of the conservative Republicans. For a time the handsome young Nebraskan, a former Congressman, seemed likely to sweep to victory. His eloquence had made him famous, and enormous crowds turned out as he toured the country, speaking from the back platform of his train. His platform called for a series of steps which would have made for closer control of business and a broader social justice. It also called for coining all the silver furnished by the mines into dollars that would have contained about a half-dollar's worth of metal. Some inflation or rather reflation of the currency was badly needed, but this was too drastic a proposal. Business men shied away from it, and from Bryan's suggestions for a modest degree of State socialism, in alarm; while the Eastern working-men feared the results of payment in depreciated dollars, and accepted the Republican promises of 'a full dinner-pail'. Almost the whole press was against Bryan. The Republican campaign manager, Mark Hanna, called upon Wall Street and the big manufacturers for fat contributions, which he used to hire speakers, print advertisements, and pour out a flood of pamphlets and posters. At the end the alarmed cries of the propertied groups rose to a veritable roar. Bryan was defeated—but the margin was narrow. Despite all the forces arrayed against him, he came within a few hundred thousand votes of a popular majority. The conservatives of the nation rejoiced as if they had escaped from revolution or anarchy.

The handwriting on the wall seemed plain enough. Drastic reforms could not much longer be postponed. Yet President McKinley chose a highly conservative group of cabinet officers, and the first step taken under him was to hoist the tariff higher than ever. Natural economic processes brought prosperity back again; the discovery of gold in the Klondike and an increased output from the South African fields gave the world more currency and relieved the financial tension. The skies began to look brighter. And fortunately for McKinley, at this moment the attention of the country was diverted to Cuba and Spain.

THE SPANISH WAR

Back in the Grant administration a revolt against Spain had broken out in Cuba, the sympathies and interests of Americans had been engaged, and it had required all the patient courage of Secretary of State Hamilton Fish to avert a war. In the middle nineties a new uprising commenced. The Cuban people suffered from a triple tyranny—political, ecclesiastical, economic—which had made life almost insupportable. Their rich island was milked dry of its wealth by Spain. The rebellion was strong from the beginning, and though Spain threw troops into Cuba until she had nearly two hundred thousand soldiers there, it merely increased in fierceness. On both sides it was marked by terrible atrocities. American business men, who had considerable property interests in Cuba, were on the whole against intervention. But the sympathy of the American masses became strongly enlisted in favour of the insurgents. Were they not a group of patriots fighting against Old World oppression? A sensational press had arisen in the Eastern cities, and it played up the Spanish atrocities with great energy. The writings of A. T. Mahan had given many Americans a keen interest in their navy, just being rebuilt and expanded, with a desire to see it used. Many people also believed that the United States ought to follow Great Britain in taking charge of backward countries and helping them. Finally, in the spring of 1898 an American battleship, the *Maine*, was blown up in Havana harbour. The cause is still uncertain, but most newspaper-readers blamed Spain—and Congress declared war.

It was the shortest war in American history, lasting but three months, and it seemed full of glory. An American squadron under George Dewey gained a spectacular victory over one Spanish fleet in Manila Bay (1 May 1898); another squadron destroyed a second Spanish fleet off the port of Santiago in Cuba. An army landed near Santiago quickly captured that city with its Spanish garrison, while a force marched through Puerto Rico with gay ease. Not a single reverse occurred. It was true that the War Department

showed itself grossly inefficient, and that the loss of life from disease in the army camps was appalling. But in general the war redounded to the credit of the country and its administration. The government had taken pains at the outset to disclaim any intention of annexing Cuba; but the situation in the island was such that it had to set up a protectorate there. By the treaty of peace it also obtained the Philippines, the Pacific island of Guam, and Puerto Rico; while the war hastened its acquisition of the Hawaiian Islands. In short, the United States found that it had suddenly been thrust into a career of overseas expansion or imperialism to which it had given no thought and for which it was quite unprepared.

The century ended with the United States facing three great sets of problems which demanded an early solution. It had accepted new responsibilities in the Pacific and the Caribbean Sea which made it more than ever a world power, and called for a clearer definition of its foreign policy. It still had to find a means of bringing big business under due government control, and making industry and commerce find a fairer adjustment with labour and agriculture. In the third place, it had hardly yet begun to deal with the rising demand for a larger degree of social justice—for fairer treatment of the poor, the ignorant, the crippled, and those otherwise handicapped in the battle of life. The Americans had accomplished much; they had not yet, however, shown that they could find leaders to grapple with these complex problems. In 1900 McKinley was elected for a second term. Honest, patriotic, and upright, he was nevertheless unequipped for tasks of such magnitude. Then suddenly a tragic event cleared the way for a new helmsman. Late in 1901 an assassin shot down McKinley at the Buffalo Exposition; and his Vice President, Theodore Roosevelt, young, energetic, full of ideas, and animated by a passion for lifting the nation to a new plane of alertness and responsibility, strode forward to the centre of the stage. He was a fitting figure to open a new century in the life of the republic.

VIII

POWER FOR LARGER ENDS

SINCE 1900 the United States has witnessed a crowded succession of events and has seen the unfolding of a complex of forces. Growth has been continuous, though in the fourth decade of the century it was very markedly slowed down. It has carried the country past the 130,000,000 mark in population, has made it by far the greatest manufacturing as well as agricultural nation in the world, and has given it a wealth that was conservatively estimated in 1929 at $362,000,000,000. In this period striking new industries have arisen. They include the making of motor vehicles, the motion-picture industry, the airplane industry, the radio industry, and a new chemical industry. Mass-production has been carried to new heights in such factories as those which produce four million automobiles and lorries a year. The nation has taken part in two great wars, each requiring a prodigious effort. It has enjoyed two brilliant periods of peace-time prosperity, and has endured much the gravest depression in its history. New parties have arisen and died. The Federal Government has grown immensely in power. Sweeping changes have taken place in modes of living, diet, amusements, the formation of public opinion, the treatment of minority races, and literature and the fine arts. Standards of comfort and health have advanced more than in the whole preceding century.

It has been a period, too, crowded with extraordinary personalities. In Theodore Roosevelt and Franklin D. Roosevelt the republic has found its two most dynamic leaders. In Woodrow Wilson it had a President of great intellectual power and fine scholarly equipment, who for a few months held a position of unprecedented world prestige, and who made a gallant effort to set up a world organization. Eminent industrialists, inventors, labour leaders, authors, generals, diplomatists, social reformers—of these the country has had

its share. The vitality of national life has continued unabated. If critics have sometimes deplored the loss of old traditions and standards, time has on the whole supplied better ones.

What are the principal lines in this complex web of events —what pattern, if any, can be traced? We do not yet possess the perspective needed for ripe judgements. But the main threads seem to be the three already indicated. Since Theodore Roosevelt took office, the nation has tried above all to solve three problems. One is the problem of the control of business and the proper balancing of manufacturing, farming, and labour. One is the problem of achieving a fuller social justice. One, finally, is the problem of giving America, the richest and strongest nation on the globe, its proper place as a world power.

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA: THEODORE ROOSEVELT

In Theodore Roosevelt, sworn into office at forty-three, the country found a leader of remarkable stimulation and power. He had been born to wealth in New York, reared among moneyed Easterners, educated at Harvard, and given foreign travel. Yet he was thoroughly democratic, a strenuous worker, and passionately interested in reform. After Jefferson he was the most many-sided of the Presidents. He had ranched, hunted big game, written numerous books, served in the State legislature, administered the New York police, helped manage the Federal civil service and the navy, fought in Cuba, and made a strong governor. He read omnivorously, and was interested in everything and everybody. He could coin memorable phrases, and his earnestness made him a rare preacher of civic righteousness. Like Andrew Jackson he had a gift for winning the confidence of the plain man and making all his battles seem dramatic. But unlike Jackson he believed in putting expertness into the government. Within a year he had shown that he understood the great changes sweeping over America, and meant to deal with them in a statesmanlike way. He was not a radical; he did not wish to revolutionize the existing economic system. But he was determined to

prove that the government was supreme over business, and to give the plain man more of 'a square deal'.

In these undertakings Roosevelt made use of the public sentiment generated by the Populist movement, and by a so-called 'progressive' impulse then flooding various States and cities. A number of leaders had arisen to clean house in their State capitals, to make corporations obey the law, and to protect the abused. Three doughty Middle Westerners were particularly prominent—John P. Altgeld in Illinois, Albert B. Cummins in Iowa, and Robert M. La Follette in Wisconsin. All three became governors, saw to the passing of much-needed laws, and aroused the people to their new problems. The two last-named moved on to the Senate and there continued their battle against greedy wealth. In the cities, too, reformers were appearing. Three Ohioans were particularly notable, Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland and 'Golden Rule' Jones and Brand Whitlock of Toledo. The newspapers and magazines were becoming filled with articles exposing the rapacity of big business and the corruption of politicians. Able writers of the 'muckraking' school—a term invented by Roosevelt—probed deep into the iniquities of the day, and spread their findings in magazines which reached millions of voters. All this, with the work already done by the angry Western farmers and their leaders, made a broad reform movement possible.

In national affairs Roosevelt took charge of this movement, giving it added vitality. The most urgent question was whether he would make the trusts obey the law or not. He shortly announced that he did not wish to destroy big business merely because it was big; he desired only to abolish monopoly and unfair practices. Almost immediately he won a signal victory. J. P. Morgan and two railroad heads, James J. Hill and E. H. Harriman, had set up a company to monopolize the railroad lines of the North-west. Before he had been nine months in office Roosevelt brought a suit in the Federal courts, and in due time broke up this Northern Securities Company. Other suits followed. Those against the tobacco trust and the Standard Oil, two of the

hugest combinations, finally proved successful. Roosevelt meanwhile had Congress pass a law to furnish 'pitiless publicity' upon the big corporations. That is, it set up a Bureau of Corporations, which made thorough investigations into business activities, prepared reports on evil practices, and printed them in the newspapers. Altogether, the 'trust-busting' made a great noise and accomplished much real good. It is true that business remained big, and found some new ways of evading the laws. It is true also that the Federal courts soon adopted a 'rule of reason' that permitted them to distinguish between good combinations and bad combinations, even if both restrained trade. But the worst monopolies were destroyed, and the men in charge of other large corporations learned to behave better.

Roosevelt also took up the thorny question of regulating the railroads. Up to this time government control of them had been merely a dream. But he had Congress pass two laws, the Elkins Act and Hepburn Act, which stopped the evil practice of granting favoured shippers special rates, ended the railroad control of coal-fields, and gave the government power to reduce excessive charges. At about the same time Roosevelt alined himself with reformers interested in better foods. For years meat packers, food manufacturers, and drug-makers had been selling harmful products to the public. Popular indignation was aroused by some startling disclosures on the subject; and Congress passed a Meat Inspection Act and a Pure Food and Drugs Act which stopped the worst practices. All these steps taught business that the government was actually supreme.

Largely because of its rapid growth, and its tradition of aggressive individualism, the country was full of social injustice. Here, too, Roosevelt did something himself, and helped awaken a public sentiment which in the end would do still more. A great strike of 150,000 coal-miners broke out. Their average wage was only $560 a year. Roosevelt, when the coal shortage became acute, intervened to compel the mine-owners to negotiate with the workers on a fair basis—he even threatened to send the army into the fields to dig

coal; and the miners won increased wages and a shorter day. In every industry Roosevelt supported the movement for better working conditions, for higher pay, and for compensation to injured workers. Always much interested in the outdoors, and anxious to protect the nation's natural wealth, he did his utmost for 'conservation'—that is, for protecting forests, minerals, and water-power on the huge stretches of government lands in the West. He summoned a conference of governors on the subject. The farmers had now become relatively prosperous; but he appointed a commission to inquire into means of improving farm life. He showed his concern for the ill-treated Negro in various ways, and invited the Negro leader Booker T. Washington to dine at the White House. Meanwhile, by a long series of speeches, never profound but always forcible, he was awakening the conscience of the nation.

Altogether, the energetic and versatile Roosevelt dominated what has been called the Progressive Era in American history. The country was a more exciting place to live in while he was its head, and a better place when he left office. He always insisted that the work he had done was essentially conservative. That is, he argued, his reforms had protected business against a popular revolt that would have become violent and dangerous had changes not been made in time. This was true. But as he himself saw, he made only a beginning. His successor, William Howard Taft, was an amiable man who lacked energy and drive, and who struck most voters as too slow and cautious. The result was a violent quarrel between Roosevelt and Taft, which in 1912 split the Republican party in two. The Democrats saw their opportunity; they nominated an admirable candidate in Woodrow Wilson, and he came into power in 1913.

WOODROW WILSON

The eight years of Wilson's presidency fall into two sharply defined halves, the first devoted primarily to the tasks of peace, the second almost wholly to the tasks of war. The Progressive or liberal current still ran strong, and in his

first four years Wilson accomplished even more for reform and justice than Theodore Roosevelt had done.

He began by taking up the excessively high tariff. 'We must', he asserted, 'abolish everything that bears even the semblance of privilege or of any kind of artificial advantage.' This was done; the Underwood Act brought tariff rates down to a level of reason and justice. He and the Congress he ably directed then undertook to reform the nation's banking and currency system, which suffered from grave weaknesses. The thirty thousand separate banking institutions of the country had no effective control or organization, and no way of standing together to meet a crisis. The currency supply of the nation was inelastic; there was no good way of supplying more money when business increased in volume and so needed it. By a law of far-reaching importance, the Federal Reserve Act, the larger banks were brought into a sound and well-planned organization, while the supply of money was made more elastic. These changes were invaluable in helping the country meet the shock of the World War.

As a third great undertaking, Wilson tried to strengthen the government in dealing with trusts or monopolies. He had Congress create a Federal Trade Commission. It was to investigate business operations; to listen to complaints of unfair methods; and if necessary, to stop any harmful practices by issuing 'cease and desist' orders. This worked well—so long as the commission was kept strong. It was intended to *prevent* wrongful acts rather than *punish* them. But the means of punishment were also strengthened. Congress passed the Clayton Bill, which carefully defined a number of malpractices, and which forbade the tying together of large corporations by 'interlocking directorates'—that is, by letting the same men be directors of several or many. This Bill also declared that labour unions could not be attacked under the laws drawn up to curb the trusts; for in the past the unions had suffered severely. Like Roosevelt, Wilson was much interested in social justice. Under him a much-needed law was passed to improve labour conditions aboard

ships. When a disastrous railroad strike was threatened, he headed it off by having Congress pass a law to give the workers an eight-hour day. One of the old Populist demands was met when the government set up a credit system for farmers, so that they could borrow money without paying 10 or 12 per cent. interest.

But this work of passing 'progressive' laws to bring business under control and promote human welfare was sharply halted by the World War.

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS, 1900–14

Under Theodore Roosevelt the government had shown a realization that the United States was truly a world Power and must play a prominent part in world affairs. Indeed, much had previously been done to establish its place under McKinley. The United States exerted itself in the Far East to maintain an 'open door' for trade in China, and to prevent that country from being torn in pieces by other Powers. In this endeavour it worked in close co-operation with Great Britain. Roosevelt expanded the Monroe Doctrine, which had hitherto meant just two things: first, that the lands of the New World were no longer subject to colonization, and second, that any attempt by Old World nations to interfere with the political systems of America would be regarded as an unfriendly act. He used the Doctrine to assume a broad responsibility for the welfare and order of the weaker Caribbean republics. Roosevelt also took steps to bring the Russo-Japanese War to a close, and peace was signed at Portsmouth, N.H. He saw to it that the United States took part in the Algeciras Conference of 1906 to determine the future of Morocco. He supported the Hague Tribunal, and sent it two important international cases. Although his treatment of Colombia in order to gain control of Panama and build a canal there was a dark blot on [illegible] his conduct of [illegible]

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when Wilson came into power he wished to pursue an even more liberal policy. When he became embroiled in difficulties with Mexico, he enlisted Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to help him end them. He believed in peace, a limitation of armaments, and international arbitration, and wished the United States to promote them. But he was mainly engrossed in domestic affairs when the World War burst upon humanity in 1914.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

For two and a half years Wilson laboured to keep the United States safely neutral in this gigantic conflict. But the task finally proved impossible. American feeling was from the beginning violently enlisted. Comparatively small elements, chiefly German-Americans who responded to the call of blood, and Irish-Americans who had an inherited hatred of Britain, sympathized with the Central Powers. But the great majority of the people hoped that Britain and France would win. A hundred ties of culture, tradition, common institutions, and common outlook existed with the British people; memory of French aid in the Revolution and admiration for the gallant resistance of the French and Belgian nations were potent. The ruthless acts of the German militarists, and the arrogance of German politicians and editors, were highly offensive to the average American. It was clear, too, that the Germans stood for absolutist ideas in government and society, and that if they dominated Europe they would be certain to come into conflict with democratic America. The American people loaned large sums of money (always well secured) to Britain and France. American industry rapidly geared itself to Anglo-French war needs, supplying enormous quantities of guns, shells, high-explosives, and other materials, and reaping heavy profits. But these material considerations counted [illegible] with sentimental factors, and

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used to sink merchant ships, and they could not save the lives of crew or passengers. When the British vessel *Lusitania* was sent to the bottom in 1915 with the loss of 128 American lives, a wave of horror and anger swept the country. Wilson kept the nation still at peace. But those who believed that America should instantly prepare for war with Germany increased in numbers and in determination, while the pro-Germans steadily lost ground. The President was doing what he could through Colonel E. M. House to arrange a peace. But all his efforts broke down, and when the Germans announced early in 1917 that they would recommence the full use of submarines (which they had temporarily given up) it was plain that the United States must enter the conflict. Public indignation was heightened when the German foreign minister sent Mexico a note promising that if the Central Powers won, they would help her to recover the South-west. Within two months eight American vessels were torpedoed and sunk. More American lives were lost. Wilson realized that the hour had struck for war, and called Congress into special session. 'We shall fight', he told the members,'for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the World itself at last free.' On 6 April 1917 Congress voted to place America in the conflict.

Once the die was cast, the overwhelming majority of citizens supported the government in its determination to achieve a complete victory. Disloyal groups were fewer and weaker than in the Civil War. And never had an American government shown more efficiency. It set about the task of mobilizing the entire energies of the country with promptness, thoroughness, and wisdom. Next to Wilson, two men, Newton D. Baker as Secretary of War and Bernard M. Baruch as head of the War Industries Board, played the chief parts in this mobilization. The government had to take

drastic steps. It made itself a dictator over industry, labour, and agriculture. It directed the daily lives and even the thinking of the people. It restricted their civil liberties. But by doing this it achieved the needed results. By loans and taxes it raised in three years more than thirty billion dollars. It enlisted very nearly five million men in the armed forces, and sent approximately two million to fight in France. Ships were needed, and it turned them out in prodigious numbers—launching one hundred in a single day, and building more than three million tons of shipping in the single year 1918. Food was needed, and farm production was raised by one-fourth; fuel was needed, and coal production was raised by nearly two-fifths. Three hundred naval vessels assisted the British command in European waters, while General J. J. Pershing's army by a powerful assault in the Argonne helped Foch and Haig to break the German lines.

Meanwhile President Wilson, by an eloquent definition of the war aims of the democracies, had done as much as the armed forces to achieve victory. He insisted from the beginning that the United States was not fighting the people of Germany, but their tyrannous and autocratic government. He declared that the peace terms ought not to include any annexations of unwilling peoples, and that heavy money payments of a punitive nature ought not to be demanded. He held up the vision of a better world, organized for peace and justice under a League of Nations. Many of his speeches were admirable in their vision, their moderation, and their eloquence. They appealed to the imagination of intelligent men everywhere, and did much to break down the war spirit in Germany. At the beginning of 1918 Wilson sent Congress a message in which he outlined the objects of the United States in fourteen points. The main items in this programme were open covenants of peace openly arrived at; freedom of the seas in peace and war; the removal of economic barriers between nations; the reduction of armaments; an impartial settlement of colonial claims, taking into full account the wishes of the people; a just rearrangement of boundaries in Europe, with due attention to the right of self-determination;

and the establishment of 'a general association of nations'. All of Wilson's great utterances were effectively spread throughout the world. As the German armies were driven back in the fall of 1918 and the government in Berlin saw that only an immediate peace could prevent an invasion of Germany, the leaders appealed to Wilson. He insisted that he would deal only with a new government that genuinely represented the German people. When this condition was accepted, armistice terms were arranged; the Kaiser abdicated and fled; and on 11 November 1918 the war came to an end.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS: ISOLATIONISM

Thus far Wilson had proved an admirably effective leader. But as the war ended, he made a succession of missteps. He appealed to the people to elect a Democratic Congress, and in resentment at this partisan act they chose Republican majorities in both chambers. He decided to go to the Peace Conference in person, thus offending many Americans and ultimately lowering his prestige in Europe. In selecting his Peace Commission, he refused to place any prominent Republican upon it. And while he committed these errors, war-weariness, a renewed suspicion of Europe, a sense of disillusionment, and party bitterness were engulfing the country.

All these elements played a part in the tragic defeat of the League of Nations by the United States Senate in 1919–20. Much evidence exists that a majority of the people—most certainly a majority of the best-educated groups—approved of the League Covenant that Wilson sewed so firmly into the Treaty of Versailles. But many Republican leaders saw in the issue an opportunity to defeat the Democrats and humiliate Wilson. Personal dislike of the President swayed a number of leaders. German-Americans, Italian-Americans, and Irish-Americans all found reasons for denouncing the terms of peace. To some vengeful people the treaty seemed too easy upon Germany; to many liberals it seemed too harsh. A large number of conservative Americans feared entanglement in European quarrels, and recalled that for

more than a century the nation had in general kept aloof from Old World affairs. Despite all these hostile forces the treaty would have been ratified in an amended form and the United States would have entered the hopeful new organization at Geneva, had Wilson been willing to compromise with his opponents. But he was a stickler for principle, and feared that the proposed changes would maim the League. Moreover, he had suffered a paralytic stroke which had left him a semi-invalid, and he no longer understood public opinion. The brief moment of opportunity passed when in March 1920 the Senate by its final vote for rejecting the Treaty and the League Covenant condemned the United States for years to come to a sterile isolationism. It was a deplorable shirking of responsibilities. The republic had fought the war primarily to bring about a better world order, and now, refusing a seat at the international council table, it gave up the main object for which it had spent so many lives and so much money.

PROSPERITY AND DEPRESSION

The eight years after Wilson left the White House were a period of general reaction in both home and foreign affairs. A wave of unprecedented though uneven prosperity confirmed most people in the belief that the country need not worry about its problems; that it could simply drift into a golden age of plenty. First under Warren G. Harding, then under Calvin Coolidge, the government rested on its oars. Business was once more allowed to do pretty much as it pleased; the only notable contribution to international order was the Washington Conference, which took steps to reduce the principal navies of the world, and drew up paper guarantees of peace in the Orient (1921–2). The spirit of the time was materialistic. That is, nearly everybody seemed interested in getting rich; everybody wanted more comforts and luxuries. There was an increase in intolerance, and a revived Ku Klux Klan (see p. 104), founded to intimidate and repress Catholics, Negroes, and Jews, gained several million members. Fortunately it decayed as rapidly as it had arisen. Laws were passed at the behest of organized labour and other

groups which sharply restricted immigration, the final enactment (1924) cutting down the inflow from the Old World to about 150,000 a year. An increase in crime was noted, which many observers thought was connected with the thirteen-year experiment in prohibition. Beginning in 1920, it became illegal to manufacture or sell any alcoholic beverage; but this legislation could not be enforced, and was finally repealed.

But the prosperity, with its wild speculation, extravagant living, and moral complacency, was short-lived. Even while it lasted large elements of the population—the coal-miners, the textile workers, and above all, the farmers—had suffered from hard times. In 1929 the soaring stock market was overtaken by one of the severest panics in American history. On its heels came a depression which for a time almost paralysed the country. Banks failed, factories shut down, railroads went into receiverships, and millions of men—at one time twelve or fifteen millions—were thrown out of work. The human suffering of the period was appalling. Private charity and the local governments tried to relieve it, but the task was far too great. First the States and then the nation had to step in and appropriate enormous sums for aid. The country when the panic came had just elected an exceptionally able and experienced man, Herbert Hoover—a former mining engineer who had gained fame by directing the war-time relief in Belgium, and who had since held various government posts with credit—to the Presidency. But almost his whole administration was occupied by a futile though heroic effort to cope with the economic disaster. When he failed, the country in desperation turned to the Democratic party again, and placed the brilliantly aggressive governor of New York, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the White House for the first of three terms.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND THE 'NEW DEAL'

The capacities of the new chieftain were little known. He had been in the legislature, had served as Assistant Secretary of the Navy in the World War, and had recovered from an attack of infantile paralysis to become governor; he was a

distant relative of Theodore Roosevelt; and he was reputed a Progressive—this was all the country knew. But he quickly displayed a daring, an initiative, and an imaginative breadth of view that captivated the mass of the people and put new courage into the country. He met the crisis by a vast extension of the powers of the presidency. For a time he managed his docile Congress almost like a dictator. Before his first term ended he had passed a more varied and a more important body of legislation than any of his predecessors; he had placed the government on a wholly new road, making it far more directly responsible for the welfare of every citizen than before; and he had aroused more hatred and more admiration than any man in public life since Lincoln. President Hoover had undertaken to check deflation and bankruptcy, to raise prices and wages, and to furnish relief to the poverty-stricken. Mr. Roosevelt did all this, and much more.

The 'New Deal' that the Roosevelt administration gave the country was made up half of measures for recovery and relief, half of measures for reform. It assisted hard-pressed businesses by Federal loans that soon aggregated billions of dollars. It set on foot a broad programme of government spending on public works, and government loans for housing, roads, bridges, and local improvements generally, in order to restore business activity and employment. It set up a Civilian Conservation Corps which gave work to several hundred thousand young men. It passed legislation for farm relief, involving the payment of huge annual sums to farmers first for crop control and later for both that and soil-conservation. It erected the Tennessee Valley Authority, which was expected to develop the industries of one of the great interior basins of the country through the use of government-owned water-power stations. It placed the central markets for farm products under supervision, and likewise set up a careful Federal control of the selling of stocks, bonds, and other securities. It broke up the great holding-companies which had obtained control of a large part of the business of supplying the country with electric light and power, and which had often been manipulated for the benefit of a few insiders. It

reorganized the methods of relief for unemployment, setting up the Works Progress Administration under Mr. Harry Hopkins, and a National Youth Administration which furnished part-time work for high school and college students. Down to the middle of 1940 the Roosevelt administration had spent on relief work more than sixteen billion dollars, and on various public works more than seven billions. Naturally it had raised the government debt to a level never before approached; but the country regarded the money as in general well spent.

Particularly significant was the work of the Roosevelt administration for the farmers and for labour. In agriculture its principal objects were to reduce farm production to a point where it would be in better line with demand; to raise prices and so increase farm income; and to encourage the maintenance of soil-fertility. A hostile Supreme Court annulled the first important law. The administration thereupon passed a second and better. It provided that the government would make certain money payments to growers of staple crops who would give up the old use of part of their land, and employ it for 'soil-conserving' crops. By 1939 nearly six million farmers had joined in this programme and were receiving subsidies that averaged more than a hundred dollars for each farmer. The system gave general satisfaction. Many believed that it would repay more than it cost in the enrichment it gave the soil. As for labour, the administration enacted a great basic law (the Wagner Act of 1935) which guaranteed workers the right to set up unions of their own choice and make collective bargains through them, and which forbade the employers to discriminate against any member of a union. This law aroused violent controversy. But it gave labour a squarer deal than before. The American Federation of Labor continued to represent most of the large craft unions; beside it now sprang up a powerful new organization, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, which represented unskilled workers and labour in the mass-production industries. Collective bargaining took on new life. The administration also enacted a Fair Labor Standards Act

(1938) which fixed minimum wages and maximum hours in all industries that engaged in interstate commerce.

Of first importance, also, was a great measure for government insurance against unemployment and old age—the Social Security Act of 1935. Up to that time social insurance had been left to the States, some of which had passed good laws, but most of which had done nothing. The scheme now adopted was so drawn that the nation and the States would act together. It provided for a very moderate scale of payments—the average old-age pension, for example, when the plan got into full running order, was not quite $20 a month; but it was a good beginning. No insurance against sickness was offered. A variety of other and hardly lesser New Deal measures might be mentioned. Of great importance was the legislation to reorganize and strengthen the banking system. Of equal note was the new tax legislation, which raised the levies on income to a level that would have seemed impossible a few years before. Mr. Roosevelt was himself particularly interested in those laws which offered long-range planning for the country; such as the measures for protecting the soil and for developing the Tennessee valley. He made the Federal Government a far more potent and flexible instrument for the welfare of the masses. The States counted for less and less; the nation for more and more.

But like Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt was interrupted in his plans for reform and social welfare by a great war. By 1941 all the energies of the nation were turned to defence.

THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The United States had quickly found that the kind of isolation preached by many narrow Republican leaders was impossible. Even under Republican Presidents it had taken a number of important steps in world co-operation. Mr. Coolidge's Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, had led in pressing upon the world the Pact of Paris (1928), under which nearly every nation agreed not to resort to war. Unhappily, no method was provided for enforcing the Pact. Under both Mr. Kellogg and Mr. Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L.

Stimson, the United States co-operated more and more actively with the League of Nations. It sent first observers and then participants to many League conferences. When Mr. Roosevelt became President and appointed Cordell Hull his Secretary of State, this co-operation became more vigorous and sympathetic than ever. The United States, for example, joined actively in the work of the International Labour Office, one of the most energetic and influential branches of the League. Mr. Hull made effective use of the Reciprocal Tariff Act to make trade agreements with a long list of nations, hammering down the insane barriers to commerce which had arisen all over the globe.

But after 1933 the international skies grew steadily darker. Japan had entered upon a career of conquest in China in which she violated treaties, committed great atrocities, and completely outraged American feeling. The United States still held the Philippines, though it passed a law in 1934 under which they were to be given up in ten years' time; America was still interested in the Open Door and in the integrity of China. In Europe, too, grave developments took place. Italy and Germany, under totalitarian governments, showed themselves bent upon aggression. When the Italians attacked Ethiopia, and when Italian and German forces played a decisive part in the Spanish Civil War, American opinion became apprehensive and hostile. The nation wished above all else to remain at peace. In 1935 and 1937 Congress passed two Neutrality Acts which, attempting to safeguard this peace, tied the hands of the President and State Department in a very unfortunate way. In vain did Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull, who wished to be left free to encourage and assist the European democracies in facing the totalitarian States, protest against these laws. But when Adolf Hitler pushed his aggressions through a series of outrageous steps, American opinion began to swing strongly towards the President's view. The annexation of Austria and the conquest of Czechoslovakia brought about a rapid change of attitude in America. When Germany attacked Poland, and Britain and France sprang to her defence, Congress repealed the embargo

on munitions, making it possible for the Allies to buy them in large quantities.

And this was but a beginning. In the spring of 1940 the German forces, acting with unprecedented brutality, suddenly attacked Norway, Holland, and Belgium, subjugated them in a few weeks, and pouring into northern France, totally defeated the Allied armies. Britain still stood as strong as ever. But for a brief period it seemed possible that she too might be overthrown. Americans realized that if this happened, and if the British fleet were lost, they would stand face to face with the strongest and most ruthless Power in the world, and would be in greater peril than ever before in their history. The nation at once turned to arming itself and to strengthening Britain with all possible speed. It voted many billions for the army, the navy, and the air force; it enacted the Lease-Lend Law, under which vast quantities of war material were rapidly transferred to Great Britain; and by the summer of 1941, though the United States had still avoided formal entry into the war, the republic was standing at the side of embattled Britain, and had made it plain that no effort or sacrifice was to be spared until a full victory was gained over the Nazi tyranny.

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In this brief outline of American history it has been impossible to say anything about the achievements of the nation in literature, the fine arts, and cultural fields generally. To treat this subject with any adequacy would require a volume in itself. Even in the early years of the republic the nation had writers who achieved a European renown: Washington Irving, the genial essayist and inventor of tales about the old Dutch days in New York; Fenimore Cooper, the thrilling novelist of Indian and pioneer life; William Cullen Bryant, poet of nature; and Edgar Allan Poe, a master of the short story and of musical lyrics. As culture ripened in the decades just before the Civil War, New England produced a galaxy of brilliant authors: Henry W. Longfellow, John G. Whittier, O. W. Holmes, James Russell Lowell, Nathaniel Hawthorne; the three historians Francis Parkman, John Lothrop Motley,

and William Hickling Prescott, and greatest of all, the essayist, philosopher, and poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson. New York produced perhaps the most American of poets, Walt Whitman. After the Civil War came a more varied group of writers, who represented the West and South as well as the East—Mark Twain, the humorist; the two novelists William Dean Howells and Henry James; the romancers George W. Cable and Thomas Nelson Page; the poet Sidney Lanier. At the turn of the century a more realistic school appeared—Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, Jack London, and Theodore Dreiser. So we might follow the list down to authors of renown who are still living; to Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, and John Steinbeck. The nation's literature had done justice to nearly every side of its life, and to its spirit and aspirations. In painting, the United States had produced figures of eminence, known the world over—Whistler, John La Farge, George Inness, John S. Sargent. It had a long list of sculptors, of whom Augustus St. Gaudens was the most commanding figure. In music it had not yet won distinction; still, it could call attention to Edward MacDowell and Ethelbert Nevin, and to such song-writers as Stephen Foster. As for education, the United States by 1940 contained a half-dozen universities that could stand comparison with any on the globe.

What was the main significance of American history to the world? The republic had come to stand for a number of great ideas. One was political freedom and representative self-government. One was the spirit of toleration; the tolerance of numerous races and varied creeds for one another, all labouring together in general accord. One was civil liberty, which historically had been more nearly safe in the United States than in almost any other land. As we have said, the people of America had always particularly cherished two other and larger ideas—the idea of democracy, and the idea that their nation had an especially high destiny and happy mission. Democracy, in the sense of a rough equality of opportunity and all that this implies, had always been maintained. As for the special destiny of the nation, that conception has grown larger and larger. In its early years citizens

of the republic felt that their duty was to consolidate their own freedom. A little later they felt that they should try to make the United States an object lesson to the remainder of the globe; an idea which Lincoln memorably expressed when he said at Gettysburg that the founders of the republic had 'brought forth a new nation, conceived in Liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal'; that the war was a momentous test of the question whether 'any nation so conceived and so dedicated can long endure'; and that the victorious issue of the conflict would prove 'that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth'. Later still, under Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, the American Republic has felt a national mission to protect and foster democracy and freedom everywhere; to fight in their defence wherever they were gravely menaced, and to help to plant them among aspiring peoples. Holding the ideals it did, the United States was certain in the First World War to come into conflict with the militaristic tyranny of the Central Powers. Holding these ideals, it was equally certain in the Second World War to fling itself into battle with the brutal and aggressive dictators of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The United States has striven earnestly in recent decades to improve its own democratic institutions at home. It has also taken an increasing interest in the liberty, security, and progress of mankind in general; and President Roosevelt had the united support of his 130 million people when, meeting with Prime Minister Winston Churchill in August 1941, he proclaimed in the 'Atlantic Charter' that the democracies would not only vindicate the 'four freedoms'—political freedom, intellectual freedom, freedom from fear, and freedom from want—but would do what they could to establish their permanent sway throughout the globe.

THE PRESIDENTS OF THE UNITED STATES

1. GEORGE WASHINGTON, 1789–1797
2. JOHN ADAMS, 1797–1801
3. THOMAS JEFFERSON, 1801–1809
4. JAMES MADISON, 1809–1817
5. JAMES MONROE, 1817–1825
6. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, 1825–1829
7. ANDREW JACKSON, 1829–1837
8. MARTIN VAN BUREN, 1837–1841
9. WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, 1841 (*died in office*)
10. JOHN TYLER, 1841–1845
11. JAMES K. POLK, 1845–1849
12. ZACHARY TAYLOR, 1849–1850 (*died in office*)
13. MILLARD FILLMORE, 1850–1853
14. FRANKLIN PIERCE, 1853–1857
15. JAMES BUCHANAN, 1857–1861
16. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, 1861–1865 (*assassinated in office*)
17. ANDREW JOHNSON, 1865–1869
18. ULYSSES S. GRANT, 1869–1877
19. RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, 1877–1881
20. JAMES A. GARFIELD, 1881 (*assassinated in office*)
21. CHESTER A. ARTHUR, 1881–1885
22. GROVER CLEVELAND, 1885–1889
23. BENJAMIN HARRISON, 1889–1893
24. GROVER CLEVELAND, 1893–1897
25. WILLIAM MCKINLEY, 1897–1901 (*assassinated in office*)
26. THEODORE ROOSEVELT, 1901–1909
27. WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT, 1909–1913
28. WOODROW WILSON, 1913–1921
29. WARREN G. HARDING, 1921–1923 (*died in office*)
30. CALVIN COOLIDGE, 1923–1929
31. HERBERT HOOVER, 1929–1933
32. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, 1933–

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